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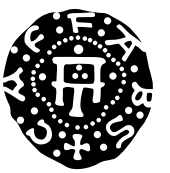

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORDS
OF EASTERN EUROPE

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

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ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF THE REPUBLIC OF TATARSTAN

HIGH ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCHOOL UNIVERSITY

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Sergei Bocharov, Véronique François, Ayrat Sitdikov

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Введение

Второй том сборника научных статей «Поливная керамика Средиземноморья и Причерноморья X—XVIII вв.»[1] выходит в серии издательства «Stratum» — «Археологические источники Восточной Европы» (АИВЕ). Это не случайно, поскольку среди археологического материала из средневековых культурных напластований глазурованная керамика является особым и наиболее репрезентативным типом массового археологического источника. Если мы рассматриваем вещевое содержание средневековых культурных слоёв, то в подавляющем большинстве случаев они будут на 97% заполнены различными керамическими материалами. Всем медиевистам — историкам и археологам, исследующим материальную культуру как городского, так и степного миров, так или иначе, приходится сталкиваться именно с этой группой вещественных научных источников. Понятно, что в каждом конкретном эпизоде статистические данные будут отличаться, но в целом представленные в культурных слоях изделия из стекла, железа, цветных металлов исчисляются десятками или, в лучшем случае, сотнями единиц, в то время как керамические остатки — десятками и сотнями тысяч находок. Логично попытаться искать изменения в развитии средневековой материальной культуры в наиболее информативной категории массового материала — поливной (глазурованной) керамике.

Поливная керамика потенциально является важнейшим источником для изучения самых разных исторических вопросов. Например, в силу большого количества находок и узнаваемости даже по незначительным фрагментам она может стать надёжным датирующим материалом. На протяжении X—XVIII вв. происходило непрерывное изменение ассортимента поливных сосудов, производимых в различных центрах. При этом мы имеем дело с большими партиями изделий, производившихся для продажи на рынке и имеющих одинаковый декор. Изменение декора происходило достаточно быстро. Не столь скоротечно, но всё же видоизменялась и морфология сосудов. С течением времени появлялись и исчезали центры производства глазурованной керамики, варьировали доли их изделий на рынке. Всё это придаёт поливной керамике свойства важного хронологического индикатора.

Сегодня нельзя сказать, что методика изучения поливной керамики в достаточной мере разработана. Связано это прежде всего с тем, что в большинстве случаев элементы орнаментов, фиксируемые, как правило, на фрагментарном материале, сопоставляются с остатками аналогичных изделий, принадлежащих к широкому кругу памятников. На этом основании делаются выводы о происхождении того или иного декора и предлагаются датировки, основанные на сходстве орнаментов. Не отрицая важности изучения орнаментации сосудов, нужно признать, что методика подобного сопоставления является несовершенной. В основу изучения поливной керамики сегодня необходимо поставить выделение продукции конкретных производственных центров на основе технологической специфики изготовления сосудов и особенностей состава глиняного теста. Затем, в рамках одного производственного центра, необходимо выделить серии изделий с идентичным декором, который может различаться лишь в деталях. Следующий этап — такие серии должны получать датировки на основании их находок в закрытых археологических комплексах. Лишь после этого можно начинать сравнительный анализ орнаментики на изде-

[1] Первый том был издан в 2005 г.: Бочаров С. Г., Мыц В. Л. (ред.). Поливная керамика Средиземноморья и Причерноморья X—XVIII вв. Киев: Стилос, 2005. — 511 с.

лиях различных гончарных центров. Это позволит, во-первых, получить надежные датирующие материалы, во-вторых, позволит рассмотреть пути влияния одних гончарных центров на другие, и, наконец, установить закономерности в развитии орнаментики поливной керамики.

Изготовление и использование в быту поливной керамики — это вовсе не узкоместное явление: такие сосуды известны на значительных территориях. Поэтому в нашем издании, посвящённом вопросам изучения массового археологического материала — поливной керамики, фарфоров и фаянсов, мы стараемся охватить обширный регион, включающий страны Средиземноморья, Причерноморья, Переднего Востока, Средней Азии, Дальнего Востока и зону евразийских степей периода зрелого и позднего средневековья.

Главная задача, которую редакторы ставили перед собой при подготовке издания, — привлечение внимания как можно большего числа исследователей к различным аспектам изучения поливной керамики, фарфоров и фаянсов. Особенно это выразилось в желании ввести в научный оборот как можно большее количество неизвестных ранее археологических и музейных комплексов, содержащих глазурованную керамику, а также результаты, полученные при помощи различных естественнонаучных методик изучения глин, фарфоров, фаянсов и глазурей. Для более широкого охвата заинтересованной читательской аудитории, помимо печатного тома, сборник имеет и электронную версию (https://www.e-anthropology.com/Katalog/Arheologia/Glazed+Pottery.aspx), которая сопровождается цветными иллюстрациями и призвана обеспечить бесплатный доступ всех желающих к публикуемым научным материалам.

Второй том сборника научных статей «Поливная керамика Средиземноморья и Причерноморья X—XVIII вв.» состоит из пяти разделов, сформированных по географическому принципу. В этих разделах — Западное Средиземноморье, Восточное Средиземноморье, Черноморский регион, Восточная Европа, Средняя Азия и Дальний Восток — рассматриваются вопросы бытования и распространения поливной керамики, фарфоров и фаянсов на этих территориях. Сборник состоит из 44 статей, подготовленных 49 исследователями из 15 стран (Азербайджан, Белоруссия, Болгария, Греция, Испания, Италия, Ливан, Россия, Румыния, Сербия, США, Турция, Узбекистан, Украина, Франция).

Редакторы и члены редакционной коллегии второго тома сборника научных статей «Поливная керамика Средиземноморья и Причерноморья X—XVIII вв.» надеются, что публикуемые материалы расширят существующие знания о глазурованной керамике как части материальной культуры средиземноморского и степного миров, а также будут полезны коллегам в их ежедневных научных изысканиях.

Сергей Бочаров, Вероник Франсуа, Айрат Ситдиков

Introduction

The second volume of research articles "Glazed Pottery of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea Region, 10th—18th Centuries"[1] is published in the series edited by "Stratum": "Archaeological Records of Eastern Europe" (AREE). It is not accidental, because among the archaeological materials from the medieval cultural layers, the glazed pottery is a special and most representative, abundantly available type of archaeological source. If we are to consider the totality of artefacts in medieval cultural layers, then in most cases, various ceramic materials will make 97% of them. All medievalists, historians and archaeologists — students of material culture of the urban and the steppe worlds, have to deal with this particular group of archaeological artefacts. Obviously, each particular episode will have a different set of statistical data, but generally, all items of glass, iron or precious metals represented in cultural layers will count dozens or even hundreds, in the best case, while there will be dozens and hundreds thousand finds of ceramic sherds. It will be only logical to try and trace changes in development of the medieval material culture by studying this most informative category of mass material — glazed ceramics.

The glazed ceramics, potentially, is the most important source for a study of different historical issues. For instance, because of the large quantity of finds, which are easily recognizable even from smallest sherds, it can become a reliable dating material. The 10th — 18th centuries saw continuous changes in the range of varieties of glazed vessels produced by different centers. At the same time, we deal here with large lots of products manufactured for sale and having the same decoration. The latter was changing quite fast, and the morphology of the vessels changed too, although not that fast. As time passed by, centers for production of glazed pottery would appear and disappear, taking different shares of the market. All these features make the glazed pottery an important chronological indicator.

Today, one cannot assure that the study of the glazed pottery enjoys some well-developed methodological approaches. This can be explained, first of all, by the fact that, in most cases, the elements of ornamentation are registered, as a rule, on some fragmented materials, which are compared to what remains of similar items from a wide group of sites. Based on these, the researchers make conclusions on the origin of various decoration styles and offer the dating based on similarity of ornaments. Not denying the importance of such studies in ornamentation, it is important to accept that the methodology of such comparisons is not perfect. Any study of glazed ceramics today must rely on identification of specific production centers based on technological characteristics used in manufacturing of such vessels and specific compositions of the dough. Then, within the same production center, one must distinguish series of products with the same décor, with only some minor differences. The next stage: such series must be dated based on their finds in integral archaeological complexes. Then only one can proceed to a comparative analysis of ornamentation on products of different pottery centers. This will provide us, first of all, with reliable dating material, and second, we will be able to follow the ways how some pottery centers influenced on other centers, and finally, we will be able to establish some regularities in development of ornamentation on the glazed ceramics.

[1] The first volume was published in 2005: Бочаров С.Г., Мыц В.Л. (ред.). Поливная керамика Средиземноморья и Причерноморья X—XVIII вв. Киев: Стилос, 2005. — 511 с. (Bocharov S., Myts V. (editors). Polivnaya keramika Sredizemnomoria i Prichernomoria 10—18 vv./Glazed Pottery of the Mediterranean and Black Sea Region in 10th — 18th cc. Kiev: Stilos, 2005. — 511 pp.)

Manufacturing and daily use of the glazed ceramics is far from being purely local phenomenon, for such vessels are known across vast territories. Therefore, in this volume addressing such massive archaeological material — glazed ceramics, porcelain and faience — we have tried to cover a vast region, including the Mediterranean, Black Sea, Near East, Central Asia, Far East regions and the zone of the Eurasian steppes in the developed and late Middle Ages.

While working on this volume, our main task as editors was to attract as many researchers as possible to the varous aspects related to studies of the glazed ceramics, porcelain and faience. We put our special effort to introduce for discussion as many earlier unknown archaeological and museum complexes with glazed ceramics as possible, as well as the results obtained from application of different natural scientific methods to studying clays, porcelains, faiences and glazes. To ensure a wider coverage of all interested groups of readers, this volume comes not only in paper format, but also in electronic format (https://www.e-anthropology.com/English/Catalog/Archaeology/Glazed+Pottery+eng.aspx), where one may find color illustrations and which will be available free of charge to anyone who wishes to access the publications gathered in this volume.

The second volume "Glazed Pottery of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea Region, 10th—18th Centuries" includes five chapters, by geographic principle. They cover Western Mediterranean, Eastern Mediterranean, Black Sea, Eastern Europe, Central Asia and Far East regions and address various issues related to existence and distribution of glazed ceramics, porcelain and faience on these territories. The volume includes 44 articles prepared by 49 researchers from 15 countries (Azerbaijan, Belarus, Bulgaria, France, Greece, Italy, Lebanon, Russia, Romania, Serbia, Spain, Turkey, Ukraine, USA, Uzbekistan).

The chief editors and members of the editorial board hope that this volume will contribute to a vaster knowledge of the glazed ceramics as an element of the Mediterranean and steppe material cultures and will be useful to all colleagues in their daily research work.

Sergei Bocharov, Véronique François, Airat Sitdikov

Западное Средиземноморье

Western Mediterranean region

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Invetriate policrome in circolazione al San Francesco di Cosenza nel Basso Medioevo. Primi dati da nuove scoperte (Calabra, Italia)

Keywords: Italy, Cosenza, Calabria, Middle Ages, polychrome glazed ware, medieval monastery

Ключевые слова: Италия, Козенца, Калабрия, средние века, полихромная поливная керамика, средневековый монастырь

C. La Serra

Polychrome Glazed Ware from St. Francis in Cosenza during Late Middle Ages. First data from new discoveries (Calabria, Italy)

The paper presented focuses on a small percentage of ceramics, polychrome glazed ware, from the Middle Ages coming from the excavations at the monastery of St. Francis of Assisi, in Cosenza (Calabria , Italy). It concerned unpublished data on a medieval context, almost unknown that enrich the regional panorama on circulation and production of these artifacts. The quantified materials come from modern stratigraphy, so it is not possible any reflection on every kind of chronological evolution of the typology. However, the autopsy study of the mixtures, the description of shapes and decorations enhances the current knowledge on the subject and in any event allows the first important reflections of a medieval city like Cosenza, that seems to project more toward markets Puglia and Campania, with also the presence of Islamic imported ceramics.

К. Ла Серра

Позднесредневековые полихромные поливные сосуды из монастыря Св. Франциска в Козенце (Калабрия, Италия). Первые данные о новых находках

Представленная здесь работа посвящена небольшому проценту позднесредневековых керамических изделий — полихромным поливным сосудам, найденным во время раскопок в монастыре Св. Франциска Ассизского в Козенце (Калабрия, Италия). Речь идет о ранее не публиковавшихся сведениях о средневековом контексте, о котором практически ничего не известно и который обогащает наши сведения о бытовании и производстве данных предметов в этом регионе. Изученные материалы происходят из переотложенного слоя, поэтому невозможно судить о какой-либо хронологической эволюции их типологии. Однако подробное изучение состава теста, описание форм и декора сосудов расширяет современные знания об этом предмете и, в любом случае, позволяет вынести первые важные суждения о таком средневековом городе, как Козенца. Хотя рыночные связи этого города были обращены в сторону областей Апулия и Кампания, среди найденной керамики присутствуют и образцы исламского импорта.

1. Introduzione

Il lavoro presentato in questa sede è solo una piccola parte di un più ampio studio, attualmente in corso, sugli scavi al complesso monumentale del S. Francesco d'Assisi, nel cuore della moderna città di Cosenza, uno dei più importanti istituti monastici medievali ancora esistenti, all'interno del quale si conserva un edificio, comunemente denominato "*Basilichetta*", che fino a poco tempo fa verteva in stato di rudere. Nel 2014, l'allora Soprintendenza Architettonica e Paesaggistica di Cosenza ha avviato degli interventi di recupero sul rudere, prevedendo anche la possibilità di effettuare saggi archeologici in collaborazione con la Soprintendenza Archeologia di Reggio Calabria (Garella, Baccari, D'Alessio, La Serra 2015: 220—225, D'Alessio, La Serra 2014: 251). Le stratigrafie emerse nel corso dello scavo sono riconducibili a un arco cronologico

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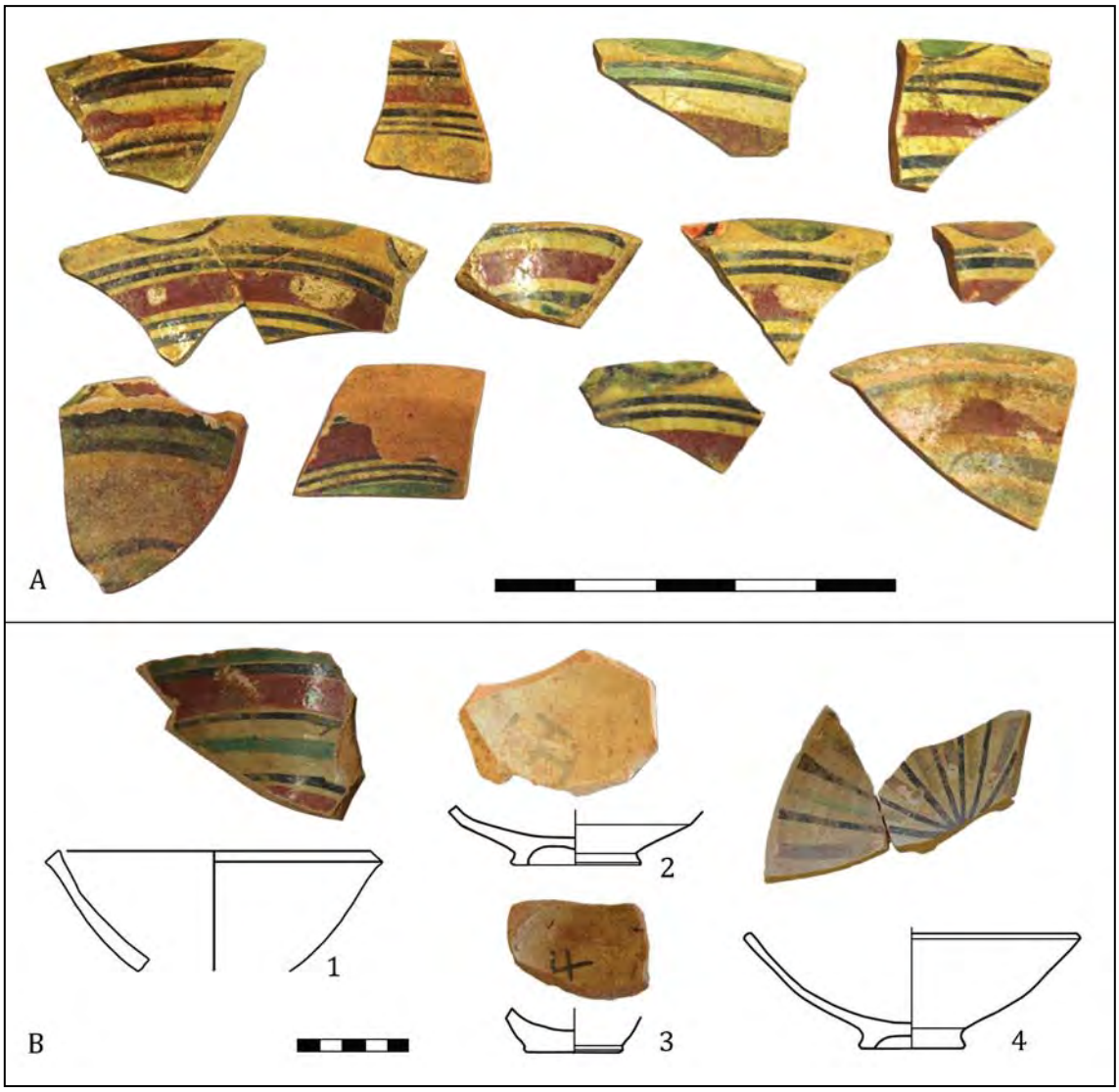

Tavola I. Cosenza San Francesco. A: le invetriate del "tipo lucano". B: 1 — invetriata policrome del "tipo lucano"; 2, 3 — invetriate con decoro a croce; 4 — invetriata con decoro radiale.

Рис. I. Монастырь Св. Франциска в Козенце. A: поливные сосуды «луканского типа». B: 1 — поливной сосуд «луканского типа»; 2, 3 — поливные сосуды, орнаментированные крестом; 4 — поливной сосуд с «лучевым» орнаментом.

piuttosto articolato, compreso tra l'età protostorica e quella contemporanea, restituendo, soprattutto per i periodi post-classici, ingenti quantità di manufatti ceramici. I frammenti recuperati dagli scavi alla Basilichetta sono in tutto 4.794, e sono rappresentativi di diverse classi e periodi che vanno dalla ceramica ad impasto fino alla terraglia di età moderna. Una parte dei materiali di età contemporanea è già stata recentemente edita (D'Alessio, La Serra 2016 c.s.), mentre per quelli di età più antiche lo studio è appena iniziato. Infatti, l'attenzione, nel presente contributo si soffermerà su una serie di ceramiche prodotte probabilmente localmente nel basso medioevo e caratterizzate da rivestimento piombifero e decorazioni policrome. Questo materiale, purtroppo, non proviene da stratigrafie affidabili, ma piuttosto dai grandi livelli di rimaneggiamento moderni come materiale residuale. Si tratta soltanto di un piccolo nucleo di 175 frammenti di vasellame da mensa, in forme maggiormente aperte e poche chiuse, nella tipologia delle così dette *RMR* (Doufournier et al. 1986), appena il 4% del totale di tutte le ceramiche quantificate al San Francesco. Tuttavia, non essendoci allo stato attuale delle pubblicazioni o informazioni sui materiali circolanti a Cosenza nel Medioevo, seppur poche, le presenti ceramiche rivestono un'importanza sostanziale nel panorama di studi ceramologici, poiché sono le prime ceramiche medievali da contesti di scavo urbano ad essere pubblicate per la città di Cosenza.

2. Stato delle conoscenze per la città e territorio di Cosenza

Il fine del presente contributo, dunque, è quello di inaugurare una nuova fase di studi archeologici sulla Cosenza medievale e iniziare a colmare le ingenti lacune sulla conoscenza del materiale ceramico in circolazione a Cosenza nel Basso Medioevo, così da poter iniziare a parlare di storia sociale ed economica anche per questo grande centro urbano della Calabria settentrionale. Archeologicamente parlando, infatti, la città è ben nota per le sue fasi brettie e romane (Cerzoso, Vanzetti 2014), ma è quasi del tutto sconosciuta per quelle post classiche. Resti materiali ascrivibili al Basso Medioevo sono stati rintracciati nel 1975 all'interno del Duomo, ma la relazione pubblicata non è corredata da materiale ceramico (Nestori 1980). Anche gli scavi al pianterreno dell'ex Seminario della Curia di Cosenza, attuale Biblioteca Nazionale, hanno restituito nello strato di riempimento moderno ceramica invetriata e smaltata. Tuttavia questi materiali risultano ancora inediti e solo alcuni sono attualmente esposti nei locali della Biblioteca. Il medesimo discorso vale per i materiali ceramici dello scavo del Convento delle Cappuccinelle, recentemente pubblicato (Cuteri 2015). Più articolata e meglio nota è invece la situazione degli studi sulla ceramica nel territorio della moderna provincia di Cosenza, per la quale si deve far riferimento alla pubblicazione del sito di *Jure Vetere* curata in particolare, per la ceramica, dalla Dott. ssa Francesca Sogliani (Sogliani 2007), e la più generale e recente sintesi della Dott.ssa Franca Papparella (Papparella 2014).

3. Le invetriate policrome della Basilichetta. Forme e decori

L'attenzione principale sarà, appunto, per le produzioni di ceramica rivestita a vetrina piombifera. Le forme aperte sono essenzialmente ciotole e scodelle, di capacità media, mentre le forme chiuse sono esclusivamente boccali trilobati o bottiglie tronco-coniche.

Tra le forme aperte si segnalano alcuni esemplari di invetriate del "*tipo lucano*", caratterizzate da un orlo estroflesso a breve tesa piana, con vasca a profilo carenato e piede ad anello. La decorazione è principalmente geometrica, con fasce circolari in bruno o rosso, altre volte anche verde, e una sequenza di archetti che si sviluppano sulla tesa (Tavola I: A). Si trovano immediati confronti a livello regionale con materiali circolanti a Crotone (Corrado 2003: 160) a Castelmonardo (Carioti 2012: 72) a Rosarno (La Serra 2016 c.s.) a Tropea, Nicotera e Soverato Vecchia (Cuteri 2007). Allo stesso tipo afferisce anche una ciotola decorata a fasce concentriche ma priva di tesa e dall'orlo indistinto (Tavola I: B, 1).

Condivide con il "tipo lucano" la propria forma una ciotola dalla decorazione radiale in bruno e verdino, unico esemplare quasi del tutto ricostruibile (Tavola I: B, 4).

Due esemplari di ciotole presentano invece una decorazione a croce (Tavola I: B, 2—3): la prima è una croce potenziata dipinta in bruno su un fondo con piede ad anello e leggermente umbonato, mentre la seconda, è pertinente ad un fondo apodo. Questo motivo decorativo è diffusissimo nel Mezzogiorno e soprattutto in Campania (De Crescenzo 1992: 50, Busino 2009; Rotili 2010: 126), come anche il *grid-iron*, presente a Cosenza solo in un unico frammento dall'impasto beige tipo 1, molto duro e depurato. Altri esemplari attestati in Calabria sono noti dal castello della Rocca di San Sosti (Marino, Papparella 2008: 15) da Tropea (Di Gangi 1995), Nicotera (Cuteri 2007) Vibo Valentia (Sogliani 1997) e dal crotonese (Corrado 2003).

Troviamo ancora due esemplari di ciotole dal piede ad anello e con tesa confluente su corpo carenato che presentano un ornato a scudi araldici: uno scudo è ripartito inquadrato, l'altro è del tipo sbarrato (Tavola II: A). Ceramiche di simile forma e decorazioni, ma senza puntuali confronti circolano in diverse località: nel cortile del Palazzo Vescovile a Tropea (Di Gangi Lebole 1999), a Vibo (Donatone 1983) nelle buche Inam (Sogliani 1997) e a Castel Monardo, Nicotera e Rocca Angitola (Cuteri 2006).

Le decorazioni fitomorfe sono senza dubbio quelle numericamente maggiori, con al centro del cavetto motivi a foglie o petali lanceolati o floreali (Tavola II: B, C). Alcuni esemplari consentini, nonostante la diffusione capillare della tipologia nel resto della regione con le più disparate varietà decorative, trovano più puntuali somiglianze, per l'esecuzione dei tratti, con esemplari di protomaioliche da Ordona (Patitucci Uggeri 1990: 29) e da Alife (Di Cosmo 1990: 243). Tra le forme aperte con questa decorazione se ne segnala una in particolare, un piatto con tesa confluente e corpo molto basso e carenato (Tavola II: B, 4).

Infine, alcuni esemplari, presentano delle decorazioni geometriche ed astratte. L'esiguità dei reperti e la frammentarietà dei pezzi non ci permettono di cogliere nell'interezza le decorazioni (Tavola II: D), tuttavia alcuni fondi di ciotole si distinguono per un tipico piede ad anello e dei fondi umbonati più o meno accentuati. Non abbiamo informazioni sulle tese o sugli orli, ma le decorazioni sono sia in bicromia rosso-bru-

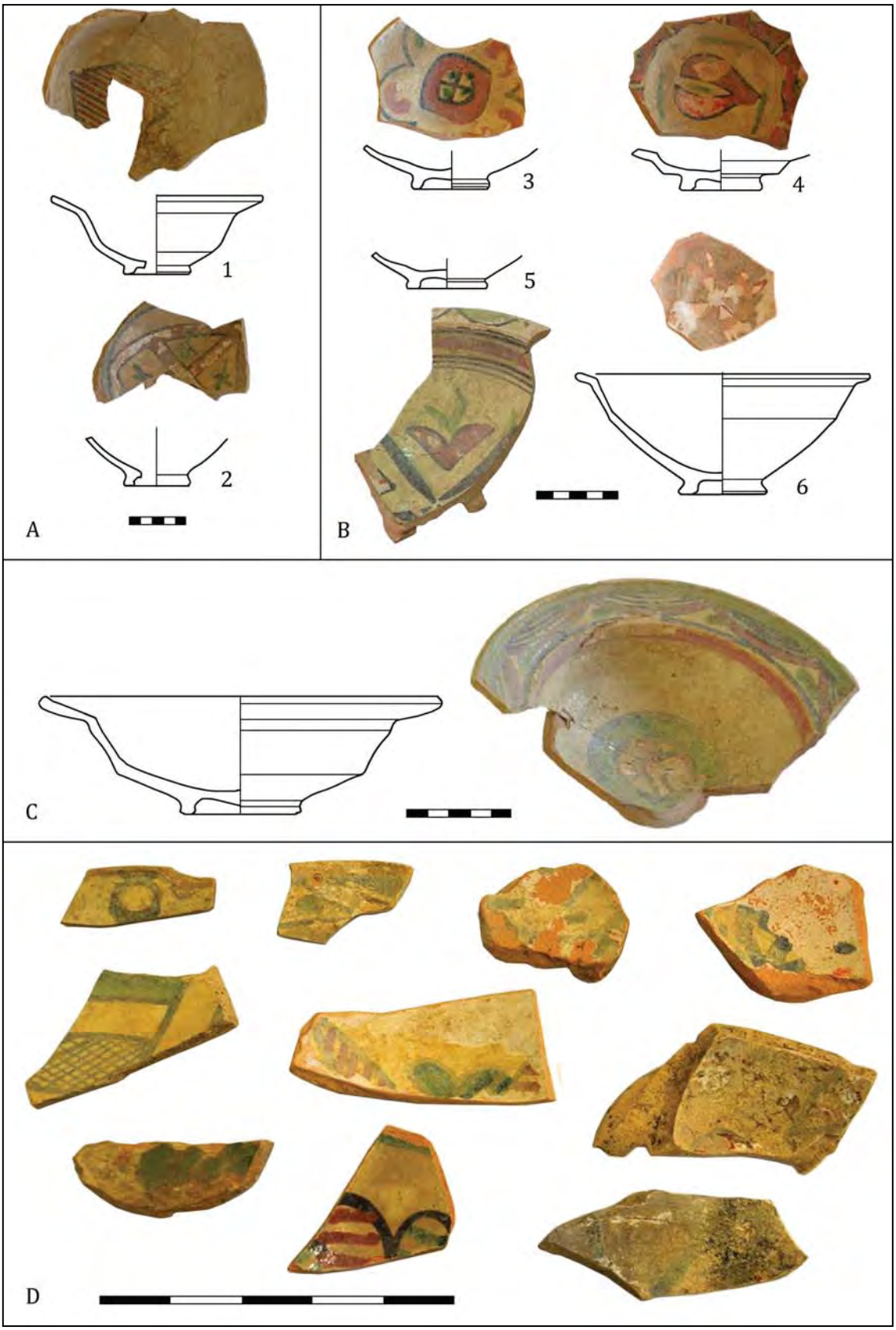

Tavola II. Cosenza San Francesco. A: invetriate con decori araldici. B: invetriate con decori fitomorfi. C: invetriata con decoro fitomorfo. D: frammenti di invetriate con decori vari.

Рис. II. Монастырь Св. Франциска в Козенце. A: поливные сосуды с геральдическим орнаментом. B: поливные сосуды с растительным орнаментом. C: поливной сосуд с растительным орнаментом. D: фрагменты поливных сосудов с различным орнаментом.

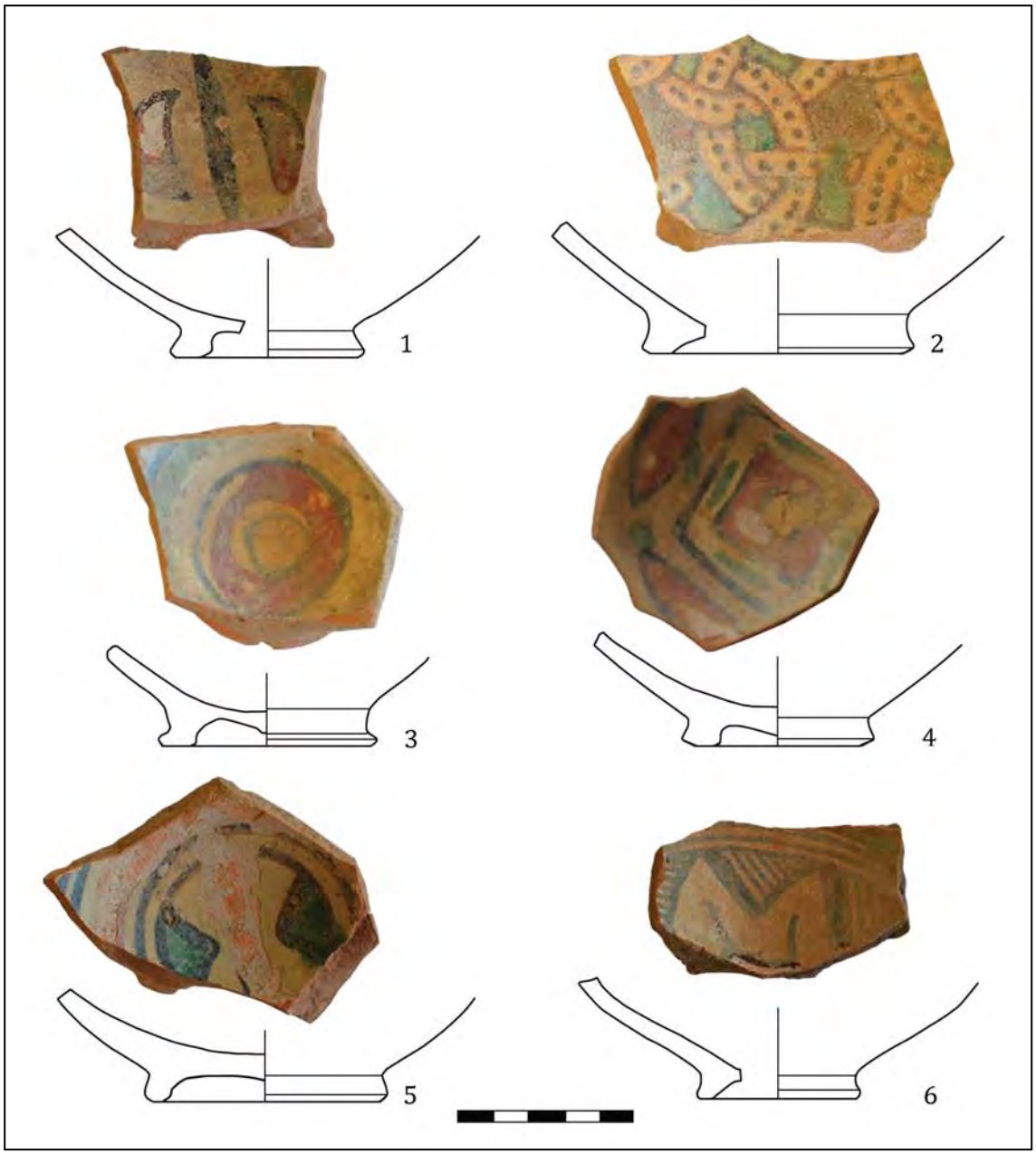

Tavola III. Cosenza San Francesco. Invetriate con decorazioni astratte.

Рис. III. Монастырь Св. Франциска в Козенце. Поливные сосуды с абстрактным орнаментом.

no o verde-bruno, o anche in monocromia bruna (Tavola III).

Per quanto riguarda invece le forme chiuse, l'alto grado di frammentarietà dei pezzi, non permette la ricostruzione grafica dei profili. Tuttavia la varietà tipologica appare abbastanza chiara anche soltanto dalle diverse anse e parti diagnostiche rinvenute (Tavola IV: A).

Una buona porzione dei frammenti afferisce a boccali con piede piano, corpo troncoconico, lunghe anse a nastro verticali, tutti decorati in policromia all'esterno. L'interno solitamente è privo di rivestimento, o in alcuni casi ricoperto di vetrina trasparente. Due boccali trilobati, in particolare, presentano una decorazione diversa dagli standard solitamente diffusi, perché oltre alla tipica separazione a "pannelli", con linee ondulate o tracciati a graticcio e geometrici, sono visibili sul collo delle fasce orizzontali in rosso o in verde con sottostante decorazione incisa a dentelli (Tavola IV: B). L'unico esemplare noto di RMR che alla semplice decorazione dipinta associa una decorazione incisa proviene dagli scavi di Piatramala, in Calabria (Donato 2016 : 77) con un esemplare molto simile, mentre da fuori regione si trova un confronto a Muro

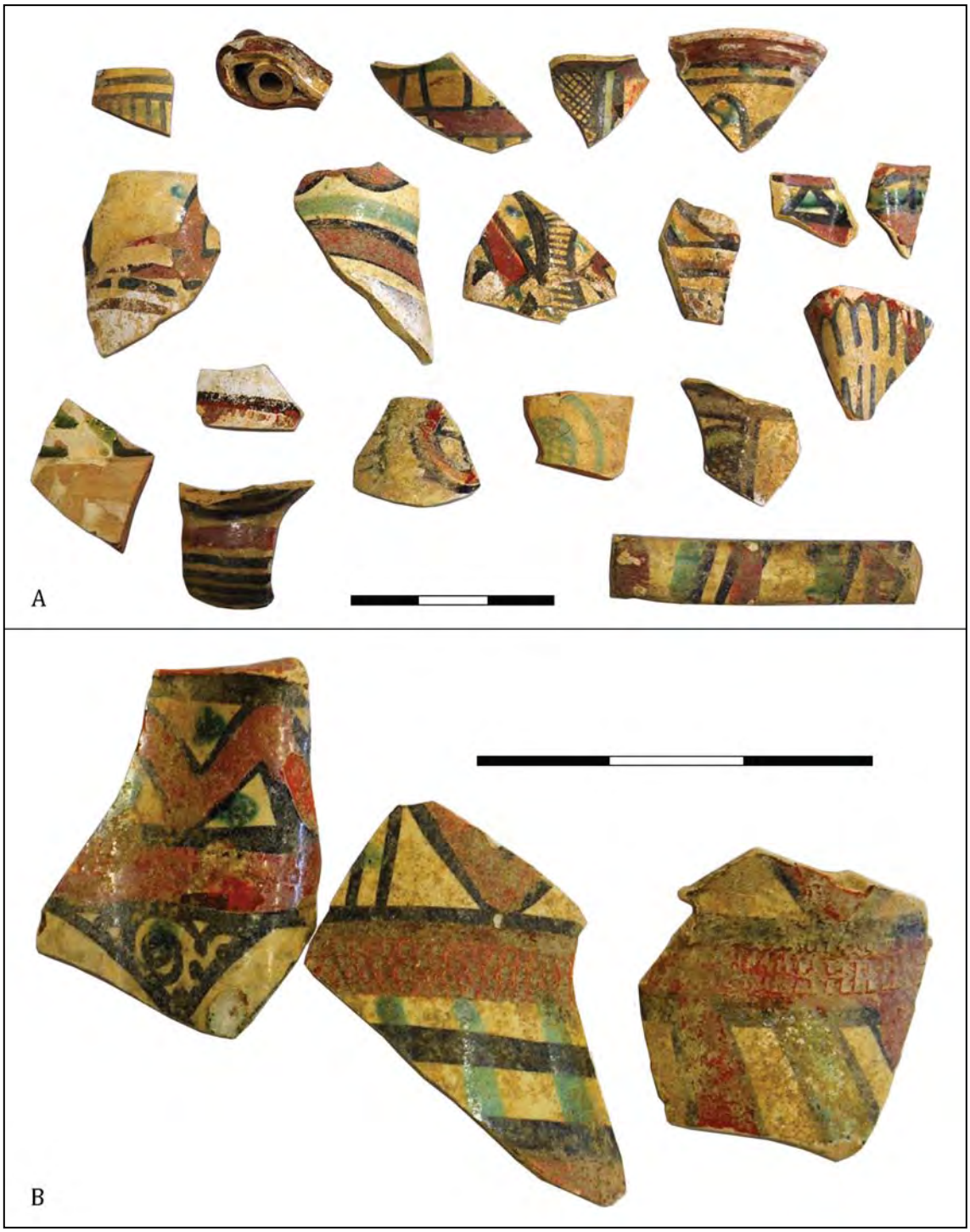

Tavola IV. Cosenza San Francesco. A: le forme chiuse. B. Frammenti di boccali con decorazione a rotella.

Рис. IV. Монастырь Св. Франциска в Козенце. А: закрытые формы. В. Фрагменты чаш с круговой орнаментацией.

Leccese (Tagliente 2003: 154). Per quanto riguarda quest'ultimo caso, si tratta di una forma aperta, un bacino, che presenta un cordone plastico applicato all'esterno, una decorazione dipinta sull'orlo fatta di tratti in bruno e rosso obliqui e alternati, e una decorazione dipinta interna a linee a tremolo degli stessi colori, con in più una fascia ovoide graffita e campita in verde.

È presente, tra le forme chiuse, anche la tipica bottiglia caratterizzata da lungo e stretto beccuccio versatoio tubolare legato al corpo ceramico, che è ben attestata anche nella Calabria meridionale, al Castello dell'Amendolea e a Condofuri (Calabria 2003: fig. 2; Cuteri, Calabria 2005: 26 tav. 4, n. 4), a Calanna (Agostino, Martorano, Corrado 2003) e a Gerace, da strati della metà del

Tavola V. Cosenza San Francesco. A: protomaiolica. B: le importazioni islamiche.

Рис. V. Монастырь Св. Франциска в Козенце. А: Протомайолика. В: исламский импорт.

XIV secolo (Di Gangi Lebole 1999: 425). Nella Calabria centro settentrionale, invece si ritrova nei contesti di Scribla (Flambard Héricher 2010: 259), Santa Severina (Morrone 1998) Nicotera e Vibo Valentia (Cuteri 2006) e Tropea (Di Gangi-Lebole 1997: 163, fig. 4 , n. 49).

Su tutti i frammenti studiati è stata effettuata anche una analisi autoptica degli impasti che, sebbene non sia ancora stata accompagnata da analisi archeometriche, ha comunque permesso di isolare 6 diversi campioni:

1. Impasto beige chiaro, molto duro e depurato, privo di inclusi o vacuoli (Hue 2.5Y 8/2) rilevato soltanto per l'esemplare con decorazione a grid-iron;
2. Impasto micaceo, con micro fratture e vacuoli che varia, su uno stesso corpo ceramico dal beige chiaro al rosato (5YR 8.2). Si tratta dell'impasto rilevato sulla maggior parte degli individui studiati;
3. Impasto rosato con numerosi inclusi bianchi di medie dimensioni, vacuoli e mica (5YR 7.6, individuo Tavola II: A, 2);
4. Impasto beige scuro, micaceo e con vacuoli, inclusi bianchi di piccole dimensioni, molto duro (10YR 6/4, individuo Tavola III: A, 2) ;
5. Impasto rossiccio, molto duro, micaceo (2.5YR 5.8 individuo Tavola I: B, 2);
6. Impasto beige scuro, molto micaceo e con inclusi bianchi di piccole dimensioni (2.5Y 8/1 individuo Tavola I: B, 4).

4. Le importazioni

Quelle descritte fino ad ora sono le tipiche produzioni circolanti al Sud d'Italia tra XIII e XIV secolo, di cui, almeno in Calabria, non si conoscono ancora con esattezza atelier produttivi ed evoluzioni regionali. Considerando che il campione di ceramiche studiate è molto esiguo, preme sottolineare comunque la presenza, oltre dei 175 esemplari di invetriate policrome, anche di una piccola percentuale di importazioni. In realtà, più che di "presenza", si dovrebbe sottolineare la quasi totale "assenza" di protomaiolica dagli scavi della Basilichetta, se non fosse per un unico frammento recuperato nel riempimento della fossa di fondazione dell'edificio stesso. Si tratta di una protomaiolica pugliese, nello specifico brindisina, che presenta sul fondo una rosetta stilizzata, con i petali sono resi a puntinato. La variante del San Francesco è in blu, con piede ad anello inclinato, a profilo squadrato e fondo esterno ribassato (Tavola V: A), di come se ne incontra largamente in tutti i più importanti e già citati contesti regionali, ma anche nei siti di Casalini di San Sosti (Marino, Papparella 2008; Papparella 2014) e San Niceto vicino Reggio Calabria (Bruno, Coscarella, Capelli 2003).

Pochi frammenti di ciotole (solo quattro esemplari in tutto) con orlo arrotondato, introflesso e indistinto presentano sprazzi di vetrina verde (Tavola V: B) e decorazione in bruno sono accostabili a produzioni islamiche già attestate in Regione (Cuteri, Hyeraci 2012: 127) e di probabile provenienza siciliana (Alfano, Sacco 2014).

5. Conclusioni

Le ceramiche presentate in questa sede, pur rimanendo quantitativamente un campione limitatamente rappresentativo, hanno permesso comunque di acquisire dati inediti su un contesto medievale, quello del centro storico di Cosenza, finora pressoché sconosciuto per quel che concerne la cultura materiale. Lo studio tipologico

dei manufatti esposti ha permesso di disciplinare le prime informazioni in materia e di proporre delle embrionali riflessioni.

Sappiamo bene che le invetriate policrome sono tra le ceramiche più rappresentative dei secoli Basso Medievali, e che studi interregionali soprattutto fra Campania e Puglia stanno ben definendo le evoluzioni tipologiche e decorative, soprattutto dall'età federiciana in poi. Purtroppo, da questo punto di vista, gli esemplari della Basilichetta aggiungono poco alla ricostruzione storica in corso per la regione Calabria, poiché si tratta di frammenti solo residuali in stratigrafie moderne, dunque poco utili per definizioni o evoluzioni cronologiche delle varie tipologie.

I confronti possibili con i materiali in circolazione, sia regionali che di importazione, con il resto del Sud dimostrano l'inserimento di Cosenza nei medesimi mercati delle più importanti città e porti regionali tra età federiciana e angioina, e probabilmente molto più proiettata verso l'area lucana e campana.

Possiamo solo supporre, in attesa di future analisi minero-petrografiche, che alcuni degli esemplari possano essere di produzione locale. Anche da questo punto di vista, purtroppo, la nostra Regione ha ancora ingenti lacune, ed allo stato attuale sono note, anche se solo preliminarmente, le fornaci di invetriate policrome della città di Crotone (Aisa, Cristiano, Ruga, Cuteri 2010).

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Changing Tastes: from Lustreware to Polychrome Tiles. Exported Pottery from Valencia in Mediterranean Area and around (14th to 18th cc.)

Keywords: Valencia, medieval pottery, post-medieval pottery, majolica, distribution

Ключевые слова: Валенсия, средневековая керамика, послесредневековая керамика, майолика, распространение

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Changing Tastes: from Lustreware to Polychrome Tiles. Exported Pottery from Valencia in Mediterranean Area and around (14th to 18th cc.)

Medieval ceramics from Paterna and Manises were highly prized and very widely traded in the Mediterranean and Atlantic Europe during the Middle Ages. Although a decline in their presence can be observed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries due to the boom in Italian majolica, they continued to be distributed, despite the fact that they now represented old-fashioned styles and tastes. The eighteenth century saw the beginnings of a certain commercial recovery, thanks to tiles from the factories in the city of Valencia. The Royal Factory at Alcora (Castellón), in the north of the Valencian region, played an important part in this revival of taste, and its products came to be widely distributed throughout the Spanish-speaking world. This study presents a general overview of the commercial distribution of Valencian ceramics between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries based on archaeological and historical evidence.

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Эволюция вкуса. От люстровой керамики к полихромным плиткам. Валенсийский экспорт в Средиземноморье и сопредельные страны (XIV—XVIII вв.)

Средневековая керамика из Патерны и Манисеса высоко ценилась и была очень популярным товаром в Средиземноморье и на Атлантическом побережье Европы в средние века. Несмотря на наблюдаемый спад ее популярности в XVI—XVII вв. в связи с повышенным интересом к итальянской майолике, она все еще имела хождение, хотя и воспринималась как образец старомодного стиля и вкуса. В XVIII в. торговый интерес к ней возродился, благодаря плитке, производимой на городских фабриках Валенсии. Королевская Фабрика в Алькоре (Кастельон-де-ла-Плана), в северной части региона Валенсии, сыграла важную роль в возрождении этого вкуса, а ее продукция широко разошлась по всему испаноязычному миру. В настоящей статье на основе археологических и исторических источников предлагается общий обзор торгового хождения валенсийской керамики между XVI и XVIII вв.

Introduction

The ceramics produced during the medieval period in the Kingdom of Valencia, integrated into the Crown of Aragon, attained a high level of quality and prestige. The Crown territorial policy gave impetus to an expansion in the western Mediterranean, comprising direct dominion over Sardinia, Sicily, Naples, Montenegro and territories in Greece. It also developed a strategy of social pre-eminence and power by promoting matrimonial and economic alliances, which also encompassed the religious sphere, such that some of its families — the Lunas of Aragon and the Borgias of Valencia — came to hold the supreme ecclesiastical office of the papacy of the Catholic Church, through Benedict XIII, Callixtus III and Alexander VI.

Valencian ceramics reflect these relations both by their widespread distribution and by displaying heraldic devices of the leading families of Spain and Europe. Valencian gold lustreware was

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the ultimate heir to the courtly prestige of Islamic lustreware, which began in the ninth century in the Abbasid caliphate of Baghdad, a technique passed down through the last Spanish Muslim kingdom of Granada, finally conquered in 1492. The workshops of Manises (Valencian kingdom) supplied large, opulent pieces for eminent personages such as the Counts of Urgell and Luna, Dukes of Burgundy, the Kings of Aragon, France, Sicily, Naples, Castile and Navarre, numerous Italian merchants, princes such as Piero the Gouty, and prelates of the Catholic Church, abbots and even popes, such as Leo X Medici, to cite just a selection. Tiling from Manises and Valencia, especially that decorated in blue and white, also served as a vehicle for the heraldic emblems of these figures to mark the buildings they erected, such as Alfonso V's Castel Nuovo in Naples, Alexander VI's Borgia apartments in the Vatican and Castel Sant'Angelo, Pieter Bladelin's fortress of Middelburg-in-Vlaanderen, and many other cases.

The bourgeoisie and urban artisans also used these products because of their quality and prestige. Both Valencian lustreware and tiling spread far afield through trade as consumer goods, and in the fifteenth century they reached every part of the Mediterranean area as far as Fustat, Damascus and Istanbul, the Crimean peninsula (Teslenko 2009), and at the furthest limits Moscow and Kazan (Koval 2002; 2010). On the Atlantic they were commonly found in the British Isles, the Low Countries and the trade area of Lubeck, and even reached remote spots such as Elblag in Poland (Nawrolska 2003).

However, the dawn of the Early Modern era put an end to that advantageous situation, since the concentration of the peninsular kingdoms under a single crown, initiated by Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon, Atlantic expansion, and the inherent dynamics of economic growth fostered both a change in trade orientation and a proliferation of centres producing this highly-prized lustreware, leading to a reduction in the presence of products from Valencian workshops and to their decline. Focusing on this last point, in the fourteenth century lustreware was manufactured in the Muslim centres of Malaga, Granada and perhaps Almería, and at the Christian sites in the Valencia area (Manises, Paterna, Mislata, Quart de Poblet and Valencia itself). In the second half of the fifteenth century a new location appeared in the Vinalopó valley (possibly in Villena) and production began in Barcelona and Seville. Later Reus (Tarragona) and Muel (Zaragoza) were added, as well as Úbeda (Jaén).

The proliferation of production sites also led to competition through innovation. Gubbio and Deruta, in Tuscany, became the most important centres by incorporating the technique of lustreware and raising the quality to unprecedented levels, while also introducing an innovative Renaissance aesthetic. This is why we begin to find their products in court settings, such as Charles V's Palace at the Alhambra in Granada (Carta 2003), occupying the place that had been covered a century before with lustreware from Valencia. Spanish workshops, by contrast, were preoccupied with imitating late medieval styles and were becoming out of date, their prestige sustained by the mere echo of their technical difficulty. This complete lack of innovation was compounded by the crisis precipitated by social problems such as the persecution of the *Moriscos* at the beginning of the sixteenth century, to which we shall now turn our attention.

Feudal dominion and pottery in the Valencian Region (fourteenth to eighteenth centuries). Historical background

Ceramists in the medieval period were mostly Mudejars or *Sarraïns*, Muslim craftsmen integrated into Christian society. Many of them were well regarded and enjoyed a good social position, as was the case with Juan Almurcí, supplier of tiles to King Alfonso V, whom he provided with hundreds of thousands of pieces for the Castel Nuovo and the Castel dell'Ovo in Naples and for the Royal Palace in Valencia (1445—1454), although his descendants were regarded as "old Christians" in 1609 and were not expelled.

By their pragmatic decree of 14 February 1502 the Catholic Monarchs ordered the forced conversion of all Muslims in Spain to Christianity. This measure initiated the clandestine practice of Islam and its persecution by the Inquisition, giving rise to an undesirable instability in the daily life of the so-called "new Christians" or "*Moriscos*" (derived from Mauri or Moors, because of they supposed African origin), always subjugated and under suspicion. This situation continued for a century, until their expulsion was finally decreed in 1609, and undoubtedly contributed to the decline of the previously flourishing ceramic production of the potteries of Valencia. Most of the Valencian majolica of the time was manufactured in *Morisco* towns and villages and can properly be called "Morisco ware", enabling us to differentiate it from previous periods (Martínez Caviró 1991: 184). Another serious source of tension arose in

the sixteenth century during the Revolt of the *Germanías* ("Brotherhoods" or guilds), a rural uprising against feudal power which occupied the king's troops between 1519 and 1525. To make matters worse, the *agermanats* (the rebels) were active agents of forced Christian conversion of the *Moriscos*, whom they saw as the bedrock of seigneurial power. Following the suppression of the *Germanías*, around 1525, the Christianisation of the Mudejar population was stepped up. The culmination, introduced as a measure to compensate the rebels for imperial repression, came with Charles V's pragmatic decree of 7 December 1526, by which the *Moriscos* were obliged to abandon their dress, language and customs within a maximum of 40 years.

It is generally considered that after the episode of the *Germanías*, as regards the main Valencian manufacturing centres, Paterna was gradually depopulated whilst Manises maintained a healthy level of population and productive organisation. Given the close coexistence between potters of Christian and *Morisco* origin, we cannot tell whether they distinguished their products, although after the expulsion we can see changes in the style of decoration. The written documents reveal that there was no clear spatial separation between the workshops of *Moriscos* and of old Christians, which were intermingled. There is a vital source to support this statement, arising from the fact that the king's troops wrecked the potteries of Paterna in 1521 when they were quartered there. To quantify the compensation to be paid for the damage, a *Stimació dels dans*… (Estimate of damage) was drawn up, an astonishingly rich chronicle which describes the ceramic workshops and industrial facilities and gives an account of the effects of the royal troops (Gimeno Rosselló 1995: 61). In Manises, from where copious written information survives throughout the sixteenth century, we find that both groups used the same equipment.

Manises

When the *Morisco* problem began, Manises belonged to Pedro Boïl y Escrivá, 12th Lord and 5th Baron of Manises (1504—1529), who was succeeded by Pedro Boïl y Berenguer (1529—1559), Felipe Boïl de la Scala y Joan (later Felipe Joan) (1559—1597), Pedro Joan y Vidal (formerly Boïl de la Scala) (1597—1608), and Felipe Albert Vidal (formerly Boïl de la Scala) (1608—1627). In general the Boïls were always concerned to maintain the productive apparatus of Manises in perfect working order, as it was the basis of a considerable proportion of their income. They organised the government of the town through assemblies and councils directly answerable to the Lord of Manises, sought to ensure the supply of raw materials by creating the *Cambra de Plom* (Chamber of Lead) and the *Cambra de la Rajola* (Chamber of Bricks), and also controlled the *Molí de l'arrós i del vernís* (Rice and varnish mill) (Nicolau 1987). Their managers were chosen from among Christians and *Moriscos*, without distinction, proposed by the aldermen. Each community appointed its own syndics as representatives. If necessary, specific syndics were chosen in assemblies to deal with the provision of materials or with matters related to annuities or tributes. The Lord also levied a tithe dels fornets ("on the little ovens", possibly small kilns, belonging to him, used to fire lustrewares), and also leased out land and mills. The *Cambra de Plom* served to maintain a constant reserve of lead and tin, to be distributed for the manufacture of ceramics. Its administrators or *cambrers* were appointed annually to organise the sharing out of the materials and to manage its operation financially, receiving the costs of sales or supplying metals on their own account if there was a shortage of raw materials, etc. At the end of the year they settled the income and profits to the Lord's administrators. Those appointed to the post of *cambrer* were normally trustworthy persons with good management skills, assisted by the *pesador* ("weigher"). The function of the *Cambra de la Rajola* de Manises is not clear, although its income was not high. It may have been a repository for construction materials to provide for small repairs that periodically had to be made to kilns and workshops.

Moreover, chronicles and surviving correspondence record the fact that the Lords of Manises tried to defend their interests by averting the expulsion of the *Moriscos*. Specifically, Felipe Albert Vidal and Juan Berenguer de Blanes de Vallterra, Lord of Canet, were commissioned by the nobles to attempt to persuade the Court to mitigate that drastic measure (Nicolau 1987: 213), although they were subsequently entrusted with taking direct action to persecute the *Moriscos* of Valencia and implement the king's orders. The Lord of Manises enjoyed considerable feudal income from ceramics, whereas the Lord of Canet obtained his from sugar cane. Presumably the appointment is evidence of a certain vote of royal confidence, and when the time came to get rid of the *Moriscos* under his jurisdiction, his authority must have given him some room for manoeuvre, probably eliminating those who were troublemakers or surplus to requirements.

The chronicles of Rafael Martí de Viciana and Gaspar Juan Escolano also throw some light on the scale of the principal Valencian pottery cen-

tres. Viciana (1564) tells us that "en Manizes se labran los muy hermosos y delicados vasos y ladrillos vidriados de diferentes hechuras, lavores, colores y matizes: de los quales por mar y por tierra gran copia se lleva en otros reynos donde son muy preciados" ("in Manises they make very beautiful, delicate glazed vessels and tiles in various forms, styles, colours and shades, of which great quantities are taken by land and sea to other kingdoms, where they are much prized"), and that it had a population of 200 households. The parish registers record that around 1575 there were 300 souls and 100 Christian households in the town, together with 60 households of new Christians (Nicolau 1987: 172). Iborra Lerma (1988), drawing on information from the historian Joan Reglà, states that in 1609 150 households of old Christians are recorded, amounting to some 600 inhabitants. Escolano (1611) tells us: "*Al lado de Quarte, derribada azia la ribera del Rio Turia, a una legua de Valencia, viene la Villa de Manizes, famosa por su vidriado y azulejos […] sus casas, entre Cristianos viejos y nuevos, llegan a ciento y setenta*" ("Next to Quart, towards the bank of the River Turia, one league from Valencia, stands the town of Manises, famous for its glazed pottery and tiles […] it has a hundred and seventy households, including both old and new Christians"). In 1612, however, Archbishop Fray Isidoro Aliaga personally visited the parish of Manises, which according to the parish records had 122 households or families, all of them old Christians, with a population of 420 faithful, of whom 327 were communicants, that is, over the age of ten. Moreover, the demographic evolution of Manises around 1600 shows that mortality increased sharply between 1592 and 1596 while the number of births remained steady, without taking account of the *Morisco* group (Iborra Lerma 1988). It seems clear that there was a serious problem of depopulation between the sixteenth century and the first few years of the seventeenth, perhaps due to the expulsion of the *Moriscos*. Significantly, attention is drawn to the expulsion of two *Morisco* families whose leading figures had been syndics or had performed political roles: Jaime Alazarah and the widow of Jaime Bogiot, deceased, known as Bogiota. The first of these was alderman for the new Christians in 1607, whilst Jaime Bogiot occupied the same post in 1584 and 1588, being descended from a family that had already held the position in 1515 (Nicolau 1987). Perhaps this has something to do with the point suggested above regarding the role of Felipe Boïl as royal commissioner for the expulsion.

Onomastics, on the other hand, does not do much to clarify the issues in the population analysis except when there are additional details in the documents. Thus, for example, the Murcis and their descendants were old Christians in 1610, whereas others named Guzmán, Sorolla, Piquer and Noguera were new Christians (Nicolau 1987: 190). It is worth pointing out that after 1610 we do not find any of the typical new Christian surnames that are recorded, for example, in a document describing a meeting held in 1571 (Nicolau 1987: 163). It is also significant that fewer of them are found at meetings of master potters in the seventeenth century. Indeed, in 1571, 13 *Morisco* potters were present, whilst from among the old Christians we can estimate that 11 potters attended, judging by the number of inhabitants. At the assembly on 28 July 1584, 13 *Morisco* and 22 Christian potters met. A shortage of lead and tin gave rise to another general meeting on 26 November 1595, at which 23 *Morisco* potters and 13 Christian residents were present. On 5 March 1609, Felipe Boïl summoned the *Moriscos* to discuss eliminating annuities, assembling 13 of them. After the upheaval of the expulsion, on 4 August 1610, a meeting of townspeople to discuss the upkeep of the Quart de Poblet irrigation channel brought together 52 potters and farmers, eleven fewer than in 1595. Finally, the guild meeting of 1625 recorded the names of 25 potters, a low figure if we compare it with those consistently found in the sixteenth century.

In 1605 the potters gathered in the *cofradía de San Hipólito* (confraternity of Saint Hippolytus), leading to the foundation of the potters' guild. Its first statutes were established in 1619 and periodically amended and expanded (1627, 1652, 1667, 1673, 1697, 1746, 1750, 1759) (Coll Conesa 2009a: 160—161). The regulations governed relations with the Lord of Manises regarding the rents and tributes he was due to receive, promoting clear protectionism towards the industry. They reveal that the number of master potters in attendance remained static over the course of the century at around thirty, which may indicate that the various workshops were passed down from father to son on a clearly regulated basis. We have no information on whether the manufacture of quality ceramics survived in Paterna or Valencia, although I suspect not, apart from tile-making, which became the main form of production in the capital. Indeed, the gifts of lustreware regularly presented to monarchs are not said to be "made in Valencia" ("*obra de Valencia*"), but in Manises, whilst Paterna, judging from the comments of Escolano and Viciana, specialised in ordinary pottery.

The ordinances of the confraternity established St Hippolytus, linked to the Catalan tra-

dition, as patron, replaced in 1746—49 by St Justa and St Rufina, from the Castilian tradition (Nicolau 1987). Their purposes were related to welfare and working practices, as they regulated apprenticeship and admission to mastership, the times involved, duties and examination fees payable to the Lord of Manises, the seigneurial authorisation required to be admitted to them, the local supply of raw materials, and services such as use of the varnish mill or provision of materials in the *Cambra de Plom* and feudal fees. They also laid down certain rules for sales within the territory of Manises or outside it, including resale of ware, among other issues.

Difficulties in the supply of raw materials due to wars led to shortages of lead and tin, necessitating technical modifications which are perceptible in lustreware. The glaze has a lower proportion or even a complete absence of tin as an opacifier and is applied to a bisque deliberately lightened in the first firing. The metallic lustre contains a larger amount of copper and less silver, slightly different in composition from medieval examples but still effective, resulting in a redder, more coppery colour. The blue is applied more dilute and overglaze, and therefore looks paler and more luminous, though less uniform.

In the eighteenth century the regulations were rewritten in Castilian, doubtless in compliance with the Nueva Planta decree of the new monarch, Philip V. Pérez Camps (1996) emphasises that the new versions imposed a reductionist protectionism which caused the stagnation of local production, leading to impoverishment of its technological standards and decorative range. The greatest differences compared with the previous rules involve the establishment of a regulation requiring that in order to become *Clavario* (Treasurer), members had to have served as *Compañero* (Companion), *Mayoral* (Steward), *Vehedor* (Overseer) or *Oidor* (Magistrate), as well as having at least eight years experience as a *Maestro* (master potter). They were elected on 19 July, the feast day of the new patron saints. The right to fire white, luster (called gold) or blue ware was restricted if one was not a master craftsman, and the payment of a sickness benefit to members of the Guild was established, whether they were masters, widows, journeymen or labourers. The 1759 regulations sought to consolidate a certain endogamy by prohibiting non-local labourers from being admitted to workshops in Manises unless they had been living in the town for two years and were registered in the Trade Book. The subsidy for invalids or widows of potters was refined; they now had to have a certificate from a doctor and were even prohibited from firing ungilded white or blue ware and obliged to submit accounts to the Treasurer and the Steward. The articles constantly refer to *obra dorada, blanca y azul* (gold, white and blue ware) and it is mentioned that lead may only be fritted in one's own *armele* (reverberatory kiln) or in that of the Trade. Regarding the marketing of ware, it was stipulated that payment in kind was prohibited, and also fraudulent contracts poaching customers from master potters belonging to the guild, and masters were even obliged to comply with the Valencian regulation of 1685 whereby one was not allowed to sell in the city unless one had first obtained a permit and a market stall. The *Caballero Intendente* (Gentleman Governor) even stipulated the weeks in which each master could sell, and indeed a limit was imposed on the load that could be brought on market day except during the two weeks before Christmas and Easter.

The regulations reveal disagreements with the feudal authorities over their pressure to retain control of production and high rents. The 1759 version involves the guild members defending themselves against their lord's demands and emphasises the arguments in favour of the ceramics produced in Manises by stating that *"semejante obra (dorado y blanco) es tan útil y conveniente que quasi no se puede pasar sin ella, maiormente no haviendo otra fábrica de obra de vidriado dorado en dicha ciudad de Valencia, ni en todo el Reyno, ni en toda España alguna otra por oficio o sin el"* ("such ware [gold and white] is so useful and beneficial that it is almost impossible to do without it, especially since there is no other lustreware factory in that city of Valencia, nor in the whole kingdom, nor any other in the whole of Spain either official or unofficial"). The text cited invokes alleged historical roots: *"y todos los dichos inconvenientes y demás que en su caso se dirán dimanan de […] los antiguos Capítulos de dicho Gremio de tiempos del Señor Rey don Jayme el Conquistador"* ("and all these problems and others that will be mentioned where appropriate arise from […] the old regulations of this guild from the time of King James the Conqueror"). The text mentions the difficulties in the provision of raw materials (firewood and ingredients, especially lead), due to existing rules and regulations, and states that five hundred quintals (hundredweight) of lead are consumed per year, requesting that it should be unloaded in Manises and not have to be purchased at the *estanco* (state monopoly office) in Valencia. This text was submitted for approval to the King and the Royal Council, which sought advice from the Royal Court of Justice; before the matter was resolved, however, an attempt was made to amend it by asking that the authorisation of the

lord, by then a marquis, should not be required to be admitted to the status of master craftsman. On 5 October 1780, after lengthy proceedings, the Court disallowed the new statutes. Subsequently the *Real Sociedad de Amigos del País* (Royal Society of Friends of the Country), in a report entitled *Rectificaciones de las ordenanzas de las artes y oficios* (Corrections to the ordinances of the applied arts) (1790), argued for standardisation of the training of craftsmen through "primers" drawn up by experts and of a general nature, outside the guild system.

Paterna

Paterna was assigned to the jurisdiction of the Duke of Villena, Henry of Aragon, in 1436. In the chronicle of his journey in 1484, von Popplau comments that blue pottery and lustreware (gold ware) was manufactured in Paterna. In the estimate of damage to the houses and workshops of Paterna compiled following the suppression of the Germanías revolt (1521), 78 workshops are mentioned, among which a *"fornet de coure obra de terra daurada"* ("small kiln for firing gilded pottery (lustreware)") is noted (Gimeno Rosselló 1995: 52). The chronicler Viciana (1564) comments that in this barony "*se labran muchos y muy buenos vasos de tierra, y tinajas grandes*" ("many very fine earthenware vessels and large jars are made"). Despite the general comments on the decline of production in Paterna at the end of the century, some potteries continued in operation, since on 13 February 1587 Maria Chichici, resident of Paterna, leased a workshop in that town to Joan Micó. On the other hand, Escolano (1611) indicates that at that time it was abandoned and ruined, and that out of its ruins "*la van reedificando de nuevo en lo baxo, al sabor de una fuente de agua dulce […] hoy es población de ciento y veinte casas*" ("it is being rebuilt anew in the lower part, close by a freshwater spring […] it is now a town of a hundred and twenty households") (remember that Manises had 122 in 1612).

In the early sixteenth century Paterna belonged to the first Duke of Segorbe, Henry of Aragon and Sicily (†1522), who ceded the ducal title in 1516 to his son Alfonso (†16/12/1563), born of Guiomar, daughter of the Duke of Braganza, on the occasion of Alfonso's marriage to Joana Folch de Cardona. Alfonso was succeeded by his second son, the 3rd Duke Francisco de Aragón Folch de Cardona (1539—1575), with whom the direct legitimate line of succession of the third dynasty of Aragon was extinguished (Van de Put 1911: 56; Viciana 1564). Alfonso de Aragón, as Viceroy of Valencia from 1559, executed the royal order to disarm the *Moriscos* in 1563.

The role of the Dukes with respect to ceramic production in Paterna is not as clear as in Manises. Although they maintained quarters in the town and had clear links with local industry, since lustreware pieces with their heraldic emblems exist, they are not known to have controlled the pottery trade in the way the Boïls did. It is fair to say that as far as ceramics were concerned, their jurisdiction was not exercised and organised in the same way as in Manises. The Infante Martín's Sicilian campaigns in 1392 had already led to the pledging of Paterna. A succession of loans followed and on 3 August 1430 King Alonso V once again pledged some of his towns to the city of Valencia to finance the war with Castile, including Paterna, Benaguacil and La Pobla (Alfonso Barberá 1977: 115 ss). In the sixteenth century this situation remained unchanged, since in 1520 the government of the city of Valencia — Lord of Paterna, La Pobla and Benaguacil — published the decree of free trade for Paterna earthenware. Viciana also reports that the lordship was pledged to the city of Valencia, and it is known that in the first third of the seventeenth century the Duke of Segorbe tried to recover full dominion over this jurisdiction, which he finally achieved in 1664 (Alfonso Barberá 1977: 117).

In 1521, the year the king's troops laid waste to the town while suppressing the *Germanías* revolt, 62% of Paterna's workshops belonged to old Christians, while the remaining 38% were the property of *Moriscos*. Productive activity was concentrated in two centres: the *Olleríes Majors* (major potteries), that is, the archaeological area known as *Testar del Molí*, with 33 workshops, and the *Olleríes Menors* (minor potteries), an area on the western edge of the centre of Paterna, with 45 workshops. These names may refer particularly, though not exclusively, to the type of material produced rather than the size of the potteries. In the *Olleríes Majors* 54% of the workshops belonged to old Christians and 32% to *Moriscos* (Gimeno Rosselló 1995: 61).

Overview of valencian medieval ceramics

Decorated tin-glazed earthenware began to appear in the kingdom of Valencia in the early fourteenth century, although both the technique and the decorative subjects it employs are found in Barcelona from the mid-thirteenth century and in Teruel from the second half of that century (Coll Conesa 2012a). The earliest pieces were painted in green and black on white with chivalric subjects which coincide with those ap-

Fig. 1. Dish decorated in green and purple (LVVNC series). Museo Nacional de Cerámica (Valencia, Spain), acc. nº CE1/00648.

Рис. 1. Блюдо, декорированное зеленой и пурпурной краской (серия LVVNC). Национальный Музей Керамики (Валенсия, Испания), № CE1/00648.

Fig. 3. Bowl, decorated in green and purple (LVVNX series). Museo de Cerámica (Paterna, Valencia).

Рис. 3. Чаша, декорированная зеленой и пурпурной краской (серия LVVNX). Национальный Музей Керамики (Патерна, Валенсия).

Fig. 2. Bowl decorated in green and purple (LVVNE series). Museo Nacional de Cerámica, acc. nº CE1/00561.

Рис. 2. Чаша, декорированная зеленой и пурпурной краской (серия LVVNE). Национальный Музей Керамики, № CE1/00561.

Fig. 4. Lustreware bowl (LVMD series). Incrusted in the tower facade of San Francisco de Pina de Ebro (Zaragoza, Spain). Second quarter 14th century.

Рис. 4. Люстровая чаша (серия LVMD). Инкрустация на фасаде башни монастыря Св. Франциска в Пина-де-Эбро (Сарагоса, Испания). Вторая половина XIV в.

plied in coffered ceilings, wall paintings and illuminated manuscripts: coats of arms, castles, dancing women, mermaids, but also representations of animals or zoomorphic chimeras, and there are some with epigraphic decorations in Arabic. This group, produced by individuals trained in the prevailing aesthetic canons, with the participation of Muslims (Mudejars), is known as classic green and black Valencian earthenware (Coll Conesa 2009a) (LVVNC: *loza valenciana verde y negro clásica*) (Fig. 1). Their potteries were in the territory controlled by the city of Valencia, in Paterna, Manises and also in the city itself. Some pieces display motifs executed in a rougher and more simplified manner (developed decoration, LVVNE) (Fig. 2). Finally, a group which predominated in the second half of the fourteenth century just has green and black strokes arranged in

Fig. 5. Lustreware bowl (LVDMA series). Incrusted in the facade of Santa Susanna in Busachi (Sardinia). Second quarter of 14th century.

Рис. 5. Люстровая чаша (серия LVDMA). Инкрустация на фасаде церкви Санта Сусанна в Бузаки (Сардиния). Вторая половина XIV века.

Fig. 6. Bowl in lustreware and cobalt blue. Pula Type (LVDP series). Museo Nacional de Cerámica. Council of Valencia coll. acc. nº. D06/01269.

Рис. 6. Люстровая чаша с сине-кобальтовым фоном. Тип Пула (серия LVDP). Национальный Музей Керамики. Коллекция Совета Валенсии, №D06/01269.

Fig. 7. Basin. Muhammadan decoration in lustreware and cobalt (LVDCM series). Museo Nacional de Cerámica, acc. nº. CE1/01546.

Рис. 7. Миска, люстр. Магометанский орнамент, с росписью кобальтом (серия LVDCM). Национальный Музей Керамики, №CE1/01546.

a radial pattern (schematic decoration, LVVNX) (Fig. 3). Although these ceramics were exported to the south of France, Italy, Mediterranean islands and the interior of the Iberian peninsula, their distribution was limited, but they have also been found in Fustat (Rooser-Owen 2012: 88).

Fig. 8. Basin. Bryony pattern in lustreware and cobalt (LVDC series). Museo Nacional de Cerámica, acc. nº. CE1/01563.

Рис. 8. Миска, люстр, украшенная цветами, с росписью кобальтом (серия LVDC). Национальный Музей Керамики, № CE1/01563.

Fig. 9. Dish. Dotted Flowers pattern in lustreware and cobalt (LVDC series). Museo Nacional de Cerámica, acc. nº. CE1/16802.

Рис. 9. Блюдо, люстр. Точечный цветочный орнамент с росписью кобальтом (серия LVDC). Национальный Музей Керамики, № CE1/16802.

The spread of the earliest lustreware produced in the Valencian region was a very different matter. The fame previously attained by Hispano-Islamic, and especially Nasrid, lustreware from the late thirteenth century onwards led to an upsurge of interest in controlling and marketing it, and its production in Manises is documented from 1325 (Coll Conesa 2012b). Researchers have classified it under the term Málaga-style Valencian lustreware (LVMD: loza valenciana malagueña dorada), as there is no doubt at all that it was produced in imitation of Nasrid lustreware, made in the cities of Málaga and possibly Almería, given that medieval documents relating to orders placed with Valencian potters refer to it as "opus terre Maleche" or "opus terra daurati". The earliest pieces were small, probably because of the difficulty of the lustre technique, and they have subjects similar to the earthenware decorated in green and black, such as heads of warriors or zoomorphs inspired by Islamic models. Others display stylised plant motifs, such as cordiform leaves (Fig. 4), also similar to motifs on green and black decorated earthenware. From 1333 the documents mention the presence of a new colour together with gold, safra or cobalt, referring to "opus terra daurati cum safra". Gold and blue lustreware (LVMDA: *loza valenciana malagueña dorada y azul*) (Fig. 5) was already distributed over a vast area covering the Hispanic kingdoms of the peninsula and reaching France, English, the Netherlands, Germany, the islands of the western Mediterranean and Egypt (Coll Conesa 2012b; Ray 2000: cat. 117). The end of these series may have coincided with the catastrophe caused by the Black Death, as revealed by archaeological sites and deserted areas abandoned on this account. However, it was in the second half of the fourteenth century that Valencian lustreware attained its maximum distribution in the Mediterranean and on the continent, with the earthenware belonging to the group called "Pula type" (Blake et al. 1992) (LVDP: *loza valenciana dorada Pula*) (Fig. 6). This is characterised by new morphologies, it includes larger pieces, and in particular, unlike the earlier series it shows motifs treated using the resist technique; epigraphs or lotuses highlighted in white on a background of metopes painted in lustre. According to recent research, it was distributed as far afield as Gdansk and Elblag (Nawrolska 2003) on the Baltic, Moscow, Bilär and the Black Sea coast (Koval 1996; 1998; 2002; 2010), as well as the Crimea (Teslenko 2009) in continental Europe. We know that it reached Syria and Palestine, and Egypt (Kühnel 1942), and that it was common on the Mediterranean coasts of Africa. The Pula type usually has abstract motifs or epigraphs in Arabic, but on some pieces we see gazelles or peacocks face to face either side of the hom, or even anthropomorphs with characters dressed in long tunics, which relates these decorations to other lustreware from the Nasrid kingdom and to the series which were to influence later Islamic-

Fig. 10. Dish. Ivy leaves pattern in lustreware and cobalt (LVDC series). Museo Nacional de Cerámica, acc. nº. CE1/16804.

Рис. 10. Блюдо, люстр, украшенное листьями плюща, с росписью кобальтом (серия LVDC). Национальный Музей Керамики, №CE1/16804.

Fig. 11. Dish. geometric pattern (LVDC series). Museo Nacional de Cerámica, acc. nº. CE1/16803.

Рис. 11. Блюдо с геометрическим орнаментом (серия LVDC). Национальный Музей Керамики, №CE1/16803.

Fig. 12. Dish. Dots and stalks pattern (LVDCO series). Museo Nacional de Cerámica, acc. nº. CE1/16805.

Рис. 12. Блюдо, орнаментированное точками и стеблями растений (серия LVDCO). Национальный Музей Керамики, № CE1/16805.

style classic Valencian products (LVDCM) or muhamaddan (Fig. 7), as A.W. Frothingham (1951) called them. The fifteenth century is characterised by Valencian lustreware of the classic group (LVDC) being valued as luxury objects among wealthy merchants, nobles, prelates of the Church and kings and popes. Not only did Muslim-influenced decorations continue; new motifs inspired by natural and plant elements were incorporated, very often taken from fabrics and even from oriental silks, such as "bryony" (Fig. 8), widely used for his own tablewares by merchants in Tuscany and Liguria (Spallanzani 2006), "dotted flowers" (Fig. 9), "trefoils", "ivy leaf" or "ilex" (Fig. 10), daisy, half orange or geometric pattern (Fig. 11), and these decorations often surround the heraldic emblems which dominate the composition. Thus, for example, the coats of arms of nobles and kings of Aragon and Castile, Sicily and Naples, the Dukes of Burgundy and the House of Brabant can be seen on many of these pieces. From the last quarter of the fifteenth century imitation of metalwork pieces was introduced with the so-called silversmith style of lustreware (LVDCO: *loza valenciana dorada orfebre*), which exhibits ornamental microelements: dots and stalks (Fig. 12), "tiny ivy leaves" or little flowers and seeds, "thistles" and geometric subjects such as so-called "spurs". Its commercial distribution was widened, extending to the south of Africa and to the Indian Ocean, where it has been found in Vohemar (Madagascar) (Amigues 2011) and also in Angola and Mozambique, and after 1492 it reached America. But together with these types of lustreware, which began to fall into decline in the first decades of the sixteenth century, others decorated just in cobalt blue on white were also distributed from the last quarter of the fourteenth century (Coll Conesa 2009b). Among them we can distinguish three major groups according to their decoration. The first, schematic blue Valencian majolica (LVAE; *loza valenciana azul esquemática*), has stylised or schematic phytomorphic elements scattered over the interior of plates or bowls (Fig. 13). The second group, simple blue Valencian majolica (LVAS: *loza valenciana azul simple*) exhibits a radial decoration of palmettes and has been located in France, Italy and the Mediterranean, extending as far as Cherny Terik (Black Sea) (Fig. 14). The third, complex blue Valencian majolica (LVAC; *loza valenciana azul compleja*), displays decoration in parallel bands, and as well as being widely distributed in Europe it has been found in Alushta and Funa

Fig. 13. Basin. Blue and white (LVAE series). Museo Nacional de Cerámica.

Рис. 13. Миска. Роспись синей и белой краской (серия LVAE). Национальный Музей Керамики.

Fig. 14. Bowl, blue and white (LVAS series). Waster from Manises workshops (excavation Val17, 2015).

Рис. 14. Чаша. Роспись синей и белой краской (серия LVAS). Производственный брак из мастерских Манисеса (раскоп Val17, 2015).

(Crimea) (Fig. 15). In this case, the blue colour on white, the motifs in the border and the composition seem to reflect echoes of Chinese porcelain produced in the reign of the Emperor Hongwu (1368—1398).

The Mediterranean distribution of post-medieval Valencian ceramics

The decorative styles and forms of Manises wares produced in this period have been presented before here and in general surveys by several authors, and I shall therefore not embark on a detailed description of them.

Sixteenth century

The point of interest here is to establish that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, despite the above-mentioned decline of these centres, determined by the factors on which I have commented, we still find Valencian lustreware circulating as a highly prized product in the Mediterranean and Atlantic regions. Evidence of this is the jug from the Confraternità dei Laici in the Museo Nazionale d'Arte Medievale e Moderna in Arezzo (Inv. no. 14820) bearing the Medici coat of arms that we also see on the plate in the Museo Civico in Bolonia, on the reverse of which are displayed, in addition, the arms of Leo X (1513—1521) flanked by the motto GLO VIS and SI VOLG [E LA FORTUNA], attributed to the Gonfaloniere Giuliano de Medici (Francovich, Gelichi 1986). The presence of motifs on both

Fig. 15. Bowl, blue and white (LAVAC series). Waster from Manises workshops (excavation Val17, 2015).

Рис. 15. Чаша. Роспись синей и белой краской (серия LAVAC). Производственный брак из мастерских Манисеса (раскоп Val17, 2015).

pieces such as the schematic epigraph "in principio erat verbum", and the florets, striped seeds and bars from the "golden bands" group (Coll Conesa 2009a: 116 and 118) (Fig. 16), seem to support a dating between the first and second decades of the century. However, there is another plate with the Medici arms in the Cluny Museum (Dectot, Makariou, Miraudot 2008: 104—105). This piece, in the "silversmith style" (LVDCO), presents an exuberant profusion of elements in

Fig. 16. Dish decorated with schematic motto "in principio erat verbum", florets, striped seeds and bars from the "golden bands" series. Museo Nacional de Cerámica, acc. nº CE1/11133.

Рис. 16. Блюдо, украшенное схематическим девизом «in principio erat verbum» («В начале было Слово»), цветами, заштрихованными семенами растений и поперечными полосами из серии «золотые перевязи». Национальный Музей Керамики, № CE1/11133.

relief, with rosettes and split diamonds, characteristic of the sixteenth century and more typical of the period of Clement VII (1523—1534).

These Medici pieces may be examples of gifts from Valencian dignitaries rather than direct commissions, but the fact that they were preserved indicates the esteem in which they were still held. Bourgeois markets still bear witness to the Mediterranean distribution of Valencian majolica, recorded, for example, in the gabelle of Avignon at the end of the sixteenth century and the trade taxes of Aix-en-Provence (1584), and it is found in inventories of apothecaries' shops (Tarascon 1529; Berre 1547). Archaeology has revealed the existence of cargoes in shipwrecks, such as La Lomellina, which sank off Villefranche-sur-Mer in 1516 (Amouric, Richez, Vallauri 1999), or terrestrial sites in Cagliari, Syracuse (Platamone and Fiorilla 2005; Fiorilla 2005), Lyon (Hory 2002; Pomarede 2002), Silves (Varela, Varela 1991) and the Portuguese North African colony of Qsar es-Seghir, abandoned in 1550 (Redman 1979; 1980; 1986). In the first of these places a plate is documented with the "leaf band" motif, a series we can date thanks to the large jug with the heraldic emblem of Jaume Valls, Abbot of Santes Creus (1534—1560). In this period they were still plentiful on the Atlantic routes of northern Europe, as is demonstrated by widespread finds in Great Britain (Gerrard et al. 1995; Gutiérrez 2000) (Fig. 17).

Seventeenth century

The crisis in Spanish society precipitated by the almost constant state of war and the expulsion of the *Moriscos* further curtailed the commercial presence of Valencian lustreware in the Mediterranean. They still strove to maintain their prestige in the face of the innovative Renaissance majolicas and copies of Chinese porcelain which established themselves as models. They were still prized by high society, as we can see from their presence in paintings, such as the still life by Antonio Pereda in the Hermitage Museum (1652) which shows majolicas from Talavera and Manises, Chinese porcelain and Mexican vessels from Tonalá side by side. Some armorial wares offer evidence of this prestige, as illus-

Fig. 17. Bowl, morisco ware, with late resist technique. Museo Nacional de Cerámica, acc. nº CE1/01643.

Рис. 17. Чаша в стиле «мориско», в поздней технике заливки фона. Национальный Музей Керамики, № CE1/01643.

Fig. 18. Bowl, morisco ware, with late resist technique and "split leaves". Museo Nacional de Cerámica, acc. nº CE1/08978.

Рис. 18. Чаша в стиле «мориско», в поздней технике заливки фона и с узором в виде «рассеченных листьев». Национальный Музей Керамики, № CE1/08978.

Fig. 19. Dish, morisco ware with pattern "split leves". Museo Nacional de Cerámica, acc. nº CE1/14618.

Рис. 19. Блюдо в стиле «мориско» с узором в виде «рассеченных листьев». Национальный Музей Керамики, № CE1/14618.

trated by the pair of vases bearing the arms of the Borghese family of Siena together with two busts of warriors (Hispanic Society). Van de Put (1911: 66—68) attributed them to Pope Paul V (Camilo Borghese 1605—1621), suggesting that they might perhaps have been a gift from Cardinal Gaspar Borgia, son of the sixth Duke of Gandía (1611—1645). On these vases we

can see the new decorations developed in metallic lustre, with the ornamental "split leaves" motif, introduced shortly after 1600 (Coll Conesa 2009a: 124—130) (Figs. 18; 19). Another interesting piece is the heraldic vase dedicated to Cardinal d'Este (British Museum) with the inscription "Ille Sor Cardl Deste In Urbe Ro". It probably belonged to Rinaldo d'Este (cardinal between 1637 and 1672) or to Alessandro d'Este (cardinal between 1598 and 1624). Frothingham (1951) was of the opinion that it was made in Reus in the mid-sixteenth century, although we now know that it is undoubtedly of Valencian manufacture (Wilson 1995: 339—351; Coll Conesa 2009a: 131) (Fig. 20). From the middle of the century the new pattern of "lined leaves" became established in Manises; we can see it on two flowerpots displaying the heraldic arms of the regent Don Juan of Austria (1677—1679) (Victoria & Albert Museum) (Van de Put 1911; Coll Conesa 2009a: 134), and also on four plates bearing the emblem of an unknown archbishop and decorated with several couples of ladies and gentlemen in various costumes or the typical quadrupeds and birds with striped bodies (Cluny Museum) (Dectot, Taburet-Delhaye 2007; Coll Conesa 2009a: 134) (Fig. 21).

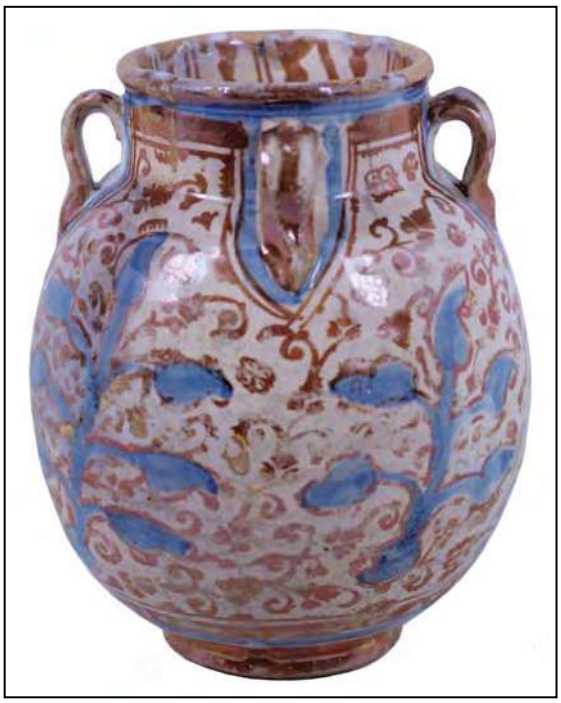

Fig. 20. Jar showing the same decoration of the Cardinal Rinaldo's vase. Museo Nacional de Cerámica, acc. nº CE1/03109.

Рис. 20. Кувшин с тем же декором, что и на вазе Кардинала Ринальдо. Национальный Музей Керамики, № CE1/03109.

Fig. 21. Dish. Lustreware decorated with quadrupeds and birds with striped bodies and "lined leaves". Museo Nacional de Cerámica, acc. nº CE1/3119.

Рис. 21. Блюдо, люстр. Роспись с изображением четвероногих животных и птиц с заштрихованными телами и «листьями, нанесёнными тонкой линией». Национальный Музей Керамики, № CE1/3119.

Fig. 22. Dish. Lustreware decorated with "escamas" or "concentric semicircles" and "scales" pattern. Museo Nacional de Cerámica, acc. nº CE1/1679.

Рис. 22. Блюдо, люстр. Роспись с изображением «концентрических полукружий» и «чешуек». Национальный Музей Керамики, № CE1/1679.

Gold lustreware from this period has been found in Cagliari and Syracuse. In the former, plates decorated with the motif of leaves with bands, decoration we can see on the big jug with heraldry of the abbot Jaume Valls of Santes Creus (1534—1560) (Coll Conesa 2009a: 134). Also the "concentric semicircles" or scales are documented, dating from the end of the century (Coll Conesa 2009a: 136—137) (Fig. 22). In Syracuse we have a large lustreware plate with a blue solid bouquet motif, typically found with the decorations from this period (Coll Conesa 2009a: 135—137). Most of these decorations are found on dishes and jugs preserved in Narbonne, where arrived frequently (Amigues 1994), and in the Uffici in Florence (Marini 2003). The influence of Iznik pottery is evoked by the "carnation bush" motif often joined to "Pardalot" or "Big Bird" (Fig. 23), started in the last quarter of the XVIIth century and extensively used through the next.

Eighteenth century

The new century was marked by the dynastic change brought about by the reign of

Fig. 23. Dish. Lustreware decorated with "clavelinas" and "Pardalot" motifs. Museo Nacional de Cerámica, acc. nº CE1/1649.

Рис. 23. Блюдо, люстр. Роспись с изображением «гвоздик» и «Радужных птиц». Национальный Музей Керамики, № CE1/1649.

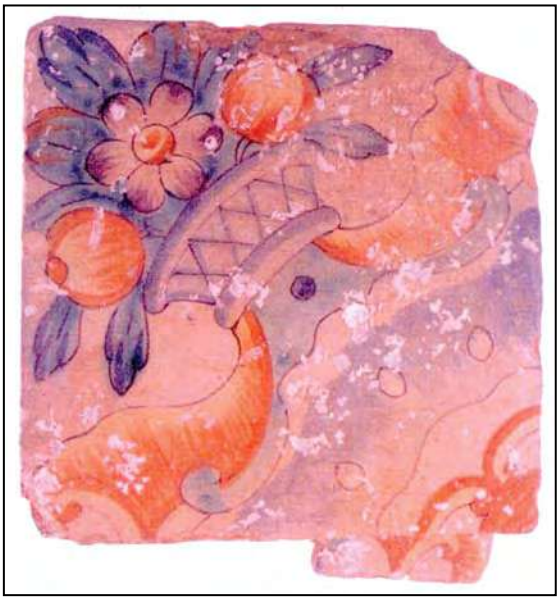

Fig. 24. Valencian tile found in the Pointe de Beauduc shipwreck (France), sank in 1771. Taked from Amouric, Richez and Vallauri, 1999.

Рис. 24. Валенсийская плитка, найденная в остове судна, затонувшего у Пуэн-де-Бодюк (Франция) в 1771 г. (по Amouric, Richez and Vallauri, 1999).

Fig. 25. Valencian tile preserved in the National Museum of History and Art at Tlemcen. Last quarter of XVIIIth century.

Рис. 25. Валенсийская плитка из фондов Национального Музея Искусств и Истории в Тлемсене (Алжир). Последняя четверть XVIII века.

Philip V, the first king of the Bourbon dynasty, ushered in by the War of the Spanish Succession (1701—1713), which was motivated by the desire of the European powers to curtail the hegemony of France. The new court spurred an aesthetic renaissance and new systems of organising production by promoting the *Reales Fábricas* (Royal Factories) as a reflection of the doctrines of the minister Colbert, responsible for modernising the French economy under Louis XIV, the grandfather of the new king of Spain. It also introduced new concepts into antiquated Spanish society, the ideals of the Enlightenment and a unifying political vision opposed to the privileges of class, the Church and certain regions with special administrative and legal regimes, such as the Crown of Aragon, in favour of constructing a new nation unified under the authority of an absolute sovereign who represented the modernisation of the state. Having stifled the rebellion of those regions that supported a successor to the throne from the Austrian dynasty, driven partly by hatred of France, the enemy of Spain for the previous fifty years, and also by the desire to defend their particular form of government, which was under threat from the new regime, Philip V managed to provide a certain stability and put the crumbling economy back on a sound footing.

In ceramics a drastic rift opened up between the production system based on guild workshops, inherited from the medieval period, outdated and incapable of organising itself to meet the new demands of society, and the manufacturing model. The latter represented a capitalised system of production, with an investor who was not a member of the trade and a production process carried out by specialists trained not so much in the guild system as in the new disciplines of science and technology, rationalism and the academy.

The major new development in this century was the burgeoning tile industry, the centre of which was established in the city of Valencia. Those involved in it included painters like Dionís Vidal and Hipólito Rovira, who acted as designers and product directors, as well as various specialists in ceramic painting and firing. A range of references testify to the favourable impression these factories made on contemporaries and travellers. In 1738, for example, the chronicler Pascual Esclapés mentioned the Valencian tiles being made for the Royal Palace in Madrid. In 1762 the Jesuit Tomás Serrano commented that the city had five factories, and the French traveller Gourmay referred to them in 1778. They were also cited by Marcos Antonio de Orellana (1780) and Tomás Ricord (1793), whilst the French writer Jean François Bourgogne praised the quality of their products and their wide distribution in 1797. The most highly regarded factories in the second half of the eighteenth century were those of Vicente Navarro, Manuel Alapont, Josep Cola, Onofre Pedrón and Alejandro Faure, the last of

Fig. 26. Alcora's tray with the arms of Beltrani, c. 1750. Museo Nacional de Cerámica, acc. nº CE1—15235.

Рис. 26. Поднос из Алькоры с гербом Бельтрани, около 1750. Национальный Музей Керамики, № CE1—15235.

which was subsequently acquired by Marcos Antonio Disdier and led to the foundation of the Real Fábrica de Azulejos de Valencia (Valencia Royal Tile Factory) in 1795 (Pérez Guillén 1990, 2005).

Valencian tiles were already being exported in the seventeenth century to Cagliari, still under Spanish rule, where there is a ceramic panel with the "arms of the Lord Archbishop" Francisco de Esquivel (1605—1624), combined with "diamond point" tiles, in the Cripta dei Sancti Innumerabiles of the Cathedral. In the Chiesa di San Domenico (of the Order of Preachers) there is also a heraldic device, possibly the personal arms of St Lucifer, Bishop of Cagliari, which must date from after 1683. There are further serial tiles in the Chiesa di Sant'Efisio. Those in the Chiesa della Purissima, and those in the Capella della Pietà and the Capella della Confraternità dell'Orazione e della Morte of the Chiesa del Santo Sepolcro, are from the eighteenth century, and there are others in San Francesco di Stampace (Porcella, Dadea 1997; Dadea, Porcella 1997).

The wreck located in France at Pointe de Beauduc, which sank in 1771, was carrying Valencian tiles with flower and rocaille motifs (Amouric, Richez, Vallauri 1999) (Fig. 24). We also known that tiles from Valencia reached Topkapi Palace in Istanbul, where they were installed in the Courtyard of the Concubines (research carried out by Amouric and Vallauri); these were decorated with ribbons with fruit and flowers. They also reached Algeria and Tunisia, inspiring local production of Quallaline (Álvarez Dopico 2009), although some tiles of Valencian origin, from ruined buildings, are preserved in the Musée National d'Art et d'Histoire de Tlemcen (Fig. 25).

At Alcora a Real Manufactura (Royal Factory) was established, founded by the Lord of the town, Buenaventura Pedro de Alcántara Abarca de Bolea, Count of Aranda, in 1727. It was an example of enlightenment modernisation which implemented a system of regulation and production by specialised departments under the direction of technical specialists, almost always foreign, and introduced French taste and imitation porcelain, as well as decoration of a thoroughly academic character, executed by staff trained from childhood in the factory's own school (Coll Conesa 2009a: 177 ss). Its output of hundreds of thousands of pieces and stocks in the millions was directed to Spanish markets overseas, mostly in Latin America, but its products have not been identified by archaeolo-

gists in Mediterranean ports, perhaps because of their similarity to those of other contemporary factories such as Moustiers, Marseilles or Turin, although they must certainly have been distributed through them. However, it is known alcora's Beltrani tableware made for the family, based in Salerno and Trani (Soler Ferrer 2010) (Fig. 26). The influence of a decoration inspired in lace, called "Orla Bérain" — after a French designer Jean de Bérain — or french border, is then seen on lustreware dishes with the carnation motif.

We have had more success in identifying the presence of eighteenth-century Manises ware in Cagliari and Arezzo, probably indicating the existence of late distribution of those products. It is not easy to present an archaeological map of their spread, given the scarcity of sources describing late finds of this kind, which only tend to be mentioned when they are attributed to earlier periods.

Conclusion

The commercial distribution of higher quality Valencian majolica, generally always gold lustreware, declined in the sixteenth century because of a loss of appreciation in the market compared with polychrome ware or Chinese porcelain and because of social problems which impeded its production. Nevertheless, some emblematic pieces with heraldic devices of eminent personages continued to be made at intervals over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the Mediterranean area it also remained closely linked to territories related to the former Crown of Aragon (Tuscany, Sardinia, Sicily, Naples and the south of France), but also to the trade routes of italian mercants that reached the Black Sea. International trade brought them also to América and Africa from late XV century. In the eighteenth century polychrome tiling emerged as a new product which achieved recognition in foreign markets, not only reaching distant places such as Istanbul, but also creating a new taste which led to local imitation of its designs in centres like Quallaline (Tunisia).

Beyond these products, Alcora produced the highest quality Valencian ware in the eighteenth century, although it seems to have supplied only Spanish markets, where royal privileges compensated for its high production and distribution costs. The scarcity of archaeological documentation may, however, be due to the fact that Mediterranean archaeology has hitherto paid little attention to these late wares, which, moreover, were very similar in all European factories, making them more difficult to identify archaeologically.

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La maiolica di Castelli (TE) nell'Adriatico Orientale fra XVI e XVIII secolo. Attuali conoscenze e prospettive di ricerca

Keywords: Adriatica, Castelli, Early Modern period, post-medieval pottery, italian maiolica, material culture, dining habits, archaeological and archivial sources

Ключевые слова: Адриатика, Кастелли, раннее Новое время, позднесредневековая керамика, итальянская майолика, материальная культура, пищевые предпочтения, археологические и архивные источники

V. Verrocchio

Castelli (Italy) Maiolica in the Eastern Adriatic between 16th and 17th Centuries. Current Knowledge and Research Perspectives

The Adriatic Sea has been for centuries a crossroads where ethnically, culturally and religiously different communities have found an opportunity to meet, creating a dense set of relationships and cultural connections.

The study of the evolution of dietary practices and convivial habits is an interesting observatory to deepen the knowledge on the interactions between these communities over the time. In this perspective the role of ceramics, as material well directly related to the consumption of food, acquires great significance beyond the mere value of commercial traffic indicator.

Specifically the function of maiolica, pottery mainly linked to the tables, lends itself to shed light on the dietary practices and convivial table habits, where the socio-cultural identities are subject to numerous forms of contamination. The study of the diffusion of Italian maiolica on the east Adriatic coast is therefore a way to enhance our understanding of cultural influences between East and West in the early centuries of the Modern Age.

This paper analyzes the phenomenon of the spread of Italian maiolica and in particular of that produced in Castelli (Teramo, Abruzzo) in the Eastern Adriatic in the Early Modern Age (c. 1550—1700). The recent interest of scholars on the circulation of post-medieval ceramics in the Eastern Mediterranean has highlighted new archaeological contexts that also returned maiolica from Castelli. The analysis of the state of knowledge firstly allows us to outline the contours of the phenomenon and then draw future research developments.

В. Верокккьо

Майолика из Кастелли (провинция Терамо) на восточном адриатическом побережье в XVI—XVIII вв. Современный уровень знаний и перспективы исследований

Адриатическое море издавна было перекрестком различных в этническом, культурном и религиозном плане культур — местом их встречи, тесных контактов и культурных связей.

Изучение динамики кулинарных и бытовых привычек являет собой интересный объект для наблюдения, позволяющий расширить наши знания о взаимодействии этих культур во времени. В этой связи роль керамики как материала, непосредственно связанного с потреблением пищи, приобретает большое значение, выходящее за рамки своей ценности в качестве показателя торговых связей.

В частности, назначение майолики — керамических изделий, относящихся, в основном, к столовой утвари, позволяет пролить свет на кулинарно-бытовые практики, где социально-культурные специфические черты подвергаются разнообразной контаминации. Изучение распространения итальянской майолики на восточноадриатическом побережье, таким образом, помогает нам лучше понять культурные влияния между Востоком и Западом в первые века раннего Нового времени.

В статье анализируется феномен распространения итальянской майолики и, в частности, изделий производства Кастелли (Терамо, Абруццо) на восточноадриатическом побережье в начале Нового времени (ок. 1550—1700). Актуальный интерес ученых к хождению позднесредневековой керамики в восточном Средиземноморье позволил выявить новые археологические контексты, в которых также проявилась майолика из Кастелли. Анализ состояния изученности этой проблемы, в первую очередь, позволит нам обозначить этот феномен, а затем и составить планы на его будущие исследования.

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1. Premessa

"…*un organismo, un sistema di sistemi, uno spazio culturale di convergenze e divergenze, un confine, un ponte, appunto: un Mediterraneo nel Mediterraneo*". Queste parole di E. Ivetic (2014) che descrivono l'Adriatico sintetizzano in maniera esemplare la complessità dell'ambito geografico che fa da sfondo a questo studio, il bacino marittimo come insieme di realtà locali profondamente diverse che si specchiano su di esso. L'area costiera balcanica affacciata sull'Adriatico nella prima Età Moderna (XVI—XVIII secolo) era difatti un luogo di confini multipli: quelli geopolitici imposti dai poteri dominanti della Repubblica di Venezia, dell'Impero Asburgico e Ottomano, quelli confessionali fra cattolicesimo, ortodossia e islam, quelli linguistici fra comunità di tradizione latina e di lingua slava ed ancora quelli geografici fra litorale e area interna, confini di società e di culture diverse fra loro.

A partire dall'Istria si snodavano città e territori appartenuti allo *Stato da mar* (Dalmazia veneziana), cui si aggiungevano gli sbocchi della corona imperiale ed i territori della Repubblica di Ragusa. Più a sud le Bocche di Cattaro, l'Albania veneziana e i territori albanesi sotto il dominio turco per finire, sullo Ionio, con la colonia veneziana di Corfù ed i territori greco-ottomani (Lane 1978; Cozzi, Knapton, Scarabello 1992; Crevato-Selvaggi 2014; Dursteler 2013; Ivetic 2014). A questa frammentazione della sponda orientale si rispecchia l'assetto geopolitico italiano, con la Serenissima a Nord, lo Stato Pontificio e infine le province del Regno di Napoli.

Non è difficile immaginare la ragnatela di relazioni fra città e porti delle due sponde che nell'Adriatico trovarono il principale luogo d'incontro e di comunicazione. Imbarcazioni d'ogni nazionalità solcarono questo fluido crocevia alimentando traffici e scambi di ogni sorta di bene materiale animando altresì gli scambi di beni immateriali, fondamenta culturali delle società che vi si affacciavano.

Lo studio dell'evoluzione delle pratiche alimentari e delle abitudini conviviali costituisce un interessante osservatorio per approfondire le conoscenze sulle interazioni fra tali comunità nel corso del tempo. In questa prospettiva il ruolo della ceramica, come bene direttamente connesso alla preparazione, conservazione e consumo del cibo, acquista grande significato superando il puro e semplice valore di indicatore di traffici commerciali (Vroom, Waksman, von Oosten 2014). In particolare la funzione della maiolica, ceramica di qualità a rivestimento stannifero prevalentemente destinata alla mensa, si presta a far luce su pratiche alimentari e abitudini conviviali specifiche del consumo di cibo a tavola. In quest'ottica l'analisi della diffusione della maiolica italiana in area balcanica ed egea rappresenta un modo per approfondire gli influssi culturali fra Occidente e Oriente nella prima Età Moderna (Vroom 2003; Bikić 2006).

Questo lavoro fornisce un primo contributo allo studio della diffusione della maiolica di

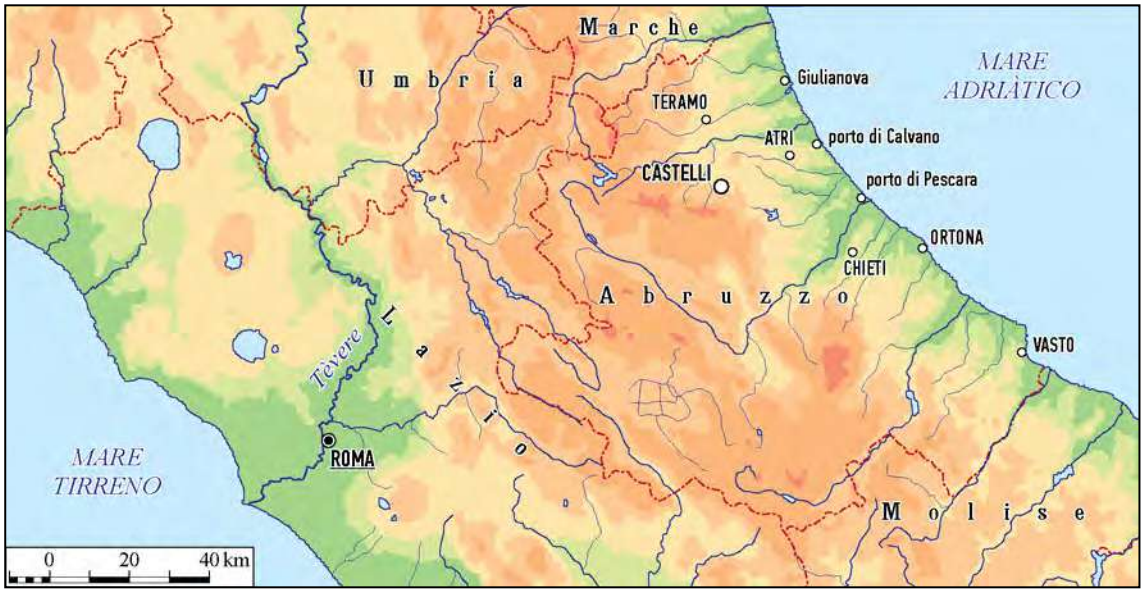

Fig. 1. Ubicazione di Castelli in Abruzzo e altri luoghi citati nel testo. (Il materiale illustrativo, laddove non diversamente indicato, è opera dell'autore).

Рис. 1. Локализация Кастелли в Абруццо и других пунктов, упоминаемых в тексте. (Весь иллюстративный материал выполнен автором, если не указано иначе).

Fig. 2. Diffusione della maiolica di Castelli sulla base dei rinvenimenti archeologici (Abruzzo escluso). Tipo 1: Maiolica con decori di stile compendiario (ultimo quarto del XVI — inizi XVII secolo); Tipo 2: Maiolica di stile tardo compendiario (secondo — ultimo quarto del XVII secolo); Tipo 3: Maiolica con decoro a sequenza di foglie policrome (secondo e terzo quarto del XVII secolo); Tipo 4: Maiolica con decoro a coroncina (XVIII — inizi XIX secolo); Tipo 5: Maiolica con decoro a pizzetto (seconda metà XVIII — inizi XIX secolo).

Рис. 2. Распространение майолики из Кастелли на основании археологических находок (кроме Абруццо). Тип 1: майолика, в компендиарном стиле (последняя четверть XVI — начало XVII века); Тип 2: майолика, в позднем компендиарном стиле (вторая — последняя четверть XVII века); Тип 3: майолика, украшенная полихромными слоями (вторая и третья четверть XVII века); Тип 4: майолика, украшенная коронами (XVIII — начало XIX века); Тип 5: майолика, украшенная защипами (вторая половина XVIII — начало XIX века).

Castelli (Teramo, Abruzzo) nell'Adriatico orientale fra XVI e XVIII secolo, reso oggi possibile grazie al recente sviluppo degli studi archeologici sulle ceramiche postmedievali nel bacino orientale del Mediterraneo (Böhlendorf-Arslan, Osman Uysal, Witte-Orr 2007; Vroom 2005; Guštin, Gelichi, Spindler 2006; Gelichi 2009). L'analisi dello stato delle conoscenze permette in primis di delineare i contorni del fenomeno per poi tracciare futuri sviluppi della ricerca.

2. Sintesi delle conoscenze

2.1. Italia

Il centro di Castelli (Fig. 1), in passato noto esclusivamente per le maioliche prodotte nella stagione artistica barocca, ha vissuto una fase di riscoperta a partire dagli anni ’80 del secolo scorso che ha portato, con l’apporto degli scavi archeologici, ad una prima definizione delle tipologie ceramiche d’uso comune d’Età Moderna (AA. VV. 1985; AA.VV. 1989). Successivamente una serie di scavi e ricognizioni sul territorio regionale ha permesso di delineare dei primi quadri di distribuzione regionali ed extraregionali delle maioliche castellane fra Cinque e Settecento (Staffa, Pannuzi 1997; 1999; Troiano 2002; Verrocchio 2002).

Il primo dato evidenziatosi era la diffusione regionale capillare soprattutto fra seconda metà del Cinque e Seicento, periodo in cui la maiolica di Castelli monopolizza il mercato locale, con le tipologie dei “bianchi” di stile compendiario e tardo compendiario. D. Troiano (2002) sintetizzando tali conoscenze ha fornito una prima ricostruzione delle attestazioni sulla base dei dati archeologici e delle fonti d’archivio, da cui è emersa una diffusione che, superando ampiamente i confini regionali, raggiungeva diverse città del Nord, fra le quali Venezia, mentre a Sud si indirizzava verso la città di Napoli, capitale del regno. Ad oltre un decennio di distanza l’ampliarsi delle conoscenze rende possibile integrare quei primi dati con numerose ulteriori attestazioni in Italia (Fig. 2).

Per quanto riguarda la maiolica prodotta fra l’ultimo quarto del Cinquecento e gli inizi del secolo successivo (stile compendiario) si segnalano i materiali provenienti da Roma, individuabili in seguito alla riedizione dei contesti dagli scavi della Crypta Balbi, fra i quali emergono alcuni frammenti appartenenti alla produzione a smalto bianco ed anche a smalto turchino (Ricci, Vendittelli 2013: III.2.63.1—3; III.5.3.9; III.5.33).

Ai già segnalati materiali da Ascoli Piceno, Senigallia, Rimini, Firenze, Torino, Chioggia e Venezia (Troiano 2002; Anglani, Troiano 2004) si aggiungono nuove attestazioni di maiolica compendiaria e tardo compendiaria a Pordenone[1] e Gorizia[2], Lucca (Ciampoltrini 2015: fig. 28: 5), Rimini (Piolanti 2004: 106, n. 130), Corinaldo (Paolinelli 2011: fig. 8), dagli scavi del Castello Svevo di Termoli (Troiano, Verrocchio 2001: fig. 15) e dal convento di S. Maria delle Monache ad Isernia (scavi inediti).

La diffusione della maiolica di Castelli in Campania fra la fine del Cinquecento e i primi del Seicento ha aperto una questione di carattere attributivo a causa della contemporanea nascita di manifatture impiantate nelle città di Napoli, Salerno e Vietri sul Mare ad opera di ceramisti di origine castellana (Donatone 1981: 43—51; 1984: 29—34; 1992: 42—64; Troiano 2002: 217—219; Tortolani 2004, 2010, 2016). La migrazione di vasai abruzzesi, documentata su base archivistica, ha dato l’avvio a produzioni che in una prima fase appaiono analoghe a quelle prodotte nel paese d’origine e dunque difficilmente distinguibili in assenza di analisi di laboratorio. È tuttavia accertato che nel medesimo lasso temporale una notevole quantità di maiolica di Castelli raggiunse il mercato napoletano come testimoniano i contratti di fornitura stipulati da mercanti e rivenditori partenopei con i ceramisti castellani (Donatone 1981; 1984; Battistella 1985). Il più significativo è quello del 1586 che prevedeva l’invio di 4 salme di maioliche mensili per un periodo di sette anni consecutivi, una quantità stimabile in oltre 15.000 pezzi annui (Battistella 1985, doc. 1) (tab. 1). Sono quindi da ritenersi frutto della diffusione commerciale dei prodotti castellani i rinvenimenti in diversi contesti archeologici a Napoli (Fittipaldi 1992: 193—194, 244, tavv. XVIII—XX, 448; Iannelli 1994: tav. 90; Arbace 2000: figg. 34—35, 37, 40, nota 44; Tortolani 2010: fig. 1, nn. 10, 14—16, 38—39, 41; Tortolani 2016, p. 173, n. 4, p. 174, n. 2), a Salerno, Vietri sul Mare, Ravello e Ariano Irpino (Tortolani 2004: figg. 4—6, 10; tav. XII.8; Tortolani 2010: fig. 1, nn. 1—5, 6—9, 13—14, 26—28, 30—35, 42—43; p. 87; Tortolani 2016, p. 165), Cerreto Sannita (Troiano 2002: 218) e Torella dei Lombardi (AV) (Dell’Abate 1997: fig. 56, n. 2).

In Puglia si documentano i rinvenimenti dagli scavi presso Torre Alemanna (Busto, Ciminale, Dell’Aquila 2000: fig. 8), dal Castello di Bari (Dell’Aquila, Ciminale 1994: fig. 1; Ciminale, Dell’Aquila 2004: tav. VI), da Lecce (Caprino 2010: fig. 51), da Muro Leccese (inf. P. Caprino), da Otranto (Carofiglio, Ciminale, Dell’Aquila 1994: fig. 1, a sin.), da Cutrofiano e Nardò (Matteo, Viganò 2008: fig. 3e). Infine in Calabria si segnalano attestazioni sia sul versante tirrenico, dagli scavi della chiesa del Carmelo a San Sosti (Marino, Papparella, Scali 2007: fig. 6) che su quello ionico dal convento di S. Chiara di Crotone (Corrado 2010: fig. 8 e forse fig. 6; 7).

[1] Museo Civico d’Arte, Palazzo Riccheri, frammento di brocca a mascherone della tipica foggia castellana (scheda RA 11497, catalogo NCTP n. 34583) e, in forma dubitativa, un fondo di piattino con fiore stilizzato (scheda RA 11612, catalogo NCTP n. 45548).

[2] Musei Provinciali di Storia e Arte, Palazzo Formentini, piatto con fiore quadripetalo stilizzato sulla tesa.

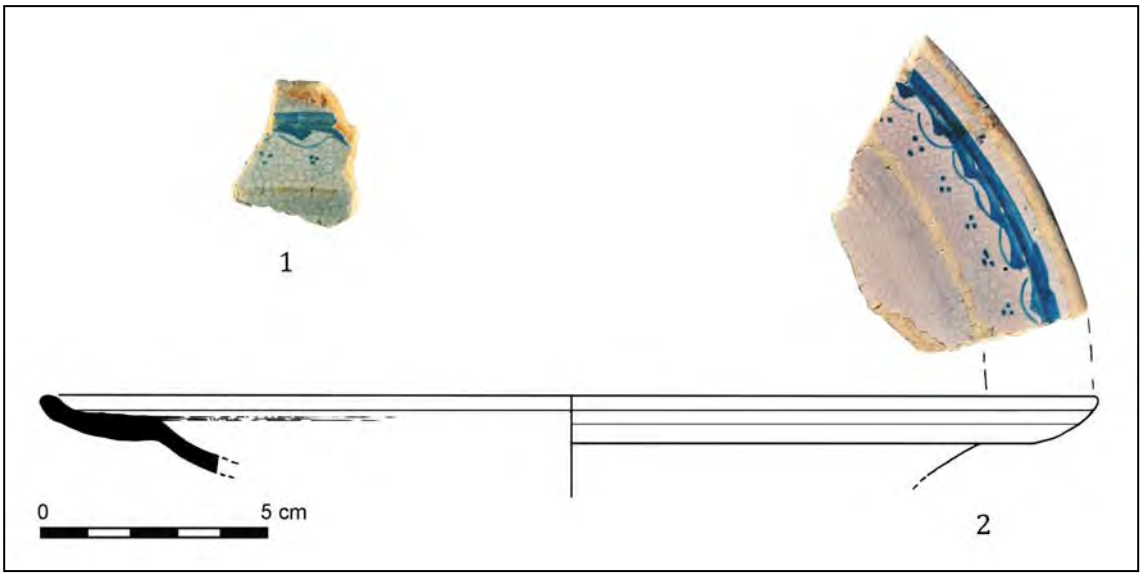

Fig. 3. Frammenti di piatti in maiolica con decoro "a pizzetto"di produzione castellana provenienti dal relitto del Brig Mercurio affondato nel 1812 a largo del fiume Tagliamento (foto e dis. Stefania Manfio).

Рис. 3. Фрагменты тарелок в технике майолика, украшенных «защипами», произведенные в Кастелли, с остова брига «Меркурио», затонувшего в 1812 в реке Тальяменто (фотография и рис. Stefania Manfio).

Passando ad esaminare la diffusione di produzioni più tarde, collocabili fra la seconda metà del Seicento e fine Settecento — inizi Ottocento, i dati a disposizione permettono l'identificazione di almeno due tipologie molto standardizzate destinate all'esportazione. Si tratta anzitutto del decoro definito a coroncina, diffusissimo in Abruzzo e già segnalato a Gorizia, Tolmezzo, Venezia, Padova, Rovigo e Ascoli Piceno (Troiano 2002: 212, 214, fig. 211, nn. 10—15; fig. 246; Anglani, Troiano 2003: fig. 3; Troiano 2004: fig. 5), cui si aggiungono le presenze a Pordenone (Museo Civico, inediti), Udine[3], Serra de' Conti (AN) (Paolinelli 2011: fig. 9), in Molise dagli scavi presso S. Maria delle Monache ad Isernia e presso il rione S. Antonio a Campobasso (inediti) e in Campania da Torella dei Lombardi (Dell'Abate 1997: fig. 56, n. 4), dall'area del Matese e da Cerreto Sannita (Di Cosmo in stampa).

Una seconda tipologia è quella a decoro monocromo in azzurro o arancio con motivo a frangia cosiddetto "a pizzetto" o "a peducci". Piatti recanti tale decorazione sono documentati a Venezia dall'isola di Pallestrina (Soave 1989: fig. 13), da quella del Lazzaretto (Troiano 2004: fig. 6) e recentemente fra i reperti recuperati dal relitto del Mercurio nelle acque poco a largo del Tagliamento, fra Veneto e Friuli (**Fig. 3**), il cui affondamento si data al 1812 (Manfio 2014: 171).

[3] Civici Musei e Gallerie di Storia e Arte — Museo Etnografico del Friuli, 2 piatti a coroncina.

2.2. Adriatico orientale, Ionio ed Egeo

Per quanto riguarda le più antiche produzioni di maiolica cinquecentesca di Castelli (c. 1500—1560: Verrocchio 2002) i dati a disposizione appaiono tuttora alquanto scarni. Sebbene negli ultimi anni siano apparsi studi specifici sulla diffusione della maiolica rinascimentale italiana in area balcanica (Bikić 2006), le attestazioni riconducibili con certezza a Castelli sono quelle dalla città di Zara da dove proviene un boccale con tipico decoro a medaglione (De Pompeis 2001) cui possono aggiungersi altri frammenti conservati presso il Narodni Muzej — Muzej Grada Zadra (inv. br 66) e quelle da Spalato (AA.VV. 2001: 38).

Solo a partire dalla seconda metà del Cinquecento i dati diventano più consistenti. Alle attestazioni di maioliche compendiarie segnalate a suo tempo dalla Petricioli per Zara e territorio circostante (Petricioli 1985; Troiano 2002: 215—217) e a quelle emerse grazie alle ricerche di H. Zglav-Martinac per la città di Spalato (AA. VV. 2001: 28, 40, 45; Zglav-Martinac 2001, 2004), si aggiungono diversi rinvenimenti noti grazie al recente sviluppo delle ricerche sulle ceramiche postmedievali in quest'area geografica che si distribuiscono lungo tutta la costa dalmata.

Frammenti di maiolica compendiaria e tardocompendiaria si segnalano a Rovigno (Surić, Višnjić 2014: nn. 49—50, 1424), a Nin dagli scavi della chiesa di S. Croce (Gusar 2007: 194, n. 3), a Hvar dagli scavi di palazzo Jaska (Gusar,

Fig. 4. Hvar (Croazia), scavi Palazzo Jaska. Frammenti di maiolica di Castelli di stile compendiario (nn. 1—3) e tardo compendiario (nn. 4, 5) (tratto da Gusar, Viskovic 2012: nn. 58—62).

Рис. 4. Хвар (Хорватия), раскопки во Дворце Яска. Фрагменты майолики из Кастелли в комендиарном стиле (№№1—3) и позднем компендиарном стиле (№№4—5) (по Gusar, Viskovic 2012: nn. 58—62).

Fig. 5. Dubrovnik/Ragusa (Croazia). Frammenti di maiolica di Castelli di stile compendiario (nn. 1—5), con scritte isolate sulla tesa (n. 6), con figure di santi (n. 7), tardocompendiario (n. 8) e con decoro "a coroncina" (n. 9) provenienti da scavi urbani (Foto L. Kovačić, Museo di Dubrovnik).

Рис. 5. Дубровник/Рагуза (Хорватия). Фрагменты майолики из Кастелли в компендиарном стиле (№№1—5), с отдельными надписями по полю (№6), с образами святых (№7), в позднем компендиарном стиле (№8) и с орнаментом в виде «короны» (№9) из раскопок на территории города (фото L. Kovačić, Музей Дубровника).

Fig. 6. Chlemoutsi/Castel Tornese (Peloponneso, Grecia). Frammenti di bacili in maiolica di Castelli con decoro di stile compendiario (foto S. Skartsis).

Рис. 6. Крепость Хлемуци/Торнезе (Пелопоннес, Греция). Фрагменты тазов (майолика) из Кастелли, в компендиарном стиле (фото S. Skartsis).

Fig. 7. Isola di Salamina (Grecia), chiesa di Panaya Faneromeni. Alzata in maiolica di Castelli con decoro di stile compendiario murata su una parete esterna della chiesa (tratto da Korre-Zographou 1995).

Рис. 7. Остров Саламин (Греция), Церковь Панайя Фанеромени. Подставка (майолика) из Кастелли, в компендиарном стиле, инкрустированная во внешнюю стену церкви (по Korre-Zographou 1995).

Viskovic 2012: nn. 57—62) (**Fig. 4**) e da quelli di casa Bracanovic (Zglav-Martinac 2006: 138) e a Dubrovnik dagli scavi di via Prcat (Kovačić 2006: 166—167) (Fig. 5). Sempre in Croazia si documentano alcuni manufatti conservati presso il Museo d'Arti e Mestieri (Muzej za Umjetnost i Obrt — MUO) di Zagabria, fra i quali un albarello di tipologia tardocompendiaria (inv. 031426). Fra le presenze che restano da accertare in Croazia sono i ritrovamenti dal castello di Barilovic (Krmpotić 2014: t. 24, n. 273).

Fig. 8. L'Aquila (Abruzzo, Italia). Particolare di piatto in maiolica di Castelli con motivo a ghirlanda di stile compendiario provenienta da scavi presso il convento di San Domenico (Verrocchio 2011: fig. 98).

Рис. 8. Л'Аквила (Абруццо, Италия). Деталь тарелки (майолика) из Кастелли с мотивом гирлянды, в компендиарном стиле, из раскопок у монастыря Св. Доминика (по Verrocchio 2011, fig. 98).

Fig. 9. Isola di Salamina (Grecia), chiesa di Panaya Faneromeni. Piatto in maiolica di Castelli con decoro di stile tardo compendiario murata su una parete esterna della chiesa (tratto da Korre-Zographou 1995).

Рис. 9. Остров Саламин (Греция), Церковь Панагия Фанеромени. Тарелка (майолика) из Кастелли, украшенная в позднем компендиарном стиле, инкрустированная во внешнюю стену церкви (по Korre-Zographou 1995).

Fig. 10. Monemvasia (Grecia). Piatto bianco in maiolica di Castelli con decoro a coroncina (tratto da Kalamara 2001).

Рис. 10. Монемвасия (Греция). Белая тарелка (майолика) из Кастелли, с орнаментом в виде «короны» (tratto da Kalamara 2001).

Più a sud sono identificabili frammenti castellani fra i materiali dagli scavi presso Stari Bar in Montenegro (Guštin, Bikić, Mileusnić 2008: 77, fig. 49 b, 79, fig. 53 c, 151, fig. 76, nn. 18—19) e in via ipotetica da quelli della Fortezza Triangolare di Butrinto in Albania (Vroom 2006: fig. 16).

Le attestazioni più orientali si spingono nell'Egeo. Frammenti di un bacile di stile compendiario provengono dagli scavi presso il castello di Chlemoutsi (Castel Tornese) nel Peloponneso nord-occidentale (Fig. 6) (Skartsis 2012: pl. 134, n. 215) e dalla chiesa di Panaya Faneromeni sull'isola di Salamis/Salamina (Atene) dove risultano murati su una parete esterna un'alzata in compendiario ed un piatto tardo compendiario in precedenza attribuiti a Faenza (Korre-Zographou 1995: figg. 126—127). L'alzata (Fig. 7) presenta un decoro a ghirlanda con girali e boccioli lanceolati in giallo e arancio contornati di pennellate in blu e nel centro un fiore circolare giallo con sottili e brevi petali arancio. Si tratta di una variante delle ghirlande che caratterizzano gran parte della produzione castellana fra ultimi anni del Cinquecento e i primi del Seicento (Ricci 1989: tav. 5, n. 9; Troiano 2002: figg. 185—187; De Pompeis 2010: fig. 9; Fiocco, Gherardi, Matricardi 2015: n. 29). La ghirlanda trova precisi confronti con frammenti di maiolica di Castelli rinvenuti in Abruzzo ad esempio a L'Aquila (Verrocchio 2011: 145, n. 98; Fig. 8) e a Venezia (Anglani, Troiano 2003: tav. 3, nn. 17—19). Il piatto (Fig. 9) presenta un motivo decorativo isolato costituito da un fiore a sette petali in giallo e contorno bruno e azzurro rientrante nel gruppo di decori di tipo tardo compendiario, strettamente confrontabile con materiali da Teramo (Proterra 2007: n. 124) e da Spalato (AA.VV. 2001: 28—29, n. 4708).

Per quanto riguarda le tipologie più tarde si segnalano i piatti con decoro a coroncina conservati presso il MUO di Zagabria e da scavi a Spalato (AA.VV. 2001: 47) e Dubrovnik (Kovačić 2006: 166—167) (Fig. 5, n. 9) mentre in area egea si segnala un piatto dalla piccola città di Monemvasia in Laconia (Fig. 10), conservato presso il locale museo (Kalamara 2001: fig. 79, n. 528).

In area adriatica si documenta anche la presenza del decoro a sequenza di foglie ricurve sulle tese e cavetti di piatti di medie e grandi dimensioni. Ai rinvenimenti italiani presso l'Isola del Lazzaretto a Venezia (Troiano 2004: fig. 4), Ascoli Piceno (Troiano 2002: fig. 211, nn. 8—9),

Isernia (S. Maria delle Monache, inediti) e Atripalda in Campania (Tortolani 2010: fig. 6, n. 25) si aggiungono due grandi piatti conservati presso il MUO di Zagabria (inv. 031441/1-2).

Anche la produzione della seconda metà del Settecento, fra cui la già citata tipologia monocroma con decoro "a pizzetto", trova diffusione nell'Adriatico orientale essendone documentati manufatti presso il MUO di Zagabria (inv. 031472) e frammenti dai già citati scavi di Stari Bar (Guštin, Bikić, Mileusnić 2008: fig. 42 c) e Butrinto (Vroom 2006: fig. 18, al centro). Fra i materiali da Stari Bar è interessante segnalare la presenza di altre tipologie castellane settecentesche quali i boccali con decoro a foglie blu (Guštin, Bikić, Mileusnić 2008: fig. 49a) cui si aggiunge la prima attestazione all'estero di maioliche appartenenti ad un altro centro di produzione abruzzese, quello di Bussi sul Tirino, cui può ricondursi un frammento di boccale (Guštin, Bikić, Mileusnić 2008: fig. 49 a).

2.3. Altri rinvenimenti europei

Alla diffusione sinora delineata possono aggiungersi le attestazioni archeologiche più settentrionali al momento note, emerse grazie agli studi di L. Jaspers (2011) sulla diffusione delle maioliche italiane nei Paesi Bassi. Si tratta del rinvenimento di una crespina quasi integra in seguito a scavi effettuati presso Haarlemmerdijk ad Amsterdam (Jaspers 2011: fig. 27), che appare con certezza riconducibile alle manifatture di Castelli, cui forse potrebbero aggiungersi altri due piatti citati dalla stessa Jaspers (2011: 25, nota 82) rinvenuti più a Nord a Leeuwarden in Frisia.

Pur trattandosi di una presenza minoritaria rispetto ad altre maioliche italiane documentate in territorio olandese, specie liguri, il rinvenimento apre interessanti prospettive di ricerca sulla diffusione ad ampio raggio della maiolica di Castelli.

3. Le fonti d'archivio

Le fonti archivistiche forniscono utilissimi dati sulla diffusione della maiolica di Castelli che integrano in maniera significativa i dati archeologici. Appare anzitutto evidente come già negli anni '80 del Cinquecento la città di Napoli, capitale e metropoli mediterranea, rappresentasse una piazza di smercio molto importante verso la quale, attraverso i collegamenti terrestri e marittimi dai porti abruzzesi di Giulianova, Calvano (Atri) e Pescara (Fig. 1), si veicolavano grandi quantità di maioliche. Il già citato contratto di fornitura di maioliche stipulato nel 1586 a Lanciano per il mercato napoletano prevedeva un invio di oltre 15.000 pezzi annui, ossia un totale di oltre centomila pezzi in sette anni. Altro importate luogo di smercio era Roma, per la quale è noto un contratto del 1573 per la fornitura di oltre 2500 pezzi destinati ad un rivenditore locale (Gull 2005) (Tab. 1).

Dai porti abruzzesi di Calvano, il più vicino a Castelli, ma anche di Giulianova e Pescara, la maiolica castellana era diretta verso le località del medio adriatico sedi di importanti raduni fieristici come Senigallia, Ancona e Recanati, per poi essere ridistribuita in tutto il bacino adriatico (Pierucci 2001). Testimonianze dell'attività connessa a tali approdi, ed in particolare a quello di Calvano, provengono da recenti ricerche d'archivio.

Un primo documento è del 1626 ed è costituito da un conteggio doganale delle maioliche appartenenti a diversi produttori castellani da imbarcare al porto di Calvano (Troiano 2011: 263—265; Giacomini 2013: 37—38). Si tratta prevalentemente di piatti, cui si aggiungono altre forme ceramiche, per un numero complessivo di circa 24.000 pezzi, per i quali non è specificata la destinazione, anche se pare possa trattarsi della città di Ancona o di Bergamo via Venezia. Ciò si evince grazie ai due soli committenti indicati, il *Signor Giovanello* e il *Signor Michele Uberti*, cui nello specifico sono destinati oggetti *con l'arma*, cioè con lo stemma familiare. I soggetti sono identificabili con i mercanti Giovanelli e Uberti (Oberti), famiglie di origini bergamasche con forti interessi commerciali in Abruzzo fra ultimi decenni del Cinquecento e il secolo successivo[4]. In particolare Michele Oberti nel 1633 risulta aver ricoperto la carica di Console di Venezia proprio ad Ancona (Bulgarelli Lukacs 2006: 333, nota 13). Che le maioliche di Castelli arrivassero anche in territorio bergamasco è in ogni modo confermato dall'inventario dei beni realizzato nel 1639 alla morte del mercante Gio Antonio Mazza, originario di Pea (BG) residente a Chieti nei primi decenni del Seicento: nella sua residenza bergamasca a Pea si annotano *piatti delli Castelli grandi e piccoli* in numero non specificato[5].

[4] Bulgarelli Lukacs 2006: 367. Ad esempio a Chieti fra 1570 e 1580 è documentato Bonomo Uberti/Oberti, mentre Antonio Uberti è documentato a Vasto agli inizi del Seicento. Della famiglia Giovanello/Giovanelli originaria di Gandino (BG) si documenta Silvestro residente a Lanciano nell'ultimo quarto del Cinquecento; a Chieti, negli anni '20 del Seicento, è documentato Orazio Giovannelli residente tuttavia ad Ancona. Presso la città marchigiana risiedevano inoltre Giacomo, Carlo e Sante Giovanelli nella prima metà del Seicento.

[5] ASCH, fondo notarile, notaio Urbano Gizzi di Bucchianico, 1639, cc. 111r—136r.

Tabella 1.

Sintesi dei dati d'archivio riguardanti il commercio della maiolica di Castelli fra Cinque e Seicento

Anno	Quantità	Quantità pezzi	Ceramisti	Luogo	Destinazione
1573		2570	Angelo d'Angelo	Roma	Roma
1586—1593	4 salme mese	15.360 l'anno	Giovanni di Marco Truo Attilio d'Antonio	Lanciano	Napoli
1595—1596			Amico di Luca	Napoli	Napoli
1608		n.d.	n.d.	Giulianova	Napoli
1610	6 ceste	1000		Pescara	Napoli
1620	8 salme	2560	n.d	Napoli	Napoli
1626	186 ceste	24.000	Vari	Calvano, Atri	Venezia?
1634	120 salme	38.400	Michele Pompei	Calvano, Atri	?
1638	68 salme	21.760	Tito e Maurizio Pompei	Castelli	Ancona
1638	42,5 salme	13.600	Amico e Gio d'Angelo	Castelli	Atri
1644	240 ceste	42.000	Raffaele Pompei	Calvano, Atri	Fiume?

Altre testimonianze provengono da documenti inediti. Nel 1634 è documentato un accordo di Giovan Michele Pompei, ceramista di Castelli, con due mulattieri di Atri per il trasporto di circa 38.400 vasi da Castelli al porto di Calvano[6]. Qualche anno più tardi, nel 1638, sono i ceramisti Tito Pompei e suo figlio Maurizio a stipulare un contratto per la consegna a Giovan Battista Arlini e Giacomo Raducci, mercanti lombardi abitanti ad Atri, di circa 21.700 pezzi. In questa scrittura viene specificata la natura *more Ancone* dei vasi, da interpretarsi come tipologia destinata all'esportazione nella città di Ancona[7]. Sempre nel 1638 altri due ceramisti, i fratelli Amico e Giovanni d'Angelo sottoscrivono un accordo col medesimo Gio Batta Arlini per la fornitura di circa 13.600 pezzi[8].

Il più consistente imbarco di maioliche ci è noto infine attraverso due testimonianze rese mediante un atto notarile, fra cui quelle degli ufficiali della dogana del porto di Calvano. Nel luglio del 1644 il ceramista Raffaele Pompei di Castelli, dopo aver versato i relativi diritti doganali, ha esportato 240 ceste di *vasi delli Castelli, cioè piatti piccoli, mezani et grandi*, per un totale di 42.000 pezzi imbarcati sulla nave dell'armatore Francesco Morzil di Fiume[9]. La provenienza dell'armatore lascia ipotizzare una destinazione di questo vasellame al mercato dell'Alto Adriatico.

Per quanto riguarda il Settecento utili dati sullo smercio della maiolica di Castelli provengono dalla documentazione riguardante le fiere di Senigallia che, come noto, furono uno dei più importanti incontri fieristici del periodo (Marcucci 1914; Bulgarelli Lukacs 2006). In particolare lo

[6] ASCA, *Obligationes Penes Acta*, Atri, 14 settembre 1634. Vincenzo di mastro Angeluccio alias *lo spetialetto* e Giuseppe suo figlio si dichiarano debitori di Gio Michele Pompei *de Castellis* della somma di 120 ducati di regno per prezzo di una mula vendutagli, per qual somma dovuta i debitori s'impegnano a trasportare 120 salme di vasi da Castelli al Calvano (*asportandum dictas salmas centum viginti quinque a Castellis ad Galvanum*) in tal modo: 50 salme entro il mese di giugno 1635, 10 salme nel mese di agosto e delle restanti 60 salme, 50 al mese di giugno del 1636 e le altre 10 salme ad agosto dello stesso anno, quali vasi saranno consegnati nella terra di Castelli (cc. 7r-v).

[7] ASCA, *Obligationes Penes Acta*, Atri, 4 settembre 1638. Tito Pompei e suo figlio Maurizio di Castelli si dichiarano debitori di Gio Batta Arlino assente e di Giacomo Raducci presente in solido della somma di 390 ducati e 84 grana di regno qual prezzo di merci fra cui piombo, stagno e somme in moneta ricevute in precedenza, per qual somma i Pompei s'impegnano a consegnare 68 salme di vasi di Castelli *more Ancone* in Castelli, di 16 poste per salma, a 2 salme il mese per ogni anno, cominciando nell'ottobre 1638, al prezzo di 33 grana la posta, consegnando ceramiche buone e in alcun modo difettate (cc. 3r—4r).

[8] ASCA, *Obligationes Penes Acta*, Atri, 7 dicembre 1638, Atri. Amico d'Angelo e suo fratello Giovanni di Castelli si dichiarano debitori di Gio Batta Arlino e Gio Massimino della somma di 240 ducati e 26 grana di regno per merci ricevute, dei quali 169 ducati e 6 carlini per piombo, stagno e panni ricevuti in data odierna nella loro bottega, per qual debito s'impegnano a consegnare a Castelli 42 salme e mezza di vasi di Castelli di 16 poste la salma e di 20 pezzi la posta, entro il prossimo mese di aprile, *vasi buoni e ben cotti non rossi, né verdi, né toccati o distorti* (cc. 40r-v).

[9] ASTE, fondo notarile, notaio Francesco Antonio Basilio di Atri, 14 luglio 1644. Testimonianza di Tommaso Cozzi originario di Civitella del Tronto ma residente a Castelli, Simone Setta e Raffaele Guerrieri entrambi di Castelli; stesso giorno e luogo, testimonianza di Giovan Antonio Ferreni, Giovan Francesco Briganti e Giovan Tommaso Probi di Atri, rispettivamente Portolano, Credenziere e Guardiano del porto di Calvano.

Fig. 11. Località della costa orientale adriatica verso cui si documentano spedizioni di maiolica abruzzese dalle fiere di Senigallia nel periodo 1743-80 (rielab. da Pierucci 2001).

Рис. 11. Населенные пункты на восточном побережье Адриатики, в которых документируются поставки майолики из Абруцо через ярмарки в Сенигаллии в 1743—80 (реконструкция по Pierucci 2001).

studio delle relazioni che i consoli veneti residenti a Senigallia inviavano regolarmente a Venezia, nel periodo fra 1743 e 1780, ha permesso di ricostruire la fitta rete di relazioni e di scambi con la costa orientale permettendo di individuare le numerose località verso cui si dirigevano le ceramiche abruzzesi (Pierucci 2001). È interessante notare come la dislocazione di tali siti (Fig. 11) ricalchi in maniera precisa quella dei rinvenimenti archeologici a partire dalla penisola istriana fino al Peloponneso (Fig. 2).

4. Per una definizione delle tipologie circolanti

Appare a tal punto utile fornire una schematizzazione cronotipologica delle produzioni di Castelli che furono oggetto di commercio ad ampio raggio (Fig. 2) anche al fine di una loro più precisa identificazione con il prosieguo delle ricerche archeologiche. La scansione di riferimento è la seguente:

Tipo 1) *Maiolica di stile compendiario.* Produzione databile fra ultimo terzo o ultimo quarto del Cinquecento e inizi del secolo successivo (c. 1560/75—1620). Rientrano in questo gruppo numerosi decori a tralcio floreale utilizzati spesso in associazione a singoli elementi floreali stilizzati, in tricromia giallo, arancio e azzurro (Ricci 1989: 141—142; Troiano 2002: motivo 1, figg. 185—187; De Pompeis 2010: 96—105, 185—204; Verrocchio 2011: nn. 98—99, 102, 104—105). La tipologia è documentata fuori dall'Italia ad Amsterdam, Zagabria, Zara, Novigrad, Spalato, Hvar, Dubrovnik, Butrinto (?), Chlemoutsi e Salamina. Le forme diffuse sono piuttosto numerose e comprendono ciotole a presa orizzontale trilobata, piatti piani e fondi a tesa larga, alzate, boccali trilobati, bacili emisferici ad orlo ricurvo, alzate, brocchette per olio/aceto e versatoi a mascherone (Fig. 12, nn. 1—11, 14—20).

Tipo 2) Maiolica di stile tardo compendiario (c. 1620—1700). La produzione copre tutto l'arco del Seicento. Le decorazioni sono costituite da tralci floreali di varia natura, in monocromia azzurra, in bicromia azzurro-manganese o in tricromia giallo, arancio e bruno, cui si aggiungono elementi isolati sulle tese dei piatti e nei boccali raffiguranti mazzetti fioriti, animali e soggetti umani (Troiano 2002: motivi 7—14; Giacomini 2014: 69—70). Fra i motivi decorativi più diffusi è documentato quello a coroncina nella versione più antica (Troiano 2002: 231—237) (Fig. 13) e lo stemma di tipo pseudo araldico (Troiano 2002: figg. 227—228) (da Hvar: Fig. 4, n. 4) perfettamente confrontabile con materiali dall'Abruzzo (Fig. 13). Tipologia presente a Zagabria, Vestar, Nin, Spalato, Hvar, Dubrovnik e Salamina. Fra le forme prevalgono i piatti piani e fondi a tesa larga, ma sono documentati anche i boccali ed i versatoi a mascherone nella versione con ansa a gomito (Fig. 12, nn. 8—13, 18, 20)

Tipo 3) *Maiolica dipinta con motivo a sequenza di foglie* (c. 1620—1680/1700) (Figg. 15—16). Decoro a sequenza di foglie ricurve in giallo, ocra, verde e bruno, distribuite sulla tesa e nei cavetti di piatti di medie e grandi dimensioni (Troiano 2002: fig. 236, 152—153; Proterra 2007: 188, n. 1; Verrocchio 2011: n. 121). Il motivo nasce nel periodo di transizione fra il compendiario ed il primo istoriato castellano, con attardamenti nel corso del Seicento e del Settecento (De Pompeis 2001 a: 52—53, n. 16). Il fogliame ricurvo, nella versione più antica, elaborata e raffinata, è difatti presente in manufatti ritenuti coevi al soffito maiolicato di San Donato a Castelli (c. 1615—1617) (Fiocco, Gherardi, Matricardi 2012: n. 53) e lo si ritrova nella produzione di Francesco Grue della metà del Seicento (Battistella, De Pompeis 2005: n. 105; Fiocco, Gherardi, Matricardi 2012: n. 69). Tipologia documentata a Venezia, Ascoli, Isernia, Atripalda e Zagabria con piatti a tesa larga del tipo con cavetto poco profondo (Fig. 12, nn. 12—13)

Tipo 4) *Maiolica dipinta con motivo a coroncina tarda* (c. 1700—1810). Il motivo costitui-

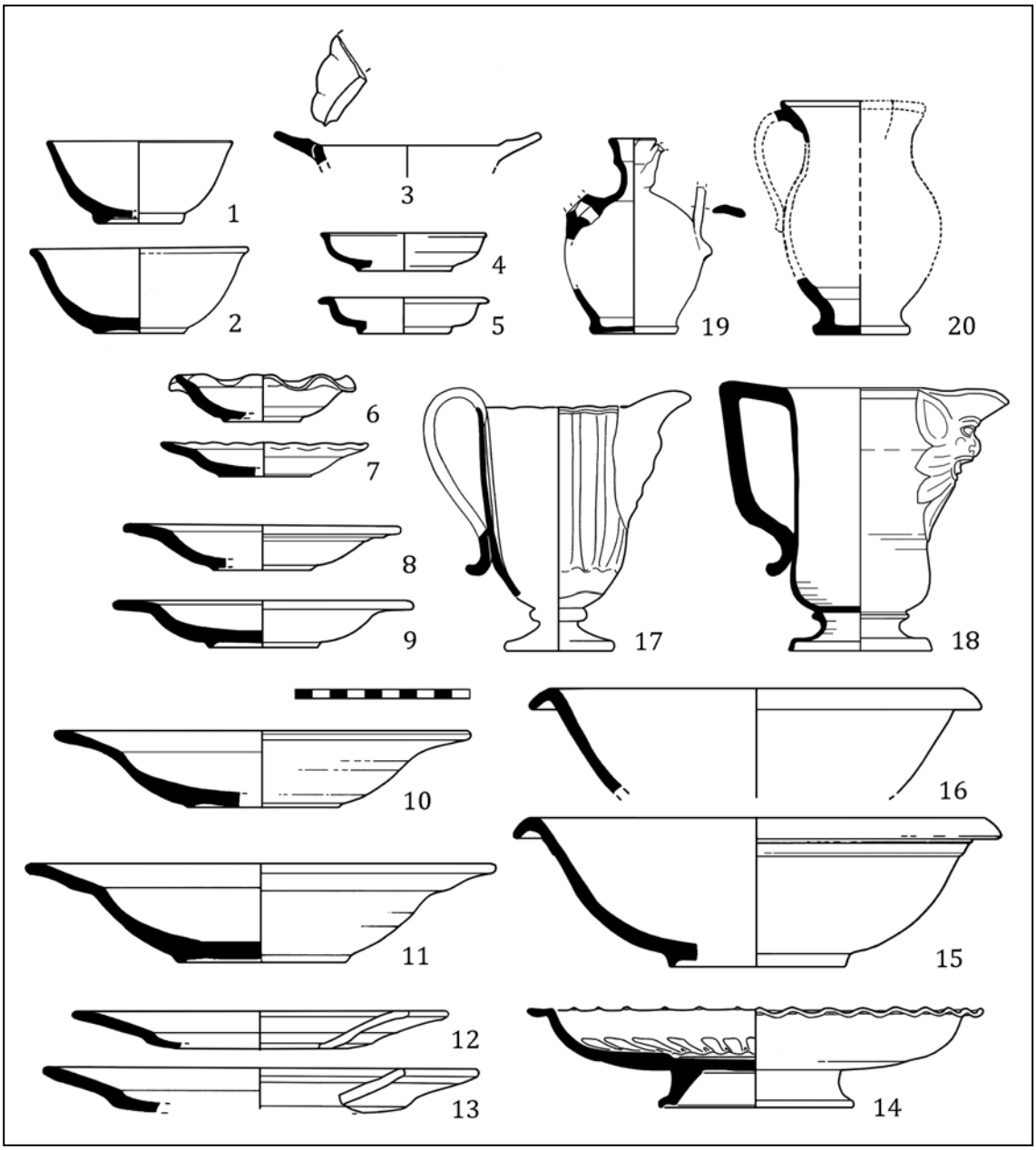

Fig. 12. Sintesi delle forme maggiormente diffuse (ultimo quarto del XVI—XVII secolo): 1—5 — ciotole; 6, 7 — piattini; 8, 9 — piatti piccoli; 10, 11 — piatti grandi fondi; 12, 13 — piatti piani; 14 — alzata; 15, 16 — bacili; 17, 18 — versatoi a mascherone; 19 — brocchetta; 20 — boccale ad orlo trilobato.

Рис. 12. Свод наиболее распространенных форм (последняя четверть XVI—XVII вв.): 1—5 миски; 6—7 тарелочки; 8—9 малые тарелки; 10—11 большие глубокие тарелки; 12—13 мелкие тарелки; 14 подставка; 15—16 тазы; 17—18 кувшин в виде маски; 19 кувшин; 20 бокал с трехлопастным краем.

to da una corona stilizzata in policromia giallo, arancio bruno e azzurro, nasce attorno alla metà del Seicento ma si protrae significativamente, con un'evoluzione formale distinguibile, fino alla fine del Sette — inizi Ottocento (Corrieri 1998: 91, II.4; Troiano 2002: fig. 230: 130—132; Proterra 2007: nn. 176—178). Tipologia documentata a Zagabria, Spalato, Dubrovnik e Monemvasia. La forma continua ad essere il piatto a larga tesa piana (Fig. 12: 10—11).

Tipo 5) *Maiolica dipinta con motivo a frangia di tre punti o "a pizzetto"* (c. 1750—1810). Si tratta di un motivo decorativo variamente denominato, realizzato in monocromia azzurra o arancio che trae origine del decoro a *lambrequins* di origini francesi (Moustiers, Marsiglia e Rouen), ampiamente imitato in Italia nel corso del Settecento (Pessa 2005: nn. 121—122; Chilosi 2011: 135—138; Guarnieri 2009: fig. 60: 11; Ricci, Vendittelli 2014: IV.1.47; Tortolani 2016:

Fig. 13. Esempi di maioliche di Castelli con decoro a coroncina rinvenuti in Abruzzo a Guardiagrele (CH) (da Taraborrelli, Troiano, Verrocchio 2005).

Рис. 13. Образцы майолики из Кастелли, с орнаментом в виде «коронок», найденные у Гвардиагреле в Абруццо (по Taraborrelli, Troiano, Verrocchio 2005).

Fig. 14. Chieti. Frammenti di piatti in maiolica di Castelli con decoro pseudo-araldico provenienti da scavi urbani (XVII secolo).

Рис. 14. Кьети. Фрагменты тарелок (майолика) из Кастелли с псевдо-геральдическим орнаментом, из раскопок на территории города XVII в.).

315). I materiali provenienti da Castelli mostrano un'ampia variabilità nell'esecuzione del decoro che a partire da una più fedele riproduzione dei prototipi francesi giunge ad un'estenuazione molto corsiva con frangia costituita da soli tre puntini (Corrieri 1998: II.1, 5—6, III.23). Una produzione più aulica accompagna al bordo la realizzazione di soggetti nel centro, come figure di santi (F. Battistella in: De Pompeis 2001a: n. 107) o ritratti e mazzetti floreali in monocromia (Fiocco, Gherardi, Matricardi 2012: n. 205). Tipologia documentata a Zagabria, Stari Bar, Butrinto. La forma è costituita dal caratteristico piatto piano apo-

Fig. 15. Chieti. Esempi di piatti in maiolica di Castelli con decoro a sequenza di foglie ricurve provenienti da scavi urbani: 1—3 — tipi più elaborati e più antichi (secondo quarto del XVII secolo circa); 4 — tipo meno elaborato e più tardo (terzo quarto del XVII secolo); 5 — tipo tardo (fine XVII secolo).

Рис. 15. Кьети. Образцы тарелок (майолика) из Кастелли, с орнаментом в виде ряда изогнутых листьев, из раскопок на территории города; №№1—3, наиболее развитые и древние типы (приблизительно вторая четверть XVII в.); №4, менее развитый и более поздний тип (третья четверть XVII века); №5, поздний тип (конец XVII века).

do, anche di grandi dimensioni, con tesa breve dotata di piccolo dente interno (Fig. 17).

5. Considerazioni e future prospettive

Sulla base dei dati sinora illustrati appare evidente come la maiolica di Castelli fra XVI e XVIII secolo ebbe una diffusione che interessò il bacino adriatico fino al Peloponneso, all'interno del più ampio fenomeno di diffusione di ceramiche postmedievali italiane che le più recenti ricerche stanno permettendo di focalizzare in quest'ambito territoriale. Gli studi ancora allo stato embrionale sull'argomento e la realtà geografica molto eterogenea non permettono al momento di fornire chiavi di lettura univoche che non tengano conto della complessità dei contesti locali e regionali mediante un approccio multidisciplinare.

Un primo punto di riflessione riguarda la centralità delle sedi urbane che costituirono la sovranità territoriale veneziana dove i governatori, ben prima dell'autorità politica di San Marco, hanno impersonato uno stile culturale. Esso si riflette nella vita locale, nelle abitudini e nella cul-

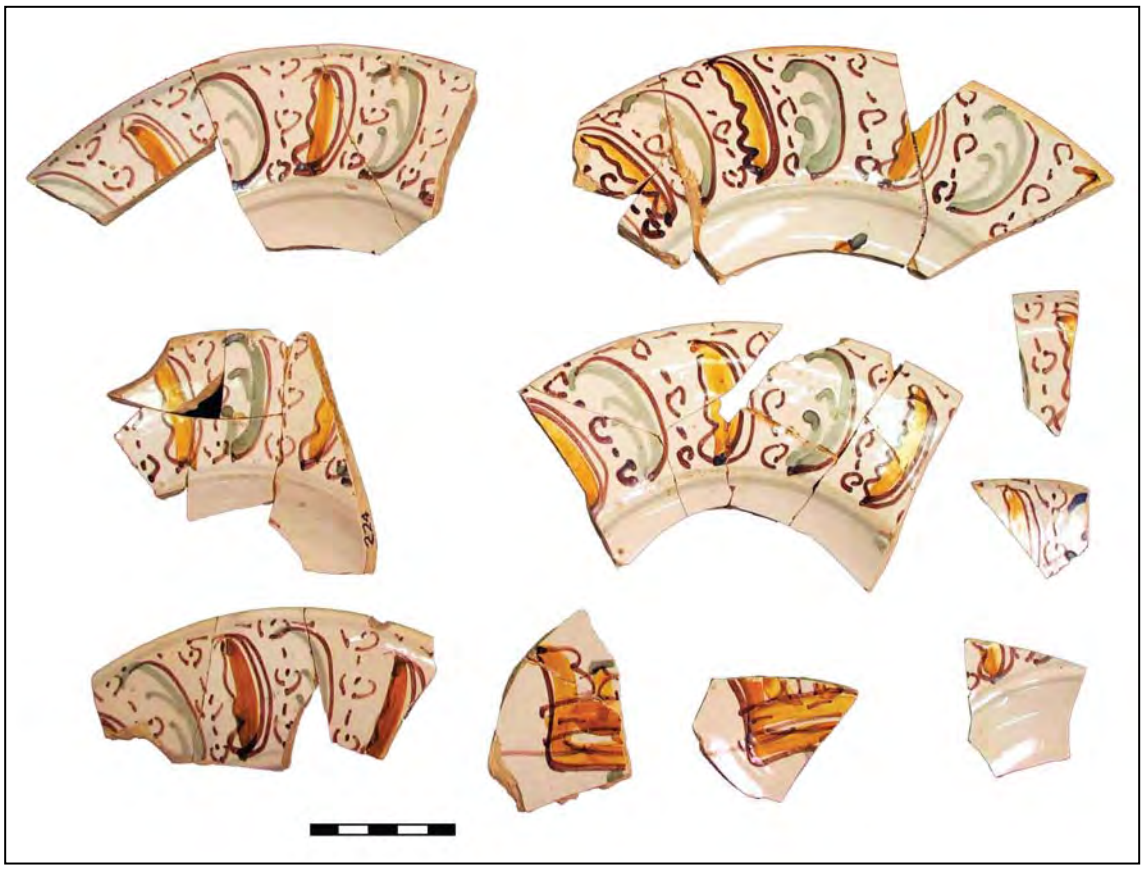

Fig. 16. Teramo. Esempi di piatti in maiolica di Castelli con decoro a sequenza di foglie ricurve provenienti da recuperi in area urbana (fine XVII secolo) (da Proterra, Troiano, Verrocchio 2005).

Рис. 16. Терамо. Образцы тарелок (майолика) из Кастелли, украшенные рядом изогнутых листьев, из раскопок на территории города (конец XVII века) (по Proterra, Troiano, Verrocchio 2005).

tura materiale fino all'organizzazione degli spazi domestici, a partire dalle classi nobili: "*i costumi dei quali sono quasi italiani, perchè la maggior parte de nobili vive, favella et veste all'usana d'Italia, il che forse avviene per la frequenza de forestieri, nobili veneziani, generali, proveditori, capitanii, sopracomiti et altri, che vi praticano continuamente*…" così come notavano nel 1553 due cronisti riferendosi alla città di Zara (Sander-Faes 2013: 218). Le classi sociali urbane trassero quindi ispirazione da quei modelli conviviali occidentali sviluppati dalle *élites* italiane che nel Cinquecento furono come noto pienamente codificati (Benporat 2007: 63—101) diventando elementi di riferimento a livello europeo (Latrémolière, Quellier 2012).

In questo quadro si evidenzia la diffusione dei servizi in maiolica che riguarda anzitutto, nelle sue più alte espressioni qualitative e artistiche, le classi sociali più elevate, ma che di riflesso investe gli strati sociali borghesi, secondo il modello evidenziatosi ad esempio dallo studio della società urbana in Abruzzo dove, a partire dalla seconda metà del Cinquecento, si assiste alla netta affermazione della maiolica e nello specifico di quella prodotta a Castelli, sulle mense delle classi borghesi cittadine (Verrocchio 2016).

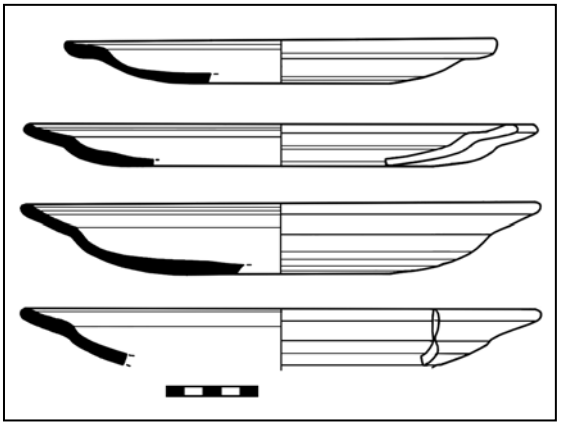

Fig. 17. Piatti apodi ad orlo con dente a rilievo di produzione castellana (XVIII secolo) provenienti da scavi in Abruzzo.

Рис. 17. Тарелки без кольцевого поддона с зубчатым рельефным краем, производства Кастелли (XVIII в.) из раскопок в Абруццо.

Più difficili chiavi interpretative vanno rivolte alla diffusione della maiolica italiana e di Castelli nelle città e territori sotto il controllo ottomano, in merito alla quale emergono per ora più interrogativi che certezze. Per quanto riguarda la costa adriatica un interessante punto di riferimento è costituito dal sito di Stari Bar/Antivari oggetto di uno specifico progetto di ricerca archeologica. In questa città, passata dal controllo veneziano a quello turco nel 1571, ceramiche e maioliche italiane continuano ad essere presenti anche nel XVII e XVIII secolo, nonostante il fatto che già attorno alla metà del XVII secolo la popolazione risulti quasi completamente islamizzata (Gelichi 2006; Guštin, Bikić, Mileusnić 2008; Gelichi, Sabbionesi 2014).

Altro caso utile alla discussione è quello del Castello di Chlemoutsi nel Peloponneso, una struttura strategica a carattere prevalentemente militare caduto in mano turca nel 1460, eccezion fatta per un periodo di riconquista veneziana (1687—1715). La ceramica rinvenuta, utilizzata dagli ufficiali militari ma anche dagli abitanti del villaggio sito entro le mura, mostra si l'inserimento nella sfera ottomana ma soprattutto una forte integrazione con le altre regioni greche e il prosieguo delle strette relazioni con l'Occidente leggibile nella cospicua quantità di ceramiche e maioliche italiane rinvenute che, per le fasi postmedievali, raggiungono quasi il 40% delle presenze (Skartsis 2012: 97—108). Quel che più appare significativo, all'interno di questo dato, è che la maiolica, dove è presente la produzione compendiaria di Castelli, rappresenta quasi il 90% dei materiali di provenienza italiana.

Emergono da questi esempi i caratteri complessi derivanti dalla sintesi di realtà differenti in cui vivono comunità occidentali islamizzate e confliggono identità locali e differenti modelli culturali. In tal senso è interessante notare come gli studi di J. Vroom basati su un approccio multidisciplinare hanno evidenziato nel contesto egeo (Beozia) la coesistenza fra il modello conviviale occidentale e quello orientale. Il primo è caratterizzato dall'uso della tavola alta e rettangolare con sedie e la presenza di numerosi piatti da portata, bicchieri in vetro, posate e piatti in ceramica individuali, mentre il secondo prevede l'uso del tavolo circolare basso in cui sono assenti le sedie, i bicchieri e le posate individuali, ma sono presenti gli oggetti ceramici destinati al consumo del caffè (Vroom 2003: 349—357).

Un altro aspetto meritevole di approfondimenti è quello relativo all'influenza della maiolica italiana sulle produzioni ceramiche postmedievali locali. Gli studi di V. Bikić (2006) mostrano interessanti fenomeni di emulazione dei prodotti in maiolica italiani nelle produzioni locali balcaniche e analoghi fenomeni imitativi sono documentati anche in Grecia, come mostra la produzione ateniese collocabile fra tardo XVI e XVII secolo visibilmente ispirata alla maiolica cinquecentesca italiana (Vroom 2003: 173; Vroom 2005: 148—149).

La ricerca appare come detto nelle sue fasi iniziali. Per quanto riguarda le fonti archeologiche future indagini dovrebbero essere rivolte alla individuazione di contesti di scavo contenenti sequenze postmedievali che permettano una precisa quantificazione delle classi ceramiche al fine di poter disporre di più puntuali dati sul fenomeno, anche dal punto di vista cronologico. Le associazioni stratigrafiche in Adriatico ed Egeo potrebbero difatti risultare utili ad una migliore definizione della maiolica di Castelli quale possibile marcatore cronologico per l'archeologia postmedievale nel bacino mediterraneo.

Infine resta un terreno ancora da esplorare resta quello delle fonti d'archivio sul versante orientale dell'Adriatico, sia per quanto riguarda i traffici commerciali che per l'analisi della cultura materiale domestica ricostruibile ad esempio attraverso lo studio di inventari di beni *post mortem* contenuti nei rogiti notarili o nella documentazione di natura giudiziaria.

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Восточное Средиземноморье

Eastern Mediterranean region

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Medieval Glazed Pottery: Archaeological Evidence from Rural Greece

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

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

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Medieval Glazed Pottery: Archaeological Evidence from Rural Greece

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

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

Э. Ф. Атанасопулос

Средневековая поливная керамика: археологические свидетельства из сельской Греции

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

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

The study of medieval and post-medieval pottery in Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean has attracted significant interest in recent years. This is a very welcome development, as earlier archaeological excavations of Classical sites were not keen to preserve or publish material that dated to these "late" periods. Increasingly, scholarly attention is being paid to medieval ceramics[1], and a greater understanding is being gained of their importance both as a dating tool

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

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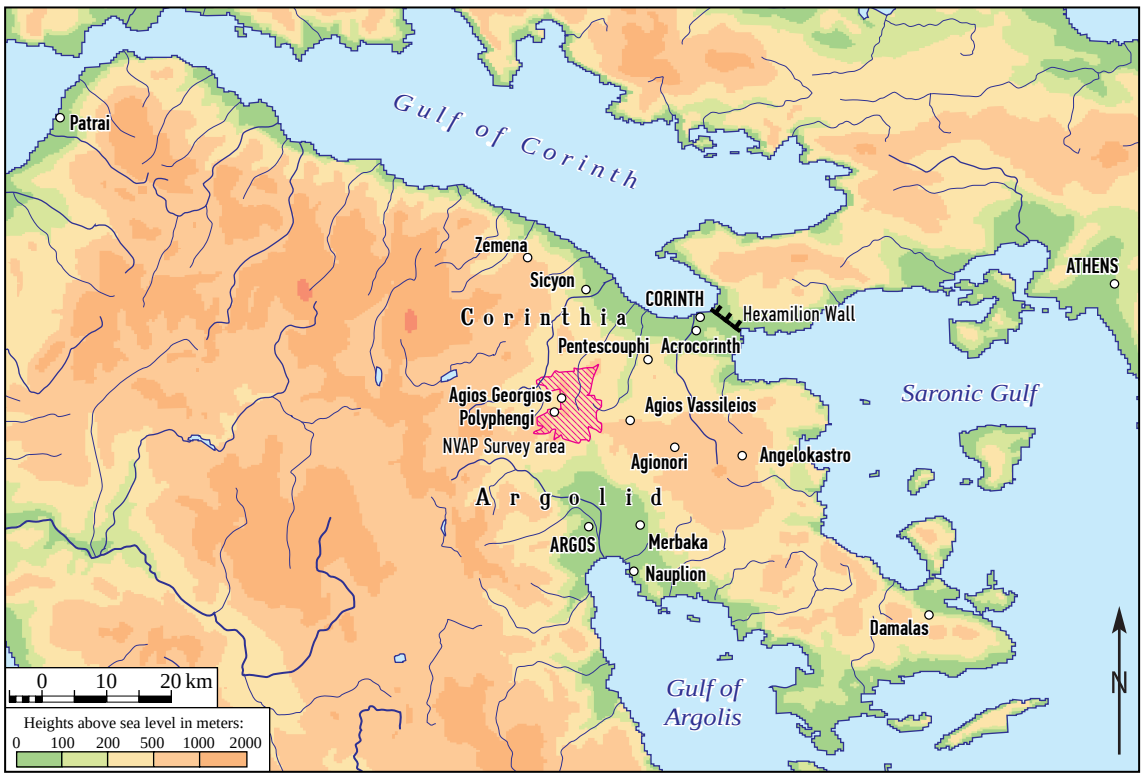

Fig. 1. Map of the North-Eastern Peloponnesos with the NVAP survey area.

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

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

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

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

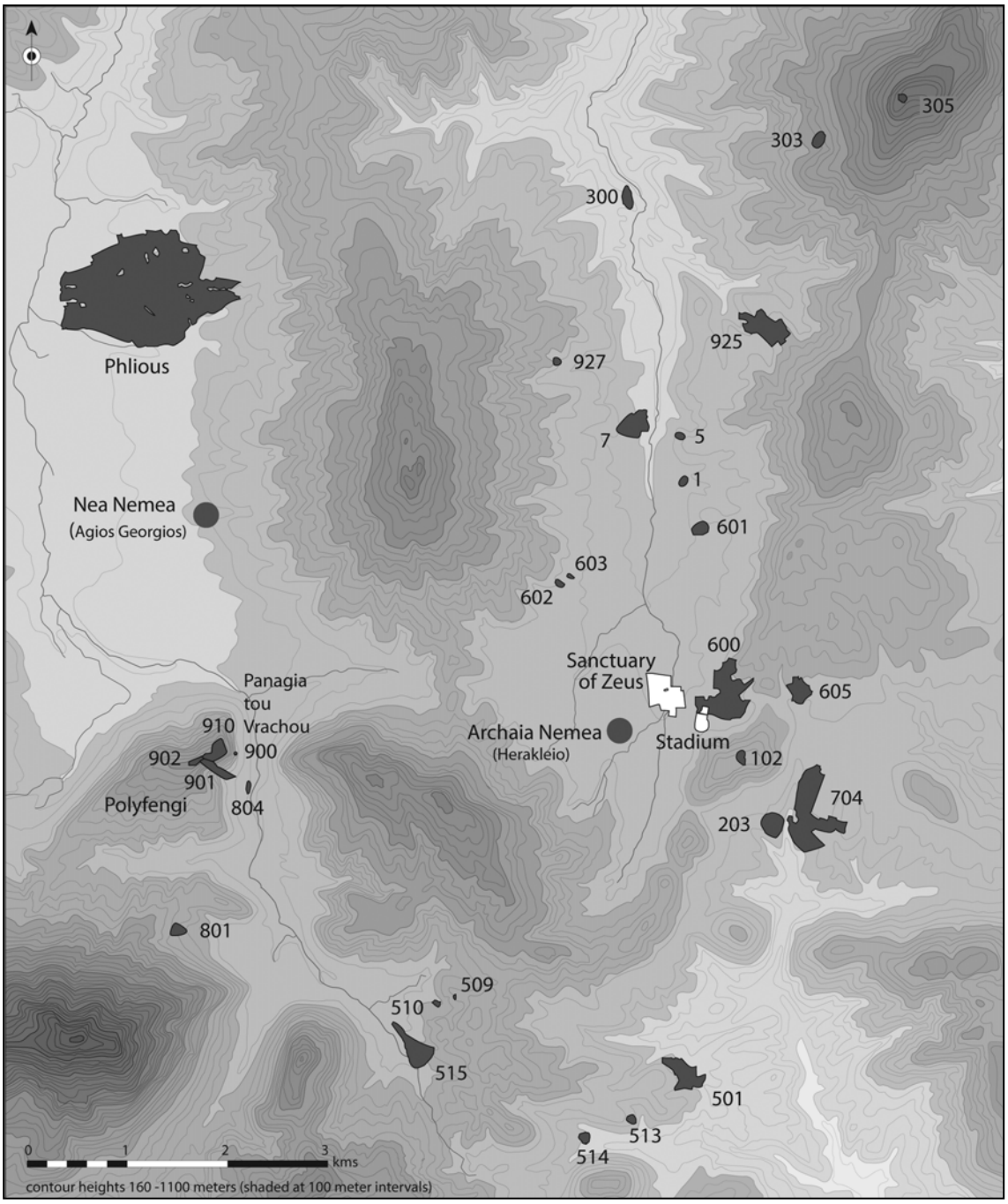

Fig. 2. Map of the NVAP survey area with medieval sites.

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

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

Furthermore, the 1980s mark the beginnings of a very active period of publications of medieval and post-medieval ceramics from various regions of Greece and Cyprus, often brought together in museum exhibits (E.g., Bakirtzis 1980; 1989; Bakirtzis, Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1981; Gregory 1987; Ioannidaki-Dostoglou 1989; Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1983; 1989; Philotheou, Michailidou 1986; Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1984; 1989). In 1987, the French Archaeological School in Athens organized the first specialized conference on Byzantine pottery (Deroche, Spieser 1989). Since then, the steady stream of publications on this subject has continued. A similar level of interest in the archaeological study of medieval material culture is evident in other areas, especially in Anatolia and the Near East (e.g., Sardis: Crawford 1990; Scott, Kamilli 1981; Pergamon: Spieser 1996; Near East: Boas 1999; Pringle

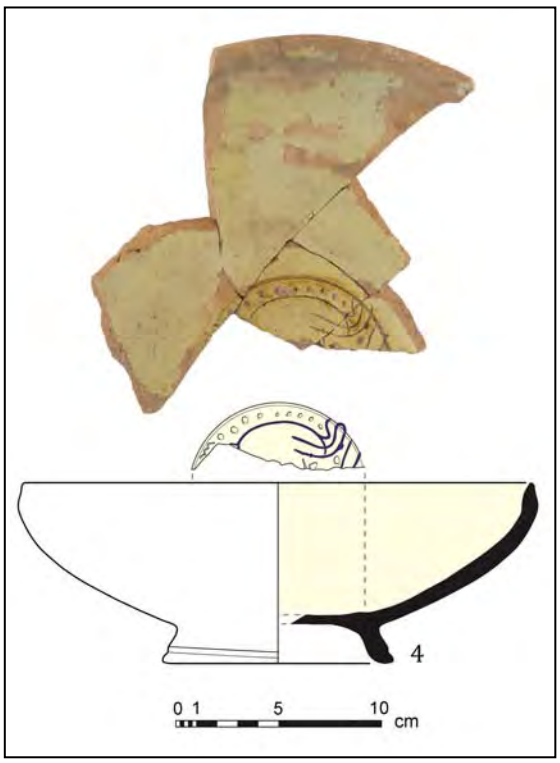

Fig. 3. Site 7 glazed pottery.

Рис. 3. Поливная керамика памятника 7.

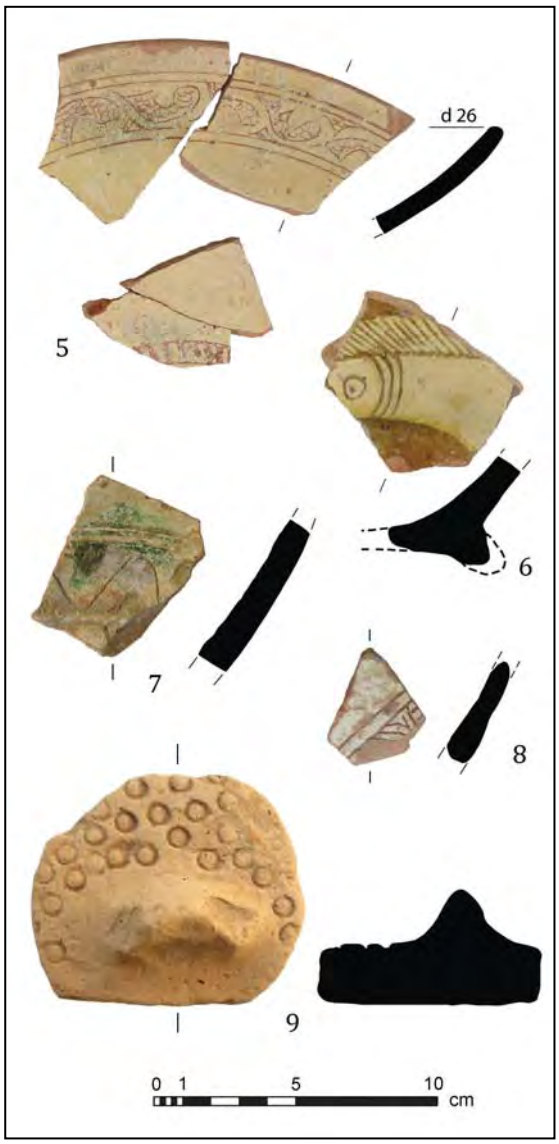

Fig. 4. Site 7 glazed pottery.

Рис. 4. Поливная керамика памятника 7.

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

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

The second generation of surveys, undertaken in the 1980s and 1990s, has taken an active interest in the archaeological documentation of the medieval countryside. Large-scale, intensive surveys have been carried out in many regions of Greece, including the Peloponnese, e.g., Southern Argolid (Jameson, Runnels, Van Andel 1994; Sutton 2000), Nemea (Wright et al. 1990; Athanassopoulos 2004; 2010; 2016), Laconia (Cavanagh et al. 1996; 2002), Berbati-Limnes (Wells, Runnels, Zangger 1990; Wells, Runnels 1996), Methana (Mee, Forbes 1997), Pylos (Davies 2004; Davis et al. 1997; Davis 1998), Asea (Forsén and Forsén 2003), Eastern Corinthia (Caraher, Nakassis, and Pettigrew 2006; Pettegrew 2007; Tartaron et al. 2006); central Greece (Boeotia: Bintliff, Snodgrass 1985; Bintliff 1996; Bintliff, Howard, Snodgrass 2007; Vionis 2008; Vroom 2003); Crete (Gkiasta 2008), especially Sphakia (Sphakia Survey n.d.) and Vrokastro (Hayden 2004; 2005); some of the Aegean islands, e.g., Cyclades (Vionis 2012), Melos (Renfrew, Wagstaff 1982; Sanders 1996), Keos (Cherry, Davis, Mantzourani 1991), and Kythera (Ince, Koukoulis, Smyth 1987; Ince et al. 1989).

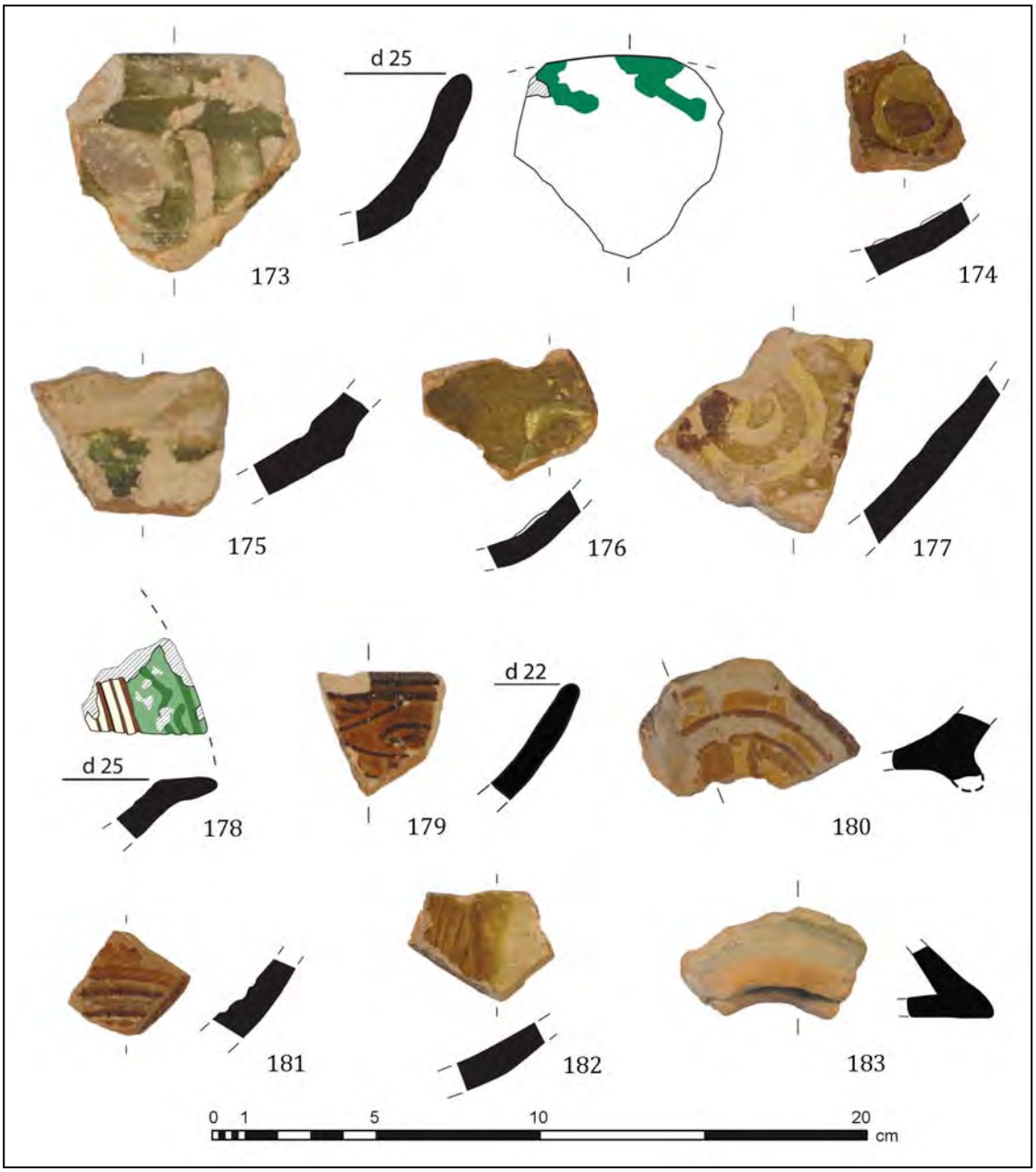

Fig. 5. Site 602 glazed pottery.

Рис. 5. Поливная керамика памятника 602.

The "new wave" of intensive surveys or landscape archaeology projects have made significant contributions to the study of the medieval landscape. They have produced substantial bodies of medieval material remains and provided detailed information on rural habitation and land use. Thus, for the first time we can approach this subject from the perspective of archaeology. Prior to the development of this approach, we were constrained by the lack of textual sources, such as tax registers or monastic archives, which are available only for few areas in Greece (e.g., Mount Athos). The availability of survey data has also encouraged the development of methods that integrate archival information with material remains. Thus, these efforts mark a new phase of growth for medieval archaeology in Greece.

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

Fig. 6. Map of site 600 and vicinity.

Рис. 6. Карта памятника 602 и его окрестностей.

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

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

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

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

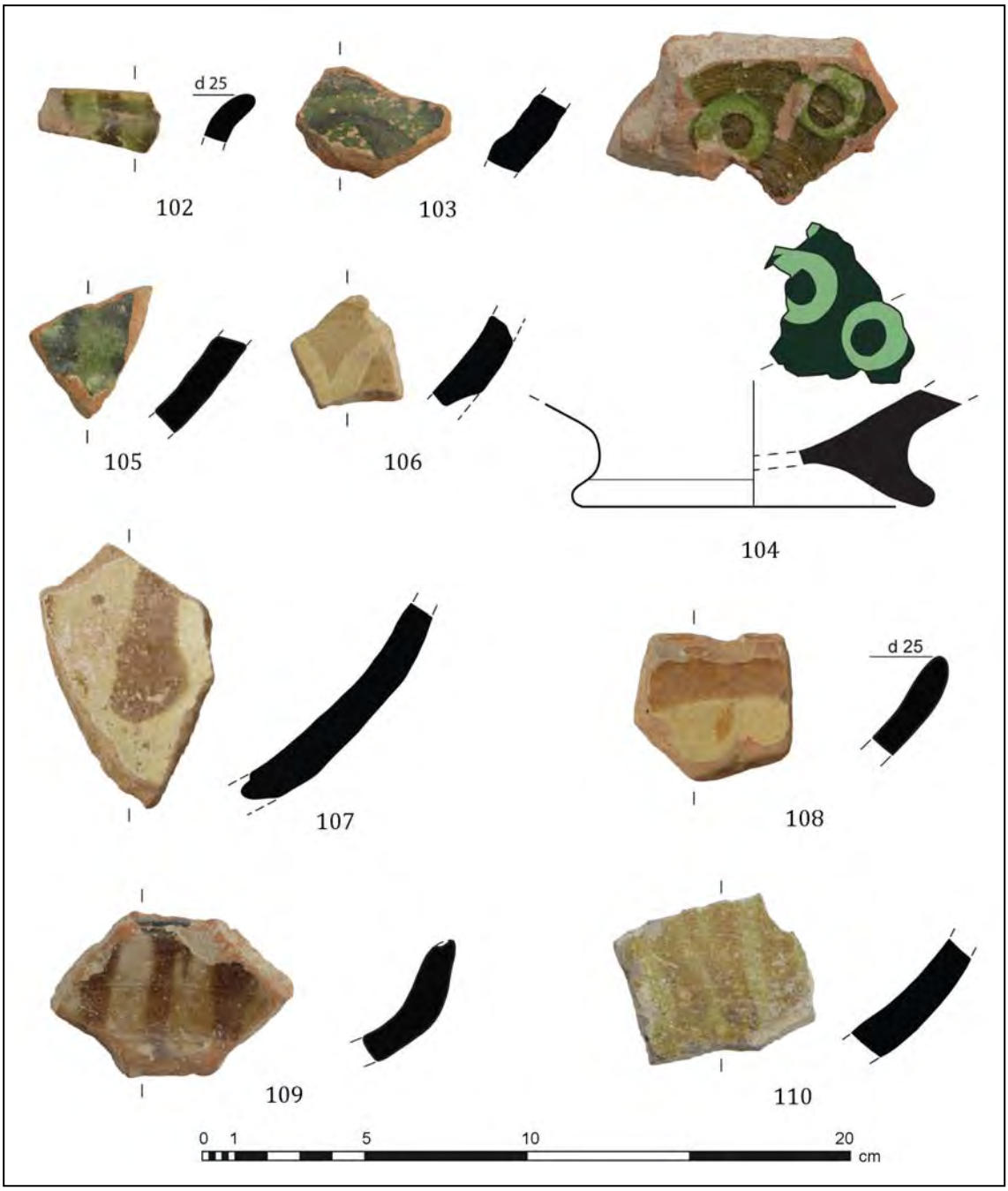

Fig. 7. Site 600 glazed pottery.

Рис. 7. Поливная керамика памятника 600.

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

Nemea: The Nemea Valley Archaeological Project

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

Fig. 8. Site 600 glazed pottery.

Рис. 8. Поливная керамика памятника 600.

vations (Cousin, Dürrbach 1885; Clemmensen, Vallois 1925). Further excavations were undertaken in 1924—1926, by B.H. Hill and C.W. Blegen (Blegen 1925; 1926; 1927) and in 1964, by C.K. Williams (Williams 1965). Since the early 1970s the University of California-Berkeley has continued the archaeological investigations at the Sanctuary of Zeus at Nemea and the Stadium. The excavations have produced substantial evidence for occupation during the 12th—13th centuries A.D. Farming activities were extensive; farming plots, an irrigation ditch, agricultural im-

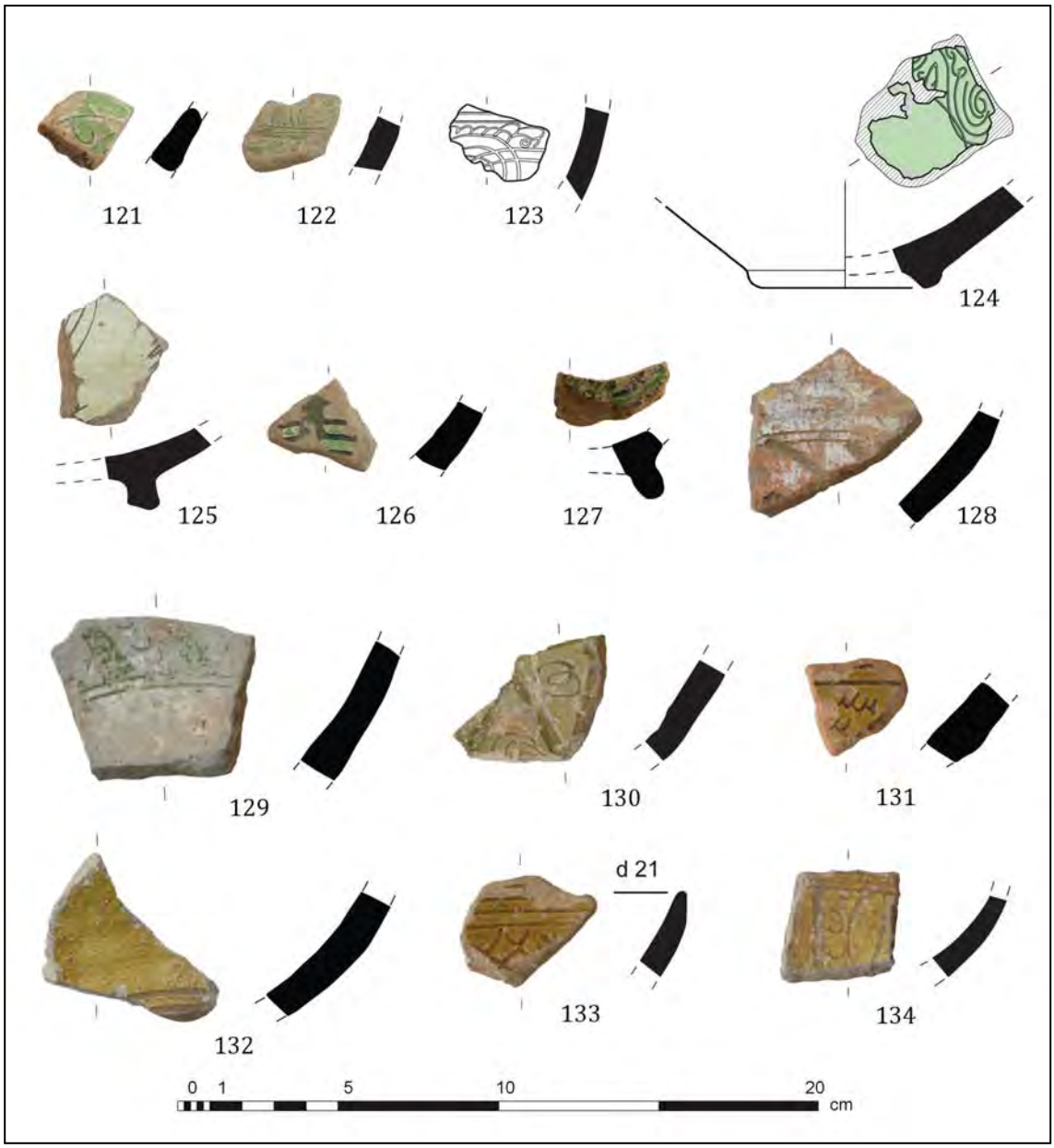

Fig. 9. Site 600 glazed pottery.

Рис. 9. Поливная керамика памятника 600.

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

In addition to the excavation, an intensive regional survey, the Nemea Valley Archaeological Project (NVAP), was undertaken in the 1980s in the region of Nemea (Fig. 1). The NVAP has established that medieval pottery, including glazed wares, is widely distributed in the Nemea valley and the surrounding area. There is a proliferation of habitation sites and agricultural activity during the late 11th/early 12th — early 14th centuries documented through intensive fieldwork.

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

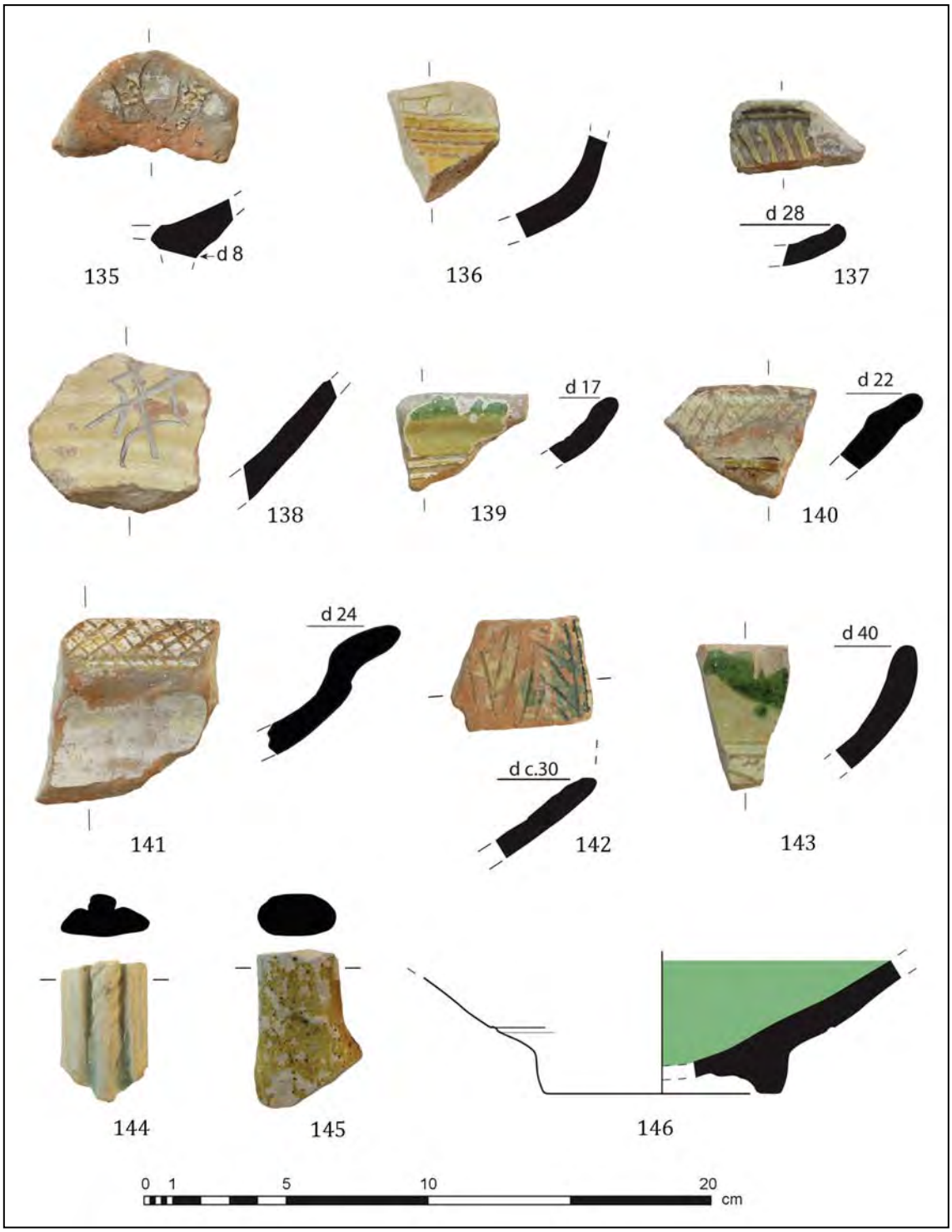

Fig. 10. Site 600 glazed pottery.

Рис. 10. Поливная керамика памятника 600.

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

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

[2] For a full presentation see Athanassopoulos 2016.

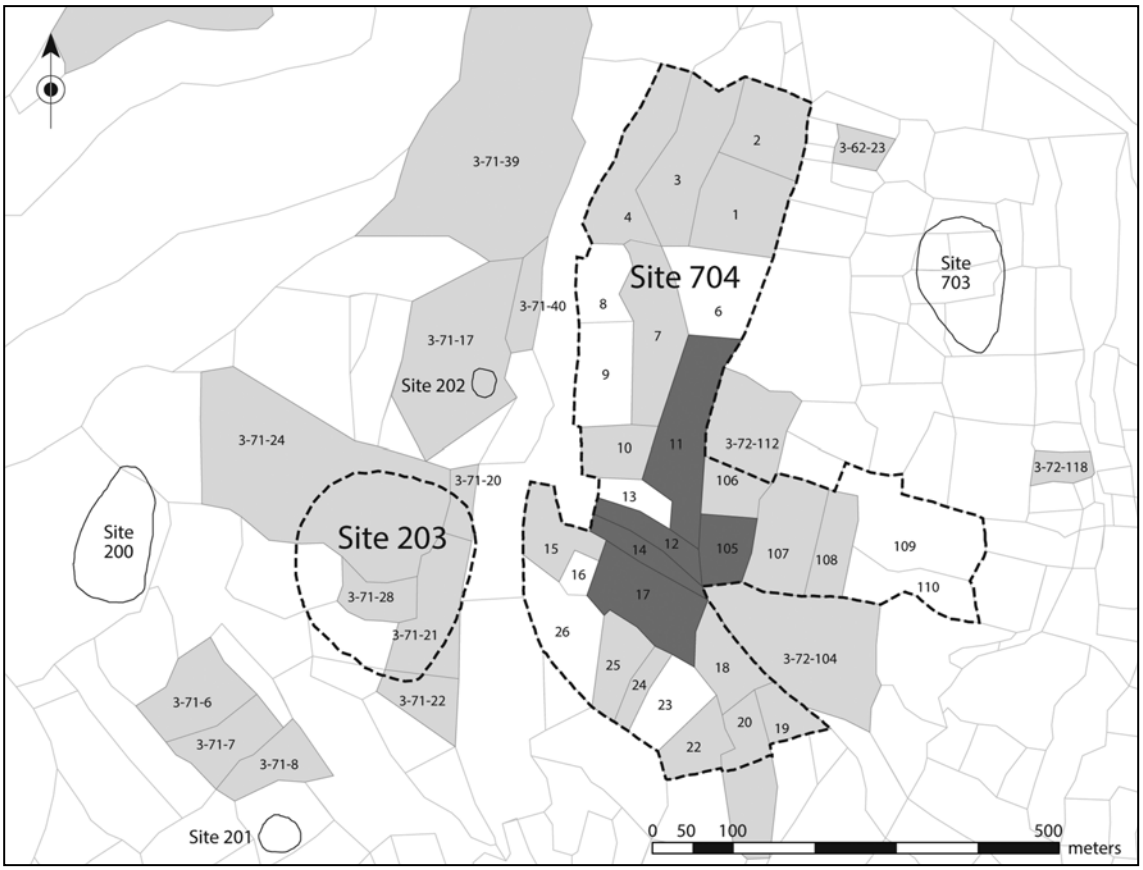

Fig. 11. Map of Site 704 and vicinity.

Рис. 11. Карта памятника 704 и его окрестностей.

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

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

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

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

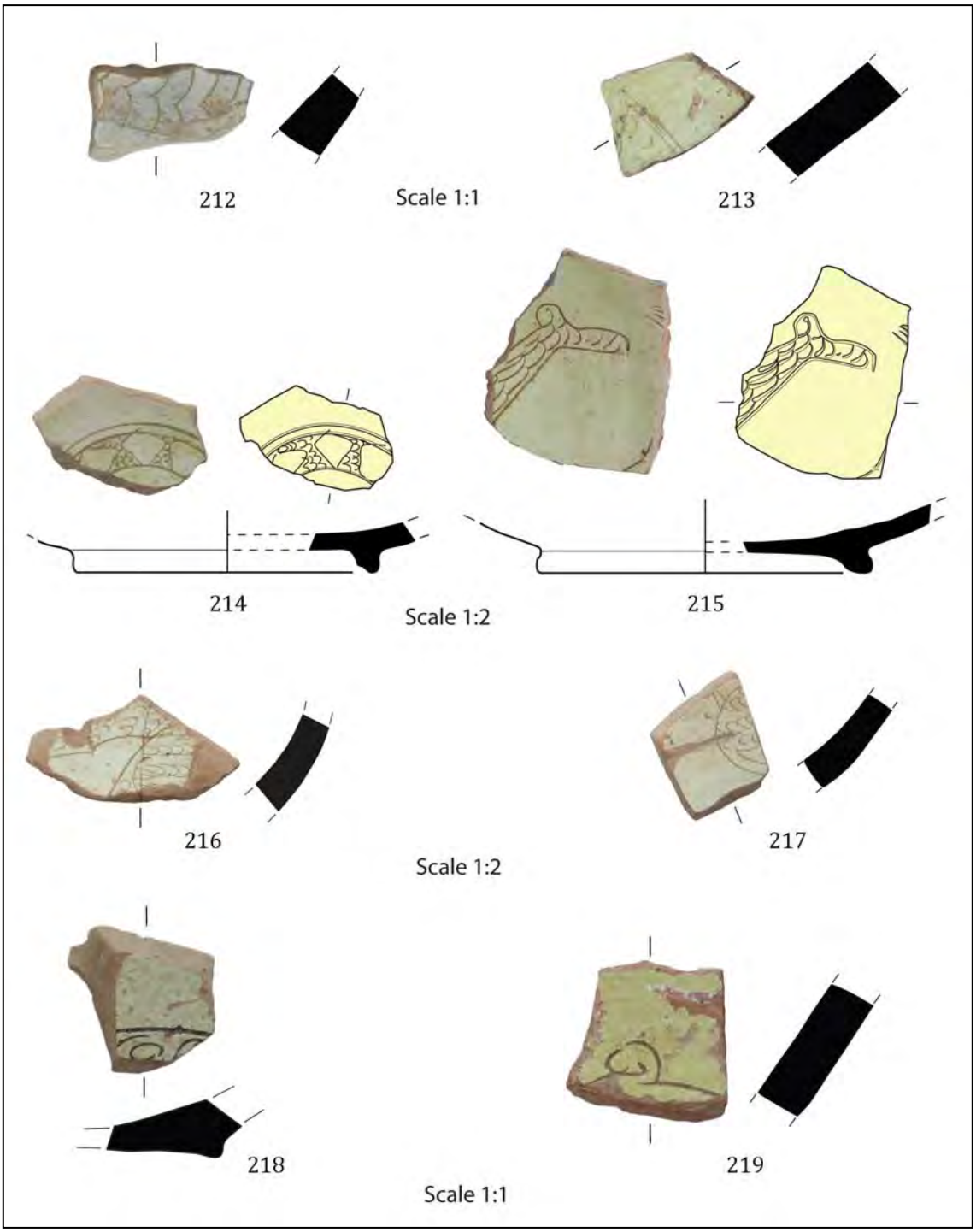

Fig. 12. Site 704 glazed pottery.

Рис. 12. Поливная керамика памятника 704.

green and brown painted styles (Fig. 13). Fine sgraffito fragments are represented by styles of the mid-late 12th century, including developed style sgraffito (Fig. 12: 214), and free style with depictions of a human foot/leg (Fig. 12: 215), and parts of birds or animals (Fig. 12: 216, 217). There are several styles of incised sgraffito of the 13th century with a variety of themes, such as incised leaf pattern (Fig. 13: 220, 221), concentric lines (Fig. 13: 222), incised medallion (Fig. 13: 223), and a fragment of incised ware with palmette and floral spray (Fig. 13: 226). Green and brown painted styles of the second half of the 13th century include vertical green stripes (Fig. 13: 227), pendent triangles (Fig. 13: 228), a green band outlined by a thin brown line (Fig. 13: 230),

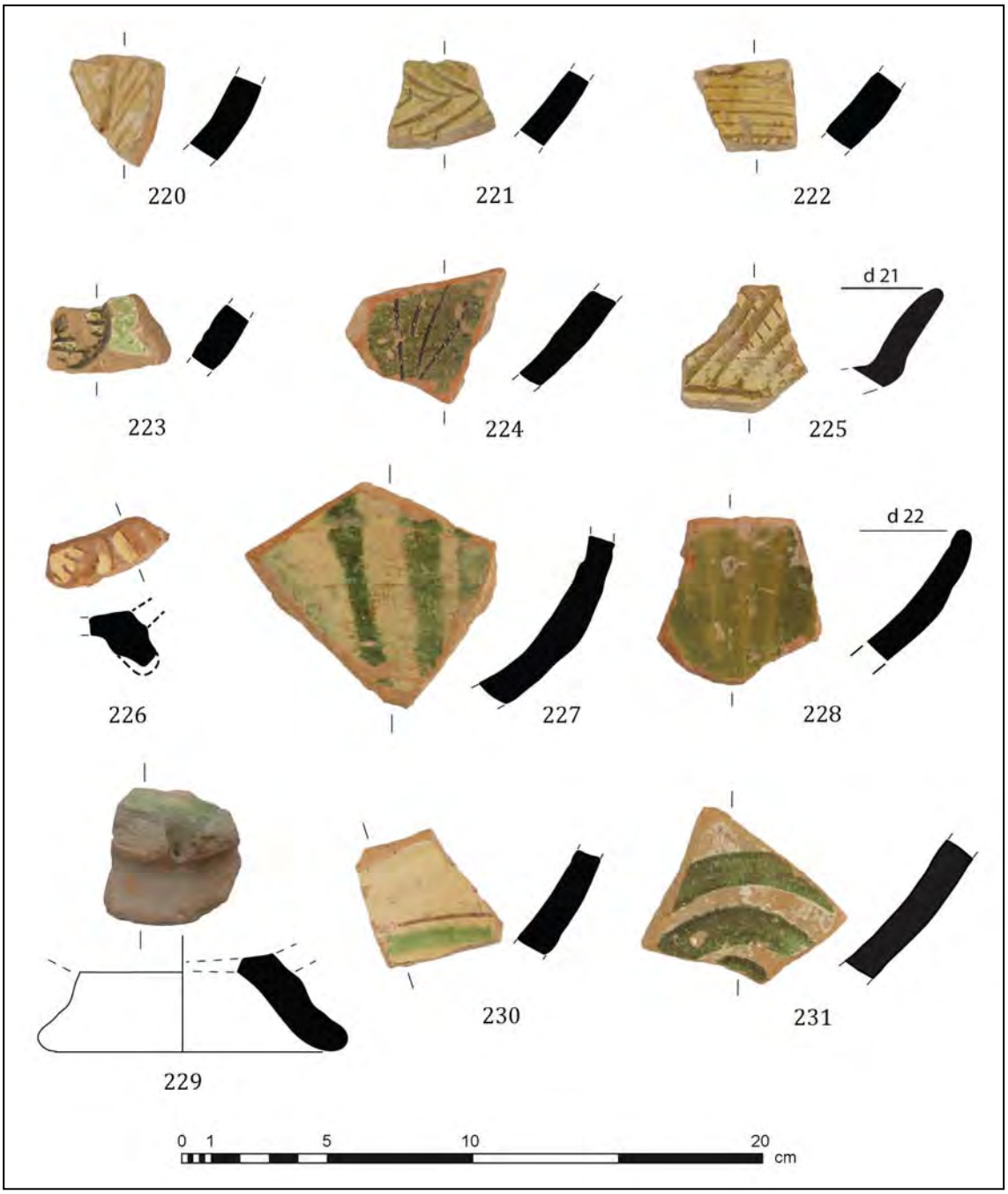

Fig. 13. Site 704 glazed pottery.

Рис. 13. Поливная керамика памятника 704.

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

One of the fundamental questions is whether the pottery in the Nemea region was locally produced. The expectation is that large coarse vessels, and cooking wares, which are plentiful in most sites, were probably of local origin. The same might be the case for some of the glazed wares. For example, the NVAP survey identified a medieval pottery workshop, which, most likely, produced glazed pottery. This is site 510 located below a farm and a small chapel, Agia Kyriaki, in the southern part of the NVAP survey area (Fig. 2). In addition to pottery and tile, artifacts found include a bronze coin of Nikephoros III (1075—1078) and a great number of ceramic rods and cylindrical "hooks" which indicate the presence of one or more pottery kilns at the

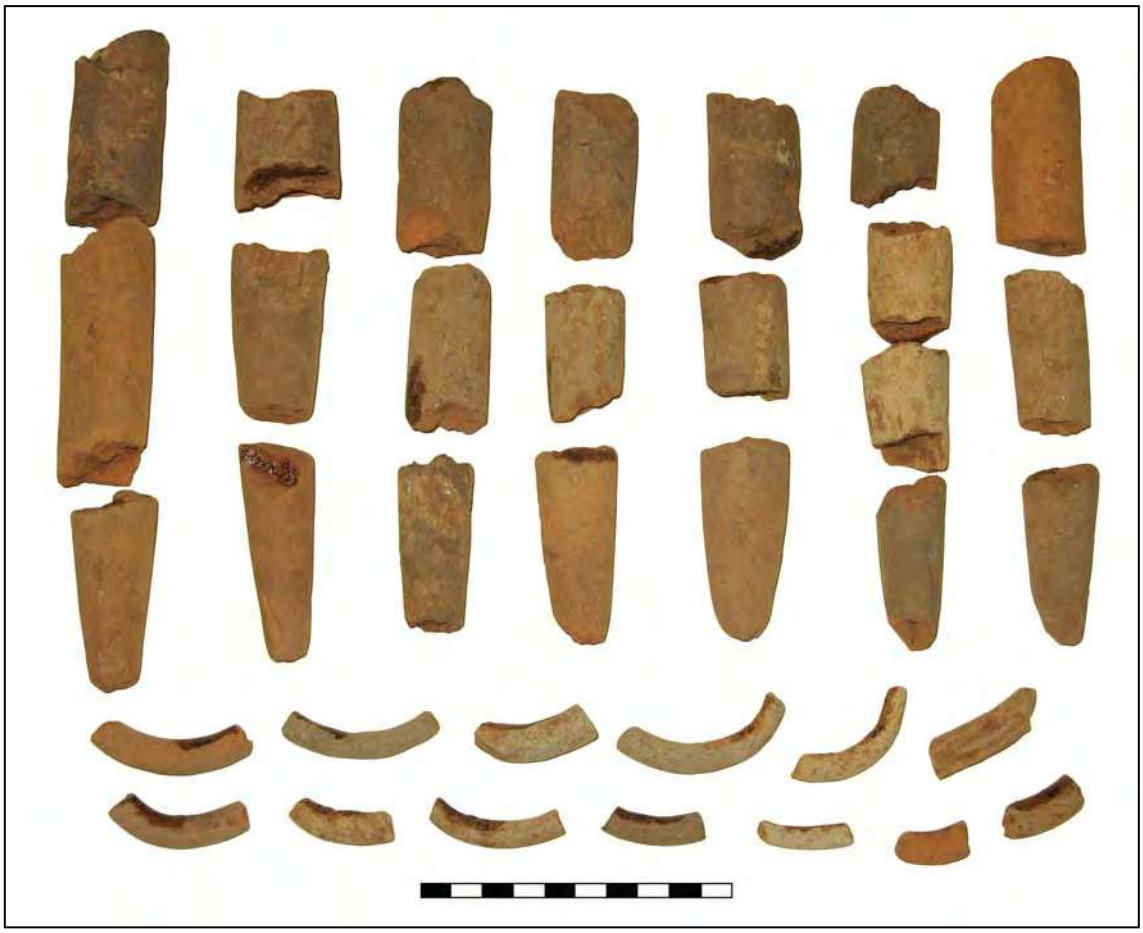

Fig. 14. Site 510 pottery kiln debris.

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

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

The decorated wares from site 510 include slip painted, both dotted (Fig. 16: 61, 62) and linear style (Fig. 16: 63, 64), slip painted II and III (Figs. 16: 65; 17: 66), incised sgraffito with concentric rings (Fig. 17: 70, 71), and brown and green painted wares (Figs. 16: 58—60; 17: 66, 67). The diagnostic material ranges in date from the late 11th — 13th centuries and suggests a settlement of significant duration.

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

Concluding Thoughts

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

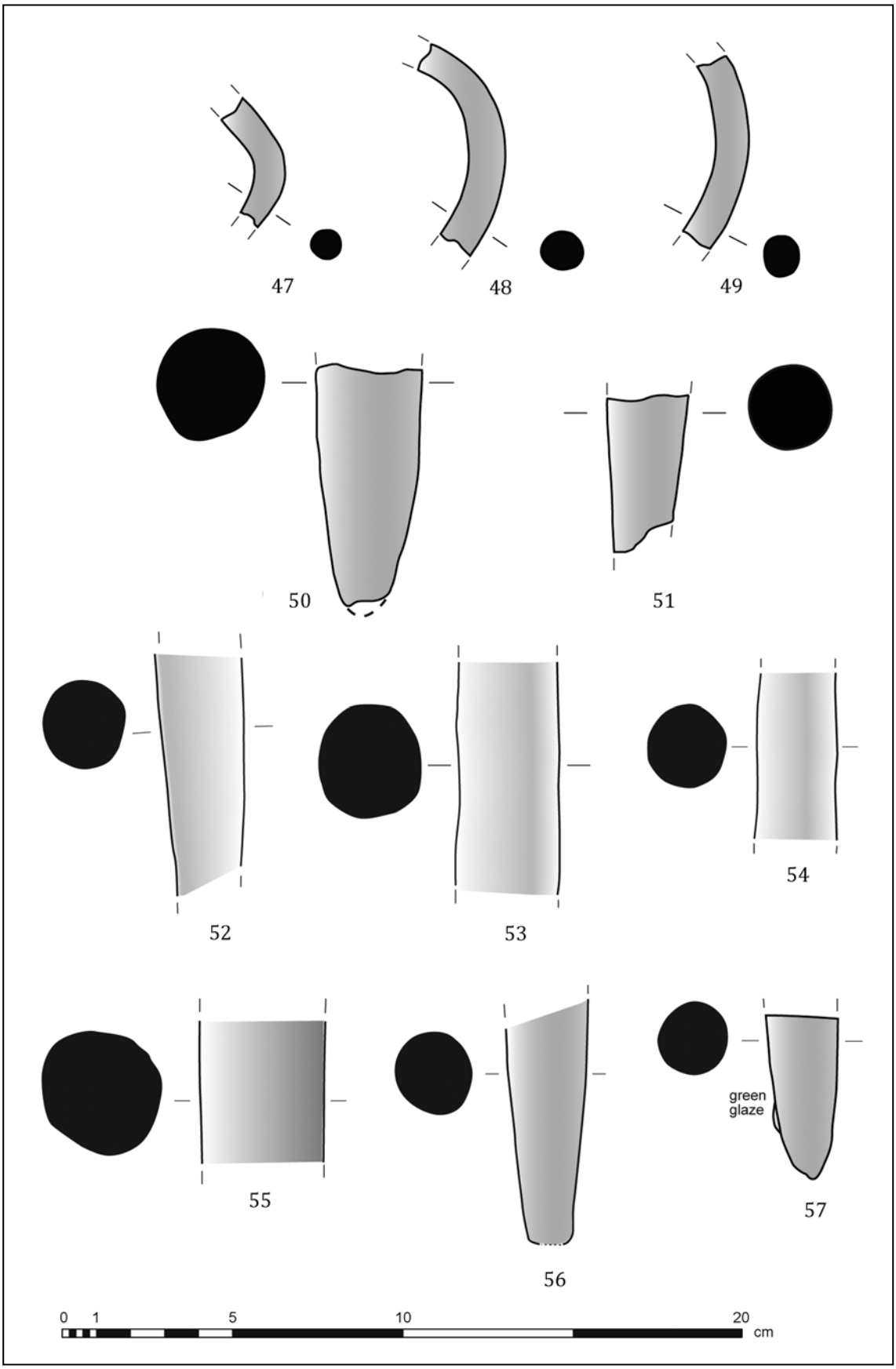

Fig. 15. Site 510 pottery kiln debris.

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

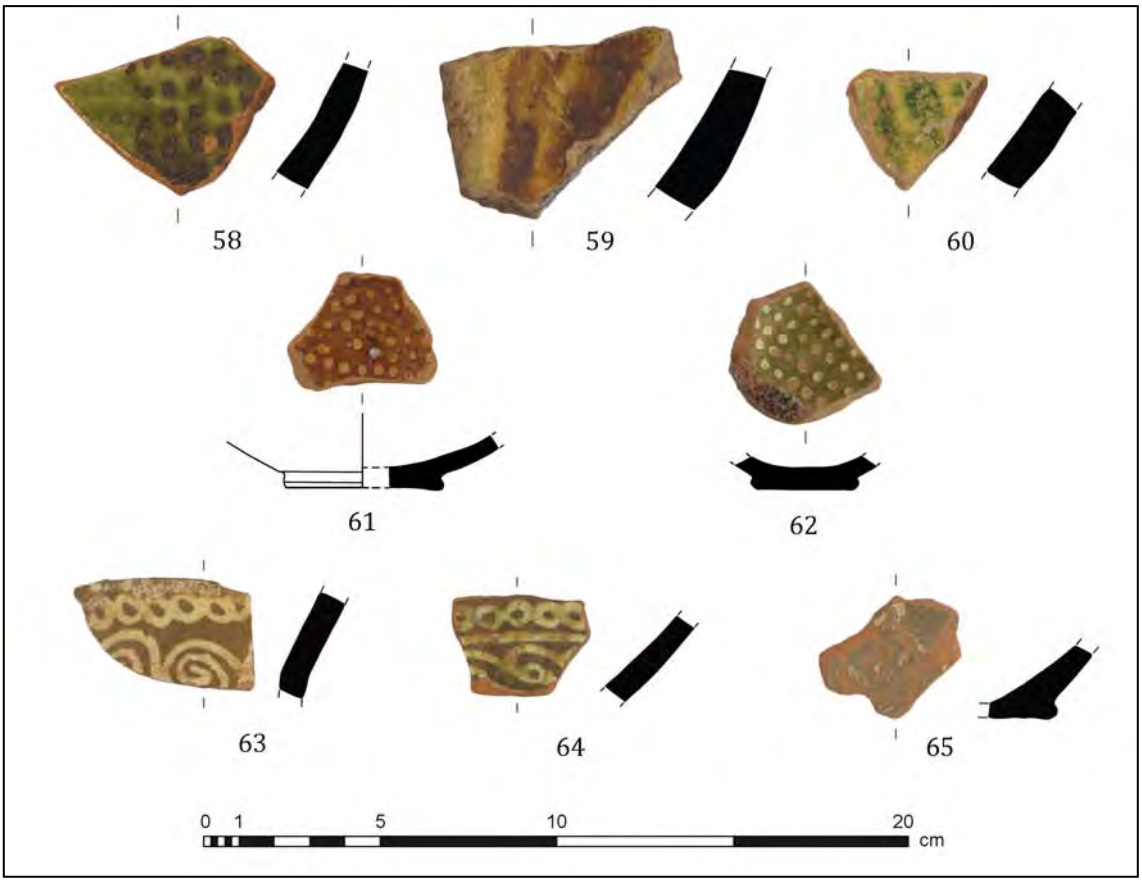

Fig. 16. Site 510 glazed wares.

Рис. 16. Поливные сосуды памятника 510.

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

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

Thus, although glazed pottery began as a luxury ware produced initially in Constantinople, over time it became a common form of pottery that was produced in regional workshops, in many different styles, and was widely distributed in urban and rural communities. Much of the evidence in southern Greece derives from excavations of important urban centers such as Corinth. However, the intensive archaeological surveys undertaken in the last 35 years have filled in the picture and documented the circulation of glazed ceramics in the countryside.

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

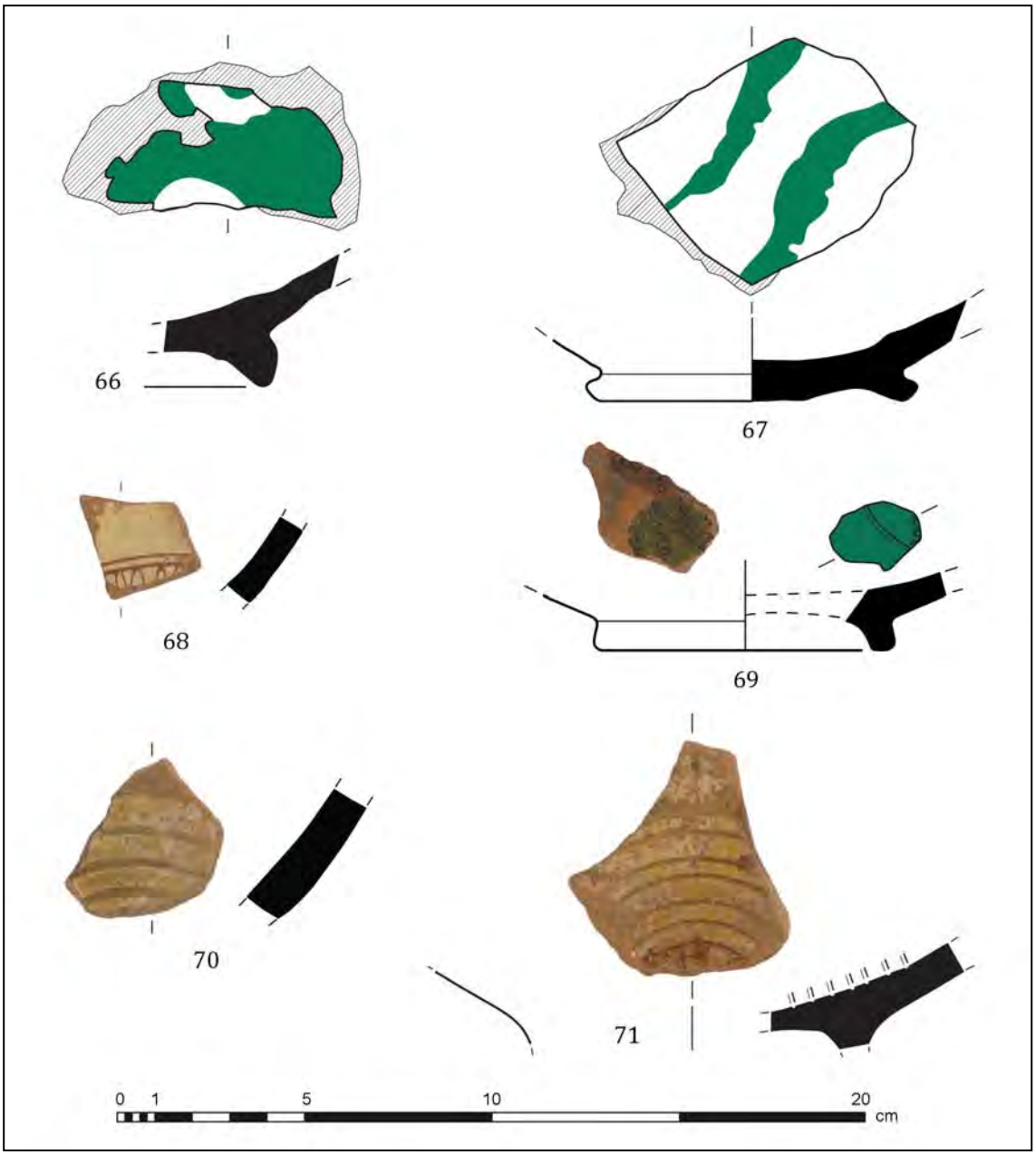

Fig. 17. Site 510 glazed wares.

Рис. 17. Поливные сосуды памятника 510.

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A Byzantine Settlement on the Kalabaklı Valley in the Hellespont: Yağcılar

Keywords: Hellespont, Kalabaklı Valley, Yağcılar village, Dardanos, Zeuxippus type

Ключевые слова: Геллеспонт, долина Калабаклы, селение Ягджылар, Дарданос, тип Зевксипп

A. Ç. Türker

A Byzantine Settlement on the Kalabaklı Valley in the Hellespont: Yağcılar

The Kalabaklı Valley is an approximately 12-km-long valley which extends towards the Hellespont in the south-east — north-west direction between 440-meter-high Bayraktepe in its north-east and 407-meter-high Beşiktepe in its south. Located in the south of the point at which the Kalabaklı Tributary reached the strait, Dardanos was an episcopal center in the Byzantine period. Probably, the settlement of the episcopacy of Dardanos also spread to Kepez in the north of the point at which the river reached the strait. Kepez has an important port, and numerous Byzantine glazed pottery items were detected during our surveys in this area. Vessels which were very analogous to the pottery in this area in terms of their paste, shape, and decoration characteristics were documented during the surveys we carried on in the Yağcılar Village in the upper section of the Kalabaklı Valley. Yağcılar, which we first detected during our surveys, has very rich surface materials, and the quality of the finds indicates that a production center probably existed.

А. Ч. Тюркер

Византийское поселение Ягджылар в долине Калабаклы на Геллеспонте

Долина Калабаклы простирается приблизительно на 12 км в сторону Геллеспонта с юго-востока на северо-запад, между 440-метровой вершиной Байрактепе на северо-востоке и 407-метровой вершиной Бешиктепе на юге. Дарданос, расположенный в её южной оконечности, там, где приток Калабаклы впадает в пролив, служил епархиальным центром в византийское время. Возможно, что епархиальные пределы Дараданоса распространялись и до Кепеза, к северу от места впадения реки в пролив. В Кепезе расположен важный порт, и на его территории мы нашли в ходе своих разведок многочисленные образцы византийской поливной керамики. Сосуды, очень близкие по тесту, форме и декору к керамике из этой области, были обнаружены нами в ходе разведок на территории селения Ягджылар в верхней части долины Калабаклы. Поселение Ягджылар, впервые обнаруженное в ходе разведок, дало очень богатый подъемный материал, а качество находок свидетельствует о вероятном существовании центра керамического производства.

The Black Sea and the Mediterranean Sea were important economic areas in the Byzantine period. The Hellespont, a natural maritime line which formed in the north-east — south-west direction, was of profound importance in the production-consumption relationships between these areas. From the historical data, it is understood that the strait preserved this important location throughout the Byzantine Period. According to these data, archaeological surveys were conducted regarding the Byzantine settlements in the Hellespont and on the valleys that reached the Hellespont as well as their patterns. According to the data we obtained in these studies, one of the common characteristics of the Byzantine coastal cities in the Hellespont is their possession of a natural port on the coast of the strait. The locations of these ports are generally the mouths of the valleys generated by the streams which reached the Hellespont. Archaeological data about the Byzantine period were obtained in our studies on the valleys. These data show that the valleys were densely settled in the Byzantine period. One of the reasons for this density is that

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the valleys which reached the Hellespont also determined the direction of transportation.

The surveys we carried out on the valleys that reached the Hellespont indicated the presence of a road network which had started from the ports on the coast of the strait and provided access to Cyzicus — the metropolis of Hellespontus. The main routes of this road network follow the Scamander and Aisepos Valleys as well as the Rhodius and Granicus Valleys[1]. The Kalabaklı Valley, where the Yağcılar Village is located, is connected to middle Scamander through the natural road generated by Değirmenderesi via the Kursak Valley. In addition, the natural road in the east of the Kalabaklı Valley follows the south of Mount Şap and reaches upper Granicus. At this point, it joins the road of the Kursak Valley that comes from middle Scamander. Through this road, one can easily access Cyzicus — the metropolis of Hellespontus.

The Kalabaklı Valley is an approximately 12-kilometer-long valley in the south-east — north-west direction between the 440-meter-high Bayrak Hill in its north-east and the 407-meter-high Beşiktepe in its south (Fig. 1). It takes its name from the Kalabaklı Village in the middle section of the valley. In the south of the point where the Kalabaklı Tributary reaches the sea is the settlement of Dardanos, whereas the settlement of Kepez is located in the north of it. The settlement of Dardanos — an episcopal center in the Byzantine period — probably spread over both areas (Türker 2013: 361—374). These two settlements are at the same time located on the coastal road extending in the south-west — north-east direction and providing access to Cyzicus — the center of Hellespontus — that was one of the ports in the Aegean Sea.

The finds pertaining to the pottery and terracotta roof materials were detected in our surveys at the Maslak altı-Ören locality about 1.5 km to the north-east of the Yağcılar Village (Fig. 1). The finds spread over an area with a radius of approximately 180 m in the agricultural lands in the north and south of the Yağcılar-Ulupınar road. However, they are densely detected in an area with a radius of approximately 110 m. The finds include examples of red-slipped, unglazed, and glazed pottery groups besides the terracotta construction and roof covering materials. In addition there are four coins of Byzantine period that were found in Yağcılar and conserved in Çanakkale Archaeology Museum, i.e. a folles of Theodosius II (402—450), a folles of Leo VI (866—912) and a class C anonymous folles (Fig. 2).

All glazed pottery items have red paste. Vessels decorated in the incised technique are considerable among the glazed pottery items with red paste. Examples of the Aegean Ware and the Zeuxippus family were detected among these vessels with an incised decoration. The sherds of the Aegean Ware consist of few wall sherds of bowls (Fig. 3). The paste of these sherds is tile

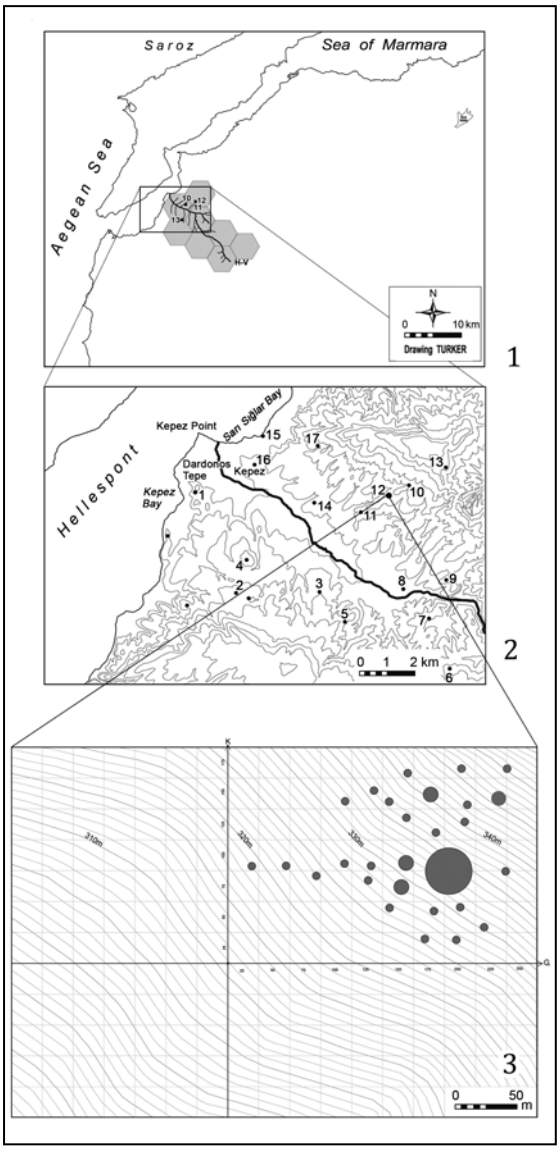

Fig. 1. 1, 2 — Location of Yağcılar Village in the Hellespont; 3 — density and distribution of ceramics on the Maslak Altı-Ören locality (drawing by T. Türker).

Рис. 1. 1, 2 — локализация селения Ягджылар на Геллеспонте; 3 — плотность находок и распределение керамики в местности Маслак Алты-Эрен (рис. Т. Тюркер).

[1] Studies were carried out on the valleys that reached the Hellespont and in their surrounding areas and significant information on the road network of the region in the Byzantine period was reached through these studies. The results of this study, including new findings for the research on the Byzantine period, are being prepared for publication.

Fig. 2. Byzantine coins from Yağcılar Village in the Çanakkale Archaeology Museum (photo by A. Ç. Türker).

Рис. 2. Византийские монеты из селения Ягджылар в Археологическом музее г. Чанаккале (фото А.Ч. Тюркер).

red (5YR6/10), moderately firm, and heavily and coarse stone- and limestone-tempered. The slip applied to the interiors of the vessels is cream. Light yellow (5Y8/8) glaze was applied to one of the sherds, whereas green glaze was applied to the other sherds (2,5GY8/8). Incised lines are seen on the broken sherds; however, the motifs cannot be understood. It might be predicted that a spike motif was probably present on the better preserved and light yellow glazed sherd.

Called Aegean Ware with the finds from Saranda Kolonnes, these vessels are dated to the early 13th century by Megaw (Megaw 1975: 34—45). Nevertheless, it is determined that their prototypes in both shape and decoration were produced in the second half of the 12th century. Examples of the Aegean Ware were detected in the Crimea, along with the settlements on the Aegean and Mediterranean coasts[2]. Aegean ware was also documented in Sestos, Kepez, Madytos, Koila, Gallipoli, and Çokal by us in the surveys we conducted in the areas on the coast of the Hellespont, which qualified as an important watercourse in the commercial relations between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean Sea. Being surface finds, these sherds can be dated to the late 12th century depending on their analogues.

The sherds of the vessels defined as Class I and Class II by Megaw are found in the Zeuxippus

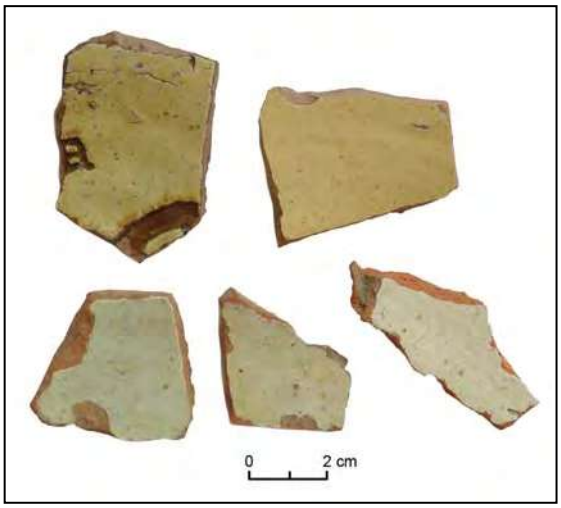

Fig. 3. Aegean ware sherds from Yağcılar (photo by A. Ç. Türker).

Рис. 3. Черепки эгейских сосудов из Ягджылар (фото А. Тюркер).

family[3]. All sherds other than a handle sherd (Fig. 8: 25) of a closed vessel are mouth, wall, and base sherds of bowl- or plate-type open vessels. Two different types of paste are detected in the examples of Class I with monochrome glaze. The first one is firm and hard as well as heavily

[2] For the distributional area of the vessels and the specimens in İzmir Archaeology Museum see: Doğer 2000: 13.

[3] For this ware see: Megaw 1968: 67—88; 1971: 117—146; 1972a; 1972b: 322—343; 1976: 117—146; 1982: 210—216; 1989: 259—266; Megaw et al. 2003: 91—100.

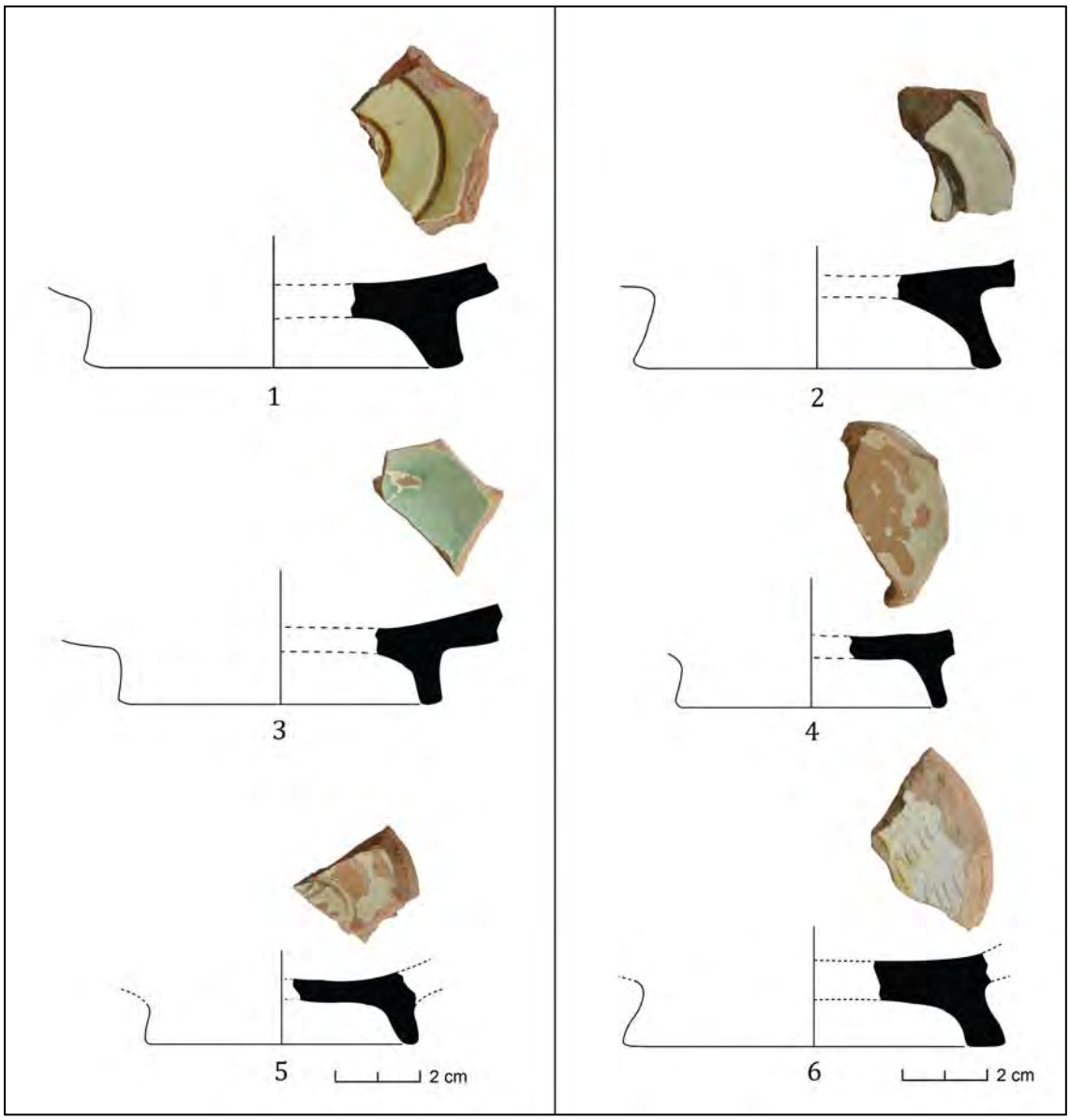

Fig. 4. Pottery from Yağcılar (drawing by T. Türker).

Рис. 4. Керамика из Ягджылар (рис. Т. Тюркер).

and small stone- and limestone-tempered paste. On the other hand, the second one is moderately firm and hard as well as heavily and coarse stone-, limestone-, and mica-tempered. The cream slip covering the interiors of the vessels was applied to the rim on the exterior except for one example. On the other hand, slip and glaze are also available on the exterior of the foot in one of the base sherds (Fig. 4: 4). The glaze appearing brilliant and of good quality was applied in the form of a thick layer.

The decoration composition on the sherds likely to be evaluated in this group of the Zeuxippus family, which is defined as IA, consists of a single circle at the center (Fig. 5: 7) or concentric circles (Fig. 4: 1, 2, 5). They are circles which were incised with thin or thick lines. The base sherds are broken, and the whole composition cannot be detected; however, the circles at the center were left hollow. Incised decorations cannot be seen on three of the sherds. Nevertheless, a tripod trace can be detected on one of these sherds (Fig. 5: 8).

The interiors of the mouth sherds contained incisions which consisted of one line or two lines generally to encircle the rim (Fig. 5: 12; Fig. 6: 13, 15—17; Fig. 7: 19; Fig. 8: 23). Besides the incised lines encircling the rim, decoration motifs are present in the area probably bordered by lines on two sherds (Fig. 9: 27, 29). As far as it

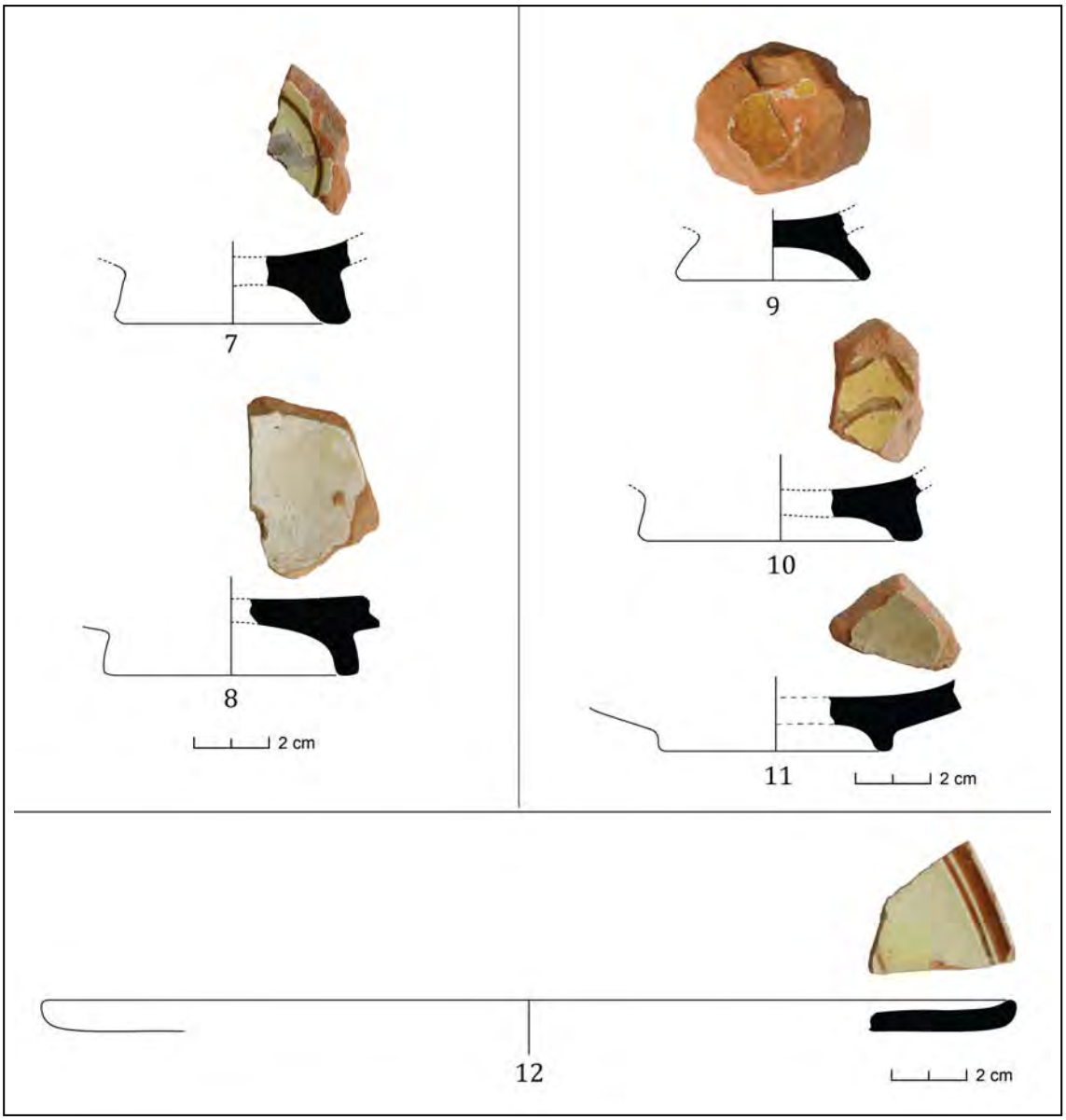

Fig. 5. Pottery from Yağcılar (drawing by T. Türker).

Рис. 5. Керамика из Ягджылар (рис. Т. Тюркер).

can be understood from the broken sherds, one of the sherds contains a folded branch composition[4] (Fig. 9: 27), whereas the other one contains a knot motif and the motif consisting of incised lines and generally applied on the tondo in the Zeuxippus family (Spieser 1996: taf. 11—181, 182; Zekos 2003: 455—466, fig. 19). Two different arrangements are seen on the exteriors of the mouth sherds. The first one comprises one incised line or two incised lines encircling the rim (Fig. 6: 14; Fig. 8: 23, Fig. 9: 29). The second one is the arrangement which is comprised of the lines vertically incised in a slightly sloping fashion in parallel to each other and is very common on the vessels in the Zeuxippus family (Fig. 7: 18, 20, 21; Fig. 8: 22, Fig. 9: 27).

The sherds likely to be evaluated in Group B, glazed in the shades of orange & brown (10YR6/12) in Class I pottery, are few. There is a base (Fig. 5: 9) sherd and a mouth (Fig. 8: 24) sherd besides the wall sherds. No decoration is seen on the wall and base sherds out of them, while the mouth sherd contains an arrangement which consists of two incised lines encircling the rim on the interior.

[4] Sherds with an analogous arrangement at the rim were also unearthed at the excavations in Gülpınar. See: Yenişehirlioğlu 1989: 305, fig. 2/A41.

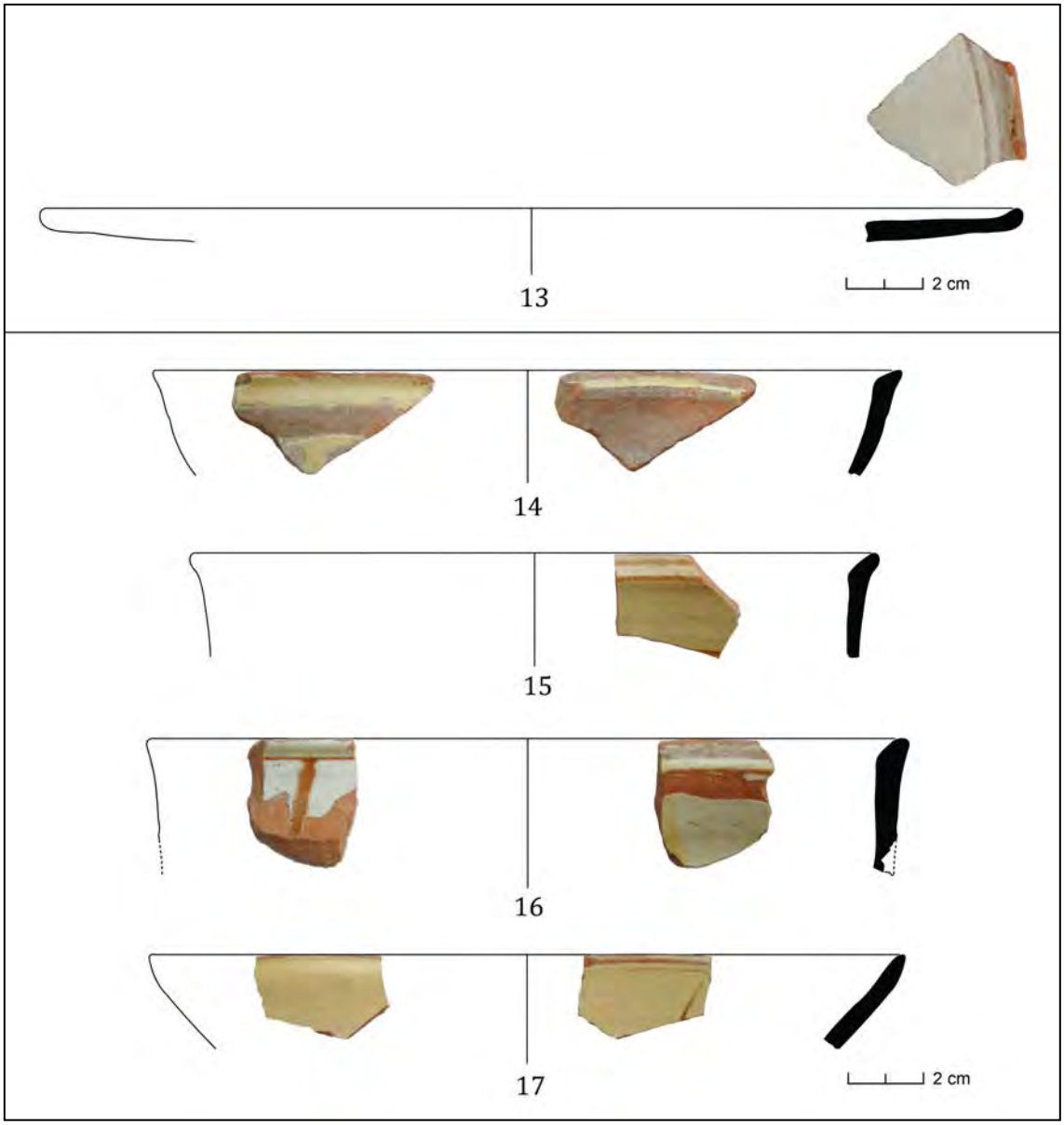

Fig. 6. Pottery from Yağcılar (drawing by T. Türker).

Рис. 6. Керамика из Ягджылар (рис. Т. Тюркер).

In the examples of Class II, the paste is firm and hard as well as heavily and small limestone- and stone-tempered and moderately heavily and small mica-tempered. The paintings in the form of brown spots are characteristic of this pottery. The vessels were covered with transparent glaze or glazed in the shade of pale yellow. In all sherds, the glaze is brilliant and of good quality and was applied in the form of a thick layer. The decoration composition visible on the base sherds is comprised of concentric circles (Fig. 10: 33) or decorations in the area bordered by a circle (Fig. 9: 30—32) on the tondo of the vessel. A knot motif within the circle at the center of the vessel and an arrangement formed by successively repeating the edge lines of this motif are available on one of the sherds. A bowl sherd on which this motif is contained is seen among the finds from Micro Pisto (Papanikola-Bakirtzis, Zikos 2007: 91). A christogram motif was probably included in the area bordered by a circle on the second sherd (Fig. 9: 30). Letter "X", which forms the christogram, and some of the cross shape are visible on the preserved sherd. The tips of the arms of the cross end with three semicircles. A wall sherd among the finds also contains a large cross pattern and an arrangement consisting of half palmettes on both sides of it (Fig. 11).

Decorated with a cross pattern, these plates indicate a liturgical use. Although lacking some

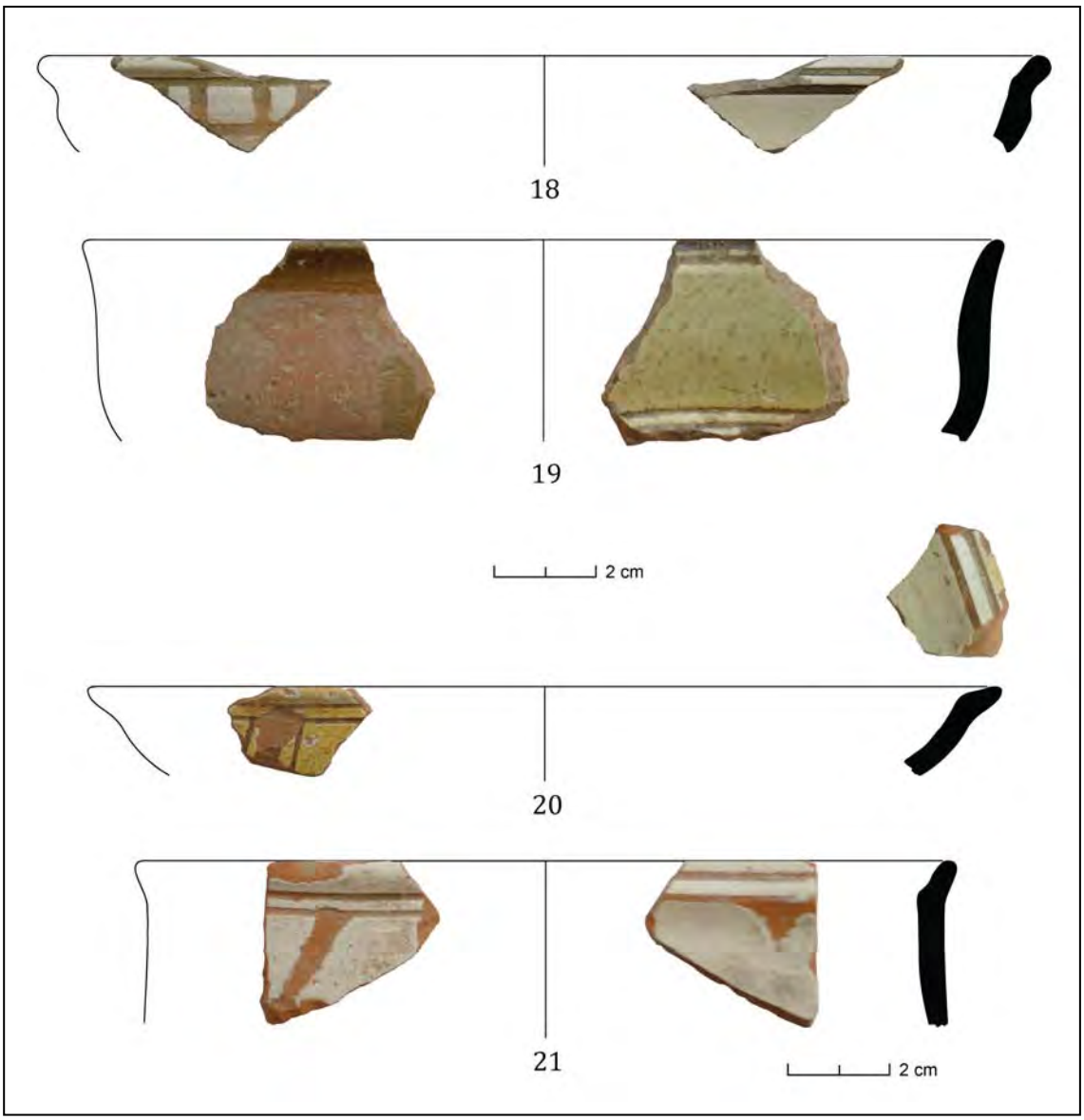

Fig. 7. Pottery from Yağcılar (drawing by T. Türker).

Рис. 7. Керамика из Ягджылар (рис. Т. Тюркер).

analogous composition, three plates with a cross pattern were also detected at the excavations in Thrace. Two of them were unearthed in Papikion, whereas one of them was unearthed at the excavation of a small church in Paliochora near Maroneia (Papanikola-Bakirtzis, Zikos 2007: 45, 74, 123, nu. 31, 72, 133). These examples are also sherds which are considered to have had a liturgical use (Papanikola-Bakirtzis, Zikos 2007:14). These archaeological data overlap the narration by the Byzantine Historian Nicephoras Gregoras (1290—1360). Gregoras stated that there was a change in the appearance of the altar in the aftermath of the fall of the Latin Empire and expressed that ceramic vessels were used instead of golden and silver plates (Piltz 1996: 6). A ceramic chalice unearthed at the excavations in İznik also constitutes a significant datum in this sense[5].

It is understood that arrangements consisting of decoration motifs placed freely on the interior of the vessel were also included besides the arrangement created with a medallion in the examples of Class II. A small portion of the com-

[5] Besides the cross pattern, inscriptions are also available at the rim and in the foot section on this work (Parman 2007: 243; Ivison 2000, 216—220). Archaeological data about the use of ceramic vessels in liturgy were also unearthed at the excavations of St. Nicholas Church in Demre/Myra, and, by evaluating together with the wall paintings, it was understood that unglazed pottery items could also be used in liturgy (Türker 2009: 111—113).

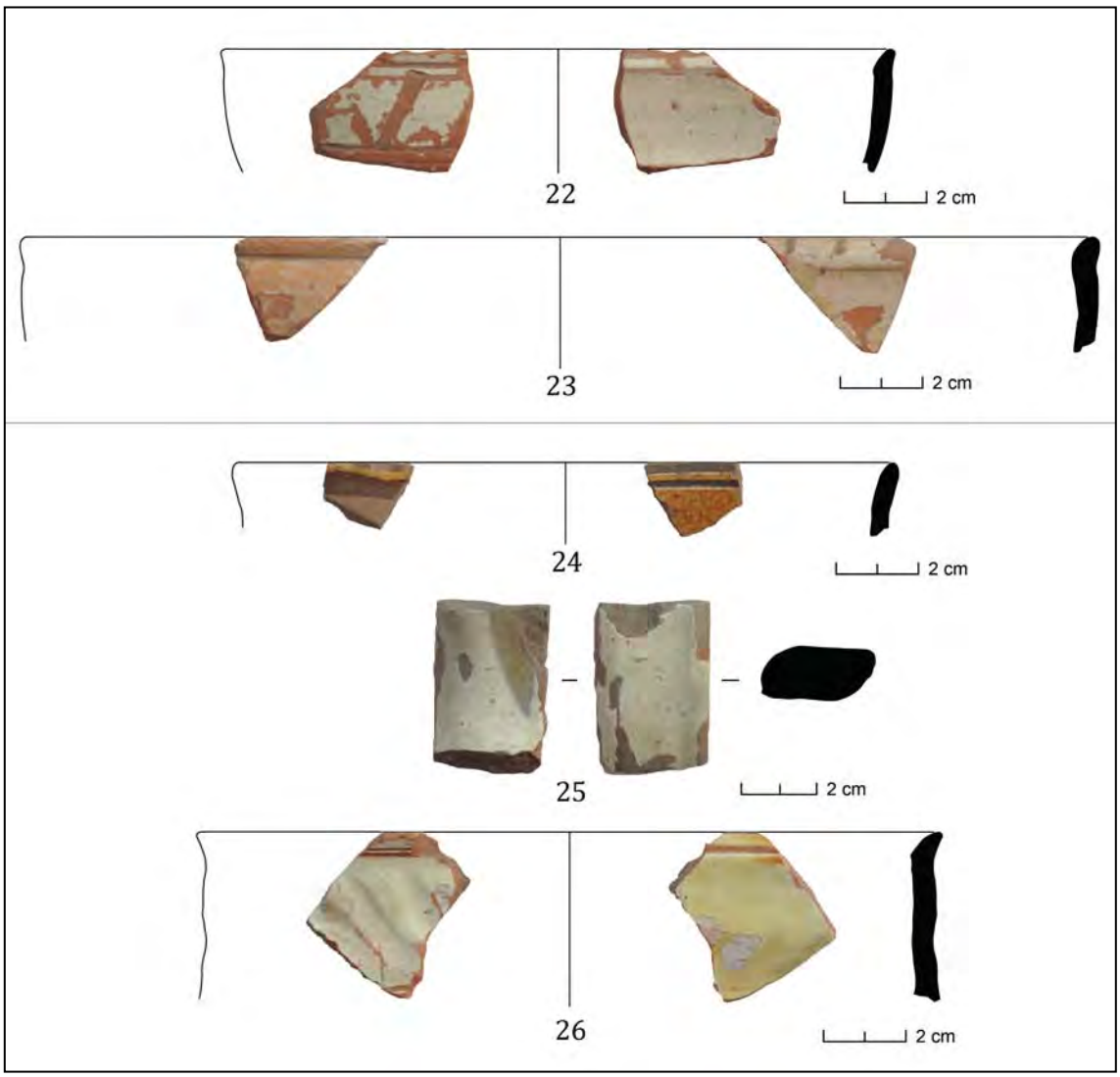

Fig. 8. Pottery from Yağcılar (drawing by T. Türker).

Рис. 8. Керамика из Ягджылар (рис. Т. Тюркер).

position on a base sherd (34) likely to be evaluated in this group can be seen. However, according to the incisions, it might be thought that an animal figure was probably present[6]. The wall sherds also include sherds on the interior and exterior of which tripod traces are seen (Fig. 11).

An incised line encircling the mouth (Fig. 10: 36) is available on one of the three mouth sherds likely to be evaluated in this group. It is understood that some geometric composition was included on the second sherd, along with two incised lines encircling the mouth (Fig. 10: 37). A simpler arrangement is seen on the third sherd. Incised lines were vertically placed at specific intervals between two parallel lines which encircled the mouth (Fig. 10: 38). A repair hole on this sherd indicates that the vessel was repaired and used for some more time after it had been broken. Such repair holes are frequently detected in the Zeuxippus family — one of the pottery groups very considerably detected in the settlements on the Aegean and Marmara coasts. Accordingly, it is understood that it was a common practice to use the vessels by repairing them after they had been broken. This encourages one to think that these vessels, which had been produced in large numbers, were indeed expensive productions.

The pottery items called Zeuxippus Ware according to their findspots in İstanbul are dated to the transitional period between the Komnenos

[6] Sherds of a similar type were also detected among the finds from Kepez and Anaia. For Kepez see: Türker 2013: nu. 35, 36, 67; for Anaia see: Mercangöz, Doğer 2009: 83—101, esp. 99, Tab. IV a.

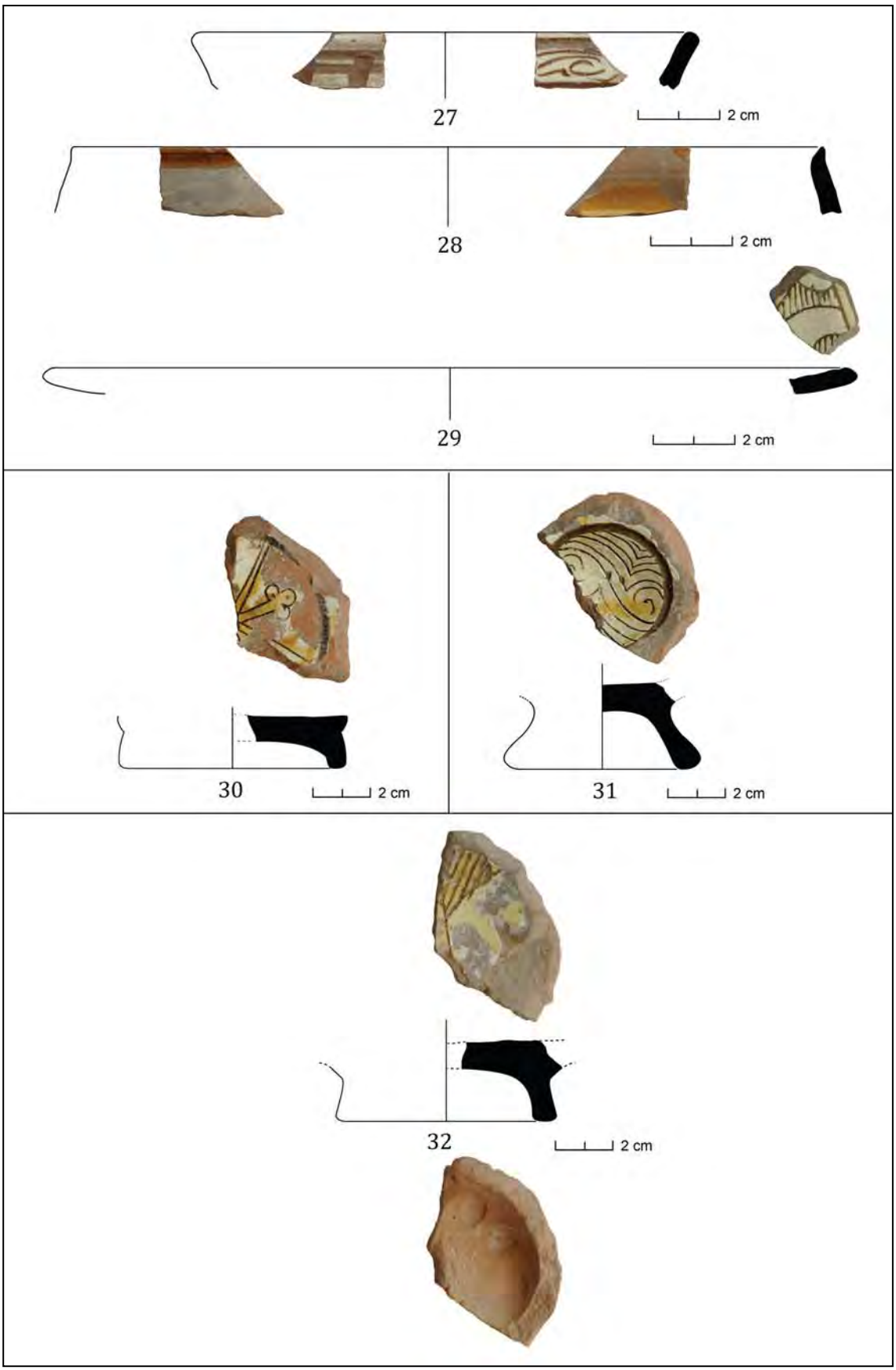

Fig. 9. Pottery from Yağcılar (drawing by T. Türker).

Рис. 9. Керамика из Ягджылар (рис. Т. Тюркер).

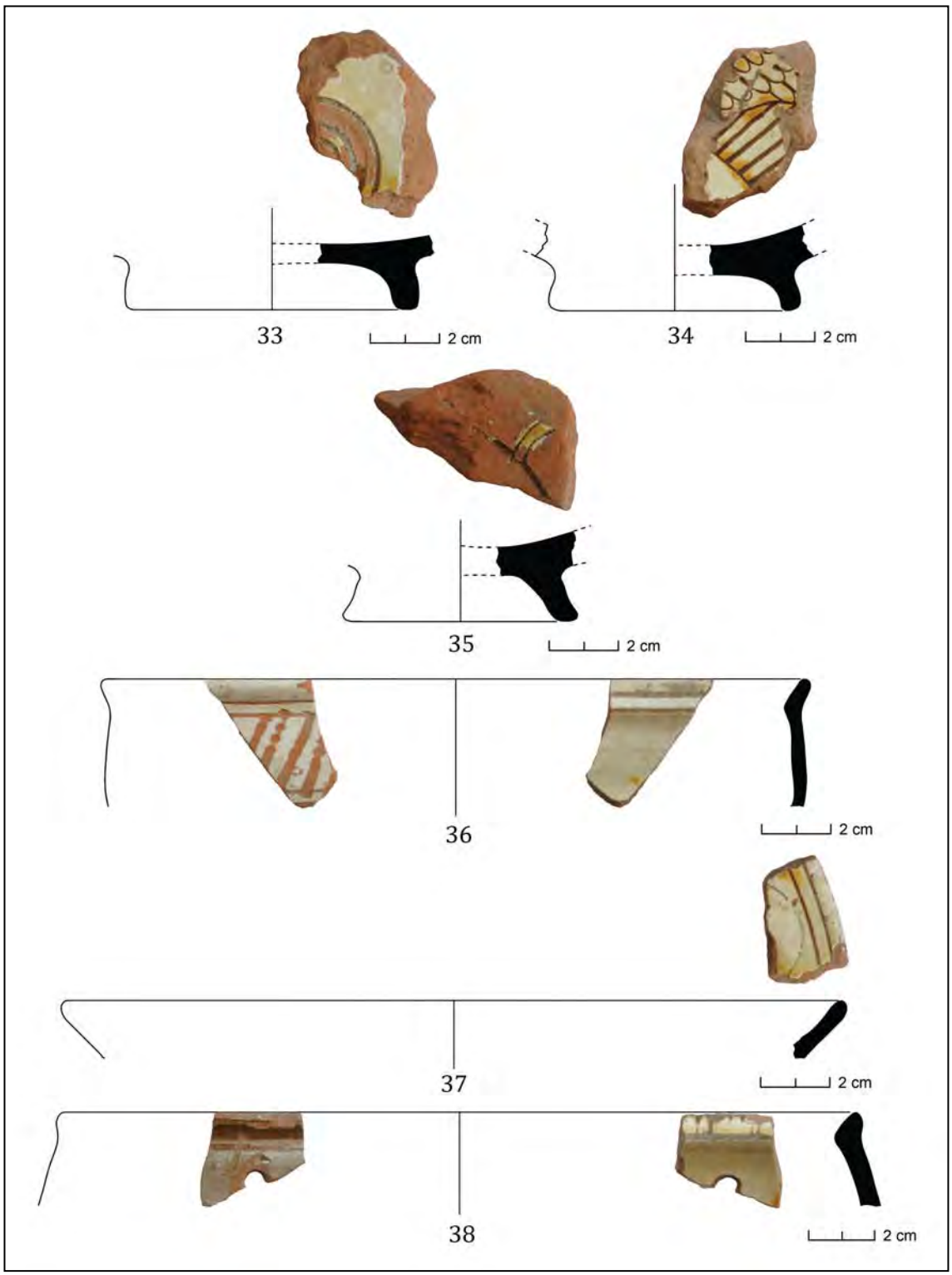

Fig. 10. Pottery from Yağcılar (drawing by T. Türker).

Рис. 10. Керамика из Ягджылар (рис. Т. Тюркер).

and Paleologos Families and evaluated as the productions of the period when the Latins had a say in the Byzantine trade. Tripod traces are seen on some of the ceramic base and wall sherds in the Zeuxippus family we detected in Yağcılar. An increase in the quantity of fired products was achieved as a result of the change in the glazed pottery production technology in the late 12th — early 13th centuries, and a directly proportional increase is also seen in the number of glazed

Fig. 11. Pottery from Yağcılar (photo by A. Ç. Türker).

Рис. 11. Керамика из Ягджылар (фото А.Ч. Тюркер).

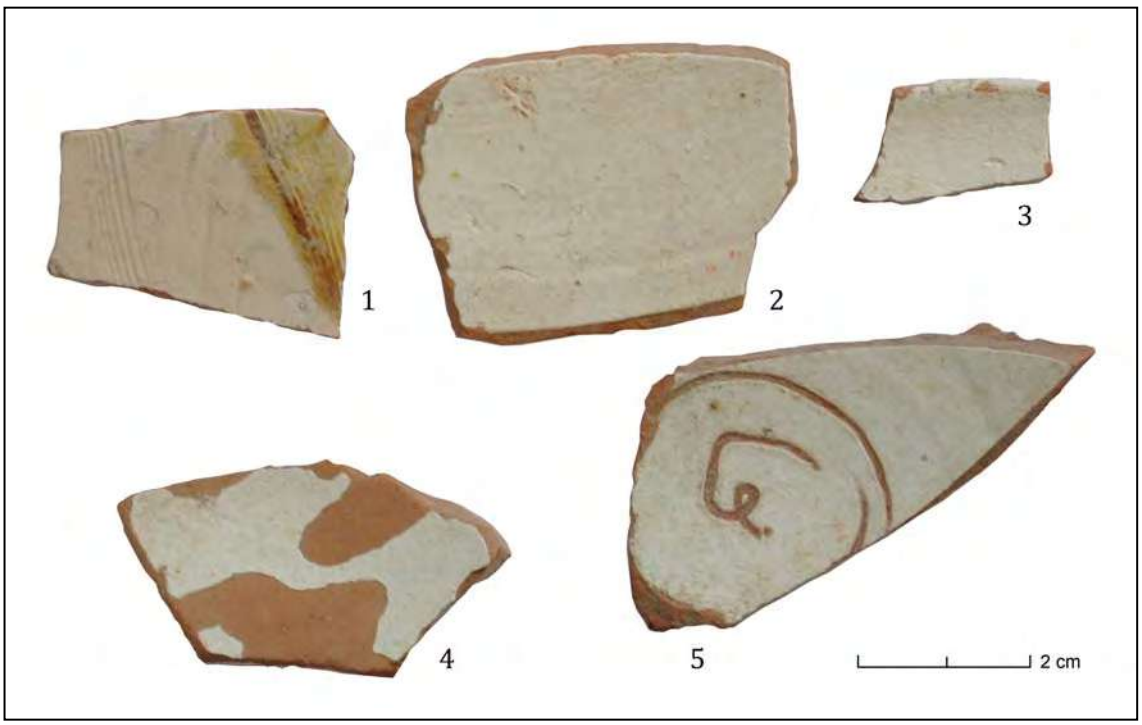

Fig. 12. Semi-finished pottery sherds from Yağcılar (photo by A. Ç. Türker).

Рис. 12. Фрагменты полуоконченных изделий из Ягджылар (фото А.Ч. Тюркер).

vessels. Traces of the tripods used during firing can be detected in the majority of the vessels belonging to this period. These traces are generally evaluated as the data which indicate production. Besides the sherds with tripod traces, the finds also include defective productions and semi-finished items left unglazed after they had been biscuit fired and slipped or after the composition had been incised on the slip (Fig. 12).

There are two base sherds which were left unglazed after they had been decorated in the incised technique on the cream slip. In one of them, the circle starting from a point on the tondo was left without joining its two ends[7]. Inside this section is a spiral which is not located at the center of the circle. Identically incised spirals are present at the rim of a plate among the finds from Abdera/Polystylon in Thrace (Papanikola-Bakirtzis, Zikos 2007: 20)[8]. On the second sherd is a decoration which is composed of lines that make an "S" between the combed lines and which is prevalent on the pottery in the Zeuxippus ware. Nevertheless, short horizontal lines were placed between the combed vertical lines on this sherd instead of an "S". However, the incised lines are superficial, and the slip was applied after the incised lines had been created. It is seen that the brown paint, which is characteristic in Group II of the Zeuxippus family, was applied to this sherd; however, no glazing was performed after this stage.

These sherds can be evaluated as the data which indicate production in Yağcılar or its close vicinity. Sherds which are of a similar quality and indicate production are detected in Kepez, Karacaören, Pegae, Sestos, Madytos, and Çokal out of the settlements on the coast of the Hellespont, along with Yağcılar. Several tripod sherds likely to constitute support for production were also documented in Kepez. Nevertheless, our findings in these settlements are based only on surface finds[9]. Hence, it will be misleading to make a judgment with these materials. However, the presence of production in this region will not be surprising given the location of the Hellespont between the Black Sea and Mediterranean commercial areas and the commercial activities that the Latins carried out in the settlements by the strait throughout the late Byzantine Period.

Catalogue

1. Base sherd, approximate diameter: 8 cm; the firm and hard paste (2,5YR6/10) is heavily and small sand- and mica-tempered as well as sparsely and moderately coarse limestone-tempered; light green glaze (10Y8,5/6) on the cream slip on the interior; cream slip in the form of irregularly smudged fragments on the exterior; and the composition of incised concentric circles at the center of the vessel.

2. Base sherd, approximate diameter: 8 cm; the firm and hard paste (2,5YR6/8) is moderately heavily and moderately coarse limestone-, stone-, and mica-tempered; cream slip and pale green glaze on the interior (10Y9/4); and the composition of incised concentric circles at the center of the vessel.

3. Base sherd, approximate diameter: 10 cm; the firm and hard paste (2,5YR6/8) is heavily and small sand- and mica-tempered; cream slip and green glaze on the interior (7,5GY7/6); and no decoration is seen on the preserved sherd.

4. Base sherd, approximate diameter: 8 cm; the firm and hard paste (5YR6/6) is moderately heavily and small limestone-, sand-, and mica-tempered; cream slip on the foot on the interior and the exterior; pale yellow glaze (5Y8/4) on the interior of the vessel; and no decoration is seen on the preserved sherd.

5. Base sherd, approximate diameter: 6 cm; the firm and hard paste (2,5YR7/10) is moderately heavily and small limestone-, sand-, and mica-tempered; cream slip and pale yellow glaze on the interior (8Y8,5/4); a small portion of the decoration on the interior of the vessel has been preserved; and it is understood to have been some composition of incised concentric circles.

6. Base sherd, approximate diameter: 8 cm; the moderately firm and hard paste (2,5YR6/10) is mod-

[7] A similar type of circle can also be detected among the finds from Papikion in Thrace, see: Papanikola-Bakirtzis, Zikos 2007: 111, no. 110.

[8] For paralel this motif see: Saccardo 1993: fig. 1: 1, Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: taf. 137, cat. nu. 672, taf. 133, cat. nu. 637; Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1999: 215—216.

[9] Sherds of the pottery in the Zeuxippus family are documented in Troia, Akköy, Çamköy-Asarlıktepe, İntepe, Kepez, Karacaören, Lampsacus, Şevketiye-Asarlık, Pegae and Kocayayla-Sapan Hisar out of the settlements on the Anatolian coast of the Strait as well as in Karaağaçtepe Madytos, Koila, Ilgardere-Hisarlık, Sestos, Gallipoli, Kalanura, Hexamilion, Yülüce, Kalealtı, Kevgirçeşme, and Çokal out of the settlements in the Thracian Chersonese. For Karaağaçtepe, Türker 2009: 74, fig. 48; for Madytos, Türker 2010: 15—29; for Troia see: Hayes 1995: 197—210, for Kepez see: Türker 2013: 361—374, for Sapan Hisar see: Türker 2015, fig. 16, 18—19, for Pegae see: Türker, "Byzantine Pottery From the Pegae Castle", XIth Congress AIECM3 on Medieval and Modern Period Mediterranean Ceramics, Antalya 19—24 October 2015 (in print), for Sestos see: "Byzantine Glazed Ware From Sestos-Akbaş in the Thracian Chersonesos", Glazed Wares in the Black Sea and Mediterranan as a Source for the Studies of Byzantine Civilization, Sevastopol, Russia, September 5th—8th 2014 (in print). The findings in the other settlements mentioned were detected by us during our surveys in the region.

erately heavily and coarse limestone-, stone-, and chamotte-tempered as well as sparsely and small mica-tempered; cream slip and light green glaze on the interior (5Y8,5/6); however, the glaze has been shed substantially; and small and irregular incised lines are seen on the preserved sherd but do not give any idea about the composition.

7. Base sherd, approximate diameter: 6 cm; the moderately firm and hard paste (2,5YR6/12) is moderately heavily and small limestone- and stone-tempered as well as heavily and small mica-tempered; cream slip and green glaze on the interior (10YR8/6); and only one incised line of the composition on the interior of the vessel is visible.

8. Base sherd, approximate diameter: 10 cm; the moderately firm and hard paste (5YR7/10) is heavily and small mica-tempered, moderately heavily and small sand- and limestone-tempered, and sparsely and small stone-tempered; white slip and light green glaze on the interior (10Y8,5/6); no decoration is seen on the preserved sherd; and the trace of the tripod used during firing can be detected on the interior of the vessel.

9. Base sherd, approximate diameter: 5.5 cm; the moderately firm and hard paste (2,5YR6/8) is heavily and small mica-tempered as well as moderately heavily and moderately coarse limestone- and stone-tempered; cream slip and orange & brown glaze on the interior (10YR6/12); no decoration is seen on the preserved sherd; and cream slip can partly be detected irregularly on the exterior of the sherd.

10. Base sherd, approximate diameter: 7 cm; the moderately firm and hard paste (5YR6/8) is moderately heavily and coarse stone-tempered; cream slip and yellow glaze on the interior and the exterior (5Y8/10); and incised lines are seen on the preserved sherd but do not give any idea about the composition.

11. Base sherd, approximate diameter: 6 cm; the moderately firm and hard paste (2,5YR6/12) is moderately heavily and moderately coarse mica- and stone-tempered; white slip on the interior and the exterior; and pale green glaze on the interior (2,5GY8/4).

12. Mouth sherd, approximate diameter: 26 cm; the firm and hard paste (5YR6/12) is moderately heavily and small mica-, stone-, and limestone-tempered; cream slip and pale green glaze at the rim on the interior and the exterior (10Y9/4); and the preserved sherd contains a decoration of incised lines on the interior.

13. Mouth sherd, approximate diameter: 26 cm; the moderately firm and hard paste (7,5YR6/12) is heavily and small mica-tempered as well as heavily and coarse stone- and limestone-tempered; cream slip and pale green glaze at the rim on the interior and the exterior (5Y8/6); however, the glaze has been shed substantially; and no decoration other than the incised lines at the rim is seen on the interior.

14. Mouth sherd, approximate diameter: 26 cm; the firm and hard paste (2,5YR5/10) is heavily and small mica- and limestone-tempered; white slip and green glaze on the interior and the exterior (7,5Y8/8); and no decoration is seen on the preserved sherd.

15. Mouth sherd, approximate diameter: 18 cm; the firm and hard paste (5YR7/8) is sparsely and small mica- and limestone-tempered; yellow glaze (5Y8/8) on the part that coincides with the rim on the interior and the exterior over the cream slip on the interior and the exterior; and the preserved sherd contains a decoration of incised lines on the interior.

16. Mouth sherd, approximate diameter: 20 cm; the moderately firm and hard paste (7,5YR6/10) is heavily and moderately coarse stone- and limestone-tempered as well as sparsely and small mica-tempered; cream slip and light green glaze on the interior and the exterior (10Y8,5/4); and a decoration of incised lines at the rim on the interior and a decoration of vertically incised lines placed between two horizontal lines encircling the rim on the exterior on the preserved sherd.

17. Mouth sherd, approximate diameter: 20 cm; the firm and hard paste (5YR6/12) is heavily and small mica- and limestone-tempered; cream slip and yellow glaze on the interior and the exterior (5Y8/6); two lines encircling the rim on the interior, with one being thick and the other being thin; however, the lines were not created by incising; and these sections were left unslipped and appear as if they were incised lines with the glaze applied on them.

18. Mouth sherd, approximate diameter: 20 cm; the firm and hard paste (5YR6/8) is heavily and moderately coarse stone- and limestone-tempered as well as sparsely and small mica-tempered; cream slip on the interior and the exterior; light yellow glaze in the section which coincides with the rim on the interior and the exterior (7,5Y8/2); two incised lines encircling the rim on the interior; and a decoration of incised lines vertically lined up between two parallel incised lines on the exterior.

19. Mouth sherd, approximate diameter: 18 cm; the moderately firm and hard paste (7,5YR5/8) is heavily and moderately coarse stone- and limestone-tempered; white slip and green glaze on the interior (5Y7/6); the glaze was applied to the rim on the exterior without any slip; and a decoration of incised lines on the interior.

20. Mouth sherd, approximate diameter: 18 cm; the moderately firm and hard paste (5YR6/8) is sparsely and moderately coarse stone-tempered; cream slip on the interior and the exterior; green glaze on the interior (10Y8/4) and brown glaze on the exterior (2,5Y7/10); and an arrangement of two incised lines encircling the rim on the interior and of vertical lines between two incised lines encircling the vessel on the exterior.

21. Mouth sherd, approximate diameter: 16 cm; the firm and hard paste (5YR7/8) is heavily and small stone- and limestone-tempered; cream slip and colorless glaze on the interior and the exterior; and an arrangement of incised lines encircling the rim on the interior and of vertical lines between two incised lines encircling the vessel on the exterior.

22. Mouth sherd, approximate diameter: 16 cm; the moderately firm and hard paste (5YR7/8) is sparsely and small stone- and limestone-tempered;

cream slip and pale green glaze on the interior and the exterior (7,5Y8/4); and an arrangement of incised lines encircling the rim on the interior and of vertical lines between two incised lines encircling the vessel on the exterior.

23. Mouth sherd, approximate diameter: 26 cm; the moderately firm and hard paste (5YR6/10) is moderately heavily and coarse stone- and limestone-tempered as well as sparsely and small mica-tempered; cream slip and green glaze on the interior and the exterior (5Y7/6); and an arrangement of incised lines encircling the rim on the interior and the exterior.

24. Mouth sherd, approximate diameter: 16 cm; the moderately firm and hard paste (5YR6/8) is moderately heavily and coarse stone- and limestone-tempered; cream slip and orange & brown glaze at the rim on the interior and the exterior (7,5YR6/14); and an arrangement of incised lines encircling the rim on the interior and the exterior.

25. Handle sherd; the firm and hard paste (7,5YR5/10) is heavily and small stone- and limestone-tempered; and cream slip and light green glaze (7,5Y8/4).

26. Mouth sherd, approximate diameter: 18 cm; the firm and hard paste (5YR7/8) is sparsely and small mica- and limestone-tempered; green glaze on the section which coincides with the rim on the interior and the exterior over the cream slip on the interior and the exterior (10Y8,5/6); and an arrangement of incised lines encircling the rim on the interior and the exterior.

27. Mouth sherd, approximate diameter: 12 cm; the firm and hard paste (10R6/10) is heavily and small stone- and limestone-tempered; cream slip on the interior and the exterior; pale yellow glaze on the interior (5Y9/4); some plant composition encircling the rim on the interior; and an arrangement of vertical lines between two incised lines encircling the vessel on the exterior.

28. Mouth sherd, approximate diameter: 18 cm; the firm and hard paste (5YR6/8) is heavily and small stone- and limestone-tempered; cream slip on the interior; and orange & brown glaze at the rim on the interior and the exterior (10YR6/12).

29. Mouth sherd, approximate diameter: 20 cm; the moderately firm and hard paste (5YR6/10) is heavily and small stone- and limestone-tempered; cream slip and pale yellow glaze on the interior and the exterior (10Y9/4); on the interior is a decoration of incised lines; however, a small fragment has been preserved but does not give any information on the composition; and two incised lines encircling the mouth on the exterior.

30. Base sherd, approximate diameter: 7 cm; the moderately firm and hard paste (2,5YR6/10) is sparsely and small mica-tempered as well as moderately coarse and heavily stone-, limestone-, and chamotte-tempered; cream slip and pale yellow glaze on the interior (5Y8,5/6); and the incised decoration placed at the center of the vessel on the interior probably contains a cross pattern or a christogram motif.

31. Base sherd, approximate diameter: 6 cm; the moderately firm and hard paste (2,5YR6/10) is heavily and small limestone- and stone-tempered as well as moderately heavily and small mica-tempered; cream slip and pale yellow glaze on the interior (5Y8,5/6); the incised decoration placed at the center of the vessel on the interior comprises an “S” shape within a medallion and the incised lines around it.

32. Base sherd, approximate diameter: 7 cm; the moderately firm and hard paste (5YR7/8) is heavily and moderately coarse limestone- and stone-tempered as well as sparsely and small mica-tempered; cream slip and green glaze on the interior (7,5Y8/6); a decoration of incised lines placed at the center of the vessel on the interior; and on the reverse side are three traces, probably, of fingertips on the lower part of the base.

33. Base sherd, approximate diameter: 8 cm; the moderately firm and hard paste (2,5YR6/8) is heavily and small mica- and stone-tempered as well as sparsely and small limestone-tempered; cream slip and green glaze on the interior (5Y8/8); and the composition of incised concentric circles placed at the center of the vessel on the interior.

34. Base sherd, approximate diameter: 7 cm; the moderately firm and hard paste (5YR6/8) is heavily and moderately coarse stone- and limestone-tempered as well as sparsely and small mica-tempered; cream slip and pale yellow glaze on the interior (7,5Y9/4); and incised lines indicating the composition at the center of the vessel on the interior.

35. Base sherd, approximate diameter: 6 cm; the moderately firm and hard paste (2,5YR6/10) is heavily and coarse stone- and limestone-tempered as well as sparsely and small mica-tempered; and the cream slip and light yellow glaze on the interior (7,5Y9/4) have been shed substantially.

36. Mouth sherd, approximate diameter: 20 cm; the firm and hard paste (2,5YR7/10) is heavily and small stone-, limestone-, and mica-tempered; cream slip and light green glaze on the interior (7,5Y8,5/4); two incised lines encircling the rim on the interior; and a decoration of incised lines vertically placed at an angle of about 45 degrees in the area bordered by two incised lines extending parallel to the mouth on the exterior.

37. Mouth sherd, approximate diameter: 22 cm; the moderately firm and hard paste (5YR6/10) is heavily and moderately coarse stone- and limestone-tempered as well as sparsely and small mica-tempered; yellow glaze on the interior and only at the rim on the exterior over the cream slip on the interior and the exterior (5Y8,5/6); and it is understood that a decoration of incised lines was present on the interior; however, a small portion of it has been preserved.

38. Mouth sherd, approximate diameter: 24 cm; the moderately firm and hard paste (5YR6/8) is heavily and moderately coarse stone- and limestone-tempered as well as sparsely and small mica-tempered; cream slip and yellow glaze on the interior (10Y9/4); an arrangement of incised lines at the rim on the interior and the exterior; and a repair hole is visible on the wall.

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Byzantine Glazed Pottery Finds from Aigai (Aiolis) Excavations

Keywords: Manisa, Aigai (Aiolis), glazed pottery, Middle Byzantine period, Late Byzantine period

Ключевые слова: Маниса, Эги (Эолия), поливная керамика, средневизантийский период, поздневизантийский период

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Byzantine Glazed Pottery Finds from Aigai (Aiolis) Excavations

Glazed pottery finds from Aigai (Aiolis) excavations during 2004—2014 seasons are important finds from Byzantine settlements of Aigai ancient city. While doing studies to uncover Bouleuterion, Agora region and the road system of the ancient city, cisterns (nos. I—II) located in the acropolis of the city and near the agora, the church and the cistern in the northwest of the church have been discovered. Most of them are fragmentary. They are not contextual finds. Still, they are worthwhile in that they present a relative chronology. Late Roman/Early Byzantine period is represented with few finds for now. This period is followed by Middle Byzantine period which have again few finds. Probably these red fabric groups might have come from distant regions. Some of the finds known as Middle Byzantine groups are distinguished because of their similarity to Khalkis production in terms of their form and ornament. We need further information to evaluate white fabric finds. Other distinctive groups in terms of their quality and quantity are from Late Byzantine period of Western Anatolia. These are very similar to the finds from Pergamon, Sardis, Nif (Olympus-Başpınar Church) and The Agora of Smyrna located nearby Aigai. Aigai was on the list of bishopric till the early 13th century. Finds uncovered in Aigai are the first archeological data regarding Aigai ancient city during Byzantine period. Glazed ceramics must be dated to the mid-12th century — early 14th century.

Л. Догер, М. Э. Армаган

Находки византийской поливной керамики из раскопок в Эгах (Эолия)

В результате археологических раскопок в Эгах (Эолия), проводившихся в течение полевых сезонов 2004—2014 гг., на византийских поселениях на территории античных Эг были обнаружены важные находки поливной керамики. Во время раскопок Булевтериона, Агоры и дорожной сети древнего города, были обнаружены цистерны (№I—II), церковь, а также цистерна к северо-западу от церкви. По большей части эти объекты сохранились лишь фрагментарно. Позднеримский/ранневизантийский период представлен пока малым числом находок. Этот период сменяется средневизантийским, к которому также относится незначительное количество. Находки, известные как группы средневизантийского времени, выделяются за счет своего сходства с предметами халкидского производства как по форме, так и по орнаменту. Другие примечательные по качеству и количеству группы относятся к поздневизантийскому периоду и происходят из Западной Анатолии. Они очень похожи на предметы, найденные в Пергаме, Сардах, Нифе (церкви Олимп-Башпынар) и на Агоре в Смирне, расположенной недалеко от Эг. До начала XIII в. Эги были епископской резиденцией. Археологический материал, найденный в Эгах, впервые предоставил сведения о византийском периоде последующей жизни античного города. Основной массив поливной керамики, обнаруженной при исследованиях этого памятника, авторы относят к середине XII — началу XIV вв.

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Ancient city of Aigai is 15 km far away from the Aegean Sea. It is located on the Mount Gün which is on the south of the modern village of Yuntdağı Köseler in Manisa Province, Turkey.[1] (Fig. 1). The city is thought to extend up to the borders of Kyme and Myrina in the west, Apollonis which is bordered with Thyateria plain on the mountainside in the east, Pergamon in the north and Temnos in the south. Although today we have no information regarding the establishment of the city, pottery findings from the excavations for the last 13 years date from the last quarter of the 8th century and the first quarter of the 7th century B.C. for now[2].

Excavations led by Prof. Dr. Ersin Doğer since 2004 were planned within the framework of classical archeology. However, they have also uncovered archaeological findings from the Byzantine Period[3]. Remains from the settlements of Byzantine Period include a single-nave church on the plateau situated in the western entrance of the city (Demirkapı)[4], cisterns from the 14th century and the area in the south of Bouleuterion with places of which we do not know their function yet (see Doğer, Sezgin, Gürbüzer 2010: 343—352).

Aigai is seen on the episcopal list from the mid-5th century till the first half of 13th century (see: Armağan 2014: 209—219). When we think of religious architecture, no remnant is available other than a single-nave church for now[5]. We cannot tell the exact date of the construction of this church and it is estimated that the church was used last in the late 12—13th centuries.

Cistern I (on the Acropolis) and remains from the wall on the south of Bouleuterion with their braiding design and partly preserved ceramic findings are dated to the 12th—13th century [6]. Byzantine layers which are very close to the surface were ruined and findings were separated from their context. Ceramic and glass findings from Cistern I and II appear more homogenous but we cannot tell specific time periods.

Fig. 1. Location of Aigai (after Radt, Radt 2001).

Рис. 1. Местоположение Эг (по Radt, Radt 2001).

Most of the Byzantine period findings from Aigai excavations are ceramics. During excavations to uncover the road system of the ancient city, Bouleuterion and the Agora, ceramics were recovered at the cisterns (nos. I—II) in the acropolis and near the agora, the church and the cistern in the northwest of the church (fig. 2). [7]

The earliest findings are rim and body fragments belonging to bowls similar to Late Roman C Hayes Form 3. These are probably Phokaia production in the 5—6th centuries.

The largest part of the findings in this study consists of glazed ceramics. While there are few white fabric production, most of the production consists of red fabric ones.

Fabric types of glazed pottery can be dealt with by dividing them into five groups after an assessment with the naked eye. [8]

Fabric Descriptions

Fabric A. Medium-hard. It contains mica and limestone inclusions. It is very porous with its shape and density changing according to horizontal or vertical lines. (Tab. 3: 26—36; 4: 37—45; 5: 46—58; 6: 60—65). Some findings have

[1] Localization was in Köseler Village before. But it was updated as Köseler Neighbourhood after local governing structure was reformed.

[2] (Doğer, in press); the earliest publication regarding the city, see: Bohn and Schuchhardt 1889.

[3] We would like to extend our gratitude to Prof. Dr. Ersin Doğer for letting us examine the archeology of Byzantine period.

[4] (Doğer, Armağan 2016). So far excavations have been carried out inside, north and entrance of the church. Excavations have yet to be finished in the area where the church is located.

[5] The church was dated by looking at the broken off brick-tile ruins along its north side and tiles from the graves around it, including ridge tiles

[6] We have no enough information regarding the quality of places because excavations around Cistern I and II have not finished yet.

[7] This publication does not include all findings. These are examples.

[8] These fabric types were elaborated in the dissertation by narrowing down and renaming with new findings in the following years. Armağan 2014.

Fig. 2. Aigai excavation sites (from excavation archive).

Рис. 2. Места археологических раскопок в Эгах (из экспедиционного архива).

harder fabric (Tab. 4: 38, 45; 5: 52, 58). Different stiffness levels must stem from baking.

Fabric A1. They have a micaceous rough surface with white and black particles (Tab. 7: 59, 66—79, 80—85; 8: 86, 87). But some of them have a more rough fabric containing golden mica in the form of sparse large badges with sand and stones (Tab. 7: 68, 74, 75, 81, 86, 87).

Fabric A2. Medium-hard, fine, densely micaceous, with sand and limestone. Partly porous (Tab. 8: 88—98). Sand on the pores and exterior surface is more obvious in some findings.

Fabric B. Medium-hard, sand and limestone inclusions, medium-baked and slightly porous (Tab. 1: 1—15; 2: 16—25). Base and body in painted-fine sgraffito ceramics are made in a fabric partly porous with some limestone particles and sand (Tab. 1: 1—15; 2: 16—25).

Fabric C. Contains white particles and partly large and dense yellow mica. Especially exterior is porous and contains large limestone particles. A few ceramics are made in a fabric baked better with less inclusions (Tab. 9: 99—113; 10: 114—131). These have harder fabric. Another variation of this fabric can be seen in cat. 130. The fabric is porous and softer with black-white particles.

Fabric D. Hard, pink, pinkish white (5YR 8/2), partly porous, micaceous with red and black particles (Tab. 10: 132—134).

Red Fabric Glazed Pottery

A.1. Glazed wares of the Middle Byzantine period

A.1.1. So-called Middle Byzantine groups

This pottery group was in demand due to its integrity of form[9] and decoration during Komnenos Period (12th and early 13th century).

[9] In addition to variety that can be categorized, characteristic of some vessels is the wall thickening towards the rim with a lip slanted inside. Böhlendorf-Arslan 2013: 28, Kat. 407, 409; 192—203. Philotheu, Michailidou 1989: 175; Φιλοθεου-Μιχαηλιδου 1991; Michailidou 1999.

Ceramics from Kastellorizo[10], Pelagos, (Alonnesos) Skopelos (Philotheu, Michailidou 1989: 175; Φιλοθεου-Μιχαηλιδου 1991; Michailidou 1999), Adrasan Cape of Göcük shipwrecks (Doğer, Özdaş 2016) were also uncovered in excavations and surface surveys in Italy, Crimea, Greece, Balkans and Anatolia.[11] The number of findings is gradually rising and this indicates that there are new form and ornament styles.[12] After some varieties were noticed in technical details, such as exterior decoration, analytical[13] and chronological studies were intensified. It is considered that the ceramics in seaside cities and on their periphery were produced in Western Anatolia, Aegean Islands or Greece. Khalkis is a recently discovered production site (Waksman, Kontogiannis, Skartsis, Vaxevanis 2014.).

This group of ware excavated from Aigai is ornamented by using fine sgraffito (thin sgraffito), incised, incised-sgraffito champlevé, painted-sgraffito techniques. Findings belong to open vessels but all of them are fragmented and missing.

A.1.1.1. Fine Sgraffito Ware (Tab. 1: 1—7)

Products representing this group consist of rim, ring foot base and body belonging to pottery like plates or bowls. Their fabric type is **Fabric B.** Their interior is covered with a layer of off-white/white slip and has a pale yellow lead glaze.

Decoration was engraved with a thin point tool through the layer of slip. A motif probably called "Split palmette" is seen on a base in its most degenerated state (Tab. 1: 1). Some fragments are decorated with spirals and bands with curly branches in the shape of wavy lines (Tab. 1: 2, 3). There are some other examples in which the interior is decorated with ornaments without any bands. Fish (Tab. 1: 4), tale of the bird figure (Tab. 1: 5) and some parts of the long branches (Tab. 1: 6) have been preserved in findings. Leaf on a short branch having diagonal lines on its interior surface or a tiny tree are the only fragments preserved in the composition (Tab. 1: 7).

A.1.1.2. Incised-Fine Sgraffito Ware (Tab. 1: 8)

It is a small group consisting of a rim and body. Their structure is **Fabric B.** Rim fragments are covered with a thick off-white slip. They have a transparent pale yellow glaze. The interior and exterior of a body is covered with a pinkish white slip.

Interior band-shaped compositions probably have a Medallion Style or Intermediate Style. Pseudo-Kufic script is arranged in bands (Tab. 1: 8). Parts decorated with thin point tool are probably missing.

A.1.1.3. Incised Ware (Tab. 1: 9—14)

The products in this group consist of rim and ring foot base of plates or bowls and body parts. Fabric type is similar to the previous group. Interior is covered with a white, off-white slip. Exterior slip of some leaked from the rim towards the body. Interior has a transparent yellow and pale yellow glaze.

It is decorated with a thick point incising tool. A typical composition of this group is seen on Aigai examples. They consist of long stems arranged in radial style with plant decoration having tips which look like ear (Tab. 1: 9—11). Some

[10] Κριτζας 1971: 176—182; Ioannidaki-Dostoglou 1989: 157—171; Armstrong 1991: 335—347. Some findings from a shipwreck near İzmir were published by P. Armstrong **(**Armstrong 1997: 5).

[11] There is lots of literature regarding this pottery but for latest publications see: for Adramyttion. Çoruhlu 2004: çiz. 4 (a1, e, o, y, h1, g1, m1, t1), Pic. 5; for Zeytinliada; Öztürk, Kavaz 2010: 508 in pic. 13, 5th line, 4th frag. from the left; for the Agora of Smyrna Doğer 2007: 117, pl. XI (a-g). For Kuşadası, Kadıkalesi (Anaia) Doğer 2004: Pic. 2, 3; Doğer 2005: 119, Tab. II, 120, Tab. V, Pic. 2, 3, 9; for Phokai. Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Teil. 3, Taf. 111: 454—457; for Didyma. Weber 2009: 398, Kat. 4; 400, Kat. 8; 402, Kat. 12; 403, Kat. 14; 404, Kat. 15; for İstanbul. Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Teil. 3, Taf. 50: 44; Taf. 51—55; Taf. 64—70; for Mersin Yumuktepe. Köroğlu 2004: 114, Fig. 14, 128. Pl. VI; for Kinet Höyük. Redford, Ikram, Parr, Beach 2010: 98, Fig. 9(3); 100, Fig. 11; 101, Fig. 12; 102, Fig. 13; for Daskyleion. Doğer 2014: Tab. 4, Tab. 5.16, Tab. 6; for Stratonikeia and Beybağ. Öztaşkın 2013: Lev. 8—13. For findings from Sinop Balatlar Church. İnanan 2014: 149, Tab. 1: f-h; for Selçuk Ayasuluk Türbe excavation. Vroom-Fındık 2015: 211, 212, 214; for surveys in Marmara. Auzepy 2007: 385, in Fig. 18 the fragment on the right; for Alanya, Kızılcaşehir Castle. Doğan 2010: 543, Pic. 1; outside Anadolu, for Vrya (Vrea). Tsanana 2003: Fig. 3—7; for Sparta. Bakourou, Katsara, Kalamara 2003: 234, Fig. 2; for Castle at Torone: Armstrong 2005: 12, Fig. 4; for Dobruca. Kuzev 2003: Abb. 1, Abb. 6 (b, c); for South France. Vallauri, d'Archimbaud, Parent, Richarté 2003: 146, Fig. 7, 147, Fig. 8; for Crete. Πούλου-Παπαδημητρίου 2003: 220, 21—26; for Cyprus Ayia Moni. von Wartburg 2003: 154, Fig. 2 (1.1, 12, 1.3, 1.4, 1, 7); For Paphos-Leptos, Kouklia findings. von Wartburg 2003: Waksman and von Wartburg 2006: 374—376; for Mosinopolis. Papanikola-Bakirtzi ve Zekos 2007: 52.

[12] For further information regarding Aegean Type Ware, see: Doğer 2012.

[13] For important studies, see: Waksman-von Wartburg 2006 (this publication includes all analysis results before); Ünaler, Akkurt, Doğer, Kozakova 2013: 91—100; Doğer 2009, Tab. I; Tab. II: a-e, Tab. 3, for the analysis of some findings here, see: Ünaler, Akkurt, Doğer, Mercangöz 2012; Ünaler 2013. These two studies indicated that grouping values are more sensitive if the number of examples being analyzed is low. When the number rises, the sensitive values unite and leave their former group.

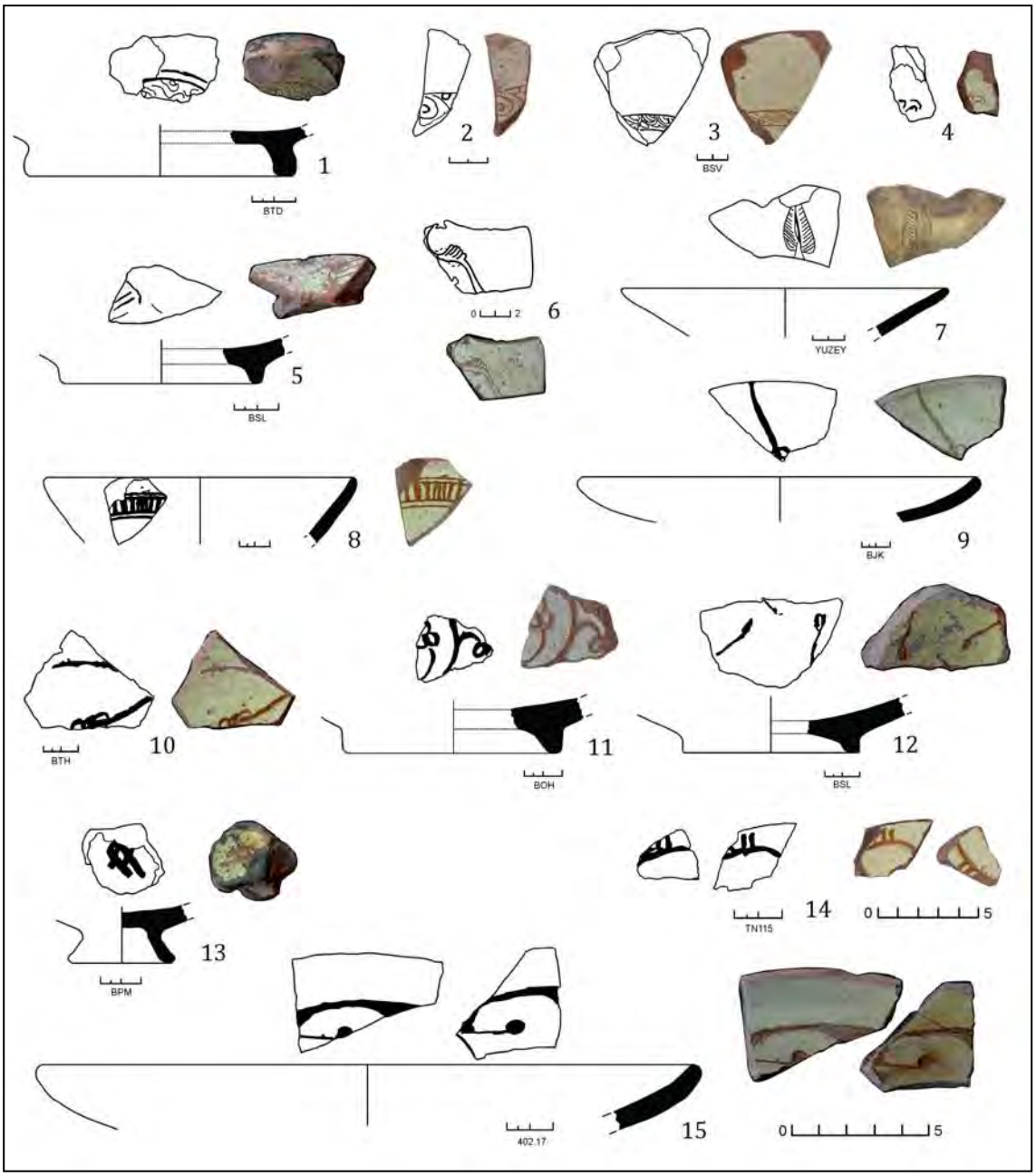

Table 1.

Таблица 1.

examples are ornamented with one or a few spiral curls formed by simplifying this composition and motif (Tab. 1: 12). Crossed diamond motif in the centre of the interior surface of base fragments is a typical ornamental item of these ware (Tab. 1: 13). It may belong to spirals having short parallel incised lines or plantal compositions or an animal figure (Tab. 1: 14).

A.1.1.4. Champléve Ware (Tab. 1: 15)

Products representing this group consist of a ring foot base part and rim parts of a large plate. Fabric type is similar to the previous group. Interior is covered with an off-white slip. Both interior and exterior have a transparent pale yellow glaze. Low relief ornament has probably a dragon and warrior figure. A certain part of knotted body of the dragon has been preserved (Tab. 1: 15).

Rim parts in Tab. 2: 16—20 must belong to the groups above.

A.1.1.5. Painted-Fine Sgraffito Ware (Tab. 2: 21—24)

Ceramics in this group consist of rim, base and body fragments of plates and they are not too many. Fabric has large pores in some parts in body and ring foot base fragments **(Fabric B).** It

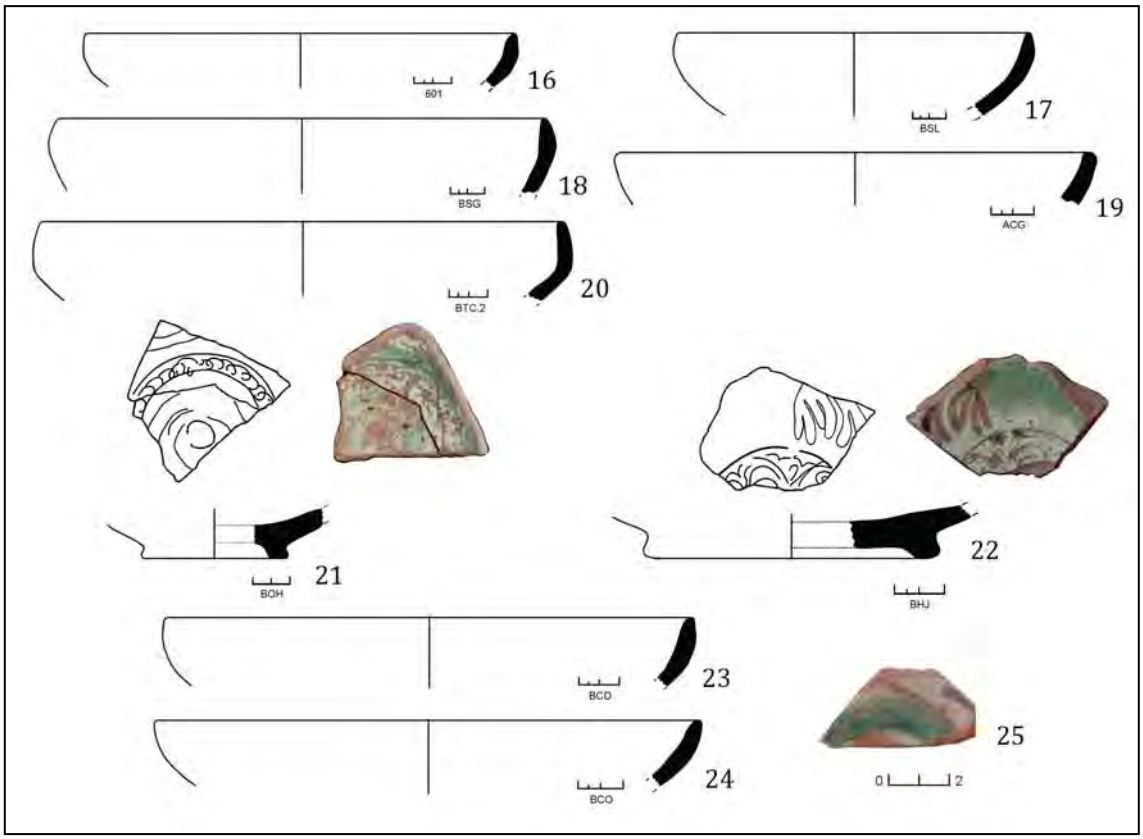

Table 2.

Таблица 2.

is slightly micaceous and sandy with large limestone pieces. Rim fragments are similar to the previous groups.

White layer is partly eroded. Interior of base has transparent pale yellow glaze. Exterior has no glaze. Base fragment displays spiral motifs inside a band made in fine sgraffito together with large spirals painted in green (Tab. 2: 21). Another example has a "split palmette" motif in the centre. As the painted decoration around it is fragmented and missing, it is difficult to identify it. Brown paint is spread through curvilinear bands and green paint is spread as large spots (Tab. 2: 22). Rim fragments have no ornament (Tab. 2: 23—24).

Dating: Pottery from Aigai decorated with fine sgraffito, incised-sgraffito and incised decoration have been excavated from Pergamon as well (see: Spieser 1996: Taf. 58: 562—565; Taf. 59: 566—570, 574—575). Results of the archeometric studies have indicated that Pergamon findings should be taken as import products by separating them from local products.[14] Analysis of the findings from Kuşadası, Kadıkalesi/Anaia (Waksman 2013: 110) and Selçuk/Ayasuluk Türbe (Vroom, Fındık 2015: 212, footnote.41; 214, footnote 60) have also similar results. We have also encountered this kind of pottery around Myrina and on Tavşan and Eşek Islands located across Gryneion.

Publications include premises of the mid-12-th century and first half of the 13th century[15] for this kind of findings**.** Aigai is an inland settlement and it is a very important centre. Fragments of fine sgraffito ware which we can call imported products (Tab. 1: 1—7) from distant centres may be dated to the mid-12th century-second half of the 12th century.

[14] For the analyzed findings from Pergamon, see: Waksman, Spieser 1997: 112, 123; 7 Series Q (155, 157, 156, 151); other findings: Spieser 1996: Taf. 59; Böhlendorf-Arslan 2013: Kat. 1086—1101 (findings under Fine Sgraffito in this publication have been dealt with beyond the scope of Aegean Wares). For other findings under Aegean Wares, see: Kat. 1109—1116.

[15] A.H. Megaw defined the incised ware under Aegean Ware for the first time and dated the group in Cyprus, Saranda Kolones to the first quarter of the 13th century. Findings from Castellorizo shipwreck were dated to the 13th century with a reference to Megaw. Waksman-von Wartburg 2006: 372; Similar findings in Korinthos dated by C. Morgan were revised and dated to later period (Sanders 1993: 252, 258, 260; 1999; 2003).

Findings in Tab. 1: 8—14 ve Tab. 2: 16—20 can be dated to the mid-12th century and the first half of the 13th century. A part of knotted body of a dragon or snake on Champlevé bowl (Tab. 1: 15) has been preserved. A very similar finding in terms of its form and ornament was excavated in Thebes (Teb). It might be dated to the first quarter of the 13th century (for Thebes finding, see. Byzantine Glazed Ceramics 1999: 58, Cat. 50). A similar finding is identified as Khalkis production (Waksman et al. 2014: 395, fig. 12: b; 338, fig. 5). We can date the Aigai example to the late 12th century and the first quarter of the 13th century. [16]

Findings of painted-sgraffito ware in Tab. 2: 21—24 are seen in both shipwreck[17] and areas where the findings above were uncovered. Pergamon findings originated from Greece might be dated to the mid-12th century-the second half of the 12th century. Ayasuluk/Türbe (Vroom, Fındık 2015: 212, footnote 43) can be dated to the secod half of the 12th century. Like Chalkis it is thought to be imported from production centre in Middle Greece via personal observation. Aigai findings are also dated from this period (for Pergamon findings, see: Böhlendorf-Arslan 2013: Kat. 1102—1108).

Manuel I Komnenos (1143—1180), Isaac II Angelos (1185—1195), Alexios III Angelos (1195—1203) coins from Aigai are coherent with ceramic findings.

A.1.2. Green and Brown Painted Ware (Tab. 2: 25)

There are a few findings having red fabric. They are covered with a white slip and decorated with green and brown paint. The glaze is damaged. Some rim and body fragments have only brown colour. These might be brown painted ware.

Dating: Findings in Western Anatolia Adramyttium (Çoruhlu 2006: 411), Pergamon (Böhlendorf-Arslan 2013: 455, Kat. 1085), Kemalpaşa Nif-Olympus (Doğer 2015: 56, Pl. I (no. 2—3))**,** Kuşadası, Kadıkalesi (Anaia) (Doger 2005: 105—133, 127, Pic. 7; Mercangöz 2013: 58, Pic. 1—26 (c-d)), Ephesos-Ayasuluk (St. Jean Basilica (Doger 1996: Pic. 3—5), Türbe (Vroom, Fındık 2015: 210, cat. 16—32)), Beybağ (Öztaşkın 2013: 406, Levha. 21, Kat. 238, 239) ile Sagalassos (Vionis et al. 2010: 449, Fig. 21: d), Myra-Demre St. Nicholas Church (Fındık 2010: 526, Pic. 3 (15—14 in the text)), Sillyon (Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Taf. 154: 810), Yumuktepe/Mersin (Caneva et al. 2004: 214, fig. 9) were dated to the period between the 12th — early 13th century.[18] Findings in Ayasuluk/Türbe were analyzed. It is indicated that they are not local but imported production, so-called Middle Byzantine group (Vroom, Fındık 2015: 211, footnote 34). Aigai findings must be dated to the second half of the 12th century-early 13th century.

A.2. Glazed wares of the Late Byzantine period

The Late Byzantine Glazed wares date, in general, to the 13th and early 14th centuries. Findings which have no established context are cautiously based on premises like they are from the second half of the 12th century or late 12th century. The tablewares of this period have a different kind of fabric, form, ornamental repertoire and technical features compared to the previous period. It is seen that they were produced in several places. Tripod stilts for baking excavated from Manisa-Yoğurtçukale (for the finding, see: Mimaroğlu 2001: in Pic. 6) indicate that their centres will increase in this century. We know that glazed ceramics are produced in Pergamon, Sardis, Kuşadası-Kadıkalesi/Anaia and Ephesos (Waksman 2014: 110—113; 111, Fig. 3a) in the Late Byzantine-Early Turkish period.

A.2.1. Zeuxippus Family I Ware (Tab. 3: 26—36; 4: 37—45; 5: 46—58; 7: 66—73)

Most of the glazed ceramics findings excavated from Aigai belong to *Zeuxippus Family I Ware.* This kind of ceramics was produced and distributed in many workshops.[19] They are the most typical ceramics of Lascarids Period in the Western Anatolia. Aigai findings can be studied by classifying them into three main groups in terms of their fabric type.

Findings in the group **Fabric A**: They are open shape and closed shape vessels which are of top quality of fabric and top standards of workmanship. Open vessels mostly consist of small and medium-sized deep bowls (Tab. 3: 29—34, 36; 4: 37, 38, 40, 43; 5: 46—48, 52). There are few dishes (Tab. 4: 41; 5: 51). Closed vessels, on the other hand, include fragments of goblet (Tab. 3:

[16] Fabric of this finding should be analyzed for the purpose of comparison.

[17] For the bowl in Pelagos (Alonnesos) Shipwreck dating to the mid-12th century, see: Byzantine Glazed Ceramics 1999: 142, Cat. 163. As a new finding, for Kemalpaşa Nif-Olympus, see: Doğer 2015: Pl. I (no. 1)

[18] Findings from Sardis and Metropolis do not have this form and wall thickness of this group (Vroom, Fındık 2015: 211, footnote 32).

[19] For further information regarding this kind of ceramics, see: Waksman et François 2004—2005, newly published findings. For Selçuk/Ayasuluk Türbe excavation: Vroom, Fındık 2015: 215—216.

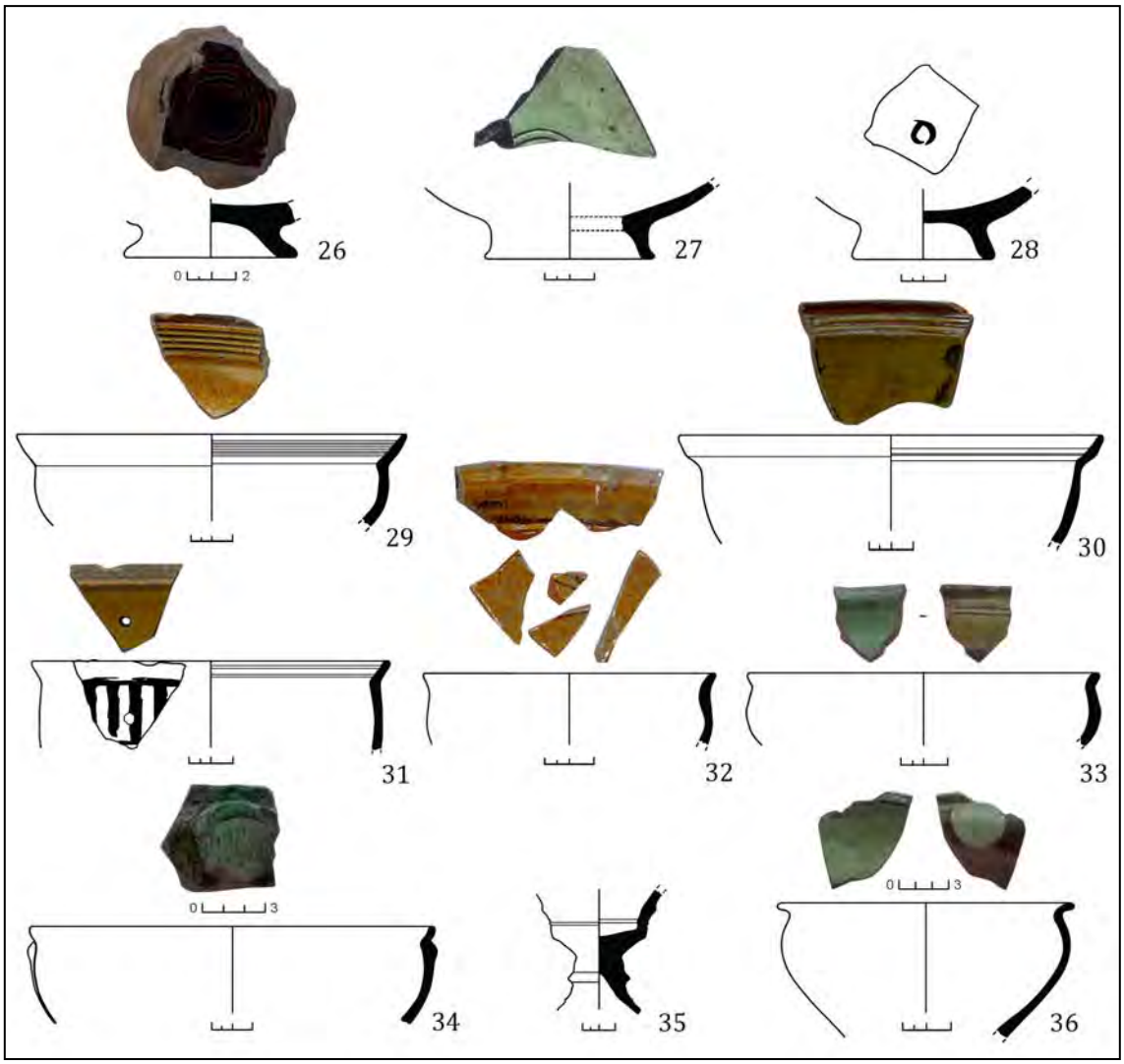

Table 3.

Таблица 3.

35), jug (Tab. 4: 42; 5: 55, 56), beaker (Tab. 5: 57) and double shape salter? (Tab. 5: 58).[20]

Their thin-walled structure makes them distinguishable from other findings. They look distinctive with their high foot (Tab. 4: 37, 38, 40, 44; 5: 47, 50, 52, 54) and a thin groove on some of these high foot (Tab. 4: 38). Similar findings were excavated in the Agora of Smyrna (Doğer 2007: 119, Pl. XIII in.), Sardis (Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Taf. 113: 472 (grooved); Taf. 114: 474—475 (grooved); Taf. 114: 476, 478), Pergamon[21], Yortanlı[22], Metropolis (Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Taf. 119: 518), Magnesia a.M. (Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Taf. 133: 635, Taf. 139: 681) and Selçuk-Ayasuluk (Parman 1989: Fig. 5: b in.). Composition and lines on these vessels are similar to Aigai findings.

Bowls and deep dishes (Tab. 4: 41; 5: 51) with everted ring foot on the centre of body were also

[20] For double shape compound vessels, see: Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Teil. III, Taf. 112: 464 (Sardis); Spieser 1996: Taf. 39: 405 406 (Pergamon); Japp 2007: 91 (Pergamon); Doğer 2009: Tab. VII: h (Anaia); Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Teil. III, Taf. 130: 618 (Magnesia a.M); Doğer 2012: 448, Fig. 5 below (Kemalpaşa-Nif-Lascarids Palace, excavation in protected site); Doğer 2015 (Nif/Olympus), 63, Pl. VII: 25; an unpublished finding is reported from Hierapolis. See: Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Teil. I, 260, footnote 1711.

[21] Spieser 1996: Taf. 51: 494, Taf. 9: 147 (grooved), Taf. 11: 176; Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Taf. 95: 323, Böhlendorf-Arslan 2013: 485, Kat. 1168 (researcher considers that this finding's origin is Pergamon or Sardis), 478, Kat. 1149 (researcher considers that this finding's origin is Western Anatolia).

[22] Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Taf. 99: 354. Another finding with a similar decoration to Aigai, Kat. 112, 113 has a grooved bottom of base but inside edge rests the surface (Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Taf. 98: 348).

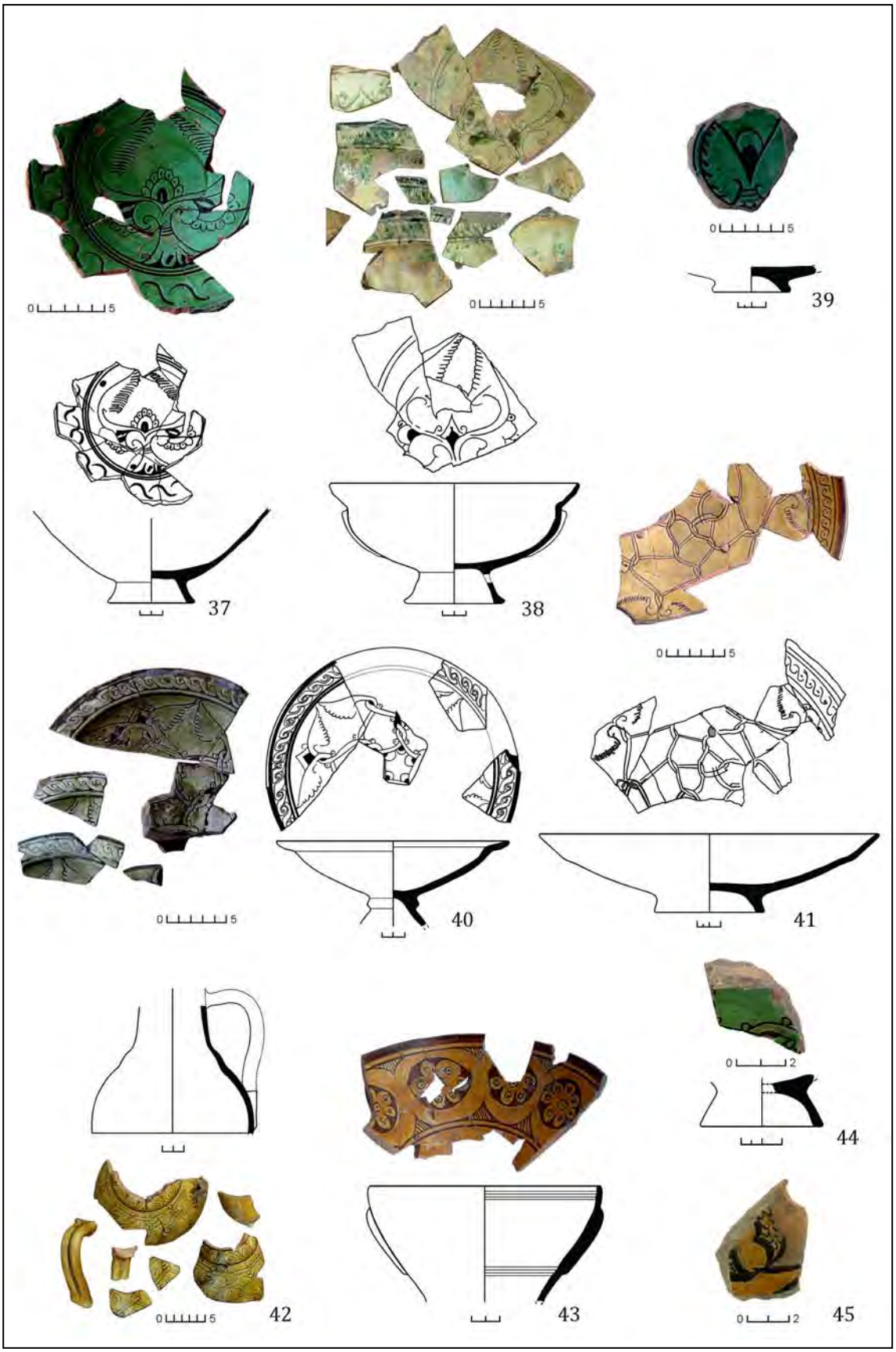

Table 4.

Таблица 4.

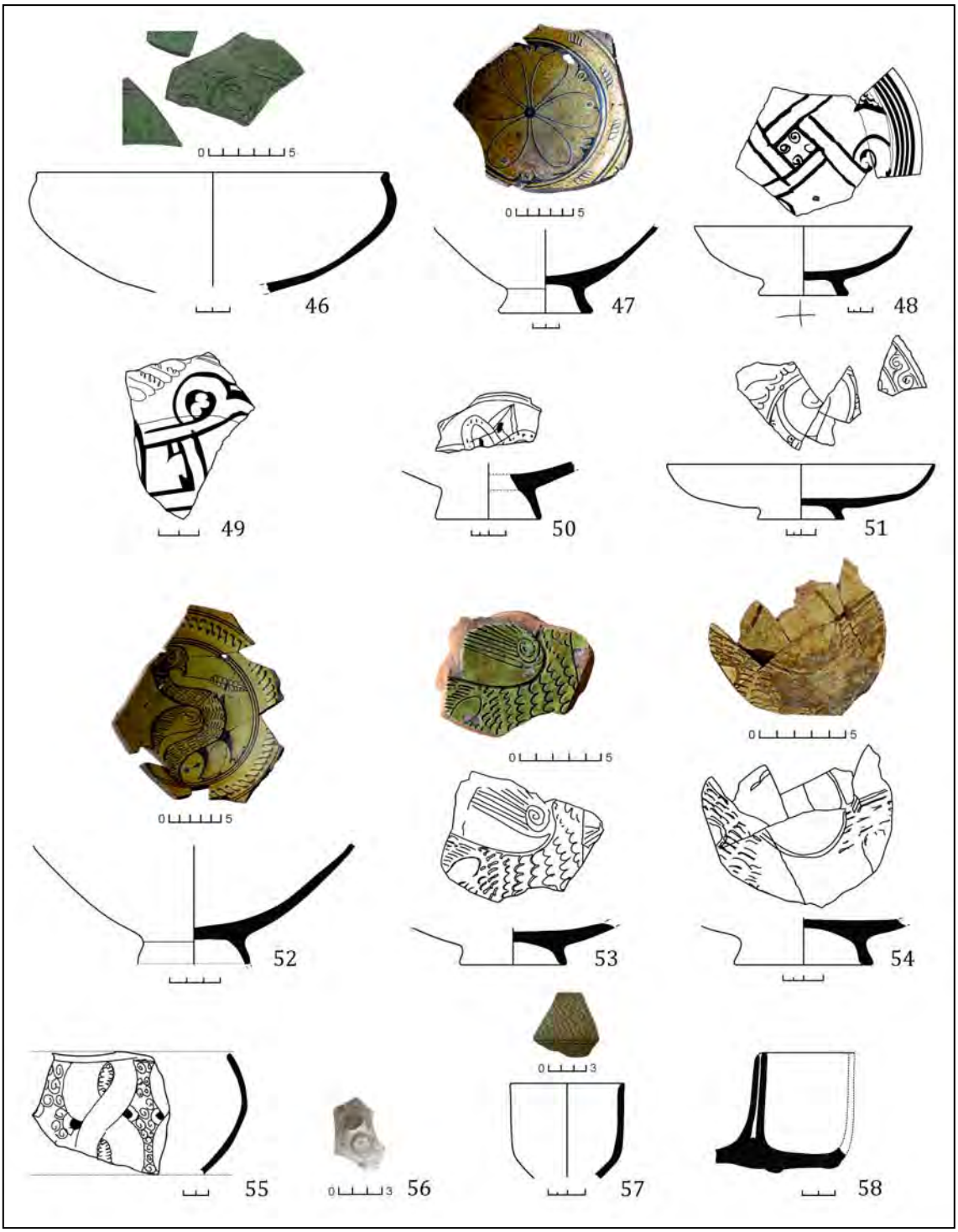

Table 5.

Таблица 5.

excavated in Sardis and Pergamon.[23] High flaring rim offsets from the body in deep dishes.

Deep bowls with a flat base which are regarded as modern production are in the form of an upside down bell (Tab. 4: 43). Findings from Sardis and Pergamon in Western Anatolia are the most similar findings to the ones in Aigai.

Exterior part of the rim and interior of open vessels in this group are covered with slip up to half of the body (Tab. 4: 37). Exterior of closed

[23] For Sardis, see: Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Taf. 113: 471; some similar bases from Pergamon. Böhlendorf-Arslan 2013: 480, Kat. 1155 (Researcher considers that this finding's origin is Western Anatolia or Sardis); 470, Kat. 1126; 477, Kat. 1147.

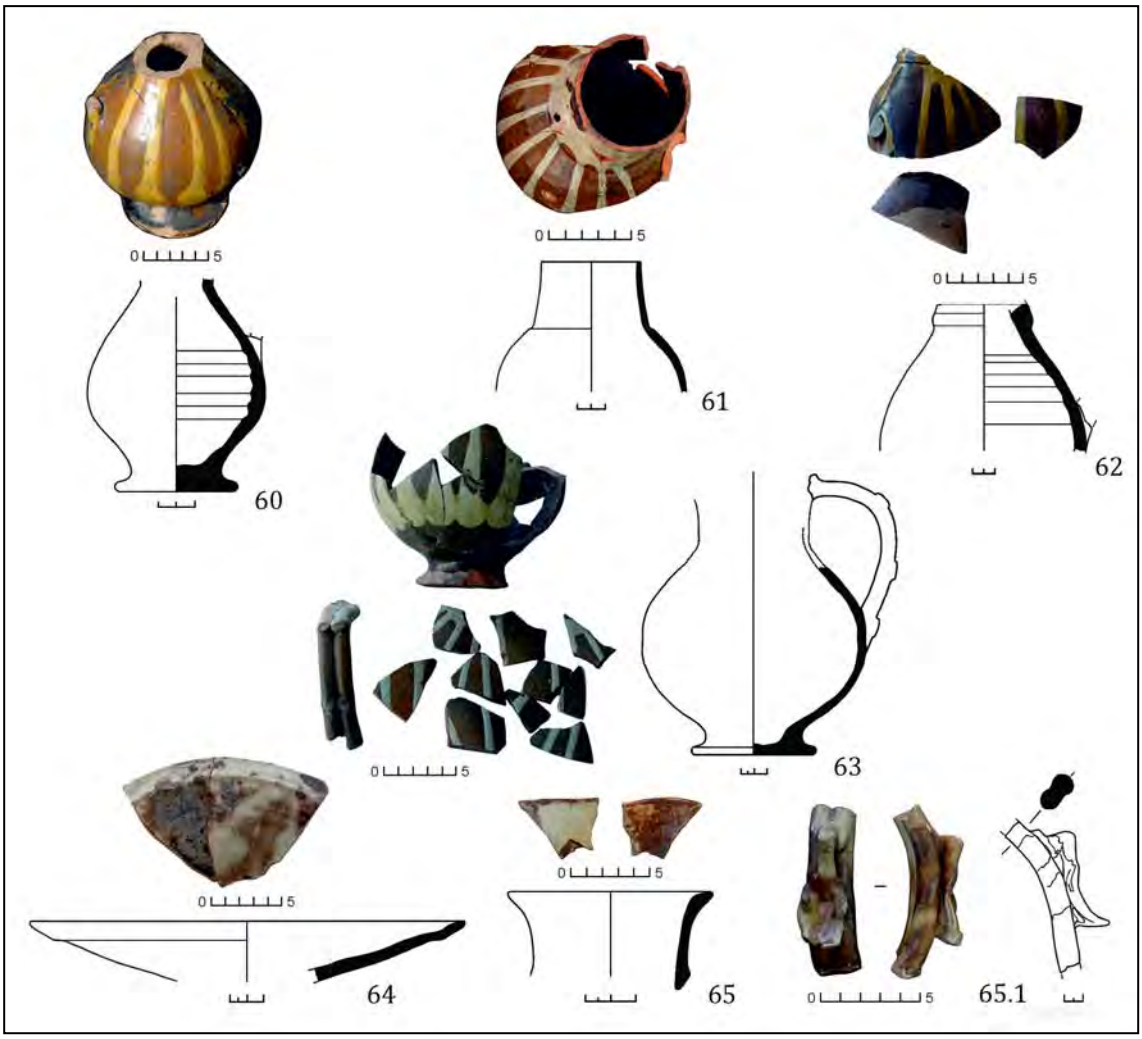

Table 6.

Таблица 6.

vessels are covered with slip. White/off-white slip is common (Tab. 3: 34, 36; 4: 38, 40; 5: 46, 51).

The lead glaze on the interior surface usually has a glossy yellow, green, deep orange colour. Tone of these colours may look different. This may stem from the colour of the slip underneath. Interior and exterior surface of some findings may have glaze with different colour. Rim on the exterior surface is glazed. Sometimes it is coherent with the slip. Glaze on the exterior surface of bowls is in the form of circle slices. Few findings are deformed with their damaged glaze (Tab. 3: 32, 34; 4: 38).

Ceramics were ornamented by using fine and/or incised sgraffito. Sgraffito parts on wide areas which make the ornament bas-relief were applied one by one or together.

Tondo and concentric circles on the rims are typical in ornamental compositions. The motif is thought to be that common because of its apotropaic meaning.[24] From Aigai preserved parts of the fragments in Tab. 3: 26, 27, 29—32 have this kind of ornament.

Placing a single motif or figure into a central circle is a common ornamental style (Tab. 4: 37—39; 5: 47, 50, 52—54). The motif sometimes becomes a figure covering most or all surface of the vessel (Tab. 4: 40, 41). Design with a single form motif covering all surface usually becomes distinguishable with some details (Tab. 4: 45).

We see that motifs are not that various but these motifs can be designed in different ways with certain workmanship and skill. The drawing is the same drawing but none of them resembles the other one. There is no full symmetry.

[24] Concentric circles were thought to symbolize mirror and it was believed to be able to resend the image of the Satan, see: bk. François 2011: 248; Doğer 2014: 44.

Simple braiding motif which is called Solomon knotted was also used a lot because of its atropaic meaning[25] and various interpretations of this motif appeared (Tab. 5: 48—50).[26] Another common motif is an ornament regarded as "8" figure. It emerged as an abstract plant motif. They were composed as a single figure or together with other plant decorations in tondos (Tab. 5: 51, 55). Badge formed flower[27] with large petals (Tab. 5: 47), single palmettes with side lobes like wings (Tab. 4: 37—39)[28] palmettes with knotted stems covering all surface (Tab. 4: 40, 41)[29] and joints knotted only in stems (Tab. 4: 42).[30] They all look like ware from a specific production centre.

Another important plant composition in Aigai findings is a slightly preserved fragment (Tab. 4: 45). A plant motif having leaves on the branches from a thick plant stem cover the tondo. The parts looking inside in these leaves have slices. Fully preserved fragment of this composition was uncovered in Sardis (Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Taf. 114: 478), Pergamon (Böhlendorf-Arslan 2013: 480, Kat. 1154) and Metropolis (Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Taf. 118: 518) and a different interpretation of the same fragment was in Pergamon (Böhlendorf-Arslan 2013: 480, Kat. 1155) and Metropolis (Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Taf. 118: 517), Magnesia a.M. (Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Taf. 140: 695) again. It resembles the findings from Aigai and other regions.

Ornamental repertoir with figures is poor for the time being. Style of the two among few findings with bird figure is the same (Tab. 5: 52, 53). They are distinguished with their "S"-shaped body. Wing style of Tab. 5: 52 looks similar to a finding from Pergamon (for the finding, see: Konze 1913: Beiblatt 65, Zu Seite 323 (1)).

Bowls have false handles[31] (Tab. 3: 34; 4: 38, 43) on both sides similar to metal vessels. Hobnails (Tab. 5: 56) like rivets were applied on jug handles in the form of relief (for some similar findings, see: Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Taf. 114: 478, Teil. III, Taf. 103, nr. 385 (Neonteikhos); Doğer 2010: 517, pic. 12: c). Convex rings are seen on high foot (Tab. 3: 35; 4: 40) and jug body. Twin handles (double round) on jugs (Tab. 4: 42) and jagged rim of bowls (Tab. 3: 34; Tab. 4: 38, see. Böhlendorf-Arslan 2012: 83, Abb. 7) indicate that they are influenced by metal vessels (for some findings with similar rings and handles, see: Doğer 2012: 448, Fig. 5 (Kemalpaşa/Nif-Lascarid Palace, excavation in protected site); a similar jug from Sardis. Scott and Kamilli 1981: 683, Fig. 4). Scars of tripod stilt are small in this group.

Dating: It can be argued that Purpur-Brown Stained Ware may have been produced in Sardis because these vessels resemble the ones known as Sardis products. However, we should pay attention to the margin of error if the findings are identified with the naked eye. Findings can be dated to the end of the 12th century and 13th century. Some findings resembling contextual Pergamon findings with can be dated to the beginning of the 14th century (1300) at the latest. Many findings that are identified with the naked eye resemble Pergamon and Sardis findings.

Base and body walls of the bowls in **Fabric A1** are thicker. Interior surface is covered with slip. It has a single yellow, green and orange glaze. Their color tones are different and quality is not as high as the previous group. Ornaments are not various, drawings are poor. Concentric circles on the rim and tondo (Tab. 7: 66, 70), spirals (Tab. 7: 67, 68, 69). Circles surround the festoon on some rims (Tab. 7: 70, 71). Tripot remains in this group

[25] For its meanings like protection and bringing good luck, see: François 2011: 252; Doğer 2014: 44.

[26] For similar findings from Pergamon, see: Böhlendorf-Arslan 2013: 480, Kat. 1156; 481, Kat. 1157; 482, Kat. 1159; 483, Kat. 1163; Metropolis. Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Taf. 114, Kat. 475.

[27] Doğer 2007: 120, Pl. 14 above (Smyrna Agora); Spieser 1996: Taf. I, nr. 372, Taf. 10, nr. 159 (Pergamon); Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Taf. 98, nr. 348 (Yortanlı); Gök-Gürhan 2007: Pl. 27 in (Altınoluk); İnanan 2010: 247, Kat. 254 (Anaia); Doğer 2015: 62, Pl. V: 19 (Nif/Olympus Başpınar). Parman 1989: 286, Fig. 10: b-inside (Selçuk-Ayasuluk)

[28] Some examples. Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Teil. III, Taf. 103, nr. 388 (Magnesia am Hermos); Taf. 114, nr. 474 (Sardis); Taf. 95, nr. 323 (Pergamon); Spieser 1996: Taf. 10: 159, 160, 165; Doğer 1999: 43, Pic. 8—9 (Selçuk-Ayasuluk); Doğer 2007: 119, Pl. XIII in (Smyrna Agora); Doğer 2014: 40, Pic. 1 (Daskyleion).

[29] For similar ones, see: Mercangöz ve Doğer 2009: 95, Pic. 9: a, Pic. 10: a-c (Anaia); Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Teil. III, Taf. 118, nr. 515 (Metropolis); Taf. 132, nr. 630; Taf. 136, nr. 660, 661 (Magnesia a.M); Spieser 1996: Taf. 12, nr. 199, 201—204, Taf. 51: 499 (Pergamon); Doğer 2012: 448, Fig. 5 (Kemalpaşa/Nif-Lascarid Palace, excavation in protected site); Öztaşkın 2013: Lev. 15. nr. 166 (Stratonikeia).

[30] A very similar finding introduced as Pergamon production, see: Böhlendorf-Arslan 2013: 472, Kat. 1131.

[31] For some examples, see: Parman 1989: 281, Fig. 2c (Ayasuluk Hill); Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Teil. III, Taf. 114: 479 (Sardis), Taf. 133: 365 (Magnesia a.M); Spieser 1996: Taf. 20: 284; Taf. 139: 681 (Pergamon); Doğer 2004: 17, Tab. 1e; 25, Pic. 4 (Anaia); Mercangöz and Doğer 2009: 92, Pic. 3c; Tab. VII: b, j (Anaia); İnanan 2010: Cat. no. 49—56 (Anaia); Öztaşkın 2013: Lev. 16, Kat. 182.

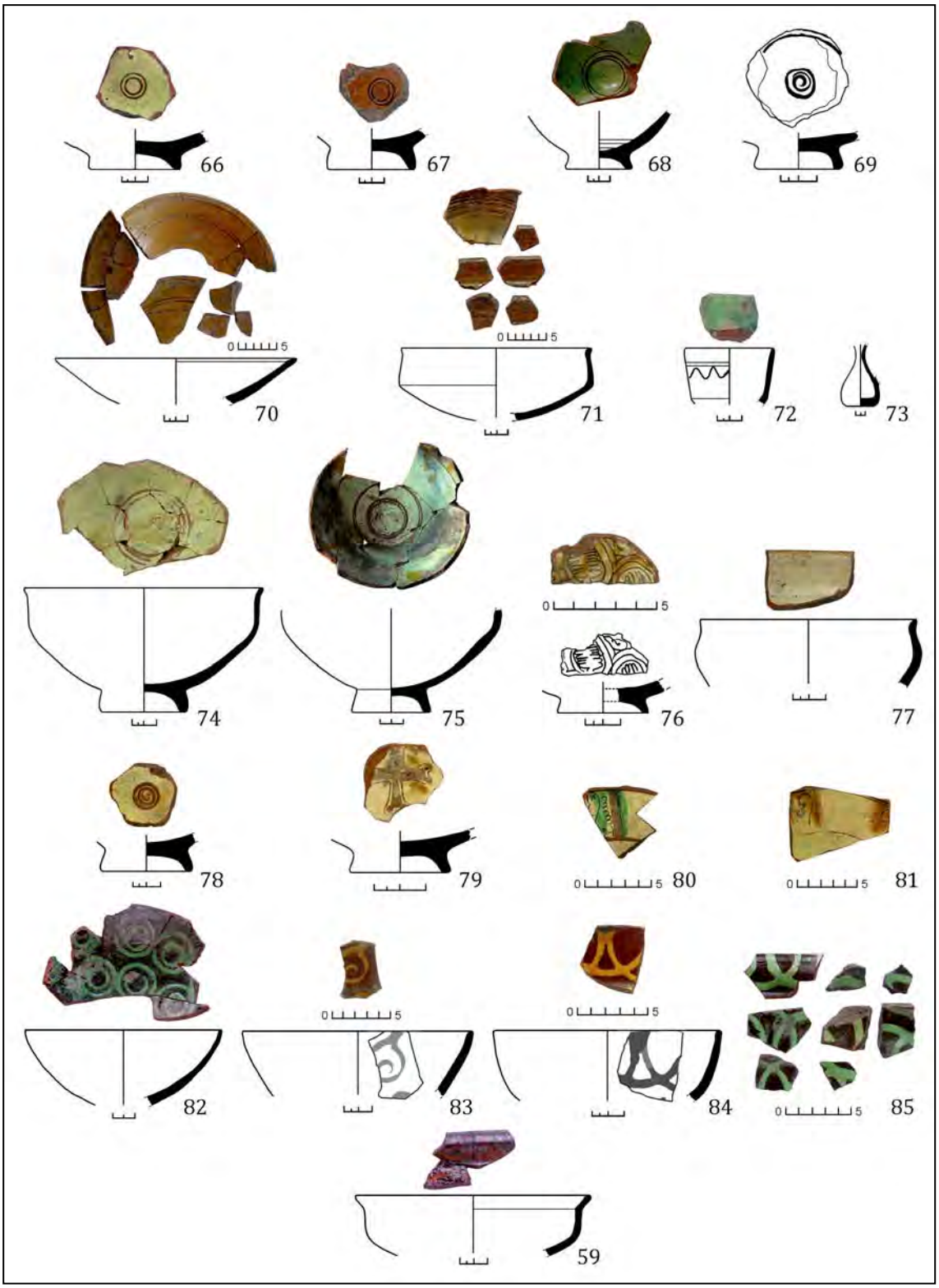

Table 7.

Таблица 7.

are larger than the previous group. A glass and a small bottle lacking a neck which looks like defective product diversify the form (Tab. 7: 72—73).

Fragments belonging to Zeuxippus Family II Ware and Slip Painted Ware recovered in Aigai have similar fabric (Tab. 7: 80—84). These fragments resemble Pergamon findings

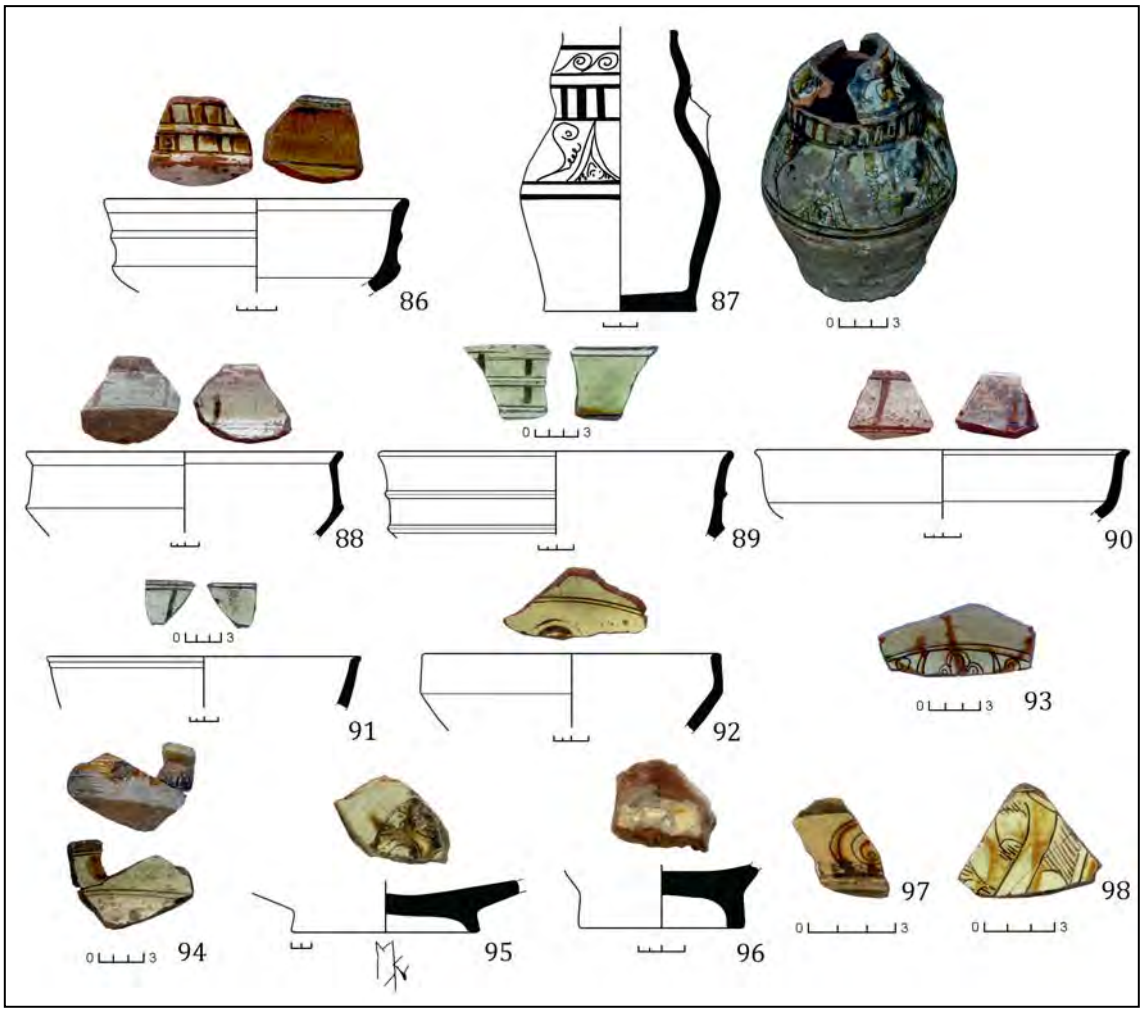

Table 8.

Таблица 8.

in terms of their form and ornament. Thus, we can suggest that findings with this kind of fabric might be produced in Pergamon (for Pergamon Byzantine Period stratigraphy and ceramics, see: Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Teil II, 194—229). However, we should not ignore the margin of error if the findings are identified with the naked eye. They can be dated to the end of the 12th century and 13th century. Some findings resembling contextual Pergamon findings with can be dated to the beginning of the 14th century (1300) at the latest.

A.2.2. Zeuxippus Family II Ware (Tab. 7: 74—81; 8: 86—98)

Findings are imitations of Zeuksippus Family II Ware and they have typical motifs of this group. A few fragments appears to be similar to **Fabric A** in terms of their fabric (not included in the catalogue, need more data). Others have fabric of **Fabric A1** and **Fabric A2** type.

Findings with **Fabric A1** belong to bowls and a jug (Tab. 7: 74—81; Tab. 8: 86, 87)

Bowls in Tab. 7: 74, 75, 77 are a new form. Similar ones were excavated in Pergamon. They were included in Class I typology. Generally their form is deep and narrow. Interior surface of these vessels is decorated with circles and they are defined as vessels with Pergamon fabric B2 (for various Pergamon findings, see: Spieser 1996: Taf. 22: 304—306). They do not have high-quality fabric, glaze and ornament. They are decorated with concentric circles, irregular closed spirals, combed decoration and cross motif. Colouring by adding extra paint from dark yellow to light brown are in the form of stains (Tab. 7: 74, 75, 77, 78, 79; 8: 86). They are strokes with spaces in the same direction beneath the rim in Tab. 7: 75 (similar one from Pergamon: Spieser 1996: Taf. 37: 382).

Finding in Tab. 7: 81 resembles main local production in Pergamon.[32] Base fragment in

[32] For Pergamon Zeuxippus Family II Ware main local production, see: Waksman and Spieser 1997, II Series B (37).

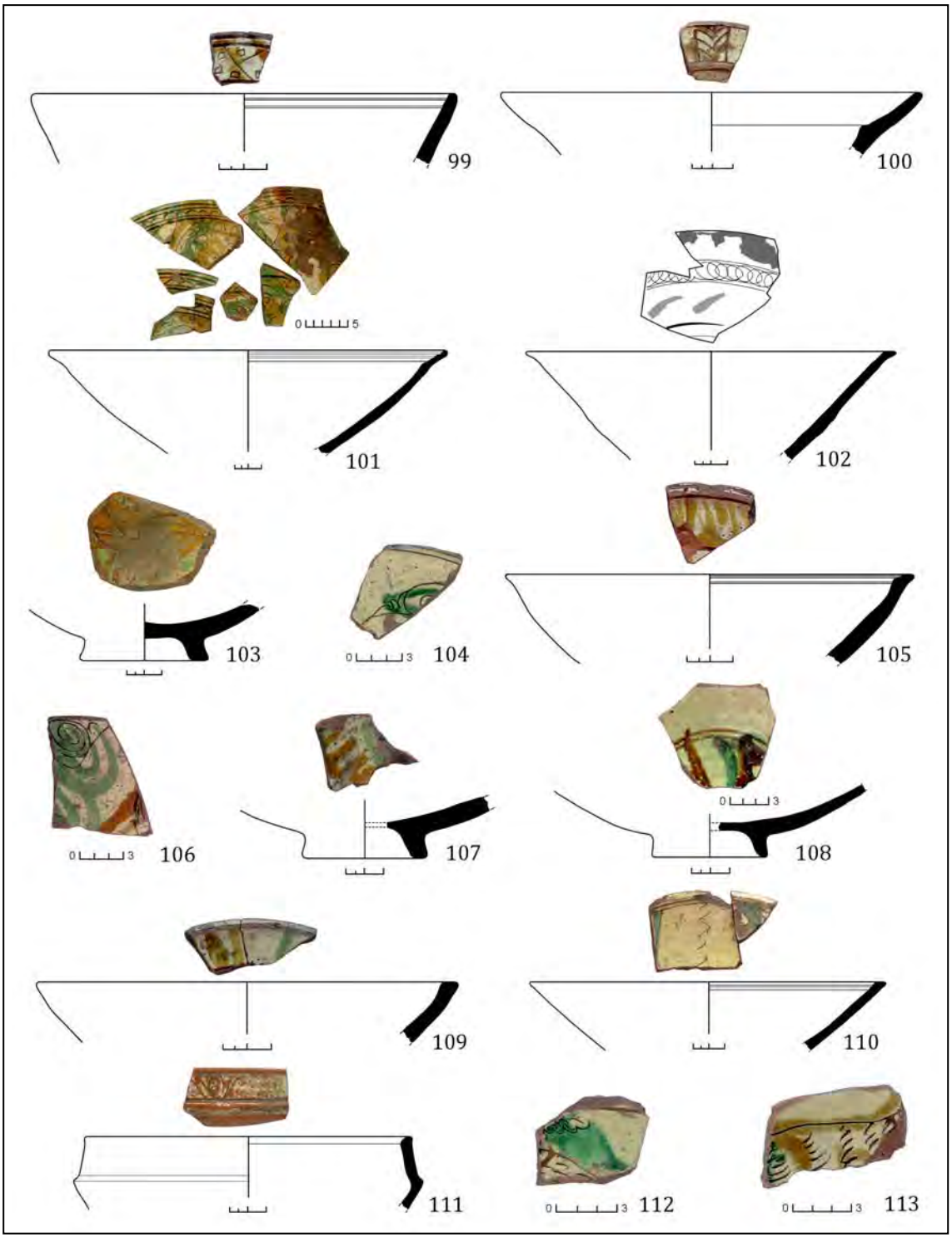

Table 9.

Таблица 9.

Tab. 7: 76 resembles findings in Pergamon fabric B2 group in terms of its form and ornament.[33] Two findings in Tab. 8: 86 and Tab. 8: 87 are very similar in terms of their workmanship although their vessel forms are different. Findings in this group may be Pergamon production and can be dated to the end of the 12th century — 13th century.

Findings with **Fabric A2** are typically carinated bowls with ring foot and high vertical

[33] Pergamon fabric is defined with B legend. Average quality and very micaceous products are given with B2 legend. Spieser 1996: Taf. 15: 228, 68, Kat. 228.

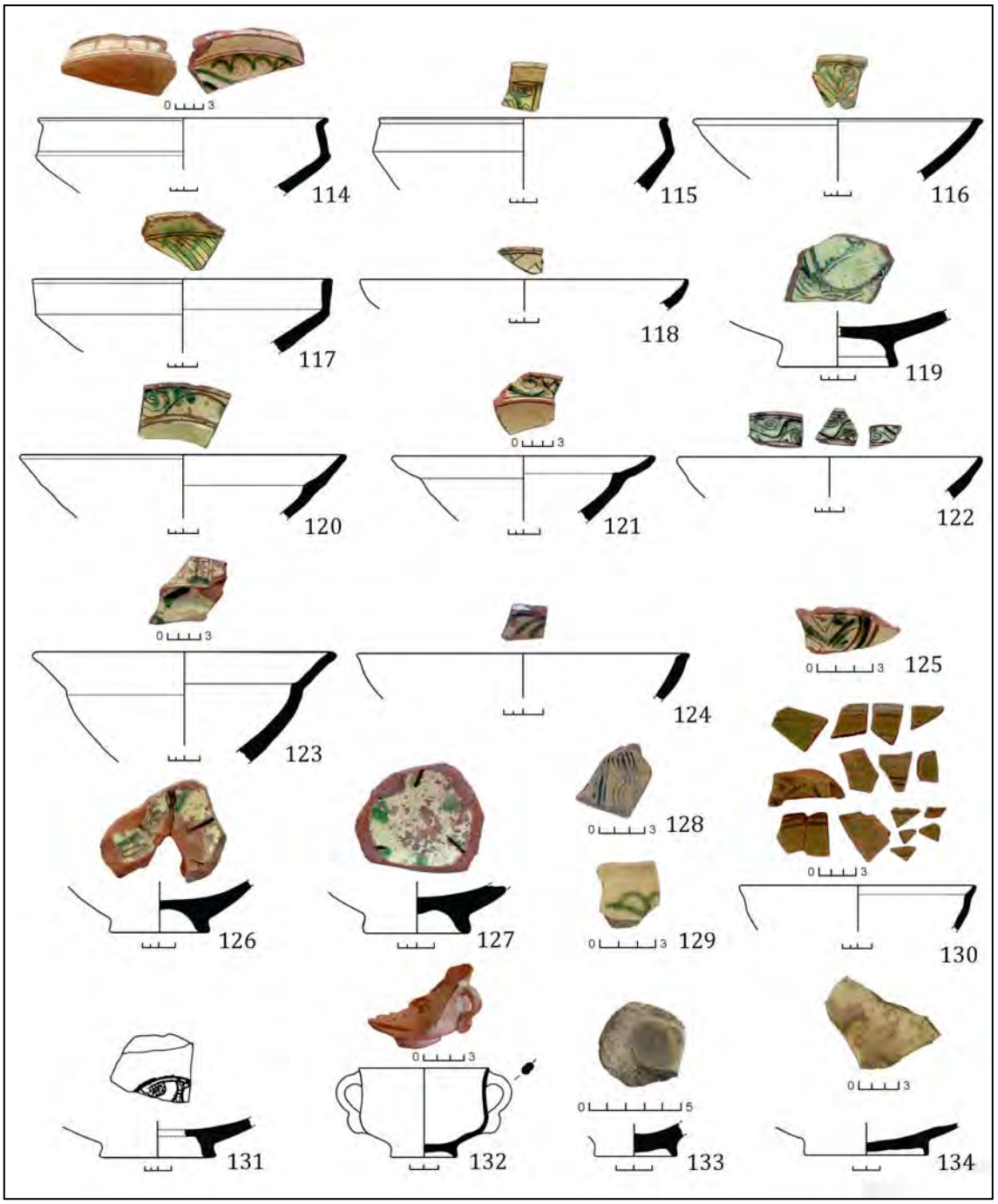

Table 10.

Таблица 10.

rim (Tab. 8: 88—93, 94?). Most exterior rims, metops or diagonal-vertical incisions have the same style with horizontal profiles. They resemble both local Pergamon production having fabric B2 and a more homogenous, less micaceous and harder group. However, it is difficult to distinguish two types of fabric. J. M. Spieser who studied Pergamon findings has also similar observations on the issue. The bowl in Tab. 8.94 is significant due to its relief badges on the exterior rim in this regard. One of the attached badges has been preserved. A similar finding was also uncovered in Pergamon (Spieser 1996: Taf. 25: 322; some other local findings Taf. 27: 334—335; some non-local findings Taf. 56: 530—539). Pergamon finding was sceptically thought to have local fabric B2 and B. Böhlendorf dated it to the period between 1250—1300 by considering its cistern stratigraphy (Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Teil. III, Taf. 184, nr. 3). Fabric and glaze

type of Aigai finding is also similar to **Fabric A1**.

Some findings (Tab. 8: 89—93, 98) are different from others in that they have hard glaze and deep incisions. These are also similar to the findings in Daskyleion[34], llion (see: Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Teil. III: 84) ve the Agora of Smyrna (Doğer 2007: 121: b, c).

Aigai findings may have come from Pergamon and Troas. They can be dated to the end of the 12th century — 13th century. Some findings resembling contextual Pergamon findings with can be dated to the beginning of the 14th century (1300) at the latest.

A.2.3. Zeuxippus Family Slip Painted Ware (Tab. 6: 60—63; 7: 59, 82—85)

There are two primary fabric types. **Fabric A** is seen in flat-bottomed jugs (Tab. 6: 60—63). These stand out in terms of their wall and high-quality workmanship. The jug in Tab. 6: 63 having twin handles and little plastic hobnails on the handles resemble the jugs in Zeuxippus Family I[35] (Tab. 4: 42; 5: 56) and amber glazed jug (Scott-Kamilli 1981: 683, Fig. 4) excavated in Sardis. They are decorated with larger and circular radial lines from the neck toward the bottom of the body. They have a light yellow and yellowish green glaze.

Bottom structure of the jug in Tab. 6: 60 resembles the closed vessel with a round body excavated in Pergamon, which is not a local production. It is useful to analyze the fabric of Aigai findings together with Sardis findings.

Slip painted lines like figure eight having little circles inside, ornamental circles and crosscutting curvilinear lines were applied under green and dark yellow glaze.

Findings with **Fabric A1** are bowl fragments (Tab. 7: 59, 82—85). They are decorated with slip painted lines like figure eight having little circles inside, ornamental circles and crosscutting curvilinear lines applied under green and dark yellow glaze. The glaze on the bowl in Tab. 7: 59 is defective. These may be Pergamon production with fabric B3.[36]

Dating: Pergamon findings are dated to the end of the 12th century — 13th century (Böhlendorf-Arslan 2013: 488, 499). A bowl cistern similar to cat. 210 with its stratigraphy can roughly be dated to 1225—1250, a bowl base roughly to 1250—1300 and another base to 1275—1300 (Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Taf. 181: 3, 183: 5, 182: 2). Aigai findings can be dated to the end of the 12th century — early 14th century.

A.2.3. Purpur-Brown Stained Ware (Tab. 6: 64—65, 65.1)

Their fabric type is **Fabric A.** Fragments are a bowl with flat or ring base (cat. 64) and a jug handle (Tab. 6: 65). They are decorated with *Purpur-Brown* stains under yellow/greenish yellow glaze.

Twin handle with plastic decoration is made of similar fabric and resembles the jug handle in Tab. 4: 42 and Tab. 6: 63 .

Dating: Ornaments and fabric type of Aigai findings are similar to those in Pergamon (Spieser 1996: Taf. 57, nr. 551—554, Taf. 58, nr. 555—559), Sardis (see: Scott-Kamilli 1981: 684, Fig. 5), Daskyleion (Doğer 2014: Tab. 49: 230—233) and Nif/Olympus (Başpınar Church) (Doğer 2015: 63, Pl. VII: 26), the Agora of Smyrna (Doğer 2007: Pl. XV: a), Kuşadası, Kadıkalesi (Anaia).[37] Few findings were excavated in Aigai but they are similar to those in other places in terms of form variety, base form and grooves at the bottom exterior surface of flat base vessels. Sardis findings are thought to be local products due to clay analysis and they are dated to the 13th and 14th century. After analyzing findings in Anaia, on the other hand, we see that they are different from the local products in Anaia. The same goes for the findings in Pergamon. Clay analysis indicated that these ceramics are different from the local products.[38] Another fragment of a cistern in Pergamon is roughly dated to 1200—1300 (for a dated finding, see: Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Teil. III, Taf. 186, nr. 2). This signals that these vessels may have been produced in Sardis. Aigai findings can be dated to the second half of the 13th century — early 14th century.

[34] Exterior surface of the findings, see: Doğer 2014: Tab. 44, nr. 207.

[35] There are more findings in Aigai. These are examples.

[36] Pergamon is the production centre in Anatolia. For the findings, see: Spieser 1996: Taf. 1, nr. 3; Taf. 39; Taf. 50: 469—472; Böhlendorf-Arslan 2013: Kat. 1059-1081. Some similar findings among Pergamon findings were separated as unclassifiable group after clay analysis. See. Waksman ve Spieser 1997: 6 Seris K (7, 143). Similar findings with simple motif and compositions (characteristics of that period) were excavated in Ilion, Daskyleion, Anaia, Metropolis, Alabanda and Tralleis; For Stratonikeia, Beybağ, Kurudere findings, see: Öztaşkın 2013: lev. 23, 259—267; for Tralleis. Dinç 2013: 243, res. 4: 3—6, 8; for findings uncovered in Greece with similar ornaments dating from the 13th century, see: Papanikola-Bakirtzi ve Zekos 2007: 47 (Cat. 34, 35), 82 (Cat. 84), 125 (Cat. 136, 137).

[37] It is an assessment done with the naked eye.

[38] For the analysis of Anaia findings, Waksman 2013: 101—111, findings, 105, Fig. V-2; for the analysis of thin Pergamon findings see; Waksman ve Spieser 1997, 114—115, 8 Series H (except 18). A rougher finding with number 18 was presented as Pergamon production.

A.2.4. Green-Orange Stained Ware (Tab. 9: 99—113)

Their fabric type is **Fabric C.** A large number of fragments belonging to open vessels were uncovered. There are both thin-walled and thick-walled products. Thin-walled products have higher-quality ornaments and glaze. The sgraffito geometrical and plant motifs are enhanced with green and pale orange/light brown/mustard colour in the form of stains. They have a transparent colourless or yellowish green glaze. Some have a high vertical rim with plastic.[39] Similar findings were excavated in Pergamon (Böhlendorf-Arslan 2013: 511, Kat. 1242; 512—513, Kat. 1243—1248), the Agora of Smyrna (Doğer 2010: 518, Pic. 13: a), Nif/Olympus (Başpınar Church) (Doğer 2015: 64, Pl. VIII: 34), Metropolis (Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Teil. III, Taf. 125, nr. 569, 571), Tralleis (Dinç 2013: 243, pic.4: 2, 10) [40], Kuşadası, Kadıkalesi (Anaia) (Anaia 2013: Kat. 50), Magnesia a.M, Kurudere, Beybağ.[41] Published findings are dated to the end of the 12th century — 14th century. Newly introduced Tripolis[42] findings are dated to the second half of the 13th century-early 14th century. Selçuk/Ayasuluk Türbe findings can also be dated to the second half of the 13th and early 14th centuries and some of them were considered to be local group C with analysis (Vroom, Fındık 2015, 217, cat. 76—88, footnote 79). They must be products of transition period from late Byzantine to Beylik Period. Aigai findings can be dated to the second half of the 13th century — early 14th century.

A.3.2.Green Stained Ware (Tab. 10: 114—129)

Their fabric type is **Fabric C.** Findings with better workmanship and quality have harder fabric. (Tab. 10: 114—122). Fragments of bowls have white or off-white slip. They have a transparent light yellow-yellowish beige glaze. They are decorated with a few different styles. They are typically decorated with multiple incised circles or wavy ornaments applied with a multipoint tool like comb. But stylized curly branch and animal figures were also applied. Green oxide glaze on incised parts of some vessels appears like dark black. As the background is brown, incised parts adjacent to the yellow glaze creates a multicolour effect (Tab. 10: 125). There are similar findings from the Agora of Smyrna (Doğer 2007: Pl. XV.b), Tralleis (Dinç 2013: 243, pic.4: 7), Kuşadası, Kadıkalesi (Anaia) (Mercangöz-Doğer 2009: Tab. VII: k), Metropolis (Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Teil III, Taf. 125, nr. 567—568), Pergamon (see: Spieser 1996: Taf. 55, nr. 526—528; Böhlendorf-Arslan 2013: 510, Kat. 1237; 511, Kat. 1240), Nif/Olympus (Başpınar Church) (Doğer 2015: 64, Pl. VIII: 39—40), Magnesia a.M., Kurudere (for a new finding, see: Öztaşkın 2013: Lev. 19, Kat. 219), Beybağ (for a new finding, see: Öztaşkın 2013: Lev. 19, Kat. 220) and Tripolis[43]. Published findings are dated to the end of the 12th century — 14th century. Form of Aigai findings is similar to the previous group and these findings can be dated to the second half of the 13th century — early 14th century. Some of the findings can be extended to the mid-14th century.

There are also some findings having a light yellow glaze without sgraffito. They are decorated with dark green oxide paint (Tab. 10: 129). Some fragments having dark yellow glaze decorated with light green oxide paint were also uncovered.[44]

A.2.5. Other Plain Glazed Ware (Tab. 10: 130—131).

Their fabric type is **Fabric C.** The bowl in Tab. 10: 130 has an off-white slip and green glaze. It is decorated with incised concentric circles. Base and body fragment in Tab. 10: 131 have a white slip and green glaze. It is decorated with fine sgraffito technique. We see a decoration of three or four semi-circles in a central medallion with contours. The background is filled in like fish scale. This composition must be a very stylized plant decoration. Though it is stylized, a similar bowl having a more clear plant decoration with a certain design is among Metropolis findings (Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Taf. 124: 563). However, this bowl was also painted in green oxide colour.

[39] For similar example, see: Öztaşkın 2013: Lev. 19, Kat. 221 (Kurudere). Findings in the Agora of Smryna were not published.

[40] They are among the findings from the early Beylik Period.

[41] For Kurudere finding 4.5km northwest of Stratonikeia, see: Öztaşkın 2013: Lev. 19, Kat. 221—222; for Beybağ finding 3.8km northwest of Stratonikeia, see: Öztaşkın 2013: Lev. 19, kat. 223—224.

[42] They are Late Byzantine castle findings. Although descriptions regarding ceramic types are not clear, some profile designs refer to this group. Duman 2015: 234, 244, fig. 11; in Fig. 12.

[43] Although descriptions regarding ceramic types are not clear, some profile designs refer to this group. They are dated to Late Byzantine- early 14th century. Duman 2015: 234, 244, fig. 11: 4, 7, 14; 245, fig. 12: 16.

[44] Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Teil. III, Taf. 187, nr. 15 (Pergamon) . Analytical studies yield information regarding ceramic production in Anatolia during late Byzantine-Early Turkish Period. Waksman 2014; Vroom, Fındık 2015; Waksman 2015.

Findings here must be related to those in the previous group.

B. Ceramic Findings with White Fabric

B.1. Glazed wares of the Middle Byzantine period

B.1 Glazed White Ware IV (Tab. 10: 132—134)

Their fabric type is **Fabric D.** There are very few findings. Fragments belong to open and closed vessels.[45] Light yellow or colourless glaze was totally eroded in some findings. Decoration on a few findings were preserved and wavy paintings on these findings are striking. They must belong to Hayes Glazed White Ware IV (GWW IV). The vessel with a complete profile having single or double handles resembles an example from Constantinople in terms of its form (Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Taf. 49: 37). Daskyleion findings[46] close to those in Constantinople and Kadıkalesi/Anaia findings including some defective products are different in terms of their fabric (Doğer 2005: 120, Tab. III: c-d; Mercangöz-Doğer 2009: Tab. II: g; Mercangöz 2013: 57, Pic. I: 26, a, b). Therefore, we need archeometrical information to state opinion about where Pergamon and Aigai findings were produced. They can be dated to the second half of the 12th century and the first quarter of the 13th century.

Conclusion

Excavations in Aigai were not planned to directly discover Byzantine archeology except the church. Studies were carried out in the city for the pre-Byzantine period and they uncovered some findings from Byzantine period. The findings were evaluated. Therefore, there is not much available information regarding the subject.

First archeological data yields information and findings about the Late Byzantine Period in Aigai for now. The most important finding is a Byzantine church in Demirkapı sector from the late 12th—13th century. The bottom of its body wall was preserved and the site around the church was used for funerary means.

The majority of the findings in excavations consist of ceramics. Byzantine layers close to the surface moved on the sloping land due to natural conditions. Therefore, especially ceramics and tiny findings usually have no context. Cistern I and Cistern II incised on a rock from the Byzantine period provided us with different ceramic groups together which are rougly dated to the 12th—14th century. However, it is observed that ceramics from Hellenistic Roman Period were seen on the top of the cistern in years.

Considering Byzantine coins excavated in Aigai, we see a poor 5th—6th century by looking at the data we have. A coin from Marcian (450—457) period was uncovered on the south and southeast of Bouleuterion where most of the Late Roman C ceramics were excavated. A non-contextual coin from Justinian I (527—565) period was uncovered in Necropolis.

While there is no finding of glazed ceramics from the 8th—11th centuries[47], the era of Komnenos and Lascarids Dynasties in Aigai (mentioned in synod lists of the year 1167 and 1230) was documented with archeological findings, such as architecture, ceramics and glass. We can see the impact of immunities for shipping trade in the late mid-Byzantine Period on the glazed Aegean Type products in distant region during Komnenos Period. These ceramics mostly uncovered in coastal cities were produced in several workplaces apart from Korinthos and they were also uncovered in inland settlements like Aigai, Pergamon and Metropolis in small quantities.

There were some changes in Byzantine glazed ceramics technology during late 12th century. Theodore I Lascaris founded a new state centred in Nicaea after the capital city was captured by the Latins. New agricultural regions and construction areas led to an economic recovery. The quantity of glazed ceramic findings is related to all these developments.

Large scale production of glazed ware in Western Anatolia during Lascarids Period in the 13th century was carried out in Anaia and Pergamon. While products in Anaia were demanded only in Akra and Ephesos (Ayasuluk/Türbe) (see. Doğer 2009: 91; Waksman 2013: 109; Vroom, Fındık 2015: 217, 285, nr. 69), analyzed products in Pergamon and Sardis findings are analogically studied. It is seen that products similar to those in Pergamon, Sardis and Troas were used in Aigai during Byzantine Period.

[45] It is stated that few were uncovered among Pergamon findings. For the findings, see: Spieser 1996: 53, 92, Taf. 60, nr. 583—584. For this group, see: Doğer 2014: 53—57, Tab. 54—56. For newly introduced findings from Sinop, see: İnanan 2014: 153, Tab. 1: a-e. New findings originated from Constantinople excavated in Selçuk/Ayasuluk Türbe: Vroom, Fındık 2015: 208, cat. 7—8.

[46] Tab. 54—56; For some findings similar to those in Daskyleion probably originated from Constantinople, in Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, see: Böhlendorf-Arslan 2013: Kat. 203—236.

[47] A similar space is seen in excavations in Pergamon middle city.

Although GwW IV ware are few, it is significant to see them in Aigai.

When we look at the architecture, glass and metal findings[48], some ceramics in **Fabric A** group and coins, we see that the city had a good standard of living during late 12th century and the first half of the 13th century.[49] Coins belonging to Komnenos (Manuel I Komnenos/1143—1180, Isaac II Angelos/1185—1195, Alexios III Angelos/1195—1203), Lascarids (Theodore I Lascaris/1204—1222) and Palaiologos dynasties and a treasure with their Latin imitations (Thessalonike Type A, 1204—1222) indicate that this period was really active.

Quality ceramics in Fabric A group of Aigai glazed ware, aesthetic products imitating metal vessels and pottery with golden micaceous slip and good workmanship must have been for an affluent society.

We know that people in the rural areas produced not only to sell the surplus but also for the market during the 11—13th centuries. In addition, aristocrats were directly involved in trade since late 12th century. This yielded income for both social classes which affected the quality of ceramics.

The most recent coin uncovered so far is dated to Michael VIII Palaiologos Period (1259—1282).[50] Some groups (Green-Orange Stained Ware and Green Stained Ware) had similar form to those excavated in some areas in Western Anatolia being turkified at that time. These groups indicate the transition between late-Byzantine and Beylik Period.

Catalogues

Fabric B. Fine Sgraffito Ware (Table 1: 1—7)

Cat. 1. 2009. Cistern II 360.25m. Dish ring base fr. D.12. Fabric B. 5YR 6/8. reddish yellow. Glaze. 5Y 8/2 pale yellow. Some similar decoration: Waksman et al. 2014: 393, Fig. 10: b.

Cat. 2. Necropol-ancient road. Body fr. Fabric B.2. 5Y 8/2 pale yellow. Glaze. 2. 5Y 8/2 pale yellow.

Cat. 3. 2009. Cistern II. Body fr. Fabric B. 5YR 6/8 reddish yellow. Glaze. 5Y 8/2 pale yellow.

Cat. 4. Bouleuterion, south-east front of facade. Body fr. Fabric B. 5Y 8/6 pale yellow. Glaze. 5Y 8/6 pale yellow.

Cat. 5. 2009. Cistern II. Low ring base fr. D.9. Fabric B.2. 5YR 6/8 light red. Glaze. Light greenish yellow.

Cat. 6. Bouleuterion, room 9 stone rubbish 363.05-362.61m. Body fr. Fabric B.7. 5YR 7/4 pink. Glaze. 5Y 8/4 pale yellow. Some similar decoration: Spieser 1996: Taf. 58: 563.

Cat. 7. Surface. Bowl fr. Rim D.24. Fabric B.2. 5YR 5/8 red. Glaze. 5Y 8/4 pale yellow. Similar form: Armstrong 1989: 9, Cat. 33; Waksman et al. 2014: 393, Fig. 10: d.

Fabric B. Incised-Fine Sgraffito Ware (Table 1: 8)

Cat. 8. 2012. Demirkapı Church west entrance Bowl fr. Rim D.20. Fabric B.2. 5YR 6/8 light red. Glaze. 5Y 8/4 pale yellow. Similar form: Öztaşkın 2013: Lev. 13: 139 (Stratonikeia). Decoration: Spieser 1996: Taf. 59: 574 (Pergamon).

Fabric B. Incised Ware (Table 1: 9—14)

Cat. 9. Bouleuterion, room 11 exterritorial 362.94—362.11m. Large plate fr. Rim D.30. Fabric B.2. 5YR 6/6 light red. Glaze. 5Y 7/4—8/4 pale yellow.

Cat. 10. 2009. Cistern II 359.85m. Body fr. Fabric B. 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow. Glaze. 5Y 8/4 pale yellow.

Cat. 11. Necropol — ancient road. Low ring base fr. D.8. Fabric B.2. 5YR 6/8 light red. Glaze. 5Y 8/4 pale yellow.

Cat. 12. 2009. Cistern II 361.72m. Low ring base fr. D.11. Fabric B.2. 5YR 5/8 red. Glaze. 5Y 8/4 pale yellow.

Cat. 13. 2009. Cistern II. Flaring pedestal foot fr. D.5. Fabric B. 5YR 5/6 yellowish red. Glaze. 5Y 8/4 pale yellow. Some similar form: Waksman et al. 2014: 393, Fig. 12: g; Öztaşkın 2013: Lev. 14: 148; Byzantine Glazed Ceramics 1999: 54, cat. 44; Armstrong 1989: 31, Fig. 18: 35.

Cat. 14. Bouleuterion, south facade Byzantine room. Body fr. Fabric B. 5YR 5/8 yellowish red. Glaze. 5Y 8/3 pale yellow.

Fabric B. Champléve Ware (Table 1: 15)

Cat. 15. 2012. Demirkapı Church west entrance 347.71—347.58, 347.79—347.47m. Large plate fr. Rim D.30. Fabric B. 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow. Glaze. 5Y 7/3—8/3 pale yellow.

FAbric B. Non group fragments of Middle Byzantine Group (Table 2: 16—20)

Cat. 16. 2011. Demirkapı Church out of apse (north-east). 346.10—345.94m. Bowl rim fr. D.22.

[48] A belt buckle from Aigai is similar to round belt buckles excavated in Byzantine necropolis in the Agora of Iasos dating to the late 12th century and early 13th century. For Iasos finding, see: Berti 2012: 206, 207, 208, Pl. 4, 5, 6 (t. 169—170, 196).

[49] Coins belonging to Lascarids (Theodore I Lascaris/1204—1222) and Palaiologos dynasty and Latin imitation (Thessalonike Type A, 1204—1222) coins support this dating.

[50] For some coins, see: Doğer, Sezgin ve Gürbüzer 2010: 353, Pic. 1. For the treasure, see: Sezgin ve Önder 2013: 141—150.

Fabric B.2. 5YR 5/6 light red. Glaze. 5Y 8/4 pale yellow.

Cat. 17. 2009. Cistern II 361.72—361.14m. Bowl rim fr. D.27. Fabric B.2. 5YR 5/8 red. Glaze. 5Y 8/4—8/6 pale yellow.

Cat. 18. 2009. Cistern II 362.25m. Bowl rim fr. D.28. Fabric B. 5YR 5/6 yellowish red. Glaze. 5Y 8/3 pale yellow.

Cat. 19. 2012. Demirkapı Church west entrance. Bowl rim fr. D.22. Fabric B.2. 5YR 5/6 red. Glazed. 5Y 8/4 pale yellow.

Cat. 20. 2009. Cistern II 360.78m. Bowl rim fr. D.27. Fabric B.2. 5YR 5/8 red. Glaze. 5Y 8/3 pale yellow.

Fabric B. Painted-Fine Sgraffito Ware (Table 2: 21—24)

Cat. 21. 2009. Necropol — ancient road. Bowl ring base fr. D. 8. Fabric B. 5YR 5/6 reddish yellow Glazed. 5Y 8/2 pale yellow.

Cat. 22. 2006. Cistern I outside surface. Dish ring base fr. D.11. Fabric B. 5YR 5/8 yellowish red. Glaze. 5Y 8/2 pale yellow.

Cat. 23. Bouleuterion south facade. Bowl rim fr. D.26. Fabric B. 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow. Glaze. 5Y 8/2 pale yellow.

Cat. 24. Agora east area. Rim fr. D.24. Fabric B. 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow. Glaze. 5Y 8/2 pale yellow.

Fabric B. Green and Brown Painted Ware (Table 2: 25)

Cat. 25. 2009. Necropol — ancient road surface. Ring base.

Fabric A. Zeuxippus Family I Ware (Table 3: 26—36)

Cat. 26. Ring base fr. D.6.8. Fabric A. Burnished. Glaze. Brownish orange. Similar forms: İnanan 2013: 75, Tab. II: 1 (Anaia); Doğer 2013: 121, Tab. 8; 137, Tab. 24: 112 (Daskyleion); Spieser 1996: Taf. 10: 160.

Cat. 27. 2009. Cistern II. Ring base fr. D.7. Fabric A.7. 5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. Glaze. 5Y 8/2 pale yellow. Similar forms: Böhlendorf-Arslan 2013: 257, kat. 597 (Konstantinopolis); İnanan 2013: 76, Tab. II: 1.4 (Anaia); Spieser 1996: Taf. 2: 17 (Pergamon).

Cat. 28. Bouleuterion south, mix period. Ring base fr. D.6.4. Fabric A.7. 5YR 7/4 pink. Glaze. 5Y 7/6 olive yellow. Similar forms: Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Taf. 140: 692 (Magnesia a.M); Spieser 1996: Taf. 48: 443 (Pergamon); Doğer 2014: 122, Tab. 9 (Daskyleion).

Cat. 29. 2004. Demirkapı. Bowl fr. D.18.8. Fabric A.Burnished. 10YR 5/1 gray. Glaze. 2. 5Y 6/8 olive yellow.

Cat. 30. Bowl fr. D.19. Fabric A.2. 5YR 5/6 red. Glaze. 5YR 7/8 yellow. Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Taf. 99: 349 (Yortanlı); Doğer 2015: 59, Pl. 11: 5—6 (Nif).

Cat. 31. 2006. Cistern I, outside north. Bowl fr. D.16. Fabric A. 5YR 5/3 reddish yellow. Glaze. Inside and outside 2. 5Y 7/8 yellow. There is repair hole. Similar forms: Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Taf. 120 (Magnesia a.M.). Close similar decoration outside. Waksman 2014: Fig. 1, BZY 417 (Pergamon Red Hall).

Cat. 32. 2004. Demirkapı, trench 3. Bowl fr. Fabric A. 5YR 7/8 reddish yellow. Glaze. not good. Brownish orange.

Cat. 33. 2006. Cistern I around. Bowl fr. D.15. Fabric A.7. 5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. Glaze. Light green. Similar form: Spieser 1996: Taf. 25: 320 (Pergamon).

Cat. 34. Bowl fr. D.20. Fabric A.7. 5YR 6/4 light brown. Glaze. Light green. Similar form: Doğer 2015: 61, Pl. IV: 16 (Nif).

Cat. 35. 2006. Cistern I around.Goblet fr. Est.h.7.5; ring 3.2. Fabric A.7. 5YR 6/4 light brown. Glaze. Light green.

Cat. 36. Small cup rim fr. D.12. Fabric A. 5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. Glaze. Light green.

(Table 4: 37—45)

Cat. 37. 2006. Cistern I outside north wall . Bowl foot fr. D.7.4. Fabric A.7. 5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. Glaze. Light green. Similar close form and decoration: Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Taf. 114: 476 (Sardis).

Cat. 38. 2004. Demirkapı, trench 4 . Bowl fr. Rim D.21. Base D.8. H.10.4. Fabric A.2. 5YR 5/1 reddish gray. Glaze. Faulty production. Greenish yellow with spatter green. Similar form and false handle on body: Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Taf. 114: 476 (Sardis); Taf. 114: 479 (Sardis); Taf. 133: 635 (Magnesia a.M); Böhlendorf-Arslan 2013: 489, kat. 1181 (Pergamon).

Cat. 39. 2006. Cistern I outside the north and southeast wall. Ring fr. D.5.6. Fabric A. 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow. Glaze. Green.

Cat. 40. 2006. Cistern I outside north wall. Bowl fr. Rim D.24. Fabric A. 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow. Glaze. 5Y 7/3—7/4 pale yellow. Similar form: Böhlendorf 2013: kat. 639 (Konstantinopolis). Decoration: Spieser 1996: Taf. 12: 199, 201, 202; Taf. 51: 499; Doğer 2005: 121, Tab. VI: a; Doğer 2007: 119, pl. XIII in.

Cat. 41. 2006. Cistern I outside the north and southeast wall. Dish fr. Rim D.28. Base D.9. H.6.5. Fabric A. 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow. Glaze. 5Y 7/8—6/8 yellow-olive yellow. Form: Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Taf. 92: 307 (Pergamon); Taf. 93: 314 (Pergamon).

Cat. 42. 2006. Cistern I outside the east wall. Jug body fr. Fabric A. 5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. Glaze. 5Y 7/6 yellow. Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Taf. 118: 515 (Metropolis).

Cat. 43. Surface. Bowl, flat base fr. Rim D.16. Fabric A. 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow. Glaze. Orange-yellow. Similar form: Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Taf. 99: 347 (Yortanlı).

Cat. 44. 2009. Cistern II 362.95—362.73. Foot fr. D.6. Fabric A.7. 5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. Glaze. Light green. Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Taf. 136: 662 (Magnesia a.M).

Cat. 45. Demirkapı, the church, surface. Ring base fr. est.D.7. Fabric A.7. 5YR 6/4 light brown Glaze. 2.5Y 6/8 olive yellow. Same style decoration: Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Taf. 114: 478 (Sardis), Taf. 118: 518 (Metropolis).

(Table 5: 46—58)

Cat. 46. Necropol surface. Rim fr. D.21. Fabric A.7.5YR 6/6 reddish yellow. Similar form: Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Taf. 121: 541 (Metropolis).

Cat. 47. 2006. Cistern I outside north wall . Foot fr. D.7. Fabric A.7, 5YR 7/4 pink. Glaze. 10YR 6/6 brownish yellow. Similar foot: Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Taf. 114: 476 (Sardis); Taf. 118: 518 (Metropolis); Taf. 132: 634 (Magnesia a.M).

Cat. 48. 2006. Cistern I outside the north and southeast wall. Bowl fr. Rim D.18. Base D.7.4. H.5.7. Fabric A. 5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. Glaze 2. 5Y 8/2 pale yellow.

Cat. 49. Road. KH.A2/B, Cistern I outside the north and southeast wall. Base fr. est.D.7. Fabric A. 5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. Glaze. Light green.

Cat. 50. 2009. Cistern II 362.73m. Foot fr. D.6. Fabric A.7. 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow. Glaze. 2. 5Y 6/8 olive yellow. Similar form: Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Taf. 95: 323 (Pergamon).

Cat. 51. Athena Temple, terrace, surface. Bowl/Dish fr. Rim D.18.8. Base D.6. H.4. Fabric A. 5YR 6/6-reddish yellow. Glaze. pale cream. Similar ring foot. Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Taf. 94: 316 (Pergamon).

Cat. 52. 2006. Cistern I outside the north wall stone floor. Foot fr. est.D.7. Fabric A. 5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. Glaze. 5Y 8/3 pale yellow.

Cat. 53. 2006. Cistern I outside the north and southeast wall. Ring base fr. D.6. Fabric A. 5YR 6/6—reddish yellow Glaze. 5Y 7/6 yellow. Similar form: Spieser 1996: Taf. 10: 169.

Cat. 54. Ring base fr. D.7. Fabric A. 5YR 6/6-reddish yellow. Glaze. 5Y 8/4 pale yellow. Form: Spieser 1996: Taf. 10: 169.

Cat. 55. 2012. Demirkapı Church outside the west wall (northwest). Jug body fr. Fabric A. 5YR 6/8 reddish yellow. Glaze. 2. 5Y 8/3 pale yellow.

Cat. 56. 2004. Demirkapı trench 3. Handle fr. Fabric A. 5YR 6/6-reddish yellow. Glaze. 2. 5Y 8/2 pale yellow.

Cat. 57. 2006. Cistern I stone floor (north). Beaker fr. Rim D.6. Fabric A. 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow Glaze. 5Y 8/3—7/3 pale yellow.

Cat. 58. 2004. Demirkapı trench 3. Double shape salter?. fr. Rim D.5.6. Base D.4.3. H.7. Fabric A.2. 5YR 5/1 reddish gray. Glaze. 2. 5Y 7/8—6/8 yellow-olive yellow.

Fabric A. Zeuxippus Family Slip Painted Ware (Table 6: 60—63)

Cat. 60. 2006. Cistern I. Jug fr. Base D. 6.3. Fabric A.7. 5YR 7/4-pink. Glaze. 2. 5YR 7/8 yellow.

Cat. 61. 2006. Cistern I. Jug fr. Rim D.6.8. Fabric A. 5YR 6/6 eddish yellow. Glaze. 5Y 8/2 pale yellow.

Cat. 62. 2006. Cistern I. Jug body fr. Fabric A. 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow. Glaze. 2. 5Y 6/8 olive yellow.

Cat. 63. 2006. Cistern I outside the north wall stone floor. Jug fr. Base D.9. Fabric A. 5YR 5/6 yellowish red. Glaze. 2. 5Y 8/2 pale yellow.

Fabric A. Purpur-Brown Stained Ware (Table 6: 64—65, 65.1)

Cat. 64. 2006. Cistern I outside the north and southwest wall. Rim fr. D.25. Fabric A. 5YR 6/8 reddish yellow. Glaze. Greenish pale yellow.

Cat. 65. 2006. Cistern I outside the north stone floor. Jug? fr. Rim D.8. Fabric A. 5YR 6/8 reddish yellow. Glaze. Pale yellow.

65.1. 2006. Cistern I. Jug handle. fr Fabric A. 5Y 8/2 (pale yellow). Glaze. Pale greenish.

Fabric A1. Zeuxippus Family I Ware (Table 7: 66—73)

Cat. 66. 2009. Cistern II 363.36—363.15m. Ring base fr. D.6.6. Fabric A1. 5YR 6/8 reddish yellow. Glaze. 5Y 8/4 pale yellow. Similar form: Böhlendorf 2004: Taf. 119: 526 (Metropolis).

Cat. 67. 2009. Cistern II. Ring base fr. D.6.6. Fabric A1. 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow. Glaze. Orange.

Cat. 68. 2006. Cistern I outside the north and southeast wall. Ring base fr. D.5.7. Fabric A1. 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow. Glaze. Green. Similar form: Spieser 1996: Taf. 49: 453 (Pergamon).

Cat. 69. 2009. Cistern II 363.15m. Ring base fr. D.4.4. Fabric A1. 5YR 6/6—7/6 reddish yellow. Similar form: Doğer 2014: 122, Tab. 9 (Daskyleion); Spieser 1996: Taf. 2: 33 (Pergamon).

Cat. 70. 2006. Cistern I outside the east wall. Rim fr. D.20. Fabric A1.7. 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow, Glaze. 10YR 5/6 yellowish brown.

Cat. 71. 2006. Cistern I outside the east wall. Rim fr. D.19. Fabric A1.7. 5YR 7/6 yellowish brown. Glaze. 2. 5Y 5/6 light olive Brown. Not fine. Similar form: Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Taf. 99: 350 (Yortanlı); Taf. 131: 626 (Magnesia a.M); Waksman 2014: Fig. 2, BZY 414 (Pergamon).

Cat. 72. 2009. Cistern II 362.95—362.73m. Rim fr. D.7. Fabric A1. 5YR 6/8 reddish yellow. Glaze. Light green.

Cat. 73. Surface. Small bottle fr. Base D.3.2. Fabric A1. Glaze. 5Y 7/4 pale yellow.

Fabric A1. Zeuxippus Family II Ware (Table 7: 74—81; Table 8: 86, 87)

Cat. 74. 2006. Cistern I outside the north wall. Bowl fr. Rim D.20. Base D.6.6. H.13. Fabric A1. 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow. Glaze. Greenish yellow, splased dark yellow. Similar form: Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Taf. 185: 1 (Pergamon high ring base).

Cat. 75. 2006. Cistern I outside the east wall. Bowl fr. Base D.6.8. Fabric A1. 10YR 4/3 dark brown. Glaze. Yellow, splased 5YR 3/4 dark reddish brown.

Cat. 76. Surface. Ring base fr. D.5. Fabric A1. 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow. Glaze. Light yellow, splased dark yellow. Similar form: Spieser 1996: Taf. 14: 223; Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Taf. 96: 328 (Pergamon); Decoration: Spieser 1996: Taf. 15: 228; Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Taf. 179: 15.

Cat. 77. 2004. Demirkapı trench 3. Rim fr. D.13. Fabric A1. 5YR 6/8 reddish yellow. Glaze. 2. 5Y 8/2 pale yellow, splased dark yellow. Similar form. Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Taf. 121 (541 Metropolis).

Cat. 78. 2004. Demirkapı trench 3. Ring base fr. D.6.7. Fabric A1.2. 5YR6/8 light red. Glaze. 5Y8/3 pale yellow, splased dark yellow. Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Taf. 179: 14.

Cat. 79. Demirkapı surface. Ring base fr. D.3.8. Fabric A1. 5YR6/8 reddish yellow. Glaze. 2. 5Y8/2 pale yellow, splased dark yellow.

Cat. 80. Demirkapı southeast facade. Body fr. Fabric A1.2. 5YR6/8 light red. Glaze. 5Y8/2—8/3 pale yellow, splased light green. Similar decoration. Spieser 1996: Taf. 36 (375).

Cat. 81. Demirkapı trench 2. Body fr. Fabric A1. 5YR6/6 reddish yellow. Glaze. 5Y8/3 pale yellow, splased dark yellow. Similar decoration: Waksman-Spieser 1997: II Series B (31).

Cat. 86. Rim fr. D.15. Fabric A1. 5YR6/6 reddish yellow. Glaze. 2. 5Y6/8 olive yellow, splashed brownish yellow.

Cat. 87. 2006. Cistern I. Jug fr. Flat base. D.9. Est.H.16.5. Fabric A1. 5YR6/6 reddish yellow. Glaze. 2. 5Y6/8 olive yellow, splashed brownish yellow. Form: Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Taf. 180: 5 {Pergamon).

Fabric A1. Zeuxippus Family Slip Painted Ware (Table 7: 59, 82—85)

Cat. 59. 2009. Cistern II 363.15m. 361.72—361 .14m. 363.36—363.15m. 362.95—362.73m. Rim fr. D.17. Fabric A1.2. 5YR6/8 light red. Glaze. 2. 5Y7/8 yellow. Similar form. Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Taf. 181 (3 Pergamon).

Cat. 82. 2009. Cistern II 362.95—362.73m. Rim fr. D.18. Fabric A1. 5YR6/6 reddish yellow. Glaze. Light green. Form: Spieser 1996: Taf. 26 (330); Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Taf. 186 (1 Pergamon); Taf. 117: 502 (Metropolis).

Cat. 83. Athena Temple Terrace surface. Rim fr. D.16. Fabric A1. 5YR6/6 reddish yellow. Glaze. 10YR6/8 brownish yellow.

Cat. 84. Demirkapı Church (north). Rim fr. D.14. Fabric A1. 5YR6/8 reddish yellow. Glaze. 2. 5Y7/8 yellow. Similar decoration: Böhlendorf-Arslan 2013: 448, kat. 1065; 453, kat. 1078 (Pergamon).

Cat. 85. Demirkapı. Rim fr. D.16. Fabric A1.2. 5YR7/8 light red. Similar decoration: Waksman, Spieser 1997: 6 Series K (12 Pergamon); Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Taf. 91 (300—301); Böhlendorf-Arslan 2013: 448, kat. 1063; 450, kat. 1069, 1070, 1071; 453, kat. 1078 (Pergamon).

Fabric A2. Zeuxippus Family II Ware (Table 8: 88—98)

Cat. 88. 2009. Cistern II 362.50m. Rim fr. est.D.22. Fabric A2. 5YR6/6 reddish yellow. Glaze. 5Y8/2 pale yellow, stained dark yellow. Form: Spieser 1996: Taf. 27(333).

Cat. 89. 2009. Cistern II 361.72m. Rim fr. D.20. Fabric A2. 5YR7/6 reddish yellow. Glaze. 5Y8/3 pale yellow, splashed dark yellow. Similar close form. Spieser 1996: Taf. 4: 66.

Cat. 90. 2009. Cistern II 363.15m. Rim fr. D.20. Fabric A2. 5YR6/6 reddish yellow. Glaze. 2. 5Y8/2 pale yellow, stained dark yellow. Similar form: Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Taf. 80: 212 (Ilion); Taf. 100: 359 (Yortanlı).

Cat. 91. 2009. Cistern II 363.15m. Rim fr. D.21. Fabric A2. 5Y5/1 gray. Glaze. 5Y8/3 pale yellow, splashed dark yellow.

Cat. 92. 2009. Cistern II 362.25m. Rim fr. D.17. Fabric A2.2. 5YR5/8 red. Glaze. 2. 5Y8/3 pale yellow, splashed dark yellow. Similar motif: Spieser 1996: Taf. 4: 66.

Cat. 93. 2009. Cistern II 362.25m. Body fr. Fabric A2.2. 5YR5/6 red. Glaze. 5Y8/2 pale yellow, stained browning /dark yellow.

Cat. 94. 2009. Cistern II 362.95—363.15m. Rim fr. D.16. Fabric A2.7. 5YR7/6—6/6 arası reddish yellow. Glaze. 5Y8/3 pale yellow, splashed dark yellow. Similar form-decoration: Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Taf. 184 (3 Pergamon).

Cat. 95. 2009.Cistern II 362.73m. Ring base fr. D.9. Fabric A2. 5YR6/6 reddish yellow. Glaze. pale yellow, splashed dark greenish/yellow.

Cat. 96. 2009. Cistern II 361.72m. Ring base fr. D.7. Fabric A2. 5YR6/4 light reddish brown. Glaze. 2.5Y7/8 yellow, splashed dark yellow.

Cat. 97. 2012. Demirkapı Church outside the west facade 347.71—347.63m. Rim fr. Fabric A2.2. 5YR6/8 light red. Glaze. 2. 5Y8/3 pale yellow.

Cat. 98. 2009. Cistern II 363.36—363.15m. Body fr. Fabric A2.7. 5YR6/6 reddish yellow. Glaze. 5Y8/2 pale yellow, stained brownish dark yellow.

Fabric C. Green-Orange Stained Ware (Table 9: 99—113)

Cat. 99. 2009. Cistern II 362.95—362.73m. Bowl rim fr. D.17. Fabric C. 5YR6/6 reddish yellow. Glaze. 5Y8/2 pale yellow.

Cat. 100. 2009. Cistern II 361.72m. Bowl rim. D.20. Fabric C. 5YR7/6 reddish yellow. Glaze. 5Y8/2 pale yellow. Similar form: Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Taf. 147: 753 (Milet).

Cat. 101. 2004. Demirkapı, trench 4. Bowl rim fr. D.30. Fabric C.7. 5YR6/6 reddish yellow. Glaze. 5Y7/8 yellow.

Cat. 102. Bouleuterion, Room 18. 365.20—365.00m. Bowl rim fr. D.22. Fabric C. Glaze. 5Y8/2 pale yellow.

Cat. 103. Demirkapı. Ring base fr. D.7.2. Fabric C.7. 5YR7/6—6/6 reddish yellow. Glaze. 5Y8/2 pale yellow. Similar form. Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Taf. 141: 697 (Magnesia a.M).

Cat. 104. 2009. Cistern II 362.50m. Body fr. Fabric C.7. 5YR7/6 reddish yellow. Glaze. transparent colourless.

Cat. 105. 2009. Cistern II 363.36—363.15m. Bowl rim fr. D.18. Fabric C. 5YR6/6 reddish yellow. Glaze. transparent colourless/cream. Similar decoration. Doğer 2004: 28, res.10 in (Anaia).

Cat. 106. 2009. Cistern II 363.36—363.15m. Body fr. Fabric C. 5YR6/8 reddish yellow. Glaze. transparent colourless/cream.

Cat. 107. Agora Room 6A. Bowl ring base and body fr. D.6.4. Fabric C.2. 5YR5/6 red. Glaze. Pale greenish yellow.

Cat. 108. 2009. Cistern II. Bowl ring base and body fr. D.8. Fabric C. 5YR 6/8 reddish yellow. Glaze. 5Y 8/3 pale yellow.

Cat. 109. 2009. Cistern II 363.36—363.15m. Bowl rim fr. D.18. Fabric C.7. 5YR 5/6 reddish yellow. Glaze. 2. 5Y 8/2 pale yellow.

Cat. 110. 2009. Cistern II 361.14m. Bowl rim and body fr. D.22. Fabric C. 5YR 6/8 reddish yellow. Glaze. 2. 5YR 8/3 pale yellow.

Cat. 111. 2009. Cistern II 363.15m. Bowl rim fr. D.18. Fabric C.2. 5YR 6/8 light red. Glaze. 2. 5YR 8/3 pale yellow.

Cat. 112. 2009. Cistern II 362.50m. Body fr. Fabric C. 5YR 6/8 reddish yellow, Glaze. 2. 5YR 8/3 pale yellow.

Cat. 113. 2009. Cistern II 362.50m. Body fr. Fabric C. 5YR 6/8 reddish yellow. Glaze. 2. 5Y 8/2 pale yellow.

Fabric C. Green Stained Ware (Table 10: 114—129)

Cat. 114. 2009. Cistern II 361.14m. Bowl rim and body fr. D.21. Fabric C. Glaze. 2. 5Y 8/3 pale yellow

Cat. 115. 2009. Cistern II 362.25m. Bowl rim and body fr. D.21. Fabric C. Glaze. 5Y 8/4 pale yellow. Similar form: Öztaşkın 2013: Lev. 19: 220.

Cat. 116. 2009. Cistern II 361.14m. Bowl rim and body fr. D.21. Fabric C. Glaze. 5Y 8/4 pale yellow.

Cat. 117. 2009. Cistern II 362.25m. Bowl rim and body fr. D.20. Fabric C. Glaze. 5Y 8/6 pale yellow.

Cat. 118. 2009. Cistern II 363.36—363.15m. Rim fr. D.22. Fabric C. Glaze. 5Y 8/3 pale yellow.

Cat. 119. 2009. Cistern II. Bowl ring base fr. D.7. Fabric C.

Cat. 120. 2009. Cistern II 362.25m. Bowl rim and body fr. D.21. Fabric C. 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow. Glaze. 5Y 8/4 pale yellow.

Cat. 121. 2009. Cistern II. Bowl rim and body fr. D.17. Fabric C.2. 5YR 6/8 light red. Glaze. 2. 5Y 8/3 pale yellow. Similar form, a part of decoration. Böhlendorf-Arslan 2013: 495, kat. 1195 (Pergamon). Similar decoration. Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Taf. 124: 566 (Metropolis).

Cat. 122. 2009. Cistern II 362.25m. 361.72—361 .14m. Rim fr. D.21. Fabric C.7. 5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. Similar form, a part of decoration. Böhlendorf-Arslan 2013: 495, kat. 1195 (Pergamon).

Cat. 123. 2009. Cistern II 362.25m. Bowl fr. D.19. Fabric C. 5YR 6/8 reddish yellow. Glaze. 2. 5Y 8/2 pale yellow.

Cat. 124. 2009. Cistern II 362.25m. Rim fr. D.17. Fabric C. 5YR 6/8 reddish yellow. Glaze. 2. 5Y 8/4 pale yellow.

Cat. 125. 2009. Cistern II 362.25m. Rim fr. D.19. Fabric C.2. 5YR 6/8 light red. Glaze. 2. 5Y 8/2 pale yellow.

Cat. 126. 2009. Cistern II 362.25m. Ring base fr. D.6. Fabric C. 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow. Glaze. 5Y 8/2 pale yellow. Similar form. Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Taf. 142: 706 (Priene).

Cat. 127. 2009. Cistern II 361.14m. Ring base fr. D.6. Fabric C.2. 5YR 5/6 red. Glaze. 5Y 8/2 pale yellow. Similar close form. Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Taf. 142: 706 (Priene).

Cat. 128. 2009. Cistern II. Body fr. Fabric C. 5YR 6/8 reddish yellow. Glaze. 2. 5Y 8/4 pale yellow. Similar decoration. Böhlendorf-Arslan 2013: 511, kat. 1240 (Pergamon); Öztaşkın 2013: Lev. 18: 210—211 (Beybağ).

Cat. 129. 2012. Demirkapı Church west entrance. Body fr. Fabric C. 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow. Glaze. 5Y 8/3 pale yellow. Probably similiar decoration. Öztaşkın 2013: Lev. 21: 241—246.

Fabric C. Other Plain Glazed Ware (Table 10: 130—131)

Cat. 130. 2012. Demirkapı, the church outside the west facade (southwest) 348.18—347.60m. mix deposit 347.67—347.47m. Bowl rim fr. D.16. Fabric C.

Cat. 131. 2004. Demirkapı trench 3. Ring base fr. D.9. Fabric C. 5YR 6/8 reddish yellow. Glaze. green.

Fabric D. Glazed White Ware (GWw IV) (Table 10: 132—134)

Cat. 132. Agora, surface. Beaker/cup fr. Rim D.9. Base D.4.4. H.6.1. Fabric D. Glaze. pale yellow / cream.

Cat. 133. Road II, F, on southern terrace wall Ring base fr. est.D.4.5. Fabric D. 5YR 8/2 pinkish white. Glaze. pale greenish/yellow.

Cat. 134. Agora, east site. Dish ring base fr. est.D.4.5. Fabric D.2. 5Y 8/3 pale yellow. Glaze. 2. 5Y 6/4 light yellowish brown.

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Immured Vessels in the Church of Panagia Eleousa, Kitharida, Crete

Keywords: Crete, Kitharida, 15th c., church, donor, immured vessels, imported glazed pottery, Late Byzantine pottery, "RMR Ware", Maiolica, Spanish lustreware, pottery from Syria and Egypt, *bacini*

Ключевые слова: Крит, Кифарида, XV век, церковь, даритель, вмурованные сосуды, импортная поливная керамика, поздневизантийская керамика, южноитальянская керамика группы Рамино Манганезе Россо, майолика, испанская лощёная керамика, египетская и сирийская керамика, использование поливных сосудов в качестве архитектурных вставок

A. G Yangaki

Immured Vessels in the Church of Panagia Eleousa, Kitharida, Crete

The paper focuses on the detailed presentation of the numerous vessels which are immured in the main wall of the narthex of the church of Panagia Eleousa. The church is located to the north of the village of Kitharida, southwest of Herakleion (Crete). Given their number, their state of preservation, the various categories of pottery to which they belong which were imported from regions of the western and eastern Mediterranean, the particular interest in their disposition and possible hidden symbolic meanings behind their decoration, the vessels constitute one of the most representative groups of *bacini* immured in Cretan churches. This is corroborated by comparison with the immured vessels from other sites in the Herakleion prefecture and based on the data collected by the research programme focused on *bacini* in Greece implemented by the National Hellenic Research Foundation in collaboration with the local Ephorates of Antiquities from other Cretan churches.

Their detailed study contributes to the history of the church and to the presentation of the types of pottery that were in circulation on the island in the 15th c. AD. Some of these *bacini* were produced in Byzantine workshops, while most belong to glazed categories imported from the Iberian and Italian peninsulas or the Near East. Special reference is made to their seemingly careful disposition, which would have required specific planning. This observation, combined with the particular decoration on some vessels, which seems to incorporate symbolic meanings, leads to suggestions as to the possible donor who played the leading role in this decoration.

А. Г. Янгаки

Вмурованные сосуды в церкви Панагия Элеуса (Кифарида, Крит)

Статья посвящена полной и детальной публикации многочисленных поливных сосудов, вмурованных в основную стену нартекса церкви Панагия Элеуса (Богоматери Милостивой). Эта церковь расположена в северной части селения Кифарида, которое находится в северо-восточной части префектуры города Ираклион (остров Крит). Автором приведены количественные показатели поливных сосудов, описано состояние их сохранности, указаны западно-средиземноморские и восточно-средиземноморские керамические группы, к которым они относятся, выделены особенности их размещения на северной стене нартекса церкви и возможное символическое значение их росписей. Отмечается, что эти сосуды представляют одну из самых представительных групп сосудов, использованных в качестве архитектурных вставок в церквях острова Крит. Данные, приводимые в статье, сопоставлены с материалами по вмурованным в стены церквей Крита сосудам из других памятников в префектуре Ираклион, собранными в рамках программы исследований, направленных на изучение использования поливных сосудов в качестве архитектурных вставок в Греции, осуществляемых Национальным фондом Hellenic Research в сотрудничестве с местными органами охраны древностей.

Детальное изучение этих сосудов способствует более глубокому исследованию истории церкви Панагия Элеуса, а также даёт представление о группах керамики, которые использовались на острове в XV веке. Некоторые из публикуемых сосудов были произведены в византийских мастерских, в то время как большинство из них относится к импортам с территории Иберийского и Апеннинского полуостровов или Ближнего Востока. Отдельное внимание уделено продуманному расположению сосудов на стене нартекса, которое, скорее всего, требовало специального планирования. Это наблюдение, в сочетании с особым символическим значением декора, который эти сосуды несут на себе, приводит автора к мысли о наличии дарителя, который играл ведущую роль в схеме украшения этой церкви.

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Introduction

In the framework of the research programme entitled "Immured vessels in churches of Greece: an electronic *corpus*", which was initiated by the author at the Institute of Historical Research of the National Hellenic Research Foundation with the collaboration of the respective Ephorates of Antiquities, numerous churches have been recorded which bear *bacini* — pots immured into their façades (Yangaki 2008a: 827—840; 2012a: 361—370; 2013a: 375—384; 2014: 313—339; Immured Vessels n. d.). The programme aims at expanding in a more systematic way earlier isolated efforts undertaken by scholars in Greece (for the related references: Yangaki 2013a: 375, notes 1—2), offering a synthetic approach on a subject already studied analytically for medieval churches in the Italian peninsula (indicatively: Berti, Tongiorgi 1981; 1983: 37—79; Atti 1996). Extensive research into monuments bearing immured clay vessels has been undertaken in collaboration with colleagues from the local Ephorates (Immured Vessels n. d.) in Attica, the Peloponnese and Crete. The *bacini* in these areas have now been located and catalogued, while there is a plan to extend the research into other areas such as Central Greece and the Dodecanese.

During the course of the research conducted on Crete, apart from the most common scheme of a group of four or five open vessels generally immured in the western and eastern façades of a monument (Yangaki 2013a: 377), a few churches have also been located where more than five (and sometimes more than ten) vessels have been immured (Yangaki 2008b: 221; 2013a: 378).

The open vessels immured in the outer part of the main wall of the narthex of the church of the Virgin Eleousa to the north of the village of Kitharida, 21 km southwest of Herakleion in Malevizi province in the region of Krousonas (Κρουσώνας), are also highly characteristic (Gerola, Lassithiotakis 1961: 70; Detorakis 1984—1986: 305—314; Patramani 1994: 21, 41, 50—51, note 4; Psilakis 1994: 155—162; 1998: 150, 155—156, 158; Tsoungarakis 1996: 15—16, no. 15).

The church of the Virgin Eleousa is a three-aisled, barrel-vaulted basilica with a transverse narthex, in which at least three construction phases have been distinguished (Gallas 1983: 213—216; Gallas et al. 1983: 355—356, figs. 312—313; Mylopotamitaki 1998: 121, figs. 9—10; 123—126, fig. 11; Andrianakis, Giapitsoglou 2012: 90—91). The monument is oriented with its apses towards the north, instead of the east, thus its narthex lies to the south (Mylopotamitaki 1998: 121, fig. 9, 125—126; Andrianakis, Giapitsoglou 2012: 91). The narthex, which has been dated to the 15th—16th centuries, is probably one of the later additions to the church (Gallas et al. 1983: 356).The church of the Virgin Eleousa originally formed part of a monastery (Psilakis 1994: 162). According to a number of documents, the monastery was in use during this period but also later (Van Gemert 1977: 41—43, no. III.2; Detorakis 1984—1986: 307—314; Patramani 1994: 34—35, 88—90, nos. 5—6), during the Ottoman occupation and afterwards, when several repairs are mentioned (Detorakis 1984—1986: 309—314; Patramani 1994: 41—45; Psilakis 1994: 155—162; 1998: 150, 155—156, 158). Nowadays, the monastery of the Virgin Eleousa in Kitharida is abandoned. The church is also known among locals as Agios Fanourios after one of its three aisles (Psilakis 1994: 162; 1998: 160; Mylopotamitaki 1998: 121, figs. 9—10).

The present state of the south façade of the narthex bears evidence on the existence of twenty-three open glazed vessels immured on its exterior wall, of which only seventeen survive. They mostly constitute dishes, but large plates or small bowls also occur. A previous study concentrated on a very characteristic plate (fig. 1) (Yangaki 2008b: 213—224) which, although mentioned by various scholars, had not been published in detail (Gerola 1908: 239, fig. 279; 240, n. 10; 241, fig. 280; 257, fig. 317; Gallas et al. 1983: 356, fig. 314; Curuni, Donati 1988: 338, no. 652—653; Gerola 1993: 257, fig. 317; Psilakis 1998: 149).

Fig. 1. Lustreware plate bearing the inscription "Ave Maria gra[tia] plena", Panagia Eleousa in Kitharida (Crete) (scale: 1:6; drawing by Manthos Remoundos).

Рис. 1. Тарелка с росписью люстром и надписью «Ave Maria gra[tia] plena», церкви Панагия Элеуса в Кифариде (Крит) (Масштаб 1:6; автор рисунка Manthos Remoundos).

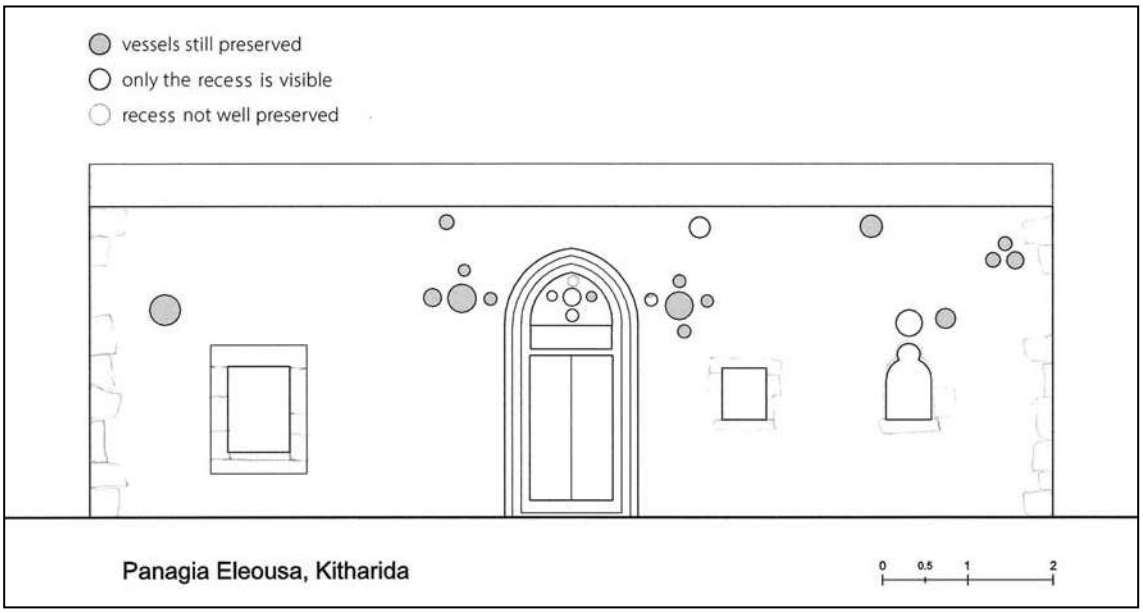

Fig. 2. Schematic drawing of the façade of the narthex with the position of the immured vessels and the empty recesses marked (dimensions of the narthex after: Gerola 1993: 239, fig. 279; Gallas 1983: 214—215, fig. 61—62; drawing by D. Tagmatarchi).

Рис. 2. Схематический чертёж фасада нартекса с показанием расположения вмурованных сосудов и пустых лакун от вмурованных сосудов (размеры нартекса по: Gerola 1993: 239, fig. 279; Gallas 1983: 214—215, figs. 61—62; автор чертежа D. Tagmatarchi)

The Immured vessels of the church of Panagia Eleousa

The immured vessels of the church of Panagia Eleousa (fig. 2) can be distinguished into four different groups: a) products of Late Byzantine workshops, b) ceramics from the Italian peninsula, c) ceramics from the Iberian peninsula, d) ceramics from Syria or Egypt. An additional fragment is of uncertain origin[1].

a) Late Byzantine productions

Two bowls with a rim diameter of 17 and 20 cm respectively, with a curved body and a simple rim belong to the painted incised-sgraffito pottery of the Palaeologan period. They are both immured at the south-east end of the wall of the narthex (fig. 2). Forming a horizontal axis, they constitute the two ends of a triangular formation (for the third vessel, see below). Both bear a thick white slip on their internal surface and have incised and sgraffito decoration under a yellowish glaze. The bowl on the left has five parallel incisions on the upper side of its body (fig. 3: 21; 4). The central medallion is divided by large incisions, two of them intersecting to form four spaces; these large incisions create the impression of a cross. An incised rhombus with curved sides covers part of these spaces, while the spaces in between are covered with a fine incised spiral. Random green blobs cover part of the interior, while a green band runs around the edge of the rim. The vessel bears exactly the same decoration as a bowl from the Museum of Byzantine Culture in Thessaloniki (Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1999a: 214, no. 245 [D. Makropoulou]), which dates from the 14th c. and is attributed to the well-known pottery production of Thessaloniki during the Late Byzantine period (Bakirtzis, Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1981: 434—436; Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1983: 377—387; 1999b: 188—189). The motif of intersecting incisions with spirals in between is quite common on vessels attributed to the same production and dating from the same period, as is clear from examples from Thessaloniki (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1987: pl. III: a; 2009: 457, no. 9, fig. 10, 458, no. 11, fig. 12), from Olynthus (Xyngopoulos 1933: pl. 204 II A I (c)), from Akronauplia (Yangaki 2012b: 90—21, nos. 64—65, 318, fig. 55—56), the Museum of Byzantine Culture (Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1999a: 215—216, nos. 246—249 [I. Motsianos]), or from the Byzantine Museum of Veroia (Petkos, Karayanni 2007: 26, fig. 1). A fragment from the ancient Agora of Thessaloniki, in particular, bears the exact same incised decoration as

[1] The Credit Line of the objects presented in this study belongs to the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports — Archaeological Receipts Fund and the Ephorate of Antiquities of Herakleion.

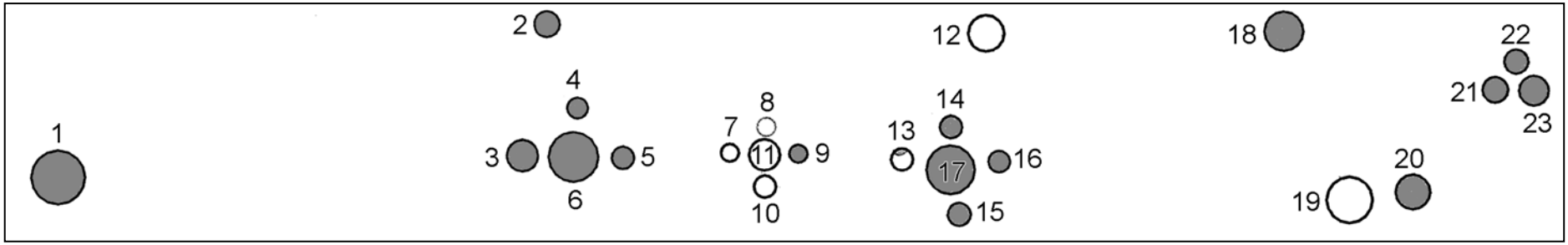

Fig. 3. Schematic drawing indicating the positions of immured vessels and empty recesses with their corresponding numbers (drawing by D. Tagmatarchi).

Рис. 3. Схематический чертёж с показанием расположения вмурованных сосудов и пустых лакун от вмурованных сосудов с нумерацией изделий (автор чертежа D. Tagmatarchi).

Table 1.

Details of the immured vessels and empty recesses in the wall of the narthex of the Panagia Eleousa in Kitharida; the numbers follow those on fig. 3; all dimensions are given in centimeters (table by A. G. Yangaki)

Number	Preserved	Not preserved	Form	Rim diameter	Vessel's depth	Category	Decoration	Provenance	Date
1	+		Large plate	36	8	Lustreware ("loza dorada")	Bird motif; plant motifs; fern leaves; scrolling tendrils.	Valencia region	First half of the 15th c.
2	+		Dish	17 (body diameter)		Lustreware ("loza dorada")	Disc-flowers; disc-like petals; dots; bryony flowers.	Valencia region	c. 1430—1470
3	+		Dish	21		Lustreware ("loza dorada")	Plant and floral motifs; dots.	Valencia region	First half of the 15th c.
4	+		Bowl	13,5	4	Monochrome blue pottery ("loza azul")	Eight radii; four-leaf shapes; four palm-tree tops.	Valencia region	End of 14th — first half of 15th c.
5	+		Bowl	14,5	5	Lustreware ("loza dorada")	Four-pointed star; triangular panels; strokes and spirals; stylized plant motifs; triple-towered castle (Coat of arms of the Crown of Castile).	Valencia region	First half of 15th c.
6	+		Large plate	33	10	Lustreware ("loza dorada")	Cross; tendrils; dots; stylized vegetal themes; inscription (Ave Ma/ria/gra[tia] ple/na).	Valencia region	First half 15th c.

Table 1 (continuation)

Number	Pre-served	Not pre-served	Form	Rim di-ameter	Vessel's depth	Category	Decoration	Prove-nance	Date
7		+	Bowl	12					
8		+	?	15					
9	+		Bowl	18	5	Maiolica	Bird turned towards its left; stylized vegetal decoration all around it.	Italy	18th c.
10		+	Bowl	15					
11		+	Plate	21					
12		+	Plate	24					
13	Only a small frag-ment		Frag-ment of a bowl	14,5		Blue maiolica (?)	Bands of blue decoration.	Italy	15th c. (?)
14	+		Bowl	15	7	Blue and black painted	Hexagonal; trapezoidal panels; cross-hatching; geometric motifs.	Syria	14th c.
15	+		Dish	15,5	4,5	Blue painted	Dense vegetal decoration; schematic vases with flowers.	Egypt	15th c.
16	+		Bowl	14		Monochrome blue pottery ("loza azul")	Eight radii; four-leaf shapes; four palm-tree tops.	Valencia region	End of 14th—first half of 15th c.
17	+		Large plate	32,5		Lustreware ("loza dorada")	Bird; fern leaves; flowers and flower-like motifs; dots; spirals; inscription (Ave Ma/ria/gra[tia] ple/na).	Valencia region	First half 15th c.
18	+		Plate	26	8,5	Polychrome glazed pottery ("RMR Ware")	Animal figure (possibly a sheep or a goat); spirals; vegetal motif.	South Italy	14th—15th c.
19		+	Plate	31					
20	+		Plate	25	7,5	Polychrome glazed pottery ("RMR Ware")	Shield; trefoils inserted in circles; schematic leaves.	South Italy	14th—15th c.
21	+		Bowl	17	7	Painted Incised-Sgraffito	Geometric motifs; spirals.	Thessa-loniki	14th c.
22	+		Dish	16	3	Monochrome sgraf-fito pottery ("graffita monocroma")	Incision.	North Italy	14th—15th c.
23	+		Bowl	20	4	Painted Incised-Sgraffito	Two trees or leafs; standing female figure; rich garments; cup.	Thessa-loniki	14th c.

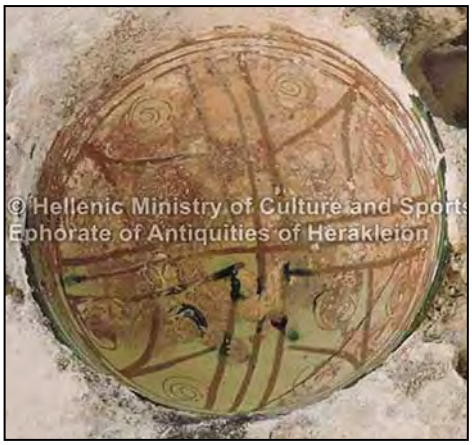

Fig. 4. Painted Incised-Sgraffito bowl, Panagia Eleousa in Kitharida (Crete), scale 1:3 (The copyright for the depiction of this artefact belongs to the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports; photo: A. G. Yangaki).

Рис. 4. Полихромная поливная чаша с орнаментом сграффито, церковь Панагия Элеуса в Кифариде (Крит), масштаб 1:3 (Авторское право на изображение этого артефакта принадлежит Министерству культуры и спорта Греции; фото А. Г. Янгаки).

the example from Kitharida, including the random blobs (Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2009: 457, no. 9). The same row of five parallel incisions on the upper part of the body together with thick, green colour on the upper part of the rim characterizes other vessels attributed to the production of Thessaloniki (Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1999a: 192, no. 217, 194, no. 219 [I. Motsianos], 199, no. 225 [D. Papanikola-Bakirtzi], 200, no. 226 [I. O. Kanonidis]).

The bowl on the right (fig. 3: 23; 5) has on its upper part a slightly out-turned upper body which ends in a simple rim, a characteristic also found in other vessels attributed to the production of Thessaloniki (Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1999a: 193, no. 218 [I. Motsianos]). It bears three parallel incised lines that define the central medallion, which has an elongated tree or leaf on each of its two sides, one of which is inverted. They both bear characteristic diagonal, parallel incisions on their foliage. The centre of the medallion is taken up by a single standing woman, depicted frontally. Her left arm is held out and she is holding a cup, thus relating the bowl to drinking habits. Two thirds of the cup are decorated using the *champlevé* technique, which imparts a dark brownish colour on the middle and lower sections of the cup. The upper part close to the rim is not similarly elaborated, bearing a whitish slip as background. This rendering may be intended to reference a glass cup half-full of liquid

Fig. 5. Painted Incised-Sgraffito bowl with female representation, Panagia Eleousa in Kitharida (Crete), scale 1:2 (The copyright for the depiction of this artefact belongs to the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports; photo: A. G. Yangaki).

Рис. 5. Полихромная поливная чаша с орнаментом сграффито с изображением женской фигуры, церковь Панагия Элеуса в Кифариде (Крит), масштаб 1:2 (Авторское право на изображение этого артефакта принадлежит Министерству культуры и спорта Греции; фото А. Г. Янгаки).

(red wine, perhaps?). Similar interpretation has been suggested for the goblets of the depiction of the seated man with a goblet, a decorative theme characteristic of Port Saint Symeon Ware but also encountered on other mediums in Islamic art (Vorderstrasse 2005: 67—68). The woman's right arm is crooked under her breasts. Although her costume is rendered in a stylized and conventional way, it is clear that she is dressed in a full-length garment with a belt around her waist; the garment bears simple incisions on one part of the chest and the shoulder and curved incised lines and dots on the other, which may well recall some form of decoration or embroidery. Behind the lower part of her body two incised lines represent a long veil that hangs almost to her feet. Some sort of napkin, kerchief or scarf is hanging from her left elbow (for related representations: Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1989: 94—95, no. 16; Redford 2014: 137—139, figs. 2—3; Vroom 2014: 164). Her large eyes and bold eyebrows stand out from her face. Unfortunately, the plaster that covers the upper part of her head prevents us from distinguishing the style of her hair or what she wore on her head, as we can in other depictions of similar women (Vroom 2014: 163—166, figs. 11—12).

Both this and the previous bowl can be considered to be most probably products of the workshops of Thessaloniki which were active during the Late Byzantine period, and particularly from the mid-13th through into the 14th c. This production is characterized by various themes, and although recent excavations at Sirkeci in Constantinople did bring to light a significant quantity of vessels bearing incised decoration similar to the above, meaning that Constantinople must be considered as an additional centre where ceramics with similar characteristics were produced (for details on the main decorative themes: Waskman, Girgin 2008: 443—469; Waksman et al. 2009: 457—467; Waksman 2012: 147—151), details on the two bowls from Kitharida would seem to favour the former attribution. Most of the characteristics of the first bowl have been previously analyzed. Both cases share the same dark red, medium fabric that — macroscopically, at least — conforms to the characteristics of the Thessaloniki production (Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2003: 56). The geometric decorative theme of the first bowl with the additional use of random blobs of green finds closer analogies to vessels which have been considered products of that area until now.

As for the second bowl, the rendering of the two elongated trees/leaves and the use of the *champlevé* technique on the upper part of the chest and the lower part of the figure's arms recalls the use of the same technique in products with a similar provenance (Thessaloniki) to differentiate between different parts of the main decorative theme (Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1999a: 192—193, nos. 217—218 [I. Motsianos]). In addition, the curvilinear incisions and dots on the upper right part of the figure's garment find parallels, in the rendering of the details, in the main depiction of a bowl that is also attributed to the workshops of Thessaloniki (Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1999a: 200, no. 226 [I. O. Kanonidis]) and which is not as yet evident among the published evidence from Sirkeci.

This depiction, athough showing a degree of detail, is presented in a rather conventional way and does not, of course, constitute a realistic representation of a specific person. This was also the case for most similar human representations on ceramics of the Late Medieval period produced not only in centres on Cyprus and in the Near East but also in Italy (Cozza 1989: 34—37; Munarini 1990a: 78; Michailidou 1994—1995: 195—209; 2000: 423; Vroom 2014: 177). These show similarities to human depictions in contemporary paintings (Michailidou 2000: 423; Vroom 2014: 172—173), with illustrations on manuscripts having influenced their representations (Vroom 2014: 179—180). In some cases, these female figures are not portrayed alone. Based on the scene and the lady's costume, one can easily deduce that it refers to a specific social class — a local elite, as is also suggested by other similar depictions (Redford 2014: 130, 151; Vroom 2014: 177). More in detail, the cupbearer scene probably depicted on this bowl references drinking, another activity which relates to an elite (Redford 2014: 130). The depiction of a seated male cupbearer with a handkerchief was a common theme in Port Saint Symeon ceramics of the 14th c. (Redford 2014: 136—140). A napkin, kerchief or towel (*mandīl*), which accompanies the male representation, was used in Islamic dining for wiping the drinker's mouth (Vorderstrasse 2005: 68). The specific pottery production was intended to satisfy a diversity of consumers, although its iconography refers to Islamic prototypes found on various artistic forms (Vorderstrasse 2005: 63, 67). Under the influence of these ceramics, but not expressing direct imitation, Cypriot ceramics of the 14th c. contain frontally depicted standing women holding a cup with or without an object that recalls a kerchief (Redford 2014: 136—140, figs. 1; 3; Vroom 2014: 163—166). According to J. Vroom (Vroom 2014: 162, fig. 8, 181—182), given the evidence of the cup, these depictions of women refer in most cases to dancing and wine drinking. It might also be supposed, given that the

schematic representation of the veil behind her back seems to imply some sort of movement, that the figure on the bowl from Kitharida depicts a woman dancing subtly, holding her right arm under her breasts and probably a cup in her left hand. The figure thus may well refer to the upper classes of the 14th c. and their activities and habits (Vroom 2014: 177, 181—182). The vessel features a reversed version, with the woman's left hand holding the cup, since in depictions of a man sitting cross-legged holding a goblet it is his right hand that is holding it; it also depicts a standing woman rather than a seated man. Interestingly, the decorative bands on the woman's sleeves, which bear vertical incisions to recall some sort of decoration, find close parallels in the tiraz bands on the upper garment in the representations of seated men holding a goblet which depict a feature of Islamic clothes (Vorderstrasse 2005: 63, 64 figs. 4—7, 65, figs. 11, 14—15). It is thus interesting to note that a bowl attributed to a Thessaloniki centre of production bears a theme that finds similarities to those found in other pottery productions of the 14th c., and in particular to Cypriot ceramic products, thus showing the contemporary diffusion of iconographic themes in different cultural environments. One can also suppose that its insertion in the wall of the narthex was unlikely to have been random and may express the intent, on behalf of its initial owner, to refer specifically to the social class to which he belonged and which also possessed the economic wherewithal to contribute to the erection of the narthex.

b) Ceramics from the Italian peninsula

Four vessels constitute examples of different categories of pottery imported from the Italian peninsula. The first (fig. 3: 22; 6), immured at the apex of the triangular pot formation at the south-eastern end of the exterior wall of the narthex, is a shallow dish with a rim diameter of 16 cm. It has curved walls and a flat, slightly oblique, rim which is rounded at its end. An incision covers the transition from the body to the rim. The orange-brown glaze which covers the whole interior seems to have been placed directly onto the body. It is not of very good quality. Tripod stilt marks can be seen on the vessel's interior. It is characterized by a dark, red, fine fabric. Given its fabric, form and decoration, it constitutes an example of monochrome sgraffito ("graffita monocroma") pottery from Italian workshops, probably from Venice, and can be dated to the 14th c. (Munarini 1990b: 20—23); similar vessels occur in Corinth and Herakleion (Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1999: 115, no. 130 [I. Tzonou-Herbst]; Poulou-Papadimitriou 2008: 178, figs. 31—32).

Two plates belong to the Italian polychrome glazed pottery known as "RMR Ware" or "ceramica invertriata policroma". This category was produced mostly in the south of the Italian peninsula, in Apulia and mostly in the Salentine peninsula, with Taranto and Ugento being two important centres (Whitehouse 1980a: 82—83; 1986: 579; Dufournier et. al. 1986: 251—277; Ebanista, Fusaro 2000: 126—127; Tagliente 2000: 167—181; 2003: 153—154; Vroom 2005: 128—129; Tinelli 2012: 515—517; Castello Carlo V Lecce n. d.). This ware witnessed a large diffusion, particularly from the middle of the 13th and during the whole 14th c., with the production of various centres continuing into the 15th c. (Dufournier et al. 1986: 24—25; Tagliente 2003: 153—154; Castello Carlo V Lecce n. d.). The first plate has a rim diameter of 26 cm (fig. 3: 18; 7) and is immured towards the upper part of the wall, close to the roof of the narthex, between the cruciform arrangement of vessels to the right of the entrance and the window in the south-west part of the wall. Although most of its rim is covered with plaster, it can be deduced that it has a convex body ending in an out-turned, quite flat rim. Part of the painted decoration is preserved on the yellowish fine fabric, with the outline made in a dark brown colour and the details in light green and red. Even though two thirds of its interior decoration is worn, a central animal figure covers most of the body. A quadruped is represented moving towards the right, with his head looking backwards. Judging by the care taken in rendering the details of its cloven hooves, it can be deduced that a sheep or goat — though the possibility of a deer cannot be excluded — was initially depicted. The general form of the body and the short tail do not contradict such an identification, while part of a somehow elongated and otherwise indistinguishable formation on its head could correspond to the animal's muzzle. The animal's rather stocky appearance, with his belly not far off the ground, and the details of its hooves would favour the former over the latter identification. In either case, zoomorphic/animal depictions of this sort are not among the most common for this category of pottery, where birds and fish prevail (Dufourier et al. 1986: 267); in fact they are considered quite rare (Vallenzano 2013: 45), with one example recognized as a lamb from Capitanata (Vallenzano 2013: 46, 52, fig. E, F). However, depictions of sheep and deer do occur in other categories of pottery such as the "graffita rinascimentale canonica", which dates from the *Quattrocento*, which is to say the same general period to which this vessel is at-

Fig. 6. Monochrome sgraffito ("graffita monocroma") shallow dish, scale 1:3 (The copyright for the depiction of this artefact belongs to the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports; photo: A. G. Yangaki).

Рис. 6. Монохромное поливное блюдо с орнаментом сграффито, масштаб 1:3 (Авторское право на изображение этого артефакта принадлежит Министерству культуры и спорта Греции; фото А. Г. Янгаки).

Fig. 7. Polychrome glazed pottery ("RMR Ware"), plate immured in the church of Panagia Eleousa in Kitharida (Crete), scale 1:4 (The copyright for the depiction of this artefact belongs to the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports; photo: A. G. Yangaki).

Рис. 7. Полихромная поливная тарелка (группа Рамино Манганезе Россо), вмурованная в стену церкви Панагия Элеуса в Кифариде (Крит), масштаб 1:4 (Авторское право на изображение этого артефакта принадлежит Министерству культуры и спорта Греции; фото А. Г. Янгаки).

tributed, but later, too (Munarini 1990a: 79—80; Munarini, Banzato 1993: 136—137, no. 29, 171, no. 86). Most of the animal's body and the two feet on the first level of the depiction are covered in red, while the other two feet are green. The animal's neck is covered with dark brown cross-hatching. Cross-hatching was also used to render part of the body of bird themes on a similarly shaped polychrome glazed plate from the church of S. Michele degli Scalzi which is dated to the fourth quarter of the 12th c. (Berti 1997: 31, fig. 13, no. 268; Berti, Giorgio 2011: 55—56, fig. 75a, b). The cross-hatching ("grid-iron motif") is quite common not only in pottery of this category, but also in other categories of painted Italian pottery such as Proto-Maiolica or Archaic Maiolica (Whitehouse 1980a: 82, pl. X, d-e; 1980b: 77, pl. II; 79, fig. 11; Berti 1997: 26, fig. 9, no. 58; Riavez 2000: 213—214, pl. 3, 8; Vallenzano 2013: 52, fig. 3: E). There is a schematic, possibly vegetal, motif below the belly of the animal and a spiral design behind the animal which is repeated on the upper part of the rim that is still visible. There is schematic vegetal decoration in front of the animal. The whole surface was initially covered with light greenish glaze, which has been partially preserved. At a first level, the representation of a sheep or a goat on this immured plate could perhaps constitute an indirect reference to the pastoral life that characterized most of Crete's hinterland. On a second level, however, the representation of a sheep besides other symbolisms such as Christ's sacrifice and resurrection (Mangenot 1923: 610; Brubaker 1982: 74) could refer to the figure of Jesus, who is referred to as the Lamb of God in the Gospel According to John (Vollet, Bayet n. d.: 855; Mangenot 1923: 610; Brubaker 1982: 74; Bulgakov 2008: 263). On the aforementioned example from Capitanata, a lamb is combined with a cross on a stick, which constitutes a more condensed form of the original theme of *Agnus Dei*, very commonly depicted in wax medallions (Vollet, Bayet n. d.: 855—856; Mangenot 1923: 605; Brubaker 1982: 74), which constitutes a predominantly western theme during the Medieval period (Brubaker 1982: 74), and possibly refers to the theological concept of the Lamb of God (*Agnus Dei*) (Vallenzano 2013: 46 with note 21; http://balda.beepworld.it/ [accessed 10.04.2016]). In fact, this interpretation seems possible for the plate from Kitharida: iconographically, with the body of the sheep positioned towards the right but the head turned backwards, it has strong ties with the depiction of this theme both in pottery (Vallenzano 2013: 52, fig. 3, F; Riccetti 2015: 104, fig. 9, 106) and other mediums — part of the sculptural decoration of Monza cathedral, for example (http://www.gettyimages.com/detail/photo/agnus-dei-detail-of-sculptural-decoration-high-res-stock-photography/173285559 [accessed: 10.04.2016]), or a detail of the mosaic from the Baptistery of San Giovanni Battista in Florence (http://www.gettyimages.com/detail/photo/agnus-dei-detail-from-mosaic-in-apse-

high-res-stock-photography/159618586 [accessed: 10.04.2016]) — even if it is not certain that the original representation on the plate was accompanied by a cross. It should be added that the *Agnus Dei* constitutes a communion chant in liturgy and forms part of the Catholic Mass (Vollet, Bayet n. d.: 855; Bower 1982: 73; Marshal 1989: 369; Linman 2010: 148). Even if the initial representation was of a deer, one could also find a symbolic meaning referring to Christ, since it recalls the soul that desires the Lord, or refers to prudence, longevity and good Christian behaviour (Munarini 1990a: 79).

The second plate (fig. 3: 20; 8) is on the right at the top end of the window frame. Part of its interior decoration, particularly in the centre of the body, is worn. Although most of its rim is covered with plaster, it seems that the oblique walls end in a flat, down-turned rim which is clearly distinguished from the body. In terms of shape, it has close similarities to the previous plate and a rim diameter of 25 cm. The same three colours also decorate this vessel, and the whole surface is covered with a light greenish glaze. In this case, two parallel dark brown circles create a medallion which comprises a schematic rendering of a shield. At least five vertical bands are preserved from the interior of the shield; they alternate, either being left undecorated or covered with green and red. Unfortunately, its bad state has precluded a secure attribution to a specific coat of arms, despite efforts made in that direction (Le arme; Freschot 1682; Arme, Blasoni; Spreti 1928—1932). Nevertheless, it must be noted that several vessels of the polychrome glazed category bear various shields, as examples from Italy show (Dufournier et al. 1986: 269—271, fig. 7: 1, 4—5; Tagliente 2000: 171, fig. 3, 12; 2003: 154—155, fig. 1, 4; Vallenzano 2015: 82, 89, fig. 2). The rest of the body is covered by a large band containing a row of medallions formed in dark brown, each one bearing a schematic leaf form resembling a trefoil; these are painted in green and red, alternately. Two parallel circles delineate the upper part. Small schematic dark brown leaves decorate the spaces between the medallions. A similar arrangement of a central motif and leaves, although not quite trefoils, placed in medallions all around the body, is found in a plate of Proto-Maiolica ware from Apulia, dating to the end of the 12th — early 13th c. and decorated in green (Berti 1997: 31, fig. 13, no. 332; Berti, Giorgio 2011: 30, 56, no. 332), and in a plate of the "RMR Ware" of the late 14th c. (Tagliente 2000: 173, 175, fig. 5, 23). It is also common in the polychrome glazed category to find various vegetal motifs painted alternately with the above

Fig. 8. Polychrome glazed pottery ("RMR Ware"), plate immured in the church of Panagia Eleousa in Kitharida (Crete), scale 1:4 (The copyright for the depiction of this artefact belongs to the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports; photo: A. G. Yangaki).

Рис. 8. Полихромная поливная тарелка (группа Рамино Манганезе Россо), вмурована в стену церкви Панагия Элеуса в Кифариде (Крит), масштаб 1:4 (Авторское право на изображение этого артефакта принадлежит Министерству культуры и спорта Греции; фото А. Г. Янгаки).

colours inserted in circles (Dufournier et al. 1986: 268).

Morphologically, both of the above forms, with their characteristic large body and flat, outturned or down-turned rim, bear closer analogies to vessels that P. Tagliente considers characteristic of the latest phase in the production of polychrome lead-glazed pottery ("RMR Ware"), which extends into the late 15th c., rather than that of earlier periods, which were characterized by more closed forms with different rim formations (Tagliente 2003: 153—154, 155, fig. 1, 4). Unfortunately, given their permanent position on the monument, no additional reinforcing evidence can be deduced by studying the formation of their base. Their fabric and form, the use of a greenish glaze with the combined use of dark brown, red and green in both examples speak in favour of a common provenance from an Apulian centre; a similar green glaze characterizes a fragment found in Lecce and given an Apulian provenance (Castello Carlo V Lecce n. d.). On various occasions, the glaze of this category can be greenish (Campanella 2000: 150). They could be dated within the 14th and 15th c.

The last example attributed to Italian production (fig. 3: 9; 9) is immured in the lunette above the entrance into the narthex. It forms part of another cruciform arrangement, where it constitutes the right arm of the cross. It is a small bowl with a rim diameter of 18 cm, curved walls

Fig. 9. Small bowl, maiolica, Panagia Eleousa in Kitharida (Crete) (The copyright for the depiction of this artefact belongs to the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports; photo of the vessel after restoration: E. Kanaki).

Рис. 9. Маленькая чаша, майолика, церковь Панагия Элеуса в Китариде (Крит) (Авторское право на изображение этого артефакта принадлежит Министерству культуры и спорта Греции; фото сосуда после реставрации E. Kanaki).

that end with a simple rim and a low, ring base. Unfortunately, its state of preservation is not good, since cracks devided it before restoration into three pieces, while more than two thirds of its body was covered in a thick layer of plaster. After its removal from the wall and restoration undertaken by the Ephorate of Antiquities of Herakleion, a rich decoration was revealed (fig. 9) executed using thick bands of blue on a white background combined with thin, dark, blackish lines for additional details. The central part of the interior is covered by a schematic representation of a bird facing left with its head held up. The bird is perched on a schematically rendered branch, part of a plant growing out of a wide horizontal blue band that probably represents the ground. Rich, schematic vegetal decoration covers the remaining surface. Two tall trees flank the bird and two pairs of schematic floral representations flank each of the trees. A lower level is created by a similar horizontal blue band right below the main decorative scene. This band contains schematic floral representations that may represent bushes. Three similar floral compositions emerging from a wide blue band cover the surface above the main scene. The trees and bushes are rendered using thick bands of fluid blue colour of various lengths; fine black lines represent their trunks and stems. Judging by the quality of the white background, the use of a rather fluid blue colour and the rendering of the decorative theme, the bowl is an example of maiolica which can be attributed to the Italian production probably of the 18th c. and of Ligurian provenance (Keruhel 1986: 93—94; Beltrán de Heredia Bercero, Miró i Alaix 2010: 41, 117, pl. 35). The decorative theme finds analogies in vegetal themes and in the depiction of birds characteristic of 17th—18th century "*calligrafico-naturalistico*" style, examples of which date from the second half of the 17th and throughout the 18th c. and characterize the production of various centres, not only in Liguria, such as those of Turin and Faenza (Loreti 1980: 10 no. 4; Ravanelli Guidotti 1987: 260 no. 136; Farris 2004: 80, pl. X, a-b; Beltrán de Heredia Bercero, Miró i Alaix 2010: 41; Mazzacane, Mazzacane 2012: 62, 65, 227 no. 30, 229 nos. 38, 42; Ravanelli Guidotti 2014: 69, fig. 10, 70—71, figs. 14—15, 73, fig. 18, c). A characteristic example is the representation of a bird found in Barcelona (Beltrán de Heredia Bercero, Miró i Alaix 2010: 117, pl. 35: 4). The lunette it adorns is covered in numerous layers of plaster. However, close in situ examination — before the removal of the vessel for it to be restored — makes it clear that, while all the other vessels immured in the church are embedded in the walls with plaster covering their rims, in some cases almost completely, here the upper part of the rim protruded and the bowl did not seem to have fit into the recess. This observation, together with the fact that, based on the vessel's typology, an 18th-century date can be proposed — that is, more than two centuries later than the other vessels — indicates that it was a later insertion which replaced an original bowl now lost.

c) Ceramics from the Iberian peninsula

Seven of the vessels immured in the narthex are imports from the production centres of the Crown of Aragon in the Iberian peninsula. More precisely, among the various pottery production centres on the Iberian peninsula (which included Andalusia, Castile, Granada, Murcia, Aragon and Catalonia), the vessels in Agia Eleousa constitute imports from the Valencia region. A recent analytical study of pottery from the Iberian peninsula in regions of present-day Greece indicates that it is this region's ceramics that seem to have dominated the area studied during the Late Medieval period (see in detail: Yangaki 2013b: 287—326; see also: François 1997: 401—404). The vessels constitute examples of the lustreware and monochrome blue pottery which are also known in the bibliography as *loza dorada* and *loza azul*, respectively. These types formed the bulk of the ceramic material produced in the Valencia

region (Lerma et. al. 1986: 183—201; Martí 1994: 5; Paz Soler 1997: 137—166; Ray 2000: 41—102; Rose-Albrecht 2002b: 76) and were widely distributed throughout the Mediterranean and central and northern Europe during the 14th and 15th c. Valencia itself, Manises and Paterna (Llubiá 1967: 132, 149—150, 157—161; Guiral 1977: 191—196; Caiger-Smith 1985: 105—122; Guiral-Hadziiossif 1986: 389—391; Paz Soler 1997: 149—166; Ray 2000: 41) were their main production centres. A coat of tin-glaze serves in both categories as background for the painted decoration (Ray 2000: 45, 59), which covers both the interior of open vessels and the exterior, as well. According to written and archaeological evidence (Spallanzani 2006: 151—166, esp. 151—153, 161—162, 164, 166), these objects could have been destined for everyday use, although they were considered of high quality and were thus sometimes regarded as objects for display.

Of the seven vessels, three constitute very large plates — disks — with a diameter ranging from 32,5 cm to 36 cm, a curved body and either quite high rims or large, horizontal rims. The plate (fig. 3: 1; 10) immured at the end of the western side of the narthex, which seems isolated from the other vessels that mostly occupy the central and eastern part of the narthex, is covered on its interior with a characteristic representation of a bird rendered in cobalt blue with rich plumage, a long neck and long legs, which may have intended to represent a crane or even a heron. The bird is flanked by a pair of blue plant motifs with buds. The ground is scattered with fern leaves in lustre. The rim is divided into eight frames consisting of scrolling tendrils rendered in a row and alternating between blue and lustre. The second plate (fig. 3: 6; 11), immured next to the left part of the narthex door, has a high, vertical rim. The centre of the plate is covered with a blue square which is filled with lustred vegetal pattern. The square forms part of a blue cross whose arms end in heart-shaped motifs with protuberances on their sides and filled with tendrils with blob-like dots rendered in lustre (Berti, Tongiorgi 1985: pl. V, 11—12; Ray 2000: 63, no. 127); each of these motifs recalls the tree of life (Ray 2000: 45, fig. 7). The main theme is superimposed on the ground of lustred tendrils and stylized vegetal patterns. The rim bears the inscription: “ave/ma/ria/gra<tia>/ple/na” [Hail Mary, full of grace] painted in blue in Gothic script between frames covered with stylized vegetal motifs — mostly running tendrils similar to those on the body of the vessel — rendered in lustre. The third plate (fig. 1; 3: 17; 12) on the other side of door of the narthex from the previous plate has already been identified as an example of the so-called “Ave Maria group” (Ray 2000: 69—70), since it bears the same inscription as the previous plate and has been published in detail (Yangaki 2008b: 213—224). It has a straight body and a quite large, horizontal rim. A bird in dark blue, facing right, is superimposed on the ground, which is covered with fern leaves, flowers, dots and flower-like motifs filled with parallels and spirals rendered in brownish lustre (Camps Cazorla 1936: 32; Martínez Caviró 1982: 141). More flowers decorate the inner sides of the plate. The inscription in Gothic script is placed among fern leaves and small flowers. The verse “Ave Maria gra<tia> plena” is the beginning of the most common Catholic prayer to the Virgin Mary (Berlière 1923: 1273—1277; Janssens 1931: 995—996; Thurston 1937: 1161—1165; Hennig 1983: 13—14). As has already been noted (Yangaki 2008b: 219—220), together with the “Pater Noster”, they were and are the most popular Catholic prayers and were and are included in many rosary books (Berlière 1923: 1274; Thurston 1937: 1163—1164; Hennig 1983: 13; Reynolds 1989: 530—531). This specific pottery group is also represented in paintings, with the best-known example being in Jaime Ferrer’s version of the Last Supper in Catalonia (Solsona), which dates from *c.*1450 (Gerrard et. al. 1995: 286; Ray 2000: 70; Rose-Albrecht 2002a: 41). According to a study, the use of this inscription on the vessels might also recall sermons in which the Spanish Dominican Saint Vincent Ferrier criticized women who simulate religiosity (Lerma 2002: 119, n. 19), thus adding a more secular dimension to this group of pottery. Nevertheless, both the iconography and the tangible evidence, based on the two vessels from Kitharida, with the association of the “Ave Maria group” of ceramics with religious environments, would seem to indicate that, for the majority of their owners, these verses, which formed part of the well-known salutation and prayer, maintained their sacred meaning rather than constituting purely decorative elements. The central bird motifs of the two plates (fig. 10; 12) from Kitharida have much in common with other depictions of birds, some of which been identified as possible representations of either cranes or pelicans (Llubiá 1967: 153, fig. 241, left; Rose-Albrecht 2002c: 141—142; Tilliard 2002: 255 inv. E 538—27) (though they might also be herons); these have been found on Spanish lustreware from Paterna (Rose-Albrecht 2002c: 140) and Pisa (Berti, Tongiorgi 1985: pl. VI, 10) and on vessels held in Lyon’s Musée des Beaux-Arts (Rose-Albrecht 2002c: 141—142; Tilliard 2002: 255 inv. E 538—27). Pots or tiles with oth-

Fig. 10. Large lustreware plate with a representation of a bird, Panagia Eleousa in Kitharida (Crete), scale 1:5 (The copyright for the depiction of this artefact belongs to the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports; photo: A. G. Yangaki).

Рис. 10. Большая тарелка с росписью люстром и изображением птицы, церковь Панагия Элеуса в Кифариде (Крит), масштаб 1:5 (Авторское право на изображение этого артефакта принадлежит Министерству культуры и спорта Греции; фото А.Г. Янгаки).

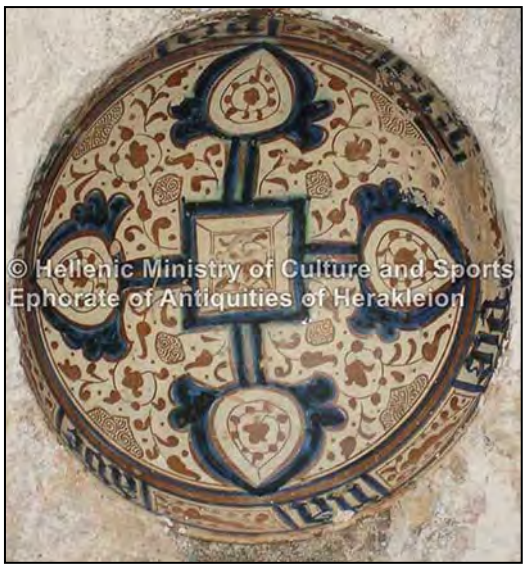

Fig. 11. Large lustreware plate with a representation of a cross, Panagia Eleousa in Kitharida (Crete), scale 1:5 (The copyright for the depiction of this artefact belongs to the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports; photo: A. G. Yangaki).

Рис. 11. Большая тарелка с росписью люстром и изображением креста, церковь Панагия Элеуса в Кифариде (Крит), масштаб 1:5 (Авторское право на изображение этого артефакта принадлежит Министерству культуры и спорта Греции; фото А.Г. Янгаки).

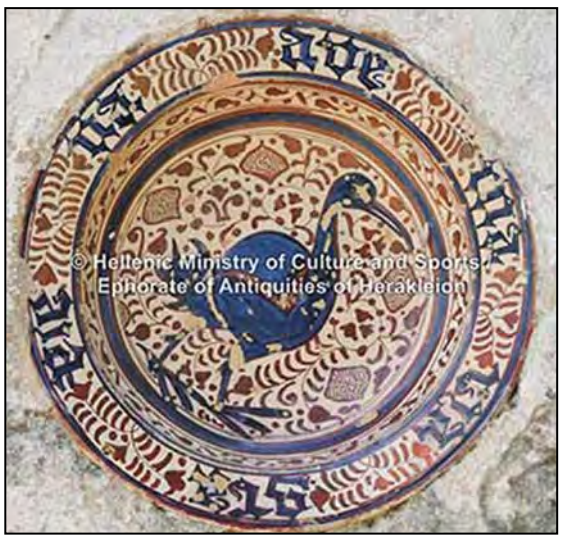

Fig. 12. Large lustreware plate bearing the inscription "Ave Maria gra [tia] plena", Panagia Eleousa in Kitharida (Crete), scale 1:5 (The copyright for the depiction of this artefact belongs to the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports; photo: A. G. Yangaki).

Рис. 12. Большая тарелка с росписью люстром и надписью «Ave Maria gra [tia] plena», церковь Панагия Элеуса в Кифариде (Крит), масштаб 1:5 (Авторское право на изображение этого артефакта принадлежит Министерству культуры и спорта Греции; фото А.Г. Янгаки).

er inscriptions in Gothic letters are related to the "Ave Maria group" and form part of the repertory of Spanish lustreware (Camps Cazorla 1936: 32; Ray 2000: 316—317; Rose-Albrecht 2002b: 88—89; Tilliard 2002: 236—237 inv. D 171— D 172). These include pots with abbreviated forms of sacred names or phrases (Carru 1995: 55, 73, nos. 167—168; Casanovas 2003: 56, fig. 2.8; Dectot 2008: 95, no. 65) or more elaborate inscriptions (Carru 1995: 55, 73, nos. 167—168; Dectot 2008: 95, no. 65; Casanovas 2003: 56, fig. 2.8). This group was imitated during the 19th c. (Ray 2000: 398, nos. 1027—1028).

Two further dishes of smaller diameter with a curved body and large, horizontal rims were also imported from the Iberian peninsula. The first (fig. 3: 3; 13), with a rim diameter of 21 cm, forms the left arm of the cruciform formation immured next to one of the larger dishes from the Iberian peninsula. It is decorated on its body and rim with pairs of elongated blue plant motifs superimposed on lustred dots and similar plant motifs which alternate on the main body with ragged floral motifs recalling parsley leaves on a dotted ground and surrounded by a semicircle. Two similarly decorated fragments in the Victoria and Albert Museum have been dated to 1400—1450 (Ray 2000: 64, no. 132, 72, no. 150R), while analogous fragments occur in Avignon dated to 1420—1440 (Carru 1995: 55, no. 143, 70, no. 143), in Albenga (Gobbato 1998: 287—288, 293, pl. IV, 8) and in Pisa during the 15th c. (Berti, Tongiorgi 1985: 30—31, pl. VI,

Fig. 13. Lustreware dish with plant motifs, Panagia Eleousa in Kitharida (Crete), scale 1:3 (The copyright for the depiction of this artefact belongs to the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports; photo: A.G. Yangaki).

Рис. 13. Блюдо с росписью люстром и растительным орнаментом, церковь Панагия Элеуса в Кифариде (Крит), масштаб 1:3 (Авторское право на изображение этого артефакта принадлежит Министерству культуры и спорта Греции; фото А.Г. Янгаки).

Fig. 14. Lustreware dish with disc-flowers and disc-like petals and dots, Panagia Eleousa in Kitharida (Crete), scale 1:3 (The copyright for the depiction of this artefact belongs to the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports; photo: A.G. Yangaki).

Рис. 14. Блюдо с росписью люстром и круговым изображением цветов, листов и точек, церковь Панагия Элеуса в Кифариде (Крит), масштаб 1:3 (Авторское право на изображение этого артефакта принадлежит Министерству культуры и спорта Греции; фото А.Г. Янгаки).

1, 3). The glaze on its interior surface is not as brilliant as in the examples of the other types, a characteristic already noticed by G. Berti and E. Tongiorgi for similar vessels (Berti, Tongiorgi 1985: 30). The second (fig. 3: 2; 14) is immured at the top of the cruciform formation, right under the end of the narthex's roof and at some distance to the left of cross upright beam. It has an interior body diameter of 17 cm, but most of its flat, horizontal rim is covered in plaster, preventing a clear observation of the vessel. The vessel's central medallion bears two disc-flowers ("flores de puntos") (Martínez Caviró 1982: 137) consisting of three disc-like petals in lustre on a dotted lustred ground, each one surrounded by a semi-circle with the space in between covered with single disc-like petals and dots (Ray 2000: 72). The rest of the body and the rim are covered on a dotted background with semi-circles in blue, the contents of which alternate between similar groups of three disc-like petals in lustre or bryony flowers in blue. Both of these motifs are quite common on vessels from the first half of the 15th c. up until *c.*1470, with the first ones dated in the main to between 1400 and 1450 and the latter from 1430 to 1470, as examples from Avignon (Carru 1995: 55, no. 144; 70, no. 144), Narbonne (Amigues 1998: 213, 220, fig. 11), Florence (Marini 1998: 296—297, 303, fig. 3b, 304, fig. 4c), Madrid (Retuerce Velasco, Melero Serrano 2012: 92—93, fig. 2, 10) and Victoria and Albert Museum (Ray 2000: 72—75, nos. 149R —151, no. 153, no. 156) indicate. The vessel from Malevizi, which features a combination of both motifs, could therefore be dated from after 1430 until 1470.

A smaller example (fig. 3: 5; 15), from a bowl with a rim diameter of 14,5 cm, forms the right arm of the cross-shaped formation on the left of the entrance. It has curved walls and a straight, simple rim. It combines geometric with stylized vegetal motifs and a crown pattern. The central part of the bowl is covered with a four-pointed star formed out of a square, all in cobalt blue. It forms part of a central medallion that is created from two parallel blue bands, while the upper part of the bowl bears pairs of stylized plant motifs. The rest of the decoration is rendered in lustred brown. The space in each part of the four-pointed star is covered with triangular panels of strokes and spirals ("paralelas con espiral", "barre parallele con spirali") (Martínez Caviró 1982: 133; Berti, Tongiorgi 1985: 28—29), common complementary motifs on various vessels from Pisa (Berti, Tongiorgi 1985: 28—29, pl. V, 10—12), in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Ray 2000: 48—49, no. 102), and in the Louvre and the Museum of Sèvres (Rose-Albrecht 2002b: 82, 94—95), all of them dated to the first half of the 15th c., while the specific motif has been dated to the first third of the 15th c. (Martínez Caviró 1982:

Fig. 15. Lustreware bowl with geometric decoration and stylized plant motifs, Panagia Eleousa in Kitharida (Crete), scale 1:2 (The copyright for the depiction of this artefact belongs to the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports; photo: A. G. Yangaki).

Рис. 15. Тарелка с росписью люстром и геометричесим орнаментом с растительными элементами декора, церковь Панагия Элеуса в Кифариде (Крит), масштаб 1:2 (Авторское право на изображение этого артефакта принадлежит Министерству культуры и спорта Греции; фото А.Г. Янгаки).

Fig. 16. Bowl, monochrome blue pottery ("loza azul"), Panagia Eleousa in Kitharida (Crete), scale 1:2 (The copyright for the depiction of this artefact belongs to the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports; photo: A. G. Yangaki).

Рис. 16. Монохромная чаша с росписью голубой глазурью, церковь Панагия Элеуса в Кифариде (Крит), масштаб 1:2 (Авторское право на изображение этого артефакта принадлежит Министерству культуры и спорта Греции; фото А.Г. Янгаки).

133). The spaces between the star and the vegetal motifs of the upper part of the body are covered with stylized floral motifs. The centre of the central square features a representation of a triple-towered castle with schematically rendered entrances. The exact same motif rendered in dark blue covers the central medallion of a dish (Llubiá 1967: fig. 201). The motif has been identified as the coat of arms of the Crown of Castile (Martínez Caviró 1982: 165) and is represented in a more condensed form on vessels of this production with a lion rampant of the Crown of Léon or, additionally, with the pallets of the Crown of Aragon, as on examples at the Victoria and Albert Museum (Martínez Caviró 1982: fig. 99; 101; Ray 2000: 78—79, no. 163, 93, no. 200) dated to the 15th c., the Museum of Sèvres (Martínez Caviró 1982: 117, fig. 78; Rose-Albrecht 2002b: 94—95), dated to within the first or second quarter of the 15th c., the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon (Tilliard 2002: 242, no. D 327), dated to the end of the 15th c., and in other collections (Martínez Caviró 1982: fig. 121; 148). It has been suggested that some of these examples could have been offered as matrimonial or coronation gifts (Rose-Albrecht 2002b: 94). Heraldic themes were common in the Late Medieval glazed pottery of the Iberian peninsula (Martínez Caviró 1982: 165—169).

All the aforementioned examples belong to the "mature valencian lustrewares" group (also

Fig. 17. Bowl, monochrome blue pottery ("loza azul"), Panagia Eleousa in Kitharida (Crete), scale 1:2 (The copyright for the depiction of this artefact belongs to the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports; photo: A. G. Yangaki).

Рис. 17. Монохромная чаша с росписью голубой глазурью, церковь Панагия Элеуса в Кифариде (Крит), масштаб 1:2 (Авторское право на изображение этого артефакта принадлежит Министерству культуры и спорта Греции; фото А.Г. Янгаки).

known as the "Loza dorada clásica" (Gerrard et. al. 1995: 286; Rose-Albrecht 2002b: 76)), which comprise various ceramics groups of the 15th c. painted in brownish lustre and dark blue. For

these vessels, the Valencia region is considered the centre of their production, while the majority of the vessels in this particular group are attributed to workshops in Manises (Ray 2000: 70—71, no. 145—146; Dectot 2008: 94—95, no. 63; Casanovas 2003: 55—56, fig. 2.7b). This group witnessed a large diffusion in the central and eastern Mediterranean but also, according to the collected evidence, in northern Europe (for the related references, see analytically: Yangaki 2008b: 218—219, with notes; 2013b: 295—299, with notes). This type of decorated vessels was initially dated to the second half of the 15th c. (Camps Cazorla 1936: 31; Martí 1994: 4; Gerrard et. al. 1995: 286), but more recent research coupled with archaeological data has shown that this category of Spanish lustreware was in use during the first half of the 15th c. (Martí 1994: 4; Gerrard et. al. 1995: 286; Ray 2000: 69, 72). For example, bryony leaves, crowns and "disc-flowers" as well as the inscription "Ave Maria gratia plena" appear before 1413 (Gerrard et. al. 1995: 286; Ray 2000: 59, 72—73), and the "disc-flowers" decoration is generally considered as almost contemporaneous with bryony and parsley leaf decoration (Ray 2000: 72—73), though it has been argued that the bryony motif appeared later *c.*1425 (De Crescenzo 1996: 217). In addition, a drug-jar bearing a similar tendril motif to the second vessel has been dated to 1400—1450 (Ray 2000: 63, no. 127). Taking into consideration, too, the date proposed for the fifth vessel (fig. 14), then the above pottery seems to have been in circulation on Crete after the early 15th c.

The last examples belong to two small bowls (rim diameter: 13,5 cm and 14 cm) with a curved body and a simple rim, forming part of the monochrome blue pottery ("loza azul") from the Iberian peninsula which was produced in Manises, Paterna and Valencia but also at other sites from the first quarter of the 14th c., the 15th c., and also later on (for details on this category: Lerma et. al. 1986: 190, 194; Paz Soler 1997: 163—165; Ray 2000: 45; Yangaki 2013b: 290—291, with analytical references). The best-preserved bowl (fig. 3: 4; 16) is placed above the main dish in the cross-shaped formation to the left of the narthex entrance. The second (fig. 3: 16; 17) forms the right arm of the cross-shaped formation to the right of the entrance. Unfortunately, more than two thirds of its interior is covered with plaster, which prevents a detailed examination but, given that part of the characteristic motif is distinguishable on part of its upper body, it can be identified as having exactly the same decoration as the previous bowl. In both cases, on the white ground it consists of a central circle in cobalt blue in the middle of the body with eight radii leading to four-leaf shapes with hatching and four palm-tree tops; in between the stylized leaves, parts of a rectangle consisting of double dark blue bands have survived (Yangaki 2013b: 291, note 26, 315, fig. 2). Vessels with the same decoration have been found in Rhodes (Michailidou 1996: 134, no. 105; 2000: 421, 427, no. 9, pl. 165 ε — στ), Cagliari (Dadea, Porcella 1998: 328, fig. 4), Naples (Arbace 1998: 341, fig. 3), Pisa (Berti, Tongiorgi 1985: 13, pl. II, 2), Genoa (Pringle 1977: 147, no. 203), Savona (Gobbato 1998: 286—287, 292, pl. III, 7), Avignon (Carru 1995: 55, 59, 62, no. 80), Arévalo (Villanueva Zubizarreta et al. 2012: 497, fig. 8), and form part of the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum (Ray 2000: 48, no. 101). The examples from Pisa and Savona are dated to the 14th c. (Berti, Tongiorgi 1985: 13; Gobbato 1998: 286—287, 292, pl. III, 7), the material from Naples to the middle of the 14th c. (Arbace 1998: 341, fig. 3), while those from Cagliari (Dadea, Porcella 1998: 328, fig. 4) and those held in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Ray 2000: 48, no. 101) have been dated to the early and the first half of the 15th c. respectively. Based on their decoration, they form part of the "Loza azul clásica" (Gobbato 1998: 286—287).

d) Ceramics from Syria or Egypt

Two of the vessels forming part of the cross-shaped formation to the right of the narthex's entrance are imported from Syria or Egypt. The underglaze painted decoration is executed using blue, turquoise or blue and black. This group of painted pottery on a frit body witnessed an important production during the 14th and 15th c. (Lane 1957: 15—20, 29—31; Soustiel 1985: 223—224; Grube 1976: 292; Féhérvari 2000: 246—247; Watson 2004: 56—58, 62). The first (fig. 3: 15; 18) is a small, deep dish (rim diameter: 15,5 cm), placed as the lower upright section of the cross. It has curved body and a flat, horizontal rim. The whole interior surface is covered with a rich blue, densely textured vegetal decoration consisting of two central, schematically-rendered vases which face one another, each holding three flowers with luxuriant petals and stalks. Schematic, dense, vegetal decoration is rendered next to these and on the rim between two dark blue, parallel bands. The decoration of the vessel reveals the influence of the Chinese blue-and-white porcelain which inspired these wares (Féhérvari 2000: 249; Watson 2004: 62, 417, 422), as is clear from characteristic Chinese examples (Shanghai Museum… n. d.: 17, right, 22, top; Quette 2014: 30, no. 20). The cobalt blue pigment had a tendency to run, and the outlines

Fig. 18. Small deep dish with painted decoration in blue, Panagia Eleousa in Kitharida (Crete), scale 1:3 (The copyright for the depiction of this artefact belongs to the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports; photo: A. G. Yangaki).

Рис. 18. Маленькая глубокая тарелка с росписью голубой глазурью, церковь Панагия Элеуса в Кифариде (Крит), масштаб 1:3 (Авторское право на изображение этого артефакта принадлежит Министерству культуры и спорта Греции; фото А.Г. Янгаки).

Fig. 19. Small deep bowl with decoration in blue-turquoise and black, Panagia Eleousa in Kitharida (Crete), scale 1:2 (The copyright for the depiction of this artefact belongs to the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports; photo: A. G. Yangaki).

Рис. 19. Маленькая глубокая чаша с росписью ярко-голубой и чёрной глазурями, церковь Панагия Элеуса в Кифариде (Крит), масштаб 1:2 (Авторское право на изображение этого артефакта принадлежит Министерству культуры и спорта Греции; фото А.Г. Янгаки).

are blurred as a result, a characteristic also found on other ceramics of the same production. The dish finds close analogies, in terms of its decoration, with a dish from Herakleion (Poulou-Papadimitriou 2008, 186—187, fig. 49) dated to the 14th—15th c., a dish at the Benaki Museum's Museum of Islamic Art, dated to the 15th c. (Ballian, Moraitou 2006: 125, fig. 164), fragments of vessels at the Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens (Borboudaki 2010: 187—188, figs. 16—18), dated to the 15th c., fragments from Alexandria (François 1999: pl. 6, 130—131), a jar from the Victoria and Albert Museum (Lane 1957: pl. 14), an albarello from the Musée des Arts Décoratifs (Lane 1957: pl. 15), an albarello from Avignon (Thiriot 1995: 26, 34, no. 24, 45, no. 24) dated from the early 15th c., fragments in the Kuwait National Museum (Watson 2004: 422—423, nos. LNS 925 C a-c, LNS 924 C h), dated to the 15th c., and fragments from tiles from Potamia-Agios Sozomenos in Cyprus (François, Vallauri 2014: 46—47, fig. 2, pl. V, a). Most of these vessels have been ascribed an Egyptian provenance. Given the dish's significant similarities to the others detailed above, a similar date and provenance can be proposed.

A deep bowl (fig. 3: 14; 19), also of Near Eastern provenance, is positioned on the upper upright section of the same cross-shaped formation. It has a deep, straight body and a simple rim (with a diameter of 15 cm). Its painted decoration combines blue-turquoise and black. The black pigment is stable, allowing for detailed and precise designs. The central medallion is formed from a wide, blue band. Its central section is covered with a hexagonal design in black. A similar hexagon decorates the main body of a vessel from Hama (Poulsen 1957: 208, fig. 702). The space in between is covered with a blue-turquoise colour, and similar blue-turquoise bands create three trapezoidal panels on the walls. In addition to the central cross-hatching in black covering the interior of the hexagon, geometric designs feature in trapezoidal panels which are divided into three or four vertical bands. Similar designs in black are found on other vessels of Syrian or Egyptian provenance (Lane 1957: pl. 10; Poulsen 1957: 207, fig. 698, 700; 214, fig. 727; Féhérvari 2000: 246, no. 308; Watson 2004: 402, nos. R.7—R.8). Two blue parallel bands cover the upper part of the wall and the rim. The decoration follows the panel style, which was quite common during the 14th c., though it usually consisted of radial rather than rhomboid panels (Féhérvari 1998: 49, no. 36; Watson 2004: 56, 58, 62; Pancaroğlu 2007: 96). For similar use of large blue bands to delineate the more detailed decoration, see examples from Hama (Poulsen 1957: 214, figs. 726—727), in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Lane 1957: pl. 10), the Kuwait National Museum (Watson 2004: 402, no. R.7)

and the Tareq Rajab Museum (Féhérvari 2000: 246, no. 308). Its glaze has become matt, a characteristic observed in other vessels of Syrian provenance (http://www.davidmus.dk/en/collections/islamic/dynasties/mamluks/art/21-1992 [accessed: 10.04.2016]). Given the characteristics of the vessel and its panel-type decoration which, according to scholars, preceded that of the previous dish and was common during the 14th c., it can be dated to within the 14th c. (Lane 1957: 17—18; Poulsen 1957: 204—206; Watson 2004: 62). Only a few ceramics from Syria or Egypt have so far been published from Crete, more particularly from Herakleion (Poulou-Papadimitriou 2008, 186—187, fig. 49) and Prinos (Yangaki 2013a: 380—381, fig. 6).

e) Unidentified pottery

The last example of pottery still preserved in the narthex belongs to a small sherd (fig. 3: 13; 20) from a curved body probably, judging from the dimensions of its 14,5 cm recess, from a small bowl. On a white ground with a clear glaze, partially preserved bands of blue decorate its interior. The bands are quite large and do not seem to follow a specific pattern. Judging by its general appearance, it could constitute an example of Italian maiolica painted in blue, in which case a date within the 15th c. could be envisaged, but this will need to be further verified if it is detached in the future and restored.

Fig. 20. Fragment of a bowl with blue painted decoration, Panagia Eleousa in Kitharida (Crete), scale 1:2 (The copyright for the depiction of this artefact belongs to the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports; photo: A. G. Yangaki).

Рис. 20. Фрагмент сосуда с росписью голубой глазурью, церковь Панагия Элеуса в Кифариде (Крит), масштаб 1:2 (Авторское право на изображение этого артефакта принадлежит Министерству культуры и спорта Греции; фото А.Г. Янгаки).

Remarks on the vessels' date

As has been previously mentioned, current research suggests that the narthex constitutes one of the later additions to the main church and dates from the 15th—16th c. (Gallas et al. 1983: 356; Mylopotamitaki 1998: 121, fig. 9, 125—126). Comparing the form of the doorframe and its characteristic decoration with monuments from the first half of the 15th c., points to a date within the 15th c. (Borboudakis 2007: 61—62, fig. 1; 80—81, fig. 31, 70, 76—77, fig. 27; Gratziou 2010: 59, fig. 62). This is further indicated by the form of the window of the exterior wall (fig. 21) and particularly by the characteristic formation of its upper section, which has a circular form in the central lobe and finds not exact but close parallels with those at the church of the Panagia in Kapetaniana, Vrondisi monastery and the monastery of Kera Kardiotissa at Voroi (Borboudakis 2007: 63—64, fig. 6; 67—68, fig. 10; 69, fig. 12; Gratziou 2010: 62—64, fig. 73, ε—ς). In addition, the placement of immured vessels, usually in cruciform formation but also individually or in pairs just above the upper part of the window, is common in monuments from the 15th c., especially from its first half, such as Agios Antonios in Vrondisi, Panagia Chanoutia in Gergeri or the catholicon of Valsamonero monastery (Agios Fanourios aisle) (Borboudakis 2007: 68, fig. 10; 76, fig. 25; 81—82, fig. 34; Gratziou 2010: 63, fig. 73, ε-ς); it is also encountered in the window of Panagia Eleousa in Kitharida.

Turning to the vessels that have been immured in the narthex, based on their previous detailed presentation it becomes obvious that, apart from some vessels that belong to categories mainly dated to within the 14th c. or which are analogous with pottery dated to that period (i. e. those attributed to Thessaloniki workshops, the bowl with a Syrian provenance), the majority date from within the 15th c., while the most numerous group — that from the Iberian peninsula, which is also used to create the more complete decoration around the entrance to the narthex — dates from the 15th c. (mostly the first half). In fact, of all the ceramics that adorn the narthex, it is those imported from the Iberian peninsula that can be dated with the greatest confidence and to the latest period. Careful study of the vessels' various motifs and the dates suggested for them (see above), combined with the disc-like petals in lustre alternating with bryony flowers in blue points that adorn the vessel on the upper part of the wall (fig. 14), point to a date between 1430 and

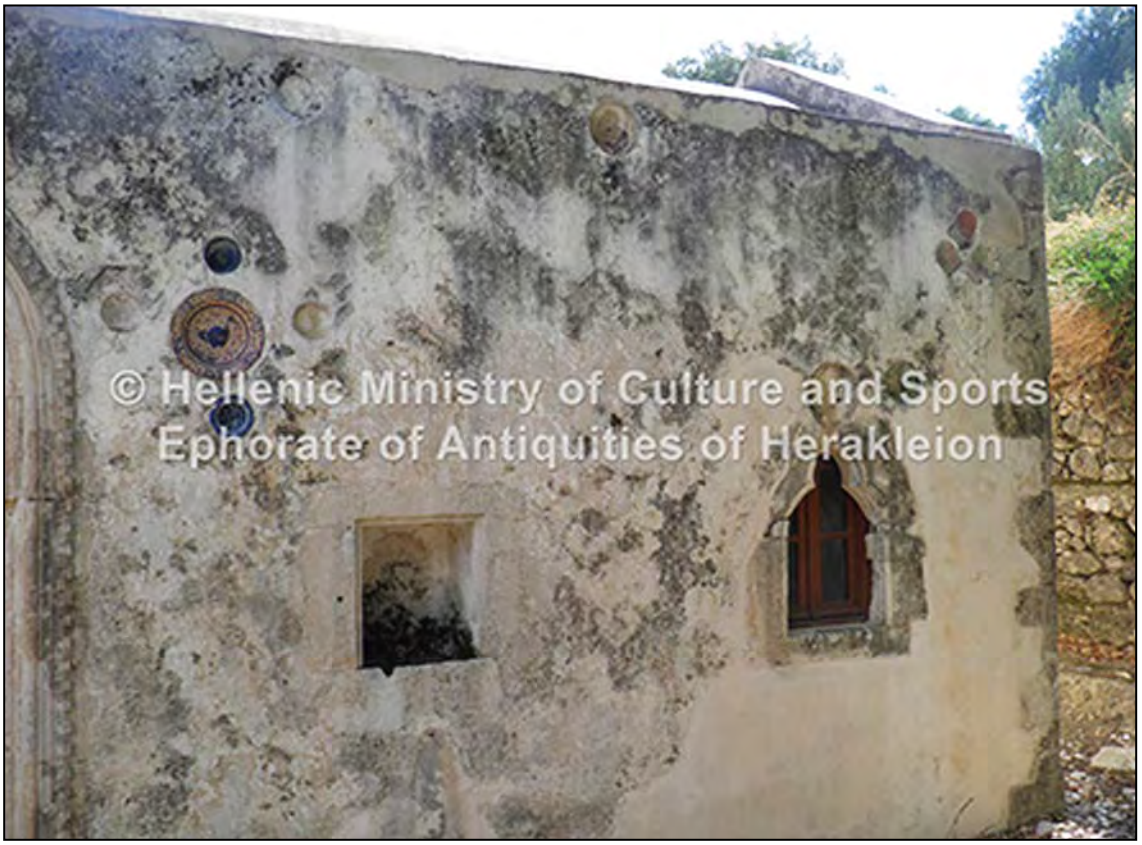

Fig. 21. View of the southern part of the façade of the narthex, Panagia Eleousa in Kitharida (Crete) (The copyright for the depiction of this monument belongs to the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports; photo: A. G. Yangaki).

Рис. 21. Вид южной части фасада нартекса церкви Панагия Элеуса в Кифариде (Крит) (Авторское право на изображение этого артефакта принадлежит Министерству культуры и спорта Греции; фото А. Г. Янгаки).

1470. The contemporaneous occurrence of all the above ceramics from the Iberian peninsula in the same monument allows us to posit a date during the first half of the 15th c. for the whole group of vessels, though this could perhaps be further limited to the period between the first decades of the 15th c. and its middle (see also: Yangaki 2008b: 221). The fact that it would be rare, according to the existing evidence relating to pottery in Crete, to have in one's possession vessels with the inscription "Ave Maria gratia plena" prior to the erection of the narthex provides further support for this hypothesis; rather, it is more reasonable to think that these vessels, together with the rest of the group from the Iberian peninsula, were deliberately acquired for this specific purpose: to flank the door of the church whose central nave was consecrated to the Virgin Mary. Given the fact that there is no evidence to suggest that the vessels were not immured at the same time on the façade, since they are all (apart from the later replacement) embedded quite deep in the current plaster and there was clearly an initial plan for their positioning (see below) as a group, it is evident that they offer a more precise date for the building of the narthex itself. The fact that a few ceramics which mostly circulated in the 14th c. are included should not prevent us for accepting the above date. It is, of course, true that *bacini* research has until now, and in the case of Crete in particular, proposed a date that accords with the date ascribed to each respective monument based on other criteria (Yangaki 2013a: 382). However, it should also be taken into consideration not only that pottery could have a more extended life span in circulation in places that constituted consumption sites, as Crete and Herakleion did for the above vessels, than it did in its production sites, but also that some categories of vessels, among them tablewares, could have an extended use-life which could possibly reach a quarter of a century, especially given that decorated fine tablewares such as the glazed wares presented above were considered more valuable than others, so special care would have been taken to prevent them from becoming unusable (Peña 2007: 58—59). Finally, the vessel which appears to have been added to the composition much later (fig. 9) constitutes for Crete, quite a rare case. Replacements of vessels

with later additions in the existing recesses do occur but only rarely, and they usually date from the 19th — early 20th c. Is is interesting to note that this later insertion bears as central motif that of a bird, thus constituting the third example with a bird depiction which has been immured in the specific church, possibly under the influence of the earlier similar representations.

Remarks on the vessels' position

Turning to the study of the arrangement of the vessels in the façade of the narthex, some interesting remarks can also be made. Besides the fact that the use of cruciform dispositions (Yangaki 2008a: 829—830; 2013a: 377—378) or the practice of immuring vessels above windows is common in Crete, as has previously been shown, in this particular monument extra care was taken in order to create a complex composition. Thus, in the majority of Cretan churches where a group of four of five vessels is arranged in the shape of the cross, most churches present no more than five vessels and on the rare occasions where more vessels have been embedded in the walls, these are usually placed in two parallel or almost parallel rows — as is the case at the church of Agios Georgios in Vistagi (Rethymnon), the church of Panagia in Lithines (Lassithi). In the case of Kitharida, however, the composition is of a complexity that can only be compared with the immured vessels in the catholicon of the monastery of Valsamonero. In the former, two cruciform arrangements flank the door (fig. 2). There is a harmony between the two, since both arrangements place the vessel with the largest diameter in the centre, with vessels of smaller dimensions forming the arms and upright section of the cross, and because both arrangements include only objects with painted decoration and with similar colour combinations (blue and brownish lustre) on a white ground. It is characteristic that the vessels creating the vertical axis of the cross have a rim diameter of between 13 and 15 cm in both cases, which further emphasizes the quest for symmetry (fig. 3: 4, 6, 14, 15). Unfortunately, in the lower part of the vertical axis of the cruciform composition on the left of the doorframe (fig. 22) neither the vessel nor the initial recess have survived; still, it would be reasonable to suggest that it existed in the original form. It is also clear that special care has been taken to leave the same distance from the doorframe to both left and right (fig. 2), which would seem to further support the hypothesis that the arrangement was preplanned and contemporaneous with the building of the door. In fact, that the bulk of the selected pottery belongs to common categories with specific decorative characteristics, rather than

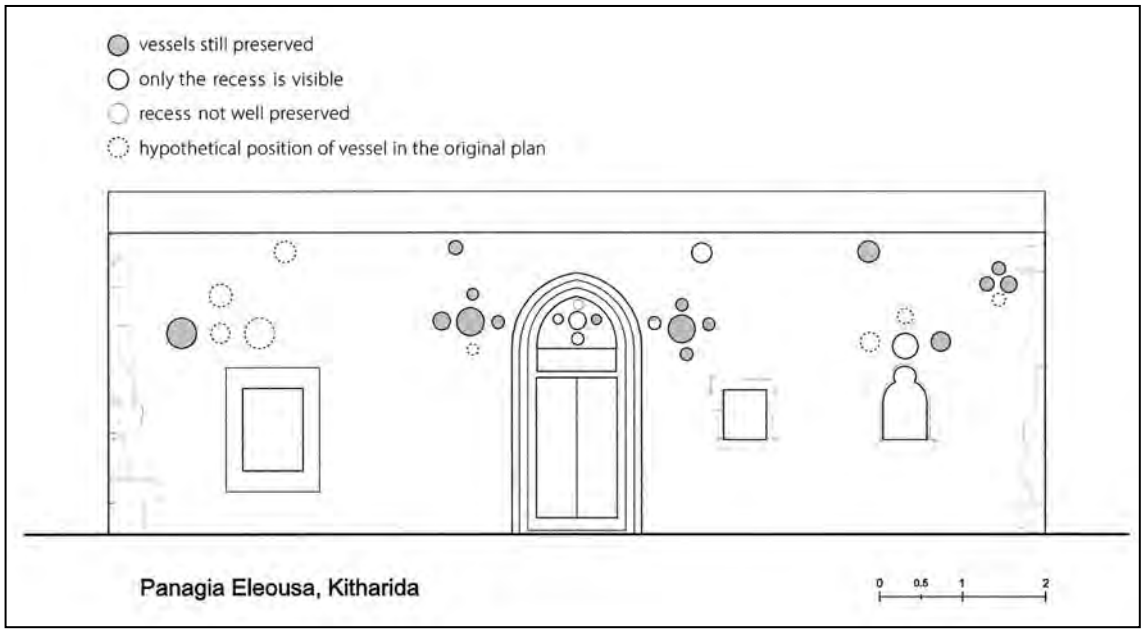

Fig. 22. Schematic drawing with a hypothetical representation of the initial position of immured vessels and their dispositions, Panagia Eleousa, Kitharida (dimensions of the narthex after: Gerola 1993, 239, fig. 279 and Gallas 1983, 214—215 figs. 61—62; drawing: D. Tagmatarchi).

Рис. 22. Схематический чертёж с предполагаемым размещением точных позиций вмурованных сосудов фасада нартекса с показанием расположения вмурованных сосудов и пустых лакун от вмурованных сосудов церкви Панагия Элеуса в Кифариде (Крит) (размеры нартекса по: Gerola 1993, 239 fig. 279; Gallas 1983, 214—215, figs. 61—62; автор чертежа D. Tagmatarchi).

constituting isolated, randomly placed ceramics, provides further support for the existence of central planning. Similarly, in a third cruciform arrangement covering the lunette over the entrance (fig. 2; 3: 7—11), although most of the original pieces are missing, traces of the recesses show that the main vessel was substantially larger than the others. This arrangement also exemplifies a symmetry of dimensions. A fourth composition located just above the narthex's window (fig. 2; 3: 19—20) has one preserved vessel and one empty recess aligned horizontally just above the window. There again, based on the diameter of the empty recess, the central vessel seems to have been of a larger diameter than the other and was in direct contact of the window, which would also argue in favour of their having been simultaneously installed in the wall. This obvious quest for symmetry allows us to suppose that a third vessel was placed immediately to the left of the central one; in fact this is further corroborated by examining a photo of the church by G. Gerola during the early 20th c., where it is evident that a third vessel did exist (Gerola 1993: 241, fig. 280). In addition, it is also possible that a fourth vessel, just above the central vessel did originally exist, given the fact that similar compositions on the upper part of windows generally employ cruciform formations (Borboudakis 2007: 68, fig. 10; 76, fig. 25; 81—82, fig. 34; Gratziou 2010: 63, fig. 73, ε-ς). Unfortunately, no traces of either vessels or their recesses have been preserved (see below). The fourth composition lies just below the roof, at the end of the narthex (fig. 3: 21—23; 21), and is composed of three preserved vessels of similar diameters (between 15 and 17 cm) forming a triangle. Special care has been taken to group vessels decorated with the same technique. Thus, the horizontal axis is formed out of painted, incised-sgraffito (fig. 3: 21, 23), leaving the monochrome sgraffito bowl for the vertical axis. Given that triangular dispositions of immured vessels are not very common on Crete, although it could be supposed that the disposition is preserved in its initial form, it seems likely that a fourth vessel, probably a bowl and probably also monochrome, originally formed the lower section of the vertical axis, creating a cross. Apart from these four compositions, three more vessels and one empty recess are preserved which appear to constitute isolated cases in the current façade. However, this does not seem to be the case: as will be shown, they follow the practice of creating a horizontal axis of decoration. The one empty recess and the two plates have all been immured to the upper part of the narthex wall, just below the roof (fig. 3: 2, 12, 18), creating a common horizontal axis. A series of ceramics on the gable end are also found in the catholicon of the monastery in Valsamonero. In fact, two of the vessels (fig. 3: 2, 12) in Panagia Eleousa are quite symmetrically positioned to the left and right of the central entrance, both higher than the two main cruciform dispositions and between the right arm of the left-hand cross and the central plate of the cross on the right. They both belong to painted categories of pottery, the one decorated in blue and lustre, the other in red, green and brown. This would seem to indicate careful preplanning and it can reasonably be assumed that more vessels were originally immured: at least one more to the left on the western section, perhaps close to the actual guttering, without excluding the possibility of two additional vessels having been immured in the wall's top corners. Given the general interest in symmetry expressed in this façade, it would seem reasonable to suggest that, since the vessel to the left of the entrance (fig. 3: 2) belongs to the *loza dorada* of the Iberian peninsula, as do most of the vessels in the two cruciform dispositions below it, the empty recess to the right originally (fig. 3: 12) contained a vessel of similar provenance and with similar colours, thus creating a refreshing variety in the eye of the observer in combination with the nearby piece of "RMR Ware" (fig. 3: 18). Finally, a single, large plate is found on the western end of the wall (fig. 3: 1), quite near the corner. It is adorned with an impressive bird. Given the rather large diameter of the plate and its quite impressive decoration, it could either constitute an isolated case, since it is perhaps placed too close to the wall's corner to have been surrounded by other vessels, or it could constitute the left-hand end of a composition similar to that placed just above the window at the opposite end of the wall, albeit with vessels of larger diameter. It must be stressed here that the window placed to the left of the portal is clearly a later addition to the monument, given its differences in size, form and manufacture from the window in the right section. In fact, the initial window is still visible in Gerola's photograph from the beginning of the 20th c. (Gerola 1993: 241, fig. 280). By close examination of that photo it becomes apparent that initially at least two more vessels had been immured next to the one preserved, forming again a horizontal composition and thus verifying what has previously been supposed. It is evident that for this, lower, horizontal axis of decoration there was once again an intent for variety, judging by the fact that the preserved vessels, all of which belong to painted, glazed pottery categories, are decorated in blue and brownish lustre and in red, green and

brownish colours, just like those forming the higher, horizontal axis below the roof.

From the above analysis, it becomes evident that apart from the seventeen surviving ceramics and the four now empty recesses visible in the wall, at least two more vessels must have been originally immured in the wall to achieve symmetry in the individual compositions (fig. 22). It is also possible that at least two more were immured on the high horizontal axis below the roof, with two more next to the plate on the left part of the wall, one more below the triangular disposition, and one on top of the central vessel at the eastern window. Thus the original total was somewhere between 25 and 30 ceramics (fig. 22), at least, with the possibility of initially being much more, since it seems, based on a Gerola's photo, that at least one more vessel adorned the eastern façade of the narthex (Gerola 1993: 241, fig. 280). The feasibility of the previously mentioned scenario derives not only from the pursuit of decorative variety that has previously been noted and the need for symmetry in the form of the compositions and in the colourful result they would create, but also from the observation made by various researchers that several important repairs and additions were made to the church at various times after the 15th c., and in particular during the second half of the 19th c. and in various periods during the 20th c. as well, when another entrance to the church and the bell tower were built (Patramani 2994: 41—45; Psilakis 1994: 159; Mylopotamitaki 1998: 121, fig. 9, 125; Psilakis 1998: 150, 155—156, 158—159). It can thus be suggested that some of the initial vessels were removed and the corresponding recesses covered with additional plaster during these later phases. This seems to have been the case at least for the vessel constituting the upper arm of the cruciform disposition in the lunette of the entrance, the vessel in the position now taken by the guttering, the vessel to the left of the central vessel on top of the east window, and the vessel at the lower end of the now triangular composition at the end of the wall (fig. 22). Traces of later plaster, easily distinguishable on the surface of the façade, indicate this in the most eloquent way.

Remarks on the vessels' use and a possible patron of the narthex

Can this pursuit of symmetry simply be attributed to a very particular interest on the part of the builder-donor to create an impressive final result for the main entrance into the church? Could something more be hidden within? As previously shown, the current state of preservation of the series of immured vessels in the narthex of the church of the Virgin Eleousa in Kitharida impedes us from acquiring a complete image of the vessels in the wall. However, from what has just been deduced, it becomes clear that a specific plan was followed for the decoration of the narthex (fig. 22), which allows us to speak of an "iconographic" programme implemented through its clay vessels. One can only imagine which categories of pottery were originally placed in the now empty recesses, or which other vessels were immured in line, following the previously mentioned symmetry, in positions which have now been lost due to the subsequent restorations and the addition of later plaster; what is certain, however, is that the original complete decoration would have been far more impressive (fig. 22). The extremely colourful result can be compared with the fact that the walls mostly of inland churches were painted non-white; in some cases, the walls even bore painted decoration, while some doorframes were also coloured (Gratziou 2010: 69—71, figs. 88—89; 271, fig. 287). It was also common for the built lunette over the entrance to have been painted with a mural depicting the saint to whom the church was consecrated (Borboudakis 2007: 64—65, fig. 11, 89; Gratziou 2010: 56, fig. 58, 65, fig. 77, 70—71, figs. 88—89). In the case of the lunette over the entrance of the narthex of the Virgin Eleousa, this has been adorned with a cruciform disposition of five vessels while the Virgin Mary is referenced through the "Ave Maria" verses on the vessels framing the portal.

As far as the decoration on the clay vessels is concerned, careful observation reveals that they seem to convey mostly religious meanings and connotations, though some secular realities are included. This constitutes a rare instance in the embellishment of churches with *bacini*; indeed, our systematic research on the subject in the context of the aforementioned research programme, in which we examined this type of adornment in more than 350 churches on Crete but also in mainland Greece, revealed no comparable examples. No other instance has thus far come to light in which so many vessels with particular decorative themes have been used; usually, plain glazed wares alternated with others bearing geometric or vegetal motifs. There are, of course, other churches, usually linked to monastic institutions, which, as previously mentioned, have numerous vessels immured on their exterior, generally in symmetrical dispositions, implying that a plan was followed in these cases, too. And it has already been suggested that, at least in the case

of Crete, given the prevalence of cruciform arrangements of *bacini* on the island, a symbolic meaning can be envisaged for the practice of inserting clay vessels (Yangaki 2008a: 829—831; 2013a: 382). One could even arrive at the assumption that they constituted special votive offerings made by people responsible for the construction of the church acting as patrons for its erection, particularly given the quality of the vessels used in most cases as *bacini*. However, in addition to these first two levels of connotations — the first being purely decorative and the second being purely symbolic and, if the previous assumption is correct, referring to and reflecting only upon the person/s offering the vessels — in the case of the vessels of Virgin Eleousa, one can also distinguish a third level of connotation. This level is much more complex: one could posit that the donor/s, meaning the individuals behind the decision to immure these particular vessels, and the way in which they are arranged on the wall combined the careful selection of objects which comprised stylized, in some times non-figurative, very colourful pieces pleasant to the eye of the visitor — and, as research on *bacini* shows, in line with current trends regarding the exterior decoration of churches on the island — with textual, human, animal and symbolic representations that express hidden connotations. And while these may have conveyed a symbolic meaning for the initial donor of the vessels (second level), it must also be considered that they were intended to attract the attention of the alert and devout visitor/s at a third level and to convey to them a polyvalent message in a most original and eloquent way: From a religious point of view, verses from the Catholic prayer "Ave Maria" in combination with the representation of a cross comprised of what may well be a sheep (*Agnus* Dei) and two birds, one of them possibly corresponding to a pelican, may thus also have included a religious symbolic meaning referring to the Passion (and Crucifixion) of the Christ and to Atonement and intended to prepare the visitor to enter the house of the Lord and Savior Jesus Christ. From a secular point of view, the plate bearing a coat of arms conveyed ownership and pride (let us not forget that several Cretan churches bore on their portals the coats of arms of feudal lords). Combined with the woman referring to the cupbearer theme, this may constitute an indirect reference to a specific elite, a noble class, one of whose members may have been responsible for this decoration. The alert visitor/s would thus pick up on specific messages, wonder who was responsible for the decoration in question, and admire the façade for more than just one reason. In this rare case, instead of a much more costly painted decoration, clay vessels were carefully selected to convey meanings, in particular since the religiously-themed vessels are specifically placed in central positions around the entrance to convey a religious connotation, while the others, which refer to secular realities, are placed towards one end of the narthex's wall. It is an ingenious choice and one that would have cost less than painted decoration.

And who could have been responsible for this arrangement, which does not find analogies in other churches on Crete, with the exception of the catholicon of the monastery of Valsamonero (Gallas et al. 1983: 313—321)[2], or in contemporary monuments on the Greek mainland, where immured vessels were usually secondary to architectural elements?

Research has not as yet yielded indisputable evidence on the donor/s that contributed to the erection of the narthex; nor there is solid evidence regarding the erection of the rest of the church, which was built, as already noted, in earlier phases. The above presentation, however, suggests a well-educated Venetian or Cretan lord who would have had the financial wherewithal and spiritual cultivation to direct an arrangement of this sort. M. Georgopoulou has pointed to the Venetian feudal lord Marinos Falieros, who was also a poet, as having participated in the decoration of the specific church (Georgopoulou 2012: 472). Indeed, according the written sources, Marin Falier or Faletro (±1395—1474) was an important member of the Venetian nobility in Crete who possessed important fiefs in two parts of the island in particular, Pediada and Malevizi, was in possession of a considerable fortune, held high positions in the local community and was a permanent fixture on various councils (Van Gemert 1977: 7—16; Van Gemert 1980: 15—20; Bakker, Van Gemert 2002: 1—8; Van Gemert 2013: 785—796; Van Gemert, Bakker 2014: 10—20). He was educated, possessed significant wealth and composed varied poetic work which touched on secular and religious themes. According to documents such as those dating from 1436 and 1473, his estates included fiefs in the village of Sarchos and the surrounding area in addition to Kitharida, which lies 1.5 km away (Van Gemert 1977: 11, 41—42,

[2] Although, there, the interest in symmetry is restricted to a smaller space, mostly the narthex, and occupies the vertical axis of the wall.

no. III.2; 49—50, no. III.8; Van Gemert 1980: 19, note 23; Van Gemert, Bakker 2014: 17). While living in Crete, he maintained his contacts with Venice, which he visited several times during his life, and with that part of his family that resided there (Bakker, Van Gemert 2002: 3—4; Van Gemert, Bakker 2014: 14—15). Given this brief portrait — that of a feudal lord, a wealthy, educated person who maintained ties with the West and was contemporaneous with the period in which the narthex was added to the church — it can be argued that he could be the patron of the specific decoration, even if this is not self-evident. Further corroborate of this view can be found in the archival sources, which state that he showed particular interest in the villages belonging to his fiefs not becoming depopulated and the churches of the villages of Sarchos and Kitharida not being left without priests — for which goal he made a particular request to the Senate of Venice in 1436 asking that priests be ordained for these villages (Van Gemert 1977: 41—42, no. III.2; Van Gemert 1980: 19, note 23; Van Gemert, Bakker 2014: 16—17). Moreover, according to A. Van Gemert, he could also have been responsible for decorating churches in nearby Sarchos with Gothic architectural elements (Van Gemert 2013: 785—786, note 2; Van Gemert, Bakker 2014: 16—17). This profile would seem to make Marinos Falieros a suitable candidate for the patron of the building and the decoration of the narthex of the church of the Virgin Eleousa, since he would have been able to acquire imported, mostly high-quality, glazed pottery of the sort used, and also had the personality and the spiritual knowledge required to select and implement the disposition of the immured vessels in order to create a scenography at the entrance of the church which is almost theatrical. That Marinos Falieros was a devout Catholic and a devoted supporter of the union of the churches before and after the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438—1439) also constitutes an argument in favour of the above attribution (Tsirpanlis 1967: 39, note 3; Van Gemert 1977: 11, note 10; 1980: 19, note 21; 2013: 786; Van Gemert, Bakker 2014: 11). As we have seen, the specific decoration was carefully positioned in order to convey specific meanings. Thus, pottery from the "four corners of the Mediterranean", which was in circulation on the island during the same period, has been carefully positioned on the façade of the narthex of this Orthodox church. Two fragments of a Catholic prayer occur, together with a possible reference to the *Agnus Dei*, a theme which was predominantly western at that period, as does a representation of a coat of arms, another western attribute. If this is combined with the previous suggestion that, on the basis of the pottery used, the narthex was most probably built between 1430 and 1450, this would mean it occurred either just before or just after the Council of Ferrara-Florence (Tsirpanlis 1967: 34, 37—41); in the latter case, it could be seen as exemplifying its patron's support for the newly-established unity. This date also seems probable given the fact that Marinos Falieros left Crete and lived in Venice during 1450—1455 as a result of the Union of the churches, which caused a gradual intensification to the relations between Cretans and Venetians (Bakker, Van Gemert 2002: 4; Van Gemert, Bakker 2014: 15). A further argument in favour of the above interpretation is the existence of a holy water stoup in the form of a rectangular recess in the wall to the right of the entrance to the narthex (fig. 2; 21). Several constructions with the same use and similar or not to the latter can be found in other Cretan churches, among them the church of the Panagia in Prinos in the prefecture of Rethymnon (Gratziou 2010: 275, 277, fig. 298, 294—295, fig. 325).

Let us not forget that even before this Union and the Council of Ferrara-Florence, "cross-religious communications" (Mersch 2015: 477) between the Latin-Catholics and Greek-Orthodox Christians of Crete existed, given the architectural and artistic evidence but also the written sources (Tsirpanlis 1967: 32; Gallas et al. 1983: 441, 443, 459; Gratziou 2010: 127—183, 215—227, 324—326). As M. Mersch puts it, churches could have served as "shared spaces" (Mersch 2015: 476—482), with Orthodox churches in the hinterland participating in this scheme of inter-religious worship (Mersch 2015: 476—477, 481—482; see as well: Gratziou 2010: 226, 304—305, 326). After the Council of Ferrara-Florence, as a consequence of the unionist movement, Venetian policy supported these efforts at union: Orthodox churches should be Uniates and there was less tolerance towards the Orthodox population of the island than in earlier periods (Tsirpanlis 1967: 34, 37—41; 1974: 114; Gratziou 2010: 226, 293, 326). It is in this new climate that the planned decoration with *bacini* under the patronage of the aforementioned personality should be viewed. If it was Marinos Falieros who arranged for the *bacini* to be laid out as they were in the narthex of the church of the Virgin Eleousa in Kitharida, he would have been expressing his own beliefs, but also, given his express interest in his land and its inhabitants, he would also have been offering the local community an expanded and renewed vision of

the church as an expression of a new era emerging in relations between the two Christian denominations on Crete.

Concluding remarks

The *bacini* that decorate the exterior wall of the narthex of the church of the Virgin Eleousa in Kitharida in Malevizi constitute, on the basis of the above analysis, a rather particular case in the study of vessels immured in the façades of churches in present-day Greece. On a first level, they inform us that various good quality, glazed ceramics were imported onto the island during the 14th and early 15th c., thus providing archaeological evidence to supplement the scant related information deriving thus far from excavations and surveys. They also offer more tangible evidence on the period in which they could have been immured, thus providing a date for the construction of the narthex, as well. However, their most important contribution, as it has hopefully been possible to demonstrate, lies in the fact that they constitute a rare case in which clay objects were selected and used in a façade with a purpose that transcended decoration or even plain symbolism, extending to the conveying of specific meanings — mostly religious, but also secular — in order to allude to issues of concern to members of 15th-c. Cretan society.

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Byzantine and Turkish Glazed Pottery Finds from Aphrodisias

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Ключевые слова: запад Малой Азии, средние века, Византия, сельджуки, бейлики, Османы, белоглиняная керамика, керамика с орнаментом сграфитто, монохромные сосуды, изделия с росписью ангобом, тип Милет, селадон, производство поливной керамики

M. Öztaşkın

Byzantine and Turkish Glazed Pottery Finds from Aphrodisias

This study consists of initial observations made upon Byzantine, Seljuk, Begliks and Ottoman pottery finds from the Aphrodisias excavations since 2013. Chronology of the pottery finds uncovered in the North Avenue, South Agora, Hadrianic Baths, Theatre and Temple of Aphrodite will be presented briefly. To resolve the contexts in which the potteries belong to, the emphasis is on the history of the city and political events that could have potentially caused considerable changes to the economy. By establishing analogies and considering the chronology of the city, an attempt is made herein to put the pottery finds into their possible contexts.

Through the end of the 9th century in Aphrodisias, a sudden rise in the quantity of Byzantine potteries is observed. The city was in commercially connected to Constantinople and centers such as the Adriatic Coasts or Corinth. Pieces of Fine Sgrafitto Ware, Green and Brown Painted Ware and Slip Painted Ware produced from the middle of the 12th century and the beginning of the 13th century have been found in many areas of the city. Very few pottery finds belonging to the Seljuk period have been uncovered. In Aphrodisias, glazed pottery production probably started during the Byzantine or Begliks period.

There was a period of growth in Aphrodisias from the first quarter of 15th century to the mid 16th century. In excavated areas, a large number of pottery finds have been found. With the change of commercial routes in the 17th century, the city was increasingly reduced into a rural settlement and has subsisted to the present day.

М. Озташкын

Находки византийской и турецкой поливной керамики из Афродисиады

В данной статье впервые вводятся в научный оборот результаты исследований византийской, сельджукской, бейликской и османской керамики, обнаруженной в ходе раскопок в Афродисиаде в 2013 г. Вкратце представлена хронология сосудов, найденных на Северной улице, на Южной агоре, Адриановых банях, театре и храме Афродиты. В целях решения вопроса о контекстах, к которым принадлежат изучаемые сосуды, делается акцент на историю города и политические события, которые могли стать причиной значительных изменений в экономике. С помощью поиска аналогий и изучения хронологии города делается попытка отнести найденные сосуды к их вероятным контекстам.

К концу IX века в Афродисиаде наблюдается резкое увеличение количества византийских сосудов. Город был связан торговыми отношениями с Константинополем, центрами Адриатического побережья и Коринфом. Фрагменты изящных сосудов, расписанных в технике сграфитто, зеленых и коричневых расписных сосудов и шликерных расписных сосудов, произведенных в середине XII в. — начале XIII в., были найдены во многих частях города. Обнаружены скудные образцы керамики, датируемой сельджукским периодом. В Афродисиаде производство поливной керамики, вероятно, началось в византийский или бейликский период.

В первой четверти XV — середине XVI вв. в Афродисиаде наблюдается период роста. На раскопанных участках было найдено множество фрагментов керамики. После смены торговых путей в XVII в. город постепенно превратился в сельское поселение и в таком виде сохранился до сегодняшнего дня.

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Introduction

This study is based on research conducted on Medieval and Turkish pottery from the Aphrodisias excavations since 2013. During these years, a large quantity of glazed and unglazed pottery has been found in excavations of the South Agora and the North Avenue. Apart from the recent excavations, numerous pottery finds in the excavation storehouse discovered in the Hadrianic Baths, Theatre, Temple of Aphrodite, South Agora and North Avenue began to be classified. Since there is a great deal of pottery to be analyzed, the classification process has not yet been completed. However, the data obtained has already shed light on different periods of the city.

The aim of this study is to introduce the evaluation conducted on the chronology of glazed pottery finds from Medieval and Turkish periods.

Limited number of researches has been published about the Medieval and Ottoman pottery discovered in the city. The first study is the PhD dissertation conducted by T.A. Tömöry about glazed pottery finds (Tömöry 1980). Afterwards, there is a detailed research publication available, conducted by V. François, regarding Ottoman pottery (François 2001). Nevertheless, many of the pottery finds introduced in both studies are today in museum storage and it has not been possible to analyze these finds. Still, it is possible to observe the same repertoire in the continuing excavations.

Medieval and Later History of Aphrodisias

Together with the Christianization in Aphrodisias, significant changes began to be seen in social and urban structure. First the temple, among the prominent constructions of the city, was transformed into a church. The name Aphrodite and its depictions were elaborately deleted from the inscriptions. The name of city was changed to Stauropolis, and for the first time in 680, it was recorded in the Constantinople Council (Roueché 2007: 187—189). On the other hand, urban life in Aphrodisias degraded due to an earthquake and other disasters which occurred during the 6th and 7th centuries. According to archaeological data, after all these disasters, the population of the city suddenly declined in the 7th century. Even then, in some historical records during the 8th—12th centuries, the name of the region Caria was used for identifying Aphrodisias. Names of many bishops served during the period between 325 and 1450 have been identified from the council records, inscriptions and seals (Roueché 1989: 322—326). Identifying several bishops who served during the 7th and 8th centuries and presence of unglazed potteries belong to the 8—9th centuries in the excavation of the North Avenue give rise to the theory that the population decreased over these centuries that the city was not entirely abandoned.

As a result of the Byzantine emperors' effort to reestablish cities in Asia Minor, the population in western provincial cities began to increase from the end of the 9th century. The Archbishop of Stauropolis once had twenty-six suffragans during the reign of Leo VI. Certainly, the church hierarchy is not definitive evidence of population, but it depends on the location of the city and of church tradition (Vryonis 1971: 304—305). Although data from throughout the city has not been collected yet, pottery finds belonging to the 9th century show an intensive increase from excavations conducted in the Hadrianic Baths, North Avenue and South Agora. These discoveries revealed that the population in Aphrodisias began to increase as in other western Asia Minor settlements at the end of the 9th century. In parallel with pottery finds, the Cathedral was renovated during the end of 10th—11th century (Cormack 1990a) and the Triconch Church was built in the 11th century (Cormack 1990b; Smith and Ratté 1995: 48—51). Beside reconstruction activities in the city, Byzantine churches were identified during surveys conducted in periphery (Dalgıç 2012).

The Battle of Manzikert in 1071 led to a sudden influx of Turkmen towards Asia Minor. After the war, the Seljuks reached the borders of Bithynia. In the meantime, it is known that they had seized control of the Meander Valley. However, the Byzantine military power showed itself again in Asia Minor in a short period of time. Reconstruction of the defense system and resettlement activities in Asia Minor had an extensive success during the reign of Alexios I. After these struggles, the Byzantine Empire regained the lands closer to Konya. As a datum in the mid 12th century, the column of the Second Crusade in 1148, Louis VII followed the Meander Valley and was able to proceed without any resistance from the Seljuks as far as Laodiceia (Runciman 1951: 272).

With the Battle of Myriokephalon, the Seljuks took the control of the whole Meander Valley. According to Khoniates, during 1177—1178, an army was sent by the Seljuk Sultan swept through the cities of the Meander Valley in sudden raids and destroyed them (Nik. Khon. 133—134). The name Aphrodisias was not mentioned in records of this war. Even if an attack did not occur in the city, the destruction caused by the Seljuk army

passing along the north of the city was likely an event that led people to flee to safe areas.

It is known that, in 1188, Theodore Mangaphas arrived and impaired the city and most likely burned down the Cathedral (Roueché 1989: 155). He was a nobleman and a local ruler in Philadelphia. He was involved in many pro-independence activities with the support of Seljuks and Armenian communities in western Asia Minor. Seal records made shortly before his attack suddenly ended in Aphrodisias (Nesbitt 1983: 160). It is possible that such an attack to the city after the unfortunate events of war might have severely affected the population and political domination of Byzantine Empire on city.

In 1197, Seljuks attacked Aphrodisias a second time. This event can be considered as the start of the Seljuks' political rule over the city. According to Khoniates, Seljuk Sultan Kaykhusraw took around 5.000 Christians from Caria and Tantalus, and resettled them around Philomelium. With the great attention of the Sultan, none of them managed to escape along the way. He bestowed upon Christians a five-year tax exemption and then maintained the customary amount of tax as they had paid previously in the Byzantine territory (Vryonis 1971: 184). Relocation activity by the Seljuks only kept the Byzantine people of Aphrodisias away from the war. As the city continued to be a battle field between Byzantines and Seljuks until the third quarter of the 13th century. During these battles, cities of the Meander Valley were destroyed repeatedly (Vryonis 1971: 251).

During the era of the Empire of Nicaea ruling north-western Asia Minor, relations between emperors and inhabitants were unstable. In 1206, Theodore Laskaris I struggled with Manuel Maurozomes for domination over the Meander Valley. Maurozomes was a local administrator connected to the Seljuks in the Meander region. Although Theodoros I won the war, he was forced to leave his lands to protect Nicaea. In this process, there is no record about the status of the Byzantine population. However, Byzantine pottery dating back to the beginning of the 13th century has been found in the Theatre, South Agora, North Avenue and Hadrianic Baths. Therefore, even if the political authority of the Byzantine Empire was not observed in the city since the last quarter of the 12th century, it is possible to mention that there was an existing Christian community connected to Maurozomes. After the death of Manuel Maurozomes in 1230, the Seljuks took over control of all his lands.

Michael VIII sent his brother, Ioannes Palaeologos, during 1269—1274 and launched an expedition to save the monasteries located in Latmos. After this failed attempt, in 1278, when his son Andronicos made a second attempt, Aphrodisias (Caria) was already got out of the Byzantine control (Wittek 1944: 25). Pachymeres, while conveying his eyewitness observations about the events in the reign of Michael VIII and Andronicos II, specified that "…the Maeander regions became desolate as the inhabitants withdrew deeper because of the attacks of the foreigners" (Vryonis 1971: 253, Pachymeris I: 310—311).

The Mongols, during 1277—1279, extended their dominance in Asia Minor as far as Laodicea. As a result of this event, the Begliks in Anatolia expanded their conquest towards the western Asia Minor. Between 1280—1282, Menteshe Bey brought Meander lands under his control (Akın 1968: 17). These conquests can be considered the beginning of the era of the Begliks in Aphrodisias. Despite this, any large-scale reconstruction activities have not been discovered in Aphrodisias during the Beglik of Menteshe period. By reason of the expansionist activities of the Beglik of Aydinids, the Beglik of Menteshe lost control of Aphrodisias and surrounding settlements in a short period of time. In addition, the first major architectural works of the Beglik of Menteshe were built in Muğla in the mid-14th century.

From the beginning of the 14th century, Sasa Bey and Mehmed Bey acting together on commercial activities, made conquests especially in Aydın and its surrounding area during 1305—1307. In 1308, the Beglik of Aydinids was officially established after putting Sasa Bey out of action (Akın 1968: 29). There is not much data available regarding the circumstances of the city during the period of the Beglik of Aydinids. In the church hierarchy, there was a huge decline in the status of the city. In 1356, Aphrodisias lost its metropolitan status, and it was temporarily administrated by metropolitan of Bizye from a year later until 1368. In records from 1369, the city was taken into account with Miletus and Antioch ad Maeandrum. Later on, the city was associated with Rhodes-Cos and the Cyclades in 1387 (Vryonis 1971: 296, 314—315).

Beyazid II expropriated all the lands of the Begliks in Western Anatolia in 1390. In a single campaign, he managed to overcome all small allies such as the Begliks of Karamanids, Sarukhanids, Aydinids and Menteshe (Shaw 1976: 30). After the Battle of Ankara in 1402, Timur conquered İzmir and gave back all previously held lands to Aydinids.

During the reign of Mehmet I, Ottoman rule began to spread again. Mehmet I by launching a final expedition conquered the whole of western Anatolia including the lands of the Begliks

of Aydinids (1415) and Menteshe (1416), and then Teke and Antalya were to be included under Ottoman rule (Shaw 1976: 44). During this period, the name of Aphrodiasias was changed to Yenişehir. During 1425—1426, Murat II organized an expedition towards Turkish Begliks for ending the prince riots and developing naval activities (Shaw 1976: 45—47). Theodoros, the last bishop of Aphrodisias before the conquest of Constantinople, joined the Synod of Rome in 1450. Since the region was under Turkish control for a long time, it must be considered that this was a symbolic bishopric seat. During the Ottoman period from first quarter of 15th century to mid 16th century, it was a time of growth and economic recovery in Aphrodisias. This consideration can be based on the sudden increase in finds from in all excavation areas. Moreover, there is local production, as well as of importation of many high quality tableware utensils.

In the middle of 16th century, first signs of stagnation period in the Ottoman Empire were occurred in the city. The weakening of the central administration and changing of international commercial routes have led to major changes in the economy. As of the 17th century, the prominence of İzmir as a commercial center resulted in the loss of importance of the roads passing through the Meander Valley. Pottery finds denote this situation very clearly. Imported goods were suddenly interrupted, and local production is only consisted of coarse wares. From this period on, the population constantly decreased. According to the census of 1831, the city had a population consisting of a total of 6.999 people including 6.912 Muslims and 87 non-Muslims. In the census of 1845, this number was recorded as a total of 7.845 people including 7.759 Muslims and 86 non-Muslims (Telci 2006: 169). In 1867, the settlement was a subdistrict committed to Nazilli and named Karacasu. It became a district center committed to Sanjak of Aydin in 1897.

1. Pottery Finds

During the excavations in Aphrodisias begun in 1961, large quantities of pottery have been found as evidence of ongoing life in the city from the Byzantine period to the present date. In studies about pottery finds belonging to the Medieval and Turkish periods conducted since 2013, excavation finds from the South Agora and North Avenue have been defined simultaneously and classification of potteries uncovered from earlier excavations has commenced. In storehouse studies, potteries uncovered from the Hadrianic Baths, Theatre and Temple of Aphrodite were analyzed. Since there is a great deal of pottery to be analyzed, the classification process has not yet been completed. Nevertheless, the data obtained has provided exciting information about the Medieval Age and afterwards in Aphrodisias.

1.1. Byzantine Period

During this period, in addition to local unglazed pottery production, there are many glazed pottery imports found in Aphrodisias. The most common instances of this group are chafing dishes (saltsarion or gararion) imported from Corinth or Adriatic coasts. These dishes were used for serving meat dishes to the table and have been found in many centers from the Mediterranean and the Black Sea where Byzantine culture and eating habits are observed (Arthur 2007: 15). The shiny brown or light green glaze is applied directly to the coarse red fabric. Due to circumstances of use, some fragments turned to gray color. Some fragments contain quartz inclusions. Undecorated brown or light green glazed rim and base fragments belonging to this group have been found in excavations in the North Avenue and Hadrianic Baths (Pl. 1: 1—2). According to contexts in the North Avenue, plain glazed chafing dishes have been dated to the 10—11th centuries. Similar vessels have been found in Hierapolis and Amorion (Arthur 1997: fig. 5: 2; Böhlendorf Arslan 2004: Pl. 104: 402). Some pieces have relief ornamentation consisting of wavy lines and petals (Pl. 1: 3—6). There is one piece of a lid with spherical body and petal decorations on its outer surface (Pl. 1: 4). In the Corinth excavations, there is a similar piece belonging to the 9th century (Morgan 1942: 40). Another piece has a row of relief petals on its rim and round shaped pressed decoration on the body (Pl. 1: 6). The fabric of this clay is micaceous and with this feature it is separated from other chafing dishes. A piece uncovered in the Hadrianic Baths is quite shiny and high-quality glazed (Pl. 1: 7). It has floral decoration that is incised over wet clay. It was found together with pottery from various periods in cleaning works conducted during the 1960s, so it is hard to date this piece definitively. Based on Corinthian data, it can be submitted that this piece is among late samples in 11th century (Sanders 2003: 41—43). During excavations, unglazed dishes and cooking pots for daily usage have been found together with chafing dishes. Among these finds, unglazed chafing dish pieces are also available (Pl. 1: 8). Pottery production in the city began prior to the Byzantine period. Around Aphrodisias, there are many clay deposits containing mica that generally acquire red and brown colors when fired. During the

Byzantine period, unglazed wares were produced for local demand.

In Aphrodisias, a small number of imported white wares have been found. During excavation works in the North Avenue, one piece of Polychrome Ware rim was uncovered within the context of the 10th and 11th centuries. The clay is greyish-white, and has a sandy texture with black particles (Pl. 1: 9). The interior surface has a continuous, thick, opaque, black and white design. The exterior has a fine green glaze. In Corinth, it was defined as Polychrome Ware III by Morgan (Morgan 1942: pl. XVII: e-g), in current studies by Sanders as Polychrome Ware 3a and dated to the 11th century (Sanders 2001: pl. 10: 3).

Other pieces showing the commercial relations in Aphrodisias during the 10th and 11th centuries are white wares from Constantinople. J.W. Hayes named samples uncovered from the Saraçhane excavations as Constantinopolitan White Ware, and divided them into five groups according to fabric and glaze characteristics. A piece found in the Hadrianic Baths belongs to the group of Constantinople Glazed White Ware II (Pl. 1: 10). It contains very small black particles. The piece is shiny, transparent, light green glazed and has a wavy line on brown colored rim. Similar pieces have been found in Corinth (Sanders 2003: fig. 11: 2), Saraçhane (Hayes 1992: fig. 7: 8), Ephesus (Vroom, Fındık 2015: pl. 1: 1—6), and Magnesia ad Meandrum (Böhlendorf Arslan 2004: pl. 588—590). Another piece has been found of Constantinopolitan origin belonging to the Glazed White Ware III group (Pl. 1: 11). The fabric has a sandy texture with red particles. Light green glaze covers the entire surface. But unlike the familiar features of this group, this piece contains a small amount of mica. In Stratoniceia (in Caria), there are also fragments with similar fabric (Öztaşkın 2013: pl. 8: 74—75). This situation reveals the fact these wares, suggested by Hayes as belonging to a workshop close to Constantinople, probably have more than one production center. Since it was uncovered during the cleaning work in the Portico of Tiberius, conducted in 1985, its context is not clear. Among the Saraçhane finds, the production started in the mid-11th century and continued during the 12th century (Hayes 1992: fig. 11: 1—7). Similar pieces were uncovered in Anaia and date to the mid-12th century and the beginning of the 13th century (Mercangöz and Doğer 2009: fig. II: g).

Middle Byzantine Pottery is an indicator of the fact that Aphrodisias had relations with the Byzantine commercial network of the Aegean. Production of Fine Sgrafitto Ware began in the mid 12th century and continued until the beginning of the 13th century. It has a wide distribution area from Italy to the Eastern Mediterranean. In Aphrodisias, many finds were uncovered in excavations from the Theatre, North Avenue and South Agora. Fine Sgrafitto finds in Aphrodisias were divided into five groups according to their fabric and decoration style. In the first group, there are medallions and scrollwork filled with spiral patterns on the inner surface (Pl. 2: 1, 2). Green flecks do not follow the delicate sgrafitto lines. In both pieces, red or reddish-brown fabric contains very few mica and small lime inclusions. It is considered that these pieces of this group were the first examples of production. These are pieces discovered in the Theatre and belong to the second half of the 12th century when the city was politically under the control of the Byzantine Empire. Similar fragments were found in Olympos (Kemalpaşa) (Doğer 2015: pl. VIII: 37—40), Anaia (Doğer 2005: fig. 4), Constantinople (Böhlendorf 2004: pl. 56: 66), Corinth (Morgan 1942: fig. 115), Thessalonika (Bakırtzis and Papanikola–Bakırtzis 1981: fig. 6), Athens (Frantz 1938: fig. 5: A26), Pelagonnisos (Ioannidaki 1989: fig. 2; 3) and Paphos (Wartburg 2003: fig. 6). In the second group, the fabric is in red, reddish-brown or brown color and contains a small amount of mica and lime (Pl. 2: 3—7). In the decoration repertory, there are spirals, curved and diagonal lines. İzmir Archeological Museum (Doğer 2001: fig. 15), Stratoniceia (in Caria) (Öztaşkın 2013, pl. 11: 116), Myra (Ötüken 1999—2000: fig. 14), Corinth (Morgan 1942: fig. 96), Athens (Frantz 1938: fig. 7.A41), Paphos (Wartburg 2003: fig. 11.14.3). In the third group, only small quartz and lime inclusions can be seen in red fabric (Pl. 2: 8—10). The exterior surface is rough and porous. This group is certainly imported from the Aegean region according to the fabric and style of the fragments. There are floral motifs and possibly figures such as bird or fish. Fragments in this style were found in Pelagonnisos (Ioannidaki 1989: fig. 28; 29) and Athens (Frantz 1938: fig. 13.A71). In the fourth group, the fabric is fine, and has red color with quartz and lime inclusions. There is a central medallion on the interior bottom and concentric bands incised with two different widths of tools (Pl. 2: 11, 12). The decorative style of fragments is similar to the characteristics of Incised Sgrafitto Ware. However, the fragments are very small and it is not clear how the decoration ends. Similar finds were discovered in Stratoniceia (in Caria) (Öztaşkın 2013: pl. 9: 94), Anaia (Mercangöz and Doğer 2009: pl. III: h), Pergamon (Böhlendorf 2004: pl. 96: 331), Phokis (Armstrong 1989: fig. 9: 3) and Athens (Frantz 1938: fig. 7: A54). In the final group, the pieces contain dense mica and small lime inclusions; the

fabric is porous and the color ranges from red to pale brown (Pl. 2: 13—16). There are ornamental bands consisting of spirals and diagonal lines on the rim. It is probable that the fragments belong to an Anatolian workshop influenced by the Fine Sgrafitto pottery style.

Thin-walled Zeuxippus Wares with bright high-quality glaze have been recognized after studies conducted by D. Talbot Rice in Istanbul (Rice 1928: 34). A.H.S. Megaw evaluated this pottery as high quality, delicate service vessels of the Late Byzantine Period and used the term 'Zeuxippus Ware' (Megaw 1968). Samples that are similar to Zeuxippus Wares but have differences in glaze and decoration have been defined as the Zeuxippus Family. This naming has been adopted by specialists and it is apparent that production of this ware started in the mid-12th century and continued during the 13th century. It has been discovered that there were a large number of production centers (Waksman, François: 2004—2005). In Aphrodisias, fragments have been found from the Theatre and South Agora (Pl. 3: 1—5). The fabric is micaceous, in reddish-brown color, with white or cream slip. Small lime inclusions can be distinguished in clay. On the interior surface, an inhomogeneous orange-brown glaze can be seen with incised concentric circles and triangle patterns in broad bands. Tripod marks can be visibly seen on the interior bottom of fragments. The style of the pieces found in Aphrodisias is close to that of Bergama production (Böhlendorf Arslan 2004: 205, pl. 185: 4—11). However, it is difficult to make any conclusive without archeometrical analysis.

In Aphrodisias, an infrequent group of Byzantine sgrafitto ware has been documented in the Theatre (Pl. 3: 6). Similar fragments were discovered in Corinth and named as 'Sgrafitto with Relief Decoration' (Morgan 1942: 145—146). These pieces were dated to the first quarter of the 12th century according to their style that is defined as the production of an unknown workshop by Morgan. Fragments found in Aphrodisias have reddish-brown fabric with mica and lime particles. Animal reliefs may be identifying a lioness or panther. Figures were applied by pressing from the exterior surface while the clay was still wet. There are unfilled incurvations on the exterior surface because of the technique. The entire surfaces of the pieces were covered with white slip. On the inner surface, there are fine sgrafitto lines as are applied on slip in a way to surround relief figures with broad medallions. The interior surfaces have irregular light green glaze. The exterior surfaces of some fragments are covered with green glaze. Fragments uncovered in Aphrodisias have been dated to the 12th century.

Green and Brown Painted Wares were firstly described by F.A. Waage among pottery finds from Athens (Waage 1933: 323—324). C. Morgan, in his study examining the Corinth finds, specified that the main characteristics of the group consist of paint decoration in green and yellow-brown, sometimes in dark brown or black color under transparent glaze (Morgan 1942: 70—83). He also specified that Corinth is a major production center and he divided the red fabric samples of Green and Brown Painted Wares into five groups according to their characteristics. In Aphrodisias, pieces belonging to Group II and III have been uncovered. In Group II, frequent curved motifs were used (Pl. 3: 7—8). The red fabric has big quartz and small lime inclusions. The entire interior surface is covered with white slip, and has light green glaze with green and brown paint. In Group III, concentric circle motifs created by the application of green color within brown frames were used. Fragments belonging to Group III have brown or reddish-brown color with quartz and lime inclusions (Pl. 3: 9, 10). Some of the pieces are micaceous. All samples of this ware have been dated to the middle of 12th century and the beginning of the 13th century. Similar finds have been uncovered in Ayasuluk (Parman 1989: fig. 5a), Ephesus (Vroom, Fındık 2015: pl. 28: 17, 24, 28), Olympos (Kemalpaşa) (Doğer 2015: pl. VIII: 37—40), Corinth (Morgan 1942: pl. XX: d; XXI: c; XXIII: b,), Boeotia (Vroom 2003: fig. 6.19: W10.2, 10.3; 6.20: W10.7), Sagalassos (Vionis 2010: fig. 21: d) and Kouklia (Waksman-Wartburg 2006: fig. 2: 4—6).

In addition to well-known Middle Byzantine pottery, some pieces of different styles were found during the recent excavations in Aphrodisias. Manganese Stained Sgrafitto Ware has light brown and reddish-brown fabric with mica and lime particles (Pl. 3: 11). In some fragments, large quartz inclusions are observed. The interior surface has white slip and manganese paint under fine light yellow or light green glaze. All fragments have decoration comprised of wavy lines and triangular motifs on the inner surface. This ware has been dated to the mid-12th century and the beginning of the 13th century in Aphrodisias. Similar finds were discovered in Daskyleion (Doğer 2012: pl. 50: 237) and Stratoniceia (in Caria) (Öztaşkın 2013: pl. 20: 233, 234).

Brown Stained Ware has pinkish-red fabric with mica and lime particles (Pl. 3: 12). White slip and brown paint are observed in the form of broad spirals under the light yellow glaze. The fabric of the fragments is similar to Fine Sgrafitto Ware. This pottery has been identified by Doğer among finds from Anaia in the 12th century (Doğer 2005: 108, fig. 1) and pieces were also

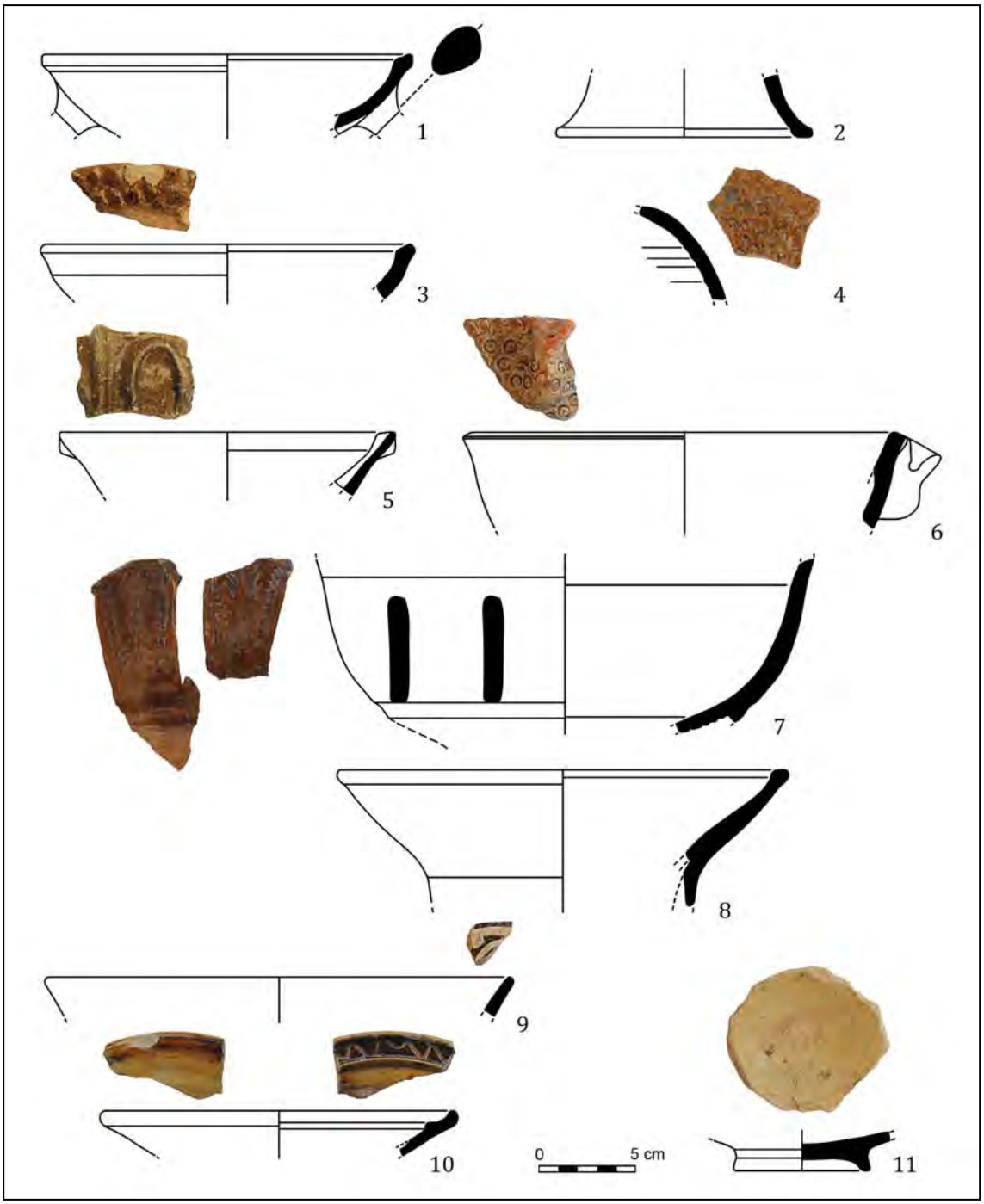

Plate 1.

Таблица 1.

found in Stratoniceia (in Caria) (Öztaşkın 2013: pl. 21: 237).

Green Painted Ware is micaceous, and has hard fabric in red or brown color. The whole of the interior surface is coated with white slip and light yellow glaze (Pl. 4: 1—5). As for decoration, there are green spiral motifs applied with a brush. Since the pottery in this group can be obtained from the Theatre excavations intensively, they are dated to the middle of the 12th century and the beginning of the 13th century. Similar finds have been uncovered in Corinth (Morgan 1942: fig. 183) and Stratoniceia (in Caria) (Öztaşkın 2013: pl. 21: 243).

Slip Painted Ware demonstrates two different origins in terms of fabric. In samples belonging to the first group, the fabric shows similarities with Fine Sgrafitto Ware Group 3 and the exterior surface of dishes is quite rough and covered with white slip (Pl. 4: 6). Many samples of

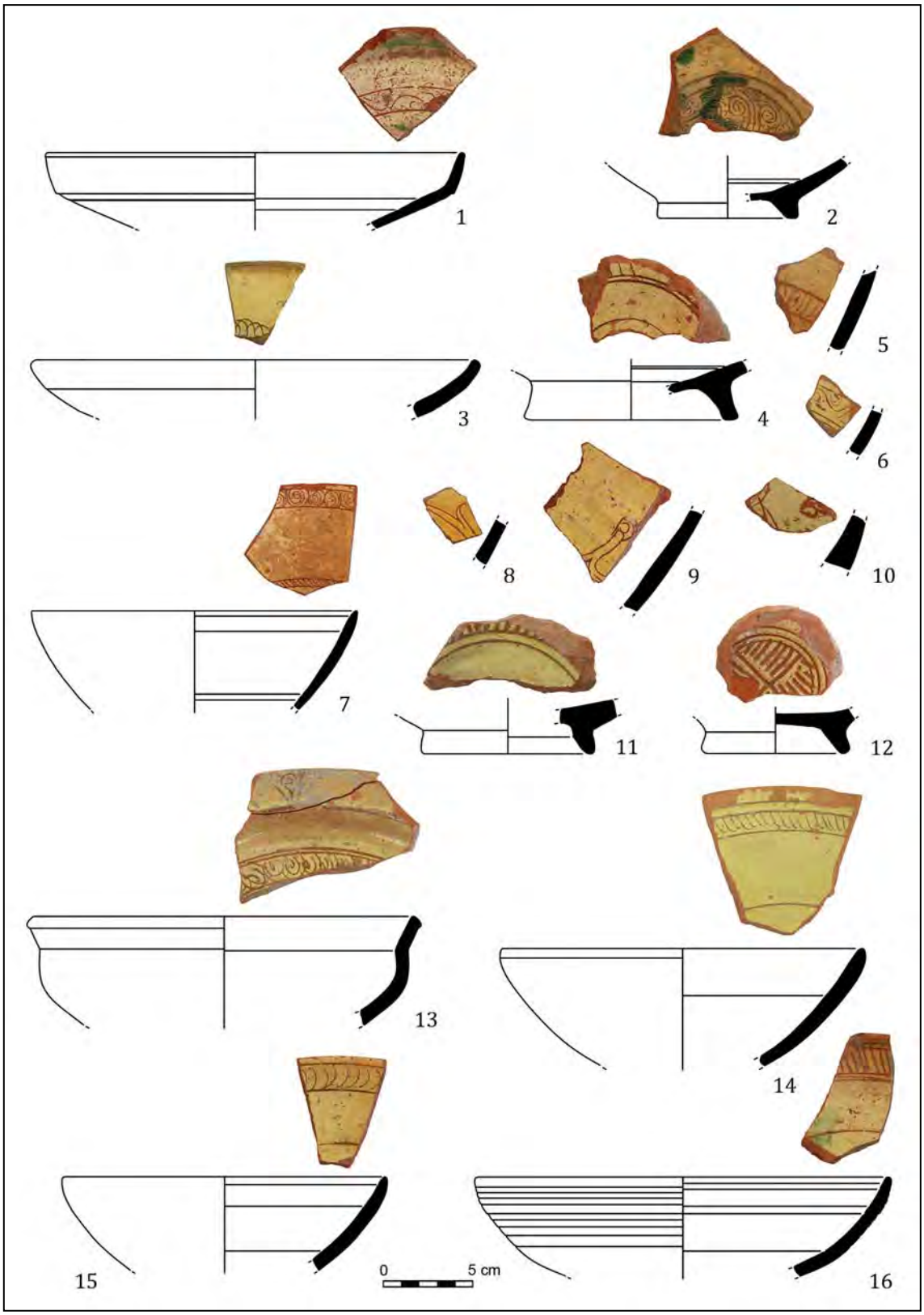

Plate 2.

Таблица 2.

this type have been uncovered in a wide geography ranging from the Eastern Mediterranean to the Black Sea. In addition to the Corinth productions, Slip Painted Ware was also produced in the same centers with Fine Sgrafitto and Incised Sgrafitto Ware (Waksman, Wartburg 2006). In

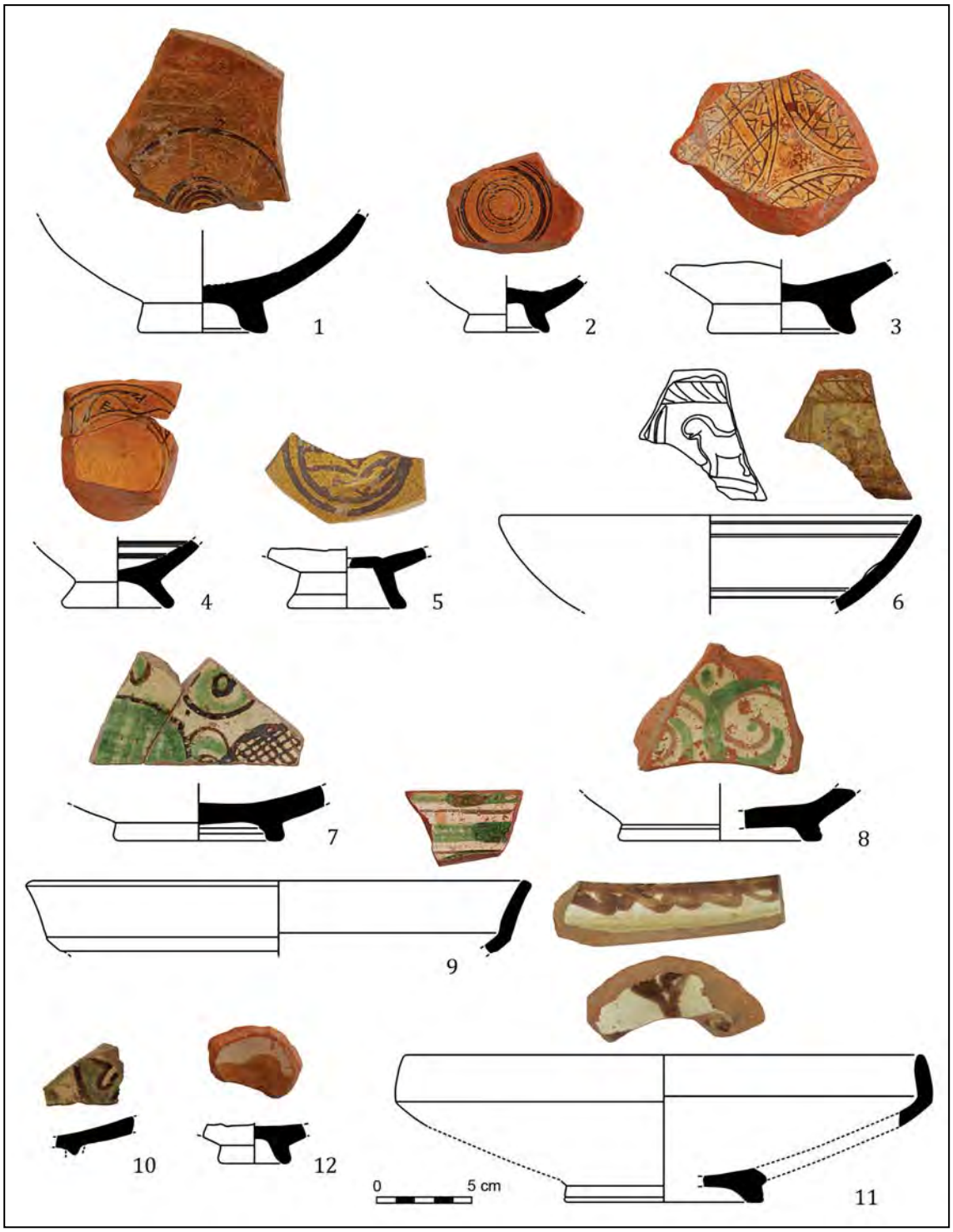

Plate 3.

Таблица 3.

the interior decoration, white slip has been used in creation of decoration. The light green glaze covers the whole interior surface and on some fragments green paint was applied on the rim. This group has been dated to the end of the 12th century and the beginning of the 13th century. Fragments belong to this ware were discovered in Anaia (Mercangöz, Doğer 2009: pl. II: f), İzmir Archeological Museum (Doğer 1998: fig. 2; 7; 8), Stratoniceia (in Caria) (Öztaşkın 2013: pl. 22: 247), Athens (Waage 1933: fig. 18) and Boeotia (Vroom 2003: fig. 6: 41.W9.13). The second group of Slip Painted Ware is probably included in the group from the western Anatolia. The fab-

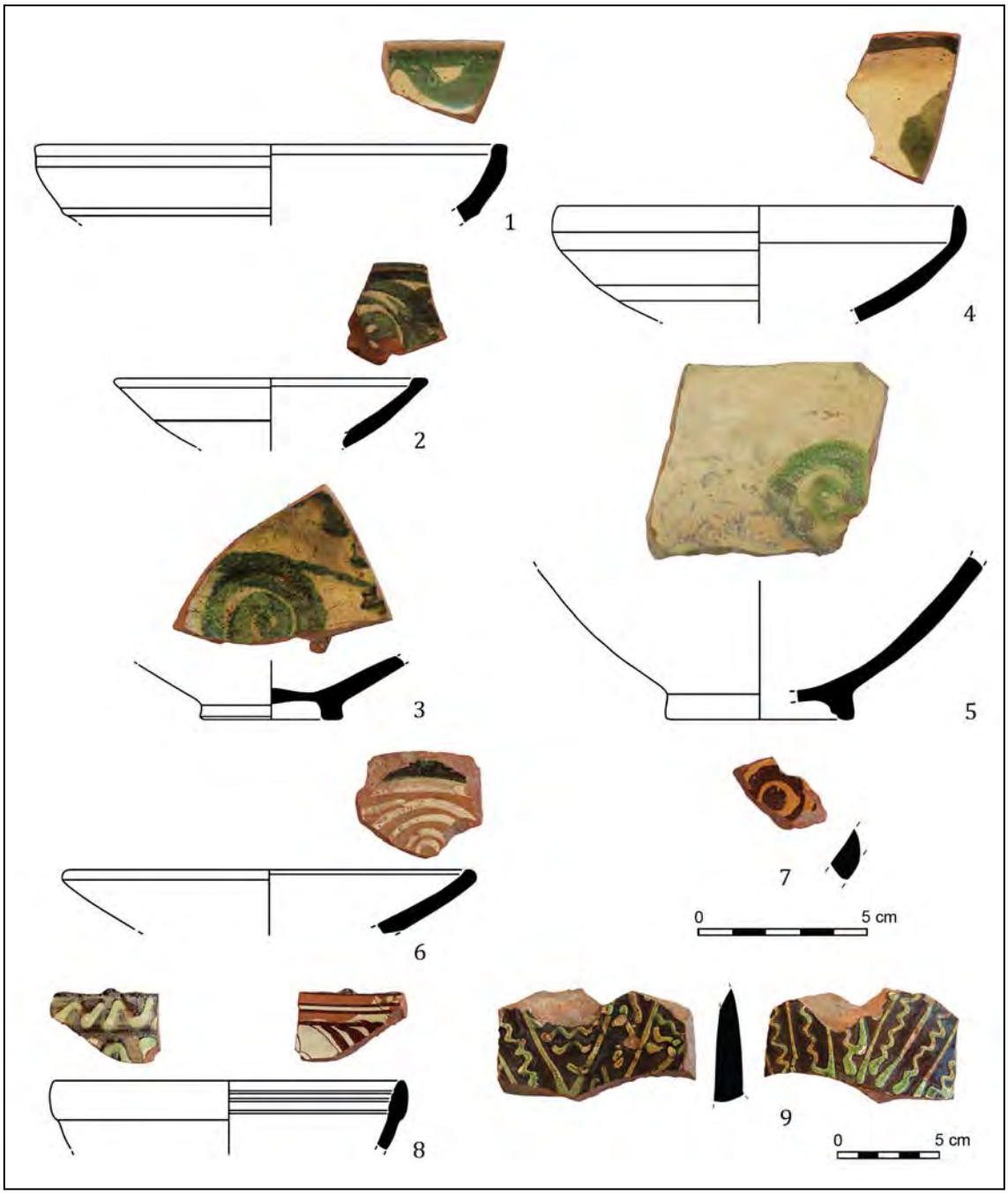

Plate 4.

Таблица 4.

ric contains dense mica and in reddish-brown color (Pl. 4: 7). The white or cream slip designs are covered with transparent, shiny, orange-yellow glaze. Probably the whole interior surface was decorated with concentric circles. These fragments have been dated to the end of the 12th century and the beginning of the 13th century. Similar samples have been found in Pergamon (Spieser 1996: 47, pl. 50: 469—473), Alabanda (Doğer 2010: fig. 14), Ayasuluk (Parman 1989: fig. 14) and Hierapolis (Yılmaz 1994: fig. 22).

1.2. Seljuks Period

In Aphrodisias, two pottery pieces belonging to the Seljuks have been found in the South Agora and Temple of Aphrodite. On the inner surface of the piece uncovered in the South Agora, the head of a possible figure can be seen (Pl. 4: 8). Sgrafitto was applied with two different widths of tools. The fabric is pinkish-brown. Light yellow glaze was used in the inner surface. Slip decoration was applied on the exterior sur-

face of the piece in a thick layer and it was glazed in light yellow color. The other piece is in slip technique (Pl. 4: 9). Slip is used as a thick layer. There are vertical and horizontal wavy lines on the inner surface, and vertical lines on the exterior. The entire surface is covered with green glaze. Due to irregular firing, red fabric turned to gray color. Both pieces reflect characteristics of Seljuks pottery clearly. These pieces are dated to the end of the 12th century and the third quarter of the 13th century when Seljuk sovereignty was observed in the political history of Aphrodisias. Similar finds have been identified in Çinili Köşk Museum in Istanbul (Soyhan 1985: 11) and the Yozgat Museum (Acun 1995).

1.3. Begliks Period

In Aphrodisias, it is not possible to make certain distinction regarding periods when the Begliks of Menteshe and Aydinids reigned. Begliks in western Anatolia were in close collaboration in terms of commerce. It is known that they used to commercial commodities obtained from Anatolia in their own markets and in long distances by means of the Latins. Therefore, it will not be correct to make distinction between excavated potteries that belong to this short period in the city. That's why all potteries have been assessed according to their styling and technical characteristics. All fragments of these tablewares were found from the excavations in the Theatre, Hadrianic Baths, Temple of Aphrodite, South Agora and North Avenue. Four main groups of sgrafitto ware, plain glazed and slip painted ware have been defined for the Begliks period. Two basic shapes such as bowls with spherical body and shallow dishes with everted flattened rim are commonly observed.

The primary sgrafitto group Green Flecked Sgrafitto Ware has red and reddish-brown fabric with dense mica and lime inclusions (Pl. 5: 1—6). The fragments are covered with white slip on the interior, and on the exterior surface only around the rim or along half of the body. Similar to slip, glaze covers the whole interior surface and a small amount of the exterior. Owing to the light yellow glaze being very thin and pale, green flecks comprise a thick layer. Green paint was applied with a brush to form spiral patterns. In this group, largely stylized floral motifs and geometrical band motifs are rendered. Only small numbers of figures such as fish and bird were used. This is also the most common group of unpublished medieval material in Stratoniceia (in Caria). Some sherds are decorated with straight lines and wavy motifs incised with sharp, three pointed tool. Similar fragments belonging to the second style are also found in Magnesia (Böhlendorf Arslan 2004: pl. 141: 697), Sardis (Greenewalt 2010: fig. 14), Olympos (Kemalpaşa) (Doğer 2015: pl. VIII: 37—40), Stratoniceia (in Caria) (Öztaşkın 2013: 207), and Pergamon (Spieser 1996: pl. 14: 217—219).

The second group, Green and Brown Flecked Sgrafitto Ware, has similar fabric with green flecked fragments. The shiny glaze is in high quality and the sgrafitto decoration is expanded to cover the whole interior surface (Pl. 5: 7—9; 6: 1—3). The most common decoration in this group comprises stylized floral designs implemented radially. The green and brown colors frame sgrafitto lines for filling spaces in the pattern. Two fragments have figural depictions such as fish and human (Pl. 6: 2, 3). Only the arm of the human figure, dressed with a long-sleeve, can be distinguished. Pottery finds in both groups are dated to the end of 13th century to the middle of 14th century in analogical comparisons and in consideration the chronology of Aphrodisias.

The third group of sgrafitto wares has been identified in many Anatolian sites as Green and Purple Flecked Sgrafitto Ware. It has a very distinctive feature of micaceous red fabric with soapy touch (Pl. 6: 4—6). The most typical ornament is a big floral design filled with purple dots. Green paint usually emphasizes the petals and rim. From the point of stylistic features, the heavy impact of Islamic pottery can be observed. On some pieces there are entirely geometrical designs in which all the interior surfaces were covered with circles, radial bands, hachures and cross-hatched lines (Pl. 6: 6). Fragments belonging to the same group were found in Pergamon, Illyon, Ephesus, Ayasuluk, Miletus, Sardis, Amorium and Constantinople (Böhlendorf Arslan 2004: 149), Anaia (Mercangöz and Doğer 2009: fig. 11; 12), the Gülgün Hatun Bath (Manisa) (Gök Gürhan 2011: 127—130), Balat (Gök Gürhan 2010: 294), the Karacahisar Castle (Eskişehir) (Öztaşkın 2010), and among the unpublished material in the Kütahya Castle, Midaion, Kanlıtaş Höyük (Eskişehir) and Kilistra (Konya/Gökyurt). Green and Purple Flecked Sgrafitto Ware has a very wide distribution area from central to western Anatolia. In recent studies, Ephesus and Miletus as two main production centers were identified by archaeometrical analysis (Burlot 2015).

The last group is Monochrome Green Sgrafitto Ware. The fabric is in red or reddish-brown color, very micaceous and contains small lime inclusions (Pl. 6: 7—11). The interior surface and around the rim on the exterior surface is covered with thick white or pink slip. Green glaze is applied to the interior surface. The most

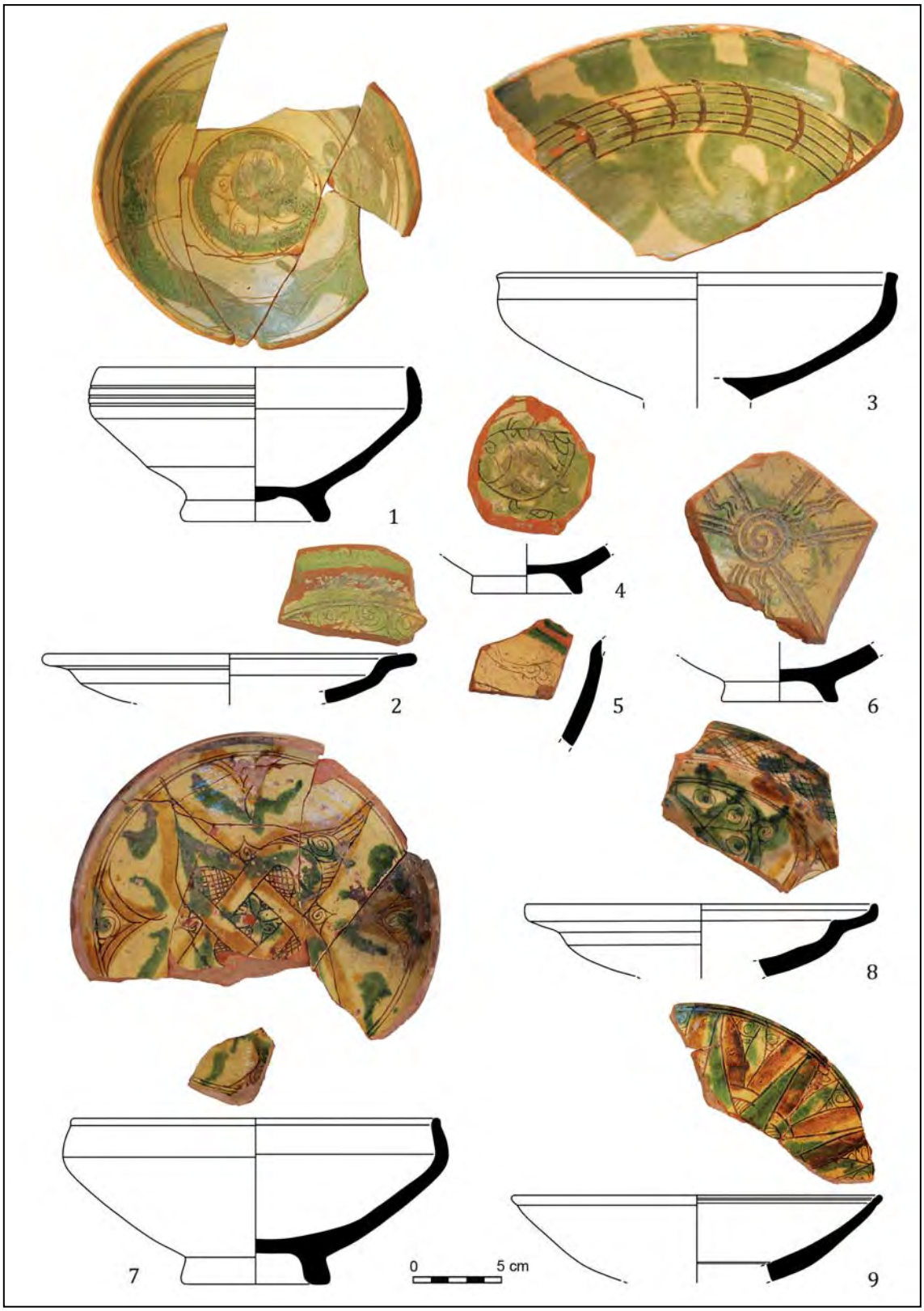

Plate 5.

Таблица 5.

common decoration is of bands with nested half circles and hachures between them (Pl. 6: 11). Some fragments are decorated with hachures and cross-hatched lines. This group belongs to the 13th century to the middle of 14th century, sharing the same period with the first two groups of

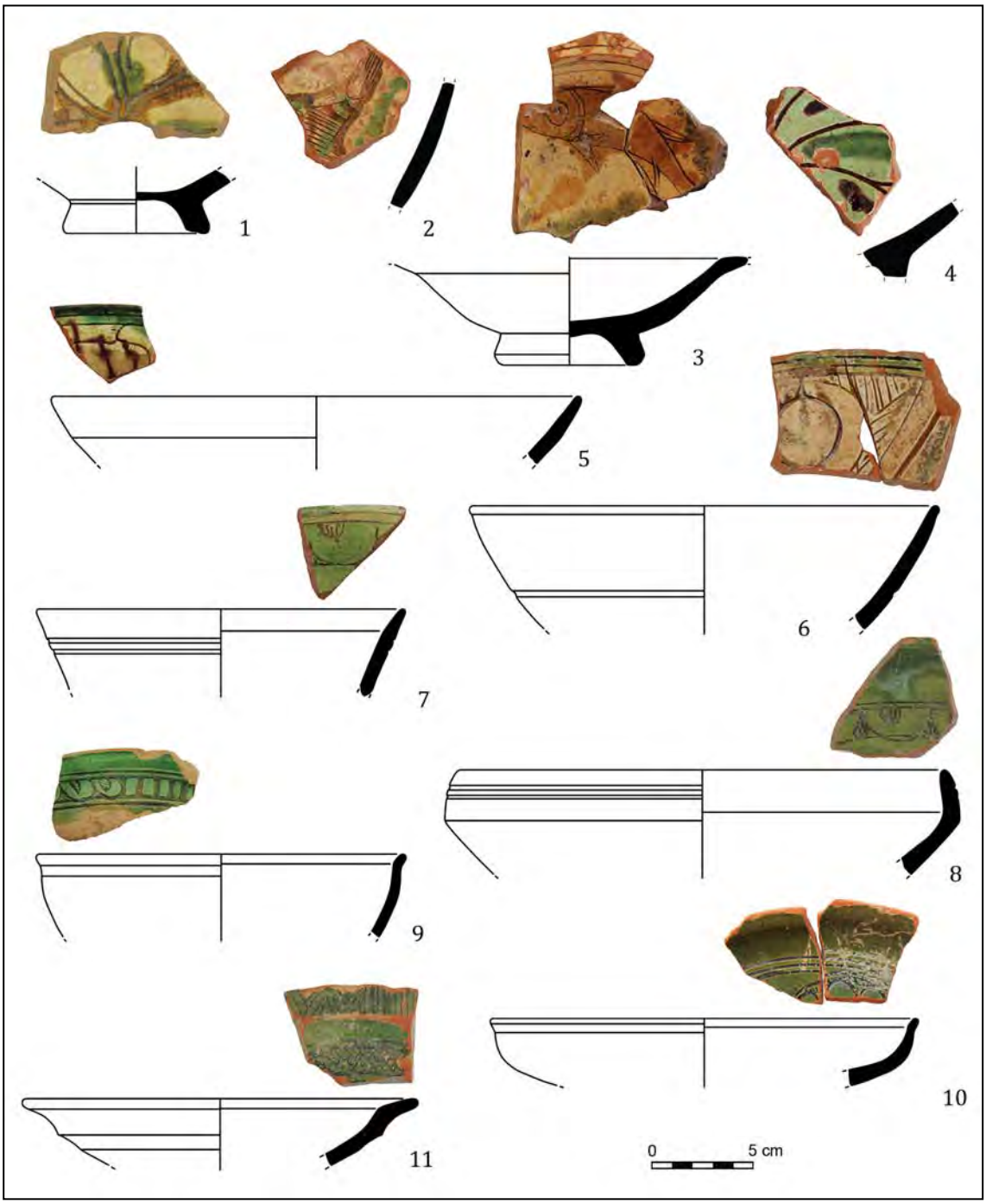

Plate 6.

Таблица 6.

polychrome sgrafitto wares. Polychrome sgrafitto wares seem more in vogue compared to monochrome sgrafitto productions.

Monochrome Green Glazed Ware is the largest group of glazed pottery of the Beglik period in Aphrodisias (Pl. 7: 1—5). The micaceous fabric has red or brown color and has lime inclusions. Interior surface and upper part of the exterior surface of vessels are covered with thick white slip. The shiny glaze is thin and in different tones from light green to dark-green color. Usually the rim of the exterior surface is also glazed. Beside bowls and dishes, jug forms were produced. There are similar finds in Miletus (Böhlendorf-Arslan 2008, fig. 12) and Ephesus (Vroom, Fındık 2015: 221). Monochrome glazed pieces usually have transparent lead glaze. Furthermore, another group has lead-alkali opaque turquoise glaze were produced in Ephesus and Miletus (Burlot 2015). In Aphrodisias, there are fragments be-

Plate 7.

Таблица 7.

long to this group found in the South Agora and dated to last quarter of 14th century-mid of 15th century (Pl. 7: 6).

In Aphrodisias, only a few fragments of Slip Painted Ware have been found belonging to the Begliks period (Pl. 7: 7). It is possible to assume that there was not a lot of demand for this ware as for sgrafitto and plain glazed productions. The micaceous fabric has a reddish-brown color and contains lime inclusions. The interior design has five white slip painted wedge-shaped panels radiating from the center. The areas between are filled with wavy lines under light green glaze. The light green glaze has turned to brown color where there is no slip.

During the South Agora and North Avenue excavations, some pieces were found as evidence of ceramic production in Aphrodisias. Tripod piece was found in the South Agora is the direct indicator of glazed pottery production (Pl. 7: 9). Its fabric is in red color, micaceous and has small lime inclusions. There are white slip remains on the piece but, unfortunately there is no glaze traces. Nevertheless, characteristics of fabric are very similar with polychrome sgrafitto and plain glazed wares belong to the Begliks period. The other piece is a mold used for production of relief ware (Pl. 7: 10). It is reddish-brown, micaceous and has small lime and big quartz particles. The decoration is consisting of relief stars and dots framed by lines joined at above with triangular ends. In Aphrodisias, small glazed and unglazed body fragments with relief were found during recent excavations. Mold piece was dis-

covered within deposit in the South Agora with many pottery fragments belong to different periods. Particularly, relief ware was very common in 14th century in Anatolia. This ware was also produced in Miletus (Böhlendorf-Arslan 2008: fig. 5) and Ephesus (Vroom 2005: 33). With regard to similarity to other productions in western Anatolia, it is considered that Relief Ware was produced in the 14th century to the beginning of 15th century in Aphrodisias. A semi-finished rim fragment belonging to Begliks period was found in the North Avenue (Pl. 7: 8). The micaceous red fabric has small lime particles. Interestingly, two slip layers were observed on the fragment. At first thin dark red slip was applied and thick smoother white slip was applied is the layer on vessel. The sgrafitto lines were formed with incising white slip. The dark red slip can be seen visibly under incised designs and on exterior surface around rim. Only a part of green fleck is applied on fragment but, there is any glaze layer covering inner surface. Since, small part of green fleck is extant; it is hard to determine the style of the fragment. However, according to the fabric and the style it is possible to indicate that the rim fragment is another evidence of local polychrome sgrafitto ware production in the Begliks period.

1.4. Ottoman Period

In Aphrodisias, Ottoman pottery seems to be able to examine by following political history due to its effect is directly observed on finds. From the first quarter of 15th century to the middle of 16th century, it was a welfare period in Aphrodisias. A sudden increase in numbers can be seen among local and imported pottery finds from the excavated areas. As the aim of this study is to approach common pottery groups chronologically, detailed form typology is not submitted. Also, a wide range of classical Ottoman pottery finds were previously presented by François. (François 2001).

In major part of Ottoman pottery finds is composed of Aphrodisias Spotted Ware. The characteristic of this group is the use of green glaze applied as symmetrical dots on the whole interior surface. This specific decoration has not been defined in other sites. That is the reason of this naming denominated by Tömöry according to style and possible origin of this ware (Tömöry 1980: 105—106). The fabric is micaceous, porous, in red or reddish-brown color and includes small lime inclusions (Pl. 8: 1—7). The white slip is thick and usually covers the entire vessel from rim to base. The transparent, light green glaze was used with brown lines and green dots. Brown color was used for emphasizing the fine sgrafitto lines and green glaze was used for filling the interior surface with equally spaced dots. Despite using of a uniform pattern, geometrical designs have richly appearance. Stylistically, this group is continuation of the polychrome sgrafitto wares of the Begliks period. However, the symmetrical sgrafitto designs and sharp-edged forms show that effect of metal dishes is very intense on these vessels. Size of vessels is quite larger in comparison with the Begliks period. There are large amount of fragments were found during excavations in the Theatre, South Agora and North Avenue. Despite there is any trace of production in the city, it is considered as a local ware was produced in the 15th to middle of 16th century.

Ottoman Slip Painted Ware is quite prevalent among glazed productions. The fabric has red, reddish brown or light brown color (Pl. 8: 8—10). It is micaceous and has small lime inclusions. The white slip was applied on interior surface in two different techniques. Some pieces are decorated by pouring slip into vessel in an irregular manner. In other technique, which is more common, slip design is appeared as broad radial lines from center to rim. The yellow, yellowish-brown or green glaze covers interior surface and has turned to brown color where there is no slip.

Ottoman Plain Glazed Ware is the other largest group found during the excavations (Pl. 9). The micaceous fabric has red, reddish brown or light brown color and contains small lime inclusions as the Aphrodisias Spotted Ware and Slip Painted Ware. Since both three groups have common fabric, it is assumable that they were produced by same workshops around the city. The white slip was applied on interior surface and around rim on the exterior surface. The glaze has varied tones of color from light green to dark green. Orange-brown colored glaze usually has inhomogeneous texture. Unlike other production groups, there are variety of forms and sizes. Similar finds were determined in Miletus (Böhlendorf-Arslan 2008: fig. 10; 12), Ephesus (Vroom, Fındık 2015: 223—224), Pergamon (Mania 2006: fig. 28) and Saraçhane (Hayes 1992: fig. 113). Also, there are many pieces of spouted pitcher forms with green glaze (Pl. 9: 9, 10). They were used for serving liquids and influenced from metal vessels according to the form characteristics. Similar finds were determined in Pergamon (Mania 2006: fig. 30: 53, 55) and Saraçhane (Hayes 1992: fig. 127).

Except local production, many pieces belong to imported table wares in high quality were discovered during the recent excavations in Aphrodisias. There is a considerable amount of pottery called Miletus Ware in underglaze paint-

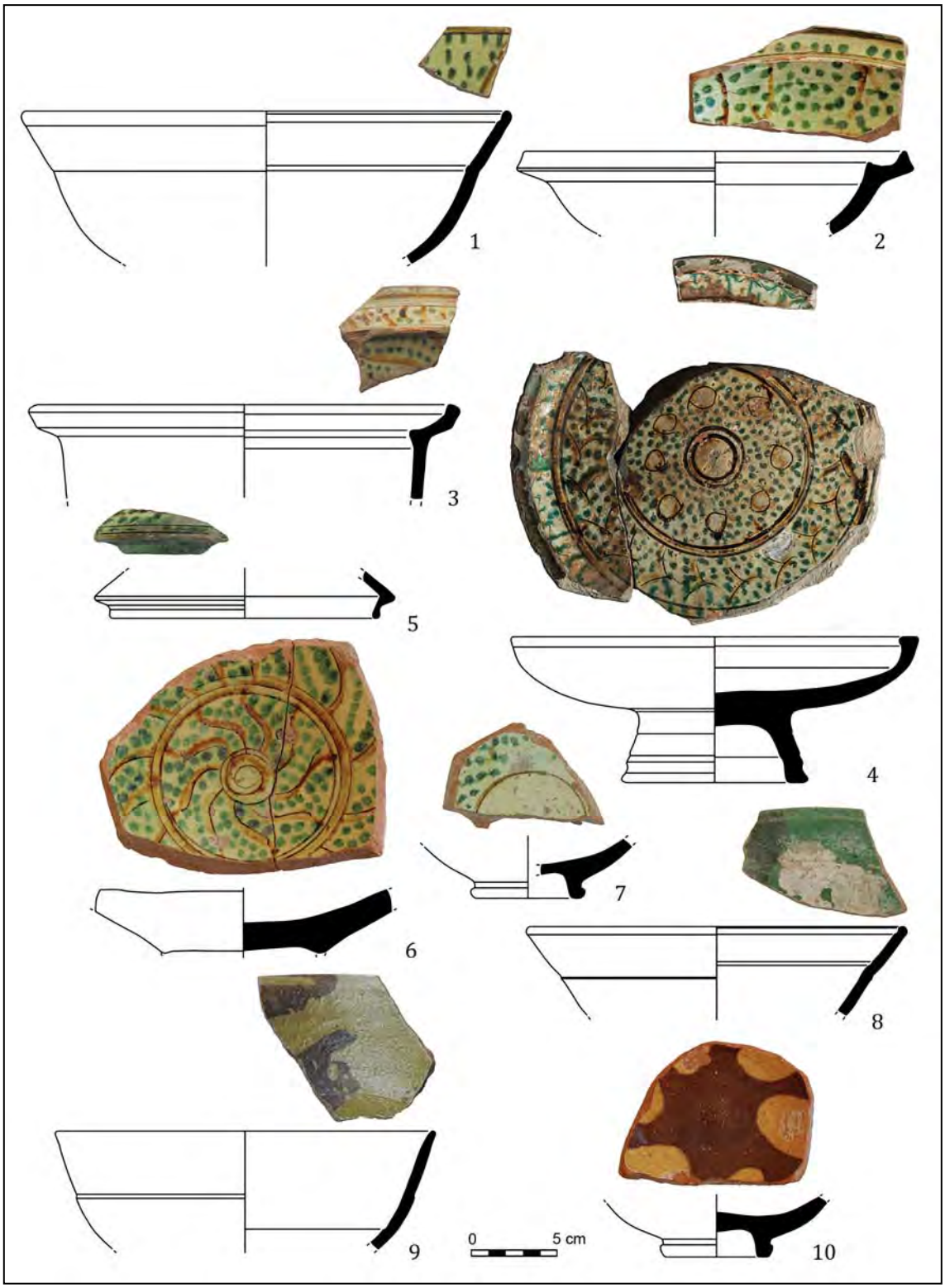

Plate 8.

Таблица 8.

ing technique. İznik is the most well-known production center of this ware. However, it is unlikely that pottery was distributed to the whole Anatolia from a single center. Thanks to the recent excavations and archeometrical analysis, it has been confirmed that these potteries were also produced in Pergamon in the 14th century to 15th century (Mania 2006; Burlot 2015). Classification of İznik productions are constituted according to decoration techniques and paint

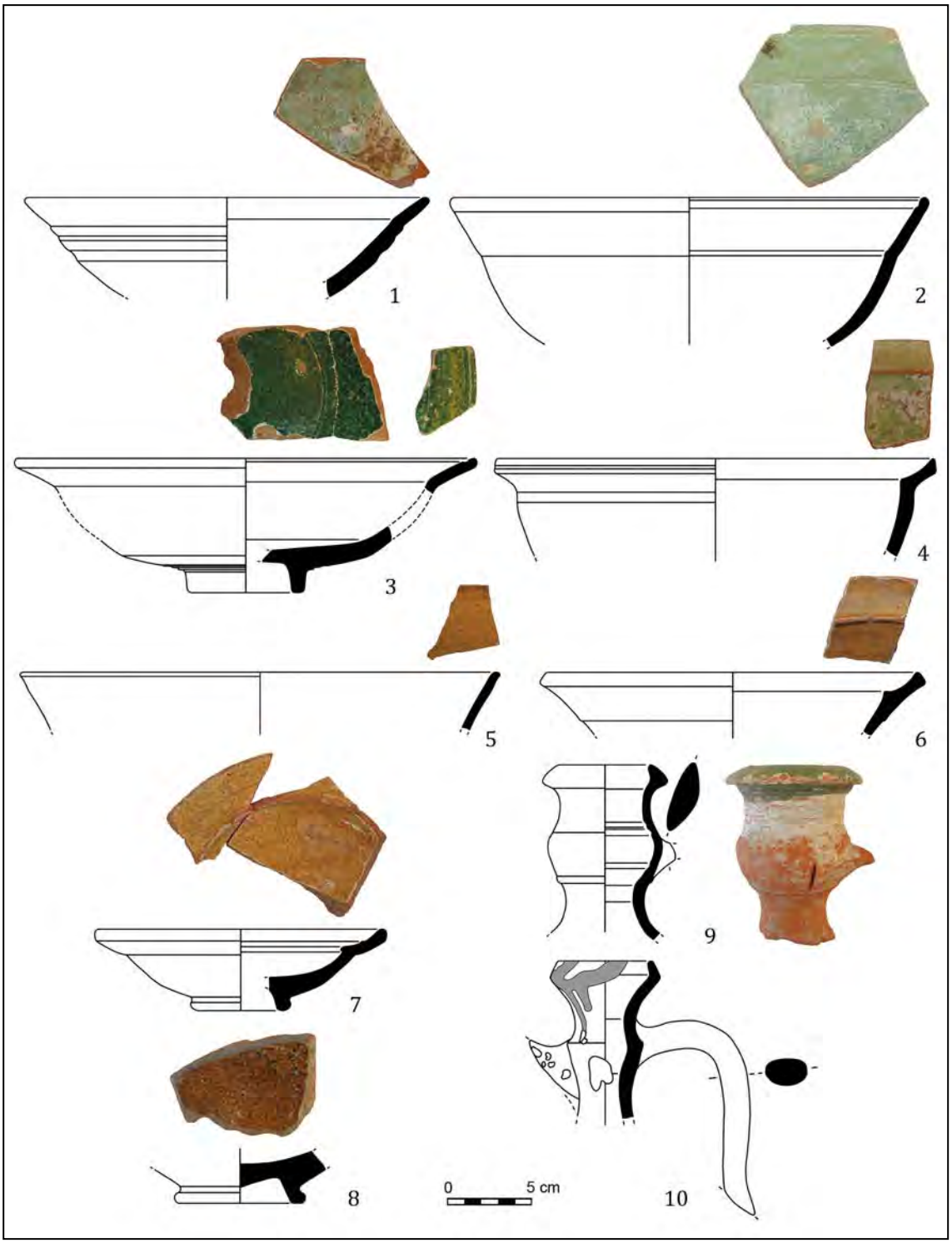

Plate 9.

Таблица 9.

colors (Özkul Fındık 2001). In Aphrodisias, fragments of Miletus Ware were found in the North Avenue, South Agora and Theatre (Pl. 10: 1—7). The red or reddish-brown colored fabric is too micaceous and has small lime inclusions. The white slip usually covers the whole surface from rim to base. In monochrome technique, cobalt blue painting was used under glaze (Pl. 10: 1, 2). The decorations consisted of stylized flowers, wavy lines and helix motifs have been used on the interior surfaces. The exterior surfaces were covered with shiny green glaze. Duochrome fragments have cobalt blue-manganese purple, cobalt blue-black and cobalt blue-turquoise painting combi-

Plate 10.

Таблица 10.

nations (Pl. 10: 3—6). Wavy lines, radial lines, triangles and spiral motifs are the most common part of the decoration. Both styles of production might be imported from the end the 14th century to the 15th century. Apart from production centers, Miletus Ware was found in Ephesus (Vroom, Fındık 2015: 221—222), Miletus (Böhlendorf-Arslan 2008, fig. 18), Sardis (Crane 1987: fig. 15), Amorium (Özkul Fındık 2003) and Saraçhane (Hayes 1992: pl. 28). At the end of the 15th century, style of monochrome painting decoration has been started to change. Free style

painted Miletus Ware group has preponderantly Chinese influence (Pl. 10: 7). A fragment found in the South Agora in this style was dated to late 15th century to middle of 16th centuries.

In the Aphrodisias excavations, Celadon Ware pieces imported from the Far East have been uncovered (Pl. 10: 8). The fabric is in greyish-white color with thick transparent green glaze. A small amount of high-quality glazed dishes are belonging to the early Ming dynasty period in China. This is the period of Chinese productions begun to spread to western markets from the end of the 14th century to 15th century.

Among local productions, there are many glazed vessels for household usage, cooking and storage. Deep basins with everted rims have red or brown color with dense mica and lime inclusions (Pl. 11: 1). The white slip and green glaze cover the whole interior surface and their texture is very similar to Ottoman Plain Glazed Ware. Similar kind of potteries were also found in the Manisa Gülgün Hatun Bath (Manisa) (Gök Gürhan 2011, 212—215, pl. 11: 6), Pergamon (Mania 2006: pl. 29: 31) and Saraçhane (Hayes 1992: fig. 105). Tankards have a wide range of usage in daily life including household and kitchen usage (Pl. 11: 2). The fabric is more porous and rough in comparison with deep basins. The glaze characteristics are very close to other household vessels. These are most common vessels were found during the recent excavations in the South Agora and North Avenue. Similar vessels were determined among Saraçhane finds (Hayes 1992: fig. 117: e10.1). A whole form typology of these vessels has not yet been identified. However, it is possible to determine that alongside tankards, storage vessels with narrow rims and long bodies, cooking pots with large rims and globular bodies are among the most produced forms in 15th century to 16th centuries. As an interesting common practice in Aphrodisias, cooking pots have green glaze which covers the all interior surface and the exterior of rim (Pl. 3; 4). The fabric has red or reddish-brown color, dense mica and small lime particles. One or two-handled cooking pots with globular bodies are very similar to tankards. Cooking pots only can be distinguished from burn marks on the exterior surface. Some of the cooking vessels with wide open rims also contain sand particles (Pl. 11: 3). Storage vessels have same fabric with local produced table wares (Pl. 11: 5—7). The white slip and green glaze were mostly applied only around rim. These kinds of storage vessels have wide amount of finds in Saraçhane (Hayes 1992: fig. 119, 126).

In the middle of 16th century, first signs of stagnation period in the Ottoman Empire were occurred in the city. Weakening of the central administration and changing of the international commercial routes have led to major changes in the economy. In the 17th century, İzmir came into prominence as a commercial center. That is why roads passing through Meander Valley lost their importance. This drastic economic change can be precisely observed from pottery finds.

In 17th and 18th centuries, local production is mostly consisting of coarse wares in dark red color. Pitcher forms with spout were produced in different sizes (Pl. 12: 1). The fabric is rough, micaceous and has big dense lime inclusions. The white slip was used for composing linear decorations with brush on the exterior surface. The light green glaze was applied on a limited scale on rim and spout. Pitchers are the most common production in this period. At the present time, it is possible to see similar vessels among all workshops in Karacasu. Cooking pots have similar fabric with pitcher fragments (Pl. 12: 2—5). Some pieces contain quartz. The dark red fabric with huge amount of mica is main characteristic of local production in 17th century to 18th century.

In Aphrodisias, well-known Ottoman tobacco pipes with red slip were found in a small quantity during the excavations. The less common type of wheel made glazed tobacco pipes was also determined. This is the type of sieved tobacco pipe with base. The fabric is too micaceous, contains small lime particles and has reddish-brown color (Pl. 12: 6). The exterior surface is covered with white slip and green glaze. There are deep burns formed on the inner surface due to using. Similar tobacco pipes were found in Tel Aphek and Horvat Zikhrin (Taxel 2008), Ayasuluk, İzmir, Alaşehir in Western Anatolia and Bitlis, Hasankeyf, Siirt in Eastern Anatolia (Ayhan 2015). Due to existence of fabric in different characteristics, it is supposed that there are more than one production center. The finds from Aphrodisias are determined as its origin is western Anatolia and dated to 17th century to 18th century according to chronological data in other fields.

Among imported pottery, coffee cups produced in Kütahya have been identified in Aphrodisias (Pl. 12: 7). The white fabric has yellow, black and green painting under transparent glaze. In the middle of interior surface a stylized flower can be visibly seen. The design on the exterior surface has floral and geometrical patterns with black frame. There is a mark made with four black lines on the bottom of base. According to color and design, this fragment was dated to 18th century.

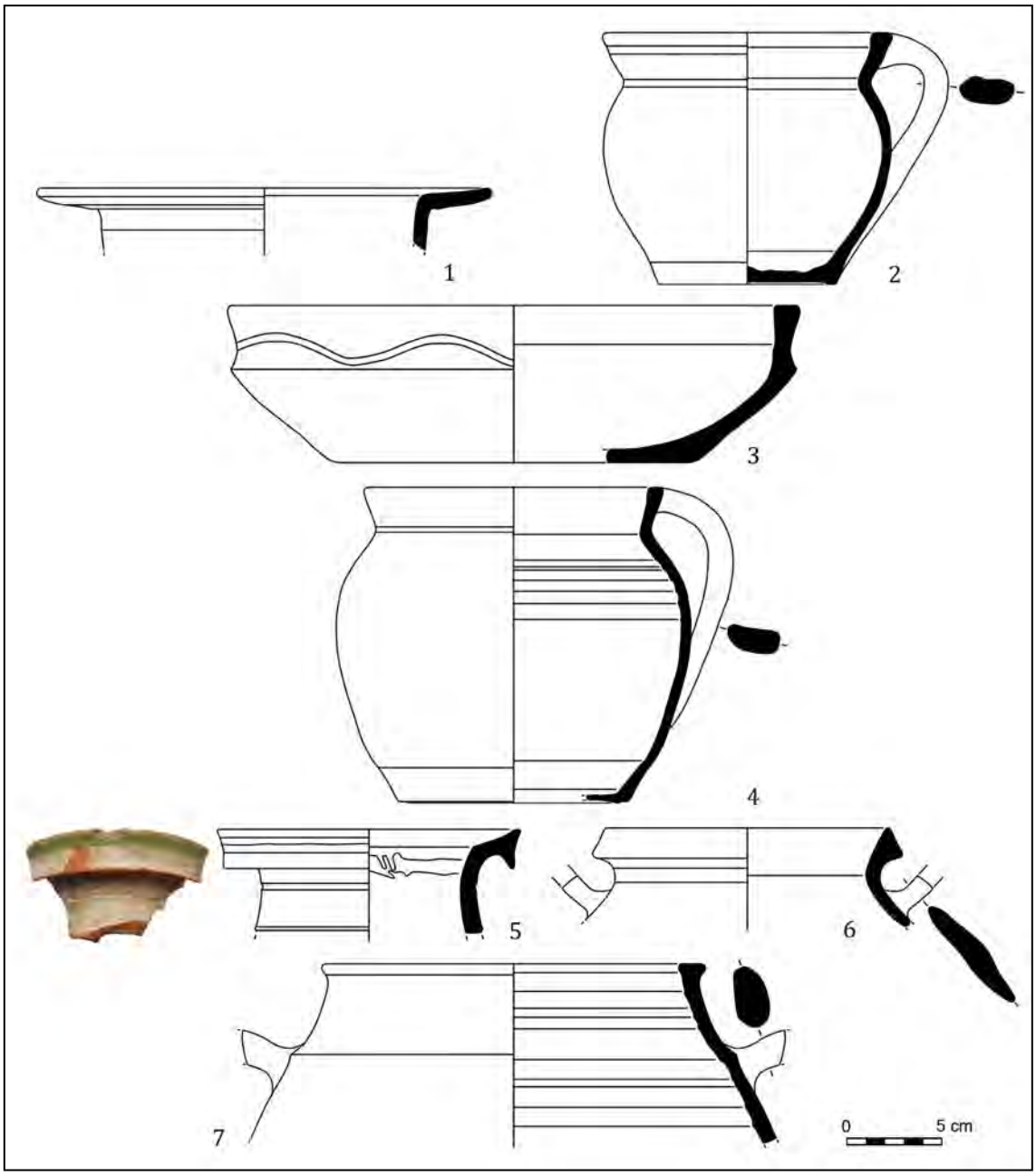

Plate 11.

Таблица 11.

Conclusion

Aphrodisias is one of the most spectacular Roman cities of Asia Minor. The first changes in the silhouette of the city began with the process of Christianization. The other factor that determines the status of the city during the Byzantine period is the economic collapse brought on by several disasters during the 6th to 7th centuries. Considering this fact, together with general economic decline in the Byzantine geography, this period can be considered as an era of interruption in qualified production.

In areas where excavations have been conducted in Aphrodisias, not enough pottery has been uncovered to shed light upon life during the 8th to 9th century. Small numbers of locally produced amphorae and unglazed daily use pottery uncovered during the North Avenue excavations have provided evidence of the continuation of life in this city. Thanks to efforts by Byzantine emperors towards improving the economy, a revival was observed especially in western Anatolian cities from the end of the 9th century. A sudden increase in locally produced kitchen wares and imported potteries in Aphrodi-

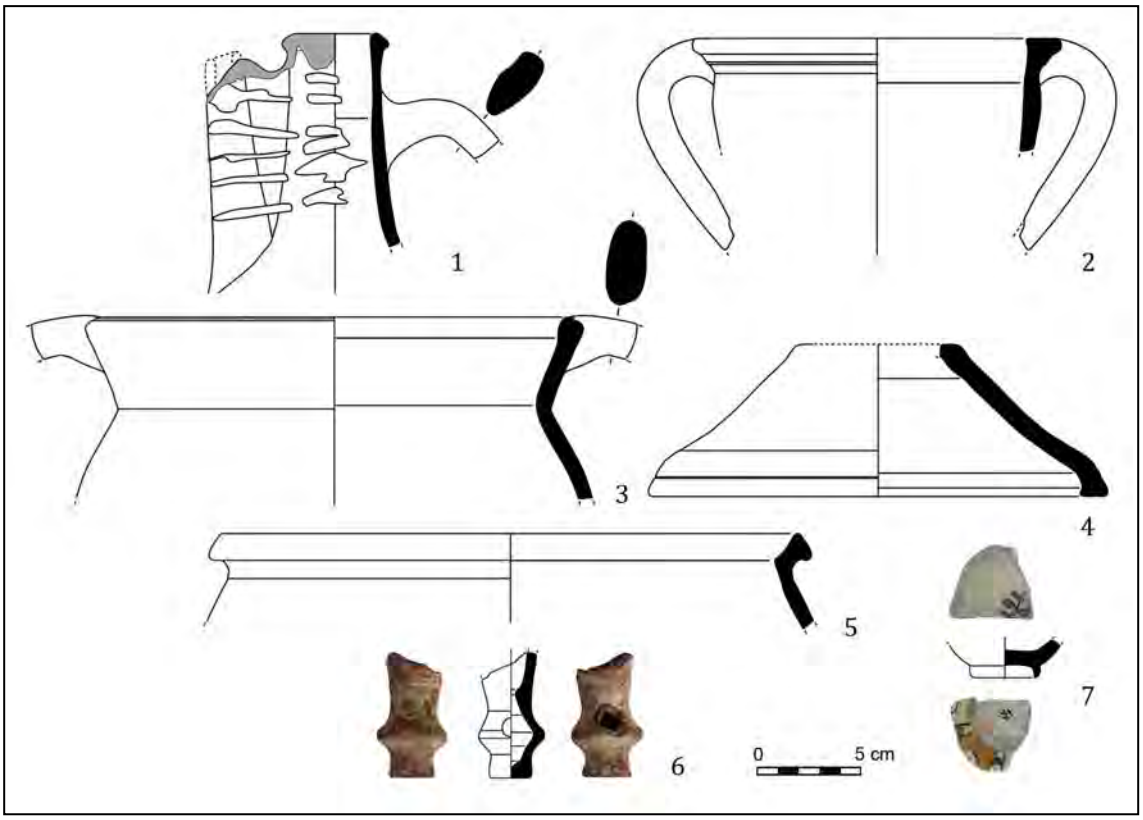

Plate 12.

Таблица 12.

sias certainly shows the revival during this period.

An abundance of chafing dishes likely imported from the Adriatic or Corinth shows the existence of an aristocratic class who could demand such wares to be used for serving hot meat dishes consumed with garum or other sauces. These vessels are the direct indicators of cultural interaction with Constantinople, the capital of the Byzantine Empire. Additionally, fragments of Constantinopolitan White Ware points to the commercial connection with the capital city. Also, Ganos Type 1 Amphorae have been found in the city that were observed during the 10th to 11th century and had a wide-ranging network in the Byzantine geography. With the renovation of the Cathedral and construction of the Triconch Church, all these data reinforce the fact that Aphrodisias was a rich Byzantine city that could access a wide commercial network.

The welfare period of the Byzantine Empire in Anatolia changed with Turkmen raids that started in the 11th century and then with the Latins who invaded Constantinople. Historical sources give a detailed depiction of the process experienced by Byzantine cities. Pottery finds are important in terms of understanding the Byzantine population and lifestyle in Anatolian cities. Many samples of Fine Sgrafitto, Green and Brown Painted and Slip Painted Wares produced from the middle of the 12th century have been found in many areas in the city. Thanks to shipwrecks, it is known that trade of pottery crafted in three different techniques was produced by the same workshops. Therefore, it is not surprising that such pottery has been found together in Aphrodisias. However, it is an interesting situation that the typical style of Incised Sgrafitto Ware with stylized animal figures included in the same trade network has not been uncovered in recent excavations in Aphrodisias. In addition, there are no samples in Tömöry's research containing a wide repertoire. This result must be related to the trade network to which Aphrodisias was connected. However, it is not possible to shed light on this issue, because production centers have not yet been determined.

Several raids by the Seljuks to the region negatively affected the Byzantine population. After people began to escape to secure areas, some of them were settled by the Seljuks in Philomelium. However, Byzantine pottery dating back to the beginning of the 13th century has been found in the Theatre, South Agora, North Avenue and

Hadrianic Baths. This pottery was produced in centers in the Aegean and Mediterranean, and they illustrate the Byzantine identity of cities where they were uncovered. Therefore, as from the last quarter of the 12th century, although the political authority of the Byzantine Empire did not rule the city, it is possible to mention there is still Christian population living connected to the Seljuks. Besides, Zeuxippus Ware, Green Painted Ware and Slip Painted Ware as produced by western Anatolia were found in Aphrodisias. These potteries are similar to production in Pergamon workshop especially in terms of clay and stylistic features. But it is difficult to definitely determine the origin without archaeometrical analysis. For this reason, it should be considered that this pottery was imported from glazed pottery production centers in Pergamon or around the Meander. The presence of this pottery is important in terms of demonstrating city's connection with Byzantine cities in the north.

In 1230, after the death of Maurozomes, the Seljuks dominated the region. In the current excavation areas, there has been a decrease in pottery finds belonging to this period. However, there is no find indicating settlement models for the Seljuks in the city. The population of the Seljuks and their lifestyle has not been precisely elucidated.

Around Aphrodisias, there are large areas of clay sites. Today, pottery workshops still continue their production in modern Karacasu near the ancient city. Since Ancient times, unglazed pottery production has continued without cease. During the Byzantine period, unglazed kitchen wares were produced to meet local demand. It is difficult to give an exact date for the start of glazed pottery production in Aphrodisias. As from the end of the 12th century, together with the diversification of kiln materials, glazed pottery production commenced in many cities in western Anatolia. Alternatively, the earliest kiln remains such as tripod, mold and semi-produced fragments can be the most precise indicator of production in the Beglik period.

In Aphrodisias, it is not possible to make a distinction of certainty between pottery from the periods of the Begliks of Menteshe and Aydinids. The Begliks in western Anatolia were very cooperative in commercial activities. All pottery belonging to the Begliks period was produced in Anatolian centers. From the point of stylistic features, the strong impact of Islamic pottery can be observed. In sgrafitto technique, largely stylized floral motifs and geometrical motifs were rendered. Small numbers of figures such as fish and bird were used. Polychrome sgrafitto wares appear to have been more in vogue compared to monochrome sgrafitto productions. Since only a few fragments of Slip Painted Ware have been found belonging to the Begliks period, it is possible to assume that this ware did not see a lot of demand.

The first quarter of 15th century to middle of 16th century was a period of significant growth in Aphrodisias. A sudden increase in numbers can be seen among pottery finds belonging to Ottoman period from the excavated areas. It is thought that many sgrafitto, slip painted and plain glazed wares were produced in the city or its territory. Style of service vessels in this style is similar to polychrome sgrafitto ware from the Begliks period. However, edges on rims and symmetrical sgrafitto designs and thick glazes show that the effect of metal dishes was very intense. Pitchers used to serve liquids are imitations of metal ones. Among local production, there are many glazed cooking and storage vessels. A whole form typology of kitchen vessels has not yet been identified. However, it is possible to say that tankards with globular body, storage vessels with narrow rims and long bodies, cooking pots with large rims and globular bodies are among the most produced forms. Except local production, many high quality tableware utensils were also imported. There is a considerable amount of potteries called Miletus Ware that uses an underglaze painting technique. The most well-known production center for this ware is İznik. With recent excavations and archeometrical studies, it has been confirmed that these potteries were also produced in Pergamon. In the Aphrodisias excavations, pieces of celadon ware imported from the Far East have been uncovered. High-quality green dishes belong to the early Ming dynasty period of China. This is the period of Chinese productions begun to spread to western markets from the end of the 14th century to 15th century.

From the middle of 16th century, influences of stagnation period in the Ottoman Empire and the change of trade routes were seen in the city. In the 17th century, İzmir came into prominence as a commercial center. That is why roads passing through Meander Valley lost their importance. This drastic economic change can be precisely observed from pottery finds. Local production is mostly consisting of coarse wares. Due to functional reasons, a small amount of glaze proceeded to be used only on interior surfaces and on rims without slip. Among imported pottery, coffee cups produced in Kütahya have been identified.

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Vaisselier de santé dans le monde arabe (VIIIe—XVe siècles) : une restitution possible des usages grâce au croissement des sources

Keywords: Islamic medicine, Islamic physicians, medical utensils, Bilâd al-Châm, pottery

Ключевые слова: исламская медицина, мусульманские врачи, медицинские принадлежности, Билад аль-Шам, керамика

I. Shaddoud

Pots for Medical Uses in the Arab World (8th—15th centuries): a possible reconstruction of the uses thanks to the cross disciplinary comparison of sources

The cross disciplinary comparison of sources enables us to ask questions about objects and practices by analysing and describing the functions, often lost, of certain types of pottery. This article is dedicated to pottery used by Islamic physicians — pots and pans, different types of jars. The texts, general medical manuals and dictionaries written in Iraq, Syria, Arabia and Iran between the 8th and 15th centuries are an extremely valuable source of information on medicinal substances, recipes for compound remedies and utensils. A number of illustrations in Islamic manuscript depicting physician activities reflect contemporaneous medical practises. They could sometimes help us to understand the use of objects found in excavations. The archaeological material of my corpus comes from a range of sites in Syria, Lebanon and Iraq. By comparing the data, I present various pottery used in curative medicine in the Islamic world.

И. Шаддуд

Медицинская посуда в арабском мире (VIII—XV вв.): возможная реконструкция использования на основе различных типов источников

Междисциплинарное сравнительное изучение источников позволяет нам поставить вопрос об объектах и практиках, анализируя и описывая функции, нередко утраченные, отдельных типов сосудов. Настоящая статья посвящена сосудам, бывшим в употреблении у исламских врачей: это горшки и тигли, различные типы кувшинов. Тексты, учебники по общей медицине и словари, составленные в Ираке, Сирии, Аравии и Иране между VIII и XV вв., служат чрезвычайно ценным источником сведений о медицине, рецептах лекарств и инструментах. Многие иллюстрации из исламских рукописей, изображающие работу врачей, являются источником знаний о врачебных практиках своего времени. Иногда они помогают нам понять, как использовались те или иные объекты, найденные в ходе раскопок. Археологический материал, использованный в настоящей статье, происходит с ряда памятников Сирии, Ливана и Ирака. Сравнительный анализ данных позволил представить в настоящей статье различные виды сосудов, которые использовались в исламской медицине.

Les contenants utilisés par les alchimistes, les médecins et les pharmaciens arabes pour la préparation des remèdes, pour la conservation et la présentation des pilules, onguents, thériaques et autres confitures étaient faits de terre, de verre, de métal et de bois et des emballages communs étaient aussi fabriqués en cuir, en toile et en papier. Les sources écrites en attestent mais seule une partie d'entre eux a résisté aux conditions d'enfouissement et les poteries ordinaires sont souvent les seuls vestiges qui peuvent être comparés à ces données textuelles. Nous traiterons ici exclusivement du vaisselier de santé en terre. En dehors de contextes spécifiques, il est difficile de distinguer au sein du mobilier archéologique, les objets qui avaient une vocation exclusivement médicale de ceux qui n'étaient qu'à usage culinaire et domestique. Le matériel médical a

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donc toutes les chances d'être confondu avec celui de la cuisine, à de rares exceptions, ce que je montrerai. L'affectation d'un récipient à un usage professionnel n'en fait pas spécifiquement un objet pharmaceutique : une marmite est une marmite, on y cuisait les bouillons comme on pouvait y faire réduire les préparations pharmaceutiques et la jarre dans laquelle l'apothicaire conservait du vin médicinal était la même que celle dans laquelle il puisait pour se désaltérer. Par ailleurs, les objets pouvaient aisément migrer d'un espace à un autre et échapper à leur destination première. Enfin, il ne faut pas réduire les récipients pharmaceutiques à quelques belles pièces telles que des *albarelli* et des jarres très décorées, et qui sont peu représentatives d'un ensemble plus vaste de contenants. Le vaisselier de santé en terre comprenait des bols, des jattes et des coupes, des cruches et différents types de jarre et de marmites. Les traités médico-pharmaceutiques, quelques miniatures mais aussi le corpus archéologique des objets ordinaires et les collections muséologiques permettent de proposer quelques restitutions des usages et des pratiques de santé.

1. Textes et images

La médecine arabe a connu une période faste au milieu du Moyen Âge mais il n'est pas inutile de préciser qu'au Yémen et en Perse, il existait, avant l'Islam, des écoles de médecine fameuses. Leurs plus célèbres représentants étaient alors al-Ḥariṯ b. Kilda al-Ṯaqafī mort en 634 et son fils al-Naḍḍr b. al-Ḥariṯ. Tandis qu'à La Mecque, le chirurgien et pharmacien Ibn Abī al-Ramṯa al-Tamīmī se distinguait par ses connaissances (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa 1988 : 161, 162, 167, 170, 171 ; Ibn Ǧulǧul 1955 : 54—58 ; Bin Marād 1985 : 77, 78). Dans le cadre de cet article, j'ai seulement consulté une petite partie des sources traitant de médecine, de pharmacie et d'alchimie dans le monde arabe. Néanmoins, à partir de ce dépouillement partiel, il est possible de confronter les données contenues dans ces textes avec le matériel archéologique et d'en déduire certaines modalités des pratiques pharmacologiques. Mon choix s'est porté sur de célèbres traités tels que ceux écrits par : un alchimiste d'origine yéménite, Ǧābir Ibn Ḥayyān, à la fin du VIII^e^ siècle (Ibn Ḥayyān 1988 ; *idem* 2006) ; un médecin et alchimiste persan, Abū Bakr al-Rāzī, au IX^e^ siècle (Rāzi [al-] 1964) ; un médecin chrétien de Damas au service du calife Harun al- Rashid, Masīh b. Hakam al-Dimašqi qui a rédigé un traité médical au IX^e^ siècle connu sous le nom de *Risāla al-Hārūniyya* (Dimašqī [al-] 2002) ; et un médecin arabe vivant à Jérusalem et au Caire à l'époque fatimide, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Tamīmī al-Maqdisī. Il s'intéressait aux poisons et aux antidotes ainsi qu'aux produits capables de purifier l'eau et l'air et aux traitements des maladies infectieuses. Dans son ouvrage, il décrit les pratiques des pharmaciens et livre des précisions sur les divers types de matières premières, les quantités employées et les ustensiles utilisés à chaque étape de la préparation des remèdes (Maqdisī [al-] 1999). D'autres informations sont tirées du *Kitāb al-Ṭabīḫ*, un livre de recettes de cuisine écrit à Bagdad par Ibn Sayyār au X^e^ siècle, dans lequel on trouve notamment des informations relatives à la préparation du vinaigre et au processus de vinification (Ibn Sayyār 1987). Enfin, j'ai consulté des dictionnaires, des traités historiques (Zabīdī [al-] 1969—2002 ; Fīrūzābādī [al-] 1996 ; Qalqašandī [al-] s.d.) et une encyclopédie consacrée aux unités de mesures arabes qui s'appuie sur des manuscrits inédits du Caire des IX^e^—XIII^e^ siècles (Fāḫūrī et Ḫawwām 2002). Ces textes sont très riches. Ils livrent de façon détaillée les matières premières et les recettes de fabrication des électuaires ainsi que les noms des ustensiles employés en distinguant leur nature.

Quelques manuscrits illustrés renseignent sur les actes de la pratique pharmaceutique. Les images montrent des gestes et des ustensiles qui, pour certains d'entre eux, peuvent être identifiés avec des contenants de terre. Cependant, les miniatures sont souvent des témoignages très incomplets. Les représentations des objets sont idéalisées, stéréotypées et réduites à l'essentiel. Elles ont aussi tendance à unifier les modèles des pots qui sont tous figurés avec la même contenance. Et les vases très décorés sont surreprésentés. Le *Kitāb al-diryāq* (*Le Livre des antidotes*) du Pseudo-Galien, connu par deux copies arabes attribuées à la Djézireh et datées de 1199 et du milieu du XIII^e^ siècle, est le premier des manuscrits examiné (Ettinghausen 1962 ; Pancaroğlu 2001 ; Sezgin 2004). On y trouve des scènes illustrant la découverte des antidotes et des planches à caractère plus scientifique représentant les végétaux, leur mode de collecte et leur préparation, les minerais et les animaux entrant dans la formulation des thériaques. Selon les spécialistes, ces miniatures s'attachent à reproduire des scènes de la vie quotidienne de cette époque dans un style relativement réaliste. Le *Kitāb Na't al-Ḥayawān* (*Le Livre des animaux*), un manuscrit illustré du XIII^e^ siècle consacré aux caractéristiques des animaux et à leur utilisation en médecine, possède également une riche iconographie (Contadini 2012). D'autres miniatures proviennent de différents textes arabes comme le *Hayūlā Ḥilāj al-ṭibb*, une traduction du *De materia medica* de Dioscoride, copiée par ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Fadl en Irak au début du XIII^e^ siècle (ʿUkāša

2001). Quelques-unes des scènes dessinées dans ces ouvrages donnent aux objets cités dans les textes une apparence plus ou moins réelle mais surtout elles les figurent en situation.

2. Vaisselier de santé : typologie sommaire des contenants

Le vaisselier de santé comprend des ustensiles de terre pour la cuisson, la clarification, la distillation, la conservation et la présentation des remèdes. Un même objet pouvait d'ailleurs avoir plusieurs fonctions, la conservation et la présentation par exemple.

Marmites et modes de cuisson

Dans les fouilles ouvertes au Proche-Orient, quelles que soient les périodes, les marmites de terre sont nombreuses et de formes variées. Elles étaient destinées en premier lieu à la cuisson des mets dans un contexte domestique et celles qui servaient également dans l'officine du pharmacien ou de l'alchimiste peuvent être confondues avec elles. Les marmites sont mentionnées dans les textes sous le vocable *al-qidr* et celles qu'on observe sur les miniatures semblent être, pour certaines, de même aspect que les céramiques employées en cuisine (fig. 1). Dans ce contexte, pour mettre en évidence la poterie médicale, il faut être très attentif et relever des indices tels que des traces d'utilisation inhabituelles ou des caractéristiques fonctionnelles peu fréquentes.

Plusieurs marmites à panse globulaire, réalisées dans une pâte argileuse, calcaire, de couleur beige-verdâtre ou ferrugineuse rouge, découvertes dans les fouilles du château de Shumaimis et datées des XIIIe—XIVe siècles, se distinguent nettement de leurs homologues culinaires par certaines de leurs caractéristiques morphologiques (Shaddoud 2014 : vol. I, 192, 193, vol. II, pl. 196, 197). En effet, la partie supérieure de la panse a été découpée avant cuisson en triangles ou en ovales. De nombreux petits trous ont été percés autour de ces ouvertures tandis que la panse peut être perforée de trous moyens. Les lèvres éversées ont elles aussi été percées de cinq trous ou plus (fig. 2 : 1—4). Quelques unes des marmites possèdent des anses à tenon très saillantes qui facilitaient la préhension. À l'évidence ces curieux objets n'étaient pas destinés à la cuisson des bouillons et autres plats solides et la lecture des auteurs anciens, en particulier Ibn Ḥayyān et al-Rāzī, permet d'envisager une fonction spécifique, celle d'alambic. En effet, dans les textes relatifs à la distillation et qui sont parfois illustrés, il est question de marmites dans lesquelles sont disposés de petits contenants en verre ou en terre. La description de ces installations permet une restitution du mode de fonctionnement de ces sortes d'alambic. Selon Ibn Ḥayyān au VIIIe siècle et al-Rāzī au IXe siècle, *al-inbīq*, un petit alambic en verre composé d'une cucurbite ou cornue (*al-qarʿa*) et d'un chapiteau à bec — tels que ceux datés des Xe—XIIe siècles et conservés dans la collection Khalili (fig. 2 : 4) — permettait de distiller l'eau, le vinaigre, les eaux florales, les huiles essentielles et divers composés de médicaments (Ibn Ḥayyān 1988 : 53—56 ; Rāzī [al-] 1964 : 117, 118). Les auteurs précisent que les flacons de verre étaient fixés dans une marmite, *al-qidr*, et qu'ils ne devaient pas entrer en contact avec le fond (fig. 2 : 4). Le chapiteau et la cucurbite étaient donc suspendus. Ils reposaient peut-être sur un disque de terre légèrement concave, percé de onze trous et attaché par des liens passant par les petites ouvertures de la panse de la marmite, tel que celui découvert à Shumaimis aux côtés des marmites (fig. 2 : 5). Selon mon hypothèse, les becs des chapiteaux suspendus étaient placés en face des ouvertures découpées dans la paroi. Selon les textes, la marmite remplie d'eau jusqu'à un niveau légèrement supérieur au contenu de la cucurbite était placée sur un foyer ou sur un petit tannour. La cuisson lente ne se faisait pas à feu vif. Le distillat qui s'échappait du chapiteau de verre était recueilli dans un récipient appelé *al-qābila*. Un autre contenant de terre de forme exceptionnelle a été découvert à Shumaimis. Il s'agit d'une marmite en forme de chaudron à anse de panier qui peut avoir rempli la même fonction (fig. 3 : 1). Bien que cela soit une hypothèse, il est envisageable, lorsqu'on la compare à une restitution « du chaudron rempli de vinaigre » du *Liber forum Geberti*, qu'elle servait aussi à la distillation (fig. 3 : 2). Le grand savant, al-Bīrūnī, dans son *Kitāb al-Ṣaydana fī al-Ṭibb* écrit en Perse au Xe siècle, explique comment fabriquer la céruse qui s'obtient par oxydation de lames de plomb par des vapeurs d'acide acétique (Bīrūnī [al-] 1991 : 50—53). Au moment où l'été était le plus chaud, une coupelle remplie de vinaigre était déposée au fond d'une grande marmite de terre dite *al-qidr*. On disposait au-dessus, sur un filet de roseau suspendu, une feuille de plomb — les marmites de Shumaimis dont les lèvres sont percées de nombreux trous permettaient ce type d'accrochage (fig. 2 : 1—3 ; fig. 3 : 3). La marmite, hermétiquement close par un couvercle luté d'argile, était ensuite recouverte d'un tissu épais et placée au soleil. Les fouilles de la citadelle de Qalaat Jabar près du lac al-Assad ont livré une autre marmite tout à fait remarquable et qui ne peut être confondue avec des pots à cuire les bouillons. Fabriquée dans une pâte argileuse, calcaire, de couleur beige verdâtre, elle est

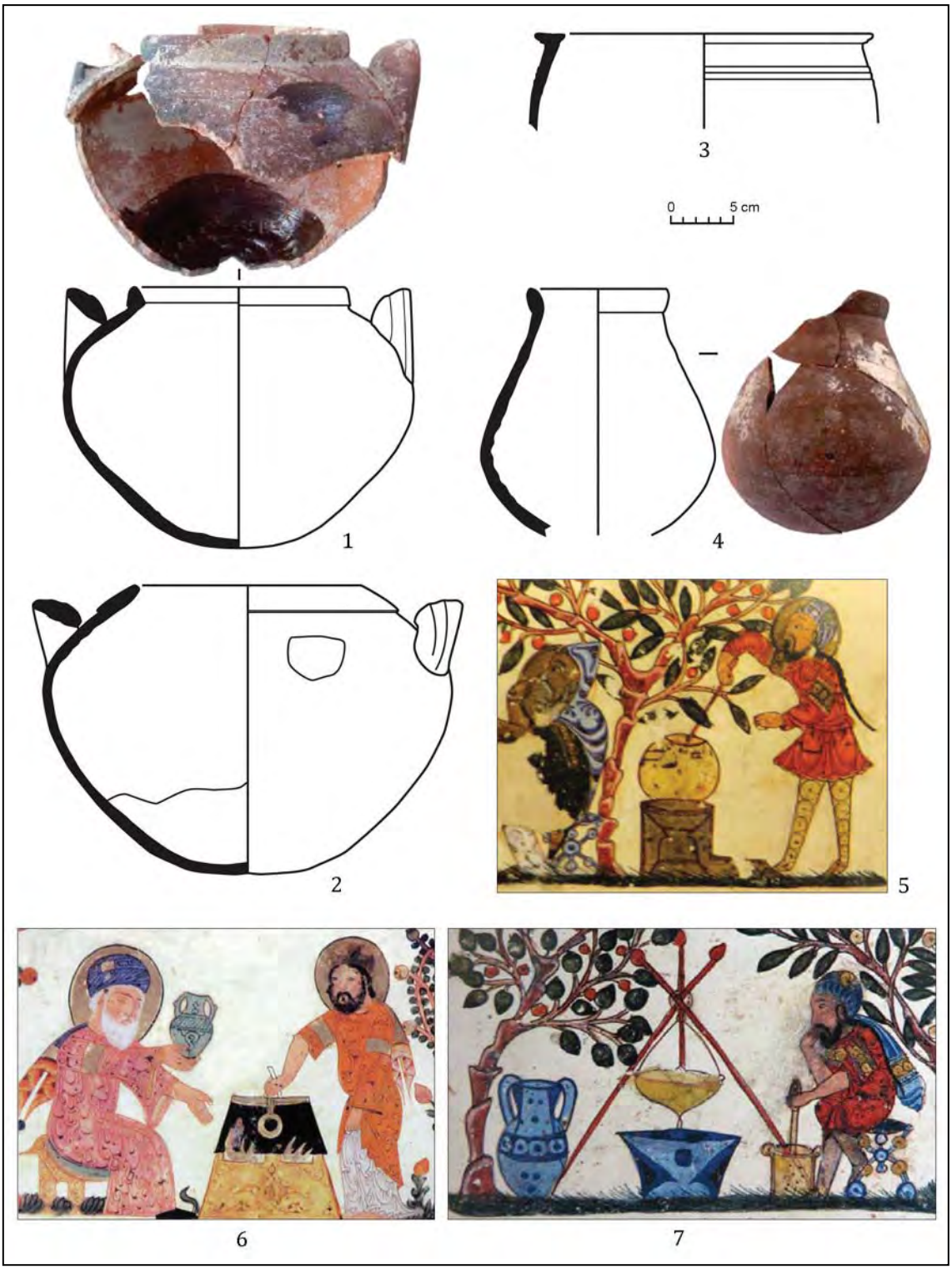

Fig. 1. Marmites glaçurées et pot à cuire, Marqab, XIII^e—XIV^e s. (1—4) ; marmites dans les miniatures arabes (5—7) (d'après Contadini 2012 : pl. 12 ; Âge d'or, 2004 : 94, 182).

Рис. 1. Глазурованные тигли и сосуд для прокаливания, Маркаб, XIII—XIV вв. (1—4); тигли на арабских миниатюрах (5—7) (по: Contadini 2012 : pl. 12 ; Âge d'or, 2004 : 94, 182).

datée entre le XII^e et le XIV^e siècle. De forme globulaire, sans anse, sa lèvre très plate est percée de trous sur toute la circonférence et, à l'intérieur, sont fixés trois longs flacons de terre *al-qārūra* (fig. 4 : 1). On remarque que les lignes incisées sur la surface externe de la panse correspondent exactement au sommet des flacons à l'intérieur. Des traces d'usages inhabituelles attirent l'œil. Il

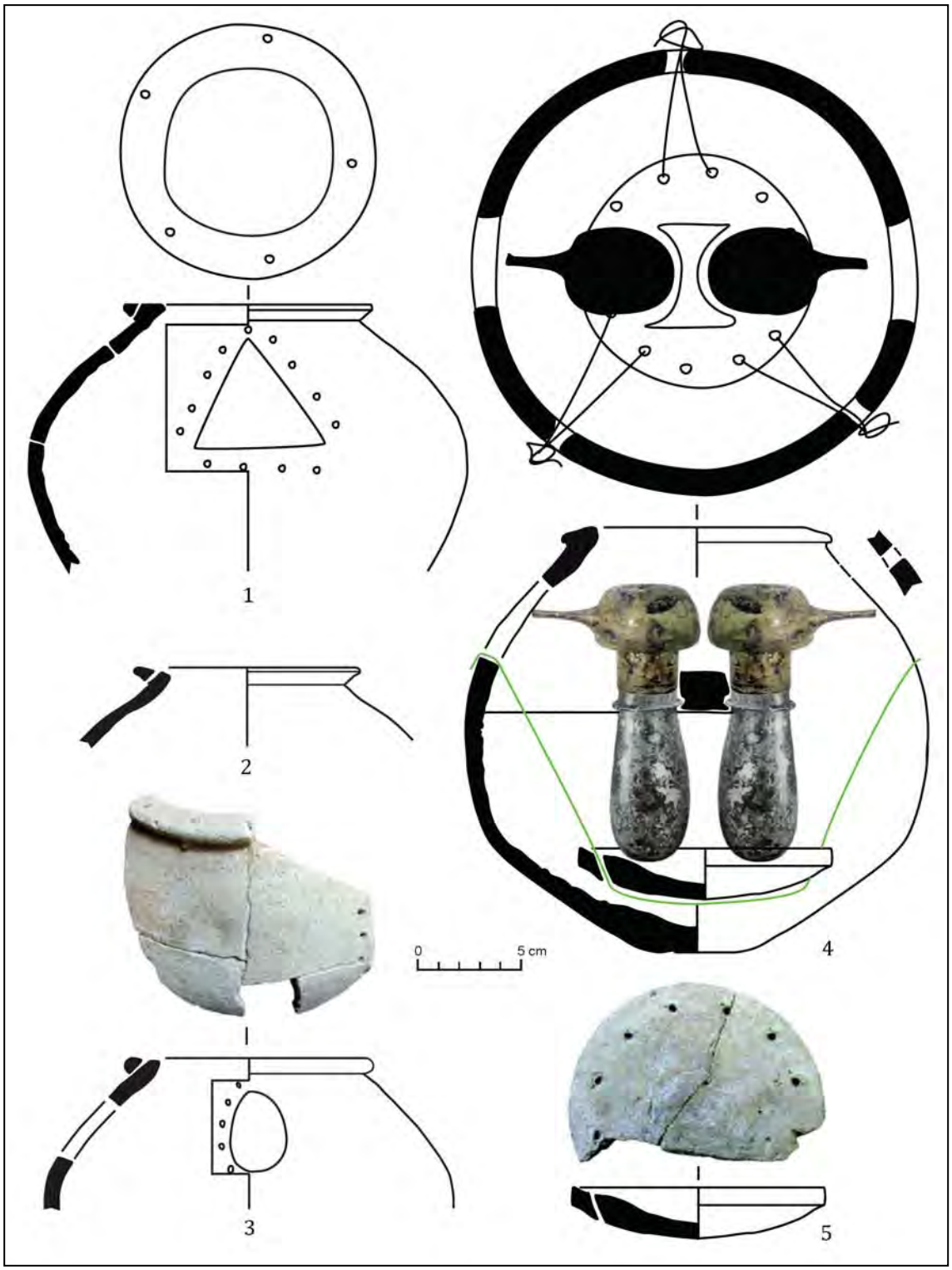

Fig. 2. Marmites aux parois découpées et percées peut-être utilisées comme alambics (1—4) ; disque de terre perforé (5). Shumaimis, XIIIe—XIVe s.

Рис. 2. Тигли с фигурными перегородками и отверстиями, возможно, использовавшиеся в качестве перегонных кубов (1—4); перфорированный глиняный диск (5). Шумайми, XIII—XIV вв.

n'est pas rare d'observer des dépôts calcaires à l'intérieur des contenants placés sur le feu. Ils témoignent de remplissages et d'évaporations successifs. Cependant, sur cette marmite, les résidus calcaires se trouvent sur la surface externe de la panse. C'est donc la marmite qui était placée dans l'eau, peut-être suspendue par des liens passés dans les perforations de la lèvre. Un tel dis-

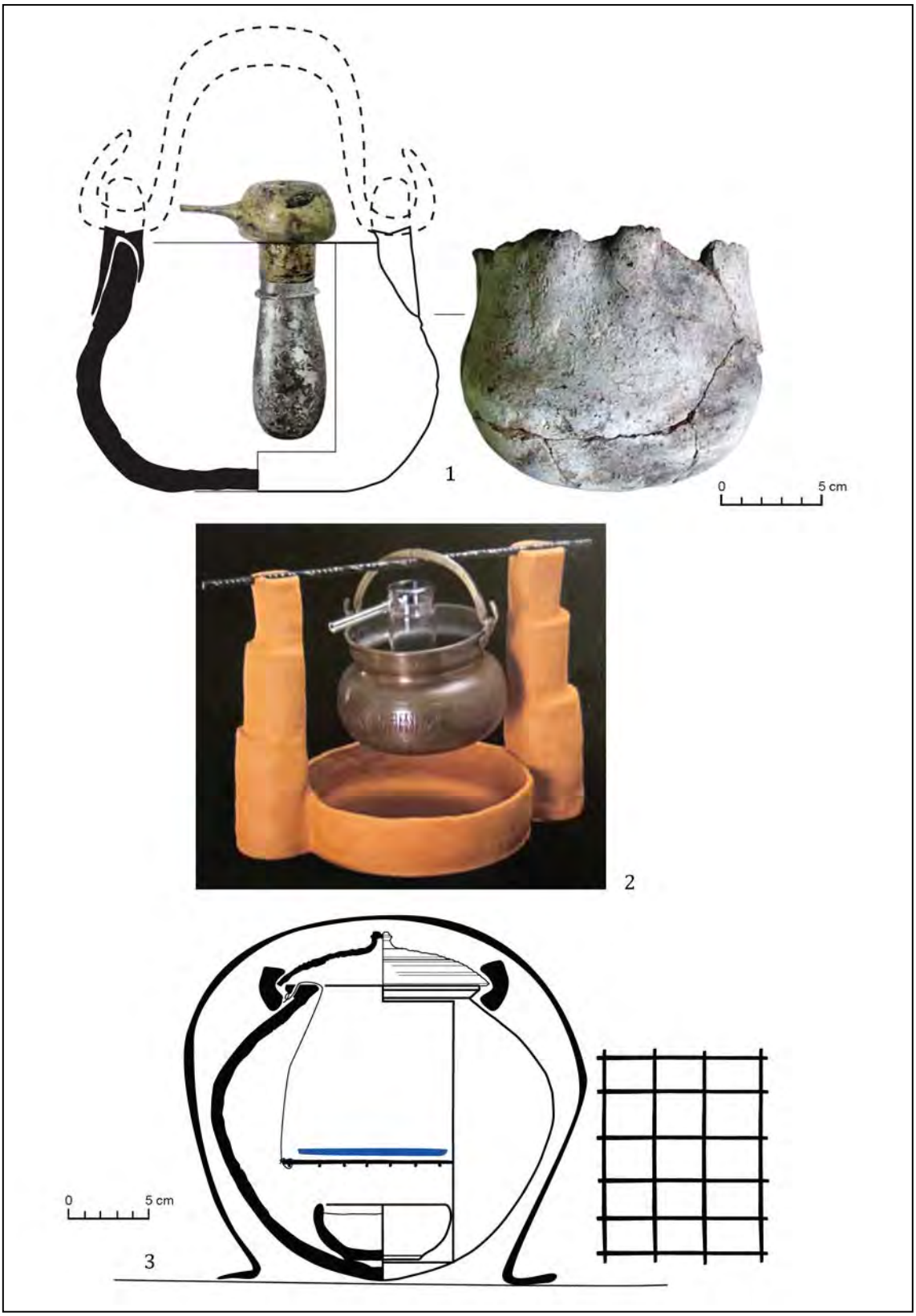

Fig. 3. 1 — Marmite à anse de panier peut-être un alambic, Shumaimis, XIII^{e}—XIV^{e} s. ; 2 — restitution inspirée “du chaudron rempli de vinaigre” du *Liber florum* (Sezgin 2004 : 50) ; 3 — installation pour la fabrication de céruse, tentative de restitution d’après al-Bīrūnī (Bīrūnī [al-] 1991 : 50, 51).

Рис. 3. 1 — тигель с ручкой — возможно, перегонный куб. Шумаймы, XIII—XIV вв.; 2 — реконструкция «чана с уксусом» по описанию *Liber florum* (по Sezgin 2004 : 50); 3 — установка для получения свинцовых белил — попытка реконструкции по данным ал-Бируни (по Bīrūnī [al-] 1991 : 50, 51).

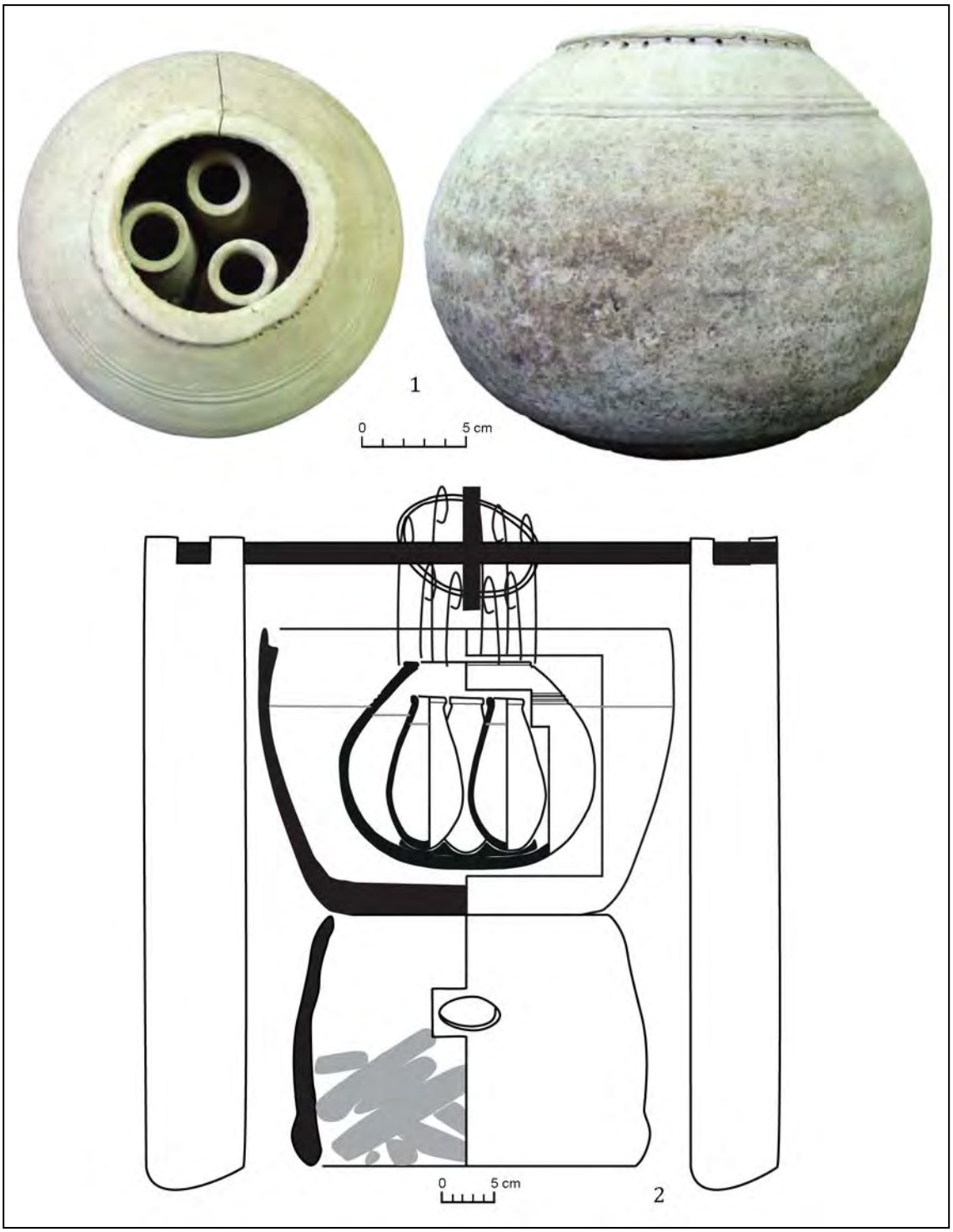

Fig. 4. Marmite à trois flacons pour une cuisson possible au bain-marie, Qalaat Jabar, XII^e^—XIV^e^ s.

Рис. 4. Тигель с тремя флаконами для термической обработки, возможно, на водяной бане. Калаат-Джабар, XIII—XIV вв.

positif pouvait servir pour conduire une cuisson au bain-marie du contenu des flacons (fig. 4 : 2). D'autres restitutions d'alambics dans lesquelles les récipients de terre sont employés peuvent être proposées à partir des textes, des miniatures — celle d'un ouvrage du grand savant abbasside al-Kindī (Hassan [al-], Hill 1988 : 138) et celle d'un manuscrit du XVIII^e^ siècle (Âge d'or 2005 : 208) — du mobilier archéologique et des pratiques de distillation récentes de l'arak à Tartous et à Latakieh (fig. 5).

Selon Ǧābir Ibn Ḥayyān, le secret de fabrication des médicaments consistait en un contrôle maîtrisé de la température de cuisson. Les conte-

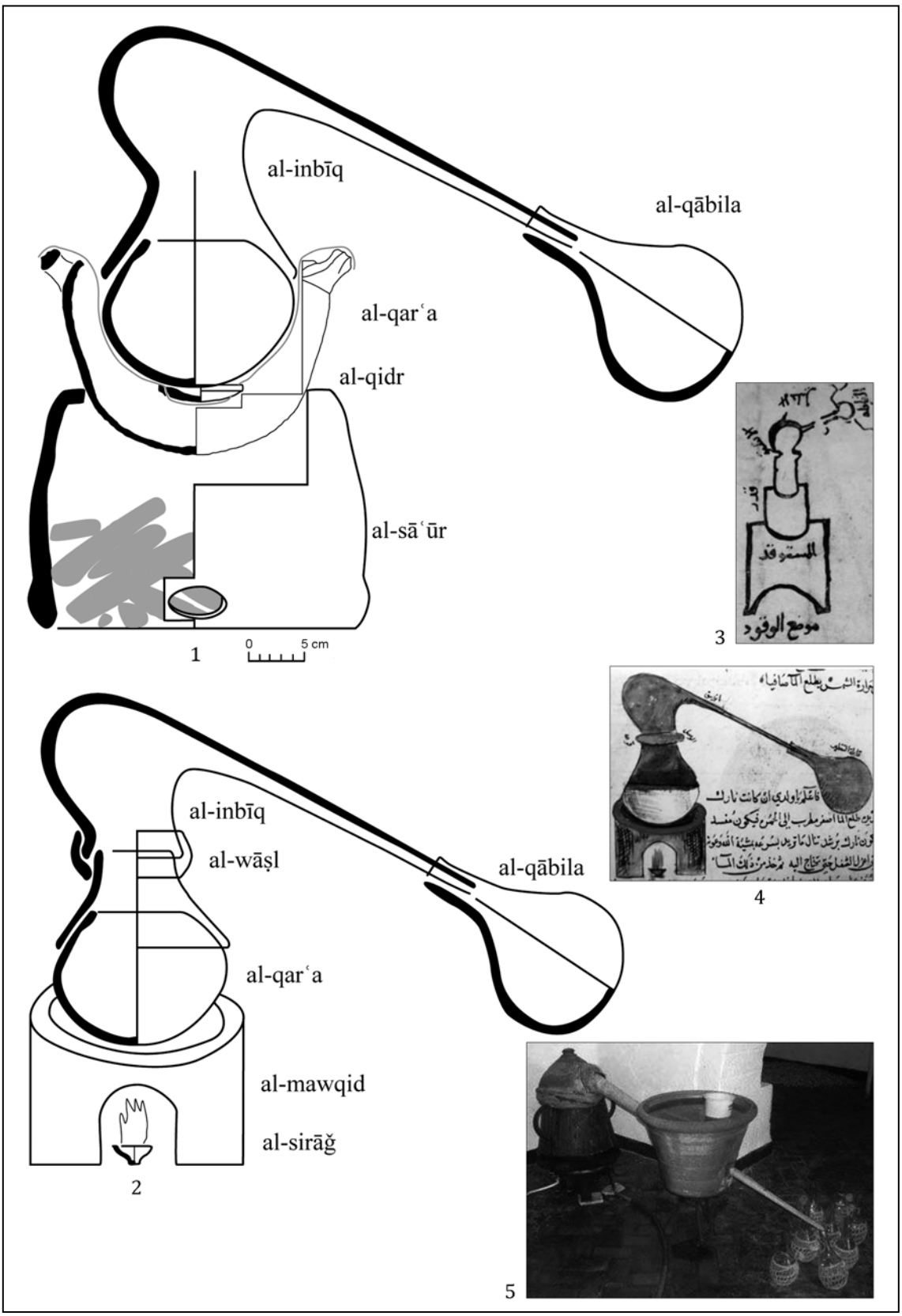

Fig. 5. Restitutions possibles de divers alambics de terre (1, 2) d'après : les sources arabes, les miniatures (3, 4) (Hassan [al-], Hill 1988 : 138 ; Âge d'or 2005 : 208), le matériel archéologique et les alambics pour distiller l'arak à Tartous aujourd'hui (5).

Рис. 5. Варианты реконструкции различных типов глиняного перегонного куба (1, 2) на основе арабских источников: книжных миниатюр (3, 4) (по Hassan [al-], Hill 1988 : 138 ; Âge d'or 2005 : 208), археологического материала и нынешних перегонных кубов для получения арака (5).

nants ne devaient jamais se trouver au contact direct des flammes et des fumées (Ibn Ḥayyān 2006 : 104). Les préparations étaient disposées sur différents types de foyers qui permettaient des cuissons vives ou douces. *Al-kānūn* ou *al-mawqid* était un fourneau portatif de différentes tailles et de différentes formes fabriqué en terre (fig. 1 : 5 ; fig. 5 : 1, 2, 4 ; fig. 6 : 1) (Ibn Ḥayyān 2006 : 317) ; *al-tannūr*, était un four de taille moyenne ou grande, maçonné en terre, dans lequel étaient conduites des cuissons à l'étouffé ou à chaleur vive. On pouvait y placer, à l'intérieur, des cruches ou des marmites pour une cuisson en chaleur douce (Ibn Ḥayyān 1988 : 60, 62) (fig. 6 : 2). *Al-sāʿūr* était un petit *tannūr*. Un traité d'alchimie du VIII^e^ siècle signale qu'une simple lampe, *al-sirāǧ*, était également employée pour chauffer très doucement les préparations pharmaceutiques. Elle était placée à l'intérieur du *kānūn* ou dans un *tannūr* clos. Il est précisé qu'elle possédait parfois trois mèches (Ibn Ḥayyān 1988 : 44, 69). Dans les fouilles, les lampes sont fréquentes mais celles à trois mèches sont plus rares (fig. 6 : 3). On en trouve cependant à Raqqa, à l'époque abbasside (fig. 6 : 4) (François, Shaddoud 2013 : 61, pl. 15 : 5). D'autres lampes en verre ou en terre servaient dans la fabrication du vinaigre (Rāzī [al-] 1964 : 81, 82). Dans une grande jarre à large ouverture, *al-dinn*, à moitié remplie de vinaigre, un tissu de laine imbibé d'ammoniaque était accroché par un fil de coton au couvercle muni d'un anneau central. Ce linge était placé au-dessus d'une lampe allumée, *al-qindīl*, elle même pendue par un fil de laine. La jarre était ensuite lutée avec des fientes de pigeons et d'autruches.

Cruches et pichets

Parmi les ustensiles employés par les pharmaciens et les alchimistes, de nombreux contenants étaient empruntés à l'économie domestique dont le *kūz* et l'*ibrīq*. Selon les dictionnaires arabes, il s'agit de cruche à bec verseur à une anse (Maqdisī [al-] 1999 : 544, 546, 584 ; Ibn Manẓūr 1968 : vol. V, 402, 403 ; Zabīdī [al-] 1975 : vol. XV, 308, 309 ; Zabīdī [al-] 1989 : vol. XXV, 43 ; Ibn Ḥayyān 2006 : 247, 251 ; Fāḫūrī, Ḫawwām 2002 : 439 ; Ǧawālīqī [al-] 1995 : 23). Ces objets sont très présents dans les miniatures (fig. 6 : 5) mais leur dessin est sans doute standardisé car ils sont tous représentés à la même taille ou presque comme le montrent les objets extraient de plusieurs miniatures de manuscrits pharmaceutiques (fig. 6 : 6—11). Les cruches ne manquent pas dans les fouilles archéologiques. De formes variées, elles étaient destinés à contenir des liquides mais plusieurs sources signalent leur utilisation sur le feu ou dans les fours pour des préparations de remèdes. Parmi les cruches de terre plus spécifiques à l'apothicairerie, certaines venaient de Bassora, *kūz ḫazaf Baṣrī*. Ibn Ḥayyān précise que ces récipients d'Irak sont rouges — *kūz ḫazaf Baṣrīʾaḥmar* (Ibn Ḥayyān 1988 : 60, 62, 115). Clos par un bouchon d'argile, le *kūz* de Bassora était placé dans un four pour cuire un mélange pharmaceutique (Ibn Ḥayyān 1988 : 62). On peut faire l'hypothèse que la couleur rouge désigne une pâte riche en fer, un type d'argile bien adapté aux températures élevées et qui supporte les chocs thermiques répétés comme par exemple des cruches de *Brittle Ware* d'époque abbasside, découvertes à Raqqa, et qui ont été exposées à la flamme comme l'indiquent les traces de suie sur le col (fig. 6 : 12) (François, Shaddoud 2013 : 40, pl. 32 : 5—7). Selon Abū Bakr al-Rāzī, un *kūz*, fermé par un bouchon de laine ou de coton, était placé à l'intérieur d'une marmite (*al-qārūra*) remplie de cendres et posée sur un feu doux. Durant cette première phase de cuisson, l'humidité transformée en vapeur se fixait dans le tampon qu'on retirait ensuite pour le remplacer par un bouchon d'argile. Pour conduire la seconde cuisson, le *kūz* était complètement recouvert de charbons de bois réduits en poudre. Le feu était allumé sous la marmite mais aussi au-dessus de la cruche dans les charbons de bois (Rāzī [al-] 1964 : 32).

Pots mesures

Dans les écrits médicaux, l'*ibrīq* est aussi un pot mesure qui pouvait avoir plusieurs capacités (Fāḫūrī, Ḫawwām 2002 : 439). Il servait à calibrer les produits. Selon les dictionnaires, l'encyclopédie des mesures et les livres de cuisine, le terme *sakraǧǧa* désigne une coupe de capacité variée de 3, 6 ou 9 *iawāqin* — une unité de mesure de 0,112 litre (Zabīdī [al-] 1969 : vol. VI, 41, 42 ; Ibn Manẓūr 1968 : vol. II, 299 ; Ibn Sayyār 1987 : 11; Fāḫūrī, Ḫawwām 2002 : 450—452 ; Ǧawālīqī [al-] 1995 : 27, 197 ; Ḫawārizmī [al-] 1968 : 180). Ce récipient largement ouvert était un ustensile de terre du quotidien qui, dans un contexte pharmacologique, était un instrument de mesure de capacités pour des produits liquides ou secs. Selon les textes relatifs à la pharmacie, il était fréquemment employé dans la préparation de divers remèdes. Il pouvait être glaçuré (Dimašqī [al-] 2002 : 240, 241, 300, 301) et, lorsqu'il était de très petite taille, c'était une sorte de pilulier qui contenait le remède à administrer aux faucons malades (Abī ʿAbd Allāh 1988 : 62, 63). En Occident, les apothicaires taverniers utilisaient des pots doseurs, des « mesures de terra » (Alexandre-Bidon 2013 : 105).

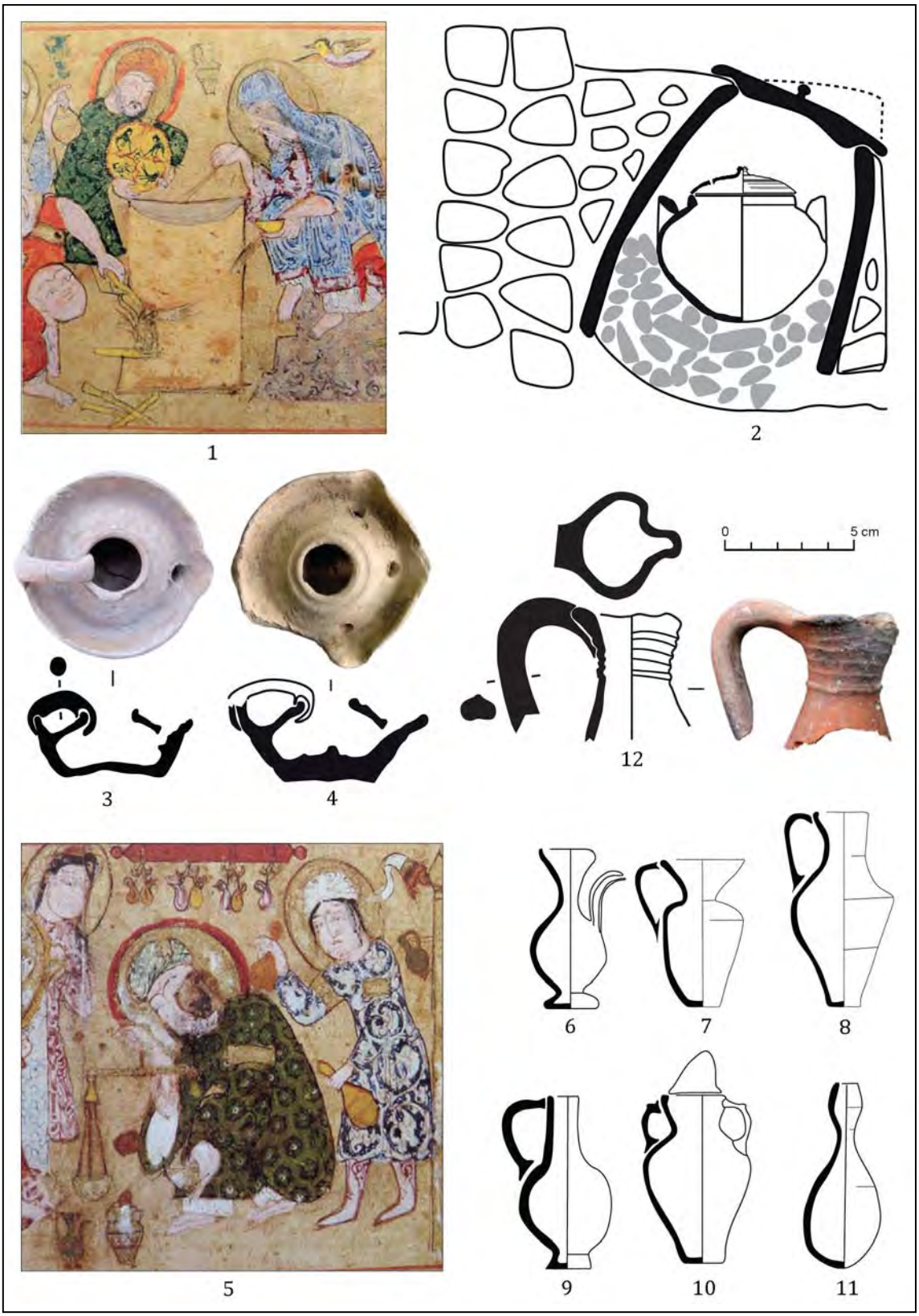

Fig. 6. Kānūn dans une miniature du *Kitāb al-diryāq* (1) (d'après Bilimoff 2011 : 99) ; dispositif de cuisson dans un tannūr (2) ; lampes, Raqqa, IX^{e} s. (3, 4) ; cruches dans une miniature du *Kitāb al-diryāq* (5) ; cruches d'après les miniatures (6—11) ; cruche de Brittle Ware, Raqqa, époque abbaside (12).

Рис. 6. 1 — Канун на миниатюре из *Kitāb al-diryāq* — «Книги противоядий» (по Bilimoff 2011 : 99); 2 — приспособление для варки в таннуре; 3, 4 — лампы (Ракка, IX в.); 5 — кувшины на миниатюре из *Kitāb al-diryāq*; 6—11 — квшины по изображениям на миниатюрах; 12 — кувшин из Brittle Ware (Ракка, эпоха Аббасидов).

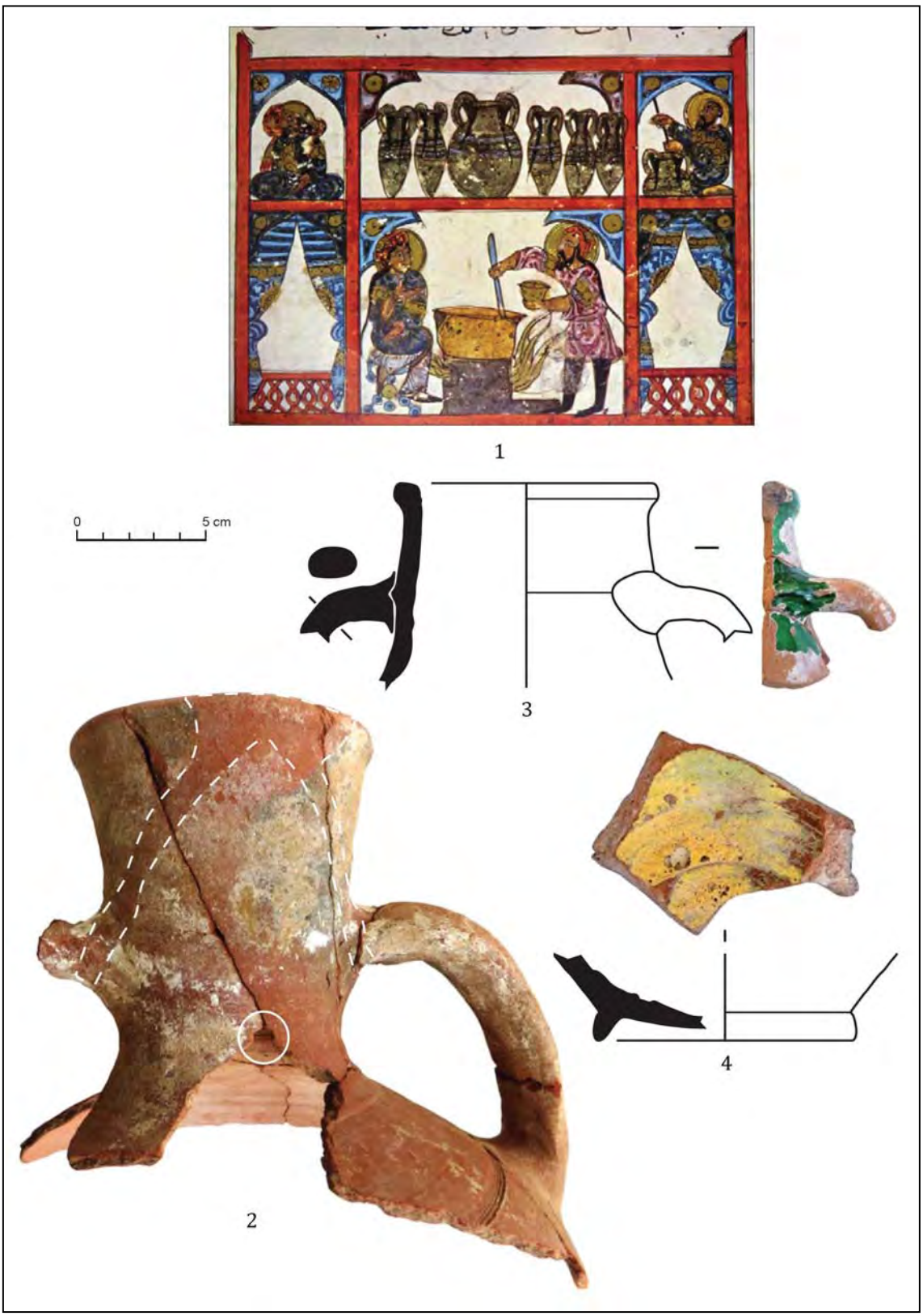

Fig. 7. Représentation d'une pharmacie dans une miniature de 1224 (1) (d'après Ettinghausen 1962 : 87 ; Ukāša 2001 : 105, pl. 85) ; jarre avec un trou d'évent, des traces de plâtre et une marque de corde, Enfeh, XIII^e^ s. (2) ; jarres entièrement glaçurées, Shumaimis, XIII^e^—XIV^e^ s. (3, 4).

Рис. 7. 1 — Изображение аптеки на миниатюре 1224 г. (по: Ettinghausen 1962 : 87; Ukāša 2001 : 105, pl. 85); 2 — глиняный кувшин с вентиляционным отверстием, следами гипса и верёвочной меткой (Энфе, XIII в.); 3, 4 — полностью глазурованные сосуды (Шумайми, XIII—XIV вв.).

Jarres

Ibn Sayyār et al-Maqdisī expliquent comment fabriquer la thériaque aux époques abbaside et fatimide. Sa préparation faisait appel à un très grand nombre d'ingrédients végétaux, minéraux et animaux, sans compter le vin et le miel qui étaient cuits ensemble. Les jarres, désignées par les termes *al-ǧarra*, *al-dinn*, *al-zīr*, destinées à la conservation de ce vin spécial devaient être bien cuites et couvertes à l'intérieur d'une couche de poix de très bonne qualité. Cette terminologie est la même que celle employée pour désigner les jarres contenant le vin à boire. Pendant la phase de refroidissement, elles étaient obturées par un couvercle de terre et placées dans une pièce fermée. Lors de la fermentation, les gaz s'échappaient par un trou percé dans le col (Ibn Sayyār 1987 : 51, 302—310). Les autres ingrédients étaient ensuite mélangés au vin puis la jarre était fermée par un couvercle de toile de lin, *al-kitān*, tendue sur l'ouverture et ligaturé à l'aide d'une corde enroulée autour du col. Le tout était recouvert par une couche d'argile très fine ou par du plâtre (Maqdisī [al-] 1999 : 243—257). Toutes ces opérations, décrites dans les sources des X^e^—XIII^e^ siècles, sont bien illustrées dans une des miniatures du *Kitāb al-ḥašāʾiš wa ḫawāṣṣ al-ʿaqāqīr*, un manuscrit de 1224, une traduction du *De materia medica* de Dioscoride, représentant une pharmacie (Ukāša 2001 : 105, pl. 85 m ; Ettinghausen 1962 : 87, 88 ; Sourdel-Thomine, Spuler 1973 : pl. 158). On y voit, au rez-de-chaussée de l'officine, un pharmacien qui fait chauffer dans une grande marmite, sur un feu très vif, un mélange à base de miel comme il est précisé dans la légende, tandis que de nombreuses jarres sont entreposées à l'étage (fig. 7 : 1). Les découvertes archéologiques semblent corroborer ces pratiques. En effet, sur les jarres mises au jour dans la fouille du promontoire de Ras al-Qalaat d'Enfeh au Liban, on observe un petit trou de 4 mm de diamètre percé après cuisson à l'aide d'une pointe de section carrée, sans doute un clou identique à ceux retrouvés dans plusieurs sondages de la fouille, ou à l'aide d'un vilebrequin comme en témoignent les traces laissées par l'outil[1] (fig. 7 : 2). Ces trous sont considérés comme des évents pour les gaz libérés lors de la fermentation du vin mis en jarre aussitôt après le pressurage. Ils permettaient d'éviter l'explosion du contenant et étaient ensuite rebouchés avec de l'argile, du bitume ou un morceau de bois. On remarque également sur ces objets des traces laissées par le système d'obturation : des restes de plâtre et des marques de cordes. Les jarres étaient vraisemblablement closes par un tissu fixé au col et à l'anse au moyen d'une corde recouverte d'une couche de plâtre jusqu'au niveau du trou. De nombreux bassins contenant du plâtre ont par ailleurs été découverts dans la fouille. En plus de ces jarres vinaires, l'exploration archéologique du site a livré un grand nombre de *dinn*, de très grandes jarres, d'un diamètre à l'ouverture de 50 cm, et dont la surface intérieure est poissée ou bitumée. Cette technique, qui obture les pores de l'argile, étanchéifie la paroi et, dans certains cas, confère au vin une saveur particulière. D'autres jarres, découvertes à Shumaimis, sont étrangement couvertes à l'intérieur d'une couche de glaçure plombifère qui imperméabilisait la paroi et avait donc la même fonction que la poix (fig. 6 : 3, 4). L'application d'une couverte à l'intérieur de ce type de contenant est assez inhabituelle. Peut-être servaient-elles aussi pour la thériaque ? Les textes précisent parfois le type ou l'origine des *zīr*, il est question de jarres de Chine ou de Bassora — *zīr ṣīnī*, *zīr ġaḍḍār Baṣrī* (Maqdisī [al-] 1999 : 400, 401, 406, 462, 466). D'autres types de jarres, appelés *al-ǧarra al-rāšiḥa*, étaient choisies lors des épidémies pour la porosité de leur pâte. En effet, les jarres neuves permettaient de filtrer l'eau bouillie (Maqdisī [al-] 1999 : 67, 69, 190).

Pots de conserve et de montre

Un pot revient souvent dans les sources arabes consultées, il est désigné par un terme persan devenu en arabe *al-barnī* qui signifie « contenu bénéfique » (Bin Marād 1985 : 41 ; Ǧāḥiẓ [al-] 1966 : vol. IV, 130 ; Ibn Manẓūr 1968 : vol. XIII, 49, 50 ; Fīrūzābādī [al-] 1996 : 1522 ; Fīrūzābādī [al-] s. d. : vol. IV, 202, 203). Il est déjà attesté dans des textes du VIII^e^ siècle (Ibn Ḥayyān 1988 : 60, 146, 151) et on le trouve encore au XIV^e^ siècle chez l'historien Qalqašandī qui précise que de nombreux vases de ce type, au contenu précieux, étaient conservés dans le trésor du calife fatimide au Caire (Qalqašandī s.d. : 462). Il s'agit de longs récipients à panse cylindrique destinés à la présentation des épices, des onguents, des confitures et de la thériaque, qualifiés d'*albarello*[2] dans les inventaires italiens à

[1] Cette fouille est dirigée par Nadine Panayot-Haroun, professeur à l'université de Balamand. Elle m'a confié l'étude du matériel.

[2] Ce terme est devenu une appellation générique pour ce type de forme.

partir du XVe siècle et de « potzs longs » chez les apothicaires français. Dans le monde arabe, ces contenants sont réalisés en pierre, en verre, en métal précieux ou en bois (Maqdisī [al-] 1999 : 386, 539, 565, 572, 578, 615) mais aussi en terre — *barnī ġaḍḍār*. Les textes donnent parfois la règle à respecter pour la bonne conservation des médicaments et la nature des récipients à utiliser — la paroi du vase devait en effet résister aux produits composés qu'il contenait. C'est pourquoi ce pot tubulaire pouvait être glaçuré à l'intérieur, *barnī ʾaḫḍḍar ou* ḫaḍḍrāʾ ou *muḥkamat al-ṭalī amlas* ou *malsā*ʾ *min al-dāḫil* (Maqdisī [al-] 1999 : 379, 387, 398, 526, 528, 541, 549, 550, 552, 553, 557, 563, 568, 570, 573, 578, 581, 600 ; Dimašqī [al-] 2002 : 314, 315). Le *barnī ṣīnī* — un qualificatif qui renvoie sans doute à la porcelaine chinoise — était sans doute choisi pour la dureté et l'étanchéité de ses parois (Maqdisī [al-] 1999 : 496). Les textes renseignent parfois sur l'origine des pots. Il semble que certains d'entre eux venaient de Byzance puisqu'il est question de *barnī Rūmīa* fabriqués en bois de noyer (Maqdisī [al-] 1999 : 519) tandis que d'autres, en terre, étaient produits à Damas — *barnī ḫazaf šāmī* (Maqdisī [al-] 1999 : 294). Les tailles de ces récipients sont parfois évoquées : le *barnī kabīra* autrement dit un grand pot (Maqdisī [al-] 1999, p. 400, 407, 410, 422, 579, 580, 595) côtoie le *barnī* à large ouverture (Maqdisī [al-] 1999, 572, 575, 577). On peut faire l'hypothèse que si leur contenance n'est indiquée que par grand, moyen ou petit, c'est qu'elle était connue de tous[3]. Ces grandeurs diverses n'étaient pas aléatoires. Les *barnī* avaient vraisemblablement des capacités normalisées et l'apothicaire pour être sûr de faire bon poids n'avait qu'à remplir l'objet. Les pots cylindriques sont rarement munis d'une anse. Cependant, lorsque c'est le cas, comme sur cet *albarello* de Montelupo du XVe siècle, les spécialistes supposent qu'ils avaient alors une fonction de mesure (Alexandre-Bidon 2013 : 106, 107, fig. 48). Un *barnī* à glaçure alcaline verte, d'origine syro-égyptienne, découvert dans une fouille à Nicosie et daté du XIIIe siècle, porte les traces d'arrachement d'une anse[4] (fig. 8 : 1). Peut-être rentre-t-il, lui aussi, dans la catégorie des pots mesures ? En Occident, le *barnī* le plus ancien, importé de Syrie, a été découvert dans un contexte du début du XIIe siècle dans les fouilles de l'abbaye Saint-Victor à Marseille (Amouric, Vallauri, Vayssettes 2008 : 7). En Provence, on trouve la trace de ces emballages au contenu précieux, dans des dépotoirs monastiques et des châteaux de l'aristocratie locale (Thiriot 1995 : 40 : 8, 44 : 25, 45 : 24, 46 : 26, 48 : 46 ; Amouric, Vallauri, Vayssettes 2008 : 7—24 ; Alexandre-Bidon 2013 : 48—53). Exportés jusqu'au XVe siècle, ce type de contenant a remporté un vif succès en Occident où il a été copié par des potiers du Sud de la France dès le XIIIe siècle, d'Italie et d'Espagne à partir du XIVe et pendant toute la Renaissance (Vallauri, Leehnardt 1997 : 267, fig. 233, 314, fig. 275 ; Amouric, Vallauri, Vayssettes 2008 : 7—28 ; Vayssettes, Vallauri 2012 ; Alexandre-Bidon 2013 : 80—82). Dans ces pays, une partie des *albarelli* étaient des pots de montre, exposés sur les étagères des apothicaireries. Cependant, comme l'ont révélé des fouilles d'ateliers, une autre partie, de même forme et de toute taille, ne portait aucun revêtement ou était simplement couverte d'une glaçure plombifère ou d'un émail (Amouric, Vallauri, Vayssettes 2008 : 20 fig. 11—13 ; Vayssettes, Vallauri 2012 : 88, pl. 3, 92 fig. 28 ; Alexandre-Bidon 2013 : 20, 21, fig. 7, 80, fig. 38). Ces pots pharmaceutiques sont souvent mentionnés dans les inventaires d'apothicaires. Ils sont parfois qualifiés d' « albarelli di speziali », pots pour les épices, ils contenaient aussi, selon d'autres textes, des confitures de rose de Damas, des baumes, des onguents et des pommades (Alexandre-Bidon 2013 : 103). Dans le monde arabe, ils remplissaient la même fonction de pot de conserve pour les remèdes et les sirops mais les sources indiquent qu'ils servaient également à la préparation des médicaments composés. Les apothicaires les employaient pour confectionner la thériaque (Maqdisī [al-] 1999 : 496, 519). Clos par un couvercle de cuir, ces vases étaient alors conservés dans la paille pendant six mois puis couverts d'orge pendant deux ans. Chaque mois, le couvercle de cuir était ôté pour laisser respirer la préparation pendant une heure. Comme en atteste le matériel découvert en fouille ou conservé dans les musées, ces objets étaient nombreux dans le monde islamique. On trouve par exemple des *barnī* peints à Samarkand sous les Samanides aux Xe et XIe siècles (Terres secrètes 1992 : 19, no 159, 91, no 133, 103 no 214). Pour leur part, ces pots longs étaient fabriqués en Syrie et en Égypte dans une pâte argileuse ou siliceuse aux époques ayyoubide et mamelouke (fig. 8 : 2—4). Simplement couverts d'une glaçure alcaline monochrome, ils sont le plus souvent ornés de décors peints en bleu de cobalt sous une glaçure alcaline incolore, peints en noir sous une glaçure bleu turquoise ou richement décorés

[3] Dans les sources occidentales, on retrouve cette terminologie générique pour désigner les *albarelli*, les grands, les petits et les moyens (Alexandre-Bidon 2013 : 21).

[4] Je remercie Véronique François pour m'avoir communiqué le dessin et la photographie de ce matériel qu'elle étudie.

Fig. 8. Pots longs, al-barnī, productions syriennes trouvées à Nicosie, XIII^e s. (1), à Shumaimis, XIII^e—XIV^e s. (2), à Damas, XIV^e s. (3, 4), et ẓarf décorés, Shumaimis, XIII^e—XIV^e s. (5—7).

Рис. 8. Горшки удлинённых пропорций сирийского производства, найденные: 1 — в Никосии (XIII в.); 2 — в Шумайми (XIII—XIV вв.); 3, 4 — в Дамаске (XIV в.); 5—7 — декорированные зарфы из Шумайми (XIII—XIV вв.).

Fig. 9. Ẓarf, Damas, XIV^e^ s. (1) (d'après Sciences arabes 2005 : 184, fig. 111) ; apothicairerie à Bagdad en 1224 (2) (d'après Contadini 2012 : pl. 12) ; jarres découvertes à Fustat, Égypte, IX^e^—X^e^ s. (3, 4) (d'après Gayraud, Tréglia, Vallauri 2009 : 178).

Рис. 9. 1 — Зарф, Дамаск, XIV в. (по: Sciences arabes 2005 : 184, fig. 111); 2 — аптека в Багдаде, 1224 г. (по Contadini 2012 : pl. 12); 3, 4 — глиняные сосуды из Фустата, Египет, IX—X вв. (по Gayraud, Tréglia, Vallauri 2009 : 178).

de motifs peints au lustre métallique (Jenkins-Madina 2006 : 76 W74, 132 MMA17 ; Watson 2004 : 305, 335, 376, 399—401 ; Soustiel 1985 : 229, 233).

Dans le monde arabe, les simples et les produits composés, les eaux et les élixirs étaient également conservés et présentés dans de grandes jarres sans anse nommées *ẓarf* (Ibn Manẓūr 1968 : vol. IX, 228, 229 ; Zabīdī [al-] 1987 : vol. XXIV, 111—113). Elles sont très souvent citées dans le *Māddat al-baqā*ʾ (Maqdisī [al-] 1999 : 409—607). Elles étaient en verre ou en terre — *ẓarf*

zuǧāǧ ou *ẓarf ġaḍār* (Maqdisī [al-] 1999 : 409, 419 ; Dimašqī [al-] 2002 : 311) — et glaçurées à l'intérieur — *ẓarf ġaḍār muḥkam al-ṭalī amlas*. En Syrie, on retrouve en fouille des fragments de ces contenants à cols courts et lèvres en boudin avec une panse ovoïde montée sur une base annulaire ou un fond discoïde. Ils sont fabriqués en pâte siliceuse et ornés de décors peints sous une glaçure alcaline (fig. 8 : 5—7). Ces jarres qui contenaient des raisins secs, du gingembre, du musc ou du sucre par exemple étaient closes par un couvercle de cuir parfois lui-même recouvert d'une couche d'argile afin de rendre le contenant tout à fait hermétique (Maqdisī [al-] 1999 : 512, 515, 517, 532, 548, 549, 551). Cette pratique est signalée dans le traité médical du médecin irakien 'Ibn Butlān au XI^e^ siècle où il est précisé que les cols pouvaient être obturés à la cire ou « à la craie » c'est-à-dire avec du plâtre (Alexandre-Bidon 2013 : 84). Comme pour le *barnī*, ce récipient peut être qualifié de *ṣīnī*. Son lieu de fabrication est parfois précisé. Dans un manuscrit du XI^e^ siècle, il est en effet question de *ẓarf Baṣrī*, c'est-à-dire de jarre de Bassora (Maqdisī [al-] 1999 : 548). Dans une des miniatures du *Kitāb Na't al-Ḥayawān* représentant une pharmacie au début du XIII^e^ siècle, ce sont effectivement des jarres qui sont placées dans une armoire à niches (fig. 9 : 2) (Contadini 2012 : pl. 16). Toutes différentes, elles sont très décorées. Les *ẓarf*, datés des époques ayyoubide et mamelouke, conservés dans les musées, témoignent du caractère très ornemental de ces contenants de montre de différentes tailles (fig. 9 : 1). La plupart étaient décorés avec soin (Âge d'or 2005 : 184, 185 ; Watson 2004 : 396 ; Soustiel 1985 : 225, 232, 233 ; Jenkins-Madina 2006 : 70—73, W63—W69, 120, 123, 124, 133—135, 150—157).

Les préparations étaient aussi conservées dans une *bāṭṭa*, un vase à grande ouverture et base étroite (Ǧawālīqī [al-] 1995 : 83) dite aussi *barnī* à large embouchure (Maqdisī [al-] 1999 : 386, 572, 575). Sur la base de cette description et à cause d'un petit trou d'évent percé sous la lèvre permettant au gaz de fermentation de s'échapper, deux jarres découvertes à Fustat en Égypte et datées des IX^e^—X^e^ siècles pourraient correspondre à cet usage (fig. 9 : 3, 4) (Gayraud, Tréglia, Vallauri 2009 : 178, fig. 3 : 9, 10).

Pot comme matière première

De façon étrange, certains récipients sont mentionnés dans les traités médicaux non pour leur forme ou leur fonction mais pour les matières dont ils sont faits. Ainsi, selon al-Maqdisī, des coupelles de porcelaine chinoise et d'autres de Bassora — *ġaḍār Ṣīnī* et *ġaḍār Baṣrī* — entraient dans la composition d'une poudre abrasive pour blanchir les dents. Débarrassées de leur glaçure, leur pâte réduite en poudre était mélangée à d'autres ingrédients (Maqdisī [al-] 1999 : 603).

Les recettes médicales fournissent des indications relatives au contenu, à la capacité et la taille, aux formes et à la fonction de différents types de contenants de terre qui étaient employés dans les officines des apothicaires. Les allusions aux éléments structurels des pots sont rares. Les auteurs des traités médicaux donnent parfois des indications de provenance associant au nom des pots un nom de ville ou de pays. Cependant ce qualificatif correspond à une origine ou à un centre de production mais aussi à un style. Les lacunes son nombreuses, on ne trouve pas dans les textes consultés de précision sur la nature du contenu qui pourrait ainsi influer sur l'appellation du contenant comme c'est le cas pour le monde occidental (Bénézet 2007 : 28, 29). Pour sa part, l'iconographie améliore nos connaissances sur les pratiques professionnelles et montre les objets en contexte d'utilisation. Toutes ces données de nature variée permettent une approche des usages réels des céramiques découvertes en fouille dans des contextes peu informatifs et restituent une part du vaisselier de santé.

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Ottoman Glazed Pottery Standardisation: The Belgrade Fortress Evidence for Production Trends

Keywords: Balkans, Ottoman Period, pottery, standardisation, pottery production, social identity

Ключевые слова: Балканы, османский период, стандартизация, организация керамического производства, социальная идентичность

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Ottoman Glazed Pottery Standardisation: The Belgrade Fortress Evidence for Production Trends

Glazed pottery from the Belgrade Fortress, already evaluated contextually and typologically, allow us to address some important issues of pottery production and craft specialisation in the Ottoman period (16th—17th centuries). In order to determine the degree of pottery standardisation, this article will analyse the main production parameters, such as shape, size/volume and production technology. The production organisation and craft skills in all aspects of pottery making are examined as well.

В. Бикич

Стандартизация османской поливной керамики: свидетельства о производственных тенденциях из Белградской крепости

Поливная керамика из Белградской крепости, уже оцененная контекстуально и типологически, позволяет решить некоторые важные вопросы гончарного производства и ремесленной специализации в османский период (XVI—XVII вв.). Для определения степени стандартизации керамики, в данной статье анализируются основные производственные параметры — такие, как форма, размер (объём) и технология производства. Рассматриваются также организация производства и ремесленные навыки во всех аспектах гончарного искусства.

Despite the fact that pottery is being used by all strata of human society, its overall social status is very modest, having as a consequence very scarce knowledge of the role of pottery craft in the wider economic context (Sinopoli 1988: 590). In the Ottoman society the potters and their products were very seldom referred to in written accounts. Yet some of them are highly illustrative, such as the festival book — *Surname* of Murad III. Describing the circumcision ceremony of his son Mehmed in 1582, this source mentions craftsmen in the procession. The potters (*dikkaran*) were also labelled as the Iznik wares salesmen — *Tschinifuruschani Isnik*/çınıfuruşanı Iznik (von Hammer 1829: 627—628). This piece of evidence alone speaks of the division within the pottery trade and craft specialisation, and pehaps also of social status differences between craftsmen (Goitein 2010: 278). We also know that in 16th-century Varna each potter's household was to *pay two akçes* for firing the pottery kiln, and the same amount was to be paid in the port for each shipment of pots (Kuzev 1976: 134).

The study of Ottoman-period pottery — especially intensive in recent years — gave us an insight into its complexity, i. e. in both its common

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Fig. 1. Selection of the green glazed vessels from the Belgrade Fortress

Рис. 1. Комплекс сосудов с зелёной поливой из Белградской крепости.

features and regional characteristics. The greatest breakthroughs have been achieved by continuous publishing of large assemblages, like those from the Agora of Athens (Franz 1942), the Saraçhane district of Istanbul (Hayes 1992), Varna (Pletnov 2004), and Damascus (François 2012). Thus this pottery is well-studied in the contextual and chronological sense, and in regard of distribution patterns as well. This is particularly true for glazed wares, which constitute a significant proportion of the Ottoman-period pottery. Given the large quantities of finds, the northern border of the Empire is especially important for these analyses. This does not refer only to material from the towns, first of all Buda (Gerevich 1966; Gerelyes 1990; Tóth 2003) and Belgrade (Bikić 2003; 2007; Popović, Bikić 2004), but also to finds from smaller fortifications occupied by the Ottomans between the 16th and 18th centuries (cf. Nađ 1961; Gerelyes 1990; Kovács 1990—1991; Kovács, Rozsas 1996; Holl 2005; Kovács 2003). In all these publications glazed ware is significantly represented, with its characteristic models, shape of the vessels — particularly bowls and plates — and sgraffito decoration, all of them being long-present in the Mediterranean-Byzantine world.

On the other hand, the production issues of the Ottoman pottery have not been sufficiently discussed. This stands for both the hearthware and tableware, respectively illustrating local pottery traditions and production trends of the epoch. Thus the aim of this article is to study the formal, morphological and technological features of glazed pottery and to resolve the issue of its standardisation degree and, moreover, to explain production trends for the functional class of tableware, that is everyday pottery. I will not process the luxurious classes, like the Iznik ware, as their production was specialised in all aspects and controlled by the state (cf. Atasoy, Raby 1989). In observing production trends, glazed pottery from Ottoman contexts at the Belgrade Fortress constitutes a reference assemblage. This large (optimal) sample has already been typologically and stylistically processed and discussed in a wider cultural discourse (Bikić 2003).

Methodological Framework

Perhaps because it comes from the dawn of the Modern Age, when technological and technical perfection is commonly expected, the issue of standardisation of the Ottoman-period pottery has not yet been discussed. However, precisely this question is crucial for our understanding of different aspects of pottery craft, and at present we can count not only on substantial archaeological data, but on affordable complementary petrographic and physical-chemical analyses too. Furthermore, large-scale ethnoarchaeological research has spawned a series of theoretical models for the reconstruction of pottery production and certain aspects of social organisation (cf. Stark 1995; Sinopoli 1988; 2003; Roux 2000; Costin 2001); the most important backing is sought precisely in the processes of product standardisation and craft specialisation.

Fig. 2. Glazed bowls from the Belgrade Fortress — classes of decoration.

Рис. 2. Поливные чаши из Белградской крепости: классы украшения..

According to the definition, standardisation (uniformity) is displayed in sets of vessels showing little variability in features — formal, morphological and production-based — and simplification of production procedures (Rice 1981: 219—220; 1987: 202; Arnold, Nieves 1992; Blackman et al. 1993; Mills 1995; Stark 1995; Roux 2003). To examine the degree of uniformity, first the morphological variations of the vessels were determined through measuring the different dimensions, which was followed by the statistical comparison of datasets; the range of values, mean value and standard deviation are the main evidence for standardisation (Kwame et al. 1996; Eerkens 2000; Eerkens, Bettinger 2001).

On the other hand, the results of recent petrographic and physical-chemical analyses gave clear indications of the use of local clay deposits and of stable raw material composition (clay and inclusions). This implies that deliberate technological choices were made by the potters in order to produce vessels with certain functions (Živković et al. 2015); thus in later instances this research could help resolve the issues of pottery production organisation and the degree of specialisation within the craft itself (Sinopoli 1988; 2003; Costin 1991: 33—35; Rice 1996: 176—182).

Analysis of Glazed Assemblage from the Belgrade Fortress

At first glance, glazed ware from different contexts at the Belgarde Fortress seem uniform (fig. 1). This refers first of all to glaze colour, which is green or, to a considerably smaller extent, yellow. Similarities in the formal attributes of this pottery, such as cross sections, surface finish and even the shape of bowls and pitchers, confirm this impression; small variations in these parameters are connected to the function of the vessels.

On the macroscopic level the cross sections appear as compact, hard and firm, which points to the presence of mineral inclusions in the clay, chiefly sand (Kilikoglou et al. 1995). As a rule, the inner surfaces of bowls and the outer surfaces of jugs were treated in the same manner: they were first covered with a thin layer of white slip, and then with green or yellow glaze. As the vessels were made for serving food and liquids of various consistency and temperature, both coatings were to reduce porosity and permeability (Bronitsky 1986: 225; Rice 1987: 232) and to add to the aesthetic value, perhaps even to make this pottery resemble the more luxurious metallic ware. In most instances, slip and glaze were evenly applied, and trac-

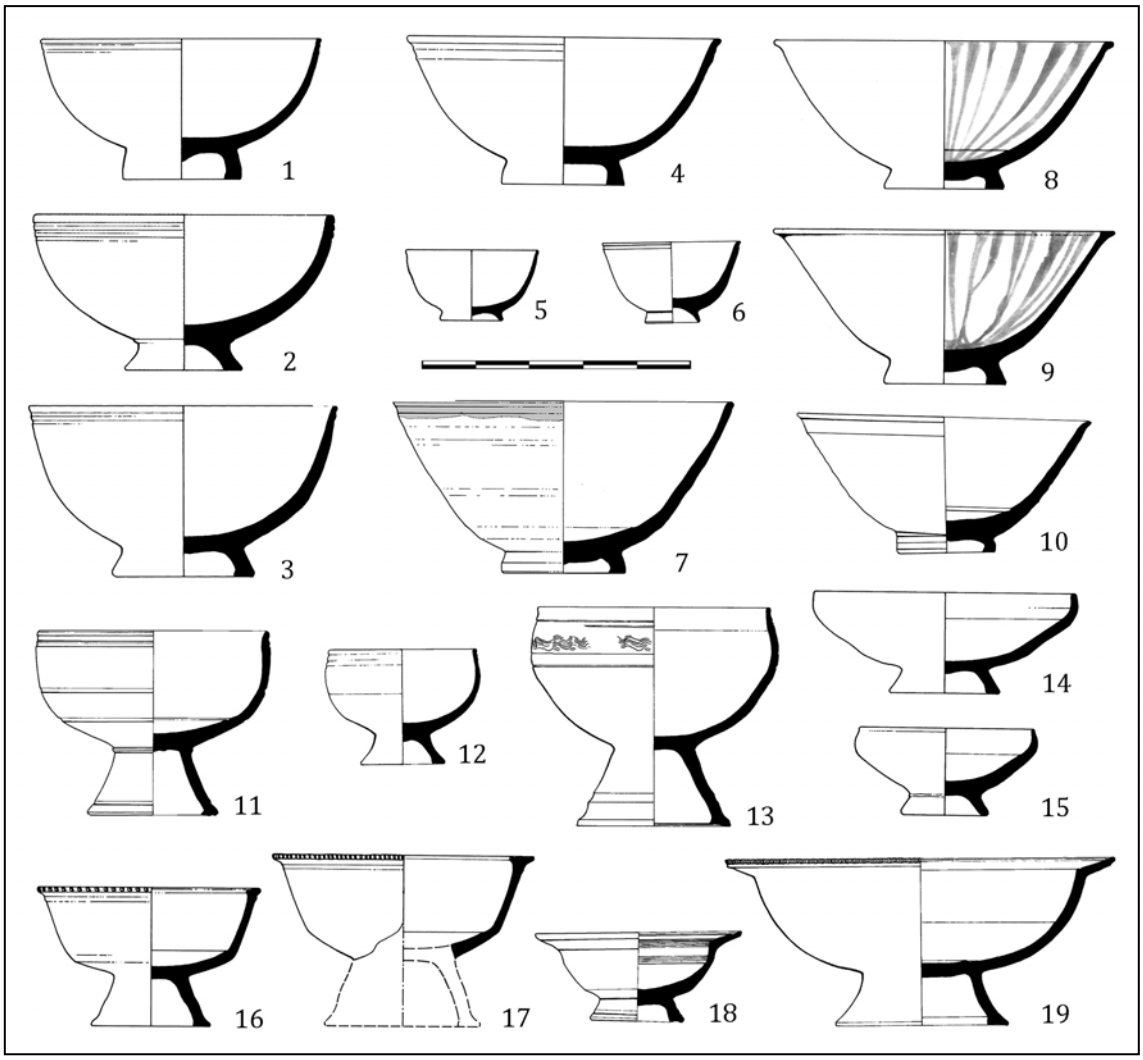

Fig. 3. Glazed pottery from the Belgrade Fortress — review of vessel types.

Рис. 3. Поливная керамика из Белградской крепости: обзор типов сосудов.

Fig. 4. Sgraffito bowls from the Fortress of Belgrade.

Ри. 4. Чаши с орнаментом сграффито из Белградской крепости.

es of dripped coating can often be seen on the exteriors of bowls and plates and on the lower parts of jugs and pitchers. Glazes are bright, of a lead-type, which has recently been confirmed through chemical analyses of samples from similar assemblages in Bulgaria (Yoleva et al. 2015).

Among the formal characteristics pottery wall thickness is particularly important, as the vessel's resistance to physical damage and temperature changes depended on it. The thickness analysis showed greater variability in bowls. Some bowls on foot were shaped with their walls tapering up, mostly from 0.8 cm to 0.4 cm, while the majority of bowls have evenly thick walls, 0.3—0.4 cm and 0.8—1 cm respectively. In contrast to open form bowls and plates, closed forms (jugs and pitchers) do not show variations; even if they are more complex in shape, their wall thickness is 0.4 cm on average.

The decoration analysis yielded results for the whole class of glazed pottery, and those relating to particular functional groups of vessels. Two decoration types have been observed, slip-painted and sgraffito. The first type comes in two variants, in the form of stripes and spots. They were all applied on bowls of all types, although not in the same ratio (fig. 2). The greatest diversity is found in most common, hemispherical and conical bowls. On the other hand, jugs do not display spot-like slip decoration, and pitchers were hardly decorated at all (fig. 1). Sgraffito was more commonly applied on bowls than on pitchers, but only in a few designs. Apart from the decoration, these vessels show significant uniformity in size as well.

It is clear from the above text that the best sample within glazed pottery is provided by two large classes: open forms for serving dishes — bowls, and closed forms for keeping and carrying liquids — jugs and pitchers. In terms of typology, both classes can be divided into a number of groups/types, with regard to vessel shapes, rim profiles, foot shape and height, and presence or absence of spouts. Yet each functional class appears in several shapes, and all of them come in three, maximum four sizes (figs. 2—5), that is effective capacities of 1.2—1.9 l (bowls) and 0.5—3 l (jugs and pitchers), which may imply the vessels' function.

The purpose of particular ceramic categories may be suggested by what we know of Ottoman eating habits. In most cases, the size of the vessels was intimately connected with the size of the portions. The majority of bowls, dishes and plates from Belgrade were of medium size (fig. 3), to contain food for three to five persons (Bertrandon de la Brokijer 1950: 119). The thick

Table 1.

The values of coefficient of variation for metric attributes of bowls and jugs from the Belgrade Fortress

type		orifice diameter	maximum body width	vessel height	body height
hemispherical bowl	Mean SD **CV (%)**	*n*= 21 19.26 2.61 **13.56**	*n*= 11 18.39 3.95 **22.00**		*n*= 18 6.53 1.48 **22.98**
conical bowl	Mean SD **CV (%)**	*n*= 21 20.14 4.00 **19.86**			*n*= 11 6.91 2.08 **30.12**
jug 1	Mean SD **CV (%)**	*n*= 10 5.1 1.42 **28.54**	*n*= 7 16.48 0.65 **4.09**	*n*= 6 27.66 1.87 **7.06**	*n*= 6 18.44 1.19 **6.75**
jug 2	Mean SD **CV (%)**	*n*= 9 4.82 1.1 **22.82**	*n*= 9 13.73 2.94 **21.45**	*n*= 9 23.32 6.34 **27.18**	*n*= 9 15.61 4.95 **31.75**

meals, like pilaf or bulgur, were served in large bowls — dishes; medium-sized vessels were used for serving soupy food — pottage and meals with milk (and jam and compote as well), while small bowls and plates were used for serving sauces and spices, but also for measuring flour, sugar, rice, etc (Bertrandon de la Brokijer 1950: 123; Bikić 2005: 217—222). Jugs and pitchers come in several sizes (figs. 1; 4; 5). The medium ones were usually used for carrying water from the source or the well to the house, and for keeping it in the kitchen or by the table during the dining time. Small jugs and pitchers were used for drinking, and possibly for measuring food too, like small bowls.

As can be seen from the preliminary results of petrographic and chemical analyses, production characteristics of the Ottoman-period pottery are connected with the vessels' function (Živković et al. 2015). Glazed pottery, however, show variations not only in connection with the intended function of the products, but also with the planned surface treatment. The ceramic body is red, in nuances from red ochre to dark red; cross sections appear compact — especially in the somewhat harder sgraffito pottery. However, in particular cases cross sections are soft and the surface is powdery when touched; glaze and slip flake off too, all of which are the consequences of insufficient evaporation during firing.

All this points to differences in firing procedures for distinct functional and decorative

Fig. 5. Glazed jugs of type 1 from the Belgrade Fortress.

Fig. 5. Поливные кувшины типа 1 из Белградской крепости.

groups, and certain parameters indicate an abbreviated firing cycle, i.e. speeded up production! Slip and glaze quality does not vary significantly. White slip is of constant thickness, coating the entire surface, while glaze thickness depended on the presence of decoration and the decorative technique applied. It was noticed that a number of undecorated green vessels were thinly and sparsely glazed; thus their colour is paler by several shades and not bright.

Standardisation Analysis

This analysis was conducted on a sample of 85 vessels, 56 open forms (bowls) and 29 closed (jugs, pitchers, beakers). The sample is heterogeneous, revealing differences in all parameters among functional classes and types — orifice and bottom diameters, height and wall thickness. Yet, variation coefficient values of the glazed pottery metrical attributes provided results relevant to the study of standardisation degree and pottery production organisation. Particularly illustrative are the results for two predominant types of each functional group (table 1).

Coefficient values for glazed bowls from the Belgrade Fortress, with feet of different heights, show significant metrical variations (Fig. 2: 1—10; Bikić 2003: types I/1, 1/2). As could be expected, bottom diameter and thickness, wall thickness and the way vessels were built from bottom to top proved rather random, with coefficients ranging between 26% and 43%. On the other hand, their orıfice dıameters proved to be the key parameter for standardisation, with the coefficients of 13.56% for hemispherical bowls and 19.86% for conical ones. In all previous studies this parameter was used to illustrate the potters' motor abilities and skills (Roux 2003: 777).

The analysis of the second parameter, height, produced no satisfactory results for either type of glazed bowls. Although rather high variation coefficients of 22.98% for hemispherical bowls and 30.12% for conical ones prove the initial premise that there were several sizes (volumes) within both types, these results point to the need for further height classification between different dimensional groups within particular types; such a division, along with other metrical analyses, would be more suitable for the study of standardisation. This problem is particularly evident with conical bowls, which could not have been divided into different dimensional classes, or, better to say, such a division would harm the statistical relevance of the sample. Even if the extreme values were ignored while calculating the coefficients, these bowls show considerably larger spans in both parameters, with their orifice diameters ranging from 6 cm to 24 cm and recipients' height between 4 cm and 10 cm.

A similar variation percentage is found in jugs, where the recipient height is less variable than the total vessel height, 19.59% and 22.32% respectively. All these variations reflect on the vessels' capacity, which spans 0.15 l and 1.9 l in bowls, and 0.75 l and 3 l in pitchers. At the same time we

Fig. 6. Glazed jugs of type 2 from the Belgrade Fortress.

Fig. 6. Поливные кувшины типа 2 из Белградской крепости.

found out that the average volume of hemispherical bowls and type 1 jugs was the same (1.2 l), smaller than that of conical bowls (1.5 l) and type 2 jugs (1.9 l). These figures point to certain production trends in the shape-size relation, which should be further tested on a larger sample.

The two predominant types of jugs (Bikić 2003: types III/2, III/20) display interesting variation coefficients. Jugs of type 1 show exceptionally low variability in vessels' maximum width (4.09%), height (7.06%) and recipient height (6.75%), while the other attributes are significantly higher. In contrast to this, type 2 jugs, although visually rather similar to each other, display the variability of more than 20% in all attributes. Unlike jugs, pitchers (Bikić 2003: type VI/2) show the greatest uniformity in orifice diameters (19.69%), while the variation coefficients of all the other metrical parameters exceed 20%. These results point to an inconsistent sample creating the so-called cumulative blurring, the consequence of a series of factors: in the case of pottery, first of all there is a possibility that the sample comprises products of many potters, or vessels of numerous series, produced over a long time (Blackman et al. 1993). For these reasons, the calculated variation coefficients by no means minimise the impression of uniformity gained through other methods.

Glazed Pottery Standardisation and Production Trends

The analysis of the Ottoman-period glazed pottery from the Belgrade Fortress yielded important insights into its technological, formal and aesthetic standards. Visually, vessels from this group display remarkable similarties, an impression corroborated by very uniform clay composition and production procedures. At the whole-class level, the latter ones were restricted to only a few colour and decorative patterns on the one hand, and on the other the meticulous crafting of particular sgraffito bowls is precisely a testimony to an advanced specialisation (Goitein 2010: 258).

The sameness of the forms and overall technological features of glazed pottery indicates that the potters had models at their disposal immediately after the Ottoman rule over the town was established. These were quite different from the products of the local ceramic tradition (Bikić 2003: 14); on the other hand, such forms are known from archaeological contexts form Istanbul to Buda (cf. Hayes 1992: Figs. 103, 104, 106—108, 110, 127; Frantz 1942: 17—28, Figs. 6—17, 25—34; Pletnov 2004; Tabl. 16—20, 43—97, 112—119; Holl 2005: Abb. 29, 33, 36, 39, 41). Thus the Belgrade evidence is highly illustrative

of the Ottoman production trends and parameters.

Glazed pottery comes in a small number of forms and in a few dimensional classes, uniform in colour and decoration. The whole group displays approximately the same degree of standardisation; yet certain products show greater uniformity, above all jugs of type 1, and bowls of both predominant types (hemispherical and conical) as well. A high degree of morphological standardisation is usually explained by demand conditions, creating an atmosphere of agreement between the manufacturer and the customer (Sinopoli 1988: 586—590). One should also take into account the customers' inclination towards uniformly shaped products, envisaged as reflecting the potter's skills (Underhill 2003: 208). In connection with this, the relatively high variability of metrical parameters points to a number of potters producing a series of wares over a long period (Costin 1991: 32—33; Hegmon et al. 1995). In our case, this was almost two hundred years, from the begining of the 16th to the end of the 17th century. There are also exceptions, such as type 1 jugs which were probably made by a single potter, or a group of mutually connected craftsmen, perhaps from a single workshop which might have functioned at some point within this timespan. In addition to this, from the establishment of the Ottoman rule in 1521, the contents of archaeological contexts changed only in quantity, i. e. in the consumption volume, which was at its peak in the 17th century (Bikić 2003; 2007). Given all this, the overall pottery uniformity during the Ottoman period can be seen as reflecting a stable trend of demand.

Bearing in mind the common Ottoman practice, we can only suppose how pottery production was organised. First of all, one should recall that in the Ottoman Empire craftsmen clustered according to their crafts and specialisations, not their ethnic or confessional affiliation; thus the esnafs (guilds) were heterogeneous in composition (Goitein 1983: 84—85). From the previous text it may be suggested that in the Belgrade area the 'Ottoman style' pottery production was started by the newcomers, according to their needs and standards of quality and design. The use of local raw materials at a time of fundamental changes in the vessels' form and design suggests that the local pottery tradition was at least partly incorporated into new products (Živković et al. 2015). Thus, it may further be concluded with considerable certainty that the local potters had their share in the production process.

The results obtained provide some ground for addressing the issue of the organisation of pottery production in this area. From the results of the previous microtopographic research it can be assumed that the artisans concentrated in the bazaars and around the town gates. This was so partly due to the side-effects of their trades (need for space, hot temperature, odours, etc.), but perhaps even more because the state wanted to have the craftsmen under control (Goitein 2010: 259—260). This spatial pattern was confirmed in Kruševac, Serbia, where a pottery workshop was situated in the peripheral zone of the densest settlement, separated from the houses by the fortification rampart (Minić 1979: 157—164). A similar position was occupied by a pottery kiln in the Varoš (Borough) district of Varna (Kuzev 1976: 134). With this in mind, one may suppose that the Belgrade workshop area was situated in the southern outskirts of the town.

Large series of uniform ceramic ware, including everyday glazed pottery, testify that there was a market for such goods, which is in line with the well-documented role of Belgrade as an important economic center on the northern border of the Empire and a storage center for all sorts of goods (Popović 2006: 165). This is also proved by the distribution of glazed pottery to the Ottoman strongholds across the Danube River, in Sourthern Hungary (Kovacs 1990—1991: 170—171; Kovacs, Rozsas 1996: Figs. 11—15; Holl 2005: Abb. 29, 33, 36, 39, 41). These might possibly have originated from the Belgrade workshops; and moreover, similar glazed ware occur throughout this region. Thus an elaborated 'spatial arrangement of production activities' (Costin 1991: 13—15) can be assumed, within which the potters from spatially separated territories, different in material and social conditions, could have been engaged in the same cause (Sinopoli 2003: 32—35).

In this particular case, connections between Belgrade and the Hungarian possessions across the river actually slightly pre-date the Ottoman conquest, otherwise strikingly reflected in pottery (Bikić 2003: 158—164). The 'Balkan identity' of sgraffito bowls is uncontested (Bakirtzis 1980; Gerelyes 1985; 1990; Kovacs 1990—1991: 170—172), and their distribution outlines the limits of the conquest, outside of which there are no such finds (Bikić 2003: 166). The workshop producing this ware may have been situated in Belgrade, but elsewhere in the region as well.

In its general production character, glazed pottery from the Ottoman period conveys a message of social status and ethnic attribution, and partly illustrates the legal framework their manufacturers had to work within (Costin 1998; 2001: 282—285). The notion from the beginning of this article of a marginal socail status of pottery and the potters is, in the case of Belgrade,

circumstantially evidenced by the fact that the rank of craftsmen was mentioned last *by Evliya Çelebi* (Evlija Čelebi 1979: 90), after those of the military, international traders, administrative staff, winegrowers and gardeners, and boat builders.

The low status of the artisans, including the potters, was appropriate to the socio-economic context of their activities. Namely, to fulfill the needs of, above all, the army, they were to produce large series of uniform ware. Due to the demands for quantity and the urgency, some production procedures had to be abbreviated, which resulted in a decrease in pottery quality. As in the case of other towns (Kuran 2000: 44—46; Kuzev 1976: 134), the Belgrade potters were of mixed ethnic and confessional backgounds. The supposition that the Muslim Turks (Ottomans) were the ones to start producing pottery for their own needs would make them one such group, while technological and stylistic ware characteristics point to an inclusion in the production line of the locals, primarily Serbs but also other Balkan Christians — Bulgarians and Greeks (Evlija Čelebi 1979: 84).

Pottery production and the organisation of its distribution would imply the establishment of the potters' esnaf, which could then have comprised not only the manufacturers but the dealers as well (Baer 1970: 30—31). The overall character of glazed pottery, and especially the obtained standardisation parameters, provide grounds for sketching a model of pottery production in an Ottoman town. The fact that this was Belgrade, the key 16th—17th century military and economic center on the northern border of the Empire, adds to the potential of the reconstruction offered, particularly as against pottery production organisation in Istanbul, and in the wider context of workshop production in the Balkans and the Mediterranean.

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Circulation des potiers ou des modèles ? Production damascène de vaisselle ottomane « à la manière » d'Iznik

Keywords: Iznik Ware, Damascus Ware, Iznik derivatives, workshops, Bilâd al-Châm, craft

Ключевые слова: продукция изникского стиля, продукция дамасского стиля, производные от изникского стиля, мастерские, Билад аль-Шам, ремесло

V. François

Circulation of Potters or Models? Damascus Pottery Production in the Style of Iznik Ware

Archaeological excavations conducted by German and French teams in the citadels of Damascus and Aleppo in the early 2000s, occasional discoveries in the Middle East, Istanbul and Cyprus as well as the publication of ancient excavations highlighted a specific group of painted tableware made in a siliceous fabric. This Ottoman pottery has obvious stylistic similarities with the famous pieces manufactured in the Iznik workshops in the 16th and 17th centuries. This article is dedicated to the so-called Syrian Polychrome Ware probably manufactured in Damascus on a date that is difficult to specify. We will show how this Syrian Ottoman production was similar to the Iznik wares and how it differed. We will try to define the date of manufacture — probably in the late 16th and 17th centuries — and identify the potters. Were they itinerant craftsmen who knew how to make Iznik pottery and, changing their place of residence, were making similar bowls from different raw materials? Were they potters from Damascus, the descendants of the Mamluk craftsmen? In that case, did they have at their disposal the original? The status of these objects is also raised. They were not slavish imitations but Iznik derivatives — the copy was partial, incomplete and of uneven quality. The objective of the potters was not to copy to mislead the consumers but rather to take inspiration from the models to please. The study of archaeological finds and pottery preserved in European museums allows dealing with these issues.

В. Франсуа

Перемещение мастеров или образцов-моделей? Дамасское производство посуды в изникской «манере» в османский период

Археологические раскопки, осуществленные немецкой и французской экспедициями на территории цитаделей Дамаска и Алеппо в начале 2000-х годов, случайные находки на Среднем Востоке, в Стамбуле и на Кипре, а также публикации о предшествующих раскопках помогли выявить особую группу расписной столовой посуды из силикатной глины. Эти образцы османской керамики имеют явное стилистическое сходство со знаменитыми изделиями производства изникских мастерских XVI—XVII вв. Настоящая статья посвящена так называемой сирийской полихромной посуде, вероятно, дамасского производства, датировка которой представляется затруднительной. Мы покажем, в чем изделия сирийско-османского производства были схожи с изникскими и чем отличались от них. Мы также попытаемся определить дату их производства — вероятно, в конце XVI—XVII вв., — и определим характеристики мастеров. Были ли они бродячими ремесленниками, знавшими секреты изготовления изникской керамики, которые, перемещаясь с места на место, производили похожие сосуды из разного сырья? Или это были дамасские гончары, потомки мамлюкских ремесленников? В таком случае — были ли у них в распоряжении собственные технологии? Поднимается вопрос и о статусе этих предметов. Это не жалкие подражания, а скорее производные от изникской керамики, так как копирование было лишь частичным, неполным и нестабильного качества. Гончары не преследовали цель ввести в заблуждение покупателей, они скорее старались угодить им, черпая вдохновение в имевшихся у них оригинальных образцах. Изучение археологических находок и керамики из фондов европейских музеев позволяет разобраться с этими вопросами.

Les fouilles archéologiques conduites par des équipes française et allemande dans les citadelles de Damas et d'Alep au début des années 2000, des découvertes ponctuelles faites au Proche-Orient, à Istanbul et à Chypre ainsi que la publication de fouilles anciennes permettent la mise en lumière d'un groupe de vaisselle de table à pâte siliceuse et au décor peint qui présente d'évidentes analogies stylistiques avec les céramiques réalisées dans les fameux ateliers d'Iznik

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aux XVI^e^ et XVII^e^ siècles. Selon toute vraisemblance, cette vaisselle, parfois qualifiée de *Syrian Polychrome Ware* (Milwrignt 2000 : 200—202), était fabriquée à Damas à une date qu'il est encore difficile de préciser. Cet article lui est consacré. Il s'agit de montrer en quoi cette production syrienne s'apparente aux fabrications d'Iznik et en quoi elle s'en distingue, de définir sa période de fabrication et d'identifier les potiers qui en sont les auteurs. Etait-ce des artisans étrangers itinérants qui « savaient faire » de l'Iznik et qui, changeant de lieu de résidence, fabriquaient des vases semblables avec des matériaux différents ? Ou était-ce des Damascènes, des descendants des habiles artisans mamelouks ? Et, dans ce cas, avaient-ils à leur disposition des originaux leur servant de modèles ? La question du statut de ces objets est également posée. Il ne s'agit pas d'imitations ou de copies serviles mais de dérivés des productions d'Iznik — les reproductions sont partielles, incomplètes et de qualité inégale. À l'évidence, l'objectif des potiers n'était pas de copier pour tromper mais plutôt de s'inspirer pour plaire. L'étude des découvertes archéologiques et des pièces dispersées dans plusieurs musées européens permet aujourd'hui d'aborder ces questions.

Il convient, d'emblée, de distinguer cette production syrienne « à la manière » d'Iznik de la vaisselle qualifiée par les collectionneurs, à partir du milieu du XIX^e^ siècle, de « faïence de Damas » ou « groupe de Damas ». Ces appellations renvoient en fait à une partie des productions des ateliers anatoliens entre 1540 et 1560 caractérisée par d'amples compositions florales naturalistes traitées dans une gamme chromatique comprenant du noir, du bleu de cobalt et du turquoise, du violet de manganèse et du vert de chrome à l'aspect vert olive ou vert tilleul (Soustiel 1985 : 317, 328—331 ; Atasoy, Raby 1990 : 259, ill. 359—362, 369, 371). Ces objets turcs ont été attribués à tort aux ateliers de Damas du fait, qu'entre 1870 et 1880, plusieurs d'entre eux ont été achetés par des collectionneurs en Syrie. La confusion a aussi pour origine les nombreux carreaux ottomans provenant également de Damas, mais cette fois réellement issus d'une fabrication locale, et qui étaient ornés de motifs floraux traités dans la même palette colorée que les plats d'Iznik dits « faïence de Damas » (Maury 2012 : 508—512). Si au début du XX^e^ siècle, les historiens de l'art reconnaissaient l'existence de cette production damascène de carreaux, ils ignoraient encore que des pièces de forme de même style avaient également été réalisées dans la ville. Athur Lane est un des rares a avoir identifié cette production syrienne de vaisselle qui, selon lui, était l'œuvre d'artisans locaux en activité entre le milieu du XVI^e^ et le XVII^e^ siècle, et qui auraient pris pour modèles des pièces d'Iznik présentes dans la ville. Il caractérise cette céramique en ces termes : « For there are a few fine bowls, undoubtedly made at Damascus, which seem to be imitated from Isnik wares of the so-called 'Damascus group'. To these colors — cobalt blue, turquoise, purple, black outlines, and a green ranging from clear, pale, apple green to a muddy olive — … They are technically inferior, with a glassy crackled glaze, a dirty yellowish-white ground, and careless drawing in colors that tend to run » (Lane 1957 : 62, 63).

1. D'Iznik au Bilâd al-Châm : du site de production aux sites de consommation

Beaucoup de choses ont déjà été écrites sur le développement, à partir de la fin du règne de Mehmet II, d'une production de carreaux de parement et de vaisselle de table de grande qualité réalisée dans les ateliers implantés dans la ville d'Iznik. De grands plats à marli, des coupes de toutes tailles, des chopes, des pichets à couvercle, des lampes de mosquée et des chandeliers y étaient tournés et moulés dans une pâte siliceuse contenant une grande quantité de frite riche en plomb. Les décors peints à main levée mais aussi à l'aide de poncifs fournis par les dessinateurs de la cour étaient tracés sur un engobe siliceux et ensuite couverts d'une glaçure alcalino-plombifère, incolore et parfaitement translucide. Les nombreuses pièces d'Iznik conservées jusqu'à nos jours témoignent de l'extraordinaire variété du répertoire décoratif et de la richesse de la palette chromatique de ces productions abondantes[1]. À partir d'études stylistiques, de quelques dates et de marques dessinées au trait sur les carreaux ou au revers des plats, de textes comme des actes de dotation et enfin grâce aux dates de construction des édifices ornés de carreaux, les historiens de l'art distinguent plusieurs phases dans la fabrication de cette céramique (Atasoy, Raby 1990 ; Carswell 1998 ; Hitzel, Jacotin 2005 ; Maury 2014 ; Denny 2015). Une première phase, de développement et d'expérimentation, se situe entre 1480 et 1520. La vaisselle de style *Rumi-Hatayi* ou Baba Nakkaş empruntait alors aux porcelaines chinoises « bleu et blanc » ses décors végétaux stylisés et sophisti-

[1] Dès la seconde moitié du XIX^e^ siècle, ces objets été très prisés par les collectionneurs occidentaux. De nombreuses pièces de forme, conservées dans des collections publiques et privées, sont présentées dans plusieurs catalogues et dans quelques monographies.

qués peints en bleu de cobalt sur un fond blanc. Au cours d'une deuxième phase, entre 1520 et 1540, la palette s'est enrichie de bleu turquoise et le répertoire décoratif s'est diversifié. C'est à cette époque que sont attribués le style *tuğrakeş* spiralé et le style des Potiers. À partir de 1540, la gamme chromatique comprenait aussi plusieurs tonalités de vert (oxydes de chrome ou de cuivre) et un mauve aubergine (oxydes de manganèse). Ces teintes sont typiques des décors *saz* — des compositions végétales exubérantes aux longues feuilles dentelées. Les décors floraux qui comprenaient déjà des lotus et des pivoines se sont enrichis de tulipes, de jacinthes, de myosotis et d'œillets. Pour rendre ces riches bouquets, les peintres, qui avaient abandonné le violet et le vert sauge, utilisaient un rouge tomate éclatant appliqué en léger relief et un vert émeraude, des couleurs qu'ils associaient au bleu de cobalt et au bleu turquoise. Les motifs végétaux ou géométriques pouvaient aussi être tracés à l'engobe blanc sur des fonds d'engobes colorés en bleu lavande, rouge corail ou marron. La production d'Iznik semble avoir atteint son apogée vers 1560 après quoi, les compositions naturalistes voisinaient avec des dessins abstraits et des représentations d'animaux, de navires et d'architectures traitées de façon moins sophistiquée. Au début du XVII[e] siècle, la qualité a décliné : la pâte était devenue plus grossière et le fond blanc était terne, la glaçure a pris des tonalités bleues et vertes, les couleurs ont eu tendance à fuser et le tracé des motifs était moins net. Les potiers n'innovaient plus, ils reprenaient alors des éléments décoratifs des styles passés en les mélangeant à leur gré. Les décors très simplifiés étaient tracés avec maladresse. Cette progressive baisse de qualité des productions d'Iznik jusqu'au dernier tiers du XVII[e] siècle peut être imputée à plusieurs facteurs : la concurrence des porcelaines chinoises qui ont envahi le marché de la vaisselle de luxe à partir du milieu du XVI[e] siècle ; un incendie qui a ravagé la moitié de la ville en 1605 ; des révoltes ; une dévaluation ; un déplacement des routes commerciales privant Iznik de sa situation d'étape importante pour les caravanes de marchands ; des conflits d'intérêt opposant les potiers à la Cour qui se plaignait des retards dans l'exécution des carreaux destinés à la décoration des monuments impériaux. Plutôt que d'honorer les commandes impériales, les artisans vendaient en effet leur production de carreaux à des marchands (Carswell 2012: 106—113). Le pouvoir central reprochait également aux potiers d'Iznik de produire de la vaisselle ce qui retardait d'autant la fabrication des revêtements pour les bâtiments officiels. Parce qu'ils n'étaient plus correctement rémunérés, les potiers avaient en effet diversifié leur activité pour toucher une clientèle plus large et parfois moins riche pour laquelle ils réalisaient une production de céramique meilleur marché qui était bien distribuée hors les frontières de l'Empire. À la fin du XVII[e] siècle, de nouveaux ateliers implantés à Diyarbakır et à Kütahya ont concurrencé ceux d'Iznik dont le nombre avait diminué. Selon Evliya Çelebi, il ne restait plus dans la ville en 1648 que neuf fours en activité contre trois cents à la période faste de production (Atasoy, Raby 1990 : 273, 288). Bien que ces chiffres soient fantasques, associés à d'autres sources, ils témoignent d'une baisse de l'activité potière à Iznik. Les derniers fours ont été définitivement abandonnés en 1719 et, sur ordre impérial, une nouvelle manufacture a été établie à Istanbul, dans le quartier de Balat à Tekfur Sarayı où, sur les conseils techniques des derniers potiers d'Iznik, les artisans ont commencé de fabriquer des carreaux de revêtement.

Très prisées au XVI[e] siècle, les pièces d'Iznik ont bénéficié d'un succès durable. Elles étaient l'objet d'un commerce dans tout le bassin méditerranéen et au-delà comme en attestent à la fois les collections conservées jusqu'à nos jours, les textes ainsi que les découvertes archéologiques terrestres et sous-marines en contexte d'utilisation ou de transport. Au Proche-Orient, les fouilles des citadelles d'Alep et de Damas témoignent de la présence en Syrie d'une grande variété d'importations turques[2]. On y trouve :

— un grand plat et un pichet traités dans le style Baba Nakaş des années 1520 (Fig. 1: 1, 2) (Atasoy, Raby 1990 : ill. 322) ;

— d'élégants coupes, un pichet et une bouteille décorés dans le style *tuğrakeş* spiralé vers la fin des années 1520 (Fig. 1 : 3—7) (Atasoy, Raby 1990 : ill. 135). Les fins rinceaux fleuris spiralés qui caractérisent cette production sont peints en vert cendré sur des pièces tardives vers 1540—1550 (Fig. 1 : 6, 7) (Atasoy, Raby 1990 : 111, ill. 323, 324) ;

— des coupes profondes, un grand plat à marli oblique et des pichets du style des Potiers qui se développe entre 1525 et 1540 (Fig. 2: 1—8) (Atasoy, Raby 1990 : ill. 177 ; Soustiel : ill. 353) ;

— un couvercle orné de tulipes stylisées peintes en vert grisâtre et bleu turquoise des années 1530 (Fig. 2 : 9) (Atasoy, Raby 1990 : ill. 215) ;

[2] Les fouilles de la citadelle d'Alep étaient dirigées par K. Kohlmeyer (*Fachhochschule für Technik Und Wirtschaft,* Berlin) et celles de la citadelle de Damas par S. Berthier (Institut Français du Proche-Orient). Les céramiques d'époque ottomane découvertes sur ces deux sites sont étudiées par l'auteur.

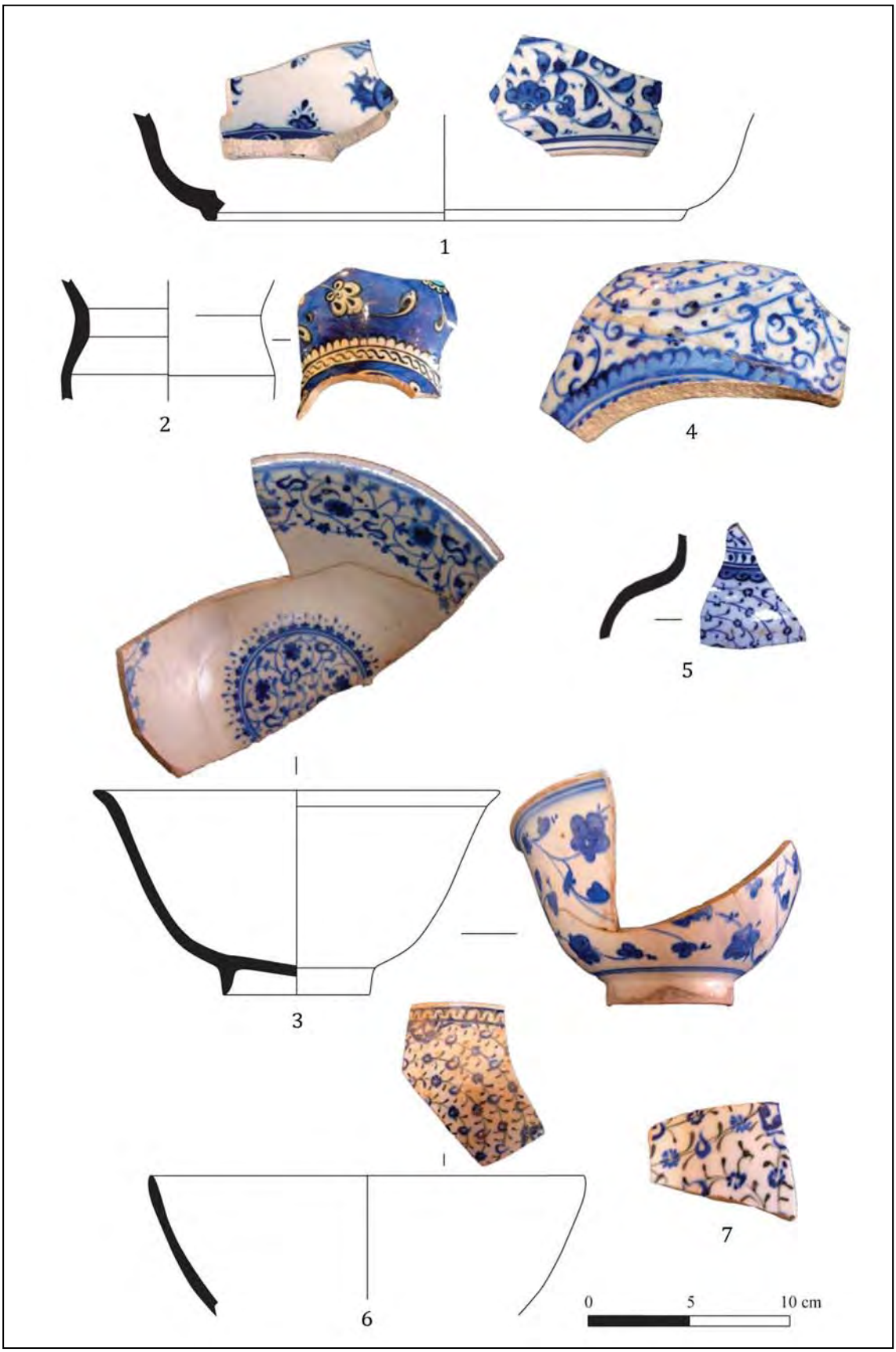

Fig. 1. Productions d'Iznik dans les citadelles de Damas (1, 5) et d'Alep (2—4, 6, 7).

Рис. 1. Изникские изделия из цитаделей Дамаска (1, 5) и Алеппо (2—4, 6, 7).

Fig. 2. Productions d'Iznik dans les citadelles de Damas (5—7) et d'Alep (1—4, 8, 9).

Рис. 2. Изникские изделия из цитаделей Дамаска (5—7) и Алеппо (1—4, 8, 9).

Fig. 3. Productions d'Iznik dans les citadelles de Damas (5, 7—9) et d'Alep (1—4, 6).

Рис. 3. Изникские изделия из цитаделей Дамаска (5, 7—9) и Алеппо (1—4, 6).

Fig. 4. Productions d'Iznik dans les citadelles de Damas (3—6) et d'Alep (1, 2, 7).

Рис. 4. Изникские изделия из цитаделей Дамаска (3—6) и Алеппо (1, 2, 7).

— un très grand plat à large piédouche de style *saz* à feuilles et rosettes ainsi qu'un fragment de coupe entre 1540 et 1550 (Fig. 3: 1, 2) (Atasoy, Raby 1990 : ill. 352 ; Makariou, Maury 2008 : 234, ill. 79) ;

— un plat à marli à fond bleu et une coupe à fond bleu aux sequins entre 1535 et 1560 (Fig. 3: 3, 4) (Atasoy, Raby 1990: 142, ill. 263, 264, 272) ;

— un fragment d'aiguière du Maître des Jacinthes vers 1555—1560 (Fig. 3 : 5) (Atasoy, Raby 1990 : 141).

— des plats à marlis chantournés ornés d'une bordure « vagues et rochers » (Fig. 3 : 6—8) et un fragment d'une coupe à écailles (Fig. 3 : 9) qui sont des poteries du règne de Selim II produites dans les années 1560—1570 (Atasoy, Raby 1990 : ill. 687, 698) ;

— un plat à marli chantourné, une coupelle, des coupes fragmentaires et une grande jarre à motifs « rinceaux de lotus » autour de 1570 (Fig. 4 : 1—6) (Atasoy, Raby 1990 : 240, ill. 755, 756). Un vase de même style est également peint en gris et rehaussé de rouge (Fig. 4: 7) ;

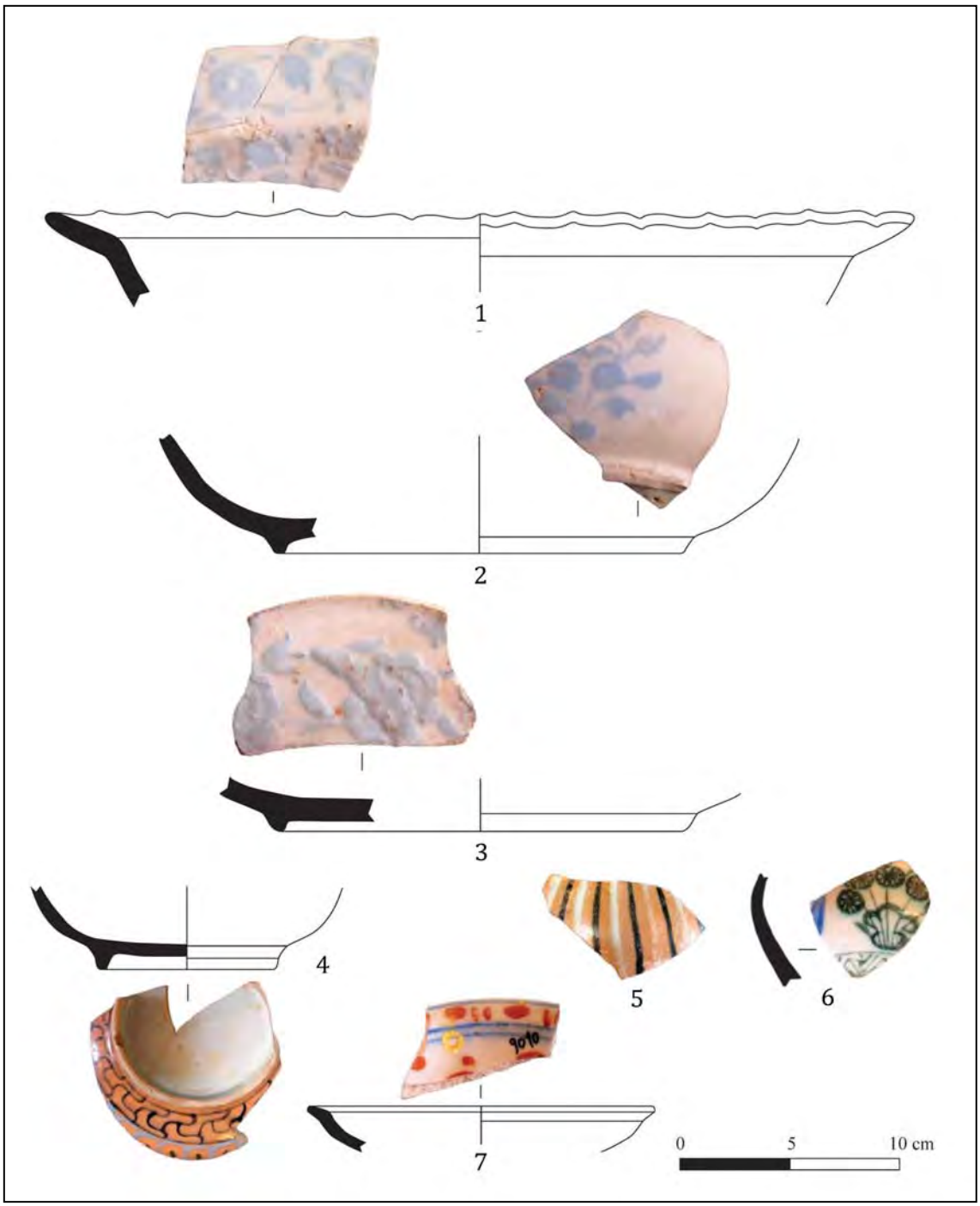

Fig. 5. Productions d'Iznik à la citadelle d'Alep.

Рис. 5. Изникские изделия из цитадели Алеппо.

— de très grands plats au décor floral *Rumi-Hatayi* peint en léger relief à l'engobe bleu pâle épais sur un fond blanc laiteux (Fig. 5 : 1—3), une cruche et une bouteille peintes avec des engobes noir et bleu pâle sur un engobe corail datés de 1560—1575 (Fig. 5 : 4, 5) (Lane 1957 : 58, ill. 44 ; Makariou, Maury 2008 : 248—251 ; Hayes 1992 : pl. 35 : 56 ; British Museum 1878.1230.474) ;

— un fragment de coupe de « bleu et blanc » à motifs « pots de fleurs et rocailles » des années 1570 et 1580 — un bouquet retenu par deux agrafes est peint en vert cendré au-dessus d'un bandeau d'entrelacs encadré par de fines tulipes bleu de cobalt, il est rehaussé de feuilles d'or (Fig. 5 : 6) (Atasoy, Raby 1990 : 244—245, ill. 474) ;

— une coupelle, peu profonde à petit marli, peinte en bleu et ornée d'un semis de points

rouges épais rehaussés d'or appliqué à froid, au pinceau, après la cuisson, vers 1580 (Fig. 5 : 7) (Hitzel, Jacotin 2012 : 285, ill. 424).

Ces découvertes peu abondantes illustrent néanmoins toutes les phases décoratives de la production entre 1520 et 1580. Elles révèlent l'existence d'échanges entre la Turquie ottomane et les grandes villes du Bilâd al-Châm tout au long du XVI[e] siècle.

2. Pièces syriennes « à la manière » d'Iznik

2. 1. Un corpus limité

En l'état des recherches, le corpus de céramiques syriennes « à la manière » d'Iznik sur lequel travailler est relativement limité : il s'élève à deux cents pièces trouvées en fouille et à une soixantaine d'objets conservés dans les musées.

Dans les collections publiques les plus accessibles et dans la littérature spécialisée, Charlotte Maury a identifié, à l'issue d'un repérage partiel, plus d'une soixantaine de pièces de vaisselle dont la plupart sont complètes (Maury 2012 : 515). Certaines d'entre elles, provenant pour l'essentiel des collections du Victoria & Albert Museum, du Fitzwilliam Museum, de l'Ashmolean Museum ainsi que du musée du Louvre, sont illustrées ici. Elles permettent une restitution de formes et de décors complets qui sont partiellement identifiables à partir du mobilier archéologique[3]. Il est parfois précisé que ces pièces ont été achetées à un marchand d'Istanbul ou de Beyrouth et leur datation s'étend du XVI[e] au XVII[e] siècle. Le matériel archéologique est plus abondant mais moins bien conservé. On compte une centaine d'objets très fragmentaires dans les fouilles des citadelles de Damas et d'Alep. À Damas, une grande partie d'entre eux provient d'un dépôt scellé obturant un escalier, entre le premier et le deuxième étage d'une tour de la citadelle. Cet assemblage date du XVIII[e] siècle comme en témoigne un matériel bien daté, c'est-à-dire des coupes de Kütahya et de Çanakkale, des porcelaines chinoises *imari*, des vases à filtre à pâte grise et des jarres de *Gaza Ware*. S'y trouvait également un peu de mobilier résiduel de la fin de l'époque mamelouke mais aucune pièce assurément datée du XVI[e] siècle (François 2011 : 294—329). Il est difficile de déterminer avec précision la datation des céramiques de style d'Iznik de ce dépôt. Elles peuvent être contemporaines des poteries du XVIII[e] ou bien résiduelles. À la citadelle d'Alep, les fragments de vaisselle « à la manière » d'Iznik proviennent de remblais et de niveaux perturbés qui ne fournissent aucune datation sûre. De plus rares objets ont été découverts sur d'autres sites du Bilâd al-Châm dans des contextes archéologiques peu informatifs : à Beyrouth[4] ; à Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān (Porter, Watson 1987 : 204, 205, pl. 12, 13) ; à Marqab[5] ; à Hama (Riis, Poulsen 1957 : 229—231, fig. 799, 800) et à Tal' Afiq (Kochavi 1977 : fig. 15). À Jérusalem, de rares vases complets et une poignée de fragments de *Syrian Polychrome Wares* sont signalés dans plusieurs fouilles : dans les niveaux des XVII[e]—XVIII[e] siècles de la citadelle (Johns 1950 : 189, pl. XLIII, 7, 8) et dans la Phase 2 d'un profond sondage ouvert à l'angle sud-est de la muraille ottomane attribuée à la fin du XVI[e]—XVII[e] siècle (Prag 2008 : 269, 274, pl. 24). D'autres fragments étaient également présents dans les niveaux ottomans tardifs des vestiges d'un complexe domestique fouillé dans la cour du *Colegio del Pilar* dans la vieille ville. Ils étaient mélangés à des importations des XVIII[e]—XIX[e] siècles mais aussi à des céramiques d'époque mamelouke (Prag 2017 : pl. 6 : 2, 4, 7, 17). Les découvertes faites sur l'île de Chypre, dans les fouilles de la colline *Fabrika* à Paphos comme dans celles du site de Kouklia au sud-ouest de l'île, témoignent de la circulation de cette production syrienne mais ne livrent pas d'indications fiables sur sa période de fabrication. À Kouklia, les objets syriens faisaient partie d'un assemblage de productions d'origines ottomanes et italiennes des XVI[e]—XVIII[e] siècles (von Wartburg, 2001 : 361—389). À Istanbul, dans les fouilles de Saraçhane camii, J.W. Hayes distingue deux catégories d'*Iznik Ware Derivatives*. La première (X-1), qui comprend quarante et un exemplaires apparemment d'une meilleure qualité que les productions syriennes, pourrait être attribuée à un atelier d'Istanbul ou de Kütahya. La seconde catégorie, dite *Syrian Ware*, est représentée par vingt individus (Hayes 1992 : 236, 258, 259). Ces deux groupes très proches stylistiquement sont présents dans des contextes de la fin XVI[e]—

[3] Ces pièces sont présentées sur les sites internet de ces musées. Dans cet article, pour des commodités de mise en page, celles-ci sont reproduites à l'échelle 1:4 tandis que les tessons découverts en fouilles sont représentés à l'échelle 1:3.

[4] Information livrée par G. Homsy-Gottwalles, maître de conférences à l'Université libanaise, que je remercie. Pour un certain nombre de ces exemples voir dans ce même volume, G. Homsy-Gottwalles, « Beyrouth post-médiévale. Étude de cas : la céramique » (Homsy-Gottwalles 2017).

[5] Je remercie I. Shaddoud, archéologue à la Direction Générale des Antiquités et des Musées de Syrie et boursier de la Fondation Gerda Henkel, pour m'avoir montré cet objet.

début XVII[e] siècle mais aussi dans quelques niveaux de la fin XVII[e] — milieu XVIII[e] siècle. J.W. Hayes remarque que « The main difficulties in separating earlier from later products are found in the Chinese porcelain, and maiolica ware series, which span the whole Ottoman period, and in various late debased Iznik products and their derivatives from other centers which occur most frequently in a few levels of the transitional period (say late 17th to mid-18th century — the date is here ill-defined) » (Hayes 1992 : 235, 236).

Un manque d'intérêt pour les vestiges d'époque ottomane couplé à des problèmes d'identification — à la différence des carreaux de Damas, les pièces de formes de même origine sont longtemps passées inaperçues — expliquent sans doute le faible nombre de pièces recensées jusqu'alors sur les chantiers archéologiques de Méditerranée orientale ainsi que dans les musées. Cet inventaire n'est sans doute pas un indicateur fiable des volumes produits. Il est donc trop tôt pour déduire de ces chiffres des données sur les pièces disponibles à la vente. Elles devaient cependant être moins nombreuses que celles d'Iznik parce que les centres de production de Syrie auxquels elles sont attribuées n'avaient rien de comparable en termes d'organisation et de demandes avec ceux d'Asie Mineure.

2. 2. Un style nouveau et composite

L'examen de ces trois cent exemplaires de *Syrian Polychrome Wares* permet de définir en quoi cette production s'apparentait à la vaisselle d'Iznik et en quoi elle s'en distinguait. La première de ces différences concerne la technique de fabrication et les matériaux employés. Les pièces « à la manière » d'Iznik sont tournées, mais jamais moulées, dans une pâte siliceuse assez tendre de couleur blanche ou jaunâtre qui ne possède ni la finesse ni la dureté des productions d'Iznik. Une glaçure alcaline est appliquée en couche épaisse sur les parois externe et interne des objets mais jamais sous la base à la différence des pièces originales. Cette glaçure, moins transparente, est souvent trésaillée. Les procédés de fabrication ainsi que les techniques d'ornementation mis en œuvre pour réaliser la vaisselle « à la manière » d'Iznik sont identiques à ceux utilisés dans les ateliers syriens aux siècles précédents. La gamme chromatique est également celle des productions proche-orientales des XII[e]—XV[e] siècles. Les décors des pièces syriennes ottomanes sont peints en noir ou en bleu de cobalt ou tracés en noir et colorés en bleu de cobalt ou turquoise sous une glaçure incolore. Le vert, caractéristique des carreaux et des plats attribués à la Syrie ottomane, et dont les nuances varient du vert émeraude au vert sauge, était déjà en usage dans les ateliers de Damas à la fin de l'époque mamelouke comme en témoigne une dizaine de fragments mis au jour dans les fouilles de la citadelle de Damas ainsi qu'une coupe étonnement attribuée à Fostat (François 2008 ; Watson 2004 : 425, Cat. S.7). La nouveauté réside dans l'utilisation conjointe de ce vert et d'oxyde de manganèse dont les tonalités s'étendent de l'aubergine au mauve et au vieux rose. Le rouge tomate, si particulier à la vaisselle d'Iznik à partir des années 1560, n'était pas employé en Syrie à l'époque ottomane alors que les décors tracés en noir sous une glaçure bleu turquoise étaient une spécificité du Proche-Orient et ceci dès la période ayyoubide. Cette technique a été mise en œuvre à l'époque ottomane sur la vaisselle à Damas mais aussi pour décorer les carreaux du mur extérieur du Dôme du Rocher à Jérusalem, de la maison Jumblatt et de la mosquée des Omeyyades à Alep (Makariou, Maury 2008 : ill. 114 ; Maury 2012 : 518, note 5). Enfin, sur les céramiques syriennes, des traces d'arrachement laissées par les trépieds qui étaient intercalés entre les pièces à cuire révèlent qu'elles n'étaient pas enfournées à l'intérieur de gazettes comme celles d'Iznik mais emboîtées les unes dans les autres. D'un point de vue technique donc, cette production ottomane de Syrie ne se distingue guère des fabrications locales et régionales plus anciennes. Les similitudes avec la vaisselle d'Iznik sont à chercher ailleurs et notamment dans les formes.

Le répertoire morphologique des pièces syriennes emprunte en effet aux ateliers de Turquie toute une gamme de forme dont de grands plats creux peu profonds, se terminant par un marli parfois chantourné, et montés sur une base annulaire. Leur diamètre varie entre 23 et 33 cm. Il atteint parfois 55 cm comme pour cette pièce exceptionnelle conservée à la fondation Gulbenkian (Maury 2012 : 540, fig. 5). Il semble que la plupart des plats d'Iznik étaient plus grands que les dérivés syriens avec des diamètres à l'ouverture de 35, 40 cm et plus. Les pichets, parfois obturés par un couvercle, les hanaps et les jarres sont communs aux deux productions. Bien que moins attestées parmi les céramiques syriennes, les bouteilles à long col bagué sur une panse piriforme ou globulaire font également partie des imitations locales de même que les vases en forme de lampe de mosquée à panse globulaire avec un long col évasé et de petites anses pour la suspension. Dans le corpus syrien, en l'état des recherches, les grands plats reposant sur un piédouche d'un large diamètre sont rares tandis que les grandes vasques à pied haut ainsi que les bols montés sur piédouche et clos par un couvercle sont absents. Les cou-

pes à panse hémisphérique de toutes tailles — leur diamètre à l'ouverture varie entre 15 et 28 cm — montées sur un anneau de pose cylindrique assez bas, sont communes aux deux centres de production. Elles étaient sans doute beaucoup plus fréquentes en Syrie où ce type de récipient profond à bords droits était déjà en usage aux époques ayyoubide et mamelouke. Enfin, il existe, parmi les pièces attribuées aux ateliers syriens ottomans, des récipients de formes originales qui étaient déjà fabriqués durant la période mamelouke. Il s'agit de pots avec une panse cylindrique à carène basse se terminant par une lèvre éversée, munis d'une anse et de plats hexagonaux ou octogonaux à compartiments tels que ceux conservés au musée du Louvre, au V&A et au musée national du Koweit (Watson 2004 : 444, Cat. T.23 ; V&A 305-1895 et 1999-1899).

L'examen des motifs de la céramique « à la manière » d'Iznik révèle que les artisans syriens se sont inspirés d'une large gamme de productions turques des années 1520 à 1580 mais aussi de la première moitié du XVII[e] siècle. Aucun d'entre eux n'a manifestement cherché à reproduire fidèlement les décors d'Iznik. Leur démarche consistait plutôt à adopter un grand nombre d'éléments décoratifs des pièces originales, parfois issues de différentes phases de production, qu'ils ont ensuite associé sur un même objet créant ainsi un style composite non dénué de charme mais d'une autre nature que celui qui faisait la renommée des pièces anatoliennes. Ils ne possédaient pas l'habileté de leurs collègues turcs. Les tracés sont moins sûrs, les compositions beaucoup moins sophistiquées dans leur conception et moins rigoureuses dans leur exécution. Les coloris d'origine ont rarement été conservés — par exemple, les rinceaux de style *tuğrakeş* spiralé qui étaient à Iznik généralement traités en bleu sur un fond blanc et parfois en vert cendré, pouvaient être peints en noir sous une glaçure verte à Damas (Fig. 6 : 2). Les artisans damascènes se sont totalement affranchis des modèles turcs. Les tulipes, si caractéristiques des plats d'Iznik, sont traitées d'une manière tout à fait nouvelle au sein de compositions elles-mêmes très originales (Fig. 9; 10). Enfin, à la différence des peintres d'Iznik, les potiers syriens ont décoré en priorité la surface externe des coupes. L'intérieur est laissé nu à l'exception de festons ou de cercles concentriques soulignant la lèvre ou le bas de la panse et de petits médaillons centraux d'une grande simplicité qui contrastent avec l'exubérance de l'ornementation externe. Comme on peut en faire l'hypothèse, ces variations stylistiques et qualitatives dans l'exécution des décors révèlent l'existence de différents ateliers dans lesquels le savoir-faire des potiers était variable et/ou témoignent de différentes phases de production sur une assez longue durée. Nous y reviendrons.

Les pièces syriennes ne peuvent être confondues avec la vaisselle d'Iznik. Si elles partagent un air de famille avec les originaux en aucune façon il ne s'agit de répliques exactes comme le montre les exemplaires présentés ici[6]. La production d'Iznik de style *tuğrakeş* spiralé, qui débute vers les années 1520 et se poursuit jusqu'au milieu du XVI[e] siècle, consiste en longues tiges continues qui s'enroulent en anneaux concentriques formant des spirales fleuries peintes en bleu (Atasoy, Raby 1990 : ill. 108—113). Elles sont tracées en bleu de cobalt sur un fond blanc et parfois rehaussés de bleu turquoise et de vert émeraude. Ce style a séduit les artisans syriens qui l'ont reproduit très librement sur la surface externe d'une coupe ou à l'intérieur d'un plat respectivement mis au jour à Damas (Fig. 6 : 1) et à Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān (Porter, Watson 1987 : 204, 205, pl. 12). Ces mêmes rinceaux sont également peints en noir sur le fond vert émeraude d'une coupe, une combinaison tout à fait inédite à Iznik (Fig. 6 : 2). De fins bouquets rayonnants, une fleur épanouie à feuilles tourbillonnantes ou des rinceaux de pivoines à petites feuilles crochues peints en bleu sous une glaçure incolore à l'intérieur de médaillons centraux ou en décor couvrant à l'extérieur (Fig. 6 : 3—7 ; von Wartburg 2001 : 366, n° 2, 383, fig. 9 : 2) ne sont pas s'en rappeler les plats d'Iznik à rinceaux floraux des années 1535—1545 qui, eux-mêmes, avaient pour modèles les porcelaines « bleu et blanc » d'époque Ming (Atasoy, Raby 1990 : ill. 201, 202). Une coupelle d'Alep emprunte, aux vases d'Iznik de style Baba Nakkaş (Aslanapa, Raby 1990 : ill. 274), sa fleur de lotus centrée peinte en bleu (Fig. 6 : 8). Des cartouches polylobés au décor pseudo-calligraphique accompagné de faux signes diacritiques, peints en noir, bleu de cobalt et vert tilleul, et surmontés de bandeaux de palmettes *rumi* ou de « nuages en S » — un élément présent sur des pièces du début du XVI[e] siècle mais surtout caractéristique des poteries des années 1580 (Atasoy, Raby 1990 : 259) — occupent toute la surface externe de coupes profondes de la citadelle de Damas (Fig. 6 : 9, 10), d'une pièce de la collection Bérard (Fig. 6 : 11) (Soustiel 1985 : 356, ill. 377) et d'une jarre du musée Robert Mouawad à Beyrouth. Ces exemplaires syriens puisent au répertoire turc comme en té-

[6] Sont illustrées ici les céramiques « à la manière » d'Iznik trouvées dans les fouilles des citadelles de Damas et d'Alep et une partie de celles conservées dans les collections publiques et privées et présentées dans les bases de données en ligne de ces musées.

Fig. 6. Productions syriennes de style tuğrakeş spiralé (1, 2 — Damas) ; à rinceaux floraux (3, 4 — Damas ; 5 — V&A 1744-1892 ; 6, 7 — Alep) ; de style Baba Nakaş (8 — Alep) ; à décor pseudo-calligraphique (9, 10 — Damas ; 11 — coll. J. Soustiel).

Рис. 6. Сирийские изделия в стиле тугракеш со спиральным орнаментом (1, 2 — Дамаск); с цветочной вязью (3, 4 — Дамаск; 5 — V&A 1744-1892; 6, 7 — Алеппо); в стиле Баба-Накаш (8 — Алеппо); с псевдокаллиграфическим декором (9, 10 — Дамаск; 11 — коллекция Ж. Сустьеля).

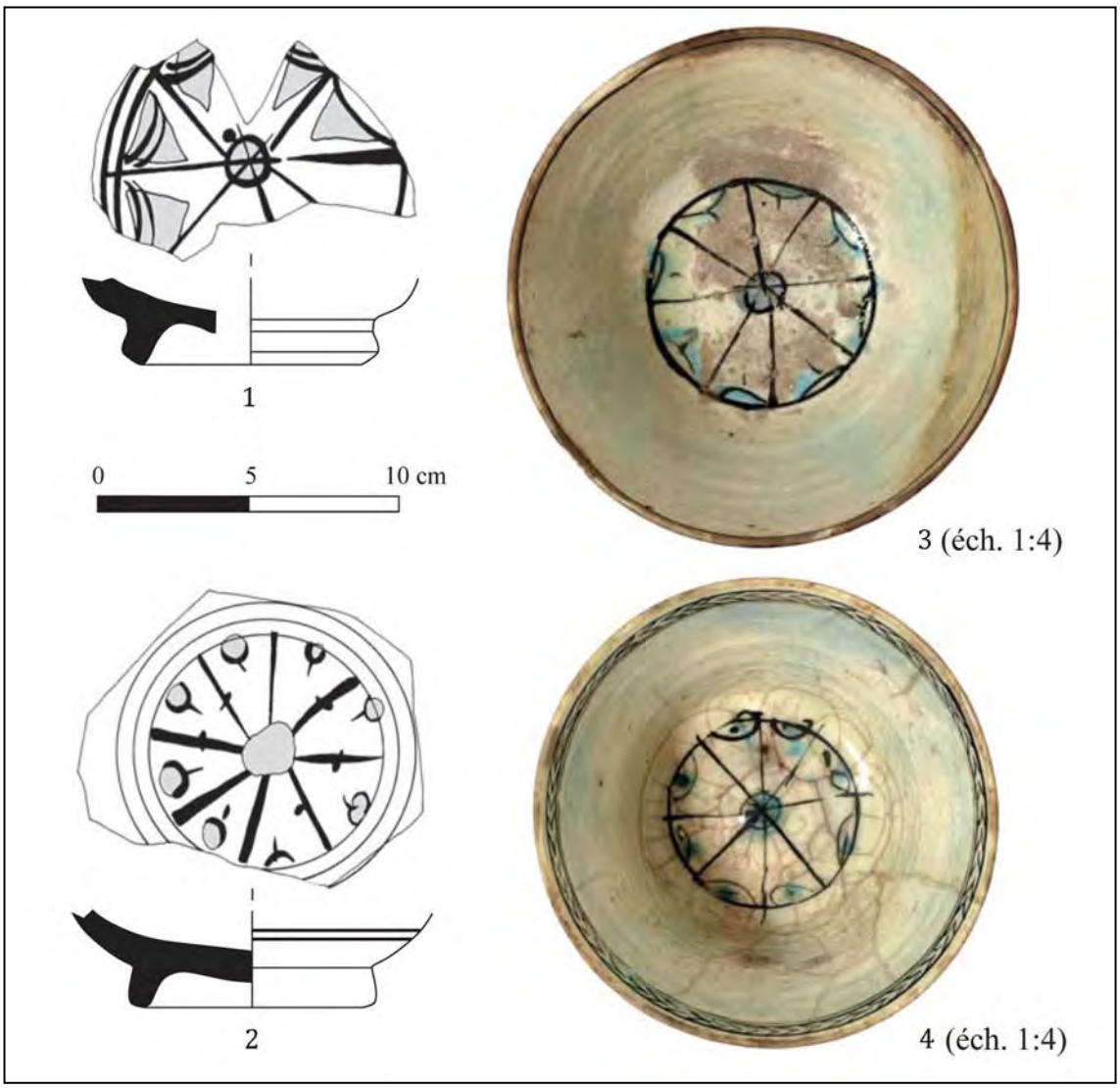

Fig. 7. Productions syriennes à motifs à rayons (1, 2 — Damas ; 3 — V&A 1283.1900 ; 4 — V&A 14.1897).

Рис. 7. Сирийские изделия с радиальными мотивами (1, 2 — Дамаск; 3 — V&A 1283.1900; 4 — V&A 14.1897).

moignent les similitudes existant avec des pièces originales — une chope, des plats et une jarre — mises au jour dans les fouilles d'Iznik, de Saraçhane Camii et de Sultanahmet à Istanbul et datées du début du XVI[e] siècle (Özkul Fındık 2001 : 183, ill. 219 ; Hayes 1992 : 254, pl. 33 : 47 ; Gün : 160, 161, n° Sc23a et b). Des coupes trouvées en fouille à Damas (Fig. 7 : 1, 12) ou conservées au V&A (Fig. 7 : 3, 4), décorées en leur centre d'un médaillon à rayons peint en noir et bleu, ont pour modèle des pièces de « bleu et blanc » d'Iznik (Özkul Fındık 2001 : 173, ill. 178). Pour leur part, des fragments de grands plats, de jarres et de pichets de Damas et d'Alep ainsi que deux pièces de musées (Fig. 8 : 1—5) — empruntent aux aiguières et aux pichets du style des Potiers (1525—1540) leurs rinceaux de pivoines ponctués de fleurons peints en bleu et noir (Atasoy, Raby 1990 : ill. 43e, 170, 181, 182 ; Hitzel, Jacotin 2005 : ill. 24, 25). À la différence de ceux d'Iznik, ces rinceaux fleuris sont parfois colorés en vert sauge de même qu'une rosette centrée autour de laquelle des feuilles tourbillonnantes se détachent du fond bleu d'un médaillon central festonné (Fig. 8 : 6—8). La tulipe, l'œillet et la jacinthe qui apparaissent dans le répertoire ornemental d'Iznik vers 1560 poussent sans entrave sur de nombreux vases syriens. Le traitement des tulipes atteint parfois une extrême stylisation comme sur des fragments des citadelles de Damas et d'Alep, sur un plat à marli conservé à l'Ashmolean Museum d'Oxford et sur une coupe profonde du Fitzwilliam Museum (Fig. 9). Les branchages bourgeonnants stylisés dessinés en noir et colorés en vert, bleu, aubergine ou mauve, sur la coupe du Fitzwilliam Museum (Fig. 9 : 3)

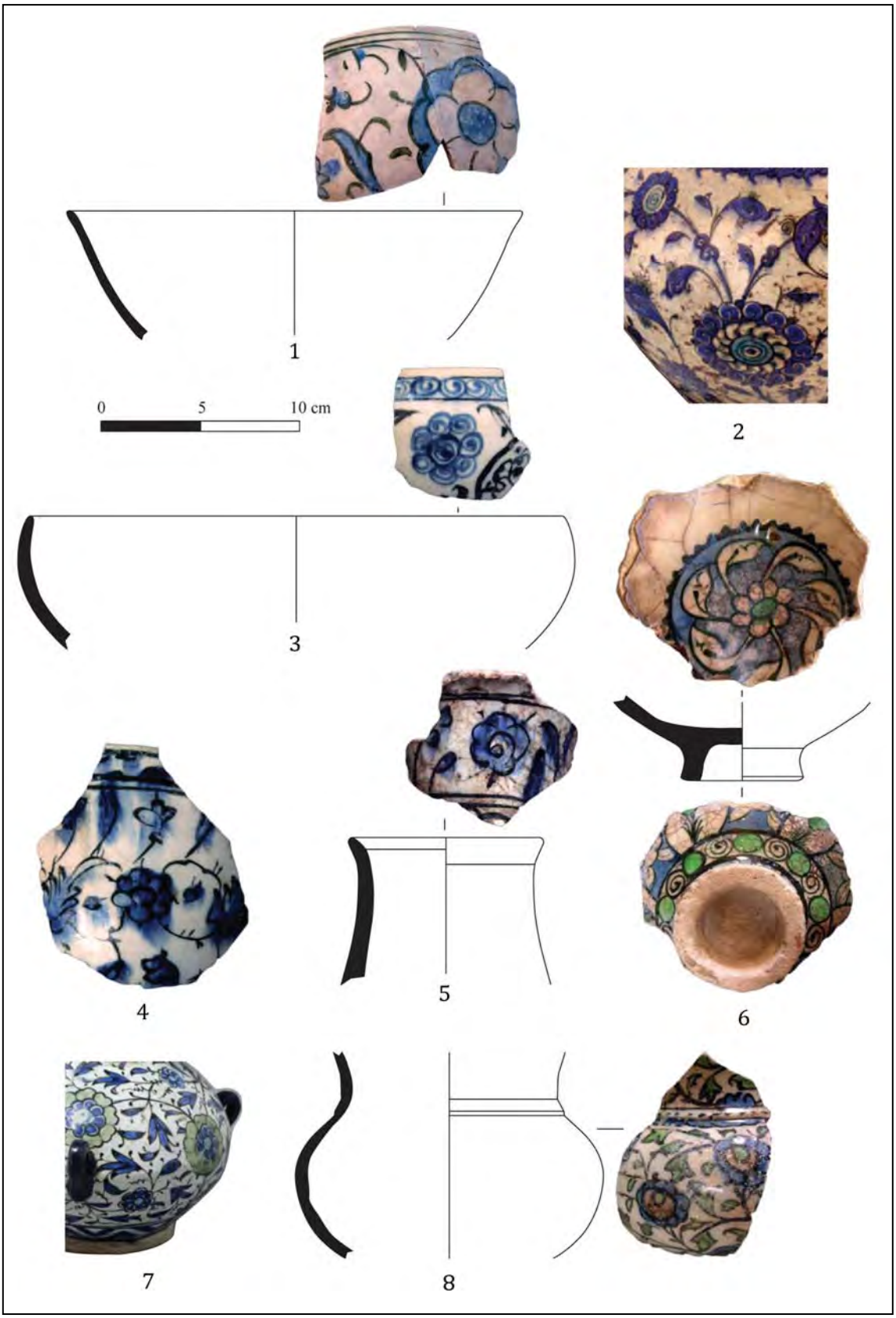

Fig. 8. Productions syriennes du style des Potiers (1, 3—5 — Damas ; 2 — Louvre AD 41890 ; 6, 8 — Alep ; 7 — V&A 193-1892).

Рис. 8. Сирийские изделия в стиле Потье: 1, 3—5 — Дамаск; 2 — Лувр, AD 41890; 6, 8 — Алеппо; 7 — V&A 193-1892.

Fig. 9. Productions syriennes ornées de tulipes (1 — Damas ; 2 — Alep ; 3 — Fitzwilliam 559-1991 ; 4 — Ashmolean EA 1978-1478).

Рис. 9. Сирийские изделия с украшениями в виде тюльпанов: 1 — Дамаск; 2 — Алеппо; 3 — Музей Фицуильяма, 559-1991; 4 — Музей Эшмола, EA 1978-1478).

se retrouvent sur deux tessons de Jérusalem et de Hama (Prag 2008 : 254—274, pl. 24 ; Riis, Poulsen : 229—231, fig. 800). Des tulipes et des jacinthes sont parfois plus simplement tracées en bleu dans un grand médaillon interne (Fig. 10 : 1). Des bouquets peints en polychromie autour de 1550 à Iznik (Atasoy, Raby 1990 : ill. 360) ont sans doute servi de modèle pour la réalisation du bouquet d'œillets dessiné en noir et coloré en vert, bleu et pourpre d'un plat à marli de Kouklia à Chypre (von Wartburg 2001 : 367, 368, fig. 4 : 1, fig. 9 : 1). Sur la paroi externe de coupes syriennes, des boutons de tulipe et des œillets se détachent en silhouette noire sous un fond bleu turquoise (Fig. 10 : 2—4) mais ils peuvent aussi être dessinés en noir et colorés en bleu de cobalt et turquoise (Fig. 10 : 5, 6) ou associés à des rosettes de couleur aubergine (Fig. 10 : 7, 8) à la manière d'une vasque d'Iznik sur piédouche apparentée au cercle de Musli et datée de 1550—1555 (Soustiel 1985 : 329, ill. 355 ; Atasoy, Raby 1990 : ill. 242). Le motif *çintamani* a connu un franc succès dans les ateliers de Damas, un enthousiasme qui reflète l'engouement général pour ce décor très largement exploité par les Turcs dans tous les domaines des arts appliqués. L'origine et la signification exacte de ces trois pastilles, disposées en triangle et séparées par des rubans ondulés, ne sont pas certaines. Il s'agirait d'un motif d'origine chinoise, composé de nuages en forme de « lèvres du Bouddha » associés aux « trois yeux du Bouddha » ou « sequins ». Ce motif symbolique, qui apporterait pouvoir et protègerait du mauvais œil, a été largement représenté sur les productions d'Iznik dans la seconde moitié du XVI^{e} siècle (Atasoy, Raby 1990 : ill. 319, 762, 763). Ces éléments sont parfois présents l'un sans l'autre ou combinés à d'autres motifs. À Damas et Alep, il arrive qu'un seul des éléments du *çintamani* soit exploité comme les sequins diversement traités en décor couvrant à l'extérieur de formes ouvertes (Fig. 11 : 1, 2), en motif de bordure sur le marli de plats (Fig. 11 : 3, 4, 6) ou sur le col d'une lampe de mosquée et d'une jarre (V&A 681—1892 ; Lane 1957 : pl. 48 A). La gamme chromatique est composée de turquoise, de vert avec parfois une pointe de manganèse mauve et de noir pour les contours. Ce type de décoration

Fig. 10. Productions syriennes ornées de tulipes et d'œillets (1, 2 — Alep ; 3, 5—8 — Damas ; 4 — Louvre AD 3287).

Рис. 10. Сирийские изделия с украшениями в виде тюльпанов и гвоздик: 1, 2 — Алеппо; 3, 5—8 — Дамаск; 4 — Лувр, AD 3287.

s'apparente à certaines productions d'Iznik à fond bleu considérées comme des pièces bon marché de qualité inférieure et datées entre 1535 et 1555 (Atasoy, Raby 1990 : 142, ill. 271). Un bel ensemble de pièces complètes ou fragmentaires est orné de lambrequins fleuris et de mandorles festonnées peints en polychromie (Fig. 11 : 5, 6 ; Fig. 12 : 1—5). Des motifs identiques, peints en bleu, vert et noir, apparaissent sur des carreaux de la zawiya Sa'd el-ddin dans le quartier du Midan à Damas, un bâtiment restauré au cours de la deuxième moitié du XVI[e] siècle (Makariou, Maury 2008 : ill. 117). À Iznik, ces éléments sont employés sur des productions vers 1570 et 1590 (Hitzel, Jacotin 2005 : ill. 407, 410). Le motif « vagues et rochers », inspiré des prototypes chinois peints sur les porcelaines, est réservé à Iznik aux bordures sur lesquelles il est traité en bleu et noir parfois rehaussé de couleurs. Il apparaît aussi sur le marli de pièces syriennes (Fig. 12 : 5, 6 ; Fig. 14 : 4 ; von Wartburg 2001 : 367, 368, fig. 4 : 1, fig. 9 : 1). Sur deux belles coupes attribuées à la Syrie ottomane (Fig. 13 : 1, 2) ainsi que sur des fragments découverts dans les citadelles d'Alep et Damas (Fig 13 : 3, 4), de Hama (Riis, Poulsen : 229, fig. 799), de Jérusalem (Prag 2017 : pl. 6 : 4) et dans la fouille du théâtre de Nea Paphos (Cook, Green 2002 : 423, fig. 2 : 13, pl. II : 13), d'élégants rinceaux de petites feuilles pointues et crochues au contour noir et colorés en vert émeraude associés à des pivoines s'enroulent sur toute la panse. Ils ont pour modèles les poteries « bleu et blanc » à motifs « rinceaux de lotus » et « gerbes de blé » des années 1570 (Aslanapa, Raby 1990 : ill. 441, 443, 452). Deux autres coupes syriennes en sont de pâles copies (Fig. 13 : 5, 6). Des fragments syriens peints en polychromie (Fig. 14 : 1, 2) — un bleu de cobalt très profond associé à du vert émeraude et du manganèse aubergine — renvoient aux plats à écailles vertes et bleues d'Iznik produits en 1575—1580 (Soustiel 2000 : 76, ill. 28 ; Maury 2008 : 232, 235, ill. 201—203). Ces écailles peuvent être associées à une longue feuille dentelée verte et aubergine (Fig. 14 : 2) qu'on trouve comme motif principal sur une belle coupe d'origine syrienne du musée de la Renaissance d'Ecouen (Fig. 14 : 3) (Hitzel, Jacotin 2005 : 163, ill. 190). Comme en témoignent deux grands plats du V&A (Fig. 14 : 4) et du Fitzwilliam Museum (Fig. 14 : 5), ce décor couvrant d'écailles a été une source d'inspiration pour les artisans de Syrie. Sur une coupe de Damas, une feuille *saz* très stylisée (Fig. 14 : 6) est empruntée aux productions d'Iznik vers 1540 (Atasoy, Raby 1990 : ill. 133, 134, 213). Parmi les pièces rares s'apparentant à la vaisselle turque de la fin du XVI[e] siècle, on trouve une coupe ornée d'un grand fleuron trilobé tracé en noir et coloré en bleu de cobalt et turquoise dans un médaillon central (Fig. 14 : 7). Ce motif est identique à celui d'une petite coupe d'Iznik montée sur piédouche du musée de la Renaissance d'Ecouen datée vers 1580 (Hitzel, Jacotin 2005 : ill. 405). Une série de vases porte

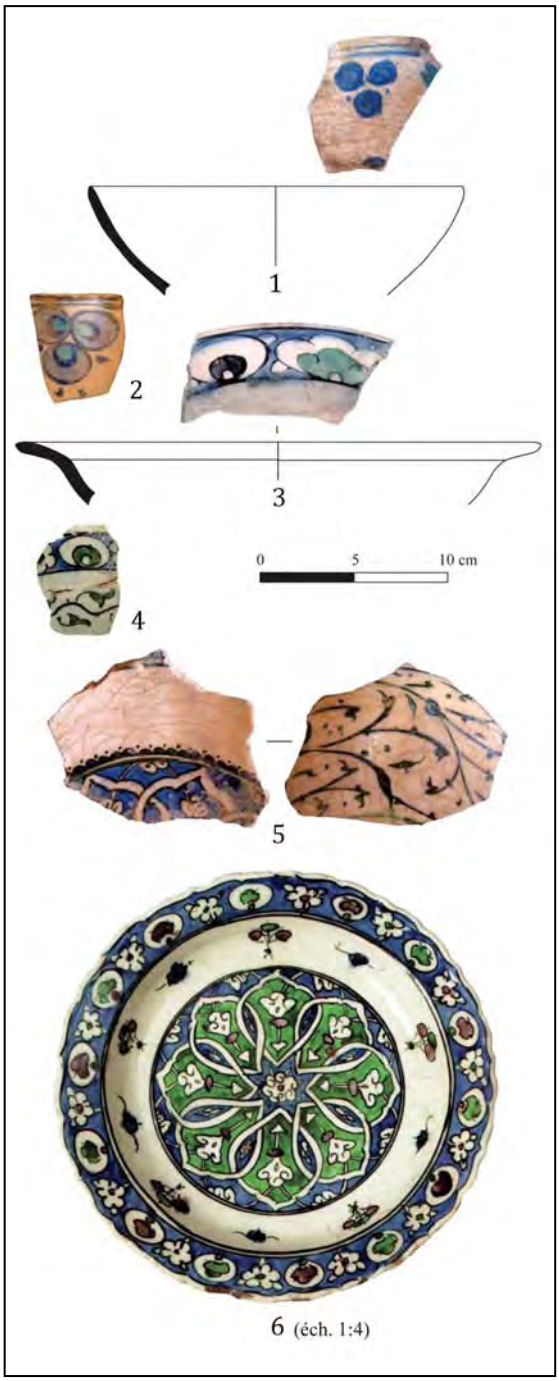

Fig. 11. Productions syriennes à motifs çintamani et lambrequins (1, 3, 4 — Damas ; 2, 5 — Alep ; 6 — exposition galerie A. Renard).

Рис. 11. Сирийские изделия с мотивами чинтамани и ламбрекенами: 1, 3, 4 — Дамаск; 2, 5 — Алеппо; 6 — выставка в галерее А. Ренара.

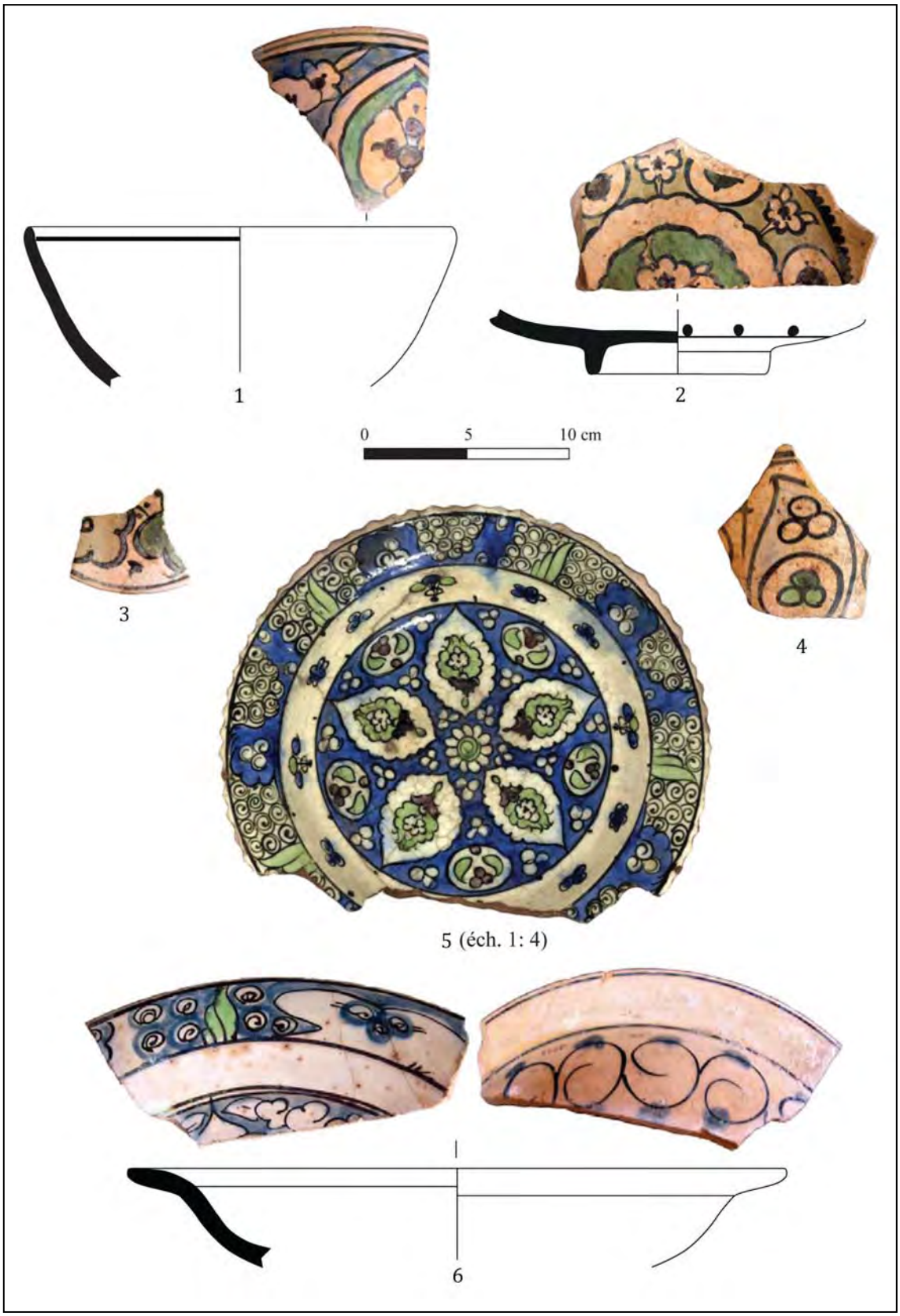

Fig. 12. Productions syriennes à lambrequins et mandorles (1—4 — Alep ; 5 — V&A 188-1892) et à décor « vagues et rochers » (6 — Alep).

Рис. 12. Сирийские изделия с ламбрекенами и овалами: 1—4 — Алеппо; 5 — V&A 188—1892; с декором «волны и скалы»: 6 — Алеппо.

Fig. 13. Productions syriennes à décor de rinceaux fleuris (1 — Louvre AD3288 ; 2 — V&A 373-1897 ; 3 — Alep ; 4 — Damas ; 5 — Alep ; 6 — Damas)

Рис. 13. Сирийские изделия с украшением цветочной вязью: 1 — Алеппо; 2 — V&A 373-1897; 3 — Алеппо; 3, 4 — Дамаск; 5 — Алеппо; 6 — Дамаск.

un décor de grenade stylisée assez éloigné de celui dessiné sur les pièces originales qui étaient surtout des pichets (Hitzel, Jacotin 2005 : ill. 154, 155, 165 ; Maury 2014 : ill. 235). Le motif en grenade, qui occupe souvent un médaillon central, est orné d'un fleuron trilobé (Fig. 15 : 1, 2) ou d'une fleurette (Fig. 15 : 3). Il est parfois laissé vide (Fig. 15 : 5—7) ou associé à une feuille *saz* (Fig. 15 : 8). Les médaillons centraux festonnés, ornés d'une fleur à six pétales superposée à deux triangles formant une étoile et dont le cœur contient une rosette épanouie, sont fréquents aux fonds des coupes et des plats syriens comme en témoignent les découvertes damascènes (Fig. 16 : 1 , 2), celles de Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān (Porter, Watson 1987 : 204, 205, pl. 13), une coupe de Saraçhane datée du début du XVII[e] siècle (Hayes 1992 : 259, pl. 39 : 2), des objets complets du Fitzwilliam Museum et du musée du Louvre (Fig. 16 : 3—6). Ces étoiles, considérées parfois

Fig. 14. Productions syriennes à écailles (1 — Alep ; 2 — Damas ; 3 — Ecouen ; 4 — V&A 189-1892 ; 5 — Fitzwilliam 558-1991) ; à feuilles saz (6 — Damas) ; à fleuron trilobé (7 — Alep).

Рис. 14. Сирийские изделия с чешуйчатым орнаментом: 1 — Алеппо; 2 — Дамаск; 3 — Экуэн; 4 — V&A 189-1892; 5 — Fitzwilliam 558-1991); с цветами *саз*: 6 — Дамаск; с трёхлепестковым цветком: 7 — Алеппо.

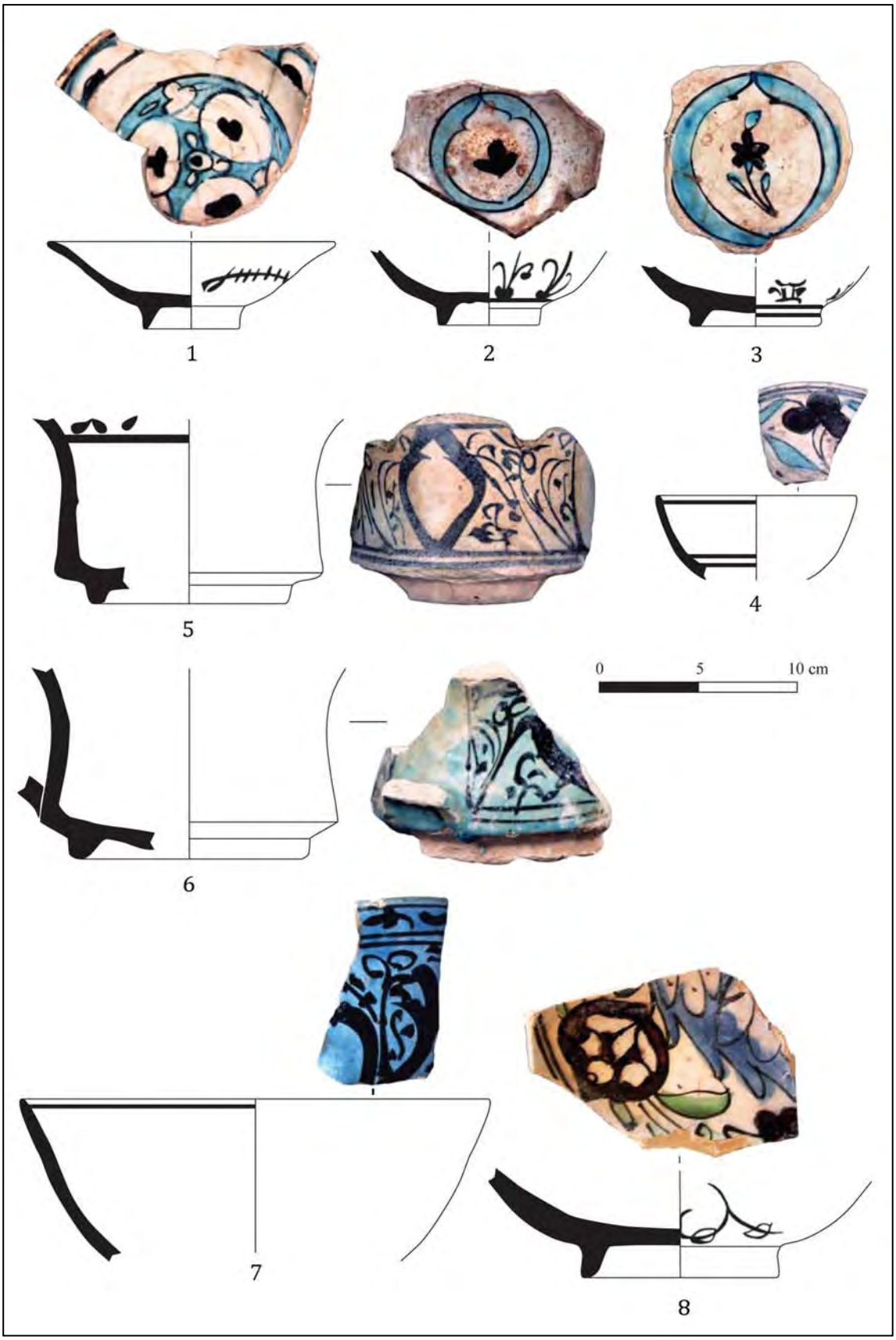

Fig. 15. Productions syriennes à motif de grenade (1—7 — Damas ; 8 — Alep).

Рис. 15. Сирийские изделия с мотивом граната: 1—7 — Дамаск; 8 — Алеппо.

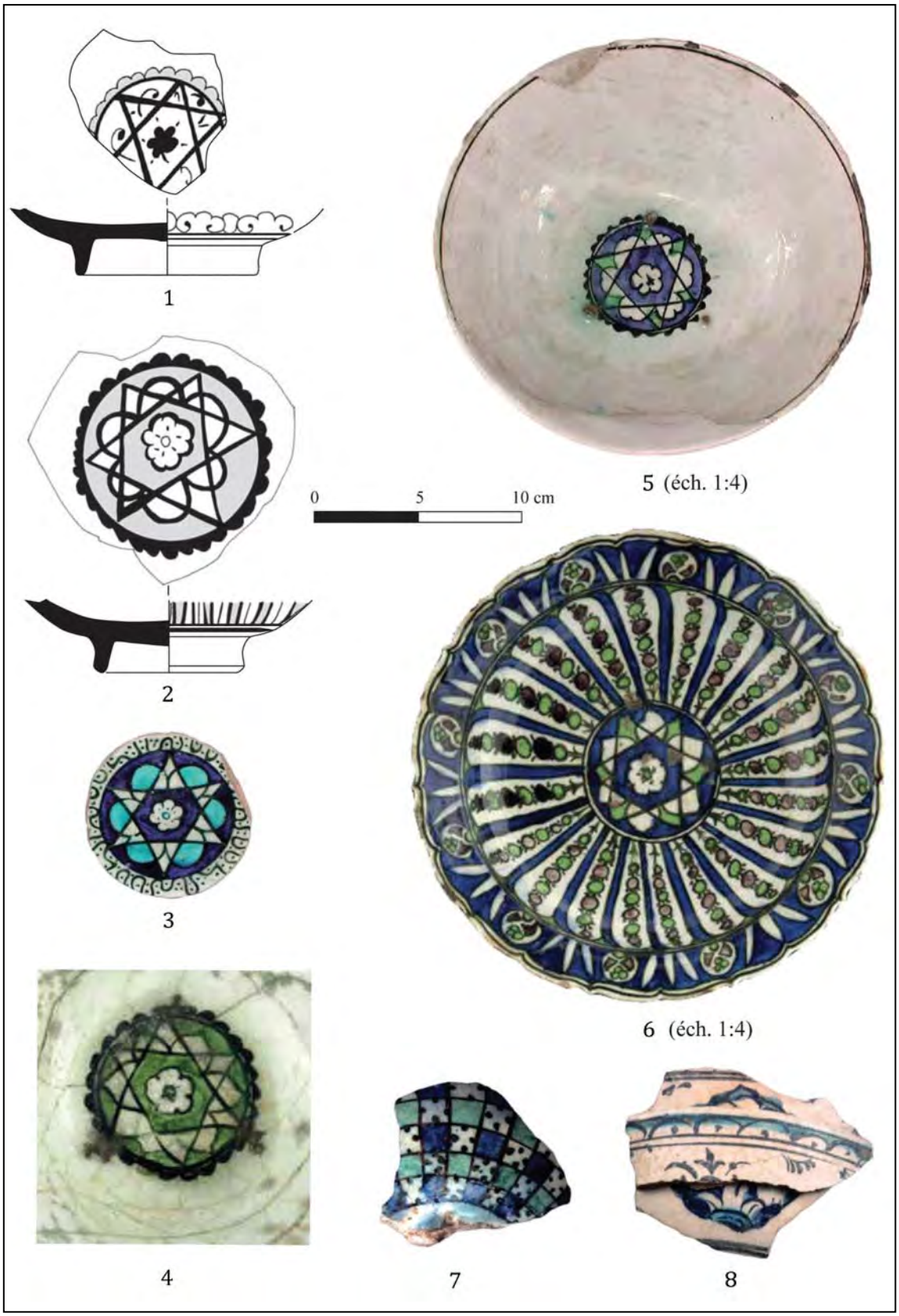

Fig. 16. Productions syriennes à décor étoilé (1, 2 — Damas ; 3, 5 — Fitzwilliam C570-1191 et 559-1991 ; 4, 6 — Louvre 3288 et AD 2704) et en alvéoles (7 — Damas); 8 — raté de cuisson à Damas.

Рис. 16. Сирийские изделия со звёздчатым декором: 1, 2 — Дамаск; 3 — Fitzwilliam C570—1191; 4 — Лувр, 3288; 5 — Музей Фицуильяма 559—1991; 6 — Лувр AD 2704; с орнаментом в виде ячеек: 7 — Дамаск; 8 — изделие с браком прокаливания, Дамаск.

comme des nœuds de Salomon, constituent l'unique ornementation du vase ou, au contraire, ne sont qu'un des éléments d'une composition plus complexe. Souvent traitées en polychromie, elles sont parfois plus simplement tracées en noir sur un fond bleu de cobalt. Ce motif apparaît sur des pièces d'Iznik mises au jour dans les fouilles des ateliers (Aslanapa, Yetkin, Altun 1989 : 120), sur des objets du musée Ariana à Genève attribués la deuxième moitié du XVI[e] et au XVII[e] siècle (Maury 2014 : 244, ill. 211, 212) et sur une base fragmentaire du premier tiers du XVI[e] siècle des fouilles de Saraçhane (Hayes 1992 : 255, pl. 31 : 74). Un décor en alvéoles ou nids d'abeilles semés de quatre points peint en noir, bleu de cobalt et vert sauge, couvre toute la surface externe d'une coupe de Damas (Fig. 16 : 7). Ces damiers polychromes se développent parfois sur des pièces tardives d'Iznik attribuées à la deuxième moitié du XVII[e] siècle (Atasoy, Raby 1990 : ill. 659 ; Maury 2014 : ill. 241). Comme à Iznik, l'extérieur des grands plats à marli est souvent orné de petits motifs — des rubans chinois (Fig. 10 : 1), des taches (Fig. 12 : 2), des spirales en bandeau (Fig. 12 : 6), de faux pictogrammes chinois (Fig. 15 : 3), des petits fleurons (Fig. 15 : 2, 8), une succession de nuages chinois stylisés (Fig. 16 : 1), des nervures (Fig. 16 : 2) — ou de rinceaux fleuris couvrants de style *Rumi hatayi* (Fig. 11 : 5, 6 ; Fig. 14 : 5). Le marli, chantourné ou non, est souvent souligné à l'intérieur comme à l'extérieur par un filet noir (Fig. 9 : 4). Ce trait en accolade est parfois tracé sur des marlis droits perdant ainsi son sens premier qui était d'accentuer le découpage de la lèvre (Fig. 14 : 5). On observe aussi sur les céramiques « à la manière » d'Iznik divers petits éléments secondaires empruntés aux pièces originales : des bandeaux de petites spirales soulignent les lèvres ou le bas de la panse (Fig. 8 : 3, 6 ; Fig. 9 : 3 ; Fig. 10 : 8 ; Fig. 14 : 3), des tresses, des rosettes épanouies et des sequins isolés répétés sur les marlis (Fig. 9 : 4 ; Fig. 11 : 3, 4, 6 ; Fig. 13 : 1 ; Fig. 14 : 5) : des pétales *hatayi* (Fig. 14 : 7).

2. 3. Sans doute une production tardive : fin XVI[e]—XVII[e] siècle (?)

Les contextes archéologiques étant peu informatifs, il est difficile de dater avec précision la production syrienne de vaisselle dans le style d'Iznik. L'examen d'une série d'indices permet cependant de proposer plusieurs hypothèses. Dans la seconde moitié du XVI[e] siècle, le sultan Soliman a ordonné la construction, à Damas, d'une importante mosquée et d'une madrasa respectivement connues sous le nom de Takkiya al-Suleymaniyya (1554—1560) et de Madrasa al-Salīmiyya (1566—1567). Ces fondations sultaniennes ont été ornées de carreaux fabriqués localement dans le style *Rumi-Hatayi* d'Iznik. D'autres bâtiments — la madrasa Sinaniya (1550—1570), la mosquée Dervishiya (1571—1575), la mosquée Sinaniya (1586—1592) et Sa'id ad-Din Zariyé (1574—1596) — ont également reçu un revêtement mural de style turc mais de fabrication damascène comme en attestent de rares analyses physico-chimiques des pâtes[7] (Maury 2013 : 491—502 ; Degeorge, Porter 2002 : 212—217). Le répertoire décoratif des carreaux encore en place ou conservés dans les musées est celui d'Iznik. Les motifs floraux — prunus, feuilles *saz*, tulipes et jacinthes — s'inspirent d'ailleurs davantage de la vaisselle que des carreaux (Makariou, Maury 2008 : 312—325). Les matériaux employés sont de nature différente, la palette chromatique est plus limitée et les dessins sont exécutés avec plus de liberté. Les spécialistes envisagent que des potiers persans de l'équipe d'Abdallah de Tabriz, après avoir œuvré à la restauration du Dôme du Rocher à Jérusalem sur ordre de Soliman entre 1545 et 1552, se seraient installés à Damas. Ils y auraient alors réalisé les carreaux destinés aux fondations sultaniennes. Si on retient cette hypothèse, la question qui se pose est de savoir si ces artisans ont, durant la même période, fabriqué des pièces de forme. Nous n'avons que peu d'éléments sûrs pour répondre à cette question. Le témoignage du géographe ottoman Mehmet Aşık est généralement considéré comme l'un d'entre eux bien qu'en réalité les informations qu'il livre sont sujettes à plusieurs interprétations. En 1585, il rapporte que la vaisselle fabriquée à Iznik est comparable par sa finesse aux porcelaines de Chine mais qu'elle diffère par sa pâte, sa glaçure et son élégance de la vaisselle à pâte blanche fabriquée à Damas (cité dans Necipoğlu 1990 : 157). L'existence d'une production de céramique à pâte blanche à Damas, de qualité inférieure à celle d'Iznik, ne signifie pas pour autant qu'il s'agissait de copies d'Iznik. La comparaison peut se rapporter à une production damascène ottomane dans la continuité de celle des ateliers mamelouks. Ces derniers implantés dans divers quartiers de Damas sont connus par les textes anciens, des toponymes, des signatures d'artisans ainsi que des surcuits[8] (François 2008 ;

[7] L'examen d'un carreau de style ottoman d'Iznik, conservé au Metropolitan Museum of Art de New York, révèle que sa pâte est identique à celle de matériel assurément considéré comme damascène (Jenkins 1984 : pl. 10 a).

[8] En 1501, un atelier de vaisselle fine était installé, *extra-muros*, près de la madrasa al-Khatûniya al-Almavy (Sauvaire 1894 : 256). On y fabriquait « *la (faïence)*

Maury 2012 : 513—515). Cette activité artisanale semble s'être maintenue à l'époque ottomane dans la ville comme le révèlent des indices rares et de valeur inégale. Des dépotoirs d'atelier, localisés près des remparts de Damas par Charles Edmond Fortnum Drury en 1868, contenaient des tessons de céramique dans le style d'Iznik qu'il désignait de *Damascus proper* se caractérisant par des teintes particulières « a dull lilac or purple (…) used against blue which is of two or three shades, the turquoise being frequently placed against a darker tone ; the sage green is also characteristic » (Fortnum-Drury, 1873 : 13). Pour leur part, les fouilles de la citadelle à Damas ont livré quelques ratés de cuisson, dont deux coupes peintes en bleu et noir collées l'une à l'autre, qui sont la preuve d'une fabrication locale de vaisselle de table à l'époque ottomane (Fig. 16 : 8). Dans les sources occidentales, notamment dans les tarifs du péage de Meyrargues sur la Durance en 1626, il est fait mention d'*opus de Domasco* taxés par charge. Il est cependant difficile d'affirmer qu'il s'agissait effectivement de céramiques damascènes et non pas, plus généralement, de productions orientales (Thiriot 1991 : 299).

L'étude du mobilier céramique sur la longue durée, telle que celle qui a été menée sur le matériel mis au jour à la citadelle de Damas, montre que la périodisation excessive des productions par dynasties régnantes induit des ruptures brutales dans l'artisanat de la terre qui ne se vérifient pas sur le terrain. En vérité, ces transformations sont souvent très progressives et ne coïncident pas avec les changements politiques et les découpages dynastiques. À Damas, en l'absence de matériel bien daté par les contextes archéologiques, il est difficile de fixer ces périodes de glissement d'une fabrication « typiquement » mamelouke à une autre qui serait « typiquement » ottomane. Ce qui est assuré, c'est que la vaisselle damascène « à la manière » d'Iznik n'était pas une création ex-nihilo. Elle a bénéficié d'un double héritage, celui des techniques et des savoir-faire des artisans locaux et celui des dessinateurs des ateliers turcs. Si, à l'évidence, il existait une continuité technologique dans la fabrication de vaisselle de table à Damas entre les périodes mamelouke et ottomane et si, la présence d'ateliers urbains ne peut être mise en doute, nous ne savons rien sur leur localisation et sur leur période d'activité. Toutefois une observation attentive des céramiques du corpus permet d'esquisser un cadre chronologique pour cette production. Aucune d'entre elles n'est une copie stricto-sensu des pièces originales. Les artisans ont parfois combiné, sur un même objet, des éléments décoratifs qui appartenaient à des phases de production d'Iznik séparées de plus de cinquante ans. Par exemple, des cartouches calligraphiés caractéristiques des pièces turques datées des années 1515—1525 sont associés à des nuages en « S » typiques des poteries autour de 1580 (Fig. 6 : 11) (Atasoy, Raby 1990 : 259, ill. 551—557, 772, 773). On peut faire l'hypothèse que les artisans de Damas disposaient d'une grande variété de vaisselle d'Iznik dont la fabrication s'échelonnait des années 1520 à 1580 et à partir de laquelle ils ont créé un style nouveau et composite. Dans ce contexte, il n'est pas exclu que la fabrication de vaisselle « à la manière » d'Iznik ait été postérieure à celle des carreaux et qu'elle se soit développée sur une assez longue période, à partir de la fin du XVI^{e} et au cours du XVII^{e} siècle. Il existe par ailleurs des similitudes stylistiques troublantes entre certaines céramiques de Damas et des pièces originales conservées au musée Ariana à Genève et au musée de la Renaissance d'Ecouen qui sont datées vers 1610, 1620 et 1650 (Maury 2014 : ill. 235—244 ; Hitzel, Jacotin 2005 : ill. 129, 149, 150, 170, 196, 254, 263, 272). Enfin, si en l'état de l'art, la question de la datation de la vaisselle syrienne à la mode d'Iznik ne peut être tranchée, les découvertes en contextes archéologiques même peu sûrs sont plutôt datées du XVII^{e} siècle et jamais du XVI^{e}. Tous ces éléments militent en faveur d'une fabrication tardive qui s'est vraisemblablement maintenue sur plusieurs dizaines d'années.

3. Circulation des hommes ou circulation des modèles ?

Objet de cadeaux diplomatiques, la vaisselle d'Iznik pouvait aussi être réalisée sur commande pour de riches clients européens. Les formes et les décors étaient alors adaptés comme on l'observe par exemple sur une coupe de type *tondino* avec un marli horizontal très large et un cavet hémisphérique profond, datée vers 1535—1540. Elle est ornée, en son centre, d'un portrait de jeune homme dans le style italien (Atasoy, Raby 1990 : ill. 179). De la même façon, sur de petites assiettes d'Iznik, vers 1570, des blasons de familles italiennes ou dalmatiennes sont combinés aux décors traditionnels des ateliers turcs tandis que des armoiries imitant un blason de Prusse ou de Pologne sont peintes sur un plat plus tardif, vers 1580—1585 (Atasoy, Raby 1990 : ill. 575—586, 752). Ce réel engouement de la clientèle européenne aisée pour la vaisselle d'Iznik ap-

Qâchâny ». Cette appellation *qâchâny* indique qu'il s'agissait de céramique fine à pâte siliceuse et glaçure alcaline, en rapport avec les productions perses de Kashan d'où le qualificatif est dérivé.

paraît également à travers les documents d'archive — dans un inventaire vénitien de 1587, il est fait mention de trente pièces de *majolique de Constantinople* (Mack 2002 : 109). Le mode de transport de ces objets orientaux à destination du marché occidental est documenté par de récentes fouilles sous-marines. L'épave d'un navire de grand tonnage, sans doute vénitien, engagé dans le trafic maritime international, a été retrouvée au large des côtes croates, à proximité des îles de l'archipel de Mjlet (Beltrane, Gelichi, Miholjek 2014). Il a sombré dans le derniers tiers du XVI^e^ siècle comme l'indiquent la date de 1567 sur la cloche d'alarme du bateau coulée en bronze ainsi que quatorze monnaies d'argent turques émises entre 1574 et 1595. La cargaison découverte dans cette épave livre un instantané diversifié et en partie quantifiable des productions d'Iznik en usage pendant le règne du sultan Murad III. Cinquante trois plats ont en effet été remontés des profondeurs de l'Adriatique. Compte tenu des difficultés de l'exploration archéologique de l'épave, il n'est pas exclu que ces pièces ne constituent qu'une partie d'un plus gros volume d'objets. Quelques rares plats de styles *saz* ou *tuğrakes* spiralé des années 1530—1540 côtoyaient, dans ce chargement, des pièces issues de phases de fabrication plus récentes, entre 1555 et 1590 (Zmaić Kralj 2014). Leur association en contexte clos remet en question la chronologie établie par les historiens de l'art sur la base du style de décoration. Réservées à une élite fortunée, la vaisselle d'Iznik présente en Italie a été une source d'inspiration pour les artisans de la terre qui ont réalisé des imitations contemporaines ou légèrement postérieures sans doute destinées à un plus grand nombre d'acheteurs (Ericani 1990 : 233—243). Ainsi, dès la fin du XVI^e^ siècle, les potiers de la Péninsule proposaient à leur clientèle des faïences à la façon d'Iznik comme en atteste un albarelle de Ligurie orné de rinceaux spiralés dans le style *tuğrakeş* daté de 1572 (Atasoy, Raby 1990 : 268, ill. 589). Plus tard, entre 1619 et 1681, de grands plats de majolique ont été fabriqués à l'imitation des originaux ottomans dans la région de Padoue (Hitzel, Jacotin : 40, fig. 26 ; Atasoy, Raby 1990 : 268, ill. 591 ; Ericani 1990 : 233—243). Bassano del Grappa, comme en témoignent les fouilles et les sources écrites, était un centre de production de faïence décorée dans le style d'Iznik. Dans cette ville de Vénétie, plusieurs ratés de cuisson de coupes ornées à la manière turque ont été découverts dans un dépotoir d'atelier. Il pourrait s'agir de l'officine des frères Manardi en activité à partir de 1645 (Marini 1990 : 244—273). Selon les livres de compte de cette manufacture, parmi les nombreux artisans recrutés en 1669, un peintre padouan dénommé Giovanni Battista Salmazzo a été embauché pour réaliser la poterie *alla Turchesca*. Entre 1699 et 1701, des *piati a la Turchesca* sont encore mentionnés dans les archives de la manufacture. Ces pièces « à la turque » peintes dans une riche polychromie nous sont connues par les collections privées et publiques dans lesquelles on observe de grands plats à couverte stannifère ornés de feuilles *saz* combinées à des œillets, des rosettes, des jacinthes et des tulipes. Le revers totalement glaçuré est décoré de motifs tracés en bleu de cobalt caractéristiques de la production italienne dès la seconde moitié du XVI^e^ siècle : des arcs croisés comme de l'osier tressé appelés *cestino* (panier), des zigzags et des spirales. Ces poteries communément qualifiées du nom impropre de *candiana* étaient particulièrement populaires chez les moines et chez les nonnes comme l'indiquent les inscriptions peintes à leur revers et qui désignent leur propriétaire (Broilo 2013 : 203—210). Les artisans italiens ont été conquis par le style décoratif de la poterie d'Iznik plus que par les formes qui sont, pour la plupart, différentes de celles des pièces originales. Les techniques qu'ils employaient étaient celles mises en œuvre en Italie depuis le XIII^e^ siècle : une pâte argileuse couverte d'un émail blanc épais sur lequel les couleurs avaient tendance à fuser. Il ne s'agit pas de copies serviles mais d'une reprise des éléments forts et des teintes des productions d'Iznik vers 1560 combinés parfois à des décors italiens. Dans le cadre de cette production de Vénétie, c'est principalement la production d'Iznik réalisée au cours du règne de Murad III (1574—1595), telle que celle retrouvée dans l'épave en Croatie, qui a servi de source d'inspiration aux artisans. Ces imitations n'étaient pas limitées à la Péninsule. Il a été établi que des potiers italiens ont émigré vers d'autres pays d'Europe dans lesquels ils ont continué à reproduire les compositions ornementales d'Iznik comme par exemple un décor de feuilles *saz* sur des assiettes réalisées à Delft en Hollande aux XVII^e^ et XVIII^e^ siècles (Yenişehirlioğlu 2004 : 376, 380, fig. 8, 12). Ces productions étaient tantôt de véritables imitations des pièces originales, tantôt les modèles ont été réinterprétés — des chérubins ou un paysage urbain ont été combinés aux œillets d'Iznik — et recrées à l'aide de technique de fabrication différente. Enfin, la circulation des originaux et de leurs copies a parfois généré un style nouveau, hybride (Yenişehirlioğlu 2004 : 373).

À Damas, la situation est différente. Des potiers locaux, c'est l'hypothèse la plus vraisemblable, ont pris pour modèles les pièces d'Iznik dont ils disposaient — comme nous l'avons vu elles étaient commercialisées dans la ville — pour créer avec les matières premières acces-

sibles localement et selon des techniques maîtrisées depuis des siècles — mais qui n'étaient pas celles des artisans d'Iznik — une gamme de vaisselle dont les décors et parfois aussi les formes étaient d'inspiration turque. Il ne s'agissait pas d'imitations. Ils ont puisé dans le riche catalogue des arts décoratifs élaboré dans la capitale de l'Empire autour des grands vizirs et ont adapté, avec plus ou moins de succès, ces éléments standardisés reproduits sur la vaisselle d'Iznik. Les céramiques syriennes « à la manière » d'Iznik sont de qualité inégale. Certaines d'entre elles sont exécutées avec soin et portent des compositions assez sophistiquées (Fig. 9 ; 10 : 4 ; 11 : 6 ; 13 : 1 ; 14 : 1—7 ; 16 : 6) mais pour autant il ne s'agit pas de contrefaçon tandis que d'autres sont plus grossièrement décorées (Fig. 10 : 6 ; 13 : 5, 6 ;15 : 1—7). À partir d'un même modèle, des résultats différents ont été obtenus en fonction des compétences des artisans. Les singularités stylistiques qu'on observe dans cette production permettent d'envisager une multiplicité de centres de fabrication et/ou une période production étendue sur plusieurs dizaines d'années. En l'absence d'indicateurs chronologiques fiables, il est difficile de trancher pour l'une ou l'autre de ces hypothèses.

Quelles étaient les motivations de ces artisans ? La première était sans doute économique. Sans atteindre les prix des porcelaines chinoises, les pièces de vaisselle d'Iznik au moins jusqu'au derniers quart du XVI^e^ siècle étaient très chères. Elles étaient recherchées pour la transparence de leur pâte, leur beauté et aussi pour le prestige qu'elles conféraient à leur propriétaire. Pour ces potiers de province, il s'agissait moins de plagier ces objets de luxe que de proposer à la clientèle des plats à la mode d'Istanbul. Ainsi, les consommateurs moins fortunés pouvaient ainsi acquérir et posséder sous une forme abâtardie et hybride des pièces « à la manière de ». Cette reproduction tardive de schémas décoratifs qui faisait perdurer, sans doute à la fin du XVI^e^ et au XVII^e^ siècle, la fameuse production de vaisselle d'Iznik répondait peut-être également à une entreprise « d'ottomanisation » que Gülru Necipoğlu exprime en ces termes : « The visual culture of the ruling elite was created in the court milieu of the capital, the center of the Empire, from which it spread to the provinces to cement the Ottoman identity and unite the vast Empire. It played an important role in narrowing the cultural distance between center and periphery through a cohesive system of visual signs associated with the ruling group, and at the same time affirmed the undisputed primacy of the capital Istanbul where the best examples of those signs were most densely concentrated » (Necipoğlu 1992 : 207). Dans ce contexte, il est possible que les ateliers damascènes, avec un décalage dans le temps, aient été des centres-relais dans lesquels la production de la vaisselle la plus fameuse de l'Empire perdurait sous une forme nouvelle et composite, une production populaire de qualité inférieure, et qui répondait à une consommation ostentatoire. Quelles qu'aient été les motivations des potiers syriens, leur production de vaisselle « à la manière » d'Iznik a manifestement séduit la clientèle puisqu'on retrouve ces objets sur plusieurs sites du Bilâd al-Châm mais aussi à Chypre et, de façon plus étonnante, à Istanbul.

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Beyrouth post-médiévale. Étude de cas : la céramique

Keywords: Lebanon, Beirut, Post-medieval period, Ottoman period, pottery, ceramic, grafitta tarda, majolica, Didymoteicho, Çanakkale

Ключевые слова: Ливан, Бейрут, послесредневековый период, османский период, гончарство, керамика, позднее сграфитто, майолика, Дидимотихон, Чанаккале

G. Homsy-Gottwalles

Post-Medieval Beirut. Case Study: the Pottery

Whereas historical, political and cultural studies reach the postmedieval period in Lebanon, interests for archaeological artifacts remain neglected.

The archaeological excavations undertaken in 1996 and 1997 in Beirut, sites Bey 070, Bey 071 and Bey 111, led to the discovery of tableware ceramics (in the surface layers) dated to the 16th —19th centuries.

In this paper, we examine tableware ceramics of various origins: Didymoteicho and Çanakkale (Thrace), Kütahya and Iznik (Analolia), Pisa and Montelupo (Tuscany), Albisola in Liguria, Varages in Provence, European porcelain, as well as local and/or regional ceramics.

Г. Хомси-Готтваль

Керамика позднесредневекового Бейрута (XVI—XIX века)

В то время как исторические, политические и культурные исследования добрались до позднесредневекового периода в истории Ливана, об археологических объектах стали все чаще забывать.

В 1996 и 1997 гг. в Бейруте были проведены археологические раскопки на памятниках Bey 070, Bey 071 и Bey 111, в результате которых была обнаружена столовая керамика (в поверхностных слоях), датируемая XVI—XIX веками.

В данной статье мы анализируем столовую керамику, происходящую из разных центров производства: Дидимотихон и Чанаккале (Фракия), Кютахья и Изник (Анатолия), Пиза и Монтелупо (Тоскана), Альбисола в Лигурии, Вараж в Провансе, европейский фарфор, а также местная и/или региональная керамика.

Alors que les recherches sur la période post-médiévale (1516—1918) au Liban s'intensifient pour les aspects historique, politique et culturel, l'intérêt pour les artéfacts archéologiques reste encore négligé. L'étude de la céramique post-médiévale au Liban demeure encore un domaine non investi, peut-être parce que considérée comme contemporaine ; en effet, la réglementation des Antiquités libanaises, datant de 1935 et toujours en vigueur, considère que *tous les produits de l'activité humaine* remontant au-delà du XVII[e] siècle ne peuvent être considérés comme des antiquités (Règlement... 1935 : Chapitre 1, p. 3, Art. 1[er]).

Les fouilles archéologiques de Beyrouth effectuées en 1996 et 1997 sur les sites de Bey 070, Bey 071 et Bey 111 ont permis de dégager, dans les couches de surface, de la céramique de table datant des XVI[e]—XIX[e] siècles. De la vaisselle d'origines diverses : Didymotique et Çanakkale en Thrace, Kütahya et Iznik en Anatolie, Pise et Montelupo en Toscane, Albisola en Ligurie, Varages en Provence, de la porcelaine européenne, ainsi que de la céramique locale et/ou régionale, sont présentées dans cet article.

Les productions post-médiévales provenant du monde ottoman sont représentées à Beyrouth par les cinq catégories suivantes : *Didymoteichon*

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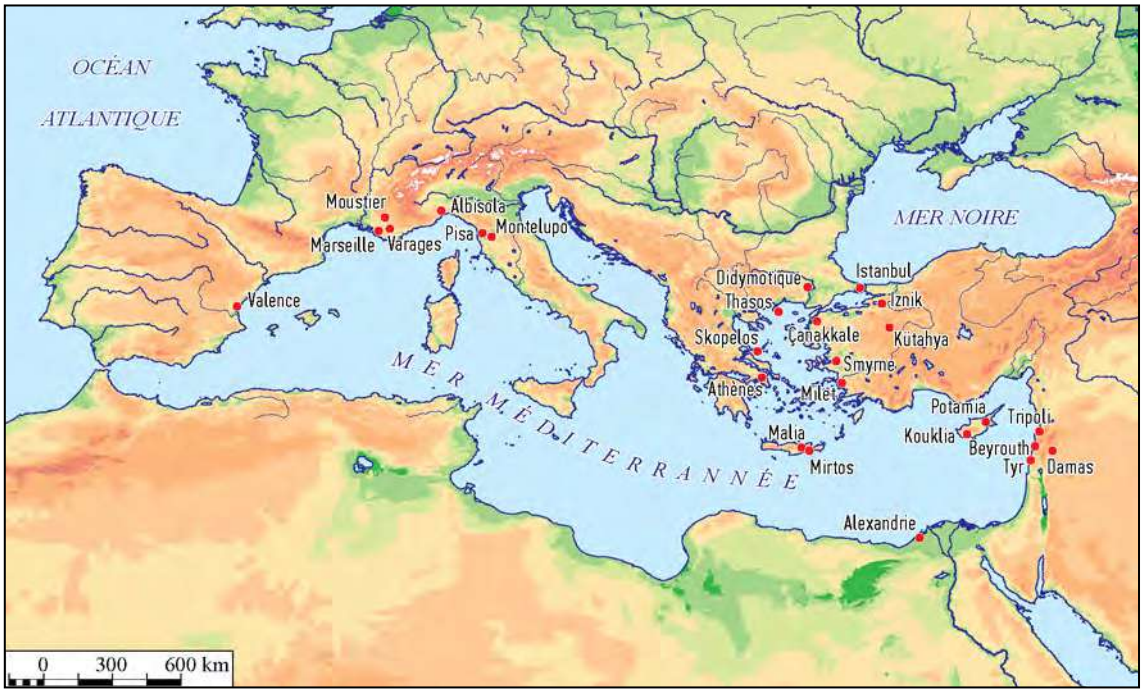

Fig. 1. Carte des principaux sites mentionnés dans le texte.

Рис. 1. Карта основных памятников, упоминаемых в тексте.

Ware, *Çanakkale Ware*, *Smyrne Ware*, *Kütahya Ware* et *Iznik Ware*. Les fouilles archéologiques au Levant ont montré que ces types sont généralement associés dans les mêmes contextes.

La *Didymoteichon Ware* comprend onze coupes creuses (fig. 3; 7)[1]. De forme hémisphérique, la coupe à lèvre en crochet anguleux repose sur une base annulaire ; deux cercles en relief marquent le centre de l'intérieur. Le diamètre de ces coupes varie entre 20 et 30 cm. La texture, de couleur rouge jaunâtre, est fine et bien cuite. Le décor rayonnant à l'engobe blanc est réalisé au doigt à partir du bord selon une technique qui existe encore en Grèce ; les coulures d'engobe, groupées par trois, s'arrêtent au niveau des cercles en relief (Psaropoulou 1984 : pl. 15; et 44). Les coupes sont couvertes d'une glaçure verte ou jaune kaki. Cette vaisselle est produite par les potiers grecs à Didymotique, dans la vallée de l'Évros. Elle apparaît vers le XVII^{e} siècle et continue jusqu'au XX^{e} siècle où elle est fabriquée dans d'autres officines de Thrace, comme à Çanakkale.

La distribution de cette céramique couvre le pourtour méditerranéen ; nous trouvons cette vaisselle, entre autres, en Grèce à Athènes (Frantz 1942 : fig. 22 : 1 et 23 : 2), Skopelos (Armstrong 1991 : fig. 7 et 9) et Malia (François 1994 : 378, fig. 1.) ; en Turquie à Istanbul (Saraçhane) (Hayes 1992 : 271 et 276) et Aphrodisias (François 2001 : pl. 19 : 208.9) ; à Chypre sur le site de Potamia

Fig. 2. Carte du Liban avec les principaux sites mentionnés dans le texte.

Рис. 2. Карта Ливана с обозначением основных памятников, упоминаемых в тексте.

[1] Nous tenons à remercier Rachelle Antonios qui a exécuté les dessins de la céramique.

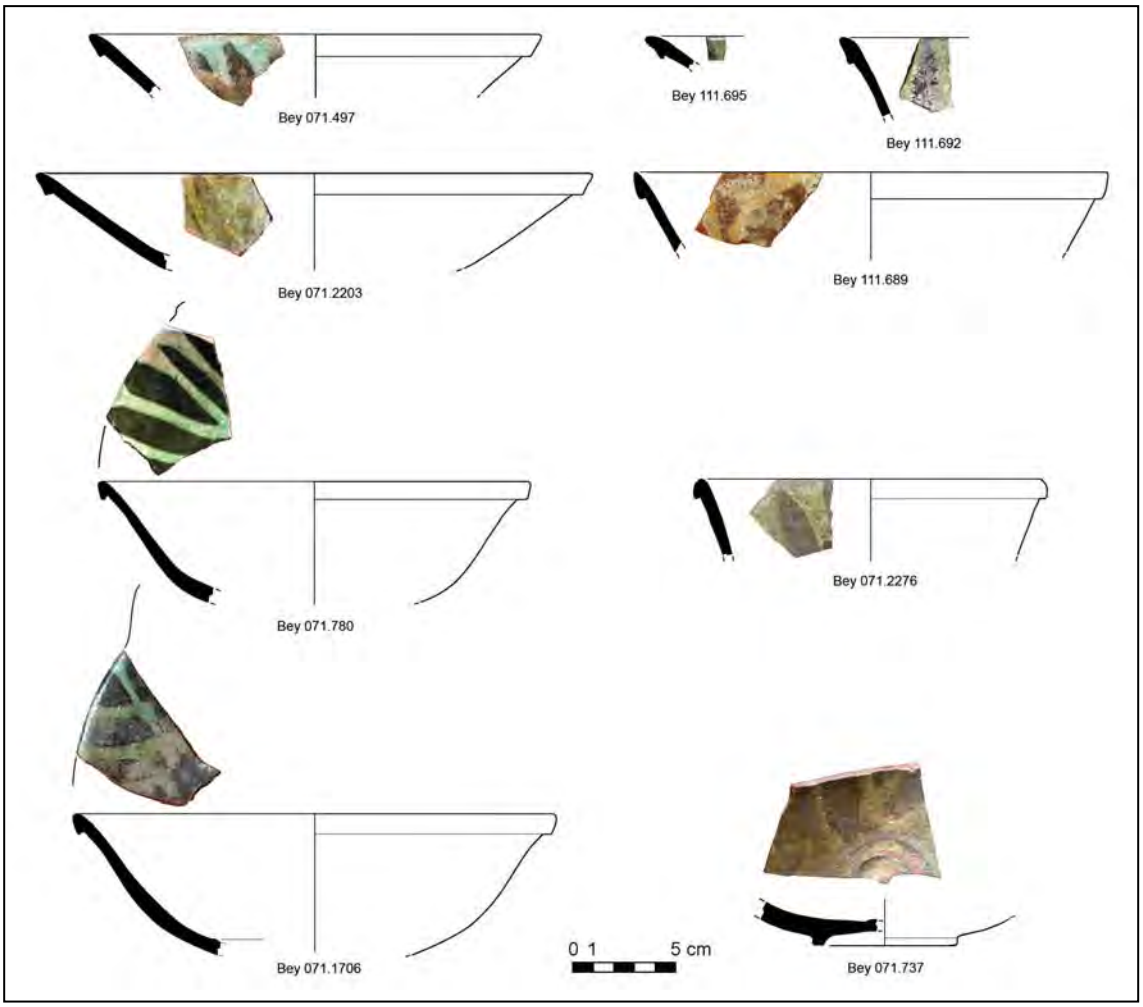

Fig. 3. Didymoteichon Ware.

Рис. 3. Продукция Дидимотихона.

(François, Vallauri 2001 : fig. 8) ; en Syrie à la citadelle de Damas (François 2009 : 63, fig. 5: 33) ; au Liban à Anfeh (Homsy-Gottwalles 2016, à paraître), Tripoli (Salamé-Sarkis 1980 :fig. 24 et 26), Saïda (Recherche en cours par l'auteur) et Tyr (Recherche en cours par l'auteur), et enfin en France à Marseille, au port de la Quarantaine de Pomègues (Amouric, Richez, Vallauri 1999: 155—156).

La vaisselle de Çanakkale ou *Çanakkale Ware* est une céramique populaire, produite à Çanakkale dans les Dardanelles. Cinq coupes représentent cette catégorie (fig. 4 et 7). De forme hémisphérique, ce type à base annulaire se termine par une lèvre à marli légèrement creuse, ou par une lèvre incurvée en crochet, rappelant la production de Didymotique. La similitude de la pâte de la coupe Bey 071.2202 à lèvre en crochet avec la production de Çanakkale nous amène à la classer dans cette catégorie ; des ratés de cuisson de ce type ont également été découverts à Çanakkale (François, Ersoy 2011: 387). Il apparaît que cette céramique était produite dans différents centres de production d'Anatolie (Altun et al. 1996 : 8).

Ces coupes sont tournées dans une pâte fine, assez tendre mais bien cuite, de couleur rouge claire. Une couche d'engobe blanc couvre la coupe de l'intérieur et l'extérieur, sous une glaçure transparente beige sur la surface interne et couvrant la lèvre jusqu'à l'extérieur. Les potiers, grecs et turcs, produisent des formes variées, et un décor qui évolue avec le temps ; les représentations figuratives ou végétales donnent place à des motifs de plus en plus simplifiés jusqu'à la fin du XIX^{e} siècle. Nos coupes, appartenant plutôt au XIX^{e} siècle, reproduisent un décor peint sur le fond et deux cercles sur le rebord de l'intérieur (Altun et al. 1996 : 40).

La production de ce type de vaisselle commence au milieu du XVIII^{e} siècle et continue jusqu'à la fin du XIX^{e} siècle (Altun et al. 1996 : 16.10). Comme la céramique de Didymotique, cette céramique se retrouve partout dans le monde otto-

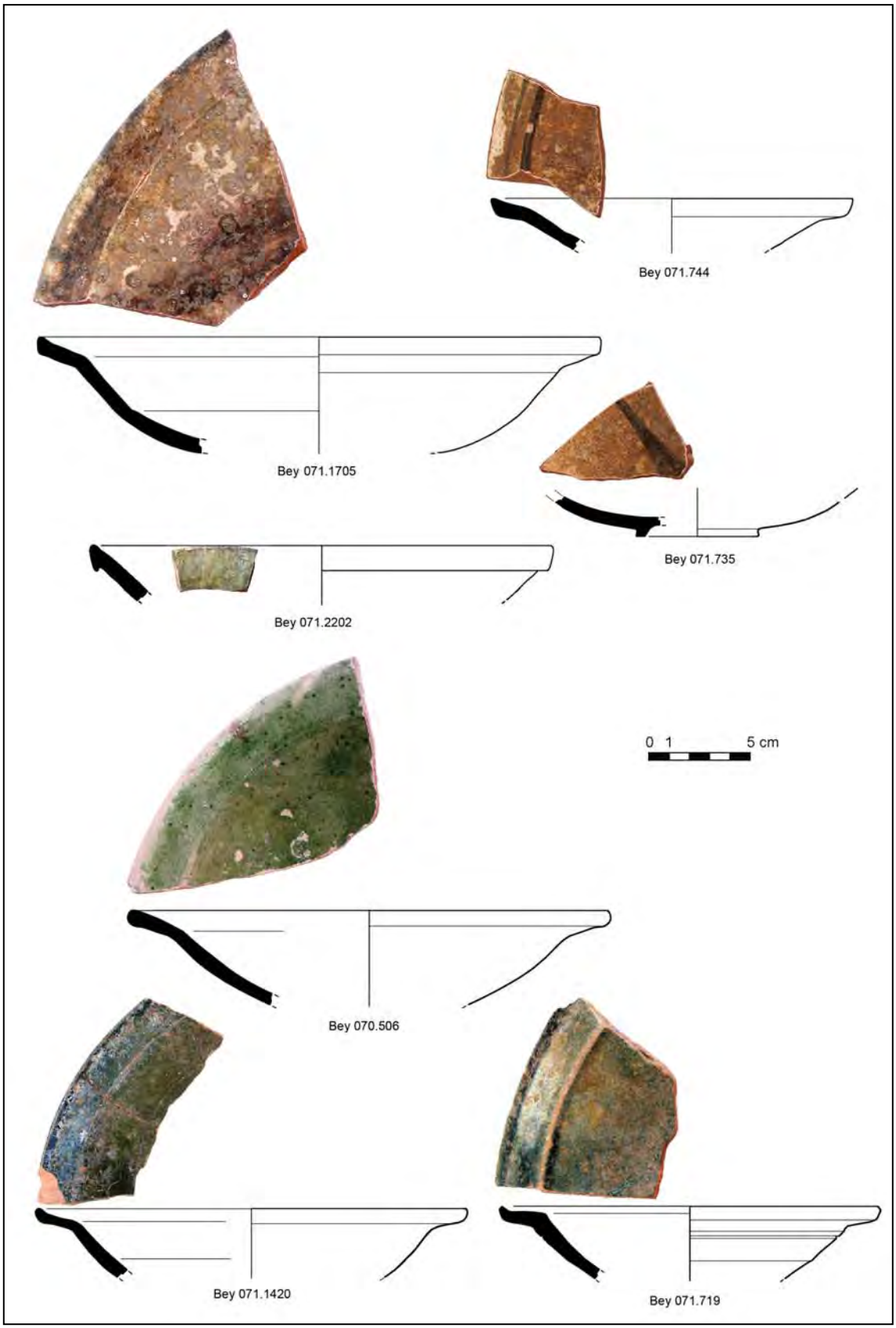

Fig. 4. Çanakkale Ware: Bey 071.1705, Bey 071.744, Bey 071.2202, Bey 071.735; Smyrne Ware : Bey 070.506, Bey 071.1420, Bey 071.719.

Рис. 4. Продукция Чанаккале: Bey 071.1705, Bey 071.744, Bey 071.2202, Bey 071.735; продукция Смирны: Bey 070.506, Bey 071.1420, Bey 071.719.

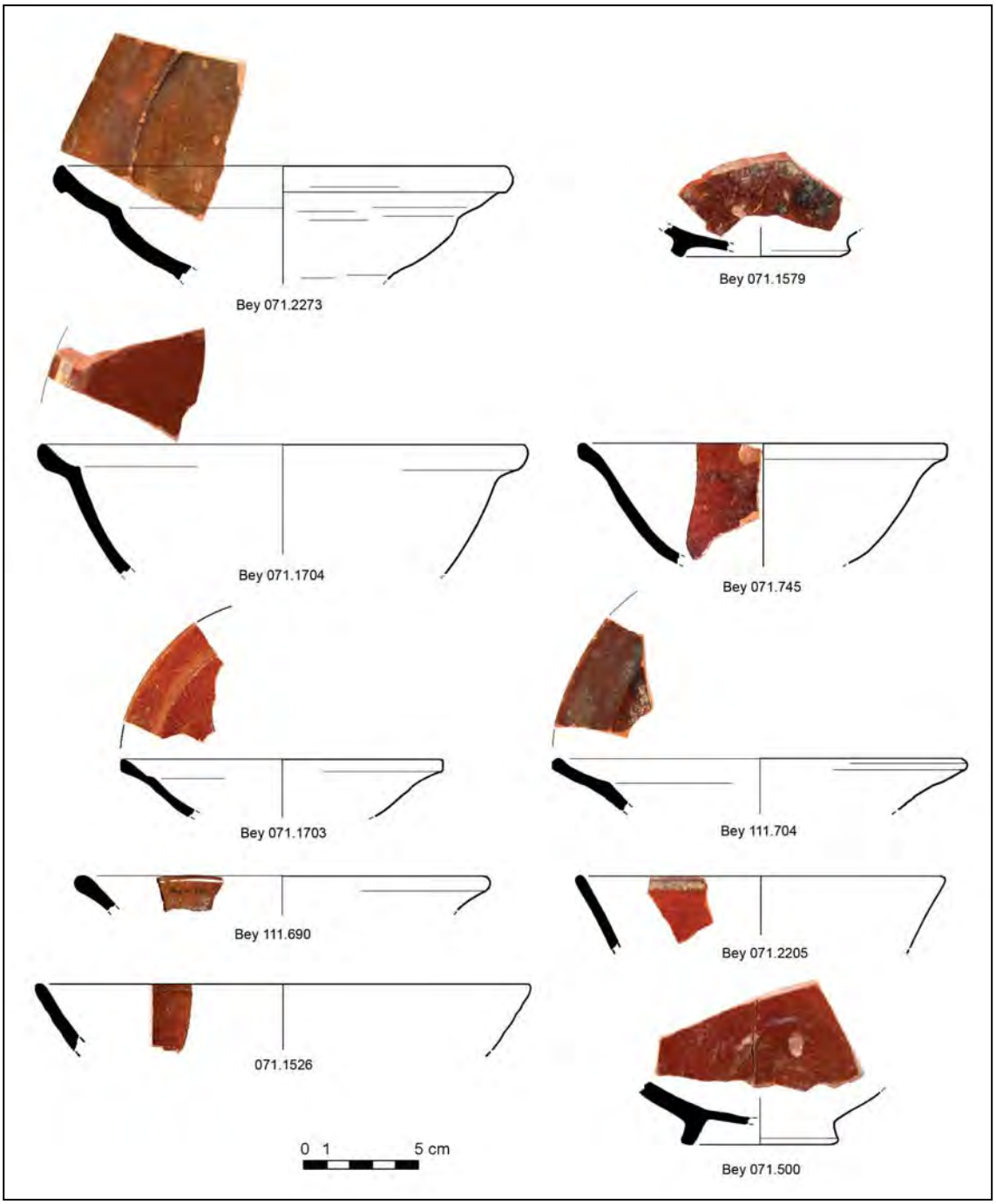

Fig. 5. Céramique à taches noires d'Albisola.

Рис. 5. Керамика с чёрными пятнами из Альбисолы.

man comme à Anfeh et à Tyr au Liban (Homsy-Gottwalles 2016, à paraître ; recherche en cours par l'auteur), à Damas en Syrie (François 2009 : 62, fig. 4 : 22), à Istanbul (Saraçhane) (Hayes 1992 : 269, fig. 101). Cette production est attestée à Malia en Crète (François 1994 : 383), à Potamia à Chypre (François, Vallauri 2001 : fig. 8), mais également à Marseille, dans le port de la Quarantaine de Pomègues (Amouric, Richez, Vallauri 1999: 158).

Une autre importation du monde ottoman, fort probablement des ateliers de Smyrne, sur la mer Égée, est attestée à Beyrouth (fig. 4) (François, Ersoy 2011: 386). Trois coupes hémisphériques à marli creux et à base annulaire représentent cette catégorie. La coupe est couverte d'une couche fine d'engobe sous une glaçure plombifère verte. Ce type, que nous rencontrons à Aphrodisias (François 2001 : pl. 10 : 102) ainsi qu'à Istanbul (Saraçhane) (Hayes 1992 : fig. 144), est diffusé

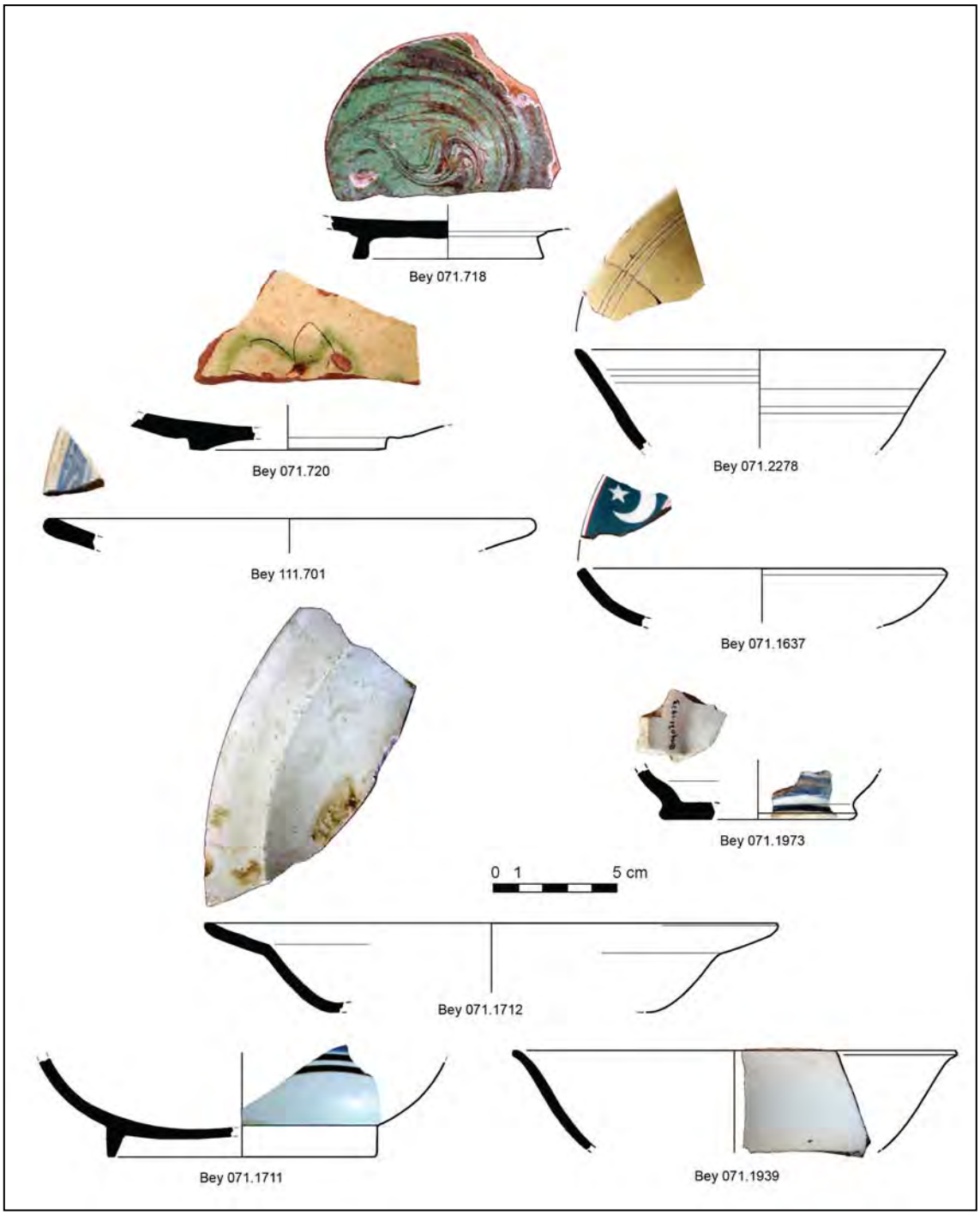

Fig. 6. Marmorizzata: Bey 071.718; Graffita tarda: Bey 071.720, Bey 071.2278; Iznik: Bey 071.1637; Faïence de Varages: Bey 111.701; Majolique de Montelupo: Bey 071.1973; Porcelaine européenne: Bey 071.1712, Bey 071.1711, Bey 071.1939.

Рис. 6. Marmorizzata: Bey 071.718; Graffita tarda: Bey 071.720, Bey 071.2278; Изник: Bey 071.1637; фаянс из Варага: Bey 111.701; майолика из Монтелупо: Bey 071.1973; европейский фарфор: Bey 071.1712, Bey 071.1711, Bey 071.1939.

jusqu'en Occident, à Marseille, dans le port de la Quarantaine de Pomègues (Amouric, Richez, Vallauri 1999 : 157, fig. 283).

Nous trouvons également, associée à ces catégories, une coupelle en faïence de 15 cm de diamètre **(**Bey 071.1637), produite sans doute dans les ateliers d'Iznik. Il s'agit d'une production de qualité exceptionnelle, tournée dans une pâte siliceuse fine et dure, et couverte d'une couche d'engobe blanc. Le décor, exécuté aux oxydes de cuivre sous une glaçure stannifère transparente, consiste en un croissant de lune et une étoile

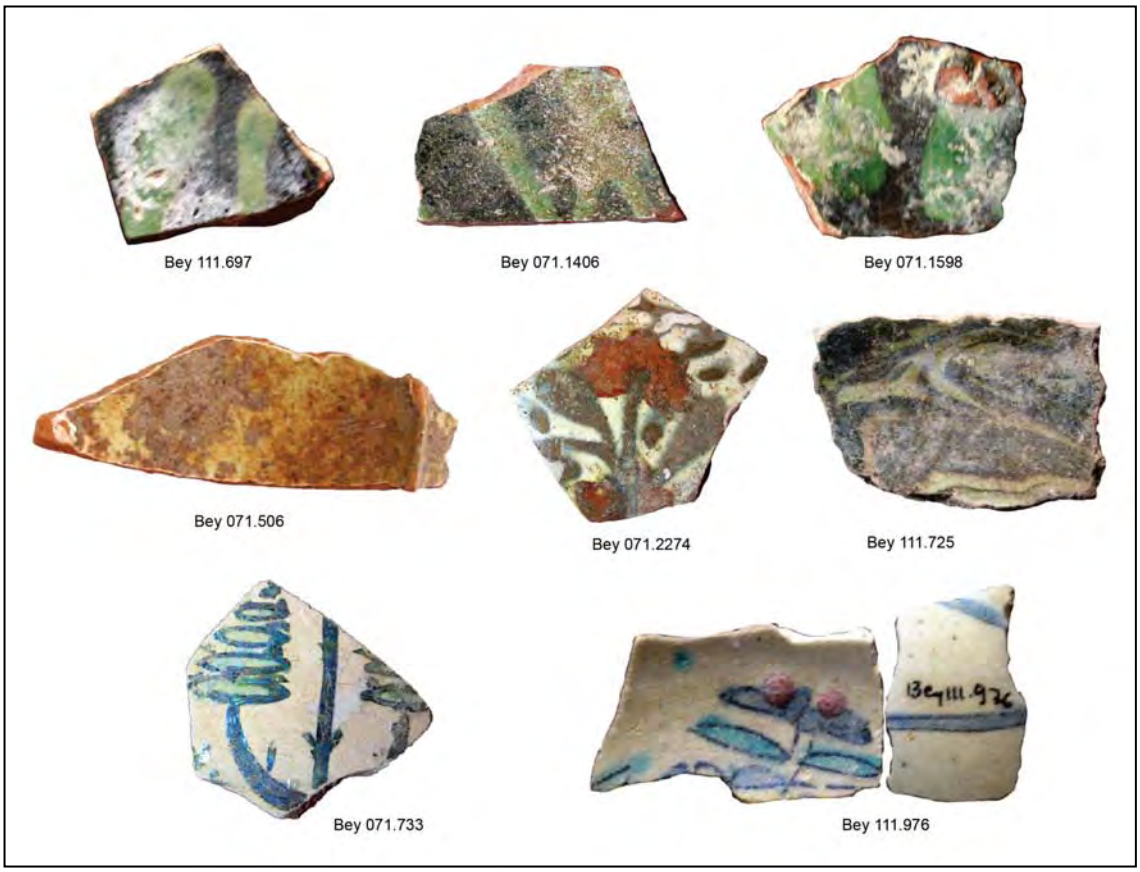

Fig. 7. Didymoteichon Ware: Bey 111.697, Bey 111.1406, Bey 071.1598; Çanakkale Ware: Bey 071.506; Marble Ware: Bey 111.725; Kütahya Ware: Bey 071.733, Bey 111.976.

Рис. 7. Продукция Дидимотихона: Bey 111.697, Bey 111.1406, Bey 071.1598; Продукция Чанаккале: Bey 071.506; Marble Ware: Bey 111.725; Продукция Кютахьи: Bey 071.733, Bey 111.976.

à cinq branches, emblème de l'Empire ottoman (fig. 6). Le décor à l'oxyde de cuivre, donnant la couleur vert émeraude, est bien connu dans la production d'Iznik à partir du XVI^{e} siècle, comme en témoigne la découverte de deux tasses couvertes de vert à Istanbul (Saraçhane) (Hayes 1992 : 257, fig. 97 : 1, 2).

La céramique produite à Kütahya, ville anatolienne située au sud-est d'Istanbul, est représentée également dans notre matériel. À partir du XVIII^{e} siècle, Kütahya supplante Iznik comme centre principal de production de céramique de luxe. Les artisans, presque exclusivement des Arméniens, produisent des bols, tasses à sorbet, bouteilles, brûle-parfums, encensoirs, petites aiguières mais également des tasses à café, diffusées à une grande échelle. La production de Kütahya est illustrée par deux tasses à café tournées dans une pâte siliceuse artificielle et dure (fig. 7). D'une hauteur ne dépassant pas les 5 cm, ces tasses, à parois fines, tiennent sur une base annulaire. Le décor est formé de motifs floraux peints en bleu de cobalt sous une glaçure stannifère transparente. La tasse Bey.111.976 est à rapprocher d'une tasse découverte à Beyrouth et exposée au Musée National de Beyrouth. Ces tasses sont à dater des XVIII^{e}—XIX^{e} siècles. La production de Kütahya apparaît diffusée dans tous les territoires de l'Empire ; ainsi, de Beyrouth, proviennent également trois tasses à sorbet, inspirées de la porcelaine chinoise, qui sont exposées actuellement au *VIP Lounge* de l'Aéroport international de Beyrouth (Homsy-Gottwalles 2012 : 223—225).

À côté de la vaisselle du monde ottoman, la production européenne est représentée au Liban, et plus précisément à Beyrouth, par la vaisselle argileuse, la porcelaine et la faïence des ateliers européens, notamment d'Italie et de France.

Les céramiques de Ligurie, produit populaire, sont commercialisées à partir du XVIII^{e} siècle. Cette catégorie, connue sous le terme de taches noires d'Albisola, comprend douze céramiques brunes (fig. 5), tournées dans une pâte rouge fine et décorées de traits noirs sous une glaçure plombifère. Les coupes et les assiettes creuses, entre 13 et 24 cm de diamètre, sont hémisphériques, la lèvre est à marli ou dans le prolongement de

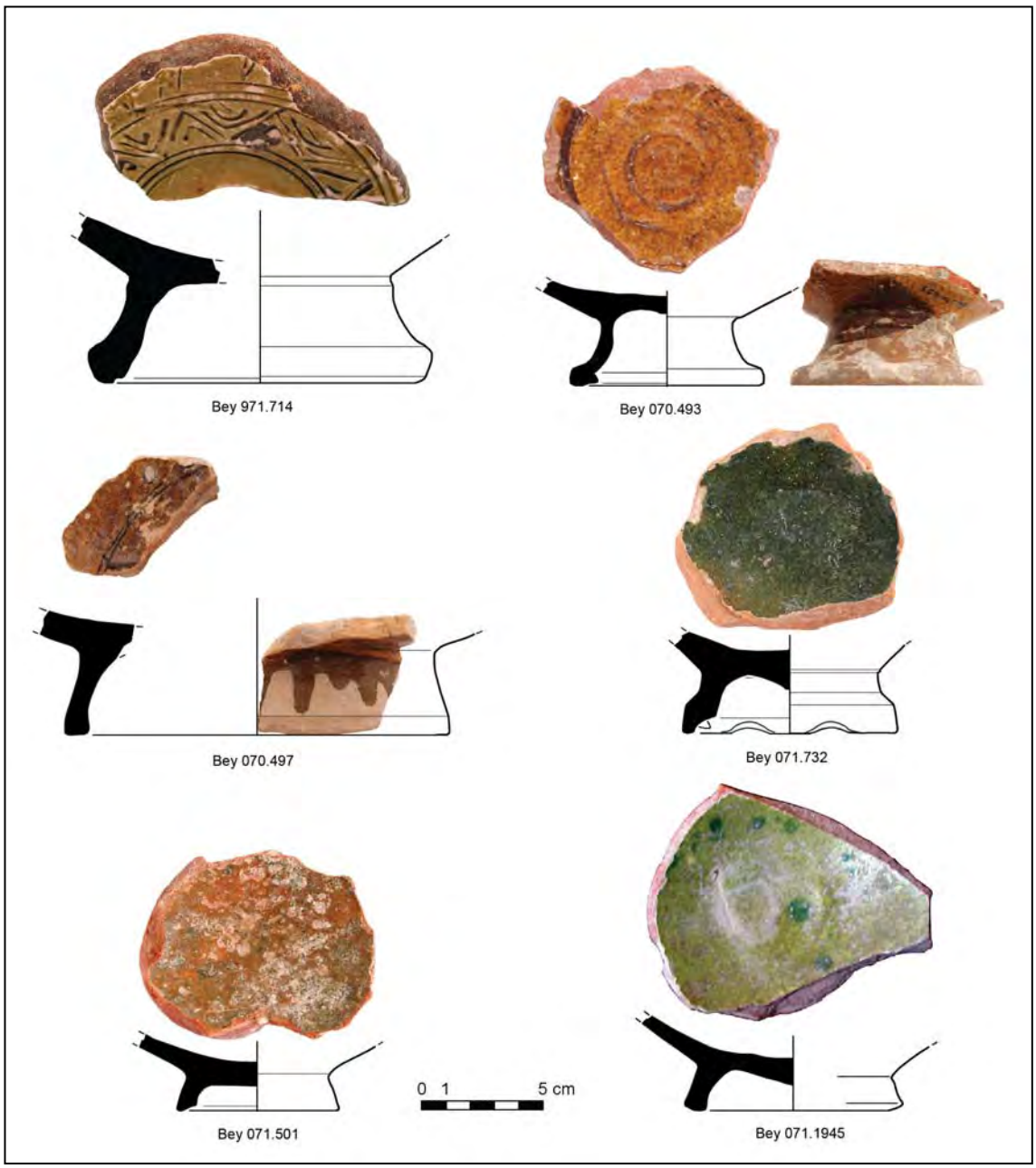

Fig. 8. Vaisselle locale et/ou régionale.

Рис. 8. Посуда местного и (или) регионального производства.

la panse, et le fond est convexe ou annulaire. La pâte est rouge brique, épurée et micacée. Ce type de vaisselle est largement répandu au Levant : à Istanbul (Saraçhane) (Hayes 1992 : 260, fig. 98 : 6), à Damas en Syrie (François 2009 : 62, fig. 4 : 26), à Kouklia et Potamia à Chypre (Wartburg 2001 : fig. 8 : 63—65 ; François, Vallauri 2001 : 545), mais également en France (Long, Richez 1993 : 93—95) et même au Canada et aux États-Unis (Moussette 1993 : 98—99).

La *marmorizzata*, ou *Marble Ware*, de Pise en Toscane, est représentée à Beyrouth par une seule base annulaire et un fragment amorphe (fig. 6 et 7). La pâte, de couleur rouge, est fine et dure. Le décor à la barbotine, obtenu par le mélange des engobes blanc, brun avec des rehauts verts, est appliqué en tourbillon sur les surfaces interne et externe, donnant ainsi l'effet du marbre. Cette céramique, qui nécessite l'usage de pernettes, est une production des ateliers pisans de la seconde moitié du XVI^{e} jusqu'à la première moitié du XVII^{e} siècle (Amouric, Richez, Vallauri 1999: 82 ; Berti 1994: fig. 27 ; 28).

Toujours des officines de Pise, nous sont parvenues des *graffita tarda* pisanes. Deux céramiques, dont une écuelle de 15 cm de diamètre, re-

Fig. 9. Majolique de Montelupo: Bey 111.280, Bey 071.703; Faïence: Bey 071.1714; Porcelaine européenne: Bey 071.1713; Céramique locale et/ou régionale: Bey 071.725, Bey 071.726, Bey 071.1632, Bey 071.1708.

Рис. 9. Майолика из Монтелупо: Bey 111.280, Bey 071.703; фаянс: Bey 071.1714; европейский фарфор: Bey 071.1713; керамика местного и (или) регионального производства: Bey 071.725, Bey 071.726, Bey 071.1632, Bey 071.1708.

présentent cette catégorie (fig. 6). Elles sont tournées dans une pâte fine épurée rouge et bien cuite. Le décor, incisé et peint sous une glaçure plombifère jaune clair sur les surfaces interne et externe, montre un ћillet autour duquel s'organisent trois lignes concentriques. La distribution de cette céramique est largement répandue, même en petite quantité. À Saraçhane, nous trouvons une coupe qui rappelle le matériel présenté ici (Hayes 1992: 260, fig. 98 : 11), mais également à Marseille, à la chapelle Saint-Mauront où les fouilles ont mis au jour une grande quantité de cette vaisselle datant

du XVII[e] siècle (Abel 1993 : 74—75, fig. 65 : 1 et 66).

Les découvertes de Beyrouth ont révélé une production des ateliers de Montelupo, en Toscane, du XVI[e] siècle (François 2009 : 56, fig. 2—8). Trois fragments sont à rattacher à cette catégorie (fig. 6 et 9). La pâte est siliceuse et beige ; le décor, géométrique et linéaire, est peint en polychromie : bleu, rouge brun, jaune orange et noir sous une glaçure stannifère. Compte tenu de leur petite taille, il est difficile de préciser la forme de ces majoliques. Il s'agit probablement, pour Bey 071.1973 et Bey 071.703, de bols ; quant au fragment Bey 111.280, il est à comparer avec un fragment trouvé à Damas et rattaché par V. François à la production au décor dit *ovali e rombi* (François 2008 : *Majolique de Montelupo « ovali e rombi »)*.

Pour la production française, les fouilles de Beyrouth ont mis au jour des faïences de Varages, en Provence. C'est vers la fin du XVII[e] siècle, en 1695 plus précisément, que l'atelier d'Étienne Armand commence la production de la faïence (Bertrand 1991 : 79). Un seul fragment représente cette catégorie (fig. 6). Il s'agit d'une coupe tournée dans une pâte siliceuse fine, de couleur jaune rosâtre. Le décor est peint en bleu sur un fond blanc et couvert d'une glaçure stannifère transparente. Cette coupe trouve un parallèle à Damas où elle est datée du XVIII[e] siècle (François 2009 :62, fig. 4—29).

La porcelaine européenne est représentée également parmi les découvertes de Beyrouth ; elle arrive au Proche-Orient au XVIII[e] siècle, et devient très prisée au XIX[e] siècle. Sous l'appellation de production de Saxe, cette vaisselle comprend essentiellement les porcelaines du monde germanique, de Meissen et de Vienne, ou encore la porcelaine anglaise, ou française de Sèvres et de Sarreguemines, en Moselle ; ces dernières parviennent à Damas vers la fin du XIX[e] siècle (François 2001—2002 : 164). Quatre porcelaines constituent cette catégorie : trois assiettes creuses et probablement une tasse à café (fig. 6 et 9).

En parallèle de ces importations du monde ottoman et d'Europe, les fouilles de Beyrouth ont révélé la présence d'une production locale et/ou régionale.

Aucune structure de production de céramique de cette période n'est connue à Beyrouth ; néanmoins, de rares sources écrites de cette époque nous apportent quelques informations qui, bien que parfois succinctes, s'avèrent précieuses. En 1862, L.-E. Desmoulins nous apprend notamment qu'à Ras Beyrouth, à l'ouest de la « crique Hassan » — c'est-à-dire l'actuelle anse de Minet el-Hosn — se trouve une anse appelée la « crique des gargoulettes », « où se fabrique de la poterie commune » (Desmoulins 1862: 14), et qui correspond aujourd'hui à Mina al-Fakhoura, « le port de l'atelier de poterie », dans le quartier d'Aïn el-Mreissé. À la fin du XIX[e] siècle, Beyrouth compte douze ateliers de potiers (Cuinet 1896 : 56). Une production locale est par conséquent bien attestée ; reste à trouver les traces matérielles de cette activité (Une étude des ateliers de potiers au Liban est en cours par l'auteur). D'autre part, toujours à la fin du même siècle, les registres du port de Beyrouth, considéré comme « une place de commerce internationale » par V. Cuinet, indiquent que la ville importe de la céramique de France, de Belgique et d'Allemagne, d'un montant de 50 000 francs (Cuinet 1896 : 65 et 68).

Les coupes de la période post-médiévale se caractérisent par une taille qui devient plus importante par rapport à celle de la vaisselle médiévale. Un engobe beige, sous une glaçure plombifère verte ou encore brune, couvre la surface interne et déborde vers l'extérieur. Parfois, un décor incisé se trouve sur le fond de l'intérieur, ou bien il s'agit d'un décor peint à l'engobe, ou rehaussé. Cette catégorie de coupes est à dater entre les XVI[e] et XVIII[e] siècles (fig. 8—9).

Neuf objets constituent cette catégorie. La coupe Bey 071.732, tournée dans une pâte sableuse orangée avec des inclusions blanches, tient sur une base annulaire haute, repoussée au doigt et formant un contour festonné (fig. 8). Une couche fine d'engobe beige couvre la surface interne sous une glaçure verte. Ce type de coupes qui prend la forme hémisphérique à carène, et que nous trouvons un peu partout au Levant, comme par exemple à Damas, est à dater du XVIII[e] siècle (François 2011 : 327, fig. 10 : 2).

Un autre type, tel que la coupe Bey 071.1945, nous rappelle les *Spot Painted Ware* découvertes à Aphrodisias, en Anatolie (François 2001 : pl. 16 : 167). Une base annulaire haute est engobée en blanc sous une glaçure vert clair avec des rehauts de vert plus foncé. La pâte est de couleur orangée et fine avec quelques inclusions de calcaire (fig. 8). T. A. Tomory (Tomory 1980 : 105—106) les date des XIII[e]—XIV[e] siècles, alors que V. François fait remonter ce type au XVI[e] siècle, en se basant sur la forme rappelant la céramique de luxe d'Iznik (François 2001 : 173).

La coupe Bey 071.725, à base annulaire incomplète (fig. 9), est tournée dans une pâte sableuse rouge clair. Un engobe beige sous une glaçure plombifère verte couvre la surface interne. Des traces de pernettes sont très visibles sur l'intérieur. Cette coupe peut être rapprochée d'une coupe découverte au château de Beaufort, au sud du Liban, et datant du XVIII[e] siècle (Homsy-Gottwalles, à paraître).

Conclusion

La Beyrouth post-médiévale apparaît, selon les archives portuaires de la ville, comme un centre de commerce international. Les marchands français, belges, allemands, anglais, russes, hongrois, ottomans, etc., viennent chercher à Beyrouth : le coton, la laine lavée, la soie grège, le blé, l'huile d'olive, les raisins secs, le vin, le savon, le bitume, le cuivre... (Cuinet 1896 : 67). En outre, les Beyrouthins importent, entre autres, de la faïence d'Angleterre, d'Italie, de France et d'Autriche, ainsi que de la poterie de France, de Belgique et d'Allemagne (Cuinet 1896 : 68).

Bien que les découvertes proviennent de couches archéologiques perturbées, ceci n'enlève rien à leur importance. En effet, cette étude nous permet de dresser un premier tableau typologique des céramiques utilisées à Beyrouth du XVI^e^ au XIX^e^ siècle.

À côté de la céramique locale et/ou régionale, nous recensons de la céramique produite dans les ateliers de Thrace en Grèce, mais également de la céramique européenne, de Ligurie, de Toscane et de Provence (Varages), qui témoignent des échanges commerciaux entre le Liban et l'Europe durant cette période d'occupation ottomane. Les associations de céramiques importées mises au jour à Beyrouth sont comparables avec les découvertes faites à la citadelle de Damas.

In fine, cet article présente des données qui, bien que partielles, permettent de mettre en lumière un sujet encore peu traité pour le Liban.

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Колекция от византийски белоглинени съдове от средата на X век в манастира при с. Равна (североизточна България)

Keywords: Byzantine White Ware, 10th century, dishes with hollow stem, lid, inscribed and impressed sub-glazing decoration, old-Bulgarian monastery, import

Ключевые слова: византийская белоглиняная керамика, X век, блюда с полой ножкой, крышка, гравированное или набивное подглазурное украшение, староболгарский монастырь, импорт

P. Georgiev

A Collection of White Clay Pottery from the Middle of the 10th Century in the Monastery at the Village of Ravna (North-Eastern Bulgaria)

In the article we publish the collection of 11 complete and two partially restored dishes and one lid, found during the excavations in the old Bulgarian monastery at the village of Ravna, Provadia region. They were found in fragments in the yard and in a room near the representative building, which could be considered as the residence of the abbot and of the visitors of the monastery. All of dishes are import from Byzantium, dating around the middle of the 10th c. The stratigraphic data allow us to determine the upper limit of their use to be before the burning of the monastery, which most probably happened during the events in Bulgaria during 969—971. Judging by the technique of manufacturing and the decorations, the dishes belong to the so-called Glazed White Ware. They are covered with dark-green or grass-green and light-yellow or yellow-brownish glazing. There is also inscribed or impressed decoration under the glazing.

The goal of this publication is to focus the attention of the specialist on Byzantine pottery in the collection, to determine more precisely its dating and a possible place of manufacturing.

П. Георгиев

Коллекция византийских белоглиняных сосудов середины X в. в монастыре у с. Равна (северо-восточная Болгария)

В статье публикуется обнаруженная во время раскопок в староболгарском монастыре недалеко от села Равна коллекция из 14 керамических форм: 11 целых и двух частично восстановленных блюд, а также одной крышки. Они обнаружены во фрагментированном состоянии во дворе и в помещении недалеко от здания, которое можно определить как жилище игумена и монастырскую гостиницу. Все сосуды — византийский импорт, который можно отнести к середине X века. Стратиграфические данные позволяют определить верхнюю границу их употребления временем до сожжения монастыря, которое, по всей вероятности, произошло в ходе событий 969—971 гг. в Болгарии. По своим технологическим признакам и художественному оформлению сосуды относятся к так называемой белоглиняной глазурованной керамике (Glazed White Ware). Они покрыты темно- или травянисто-зеленой, светло-желтой или желто-коричневой глазурью с подглазурными гравированными (Inscribed) или штампованными (Impressed) украшениями.

Цель публикации — представить коллекцию вниманию специалистов с целью уточнения датировки и установления вероятного центра производства сосудов.

По време на проведените в периода 1978—1989 г. разкопки на манастира при с. Равна, Провадийска община (Георгиев 1985; 1993; 1994; Georgiev 1994; Попконстантинов 1984; 1992; 2004; Костова 1996; Попконстантинов, Костова 2002), беше открита разнообразна и сравнително добре запазена битова керамика, която остана необнародвана (предварително съобщение у: Василев 2006). Сред обичайната кухненска и висококудо-

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жествена трапезна керамика от там, се откроява колекция от фрагментирани византийски белоглинести съдове. От тях бяха възстановени изцяло или в основната си част единадесет блюда и един капак[1]. Слепени бяха и части от още няколко блюда. Съдовете, както и фрагментарния материал, се съхраняват в експозицията и фонда на Историческия музей в гр. Провадия.

Целта на настоящия доклад е да въведе в обръщение колекцията от византийски белоглинести съдове. Досега тя е представена само частично в каталога на временна изложба в гр. Варна (см.: Българите и техните съседи... 2004: №51, 1—3, 5—6).

Обнародваните съдове принадлежат към най-разпространения вид керамичен импорт в градовете и селищата на Първото българско царство и Северното Причерноморие в периода на управление на Македонската и отчасти при Комниновата династия. Местонаходищата на тази продукция на византийските ателиета са десетки и тя е добре позната на специалистите преди всичко от столицата Константинопол, Коринт, Атина, Тесалоники (Солун), Никея и др. Една от последните класификации на тази керамика принадлежи на J. Hayes (Hayes 1992).

В България византийската белоглинеста керамика (Glased White Ware) е известна от столиците Плиска и Преслав (Тотев 1982: 79—83; Витлянов 1983: 160—169; Бонев 2003: 372—380), но също така и в други селища от IX—XI в. Една от най-добре проучените колекции от фрагментирана белоглинеста керамика е тази от Месемврия (дн. Несебър), изследвана най-напред от Ж. Чимбулева (Cimbuleva 1980: 202—253). Тя е с особена важност, тъй като произхожда от най-активния морски център на Византия в непосредствена близост до територията на Първото българско царство (Laiou 2007: 704). Като пункт на византийски внос на тази продукция за вътрешността на България се приема напоследък и пристанището във Варна, където са регистрирани засега отделни фрагменти от византийска белоглинеста керамика (Манолова-Войкова 2003: 99 и сл. и спец. 105). Фрагменти от нея, с врязана или щампована украса, са намирани и в други черноморски градове у нас, но остават непубликувани, за разлика от тези, които произхождат от северночерноморските центрове. Материалите там са отдавна обект на внимание от руски, украински и чуждестранни специалисти. Особено значими са находищата в Херсонес, южна Таврика и Таманския полуостров (Якобсон 1950: 167 и сл.; 1959: 332 и сл.; 1979: 83 и сл.; Талис 1960: 125 и сл.; 1976: 64 и сл.; Макарова 1967: 8 и сл.; Чичуров 1991: №117—130; Паршина 1974: 65—66; 1991: 81 и сл.; Финогенова 1987: 192 и сл.; Адаксина 1994: 101—108; Баранов 1990: 23 и сл.; Майко 2004: 206 и сл.). С определено внимание към този внос се отнасят и румънските специалисти, които базират своите наблюдения на находки главно от Диногеция, Нуфъру и Пъкуюл луй Соаре (Barnea 1967: 246 sqq.; Baraschi, Damian 1993: 242 sqq.). Дунавският път на разпространение на тази керамика у нас се илюстрира засега от непубликувани находки с щампована украса. Важно находище, което остава в зоната между Дунавските и Черноморските центрове като Одесос-Варна и вътрешността на страната със столиците Плиска и Преслав, е крепостта при с. Скала. Фрагментите от там са единични с или без щампована украса и произхождат от сигурна археологическа среда, която се датира обосновано в рамките на X век (Йотов, Атанасов 1998: 76; Атанасов, Йотов 2005: 21).

Българският материал беше обобщен напоследък от М. Манолова-Войкова (2000: 1—15). В изследването си тя класифицира материалите въз основа на "разработените схеми на Ч. Морган, Т. Макарова и А. Якобсон" (Morgan 1942: 42—81; Макарова 1967: 7—23; Якобсон 1979: 83—84, 144—147; срв. още: Pechlow 1977—1978: 27—28, 363 sqq.). На основата на възприетите от там критерии тя обособява общо няколко класификационни групи и подгрупи.

Равненските съдове принадлежат основно към първите две от тях. Основният признак за разграничаването между тях е видът на подглазурната украса: врязана (Inscribed) и щампована (Impressed). Налице са и съдове без такава украса, поне върху дъната им, но това едва ли е основание за обособяването им в междинна или друга група. Поставянето на някои от съдовете към посочените от Войкова трета четвърта група е проблематично, въпреки че блюдо №2 е с украса от тъмнокафяви мазки от ангоба под глазурата. По този признак то би трябвало да се отнесе към трета класификационна група.

На "депото" от фрагментирани съдове в манастира се попадна през 1986 г. Мястото заема неголяма площ в кв. "Л" 18 и 19 и в непосредствена близост до тях (в кв. "Л" 9 напри-

[1] Съдовете бяха реставрирани в ателието на Филиала на НАИМ в Шумен от керамика Ст. Георгиева, за което й изказвам своята благодарност.

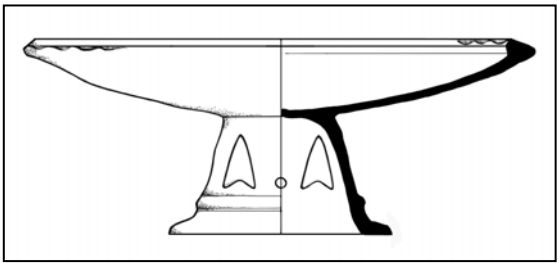
мер), на дълбочина 0,60—0,80 м. То попада в източния край на южния манастирски двор, в непосредствена близост (кв. "Л"18) и отчасти в рамките на пом. №2 (кв. "Л"19) от източното манастирско крило. Съдовете може да са се намирали на горния етаж и са паднали в двора и приземната част на сградата при нейното опожаряване и рухване. Не е изключено и да са били изнесени от нея преди пожара, тъй като не носят следи от обгаряне. Сходна позиция имаха намерените през 1983 и 1986 г. тридесетина други съда. По-голямата част от тях бяха открити в помещение №1 на същата сграда (кв. "Ж" 24), а други — наблизо в двора от запад. Такива съдове бяха открити и в помещение №2 през 1986 и 1987 г. Там те бяха намерени под слой от обгоряло дърво, замазки и строителни рушевини от сградата. На основата на наблюдения от разкопките, допускам, че част от луксозните съдове, заедно с по-ценния инвентар, са били изнесени от източното крило преди опожаряването на манастира. Ако съдим от близостта им до сградата, можем да заключим, че са били евакуирани от нея и оставени в двора, където са били натрошени на място. Възможността византийските съдове да са от времето след пожара и преустрояването на сградата отпада, тъй като характерът на живота в комплекса изключва наличието на подобен инвентар.

Публикуваните тук съдове изглежда са се намирали в източното манастирско крило само на съхранение. Луксозният им характер ме кара да допускам, че са били предназначени за живеещите в разположената наблизо самостоятелна и представителна жилищна сграда, която е изпълнявала ролята на "игуменарница" и гостна на манастира. Двете съседни сгради са издигнати през втората фаза от първия период, т. е. най-късно през втората четвърт на X век.

Отделни фрагменти от византийски белоглинести съдове бяха намирани при разкопките и на други места: в очертанията на сгради или в дворовете около манастирския храм. В сравнение с керамиката от местно производство, те представляват незначително количество (под 1%). Намерени бяха изключително в горни пластове, но и под слоя с опожарени материали. Някои от тях носят следи от обгаряния. Такъв е случаят с откритите в северния двор (кв. "Б" 8, дълб. 0,60—0,80 м) големи късове от дебелостенни и с голям диаметър блюда със зелена глазура, без следи от врязана или щампована украса.

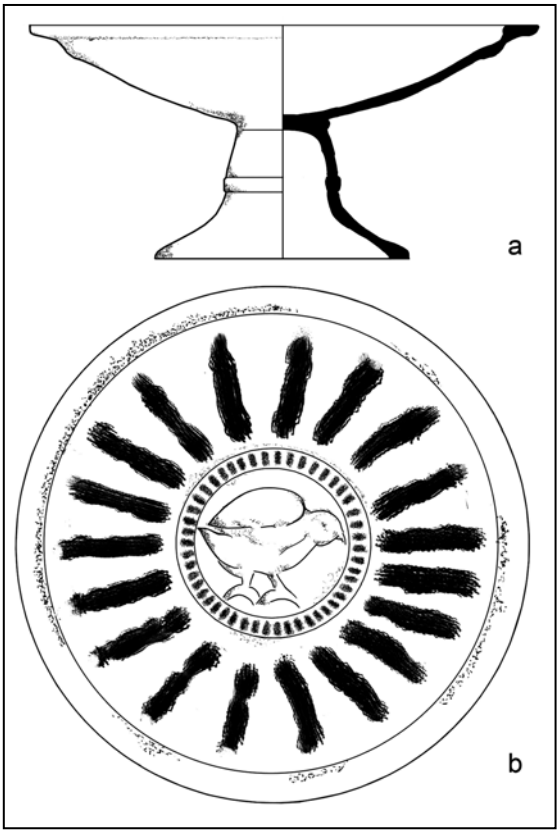
Представената колекция е забележителна в няколко насоки. Първо, тя включва съдове, които са близки по форми, изработка и характер на украсата и са резултат от едновременен внос, така че представляват сбирка с единен произход и дата. Второ, в манастира те не са изолирани, а влизат в рамките на богат керамичен комплекс, включващ местно производство съдове, както и такива, които са също византийско производство, но имат друг характер. От тях са възстановени (или открити напълно запазени) общо над 120 съда (гърнета, амфоровидни стомни и кани, паници, чаши и др.). Византийският импорт сред тях е близо 10%. Това е сравнително голям относителен дял, който показва високото ниво на битовата култура в манастира. Същото се доказва и от архитектурата и благоустрояването в него (водопроводи и канализация, баня с подподово (хипокаустно) отопление, латрини и др). Подобна картина показват и други представителни манастири или архитектурни ансамбли от втора половина на IX и X в., главно в столиците Плиска и Велики Преслав, но манастирът при Равна е с почертано луксозен бит.

Третата насока, с която колекцията от византийски белоглинести съдове спира вниманието, е нейната датировка в сравнително тесни граници. Основното количество от възстановените над 120 съда бяха открити в затворен археологически комплекс. Горната му граница бележи повсеместен пожар, довел до унищожаването на манастирските сгради. Според наличните, археологически и други данни, пожарът може да се датира между средата и последната четвърт на X век. След него манастирът престава да функционира в предишния си цветущ вид. Най-вероятната причина за пожара са военно-политическите събития между 968 и 971 г., когато територията на североизточна България е арена на руско-български и византийско-руски конфликти (Георгиев 1993: 57 и сл.). Не може да се изключва напълно и по-ранна датировка, свързана с маджарски нашествия през 50-те и 60-те години на X век, но засега тя е само теоритична. При това положение датировката на разглежданата керамика следва да се постави преди 971 г. Отсъствието в комплекса на анонимни византийски монети или на обичайните за периода след тази дата моливдовули на византийската администрация, дава основание да се мисли, че животът в него след тази дата е загубил своя предишен характер на представително място. Това също изключва възможността там да е бил импортирано някакво византийско производство. Така, за най-обоснована дата на производство и внос на сбирката от белоглинести съдове приемам 50-те и 60-те години на X век, като, разбира се, не може да се изключва



Обр. 1. Блюдо №1 — разрез с профил.

Fig. 1. Dish no. 1: section with profile.



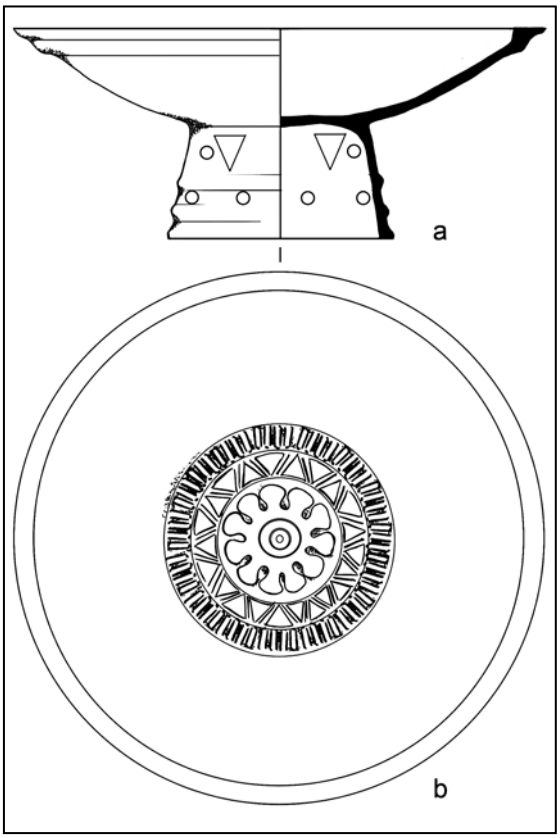
Обр. 2. Блюдо №2: a — разрез с профил; b — поглед отгоре.

Fig. 2. Dish no. 2: a — section with profile; b — top view.

и малко по-ранна дата. Трябва да се има предвид обаче, че долната хронологическа граница на манастира е в края на IX в. и се основава на епиграфски установената дата на освещаването на неговия храм през 889 (според К. Попконстантинов) или през 897 г. (според автора).

Описание на съдовете

1. Блюдо върху високо кухо столче (обр. 1). От бяла глина. С кафяво-жълта глазура. Реставрирано с малко попълвания. Диаметър на купата — 19,1, дълб. до 2,7 см с висок



Обр. 3. Блюдо №3: a — разрез с профил; b — поглед отгоре.

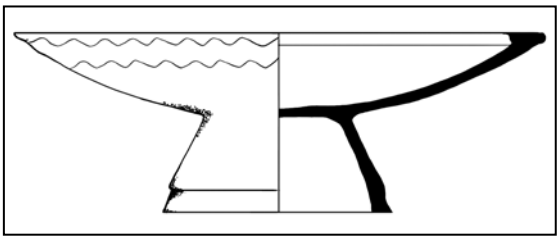
Fig. 3. Dish no. 3: a — section with profile; b — top view.

до 0,4 см борд. По двата ръба на устието са нанесени прищъпвания, които заменят характерния за подобни съдове фестон. Без забележими следи от подглазурна украса. Конично столче с релефен пръстен и три "стреловидни" изреза и кръгли дупки, неглазирано отвътре. Вис. 4,8—4,9 см.

Равна, 1986 г., кв. "Л" 18, дълб. 0,60 м. Инв. №А-248.

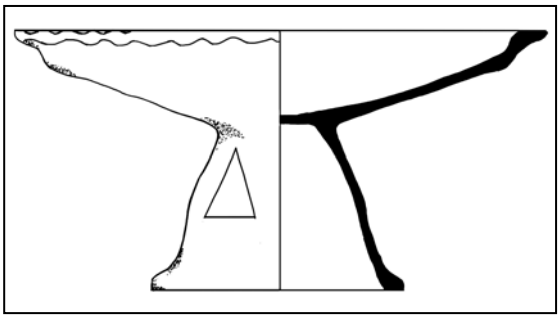
Аналогии: Pechlow 1977—1978: Abb. 9: Nr. 72 etc.

2. Блюдо върху високо столче (обр. 2). От бяла, бледорозова глина. Реставрирано с малко попълвания. Със светложълта глазура. Купа с диам. 21, 6 см и дълб. до 4,0 см, с почти хоризонтален бордюр с шир. 1,3 см, без прищъпвания. Украса от подглазурно нанесени 19 радиални "лъча" от тъмнокафява ангоба (обр. 2, а). Други 15 такива са нанесени на външната страна на купата. Върху нейното дъно е щампован медальон с диам. 8 см с шир. 0,9 см рамка, украсена с радиални черти и медальон (диам. 6,5 см) с релефно изображение на птица. Конично, кухо, неглазирано отвътре, столче, с релефен пръстен, без прорези. Височина до 6,3 см.



Обр. 4. Блюдо №4 — разрез с профил.

Fig. 4. Dish no. 4: section with profile.



Обр. 5. Блюдо №5 — разрез с профил.

Fig. 5. Dish no. 5: section with profile.

Равна, 1986 г., кв. "Л" 19, дълб. 0,40—0,60 м., пол. №256, инв. №А-287.

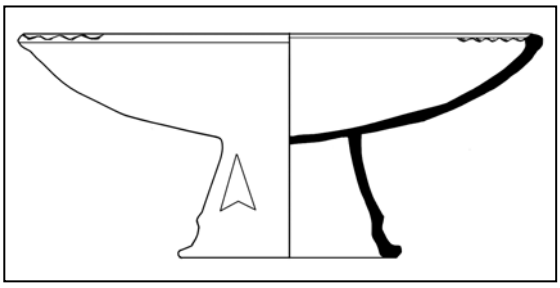
Аналогии: Колекция Сарач хане в Истанбул, тип 1. Лит.: Hayes 1992: 21—22, fig. 7: 1, pl. 3: f-g; Колекция от Коринт. Срв. Morgan 1942: Nr. 131, fig. 168; Блюдо от Алустон, Крим, срв. Адаксина 1994: 102, рис. 1; Pechlow 1977—1978: Abb. 9, Nr. 72.

3. Блюдо върху високо столче (обр. 3: а). От бяла глина. С преобладаващо тъмнозелена глазура. Реставрирано с малко попълвания. Купа с диам. 25,3 и дълб. до 3,3 см, с бордюр без прищъпвания. На дъното на купата е щампован медальон с диам. 5,3 см с двойна рамка от радиални черти и двустранно вдаващи се триъгълници. В него е вписана 11 листна розета с концентрични кръгове и точка в средата (обр. 3: b). Конично, кухо столче с 4 триъгълни прореза и два реда малки кръгли отвори между тях. Диам. на основата 10,7 см и вис. до 6,2 см.

Равна, 1986 г. Кв. "Л" 18, дълб. 0,60 м. Инв. №А-286.

Аналогии: Колекция Сарач хане, тип 1 или 2. Лит.: Hayes 1992: pl. 2, p. 3a "Petal" орнамента вж. p. 21, fig. 6/1, 3. За формата още: Pechlow 1977—1978: Abb. 9: Nr. 72 etc.

4. Блюдо върху високо столче (обр. 4). От бяла глина. Със светлозелена глазура. Около една четвърт реставрация. Купа с диам. 23,8 и дълб. до 3,5 см. С вертикален бордюр с прищъпвания по двата ръба (псевдофестон).



Обр. 6. Блюдо №6 — разрез с профил.

Fig. 6. Dish no. 6: section with profile.

Отвън и отдолу две зигзаговидни ивици. На дъното е с кръгъл медальон с неясно щампован изображение. Кухо столче, без изрези, диам. до 10,4 и вис. 4,7 см.

1986 г., кв. "Л" 19, дълб. 0,40—0,60 м. Инв. №А-286.

Аналогии: Pechlow 1977—1978: Abb. 9: Nr. 74.

5. Блюдо върху високо столче (обр. 5). От бяла глина. С тъмнозелена глазура. Реставрирано със значителни попълвания, главно на дъното. Купата е с диам. 19,7 см, с хоризонтален бордюр с прищъпвания (псевдофестон). Дълб. до 3,6 см. На дъното личи слабо кръгъл медальон. Кухо столче с вис. 5,4 см с три триъгълни и три малки кръгли отвора, диам. 10,2 см.

Равна, 1986 г., кв. "Л" 19, дълб. 0,40—0,60 м, инв. №А-280.

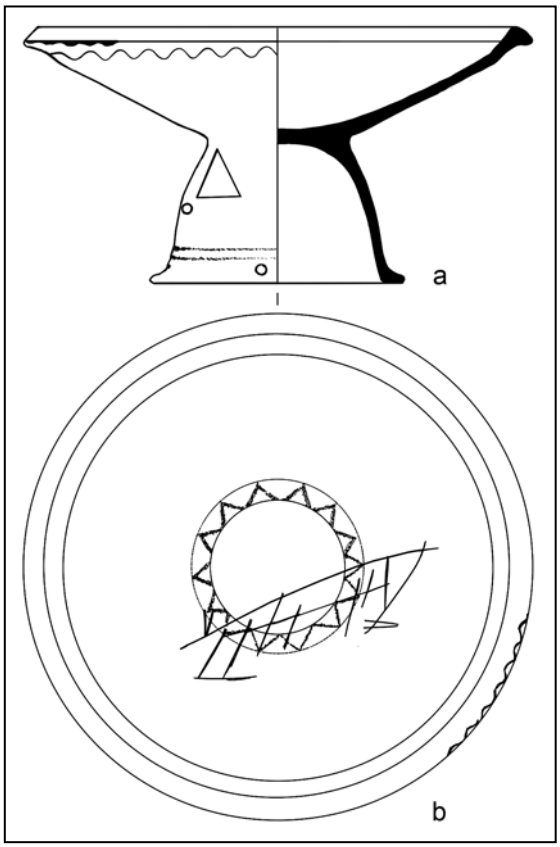
Аналогии: Pechlow 1977—1978: Abb. 9: Nr. 67, 72, 74.

6. Блюдо върху високо столче (обр. 6). От бяла глина. С тревистозелена глазура. С попълвания при устието. Купа с диам. 19,5 см и дълб. 3,4 см със заоблен, фестониран и скосен отвън устен ръб. На дъното кръгъл медальон с рамка от триъгълници и щампован неясно изображение. Отвън и отдолу е врязана единична вълнообразна линия. Кухо столче с релефен пръстен и три стрелообразни прореза, диам. 9,4 и вис. 6,2 см.

1986 г. кв. "Л" 19, дълб. 0,40—0,60 м. Инв. №А 286.

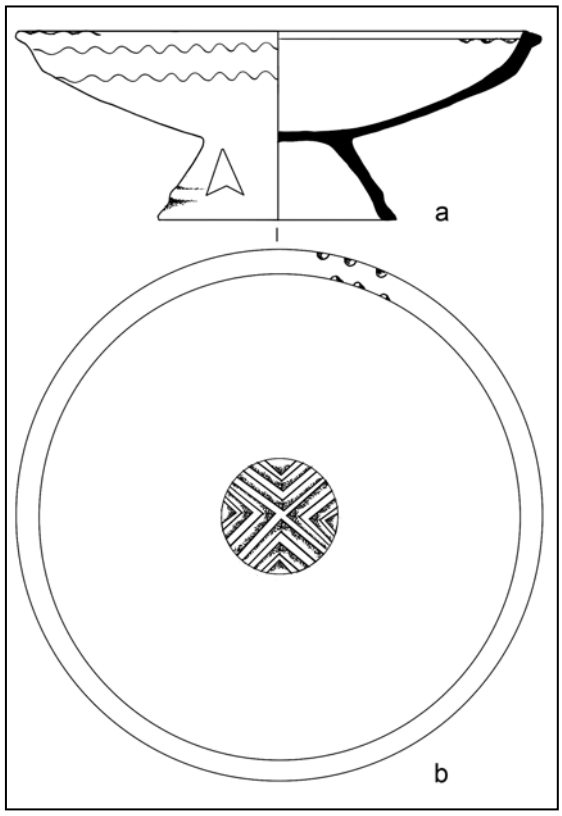
Аналогии: Колекция Сарач хане, тип I B. Датировка: втора четвърт на X век. Лит.: Hayes 1992: 116, figs. 7/1, 61, 3; Pechlow 1977—1978: Abb. 9: Nr. 72, 74.

7. Блюдо върху високо столче (обр. 7: а). От бяла глина. С преобладаващо тъмнозелена глазура: на места с по-светли бликове. С попълвания при горната част на купата и част от столчето. Купата е с диам. 19,5 и дълб. до 3,6 см с почти изправен и оформен с прищъпвания само отвън устен ръб. Върху дъното личи щампован кръгъл медальон с рам-



Обр. 7. Блюдо №7: a — разрез с профил; b — поглед отгоре.

Fig. 7. Dish no. 7: a— section with profile; b — top view.



Обр. 8. Блюдо №8: a — разрез с профил; b — поглед отгоре.

Fig. 8. Dish no. 8: a — section with profile; b — top view.

ка от триъгълници и зигзагообразна линия (?) (обр. 7: b). В медальона има неразличима щампована фигура. Малко странично, върху медальона и част от стените е гравирано подглазурно силно схематизирано изображение на риба с щриховано тяло с дълж. около 12 см. Бордюрът на устието е украсен отвън с единична вълнообразна линия. Конично, кухо столче с три триъгълни прореза и два реда малки кръгли отвори. Вис. 5,5 и диам. на основата 9,3 см.

Равна, 1986 г. Кв. "Л" 18, дълб. 0,60 м. Пол. №354.

Аналогии: Колекция Сарачхане, типове 2 A: украса от гравирани риби, орел и бухал (?), при един от съдовете (fig. 61/1) и 1 B: щампована украса в двоен кръг (fig. 61/2). Датировка: втора четвърт на X век. Лит. Hayes 1992: 116, pl. 2, m.

8. Блюдо върху високо столче (обр. 8: a). От бяла глина. С жълтокафява глазура. Възстановено с малки попълвания. Купа с диам. 23,8 и дълб. до 3,7 см с почти изправен борд и издаден устен ръб с два реда прищъпвания. С щампована украса: слабо личащ кръгъл медальон с вписан равнораменен кръст с рамена, оформени като "палмова клонка" (обр. 8: b). Подобен щампован мотив у Hayes 1992: 15, fig. 5/4, pl. 2, е за фрагмент от блюдо от белоглинеста керамика I тип. Отвън, под устието и под горния край на купата, са гравирани подглазурно по една вълнообразни линия. Столчето е с конична форма, кухо, украсено с широка до 0,9 см канелюра и четири стреловидни прореза. Вис. 4,2 см.

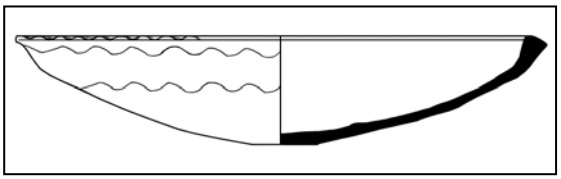
Равна, 1986 г., кв. "Л" 19, дълб. 0,40—0,60 м. Неинвентирано.

Аналогии: Pechlow 1977—1978: Abb. 9: Nr. 70, 72.

9. Блюдо, вероятно върху високо столче (обр. 9). С кафявожълта глазура. Купата е с диам. 23,5, дълб. 3,1 см. Бордюрът е изправен и с два реда прищъпвания по устния ръб. Отвън, под устието и горната част на купата е врязана по една вълнообразна линия. Запазена е около 1/3. Следи от украса не се забелязват.

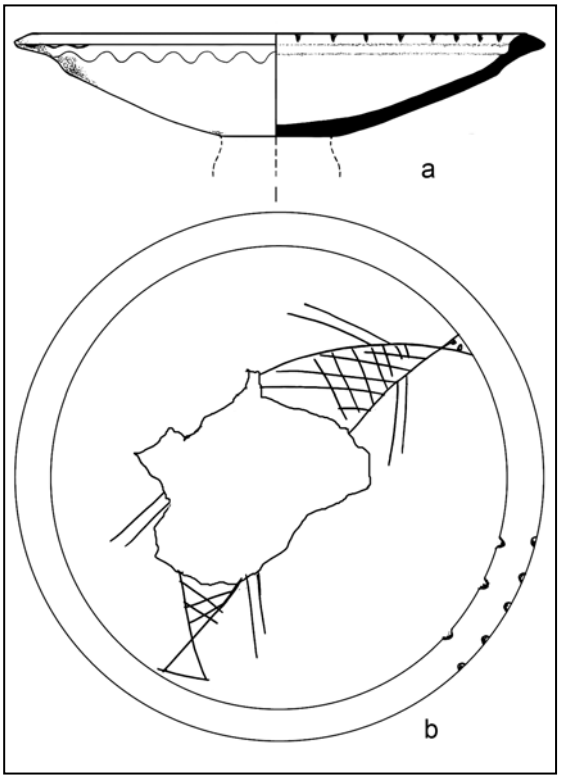
Равна, 1986 г. Кв. "Л" 18. Неинвентирано.

10. Блюдо, без запазено столче (обр. 10: a). С преобладаващо светлозелена, глазура, на петна. Реставрирано с попълвания на дъното. Купата е с диам.18,8 и дълб. до 3,1 см, със слабо изразен борд и редки насечки по въ-



Обр. 9. Блюдо №9 — разрез с профил.

Fig. 9. Dish no. 9: section with profile.



Обр. 10. Блюдо 10: a — разрез с профил; b — поглед отгоре.

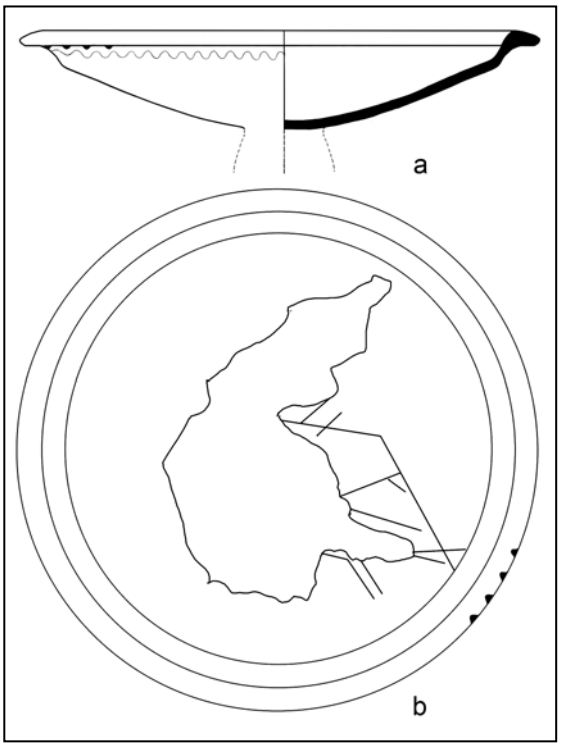
Fig. 10. Dish no. 10: a — section with profile; b — top view.

трешния и външен ръб на устието. Върху запазената част от дъното личат следи от щампована рамка на кръгъл медальон, украсена с вдаващи се триъгълници (обр. 10: b). Върху дъното и стените е гравирана риба с щриховано на ромбове тяло, без очертана глава, но с перки и опашка, дълж. над 16 см. Отвън, под устието, е гравирана единична вълнообразна линия.

Равна, 1986 г. Кв. "Л" 18, дълб. 0,60 м. Неинвентирано.

Аналогия: За гравирани изображения на риби: колекция Сарач хане, тип 2 А. Лит.: Hayes 1992: 116, fig. 61: 1.

11. Блюдо, без запазено столче (обр. 11: a). С преобладаващо светлозелена глазура, включваща и по-тъмни петна. С попълвания на дъното. Купа с диам. 20,3 и дълб. до 3,4 см, с почти изправен борд и прищъпвания (псевдофестон) по външния ръб. Отвън, под него единична врязана вълнообразна линия. На дъното на купата личат слабо следи от щампована украса: шнуровидна (?) рамка на кръгъл медальон. Встрани личи частично запазено гравирано изображение на риба (?) (обр. 11: b).



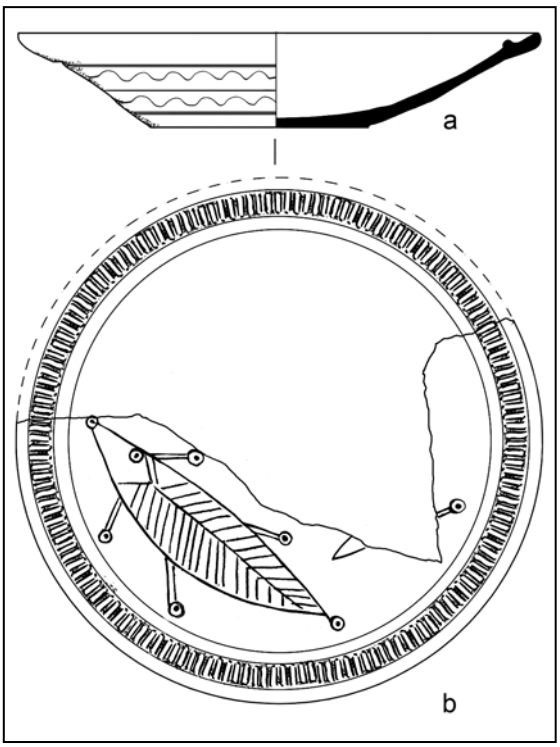
Обр. 11. Блюдо №11: a — разрез с профил; b — поглед отгоре.

Fig. 11. Dish no. 11: a — section with profile; b — top view.

Равна, 1986 г. Кв. "Л" 18. Неинвентирано.

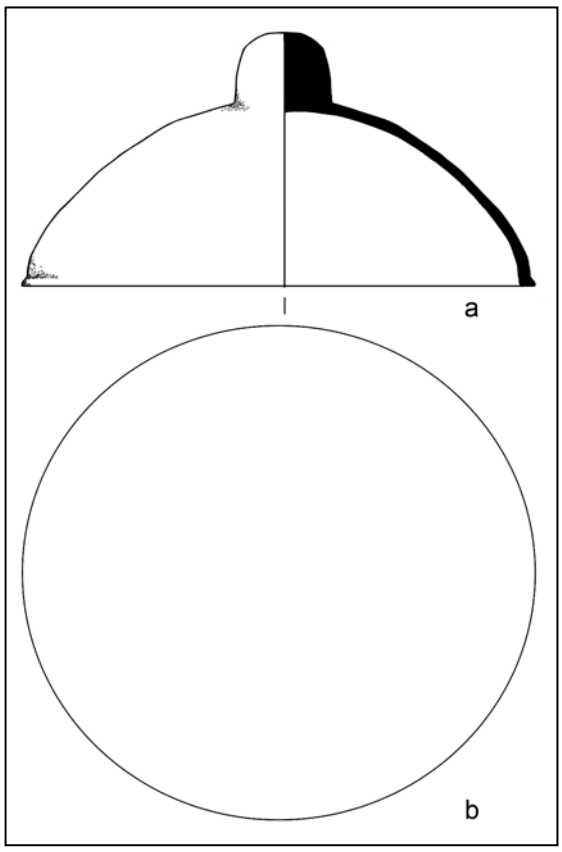
Аналогия: Колекция Сарач хане, типове 1 и 2. Датировка: втора четвърт на X век. Лит. Hayes 1992: fig. 61: 2, 3.

12. Част от блюдо, вероятно върху високо столче (обр. 12: a). От бяла глина. С преобладаващо тъмнозелен цвят. Запазена е около ¼ от купата и почти изцяло столчето, но без възможности за възстановяване на цяла форма. Диам. на купата около 19,1, дълб. 3,6 см. с напълно хоризонтален бордюр, отделен от купата с релефен вътрешен ръб. Бордюрът е украсен отвътре с гравирани радиални черти, а отвън с две единични вълнообразни линии. Вътрешната от тях е в рамките на двойна канелюра. Дъното на купата не е запазено и не се знае дали съдът е бил украсен с щамповане. Върху стените на купата са врязани изображения на риби, от които едното е запазена напълно (обр. 12: b). За разлика от силно



Обр. 12. Блюдо №12: a — разрез с профил; b — поглед отгоре.

Fig. 12. Dish no. 12: a — section with profile; b — top view.



Обр. 13. Капак: a — разрез с профил; b — поглед отгоре.

Fig. 13. Lid: a — section with profile; b — top view.

схематизираните риби върху №7, 10 и 11, тя е с по-реалистичен рисунък. Тялото е с характерната за Glazed White Ware II украса "рибена кост" (herring bone) или "палмова клонка" (palm-branch) (Hayes 1992: 21), а главата, представена с остра муцуна, има отгоре очи, показани с щампован циркулен орнамент. Същият мотив е нанесен и при опашката и плавниците. Това е обичаен начин за украса при византийската белоглинеста керамика. Виждаме такъв орнамент и при фигурите на животни и птици, получени чрез щамповане.

Равна, 1986 г. Кв. "Л" –9, дълб. 0,80—1 м. Неинвентирано.

Аналогии: Сред материала от Сарач хане в Истанбул блюда за подобно оформяне на бордюра, вж. Hayes 1992: fig. 7/7. Блюдо с "релсовиден" ръб при бордюра вж. и в материалите от Коринт, вж. Morgan 1942: 42 sqq., Nr. 130, fig. 31). За рибите изображения вж. по-горе №7, 10 и 11.

13. Капак за блюдо (обр. 13). С тревистозелена, петниста глазура само по горната повърхност. Възстановен. С полуцилиндрична форма. Диам. на основата 18,0, вис. 6,4 см. Със сферична по форма дръжка ("умбо"), вис. 3,1 и диам. 3,9 см дръжка.

Равна, 1986 г., кв. "Л " 19, дълб. 0,40—0,60 м., пол. №353, инв. №А-256.

Аналогии: Morgan 1942: Nr. 143, fig. 169; Pechlow 1977—1978: Abb. 8: Nr.65.

14. Фрагмент от капак на блюдо. Запазено е "умбото" с шип отгоре. Горяла, вероятно зелена глазура.

Равна, 1986 г., кв. "Б" 3, дълб. 0,80 м. Пол. №162.

Сравнителният анализ на формите на съдовете с установените при разкопките край Сарач хане в Истанбул, от Коринт и други византийски центрове, показва почти пълна идентичност. При нас са представени главно т. нар. отворени форми: блюда със високи стройни и кухи столчета. Блюдата са със средноголям модул: диаметър от 19 до към 24 см (срв. Hayes 1992: 22). Малкият константинополски модул (диам. 14—16 см) не е представен в колекцията. Рядка форма са капаците. Те изглежда са били предназначени за похлупване на блюдата, но ако съдим от това, че са отделни екземпляри не са оформяли задължителен комплект. Големият мо-

дул блюда също са били в употреба в манастира при Равна, но фрагменти от тях, както се каза, бяха открити в северния двор на манастира. Техният диаметър достига, доколкото може да се установи, 44—50 см, а стените им са 1,3—1,5 см дебели (до три пъти повече от тези на съдовете от средния модул). Фактът, че не носят украса прави допустимо предположението, че това са "фруктиери", предназначени за трапезата на редовото монашеско братство

Открояват се и някои технологични различия. Тестото на нашите съдове в повечето случаи е бяло, без кремаво-розов оттенък. Сбирката от съдове от манастира в Равна включва сравнително по-семпли в оформянето на бордюра и столчето детайли. С изявен вътрешен ръб отвътре е само №14. Важен белег са насечките по устния ръб (вж. Morgan 1942:, pl. VII b*)*, които заменят същинския фестон (Morgan 1942: pl. VIIc; Hayes 1992: pl. 5, k). В тонално отношение преобладава зелената глазура, получила различни — посветли или по-тъмни оттенъци, в зависимост от гъстотата на глазурната смес и плътността на нейното покритие. Изследвания върху състава ѝ не са правени. Оранжево-жълтата глазура, която е обичайна за колекцията от Сарач хане и други византийски находища при нас липсва. Близка до нея е лимоненожълтата глазура при съд №2. Същият представя и друг прийом в украсата на византийската белоглинеста керамика от II група: използване на кафява ангоба за подглазурна украса, както в Константинопол, Коринт или Алустон в Крим. Две от блюдата са със жълтокафява глазура, която изглежда е получена от примесването на двата основни глазурни състава. По-сигурни изводи ще могат да се правят след химически анализ.

Украсата е щампована и гравирана. Последната най-често е нанесена още при изтъчването и представлява единични вълнообразни линии или канелюри, нанесени само отвън. Щампованите изображения върху съдовете от Равна са върху дъната отвътре, но са доста плитки и често неясни. Това се дължи вероятно на по-лоши или амортизирани от употреба калъпи, а защо не и на неопитни майстори. Липсват човешки фигури. Изображения на животни вероятно има, но е трудно да се доловят. Единственото сигурно изображение е на птица. Това, което може да се долови, показва предпочитание към кръстовидни фигури или розети, включени обикновено в двойна кръгла рамка с насочени навътре и навън триъгълници или зигзагообразен шнур. Характерно и рядко срещано в други находища е нанасянето на гравирани изображения на риби върху пластичната украса. Те са с небрежен рисунък и несиметрична позиция. Това като че ли говори също известен стилистичен и технологичен упадък в производството на съдовете и поставя, наред със стратиграфските данни, въпросът за датировката им след средата на X век. Представянето на риби върху дъната и стените на съдовете показва, че те са възприемани от гледна точка на религиозната им символика. Рибата е, както е известно, важен ранно- и старохристиянски символ, който запазва значението си на изображение, което заменя образа на самия Христос и представя неговата саможертва за спасението на човечеството и през средновековието (Dölger 1910; Cambi 1975: 64 sqq.; Адаксина 1994: 103 и сл.; Залесская 1993: 368 и сл., рис. 1). По тази причина можем да се запитаме доколко блюдата с този символ са били предназначени за трапезата на светски лица. Може би е по-оправдано те да са били поръчани и закупени за монашеското братство (големият им брой и еднаквата или близка големина, изключва възможността да са били предназначени за подготовка и отслужване на Божествената литургия). Може би това обяснява отсъствието на типично "светски" сюжети при пластичната украса, за разлика например на тези от Преславските находища, макар че сред тях има и манастири (Манолова-Войкова 2000: обр. 2; Бонев 2003: обр. 1—4; Българите и техните съседи… 2004: №50, 1—9).

Един от важните, но и трудни, въпроси, които поставя разгледаната колекция от вносни византийски съдове е този за техния производствен център. Обикновено се приема, че белоглинестата глазирана керамика с гравирана или щампована украса произлиза от ателиета на византийската столица. Тази възможност остава валидна и за съдовете от Равна. Трябва да се каже обаче, че важен център на белоглинесто производство от X—XI в. (Glazed White Ware II) са и Никомидия и особено Никея (Изник) (François 1997: 413 sqq.). До определено решение на въпроса за произхода на белоглинестите изделия в България обаче ще може да се стигне след лабораторни анализи на глините и глазурите в тях (срв.: Megaw, Jones 1983: 235—263).

В заключение ще отбележа, че колекцията от белоглинести съдове заслужава по-детайлен съпоставителен анализ, особено ако е основан на лабораторни изследвания.

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Early Medieval Glazed Ceramics Discovered in the Fortifications from Hârşova and Oltina (south-east of Romania)

Keywords: Romania, Dobrudja, Byzantine period, glazed ceramics, archaeometric investigations

Ключевые слова: Румыния, Добруджа, византийский период, поливная керамика, археометрические исследования

C. Paraschiv-Talmaţchi

Early Medieval Glazed Ceramics Discovered in the Fortifications from Hârşova and Oltina (South-Eastern Romania)

This paper completes the information regarding the glazed pottery from 10th—11th century from the western region of the Black Sea, from Dobrudja. Majority of the new discoveries belongs to the group with monochrome glaze (green-olive), rarely polychrome (green-olive with yellow; greenish-yellow on a chestnut background). The material, mostly fragmentary, comes from jugs, pots and cups of different sizes. Among other finds, a glazed clay egg was discovered at Hârşova. Glazed pottery from the two analyzed settlements represents local productions and imports, several fragments were studied by using archaeometric analysis, some data regarding the glaze are presented at the end of the article.

К. Параскив-Талмацки

Поливная керамика раннего средневековья из укреплений Хыршова и Олтина в юго-восточной Румынии

Настоящая статья дополняет сведения о поливной керамике X—XI веков, найденной в западной части Причерноморья — в Добрудже. Новые находки по большей части принадлежат к группе монохромной поливы (зелено-оливковой), редко полихромной (оливково-зеленой с желтым; зеленовато-желтой на каштановом фоне). Материал представляет собой в основном фрагменты различного размера кувшинов, горшков и чашек. В Хыршове было также найдено глиняное поливное яйцо. Поливная керамика с двух изученных поселений является как местным производством, так и импортом. Несколько фрагментов были подвергнуты археометрическому исследованию, результаты которых представлены в конце статьи.

The researches conducted in the last two decades in the fortified settlements from Hârşova and Oltina (Constanța County) led to filling in the information relating the glazed pottery from 10th—11th century, from the western region of the Black Sea. The new discoveries belong in majority to the group with monochrome glaze (green-olive), rarely polychrome (green-olive with yellow; greenish-yellow on a chestnut background). Generally, the glazed pottery denotes, compared with the common use pottery, a greater attention to execution, consisting of a better preparation and cleaning of the paste, well-proportioned forms, a bolder decorative palette and a high quality burning. Nevertheless, in frequent situations, it is slightly inferior to the pottery with golden engobe.

The beginnings of the early medieval fortified settlement from Hârşova is due to the returning of the Byzantine Empire at Lower Danube, at the end of 10th century and the beginning of the first one, with the inclusion of the city in the program of Emperor John Tsimiskes to reuse and rebuild the old Roman fortifications (Ciobanu 1970: 25; Baraschi 1991: 138), amid concerns of keeping the region under observation and influence. It seems that at Hârşova wasn't rebuild the entire ancient city, the Byzantines opting to raise *a fun-*

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damentis a new smaller precinct, disposed in the central area of the plateau (Barnea, Ştefănescu 1971: 80; Damian 2015: 229—230). The habitation from here, developed initially under the protection of the rebuilt walls, then extended also in the *extra-muros* area (towards east were develops an crafts neighbourhood, west and north), was chronologically framed, in this stage of the researches, from the end of 10th century to the end of 11th century (Aricescu 1971: 355; Panait et al. 1995—1996: 121—134; Paraschiv-Talmaţchi 2009: 421—438). The small border "city" shortly becomes a local centre, which draws the attention of merchants and craftsmen. As the majority of the fortifications from the right bank of the river, the settlement developed in stages gaining a semi urban character, facilitating also an active commercial live and ant the developing of some crafts.

In the fortified settlement from Hârşova were discovered until now 44 glazed fragments of pottery, an almost complete jug and an egg of burned clay. The glazed was laid directly on the body of the vessel and of the clay egg, without any support of engobe. In most cases, after burning the glaze become different shades of green-olive, sometimes with reddish or chestnut reflections. Exception makes the lower part of a jug on which predominates a yellow-greenish glaze on a chestnut background, colors that are also present on the egg of burned clay. Fifteen of the fragments, among which the lower part from two small jugs, were made at a slow wheel (fig. 1: 17, 18; 3: 14, 15). At 13 of these, most of them from pottery with embossed decor executed during modeling, quite a clean paste that has in compositions rare crushed shells, small gravel and vegetable carbonized during the burning process. The paste of the two bottoms of small jugs it's different, presenting in composition sand with small granulation. The other fragments were made at the fast wheel, generally from a fine paste. At some pieces, rarely, in composition appear crushed shells, small granules of white limestone or sand. Two of the fragments were made out of kaolin, with sand and small pebble. Of the total discoveries, 30 fragments come from reductant burned pottery, seven oxidant (most without depth) and seven uneven (in the fracture the ceramic wall its red only on the interior side in depth of about 0.1 cm, the rest being gray).

In terms of typology, the glazed fragments from the fortified settlement from Hârşova come from jugs, mugs and cups.

The jugs have the biggest frequency, representing almost 90% of the findings from this ceramic category. These were made at a fast or slow wheel, from clean paste with rare crushed shells, small pebble and granules of limestone, respectively with more sand. These were burned reductant or oxidant, with or without depth or uneven. The thickness of the jugs varies between 0.44—1.3 cm, in the neck area thinning to 0.39 cm. Only one piece is made out of kaolin (fig. 1: 13; 3: 6).

Based on the fragments we can appreciate that some jugs from the fortified settlement from Hârşova had different sizes, from small vessels to large jugs. Their form was ovoidal or elongated ovoidal at the biggest ones. The mouth of the jugs was cylindrical or shaped as a funnel, with rounded lip (fig. 1: 1, 22; 3: 1, 17). Short neck, simple or delimited of the mouth by a threshold embossed during modeling.

The jugs handles, oval in section, flat or thicker, were attached at one end of the neck (fig. 1: 25) and descends to the shoulder or on the highlighted part of the body. On some pieces are present some longitudinal ribs, slightly highlighted, respectively a dent made by pressing with the finger in the superior part (fig. 1: 26, 27; 3: 19).

The base of the jugs it's straight or slightly widened towards the exterior, its diameter varying between 5.3—12 cm, and its thickness between 0.4—0.94 cm (fig. 1: 17—21; 3: 10—15).

The glaze that covers the surface of the jugs discovered at Hârşova it's mainly green-olive, with shades that oscillates from light green-olive to dark green-olive. It is shiny, sometimes with reddish or brownish reflections, generally being laid almost uniform. Some fragments that went through fires presents a baked glaze, vitrified and mat, others just mat and cracked. The glaze covers partially the interior side of the lip, almost integral the handles, respectively total or partial the bottom of the vessel. An exception makes a jug from which it's preserved only the inferior part, on which predominate the yellow-greenish glaze on chestnut background.

The only almost complete vessel (it's missing the lip) which was discovered at Hârşova it's a middle size jug, with the kept height of 23.2 cm, that has an ovoidal body, with a maximum diameter of 11 cm (fig. 1: 1; 3: 1). The vessel was made at the fast wheel from a clean paste and burned reductant. Has a cylindrical neck, with a diameter of 4.66 cm, presents a strong rib made during modelling. From the rib area starts a flattened handle (wide of 2.86 cm and thick of 1 cm), that stops on the highlighted part of the body. On the exterior, the neck was decorated with horizontal groves orderly arranged, and on the shoulder and in the lower part of the body (at 5.5 cm higher from the bottom) were laid two strips of three, respectively two groves. More accidentally, almost half of the surface of the jug was covered with

Fig. 1. Glazed pottery from Hârşova (photo by C. Paraschiv-Talmaţchi).

Рис. 1. Поливная керамика из Хыршовы (фото К. Параскив-Талмацки).

glaze green-olive, as spotting of various dimensions and different thickness of the layer. There are smaller spots were the glaze it's thicker and shinier, respectively bigger were its thinner and mat. The glaze was laid directly on the surface of the vessel, without a support of engobe. The bottom, which retains traces of detachment with a rope from the wheel, has a diameter of 9.2 cm. the jug was discovered in the north sector, in the area *extra-muros* of the small precinct (by dr. Constantin Nicolae, to which we thank that he offered it us for processing), in a dwelling dated based on the inventory in 11th century. Analogies for the jug from Hârşova, but with glaze on the

Fig. 2. Glazed pottery from Oltina (photo by C. Paraschiv-Talmațchi).

Рис. 2. Поливная керамика из Олтины (фото К. Параскив-Талмацки).

whole kept surface, we find at Dinogetia-Garvăn (Barnea 1967: 233, fig. 143: 2). Likewise, it presents similarities with the red pottery of superior facture, unglazed, and with that with golden engobe, from 11th century, from the fortified settlement from the island Păcuiul lui Soare (Diaconu, Vîlceanu 1972: 108—110, 114, fig. 49: 2).

Few fragments that come from jugs bodies' don't present decor. These are from the upper part of the shoulder, or have small dimensions. The majority, including those from kaolin, presents ribs (fig. 1: 6—16; 3: 6—9), more or less embossed, narrower or wider, executed during the modelling of the vessels, decorative element we met also in the neck area (fig. 1: 12; 3: 8), as was observed also at the complete jug. Some fragments presents decor made through the technique of incision in the crude paste. Stands out one that

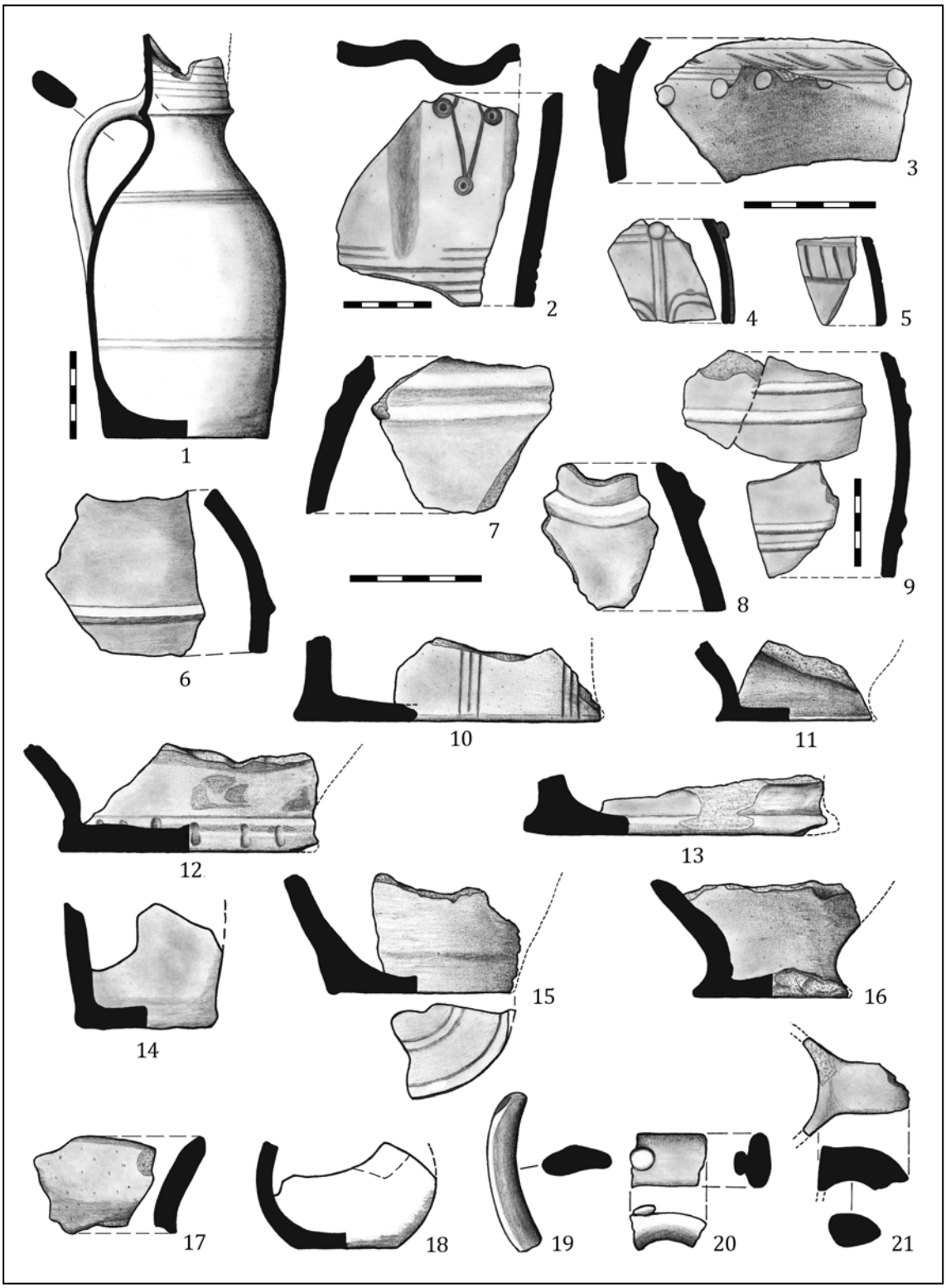

Fig. 3. Glazed pottery from Hârşova (drawing by C. Paraschiv-Talmaţchi).

Рис. 3. Поливная керамика из Хыршовы (рис. К. Параскив-Талмацки).

came probably from a jug with the horizontal section almost square (with four lobes), similar to one discovered at Păcuiul lui Soare, in the level of 11th century (Diaconu, Vîlceanu 1972: 90, fig. 34: 1). The fragment, made at the fast wheel, from paste with sporadic small granules of white limestone, was burned reductant and has a thickness of 0.8—0.9 cm. In the lobate part was deco-

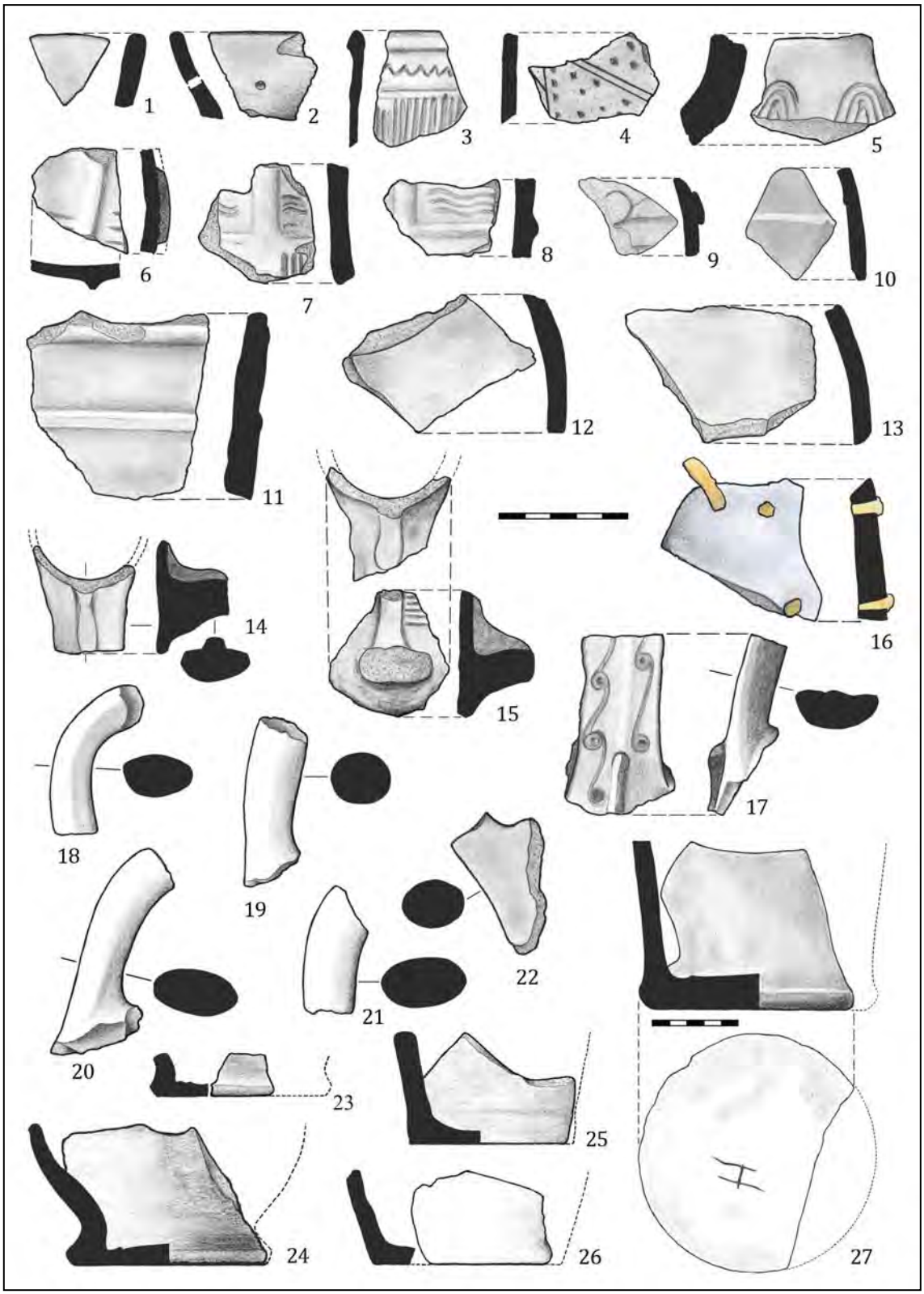

Fig. 4. Glazed pottery from Oltina (drawing by C. Paraschiv-Talmaţchi).

Рис. 4. Поливная керамика из Олтины (рис. К. Параскив-Талмацки).

rated with a rhomb that presents in the corners a circle with a point in the middle, and in the inferior part a strip of three grooves (fig. 1: 2; 3: 2). Subsequently making the incised decor, the exterior surface of the jug was covered with glaze, that after burning become green-olive, bright. The

fragment was discovered in a dwelling inside the early medieval precinct (Complex 1/2008), along with the handle that has an impression made with the finger (fig. 1: 26). Its inventory, quite rich, was made of a grindstone, a tapered weight of clay, spindle whorls of bone and clay, numerous ceramic fragments from common use pottery and from kaolin, but also two jugs with golden engobe, respectively from two amphorae, one spheroidal and one piriform with collar, as well as a Byzantine coin (Roman III, cls. B).

A fragment of small dimensions, from the shoulder of a jug made at fast wheel and burned reductant, was decorated with short oblique lines laid between two horizontal lines (fig. 1: 4; 3: 5). Sometimes, the incised decor lowers to the base of the vessel. Thus, on a fragment made at the fast wheel from clean paste and burned reductant, appears as a strip of vertical lines (fig. 1: 20; 3: 10), and on the one with glaze yellow-greenish on chestnut background, made at fast wheel from paste with sand in composition and burned oxidant without depth, appears as short parallel lines, laid vertical at the base (fig. 1: 19; 3: 12).

On two fragments the incised decor was combined with elements of embossed decor, added after the modelling of the vessel. One, with the thickness of 0.69 cm, came from the shoulder of a jug made at the fast wheel from paste with rare crushed shells, which was burned reductant. This was decorated through the technique of incision with a strip of horizontal lines over which were applied a series of sinkings executed with the teeth's tip of a comb. Under the strip, sometimes even on its inferior part, were applied pellets in relief, then the surface of the jug was covered with glaze, which after burning became green-olive, shining (fig. 1: 3; 3: 3). On another fragment, made at the slow wheel from clean paste, burned reductant and having a thickness of 0.45 cm, a strip of incised lines partially overlaid by elements of applied decor, consisting of a vertical baguette with a sharp edge, with a small pellet in the superior end, from which starts two semi-circular arcades in section (fig. 1: 5; 3: 4).

On one of the fragments that went through fire, made at the slow wheel from paste with sand in composition, still keeps part of an weakly embossed mark potter, representing a circle (fig. 3: 15). One specimen appeared at Capidava (Cursaru-Herlea 2012: 332) and Murfatlar (Barnea, Bilciurescu 1959: 551—552), others being mentioned at Preslav (Dončeva-Petkova 1977: 182, no. 273—275).

The jugs with green-olive glaze similar with those from the fortified settlement from Hârşova, as much as we can appreciate based on the state of the material, mostly fragmentary, were discovered in numerous sites from south-east of Romania (Dobrudja region) and north-east of Bulgaria. In Dobrudja, the closest analogies (chronologically framed between 10th-11th centuries) exist at Capidava, were are present both the earlier jugs, made at the slow wheel and decorated at most with ribs or a few grooves, and the later ones ornate with incised or applied decor (Florescu 1956: 291; Florescu et al. 1959: 560; Cursaru-Herlea 2012: 332—334, pl. I—II). Other similar findings came especially from the settlements from the Danube's line: Nufăru (Baraschi, Damian 1993: 238—239, fig. 2), Tulcea (Vasiliu, Mănucu-Adameşteanu 1984: 149, pl. XXI: 5), Dinogetia-Garvăn (Barnea 1967: 230—238), Troesmis (Mănucu-Adameşteanu 1980: 242), Cernavodă (Barnea 1960: 77—78, pl. I: 4—7), Hinog (Florescu 1956: 291), Păcuiul lui Soare (Diaconu, Vîlceanu 1972: 89—107). To these we add the discoveries from two other sites inland the territory between Danube and the Black Sea, Murfatlar (Barnea 1962: 362, fig. 7) and Valu lui Traian (unpublished material), but also numerous sites from Bulgaria, like Silistra (Koleva 2009: 276, fig. I: 14, 16, 18), Car Asen (Dimitrov 1993: 101—104, pl. XIX: г, XX: б), Skala (Jotov, Atanasov 1998: 77—78, pl. LXVII: 4, 5, 13), Odărci (Dončeva-Petkova, Ninov, Paruşev 1999: 71, fig. 116: 144, 147), Preslav (Dončeva-Petkova 1977: 187, no. 311, 188, no. 313, 314, 316), Chuma (Rašev, Stanilov 1987: 64—65, pl. XLIV), Djadovo (Borisov 1989: 221—224).

Generally, the jugs similar to those from Hârşova are dated in the second half of 10th century — 11th century, existing sites in which they continue to appear also in 12th century, but with a much lower frequency. For part of the mentioned ceramic material, referring at the jugs made at the slow wheel and the fragments decorated with ribs during the modelling of the vessels, we can assume, based on analogies (Barnea 1967: 232; Dončeva-Petkova 1977: 188, no. 313) that they belong to the beginnings of habitation from here. Others, as we mentioned, belong to some dwellings dated to 11th century, starting with the second quarter.

From the fragments with glaze discovered at Hârşova, a small number came from other types of pottery, such as mugs and cups. The mugs were made at the fast wheel from paste with rare small granules of limestone and were uneven burned. Their body, strongly highlighted, had thick walls, of 0.7—0.8 cm, and was sustained by a leg with a straight base widened towards the exterior (fig. 1: 31; 3: 16), with a diameter of 5.76 cm. In the preserved parts the mugs doesn't present decorative elements made through incision or applied, being only covered with light green-olive glaze,

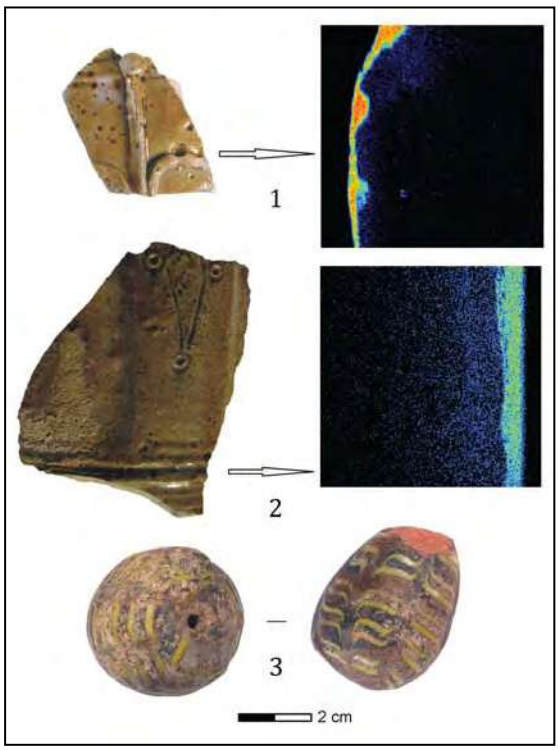

Fig. 5. 1, 2 — Micro PIXE Pb La map of the interface between the green-olive glaze (by Daniele Ceccato) and the ceramic body (by Cristina Paraschiv-Talmațchi) for shard no. 7 and no. 9 Hârşova; 3 — Egg of burned clay, glazed, discovered at Hârşova (after Paraschiv-Talmațchi, Talmațchi 2013: 349, fig. 3: 8b-c).

Fig. 5. 1, 2 — Микрокарта PIXE Pb La стыка между оливково-зеленой поливой (по Д. Чеккато) и керамическим корпусом (по К. Параскив-Талмацки), фрагменты №7 и №9 из Хыршова; 3 — яйцо из обожженной глины, поливное, найдено в Хыршова (по Paraschiv-Talmațchi, Talmațchi 2013: 349, fig. 3: 8b-c).

shiny, respectively through brown with a green-olive tint, mat, of poor quality. A handle, flat in section, presenting common characteristics with the fragment with shiny green-olive glaze, seems too came from the same vessel (fig. 1: 30). Unlike the jugs, this type of vessel has a low frequency in discoveries. A few pieces with glaze were mentioned at Dinogetia-Garvăn (Barnea 1967: 234), Murfatlar (Barnea 1962: 362), Car Asen (Dimitrov 1993: 104). Generally, they appeared in the levels from 11th—12th century.

Only one larger fragment came from a cup modelled at the fast wheel, from kaolin, burned reductant. Its body is globular, with a thickness of the wall of 0.72 cm, and a flat bottom (fig. 1: 24; 3: 18). It has the interior surface covered with green-olive glaze, slightly shiny, this being present also on the exterior as some spots of different sizes. Also to some cups belonged two handles, oval in section and covered with shiny glaze. The first, which came from a dwelling, has applied on the superior part an embossed pellet and it's covered with bright green-olive glaze (fig. 1: 29; 3: 20). The second one, that keeps part of the lip of which was attached (fig. 1: 28; 3: 21), presents a dark green-olive glaze, compact, which drops slightly on the interior side of the mouth. As the mugs, the cups have quite a low frequency in findings. Them were mentioned at Dinogetia-Garvăn (Barnea 1967: 234; Barnea 1973: 297, fig. 5: 1), Capidava (Cursaru-Herlea 2012: 334), Păcuiul lui Soare (Diaconu, Vîlceanu 1972: 101), Car Asen (Dimitrov 1993: 104), Skala (Jotov, Atanasov 1998: 78, fig. 64), Pliska (Henning 2007: 685, no. 133), Odărci (Dončeva-Petkova, Ninov, Paruşev 1999: 72, fig. 117: 150), Preslav (Dončeva-Petkova 1977: 190, no. 330, 332), where were dated in the second half of 10th century — 11th century.

On the same level as Complex 1/2008 (but in the layer), at 1.30 m south of the dwelling, appeared a clay egg (fig. 5: 3). It has in composition black sand of small granulation and was burned oxidant. Its exterior surface, glazed, was decorated with curly braces yellow-greenish on a chestnut background. The clay egg has a height of 4.75 cm am a maximum diameter of 3.60 cm. It presents slight humps on the surface and at the thicker end has a small hole. Inside keeps a small ball that makes noise when shaken. Based on analogies and on the archaeological context in which was discovered, we date it in 11th century. The clay egg from Hârşova completes the repertory of similar findings known in the Lower Danube area, like those from Dinogetia-Garvăn (Barnea 1967: 327), Isaccea (Vasiliu 1984: 109, 115, 135, 140), Nufăru (Jotov 2005: 145), Păcuiul lui Soare (unpublished material, information dr. Oana Damian) but also in the coastline area, at Varna (Jotov 2005: 145, fig. 41; 42). The glazed clay eggs have a wide range of spread, being met also in Poland, Caucasus, Sweden etc. The workshops in which were made such pieces were discovered in Kiev and in its surroundings (Rybakov 1948: 362), generally their existence in the mentioned territory being attributed to the commercial links with the centres from here (Barnea 1954: 198—199; Ştefan et al. 1967: 327).

The early medieval settlement from Oltina-„Capul dealului" its part of the chain of known objectives for this period on the Danube's line, in Dobrudja. Situated on a heal, not far of Păcuiul lui Soare and Silistra, the settlement seem to be protected in the most exposed area by an earth wave with a kept height of 2—2.5 m and a ditch with a depth of 3 m, from the current ground level (Chiriac, Custurea 2002: 222). Unfortunately, in the area in which the survey was made weren't found enough artefacts to help us to a precise

chronological date regarding the moment of its construction. In this stage of researches, we assume that it belongs to an earlier stage of the settlement, earth fortifications being a known practice in north-east of Bulgaria in 9th century (Atanasov et al. 2011: 221). The archaeological and monetary dates (over 200 coins and a small hoard), obtained during the researches conducted until now shows an early medieval habitation which started probably in 9th century, knew a good development in the first decades of 11th century, was affected by the Pecenegs invasion from 1036, afterwards evolving until towards the end of 11th century (Mănucu-Adameşteanu 2001: 39—40; Custurea 2009: 612—613).

At Oltina, on the excavated surface of about 380 m^2, were discovered 45 glazed fragments. Exception makes one fragment that presents a yellow strip accomplished by drawing on the vessel body of a line of white engobe later covered with glaze, on the others the glaze was applied directly on the pottery, after burning becoming green-olive with different shades, respectively reddish or brownish reflections. The glazed pottery found at Oltina was made mostly at the fast wheel (only four fragments belonged to some vessels made with the slow wheel), from clean paste, well prepared, with rare small pebble or white limestone with small granulation. They were burned reductant (at 32 fragments), oxidant (three pieces, at two the core being grey) or uneven (more often the fragments are grey with reddish spots of different sizes, both on the exterior and on the interior; other times, in the wall fracture it's just red only on the interior part on a depth of about 0.1 cm, the rest being grey). A fragment, burned oxidant, came from a vessel that was shaped at the slow wheel from a paste with sand and frequent pebble, similar to that of the common use pottery. We notice, that until now, weren't discovered any glazed pottery made out of kaolin.

From typological point of view, the glazed fragments from Oltina came from jugs and pots.

The jugs are well represented. These were made at the fast or slow wheel, from clean paste with rare pebble or pieces of limestone and were burned reductant, oxidant or uneven. The thickness of the walls varies between 0.54—1.15 cm, in the neck area thinning to 0.32—0.7 cm.

Unlike Hârşova, at Oltina was not discovered any complete jug, but based on the fragments we can appreciate that they were of different sizes, from small jugs to large amphoroidal jugs. Its shape was globular or ovoidal at the smaller pieces, respectively elongated ovoidal at the bigger ones. The jugs mouths had a cylindrical or a funnel shape, with the bevelled or rounded lip, sometimes thickened towards the exterior (fig. 2: 1—3; 4: 1—3). The neck was elongated or short, simple or decorated with incised lines vertical, horizontal or in wave (fig. 4: 3, 15).

The jugs handles, oval in section, flat or thicker (fig. 2: 13—20; 4: 14, 15, 17—22), were attached with one end on the vessel neck and lowered to the superior part of the body. On some pieces are present longitudinal grooves, others were decorated with incised or applied elements.

In the lower part the jugs presents a straight base, widened more or less towards exterior (fig. 2: 23—27; 4: 23—27), of which diameter varies between 6.4—14 cm, and the thickness between 0.48—2 cm.

The glaze that covers the surface of the jugs found at Oltina its green-olive, with shades that oscillates from light green-olive, slightly yellowish, to dark green-olive. This can be mat or shiny, sometimes presenting reddish or brown shades, and was laid uniform or uneven. Some fragments which were secondary burned have a baked glaze, glassy and mat in some places. The glaze cover also the interior surface of the lip, lowering even towards the neck area, the handles on the entire surface, respectively total or partially the base of the vessel. On two of the bases it it's also found on the interior as some big or small spots, and on another one on the entire surface, but being mat, darker and thinner then on the exterior of the vessel (fig. 2: 26). Among the fragments that came from jugs it's also one that is burned reductant, which has on the exterior surface a yellow line obtained through laying a wider horizontal line of engobe on the vessels body, previous of laying the glaze (fig. 2: 6; 4: 10). This is part of the inventory of a dwelling (Complex 2/2011), in which, among the common use pottery, appeared two others fragments with green-olive glaze (from the shoulder of a jug and a handle base) and one from a piriform amphorae with collar. The vessels with glaze green-olive and yellow strips appear rarely in the early medieval settlements from Lower Danube. A few analogies we find in the sites from Bulgaria, among which we mention Silistra (Koleva 2009: 279, 288), Car Asen (Dimitrov 1993: 104, pl. XX: з) and Preslav (Dončeva-Petkova 1977: 188, no. 315).

Numerous fragments that came from jugs have a smooth surface, covered with green-olive glaze (fig. 2: 21, 25, 27; 4: 12, 13, 27), others present decorative elements made through the technique of incision or applied, before glazing. Were decorated the neck, handles and the body of the jugs. On a fragment from the neck of a jug with light green-olive glaze, under the exterior thickening of the lip was incised a line in wave, followed by a poorly embossed rib, then by verti-

cal incised lines (fig. 2: 3; 4: 3). This was made at the fast wheel, burned reductant and has a thickness of 0.32 cm. It was discovered in the filling of a dwelling (Complex 3/2011), along the base which was glazed on both size and a fragmentary handle which presents in the upper part a plastic decor, a baguette that starts from a handle and gets up vertically on the vessels neck (fig. 2: 13; 4: 14). This type of handle we also met in the site from Silistra (Koleva 2009: 276, fig. I: 17) and seem to have a reduced spreading area.

A similar handle with the one from Complex 3/2011 but bigger (fig. 2: 14; 4: 15), made in the same workshop (the vessels presents similar paste, were made at the fast wheel, have the same uneven burning, light green-olive glaze, respectively the same applied decor, and horizontal lines incised on the neck) was discovered in the filling of o burned dwelling (Complex 1/2008), along the fragment from a jug with green-olive glaze decorated with oblique incised lines and sinkings (fig. 2: 4; 4: 4). This last one, for which we don't know any analogies, was made at the fast wheel from clean paste, was burned reductant and has a thickness of 0.55 cm. From the floor of the same dwelling came other four fragments from the body of some jugs and a handle with dark green-olive glaze, all burned reductant, but also secondary. The handle it's flat and has longitudinal rib on the middle, over which in the inferior part was applied a short baguette. Laterally of the rib, on both sizes, were made, through incision, several circles with a point in the middle, the known motif "in eyes", uniform distributed and united through curved lines (fig. 2: 15; 4: 17). The other four fragments came from the body of two jugs. Of these, one was decorated with a strip of horizontal groves, weekly incised, over which was applied a vertical embossed baguette, quasi triangular in section (fig. 2: 10; 4: 6). Other two fragments present embossed baguettes, rounded in the superior part and partially decorated with vertical incised lines, applied over incised lines in wave (fig. 2: 8, 9; 4: 7, 8). The last fragment was decorated only with green-olive glaze and did not keep any other decor. Among the pottery with green-olive glaze, from the inventory of this dwelling are part a medium size pot without handles, decorated through the incision technique with a strip of horizontal lines in the area of the maximum diameter over which are two strips in wave, a clay bucket ear and a whip handle of horn. Based on its inventory was dated towards the middle of 11th century, being probably set on fire during the Oghuz invasion from 1064—1065. Almost all glaze pottery fragments from Complex 1/2008 have analogies in the findings from Slilistra (Koleva 2009: 276, fig. I: 9, 13, 17, 282; fig. IV: 3). Others we find in the settlements from Capidava (Cursaru-Herlea 2012: 342, pl. II: 14), Dinogetia-Garvăn (Barnea 1967: 233, fig. 143: 4, 9, 21, 237; fig. 145: 12, 13), Păcuiul lui Soare (Diaconu, Vîlceanu 1972: 95, fig. 38: 2), Skala (Jotov, Atanasov 1998: 77—78, pl. LXVII: 10, 11).

From a dwelling (Complex 1/2004) came a small fragment, made at the fast wheel from a clean paste and burned reductant, which probably belonged to a jug. This was decorated with embossed horizontal grooves and buttons, over which was laid the glaze that after burning become light green-olive (fig. 2: 11; 4: 9). Besides the characteristic inventory, in this dwelling was found also a fragment of a jug with golden engobe.

From the layer came numerous fragments which, as in the settlement from Hârşova, but in a much smaller proportion, ware decorated with strips of horizontal grooves or slightly embossed ribs made during the modelling of the vessels (fig. 2: 7; 4: 11). To them it adds the inferior parts of two jugs. One came from a medium size vessel made at the fast wheel from clean paste and uneven burned, of which exterior surface it's covered with shiny green-olive glaze, a few drops falling inside the vessel (fig. 2: 25; 4: 24). The jug's base is widened towards the exterior and has a diameter of 7.3 cm, but the thickness of the wall varies between 0.42—0.75 cm. The second one came from an amphoroidal jug made at the fast wheel from clean paste uneven burned, which has the exterior surface covered with green-olive glaze, with lighter spots or reddish reflections (fig. 2: 27; 4: 27). Its bottom, on which was incised a sign after burning, its partially glazed and has a diameter of 14 cm and the thickness of the vessel walls of 1—1.1 cm.

Unlike the fragments presented above, most of them covered with high quality glaze, in the settlement from Oltina was discovered also the inferior part of a medium size jug, made at the slow wheel from a paste with sand of small granulation, oxidant burned without depth, and covered with lower quality glaze, uneven applied, mat and partially exfoliated (fig. 2: 24; 4: 25). In the areas where it's thicker, the glaze is green-olive and in those was its thinner is red-brownish. Two other fragments, made at the fast wheel, presents only spots of glaze green-olive towards yellowish (fig. 2: 22, 23).

The discovery of a jug fragment which came from a repaired exemplar through riveting with lead (fig. 2: 12; 4: 16) shows the importance accorded by the inhabitants of the settlement to glazed pottery.

Without coming back over the analogies presented above, we mention that the jugs with green-olive glaze were similar to those from the settlement from Oltina were found also at Murfatlar (Barnea 1962: 362, fig. 7: 3), Cernavodă (Barnea 1960: 77, pl. I: 5), Pliska (Henning 2007: 685—686, no. 134, 136). At Preslav some glazed jugs have on the bottom signs incised (Dončeva-Petkova 1977: 189, no. 318, 321, 323).

The pot with or without handle represents another type of pottery of which surface was covered with green-olive glaze, compact. Until now, appeared a single fragment from a pot made at the slow wheel, from clean paste, burned reductant. Previous to applying the glaze, it was decorated through the technique of incision with a strip of lines in wave on the shoulder (fig. 2: 5; 4: 5). Analogies for this type of pottery we met at Păcuiul lui Soare (Diaconu, Vîlceanu 1972: 101—102, fig. 43), Dinogetia-Garvăn (Barnea 1973: 297; Vasiliu 1991: 385), Nufăru (Baraschi, Damian 1993: 251, fig. 2: 2), Pliska, Preslav and Madara (Dončeva-Petkova 1977: 154—155, no. 50, 62—63), where were dated in the second half of 10th—11th century.

The glazed pottery from the settlement from Oltina belongs to the beginning of 10th-11th century. The jugs made at the slow wheel, those with ribs made during modelling the vessels and the pot are from the first part of this period.

The vessels with glaze discovered in the fortified settlements from Hârşova and Oltina presents the characteristics of a typological group specific to the area of Lower Danube, respectively north-east of Bulgaria. In the mentioned area, in the settlements of which inhabitation includes the second half of 10th century and the next one, the jugs are present everywhere, also recording the highest frequency. From the amphoroidal jug, from large dimensions to the miniature one, we can say that this type of pottery was preferred the entire period for decorating with glaze. In smaller proportion, along the jugs are present the mugs, cups, pots, bowls and plates, but, as was observed in the two analysed settlements, these types don't appear in all sites. Another characteristic of this ceramic group is the work technique. In the levels from the second half of 10th century and the beginning of 11th century are present vessels with glaze green olive made at the slow wheel, for that somewhere in the first quarter of 11th century these to be made exclusively at the fast wheel, unlike most of the common use pottery that continues to be made at the slow wheel (Diaconu, Vîlceanu 1972: 104—106). Well cleaned paste and carefully prepared, made at the fast wheel, more elegant shapes and without strong deformations, a neater decor and the presence of the glaze represent some motifs that determined us to consider this category superior compared to the most of the ceramic material. Its relative rarity in a site, the presence of the glaze and the neater and bolder decor, especially the applied one, made that a good period its presence to be attributed to imports. The rise of the number of findings, calculated as number of researched sites not like frequency, remarking the lack of some series productions, and the lack of analogies in other regions of the Byzantine Empire (Diaconu, Vîlceanu 1972: 105), led us to assume that it's actually mostly a local production. It's difficult, in this stage of research, to locate the centre or the centres in which such pottery was made. But the broadcast area of this ceramic category make us to understand, for the moment, through "local production" those vessels with glaze made in the workshops from Dobrudja and north-east of Bulgaria. Dinogetia-Garvăn, Hârşova, Păcuiul lui Soare can represent centres of productions of the glazed pottery, in each of them being discovered pottery kilns (Paraschiv-Talmaţchi 2006: 46—47), but also vessels with shapes and characteristic decor. Preslav and Silistra are two other possible centres of production, for the respective period booth knowing a significant economic development. Also, at Preslav were discovered pottery kilns and various types of glazed vessels, dated especially in the second half of 10th century (Dončeva-Petkova 1977: 31).

Hoping that we will obtain more answers in this sense, the pottery from four early medieval settlements from Dobrudja it's subjected to archaeometric analyses using the Optical Microscopy (OM) and PIXE (Particle Induced X-ray Emission), most of the information still is being in processing. From the big batches analysed we extracted the samples corresponding to some vessels with glaze discovered at Hârşova and Oltina, about we will talk below, with special attention to glaze. We mention that in the tables the samples from Hârşova were marked with H and those from Oltina with O.

Compositional analyses of ceramic

Two batches of eight ceramic fragments with green-olive glaze discovered at Hârşova and eleven from Oltina, Constanţa County, Romania, were investigated using Particle Induced X-ray Emission (PIXE) technique to determine their chemical composition, in order to get clues about the employed raw materials and manufacturing techniques (Bugoi et al. 2015: 296—301).

The measurements were made at AN2000 accelerator of Laboratori Nazionali din Legnaro

Table 1.

Chemical composition of the ceramic bodies for Hârşova and Oltina olive-green glazed shards

	MgO (wt%)	Al_2O_3 (wt%)	SiO_2 (wt%)	P_2O_5 (wt%)	K_2O (wt%)	CaO (wt%)	TiO_2 (wt%)	Cr_2O_3 (ppm)	MnO (ppm)	Fe_2O_3 (wt%)	NiO (ppm)	CuO (ppm)	ZnO (ppm)	Ga_2O_3 (ppm)	Rb_2O (ppm)	SrO (ppm)	ZrO_2 (ppm)	PbO (wt%)
H7S	2,8	16,8	66,0	0,8	3,0	4,8	8,9	152	1220	4,5	57	19	112	20	109	114	281	0,2
H8S	2,4	15,1	58,4	4,0	3,0	2,6	9,1	138	328	4,4	193	63	134	1	70	162	119	5,8
H9S	2,5	17,2	69,4	0,5	2,7	1,3	8,8	152	674	4,5	72	11	81	19	93	107	371	0,3
H9P	2,4	17,2	66,7	0,2	2,8	1,4	9,6	275	767	4,8	143	45	97	37	90	97	345	3,4
H10S	2,7	16,4	66,9	0,7	3,1	2,4	11,1	134	519	5,6	79	35	129	31	189	265	775	0,1
H11S	3,4	15,2	56,5	4,6	2,6	4,7	7,5	120	618	3,5	171	77	93	1	0	77	225	4,8
H12S	2,2	14,7	52,7	5,3	2,8	2,3	6,6	122	362	3,9	306	233	69	1	83	119	0	9,9
H36P	2,7	17,7	62,9	0,6	3,3	3,1	9,7	275	784	5,2	152	52	111	0	92	127	132	3,4
O1	1,1	15,9	66,3	0,5	3,2	5,9	8,7	335	645	5,6	103	88	190	32	202	263	438	0,3
O2	1,8	17,4	65,9	0,7	3,2	4,0	9,1	330	739	5,7	93	71	202	35	201	258	349	0,1
O3	1,3	18,5	64,3	0,4	3,4	5,0	11,0	256	1057	5,5	69	109	176	29	235	315	327	0,0
O4	1,2	18,3	68,3	0,4	3,3	1,1	9,5	300	920	6,0	80	97	163	31	246	178	409	0,2
O5	1,5	18,3	68,7	0,3	3,0	1,3	8,9	239	863	5,7	88	76	163	31	218	152	317	0,2
O6	1,8	17,5	65,8	0,7	3,8	2,5	11,5	280	570	5,9	113	70	202	0	233	186	445	0,5
O7	1,4	13,3	73,2	0,2	2,3	1,3	6,0	198	420	7,4	83	95	205	30	180	183	723	0,1
O8S	2,2	17,9	69,2	0,3	2,7	0,9	10,2	0	732	5,1	75	0	116	0	143	107	310	0,2
O9	2,5	16,0	64,7	0,4	3,5	3,2	12,1	443	689	7,6	136	59	172	49	194	217	316	0,6
O10	2,1	13,8	72,1	0,4	2,7	1,3	8,1	233	945	6,3	80	25	169	36	151	207	446	0,2
O10ALT	2,4	16,5	63,0	0,7	3,6	4,6	10,5	323	998	7,7	139	46	199	22	178	240	271	0,2

Table 2.

Chemical composition of the olive-green glaze for Hârşova and Oltina shards

	MgO (wt%)	Al_2O_3 (wt%)	SiO_2 (wt%)	Cl (wt%)	K_2O (wt%)	CaO (wt%)	TiO_2 (ppm)	MnO (ppm)	Fe_2O_3 (wt%)	NiO (ppm)	CuO (ppm)	ZnO (ppm)	PbO (wt%)
H7	1,1	5,5	24,8	0	1,3	0,9	632	474	2,1	1694	1386	77	58,0
H8	1,1	6,9	25,4	0,9	2,5	6,8	3350	368	2,1	1610	1133	142	52,2
H9	1,1	6,3	25,9	0	1,4	0,8	4106	462	2,5	1857	1103	321	61,0
H10	1,6	6,0	23,6	1,3	1,2	1,7	0	196	2,6	1905	724	191	61,4
H11	4,4	5,3	28,4	0	1,0	6,1	2247	491	2,3	1558	1952	183	50,5
H12	4,2	5,6	29,0	0	0,9	6,3	0	0	2,4	1651	1961	174	50,9
O1	0	6,7	31,0	2,9	1,2	4,1	2149	212	2,2	1305	437	177	51,1
O2	0	4,4	20,2	4,2	0,9	3,5	0	502	2,7	1778	786	1055	63,6
O3	0	4,9	19,0	4,5	0,7	2,6	0	0	2,5	1823	544	298	65,4
O4	0	4,8	19,5	4,5	2,1	1,5	0	212	1,9	1796	420	118	65,6
O4 int	0	4,7	28,3	1,4	4,3	2,5	4412	0	3,1	1400	0	146	55,1
O5	0	2,0	7,4	5,8	0,8	11,7	0	262	1,6	1977	642	293	70,3
O6	0	2,8	16,2	3,3	3,6	13,1	0	0	3,2	1719	673	499	57,3
O7	0	2,6	12,0	4,5	1,2	13,7	0	394	2,0	1769	696	142	63,8
O8	0	2,9	28,0	0	2,8	7,5	3166	960	2,6	1529	837	559	54,7
O9	2,0	4,5	21,3	1,5	0,9	1,6	0	0	2,2	1889	1080	181	65,5
O10	0	4,2	19,2	4,0	1,4	9,1	0	284	1,3	1778	1104	213	60,3
O10'	2,0	4,2	21,1	0	1,4	7,1	0	450	2,4	1628	367	429	60,6

(LNL), in the frame and with the financial support of the FP7 ENSAR project (the research leading to these results has received funding from the European Union Seventh Framework Programme FP7/2007—2013 under Grant Agreement no. 262010 — ENSAR; the skilful technical contribution of Daniele Ceccato and Leonardo La Torre from LNL, INFN, Italy in realizing this experiment is gratefully acknowledged). The experiment was performed in vacuum using a 2 MeV proton beam. The ceramic paste composition was obtained from samples measured as pelletized powders, while the decorations were analyzed by directly hitting the shards with the proton beam (i.e. samples measured without any preparation).

The chemical composition of the analyzed ceramic fragments is given in tables 1 and 2 (we thank to dr. Roxana Bugoi for her suport in acomplishing and interpreting the informations). The major and minor element concentrations are provided as weight percent (wt%), while the trace element concentrations as parts per million (ppm). The overall combined uncertainties were estimated to be 5% for major and minor elements and 30% for the detected trace-elements.

Micro-PIXE scans (beam dimensions: 5×5 μm^2) of small areas (3200×3200 μm^2) of the interfaces between the green glazes and the underlying ceramic bodies were used to estimate the thickness of these decorations. It was noticed that some shards have an uneven glaze layer, bubbly structures being evidenced by the microbeam scans. On average, glazing turned out to be tens up hundreds micrometers thick — more specifically, from 50 μm up to 400 μm — with a composition rich in lead oxide (~60 wt% on average) — see figure 5: 1—2 and table 2. The compositional data, particularly the high lead and the low alkali contents, suggest that the olive-green glaze is a high-lead glaze applied onto a non-calcareous body (Tite et al. 1998: 241—260).

Little amounts of CuO (~900 ppm on average) were found in the green glaze. The overall compositional pattern suggests that the olive-green hues of the glaze were induced by combinations in different proportions of the ferrous (FeO) and ferric oxide (Fe_2O_3).

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Поливная керамика из средневекового поселения у с. Полски Градец в районе г. Раднево (Южная Болгария)

Keywords: Bulgaria, Byzantine period, glazed wares, sgraffito wares, painted wares, typology

Ключевые слова: Болгария, византийский период, поливная керамика, сграффито керамика, расписная керамика, типология

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Glazed Wares from the Medieval Settlement near Polski Gradets, Radnevo Region (Southern Bulgaria)

This study presents glazed pottery from the medieval settlement near Polski Gradec village, occupied during the 11th—12th century. There are three main groups of glazed vessels: plain wares, painted wares and sgraffito wares. They are compared with the glazed pottery from various centres from the Byzantine cultural circle. According to the colour of the clay, the plain wares are divided into two groups — white wares and red wares. The white clay pottery is presented by two classes — "undecorated wares" and Persian lusterware with light blue glaze. The red clay pottery consists of the classes "Brown glazed ware","Spatter Painted Ware" and Sgraffito Ware. There are three sgraffito groups — Fine Sgraffito — which has three styles: "Fine style", "Spiral style", "Developed style" — "Champlevée", and the so-called "Bulgarian sgraffito". Plates of the known class of the "Painted sgraffito" were not found in the settlement. The Painted Wares belong to the "Green and brown painted wares" class and the vessels are divided into three groups.

The analysis of the glazed pottery from the territory of the Byzantine cultural circle let us identify the production centres of particular groups of vessels. This raises the question about the trade routes and the circulation of the glazed pottery. It also helps us understand the trade ties in and out of the Byzantine Empire.

Б. Борисов

Поливная керамика из средневекового поселения у с. Полски Градец в районе г. Раднево (Южная Болгария)

Исследование посвящено керамике с поливным покрытием из средневекового поселения XI—XII вв. недалеко от села Полски Градец. Различаются три группы: монохромная, сграффито и расписная керамика, которые рассматриваются на фоне художественной керамики византийского культурного круга. В первой группе, в зависимости от цвета глины, различаются белоглиняная и красноглиняная керамика. Белоглиняная представлена сосудами типа «undecorated wares» и люстровым персидским полуфаянсом со светло-голубой плотной глазурью с двух сторон, а красноглиняная — типами «Brown glazed ware» и «Spatter painted wares». Сграффито керамика включает типы «Fine style», «Spiral style», «Developed style», «champlevée» и так называемое «болгарское сграффито». На памятнике отсутствует «Painted sgraffito». Расписная керамика относится к «Green and brown painted wares», среди которой выделяются три подгруппы.

Анализ поливной керамики византийского культурного круга позволяет определить отдельные группы находок, которые были произведены в одних и тех же мастерских. Все это ставит вопрос о путях и способах распространения художественной керамики и позволяет решать целый ряд вопросов о торговых отношениях в Византийской империи и за её пределами.

Рассматриваемое средневековое поселение находится в местности Градиште (буквально «городище»), расположенной к югу от с. Полски Градец. На нем проводились полевые исследования на протяжении четырех археологических сезонов, с 1986 по 1995 гг. В местности Градиште был открыт культурный слой XI—XII вв., вместе с некрополем №1, расположенным вокруг небольшого христианского храма. Частично изучены и два других некрополя. Первый из них (№2) находится в 200—300 м к юго-западу

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от Градиште, второй (№3) — в 200 м к востоку. Исследована общая площадь в 700 м^2. (Борисов 2013: 274—514).

За время археологических раскопок изучены полностью и частично остатки 15 жилых и хозяйственных помещений, 5 мусорных ям и 38 могил из некрополя №1. На некрополе №2 изучены 7 могил, №3 — всего 5.

В средневековом культурном слое, обнаруженных жилых помещениях и мусорных ямах найдены 17 целых сосудов закрытых и открытых форм и 4837 фрагментов, позволяющих определить их типологическую принадлежность. К ним можно добавить 28 фрагментов амфор и 37 фрагментов пифосов, т. е. общее количество найденных фрагментов — 4902. Керамический комплекс поселения включает все группы керамики, характерные для периода византийского владычества в болгарских землях — обычную, с золотистым и красным ангобом, а также поливную керамику, к которой относятся монохромные, сграффито и расписные сосуды.

Предметом настоящего исследования является только керамика с поливным покрытием.

Поливная керамика

При раскопках найдены 316 фрагментов поливных сосудов, а фрагментов обычной керамики — 4586 т. е. соотношение между обычной и поливной керамикой составляет 91,15% и 8,85%.

Среди поливной керамики чаще всего встречается простая монохромная поливная керамика, которая представлена 131 фрагментом. 47 из них принадлежат мискам, 64 — стенкам, 6 — ручкам и 19 — донъям сосудов открытых форм. Намного реже встречается поливная расписная керамика, которая представлена 69 фрагментами (6 профильных фрагментов мисок, 43 фрагмента стенки и 10 фрагментов дна).

По цвету глины после обжига поливная керамика делится на белоглиняную и красноглиняную.

Белоглиняная поливная керамика

Белоглиняная керамика на средневековых поселениях Юго-Восточной Болгарии встречается исключительно редко (Манолова-Войкова 2000: 1—15).

Не являются исключением и материалы из поселения у с. Полски Градец, которые представлены всего 5 белоглиняными фрагментами, принадлежащими трем сосудам. Аналогично положение и в соседних изученных поселениях. На поселениях севернее сёл Асеновец и Караново в районе г. Нова-Загора, Крум в районе г. Димитровград, Трояново-Голяма-Детелина подобная керамика полностью отсутствует. В хорошо изученном Дядово найдены всего 2 целых кувшинчика и 4 фрагмента мисок (Borisov 1989: 221—225, fig. 258—260). Из с. Знаменосец происходит всего 8 фрагментов белоглиняной керамики, а в крепости у с. Искрица найдены фрагменты 6 мисок и два маленьких целых сосуда, которые относятся к белоглиняной керамике, расписанной коричневой и зеленой глазурью («*Green and brown painted wares*») (Борисов 2002: 156—159, обр. 132—133).

Первые два фрагмента из Полски Градца принадлежат тонкостенной миске, покрытой изнутри и снаружи бледно-зеленой плотной глазурью, которая относится к недекорированной белоглиняной керамике (рис 1: 1) («*undecorated wares*») (Morgan 1942: 53—54). К сожалению, фрагменты слишком маленькие, и это не позволяет определить типологическую принадлежность сосуда.

К той же группе относятся и два других фрагмента. Они принадлежат «закрытому» сосуду (кувшинчику), от которого сохранились дно и часть плечиков (рис. 1: 3). Этот сосуд дважды побывал в пожаре, и его глазурь сильно повреждена. Все же местами можно увидеть, что в своем первоначальном виде он был оливково-коричнево-зеленым.

Последний фрагмент также принадлежит миске, которая относится к люстровому персидскому (сирийскому или иранскому) полуфаянсу, со светло-голубой плотной глазурью с двух сторон. Он встречается очень редко среди массового керамического материала с территории Юго-Восточной Болгарии (рис. 1: 2). Единичные фрагменты найдены в селах Дядово, Знаменосец и Искрица. Фрагменты полуфаянсовых сосудов со светло-голубой глазурью находили и в некоторых поселениях на территории России (Коваль 2010: 58).

Красноглиняная поливная керамика

Красноглиняная поливная керамика на территории Болгарии распространена намного шире. Она представлена в основном открытыми сосудами — мисками. Только в единичных случаях встречаются и «закрытые» сосуды — маленькие кувшинчики или горшочки. В зависимости от поливы, среди этой керамики различают сосуды с рельефным декором, с «гладкой» или пятнистой поливой.

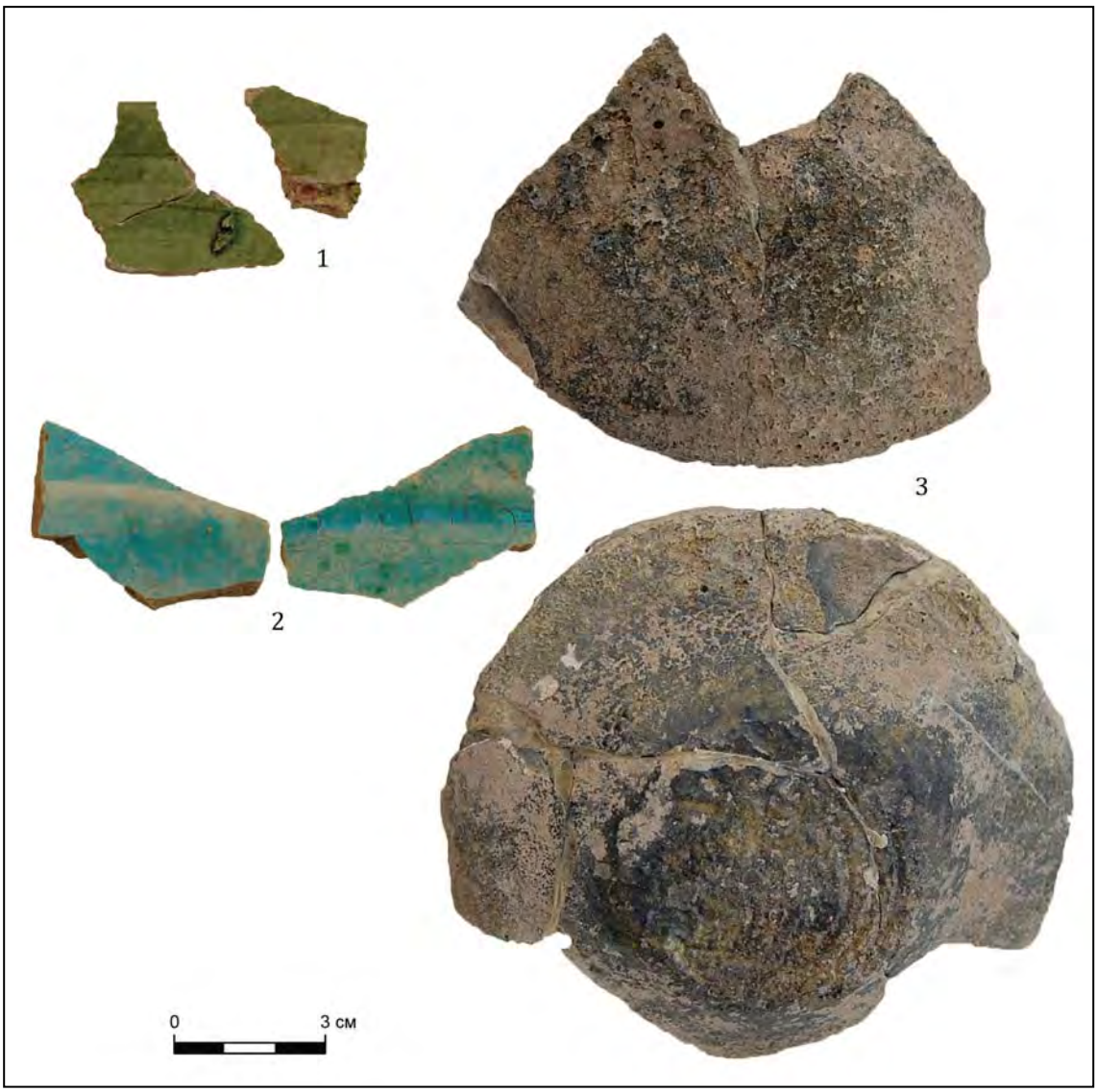

Рис. 1. Поселение Полски Градец. Белоглиняная поливная керамика (фото автора).

Fig. 1. Polski Gradets settlement. Glazed white wares (photo by the author).

Поливные сосуды с рельефным декором из Полски Градца представлены всего одним фрагментом сосуда закрытого типа, с внешней стороны которого имеется рельефный декор из вертикально расположенных гладких рельефных граней. Сверху он покрыт плотной масляно-зелено-коричневой глазурью без покрытия ангобом, прямо по глине (рис. 2: 1).

Поливная керамика с рельефным декором («*Brown glazed ware*») встречается исключительно редко, в единичных экземплярах, на территории нынешней Южной Болгарии. С этой территории известны всего 4 целых сосуда. Они сделаны на ножном гончарном круге из хорошо очищенной, серой после обжига глины, и покрыты желто-коричневой, более светлой или более темной маслянисто-зеленой глазурью, нанесенной непосредственно на глину, без покрытия ангобом (Борисов 2002: 159—160, обр. 92: н; 98: в, з; 115).

Поливная керамика с рельефным декором намного шире распространена на территории Северной и Южной Добруджи. Известна полностью аналогичная ей керамика из Плиски (Манолова-Войкова 2000а: 14), Преслава, с. Оряхово в районе г. Русе (Рашев 2005: 15—19, рис. 1—3), с. Скала в районе г. Добрич (Йотов, Атанасов 1998: 76, табл. LXVII: 10—11, 16), Силистры (Angelova 1987: 100—101, fig. 1; 2), с. Ветрен (Атанасов, Йорданов 1994: 14—15, табл. XII: 107), Свиштова (Стефанов 1942: 248, обр. 169), с. Хума в районе г. Разград (Рашев, Станилов 1987: 64—65, табл. XLIV: 5), Пэкуюл луй Соаре (Diaconu, Vilceanu 1972: 93—97,

Рис. 2. Поселение Полски Градец. Красноглиняная поливная керамика: 1 — с рельефным декором; 2 — 9 — с «гладкой» поливой (фото автора).

Fig. 2. Polski Gradets settlement. Glazed red-clay wares: 1 — Brown glazed ware; 2—9 — Plain glazed ware (photo by the author).

fig. 38—43: 2), Диногеции (Barnea 1967b: 230—238, fig. 142—145) и Нуфэру (Barashi, Damian 1993: 238—239, fig. 2; 3).

Румынские исследователи относят керамику этого вида к периоду XI—XII вв. Поливная керамика с рельефным декором встречается редко и среди привозной византийской керамики на территории соседней Сербии, где она также найдена в слоях XI—XII вв. (Бирташевић 1970: 8, Т. I: 7, сл. 42). Самые ранние находки «*Brown glazed ware*» с территории Болгарии, однако, относятся ко второй половине X — XI вв. Установлено также, что её производили в X в. в дворцовых мастерских Преслава, где обнаружены еще не законченные и бракованные образцы (Манолова-Войкова 2000a: 14). Согласно гипотезе М. Маноловой-Войковой, после похода Иоанна Цимисхия в 971 г. и упадка Преслава мастера-гончары, делавшие «*Brown glazed ware*», переехали в Доростол (болг. Дръстар, нынешнюю Силистру), где продолжили производить керамику этого вида. Подобную керамику производили и на территории нынешней Юго-Восточной Болгарии, о чем говорят открытые в крепости Хисарлык (г. Сливен) бракованные образцы (Борисов 2002a: 159).

Известна и поливная керамика с рельефным декором из византийских центров — Афин (Frantz 1938: 434, fig. 24) и Коринфа (Morgan 1942: 41, Pl. II—III A), где она обнаружена в слоях, датированных монетами нескольких императоров — от Иоанна Цимисхия до Иоанна II и Мануила I Комнинов, т. е. концом X — XII вв.

Вторая группа поливной керамики представлена в основном мисками, сделанными на ножном круге из хорошо очищенной глины, получившей после обжига красный цвет. Все они, без исключения, имеют внутри покрытие из белого или бледно-кремового ангоба, который иногда наносится и снаружи вокруг устья. На ангоб нанесена светло-зеленая (рис. 3: 2), темно-зеленая (рис. 3: 8) или бесцветная глазурь, которая после обжига приобрела бледно-желтый цвет (рис. 3: 1, 3—5, 7). Редко встречаются и маленькие сосуды, покрытые изнутри и снаружи плотной мо-

Рис. 3. Поселение Полски Градец. Фрагменты красноглиняных сосудов с «гладкой» поливой (фото автора).

Fig. 3. Polski Gradets settlement. Plain glazed red-clay ware, fragments (photo by the author).

нохромной глазурью (рис. 3: 6), еще реже — и маленькие сосуды закрытой формы с ручками и монохромной глазурью (рис. 3: 9).

Подобные сосуды с «гладкой» поливой встречаются, хотя и редко, и в других поселениях Юго-Восточной Болгарии — Дядово (Borisov 1989: 224, fig. 261: b-c) и Гледачево I (Борисов 1997: 139). Позже, во времена Второго Болгарского царства, производство керамики с «гладкой» поливой продолжается (Георгиева 1974: 61—62, обр. 46: 1; Ангелов 1980: 146—147, обр. 142). Миски с «гладкой» поливой найдены и при раскопках средневекового Херсонеса (Ушаков 2005: 73, рис. 17: 1).

Намного чаще встречается керамика с пятнистой глазурью. Она снова представлена

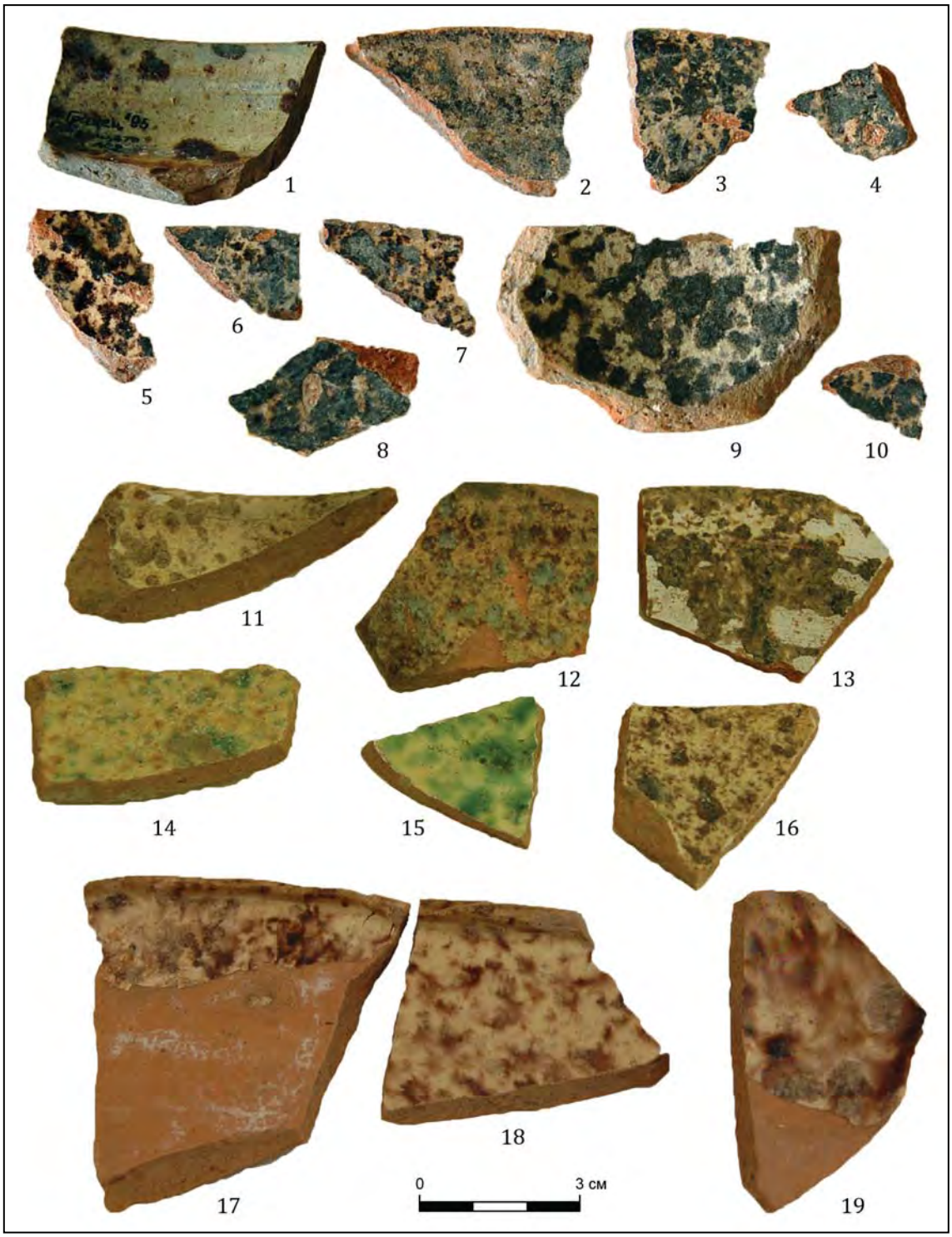

Рис. 4. Поселение Полски Градец. Фрагменты «мраморовидной» керамики (фото автора).

Fig. 4. Polski Gradets settlement. Fragments of Spatter painted ware (photo by the author).

только мисками, где на ангоб нанесены маленькие или крупные крапинки из зелёной или коричневой глазури, а сверху на них нанесена бесцветная полива. Они довольно эффектны на фоне бледного ангоба (рис. 4; 5). В некоторых случаях крапинки переливаются, благодаря чему получается «эффект мрамора». Поэтому поливную керамику этого вида называют мраморовидной («*Spatter painted wares*»).

В XI—XII вв. керамика с пятнистой глазурью получает широкое распространение на территории нынешней Юго-Восточной Болгарии. Об этом говорят находки из всех

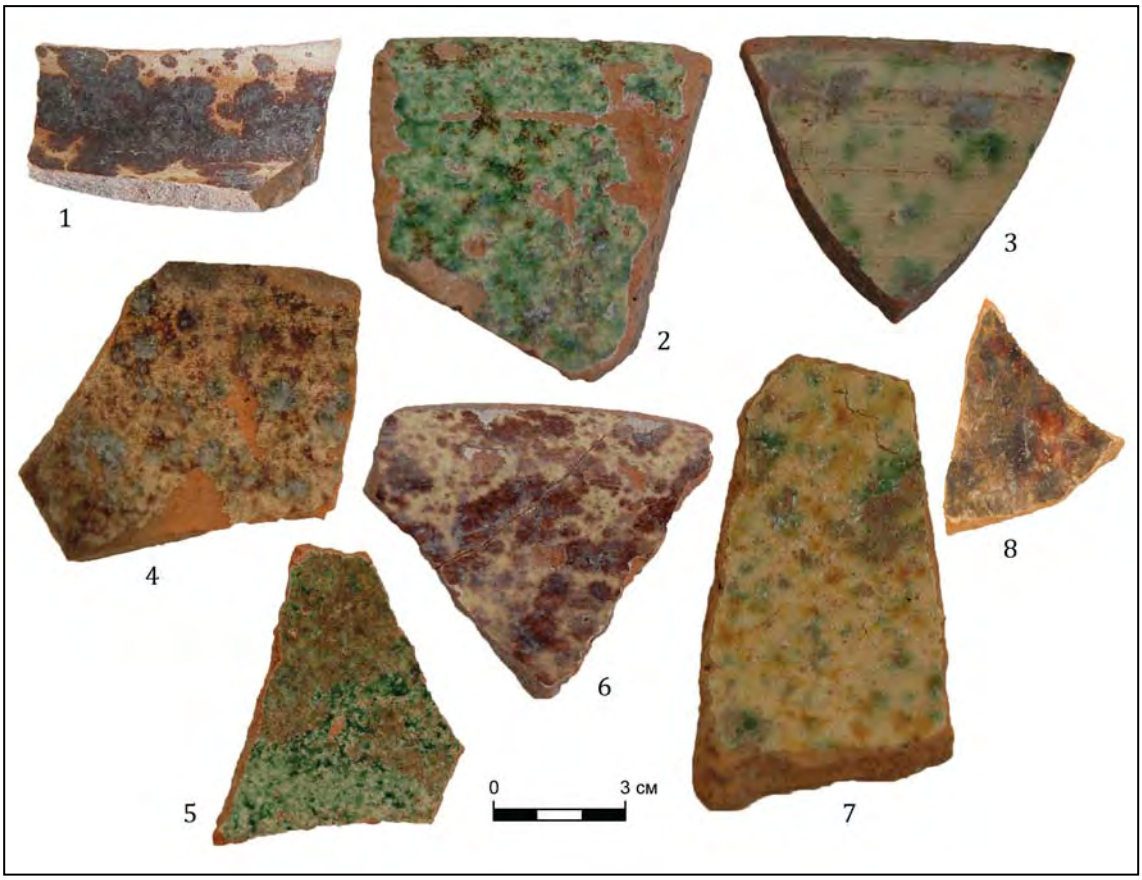

Рис. 5. Поселение Полски Градец. Фрагменты «мраморовидной» керамики (фото автора).

Fig. 5. Polski Gradets settlement. Fragments of Spatter painted ware (photo by the author).

поселений (Борисов 2002а: 160—161, фиг. 4). В этот же период она встречается и в крупных византийских керамических центрах — в Константинополе (Ebersolt 1910: 36, fig. 38) и Коринфе (Morgan 1942: 86, fig. 64: b-c), где датируется концом XI и XII вв., монетами Алексея I и Мануила I Комнинов.

Исследуя художественную керамику с территории Болгарии, несколько лет назад М. Манолова высказала предположение, что ареал распространения так называемой мраморовидной керамики связан с определенной частью территории Юго-Восточной Болгарии — между с. Асеновец в районе г. Нова-Загора и г. Кырджали (Овчаров, Хаджиева 1992: 75—76). На основании этого она высказывается о возможном наличии центра по производству керамики этого вида в XI—XII вв., аргументируя свое мнение тем, что находки мраморовидной керамики из Салоник датированы значительно более поздним периодом — XIII—XIV вв. (Bakirtzis, Bakirtzis 1981: 423, fig. 2), а также тем, что сосуды из Салоник имеют отпечатки треног, которые начинают использовать в гончарном производстве в XIII в.

Находки сосудов «*Spatter painted wares*» XI—XII вв. из Константинополя и Коринфа, однако, дают нам основание не принимать это мнение. На данном этапе мы считаем, что «мраморовидную» поливную керамику привозили из больших византийских центров, вероятнее всего, из близко расположенного Константинополя.

Керамика сграффито

Во время раскопок у с. Полски Градец найдены 2 целые миски и фрагменты 116 сосудов этой группы.

К концу XI и особенно в XII в. керамика сграффито распространяется широко во всем византийском культурном ареале. В указанный период керамика этого вида входит не только в быт города, но и в быт самых обыкновенных, в том числе и сезонных поселений. Прямым свидетельством этому можно считать и данные раскопок всех средневековых поселений на территории Юго-Восточной Болгарии (Борисов 2002а: 180).

Керамика сграффито представлена прежде всего мисками, только в исключитель-

Рис. 6. Поселение Полски Градец. Фрагменты сосудов сграффито: 1 — «изящный» стиль; 2 — спиральный стиль (фото автора).

Fig. 6. Polski Gradets settlement. Sgraffito ware, fragments: 1 — Fine style; 2 — Spiral style (photo by the author).

но редких случаях встречаются и сосуды закрытой формы. Все без исключения они сделаны на ножном гончарном круге из хорошо очищенной глины без примесей, которая после обжига приобрела бледно-кремовый, кремово-розовый, охристо-розовый или красный цвет. Среди мисок можно найти глубокие и мелкие, а также невысокие широкие сосуды (тарелки), все на кольцевидном поддоне, а также на низких или высоких полых конусообразных ножках. Их профили полностью повторяют профили красноглиняной поливной керамики.

К сожалению, доступный нам материал из поселения у с. Полски Градец находится в сильно фрагментированном виде. Это в значительной мере усложняет реконструкцию композиции подглазурных орнаментов, но, тем не менее, можно сказать, что в общих чертах керамика сграффито повторяет классы, известные и широко распространенные в XI—XII вв. во всем византийском культурном ареале.

«Изящный» стиль («*Fine style*») представлен двумя фрагментами стенки миски с врезанным поясом из исключительно тонких линий, формирующих спирали. Как правило, в центре сосудов этого стиля расположен медальон, в котором изображены орлы, мифические животные, растительные или спиралевидные орнаменты (рис. 6: 1). Большая часть сосудов покрыта бесцветной глазурью, которая на фоне белого ангоба кажется бледно-желтой, а изредка встречаются и сосуды с бледно-зеленой глазурью.

Самые ранние находки сграффито мисок этого стиля найдены в Коринфе, где они датируются концом XI и началом XII в. (Morgan 1942: 117—120, fig. 93, Pl. XXXIX—XL). Миски сграффито с абсолютно одинаковыми изображениями найдены среди керамики сграффито с корабля, затонувшего у острова Пелагониси (Галонессос) (Ioannidaki-Dostoglou 1989: 167, fig. 24—25; Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999: 138, fig. 154—155). Они датированы монетами Мануила I Комнина, т. е. серединой XII в. Сосуды в «изящном« стиле известны также из Большого дворца в Константинополе (Rice 1958: 112, fig. 25: b, d) и ротонды Святого Георгия в Салониках (Bakirtzis, Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1981: 423, fig. 7). К тому же времени относится и фрагмент миски сграффито с декором в том же стиле из Константинополя, местоположение которого неизвестно (Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: 341, Taf. 53: 55). Керамика сграффито «*Fine Style*» найдена и в Афинах, где датирована монетами Иоанна II Комнина — первой половиной XII в. (Frantz 1938: 435, fig. 27 D: 2). По мнению Д. Т. Райса, спиралевидные мотивы ранней керамики сграффито в изящном стиле характерны для Средиземноморья и встречаются еще в римских фресках и в Египте. Поэтому он считает, что спираль появилась в византийском искусстве под влиянием культуры римских или эллинистических городов в Азии, а не из Персии или мусульманского Востока (Rice 1930: 71, Pl. XIII).

Керамика сграффито в «изящном« стиле широко распространена в конце XI и в первой

Рис. 7. Поселение Полски Градец. Фрагменты сграффито сосудов спирального стиля (фото автора).

Fig. 7. Polski Gradets settlement. Fragments of Sgraffito ware — Spiral style (photo by the author).

половине XII в. Об этом свидетельствуют и находки из Диногеции (Barnea 1967b: 244—245, fig. 150: 6—10), Нуфэру (Barashi, Damian 1993: 245—246, fig. 19: 321, 330), Херсонеса (Якобсон 1979: 120, рис. 74: 3), Таманского городища (Макарова 1971: 82—83, рис. 3), Киева и Белгорода Киевского (Коваль 2010: 122, рис. 41, цв. ил. 46: 1, 3, 5—6) и др.

Среди керамики сграффито из с. Полски Градец встречаются и фрагменты мисок с декором в спиральном стиле («*Spiral style*») (рис. 6: 2; 7). Как и среди керамики из остальных поселений в Юго-Восточной Болгарии, здесь тоже есть по меньшей мере две подгруппы, которые несомненно связаны с различными производственными центрами. К первой группе относятся сосуды с изящным рисунком спиралевидного мотива типа «развод» (рис. 7: 1, 5). Бóльшая часть экземпляров этой группы покрыта бесцветной глазурью, которая кажется бледно-желтой на фоне бледного ангоба, и только в единичных случаях встречаются миски со светло-зеленой глазурью. Целые миски из этой группы найдены в сёлах Дядово, Искрица и в крепости Хисарлыка в г. Сливен (Борисов 2002а: 182, обр. 69: г; 70: в; 85: в-г). Сосуды в спиральном стиле имеют самые точные параллели в ранней керамике сграффито из Афин (*группа А — второй период*), датированные монетами Алексея I и Мануила Комнинов (Frantz 1938: 432, fig. 8A: 35) и Спарты (Dawkins, Droop 1910—1911: 26, Pl. XV: 1—8). Из Константинополя происходят одна целая миска и несколько фрагментированных с абсолютно таким же декором, датированные серединой XII в. (Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: 338—339, Taf. 51: 44—45). В Коринфе находки с таким же декором относятся к *группе II* и датированы тем же периодом (Morgan 1942: 120—121, Pl. XLI: a, h, l). Одна миска с абсолютно таким же декором найдена и среди находок из Галонесоса (Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1999: 135, fig. 148). Распространение этой группы сосудов спирального стиля распространяется на севере до Диногеции (Barnea 1967b: 244, fig. 150: 1), Нуфэру (Baraschi, Moghior 1981—1982: 80, fig. 7: 2) и Таврики (Якобсон 1979: 120, рис. 74: 2, 4).

Ко второй группе относятся сосуды, где спиралевидные мотивы врезаны более плотной и неравномерно толстой линией. Здесь отсутствуют изящный рисунок и классический орнамент «развод», характерные для первой группы. Хотя и редко, встречается имитация «развода», но он нанесен грубой, толстой линией и неуверенной рукой. В большинстве случаев медальоны и концентрические пояса вокруг них состоят из вписанных друг в друга маленьких, эксцентрических эллипсов. Обычно на белый ангоб нанесена бледно-желтая (рис. 6: 2; 7: 2) или светло-

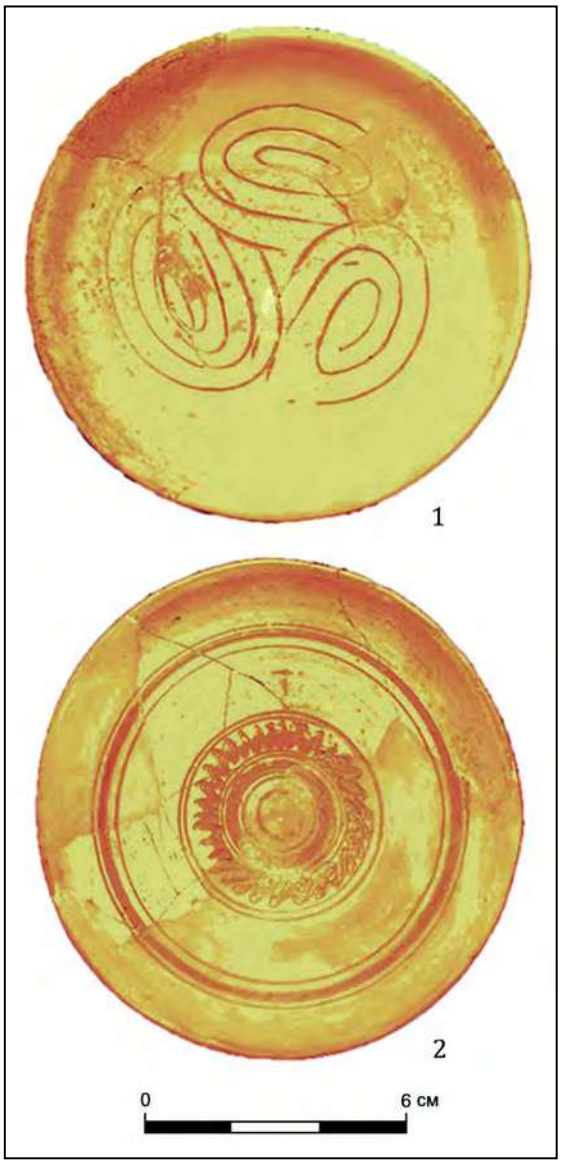

Рис. 8. Поселение Полски Градец. Сграффито миски: 1 — «развитый стиль»; 2 — «выемчатая техника» (фото автора).

Fig. 8. Polski Gradets settlement. Sgraffito plates: 1 — Developed style; 2 — champlevée (photo by the author).

зеленая глазурь (рис. 7: 3, 4). Различия в орнаментации двух групп спирального стиля говорят по крайней мере о двух разных мастерских, в которых они производились.

Анализ керамического материала показывает, что в поселении у с. Полски Градец нет сосудов из установленной в других поселениях Юго-Восточной Болгарии третьей группы в спиральном стиле, для которой характерна тонкая бледно-зеленая глазурь, которая во всех без исключения сосудах слегка потрескалась после обжига, что придает поверхности определенную неровность (Борисов 2002а: 186). Очевидно, что материал из этого византийского производственного центра не дошел до поселения в с. Полски Градец.

Среди керамики сграффито встречаются и фрагменты «развитого» стиля («*Developed style*»). В нем нет строго определенной закономерности изображения, которое обычно занимает бо̀льшую часть внутренности сосудов. Наряду с фрагментами найдена и глубокая миска, во внутренности которой врезаны три большие эллиптические спирали. Изнутри и снаружи вокруг устья она покрыта белым ангобом, на который нанесена бледно-жёлтая полива (рис. 8: 1). Полностью идентичен и декор миски развитого стиля, найденной в Коринфе (Morgan 1942: 130, fig. 104: a), которая датирована монетой Иоанна II Комнина, то есть первой половиной XII в.

Во многих случаях керамика сграффито «развитого» стиля имеет изображения животных, занимающие почти всю внутренность сосудов (рис. 9). К этой группе относится и фрагмент миски, по периферии которой сохранился орнамент «хвощ», а во внутренности был изображен павлин. К сожалению, сохранилась только верхняя часть ног птицы (рис. 11: 1). Миска с абсолютно таким же подглазурным изображением, но с бледно-желтой глазурью, датированная XI—XII вв., найдена среди привозной византийской керамики на Таманском городище (Макарова 1971: 83, рис. 4).

На остальных фрагментах мисок развитого стиля встречается как животный (рис. 9; 10), так и растительный декор (рис. 11). К сожалению, их нынешнее состояние не позволяет определить композицию подглазурного декора. На дне некоторых сосудов изображены кресты (рис. 11: 2).

Среди самых малочисленных находок из с. Полски Градец — группа керамики сграффито, в которой изображение сделано в выемчатой технике — «*champlevée*». Она представлена всего 5 фрагментами стенок. Они имеют врезанные концентрические окружности в средней части тулова или на периферии, сделанные путем удаления ангоба (рис. 13). Исключением является фрагмент миски, в центре которой расположен медальон, из которого выходят радиально расположенные лучи в «*champlevée*». Они связываются с другими медальонами, расположенными по кругу на стенках сосуда (рис. 8: 2).

В поселении нет изображений в той же выемчатой технике, занимающих всю внутреннюю поверхность сосудов, какие известны из Дядово (Borisov 1989: 231, fig. 274, 287; Борисов 2002а: 190, обр. 146) и Перника (Чангова 1992: 101, обр. 92: 5).

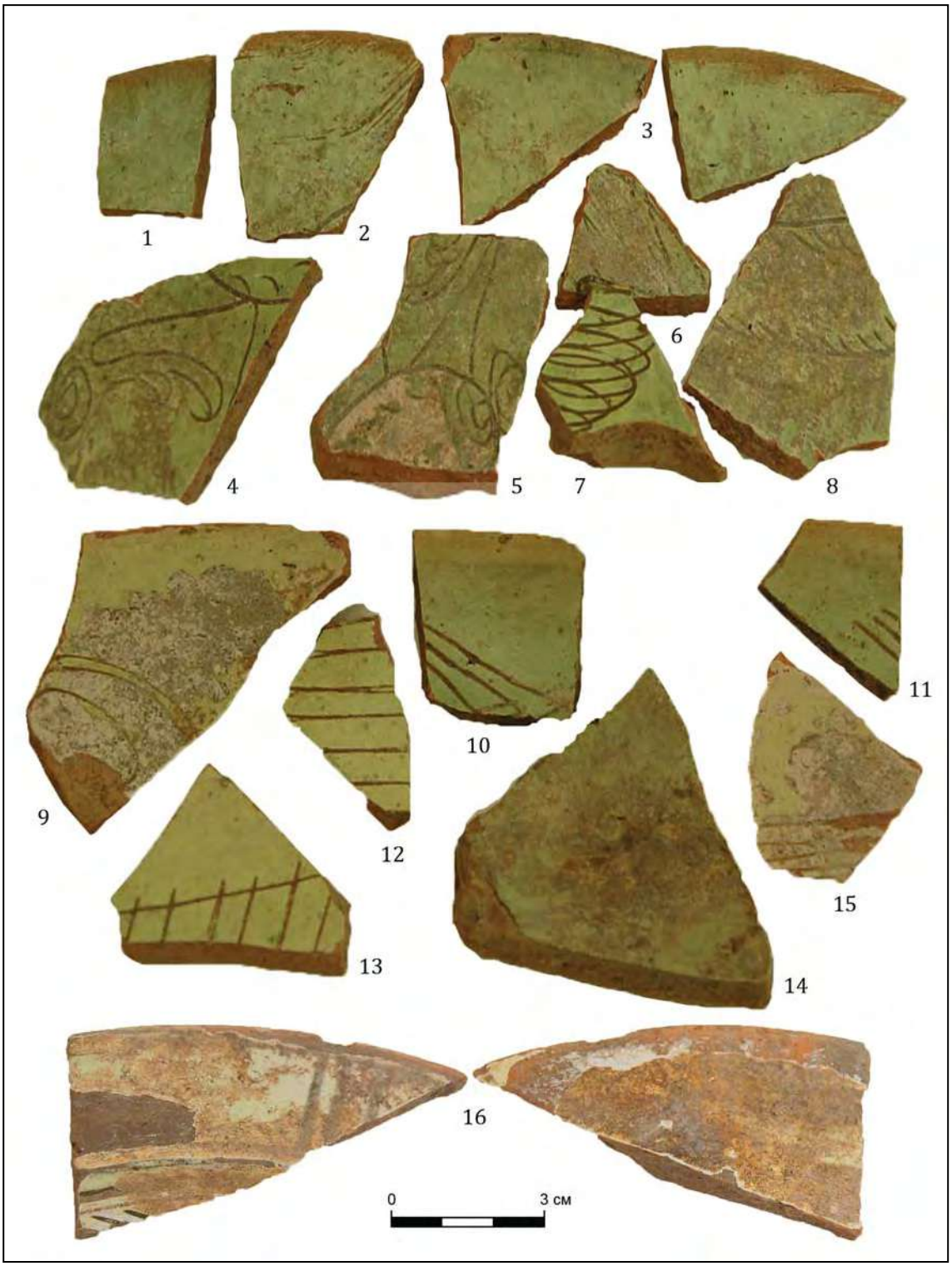

Рис. 9. Поселение Полски Градец. Фрагменты сграффито сосудов «развитого стиля» с изображениями животных (фото автора).

Fig. 9. Polski Gradets settlement. Fragments of Developed style sgraffito ware with animals (photo by the author).

Выемчатая техника появляется в керамике сграффито сначала в кавказских мастерских художественной керамики, а позже проникает и в Персию, и Малую Азию. По всей вероятности, оттуда она переносится в Византию, откуда проникает и в нынешние болгарские земли. По мнению А. Якобсона, керамика сграффито в выемчатой технике распространена больше всего в XI и особенно в XII в., когда окончатель-

Рис. 10. Поселение Полски Градец. Фрагменты сграффито сосудов «развитого стиля» с изображениями животных (фото автора).

Fig. 10. Polski Gradets settlement. Fragments of Developed style sgraffito ware with animals (photo by the author).

но утверждается врезанная линия (Якобсон 1950: 170).

Керамика сграффито с декором «*champlevée*» найдена также в Спарте (Dawkins, Droop 1910—1911: 27, Pl. XVII: 48), Верии на полуострове Халкидики, Акрефнио (Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1999: 64—66, fig. 58; 62), Пелагонесосе (Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1999: 142, fig. 163), в Салониках (Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1999: 38, fig. 21) и Коринфе (Morgan 1942: 164, Pl. LXIII: b; Sanders 2003: 390, fig. 23.2: 20), где она датирована второй половиной XII в. Серединой и второй половиной XII в., монетами Мануила I Комнина (1143—1180), датирована миска из Большого дворца в Константинополе (Stevenson 1947: 56, Pl. 20: 31). Концом XII и началом XIII вв. датированы миска из средневекового слоя Трои (Böhlendorf 1997: 426, Taf. 24: 131) и коллективная находка из пяти мисок, найденных в круглой башне Скопской крепости, вместе с монетами Алексея III (1195—1203) (Babić 1971: 47, Pl. 1—2).

Абсолютно идентичные по форме и декору миски сграффито известны и из Анемуриона на территории Турции. Б. Бёлендорф датирует их XII—XIII вв. (Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: 519, Taf. 156: 823). XIII в. датированы и несколько фрагментированных сосудов, найденных при раскопках в Пергаме (Spieser 1996: 20, Taf. 6: 88—89) и Палепафосе (Wartburg 1998: 156, Abb. 80). Ко второй половине XIII—XIV вв. отнесены и находки керамики сграффито в выемчатой технике из Гюльпынара (Yenişehirlioğlu 1989: 304, fig. 3). В XIII—XIV вв. керамика сграффито в выемчатой технике продолжает распространяться. Миски того же класса известны и с острова Фасос (François 1995: 214—218, fig. 49: 263—266; 53: 283, 289).

В то же время керамика сграффито «*champlevée*» распространяется и на территории России (Нижний Новгород, Любутск, Суздаль и др.) (Коваль 2010: 127, рис. 42, цв. ил. 48: 1—7) и на Крымском полуострове (Херсонес), (Романчук 2003: 84—88, табл. 69—72).

Во времена Второго Болгарского царства (конец XII — конец XIV вв.) керамика сграффито с декором в выемчатой технике встречается и среди сосудов из Тырново и Шумена (Георгиева 1974: 86, обр. IX; Нешева 2000: 85, обр. 120—122; Антонова 1977: 44, табл. VIII: 4—6, 12).

Среди керамики из с. Полски Градец полностью отсутствует расписная керамика сграффито «*Painted sgraffito ware*», хотя среди материалов из поселений на территории Юго-Восточной Болгарии она встречается часто и зарегистрирована в с. Дядово, Знаменосец, Карановo, Искрица, в Хисарлыке (г. Сливен) и средневековом г. Ямбол (Борисов 2002а: 187—190, обр. 144—145).

«*Painted sgraffito ware*» получает широкое распространение в XII в. на территории Балкан и России, о чем говорят находки из Ветрена (Атанасов, Йорданов 1994: 16—17, табл. XXI: д; XXII: б) и Перника (Чангова 1992:

Рис. 11. Поселение Полски Градец. Фрагменты сграффито сосудов «развитого стиля» с изображениями животных и растений (фото автора).

Fig. 11. Polski Gradets settlement. Fragments of Developed style sgraffito ware with animals and plants (photo by the author).

102, обр. 93: 1, 3) в Болгарии, из крепости Рас (Popovic 1999: 234, fig. 193: 5—6) и Ниша (Bajalović-Hadži-Pesić 1981: 118, sl. 145, 147, 149) на территории Сербии, из Скопье (Babić 1971: 17, Pl. V: 13) и Прилепа (Бабиќ 1986: 296, табл. II: 2; Bajalović-Hadži-Pesić 1979: 65, fig. 3) в Македонии, из Диногеции и Нуфэру в Румынии (Barnea 1967b: 244, fig. 150: 11;

Рис. 12. Поселение Полски Градец. Фрагменты сграффито сосудов «развитого стиля» с изображениями животных и растений (фото автора).

Fig. 12. Polski Gradets settlement. Fragments of Developed style sgraffito ware with animals and plants (photo by the author).

Barashi, Damian 1993: 240—250, fig. 19: 402, 404), из Херсонеса и Керчи в Крыму (Романчук 2003: 131, табл. 139; Макарова 1967: табл. 8: 5). Во второй половине XII в. расписная керамика сграффито получает широкое распространение во всем византийском культурном ареале. Кроме многочисленного фрагментированного материала, известны целые миски из Аргоса, Фив, Салоник, Пидны (византийский Китрос), Коринфа, Афрати и др. (Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1999: 36—43, fig. 19—28). В XIII—XIV вв. расписная керамика сграффито получает очень широкое распространение.

Сравнительно широкое распространение керамики «*Painted sgraffito ware*» в остальных поселениях на территории Юго-Восточной Болгарии и в византийских центрах и провинциях обуславливает вопрос о том, чем можно объяснить её отсутствие в поселении у с. Полски Градец. На наш взгляд, ответ на этот вопрос следует искать в путях и способах проникновения византийских товаров, в том числе расписной керамики сграффито, в отдельные поселения и провинции. Иначе говоря, вопрос связан с торговыми отношениями между византийскими центрами, с одной стороны, и обыкновенными поселениями, с другой. Вероятнее всего, торговцы керамикой этого вида не дошли до поселения у с. Полски Градец.

Наряду с образцами привозной византийской керамики сграффито, среди материалов из с. Полски Градец особенно важное место занимает так называемое «*болгарское сграффито*». Для подглазурного орнамента этой группы характерны врезанные гребнем пояса из волнистых линий. В большинстве случаев на белый ангоб нанесена бесцветная глазурь, которая после обжига приобрела бледно-желтый цвет (рис. 14—16; 17: 2—5). Хотя и реже, встречаются и миски, покрытые бледно- или темно-зелёной глазурью (рис. 17: 1, 6).

Впервые я обратил внимание на этот вид керамики сграффито в 1998 г. в Ялте, на Первой конференции, посвященной поливной керамике. Опираясь на анализ керамики сграффито из всех известных маленьких или больших византийских производственных центров на территории нынешних Греции, Турции, Сербии, Македонии, Румынии и России и имея в виду отсутствие среди их материалов образцов с декором из врезанных гребнем поясов из волнистых линий между двумя или тремя концентрическими окружностями, я высказал предположение, что эта керамика производилась на территории ны-

Рис. 13. Поселение Полски Градец. Фрагменты сграффито сосудов в выемчатой технике (фото автора).

Fig. 13. Polski Gradets settlement. Fragments of champlevée sgraffito ware (photo by the author).

нешней Юго-Восточной Болгарии. Поэтому я позволил себе назвать её, разумеется, совершенно условно, «*болгарское сграффито*», главным образом из-за того, что она находится и производилась в нынешних болгарских землях (Борисов 1998: 49—50; 2002: 191—204, обр. 149—161; 2005а: 39—54; 2005б**:** 52—67).

Керамика сграффито этого класса исключительно широко распространена среди керамики из поселений на территории Юго-Восточной Болгарии, более конкретно — Северо-Восточной Фракии. Здесь в композиции подглазурного орнамента чаще всего встречается пояс из нанесённых гребнем волнистых линий. Более того — эта керамика не выходит за рамки XII в., когда погибает бо̀льшая часть поселений. Кроме того, она находится в хорошо датированных закрытых комплексах вместе с керамикой с золотистым и красным ангобом, а также с ранней византийской керамикой сграффито, что является доказательством её появления ещё к концу XI в. Подобные наблюдения можно отнести ко многим из изученных поселений — с. Дядово (Borisov 1989: 231, fig. 281: a, b), Знаменосец (Борисов 1991: 237, обр. 28), Искрица (Шейлева 1995: 248, обр. 18; Борисов 2002а: 202, обр. 158), Караново (Борисов 2002а: 203, обр. 159 г), Гледачево I (Борисов 1997: 139—140, обр. 33), Хисарлыка в г. Сливен (Щерева, Радева 2001: 270, табл. II: 3—4), Дебелт (Манолова-Войкова и др. 2007: 170—171, обр. 10).

Среди образцов этой группы, хотя и редко, встречаются и расписные сграффито миски, где глазурь нанесена только на врезанный орнамент, в то время как в византийской «*Painted sgraffito ware*» полива покрывает всю внутренность мисок, вместе с врезанным подглазурным орнаментом. Кроме того, очень часто используется темная (грязного оттенка) масляно-зеленая полива, какой нет в византийской керамике сграффито, поливной и расписной, керамике. Подобная расписная «болгарская» керамика сграффито найдена в Гледачево-I и Знаменосец (Борисов 1997: 139, обр. 27 б: 1; Борисов 2002а: 203, обр. 85: а). Одна отреставрированная миска из той же группы найдена и при раскопках монастыря в районе Веселчани в г. Кырджали — самой южной точке распространения так называемой «болгарской» керамики сграффито (Овчаров, Хаджиева 1992: 77—79).

К «болгарскому» сграффито относится и отреставрированная миска, в центре которой плотными, толстыми линиями, иногда в выемчатой технике, изображены концен-

Рис. 14. Поселение Полски Градец. Фрагменты сосудов подгруппы «болгарское сграффито» (фото автора).

Fig. 14. Polski Gradets settlement. Fragments of Bulgarian sgraffito ware (photo by the author).

Рис. 15. Поселение Полски Градец. Фрагменты сосудов подгруппы «болгарское сграффито» (фото автора).

Fig. 15. Polski Gradets settlement. Fragments of Bulgarian sgraffito ware (photo by the author).

трические окружности. Вокруг центрального медальона проходит концентрический пояс из волнистых врезанных гребнем линий, а под устьем — второй пояс из концентрических окружностей (рис. 8: 2). Подобный декор есть и на одной фрагментированной миске. Они отличаются только местом пояса из нанесённых гребнем линий (рис. 16: 1).

Анализ известной на данном этапе «болгарской» керамики сграффито показывает, что подглазурный декор из врезанных гребнем поясов из волнистых линий распространен на сравнительно небольшой территории, которая охватывает земли Северо-Восточной Фракии. Кроме того, отсутствие подобного декора в огромном византийском культурном ареале, как и среди керамики сграффито из соседних стран, ясно показывает, что её происхождение следует связать с гончарными мастерскими в Северо-Восточной Фракии.

Рис. 16. Поселение Полски Градец. Фрагменты сосудов подгруппы «болгарское сграффито» (фото автора).

Fig. 16. Polski Gradets settlement. Fragments of Bulgarian sgraffito ware (photo by the author).

На данном этапе, однако, исключительно сложно локализовать центры её производства. Тем не менее, можно предположить, что один из возможных центров — крепость Хисарлык в г. Сливен, где наряду с обыкновенной кухонной керамикой производились керамика с золотистым ангобом и поливная керамика. Не исключено, что болгарская керамика сграффито производилась в какой-нибудь из городских или даже из сельских гончарных мастерских в районе г. Нова-Загора и г. Раднево, где самая высокая концентрация керамики сграффито этого вида.

Появившись во второй половине или ближе к концу XI в., «болгарская» монохромная и расписная керамика сграффито широко распространяется в указанном районе до конца XII в., когда многие поселения в нем были покинуты перед угрозой крестоносцев Третьего похода. Потом эта керамика сграффито выходит из употребления и не появляется до конца болгарского средневековья. Прямым свидетельством тому являются раскопки большого количества объектов времени Второго Болгарского царства. Керамики сграффито с подобным декором нет в Тырново (Георгиева 1974: 57—186; Нешева 2000: 85, обр. 120—122), Червене (Георгиева 1985: 140—164), Шуменской крепости (Антонова 1977: 38—64), Калиакре (Бобчева 1979: 155—159), Варне (Кузев 1975: 140—164), Дебелте (Дражева 1984: 94—98), Стенимахосе (Морева-Арабова 1989: 213—229), в поселении над Севтополисом (Чангова 1972: 67) и Копсисе (Джамбов 1991: 77—78). В XIII—XIV вв. основным мотивом становится чередование единичных прямых и волнистых линий, но врезанные поясами волнистые линии уже отсутствуют.

Пока только среди керамики сграффито из средневековых Херсонеса и Судака на полуострове Крым в XIII—XIV вв. найдено известное количество мисок, с внутренней стороны которых врезаны пары волнистых линий, причем способом, аналогичным «болгарскому» сграффито. Не исключено, что эту «моду» перенесли переселенцы, которые в конце XII в. добрались до Крыма (Борисов 2006г: 406; Borisov 2007: 83).

* * *

В болгарской археологической литературе принято, что в зависимости от композиции врезанного подглазурного орнамента в керамике сграффито различаются четыре типа де-

Рис. 17. Поселение Полски Градец. Фрагменты сосудов подгруппы «болгарское сграффито» (фото автора).

Fig. 17. Polski Gradets settlement. Fragments of Bulgarian sgraffito ware (photo by the author).

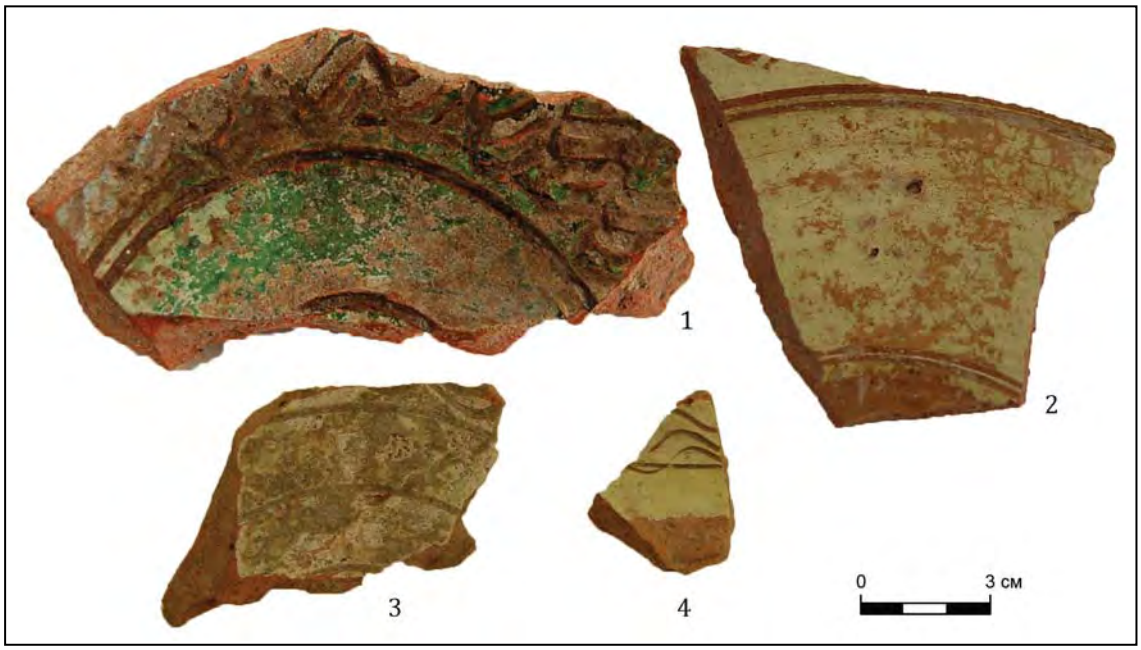

Рис. 18. Поселение Полски Градец. Фрагменты сосудов подгруппы «болгарское сграффито» (фото автора).

Fig. 18. Polski Gradets settlement. Fragments of Bulgarian sgraffito ware (photo by the author).

кора — геометрический, растительный, животный и антропоморфный (Георгиева 1974: 61). Применяя эту классификацию к керамике из с. Полски Градец, можно отметить, что в геометрическом декоре представлены в основном врезанные концентрические круги, но к большому сожалению, из-за сильной фрагментированности материала, композицию орнаментов определить сложно. Миски с декором из концентрических кругов монохромны. Среди них преобладает бледно-жёлтая полива, реже встречается светло-зелёная. Они имеют свои параллели среди византийской керамики сграффито XII в., широко распространенной на Балканском полуострове и в Северном Причерноморье (Якобсон 1950: 170).

Врезанный геометрический декор в керамике сграффито чаще сочетается с растительным и животным декором, но из-за фраг-

ментированного характера большей части материала сложно установить какую-нибудь закономерность в сочетании декоров разного типа.

Сосуды с растительным декором чаще всего украшены мотивом «развод», который расположен главным образом на их периферии, реже — на дне. Встречаются еще розетки, орнамент «хвощ» и другие, врезанные тонкой линией и покрытые желтой, зеленой или желто-зеленой монохромной глазурью. Очень часто эти орнаменты сочетаются с изображениями птиц и других животных (рис. 9).

Среди мисок сграффито с животным декором можно наблюдать больше разнообразия. Чаще всего встречаются сосуды с врезанным изображением рыб или птиц (рис. 10). Все миски с животным декором монохромны и покрыты или бесцветной глазурью, которая на фоне белого ангоба приобрела бледно-желтый цвет, или зеленой глазурью.

Среди керамики сграффито из с. Полски Градец нет сосудов с изображениями людей.

Расписная керамика

Расписная керамика представлена одной отреставрированной миской и 69 фрагментами. Она намного разнообразнее. В поселении найдена керамика, расписанная зеленой и коричневой глазурью «*Green and brown painted wares*» (рис. 19—22) и расписанная желтой и коричневой глазурью (рис. 23). Более того, на данном этапе расписная поливная керамика из с. Полски Градец превосходит количественно керамику из всех остальных изученных поселений на территории Юго-Восточной Болгарии — из Дядово, Езеро, Гледачево I и III, Знаменосец, Гипсово, Асеновец, Крум I и II, Караново и крепости у с. Искрица; её доля в художественной керамике среди остальных поселений составляет 15,90%.

В расписной керамике из с. Полски Градец различаются три группы.

Первая группа представлена мисками, в которых на пласт из белого ангоба нанесены рисунки из зеленой и коричневой глазури. После первого обжига на них нанесена прозрачная глазурь. На фоне белого ангоба сочетание контрастирующих зеленой и коричневой глазури придает сосудам исключительно живописный вид. Миски этой группы относятся к классу «*Green and brown painted wares*». Орнаменты сделаны зелеными и коричневыми концентрически или радиально расположенными линиями, спиралями, косыми черточками, расположенными по краю устья (рис. 19; 21; 22). Внимания заслуживает и дно миски, в центре которого нарисована четырехлистная розетка, вписанная в окружность (рис. 19: 5). Такая же композиция представлена и на фрагменте другой миски (рис. 19: 6). Композиция орнамента, структура и цвет глины и глазури подтверждают, что оба сосуда не только сделаны в одной и той же мастерской, но, вероятнее всего, и одним и тем же человеком, и появились в поселении в одно и то же время. Производит впечатление тот факт, что на большинстве мисок рисунки коричневой глазурью сделаны более тонкими линиями, с ясно выраженным контуром, а рисунки зеленой глазурью во многих случаях сделаны более широкими линиями, создающими впечатление, что она растеклась (рис. 21). По всей вероятности, это связано с различным составом глазури двух цветов.

К той же группе относятся и несколько фрагментированных мисок, которые отличаются от остальных орнаментальными мотивами, нарисованными на них. Там по периферии нанесены чередующиеся зеленые и коричневые двойные дугообразные линии, которые напоминают летящих птиц с расправленными крыльями (рис. 19: 2; 20: 1). В некоторых случаях в центральной части расположен сделанный коричневой глазурью орнамент, по периферии нанесены неровные кружочки тоже коричневой глазурью, а между ними, во внутренней части, нанесены крапинки из растекшейся зеленой глазури (рис. 20: 2—3). Отличия в композиции орнаментов этой группы мисок «*Green and brown painted wares*» говорят о том, что они из другого производственного центра. Абсолютно такой же орнамент в форме птицы с расправленными в полете крыльями находим и по периферии миски сграффито из Афин, которая относится к *группе А* и происходит из второго периода, датированного монетами Мануила I Комнина (1143—1180), серединой и второй половиной XII в. (Frantz 1938: 432, Fig. 6, A: 28).

Расписная поливная керамика «*Green and brown painted wares*» встречается часто среди керамического материала поселений на территории Юго-Восточной Болгарии. Она известна из сёл Дядово (Borisov 1989: 224—229, fig. 267: а), Знаменосец (Борисов 1991: 237, обр. 25: б-в), Искрица (Шейлева 1995: 248, обр. 16: д-к), Гипсово (Борисов 1995: 229, обр. 8: е), Гледачево I (Борисов 1997: 139, обр. 25: р), крепости Хисарлык в г. Сливен (Щерева, Радева 2001: 278, табл. III: 4—6).

«*Green and brown painted wares*» широко распространена в византийских цен-

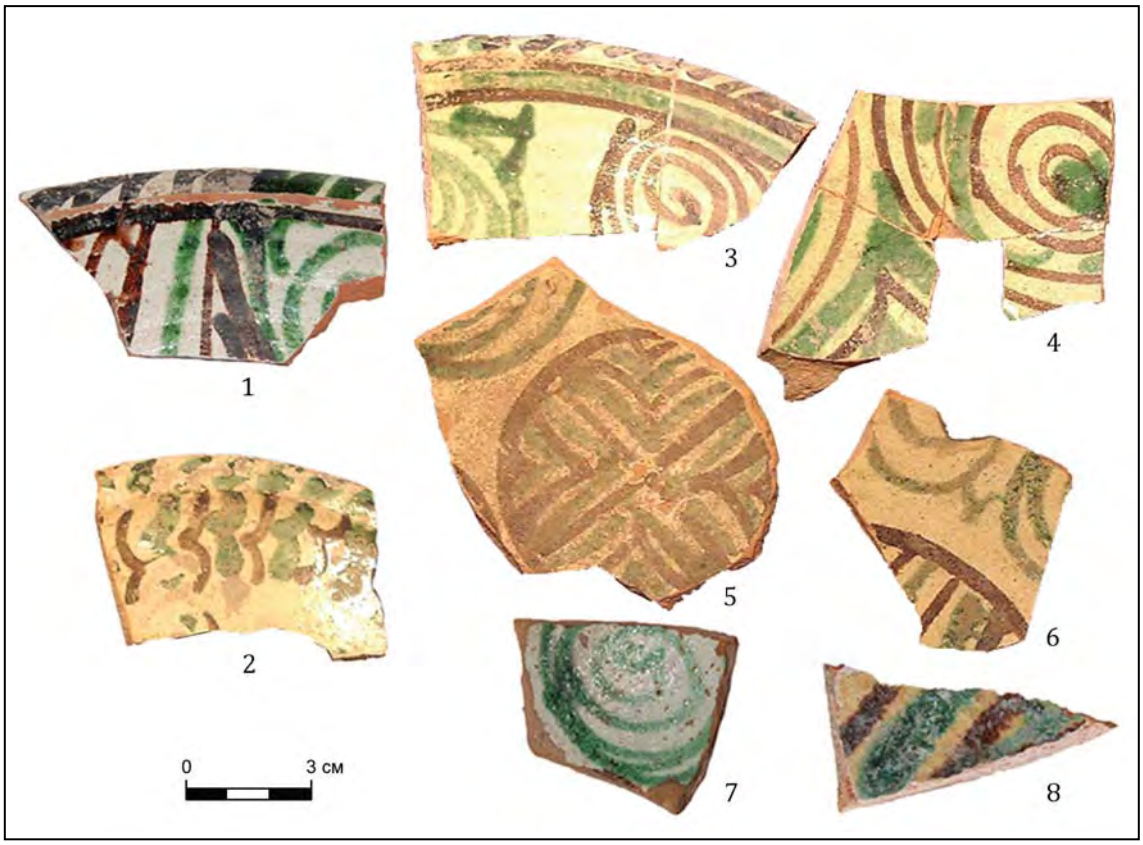

Рис. 19. Поселение Полски Градец. Фрагменты сосудов керамики, расписанной зелёной и коричневой глазурью (фото автора).

Fig. 19. Polski Gradets settlement. Fragments of Green and brown painted ware (photo by the author).

трах — в Константинополе (Stevenson 1947: 51, Pl. 25: 13—15), Афинах (Frantz 1938: 442, fig. 5, A: 6, A: 16, A: 22, A: 23), Эфесе (Parman 1989: 287, fig. 12—13) и Спарте (Dawkins, Droop 1910—1911: 27, Pl. XVIII: 66—67, 75). В Коринфе находки этого вида отнесены ко *II группе* и датированы монетами Алексея I Комнина, чеканенными в период 1092—1118 гг. (первая четверть XII в.) (Morgan 1942: 75—77, Pl. XX—XXI; Williams, Zervos 1989: 343, Pl. 64: a). Орнаментация сосудов из Юго-Восточной Болгарии и Коринфа абсолютно одинакова, и это является доказательством того, что они сделаны в одном и том же производственном центре. Оттуда они распространялись торговцами на огромной территории — на севере до Диногеции (Barnea 1967b: 241—244, fig. 147: 4—5, 11—12, 16, 148: 3—4, 10, 17, 149: 1—8) и Нуфэру (Barashi, Damian 1993: 244, fig. 17: 280, 18: 263, 268—270), а на западе до Скопье и Прилепа (Babić 1971: 45—53; Bajalović-Hadži Pesić 1981: 56, сл. 144).

Вторая группа объединяет миски, расписанные желтой и коричневой глазурью. Часто встречающиеся мотивы на мисках — прямые линии, концентрические окружности или сетчатый орнамент, но преобладают спирали (рис. 23).

Третья группа является разновидностью первой и представлена красноглиняными сосудами. В них на белый ангоб нанесены рисунки зеленой или коричневой глазурью. Чаще всего это спирали, волюты, очень часто — бесформенные пятна. На остальной поверхности сосудов глазурь отсутствует (рис. 24—26). Производит впечатление и отличие между зелеными и коричневыми орнаментами. Первые сделаны из глазури, а вторые — вероятнее всего, из коричневого ангоба без глазури. Форма, технология и композиция орнаментов вполне совпадают с теми, что характерны для византийской белоглиняной керамики конца XI и XII вв. Анализ орнаментации сосудов из Юго-Восточной Болгарии и византийских центров Коринфа (Morgan 1942: 77—80) и Константинополя (Stevenson 1947: 54—55) дает основание предположить, что керамика этого вида с территории нынешних болгарских земель произведена по образцу византийских белоглиняных расписных сосудов. В тот же период расписная белогли-

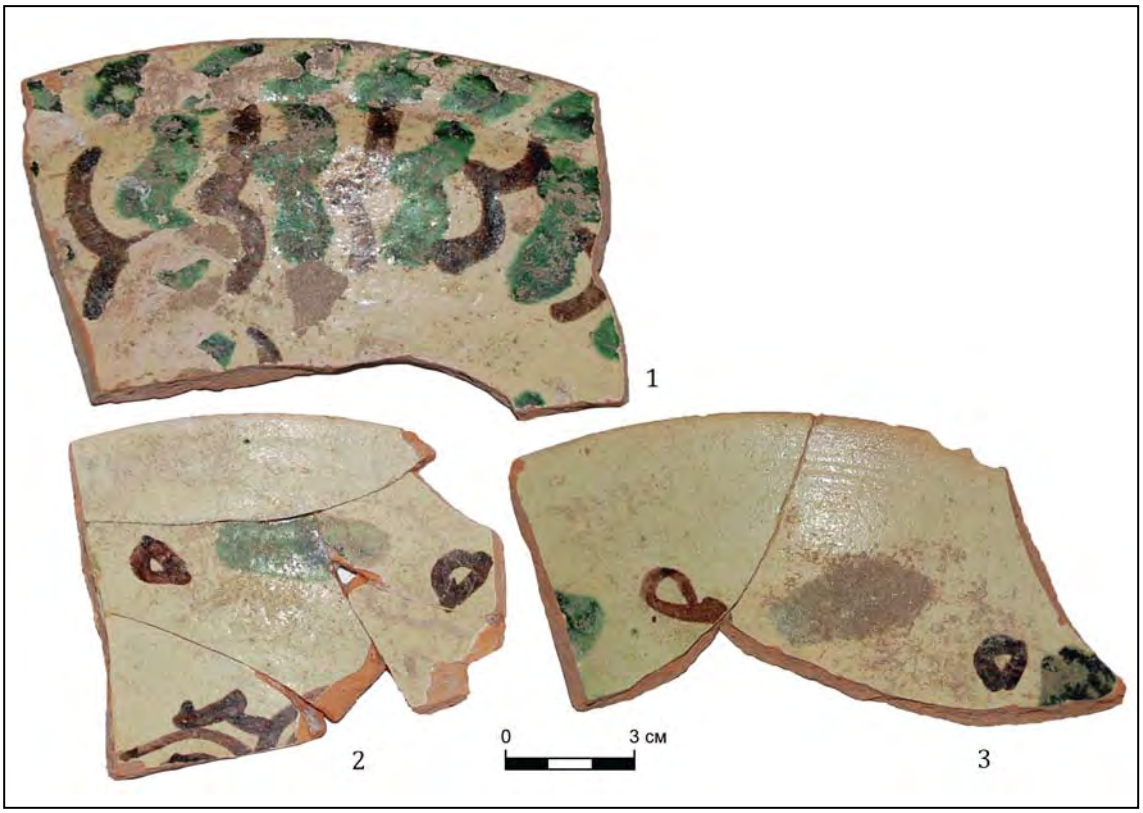

Рис. 20. Поселение Полски Градец. Фрагменты керамики, расписанной зелёной и коричневой глазурью (фото автора).

Fig. 20. Polski Gradets settlement. Fragments of Green and brown painted ware (photo by the author).

няная керамика попадает и на Крымский полуостров (Якобсон 1979: 144—146).

К этой группе относится и единственная отреставрированная глубокая миска с нижней конической и верхней почти цилиндрической частью, на конической ножке средней высоты. Сосуд покрыт изнутри белым ангобом, на который нанесены рисунки зеленой и коричневой глазурью в виде волют и спиралей. Рисунки не покрывают всю поверхность, а местами белый ангоб не покрыт глазурью. На покрытом зеленой глазурью венчике устья изнутри врезаны маленькие неглубокие ямки (рис. 24: 1).

В третьей группе, кроме «открытых» сосудов, хотя и редко, встречаются и образцы закрытых форм. Чаще всего они представлены миниатюрными или небольшими кувшинчиками и горшками, но, к сожалению, известны только во фрагментированном виде. Их декор существенно не отличается от декора открытых сосудов и представлен чередующимися линиями и крапинками из зеленой или коричневой глазури или ангоба, нанесенными на покрытие из белого ангоба. На них, однако, также нет покрывающей весь сосуд бесцветной глазури (рис. 24—26). Подобные маленькие сосуды часто встречаются среди керамики из поселений в Юго-Восточной Болгарии. Такие найдены в Дядово (Borisov 1989: 229, fig. 268), Гледачево I (Борисов 1997: 134, обр. 30: е), Искрице (Шейлева 1995: 248, обр. 16: и), Хисарлыке в г. Сливен (Щерева, Радева 2001: 278, табл. V: 3—4), Глуфишево в районе г. Сливен (Герасимов 1955: 591—593, обр. 4: 3). Аналогичные по форме кувшинчики находим и в средневековых слоях византийского центра Коринф (Morgan 1942: 58—59, fig. 41: a), в Диногеции (Barnea 1967b: 230, fig. 142: 2—3) и Нуфэру (Baraschi, Damian 1993: 256, fig. 4: 251).

В плане технологии и декора эта группа расписной поливной керамики имеет самые точные параллели в так называемой «болгарской» расписной керамике сграффито, где также отсутствует целостное покрытие глазурью — она нанесена только на врезанный подглазурный орнамент.

С учетом этого, больше 20 лет назад, исследуя керамику из средневекового поселения у с. Дядово, мы высказали предположение о местном происхождении этой группы керамики. В качестве обоснования мы указали и на тот факт, что керамика из визан-

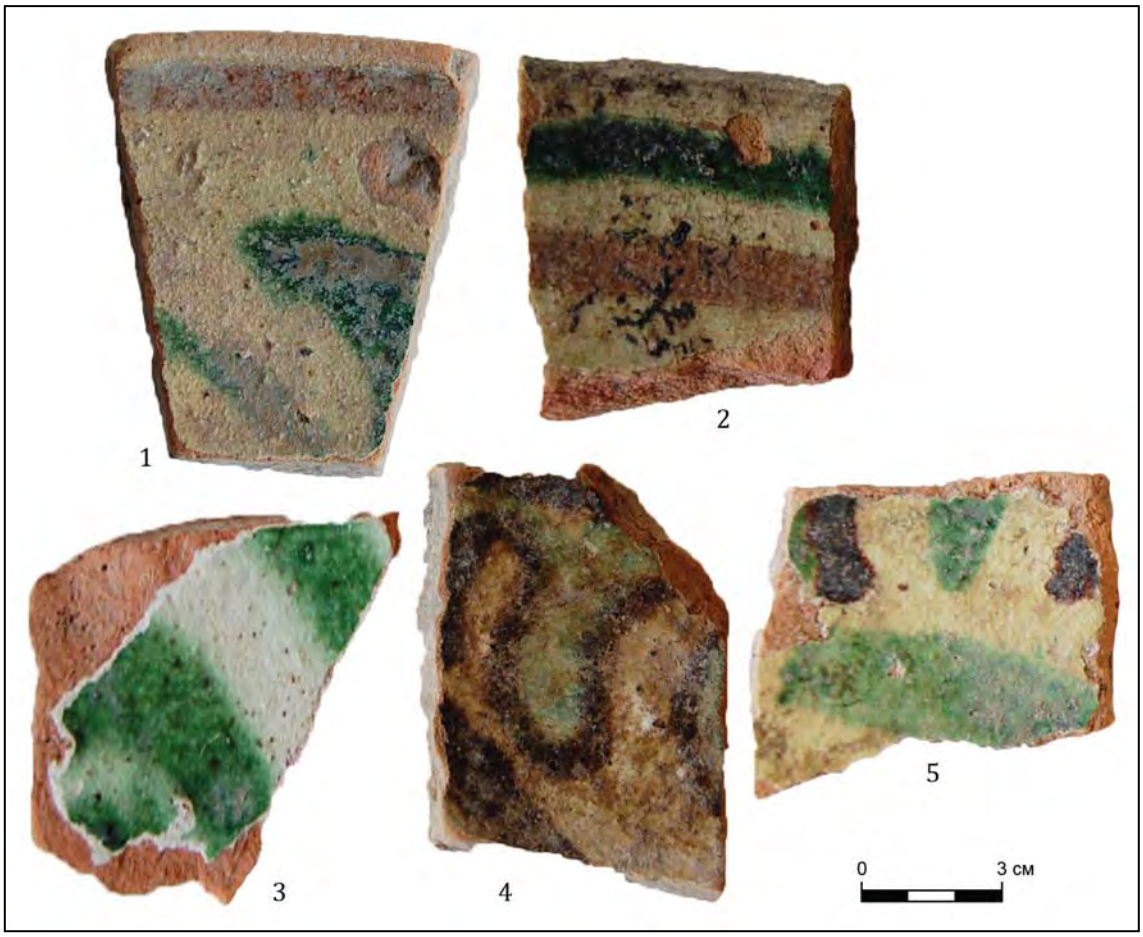

Рис. 21. Поселение Полски Градец. Фрагменты керамики, расписанной зелёной и коричневой глазурью (фото автора).

Fig. 21. Polski Gradets settlement. Fragments of Green and Brown Painted Ware (photo by the author).

тийских центров с подобной техникой декора неизвестна. Исключением являются всего два фрагмента мисок из Спарты. На них с внутренней стороны сосудов на белый ангоб нанесены рисунки зеленой глазурью, а остальная часть не глазурована (Dawkins, Droop 1910—1911: 27, Pl. XVIII: 68—69). Известна ещё одна хорошо сохранившаяся миска из Аргоса, датированная второй половиной XII в. (Vassiliou 2013: 220, fig. 194), с внутренней стороны которой поверх белого ангоба нанесены рисунки зеленой глазурью, а остальная поверхность осталась без поливы.

Позже наша гипотеза была принята и М. Маноловой (Манолова-Войкова 2000а: 21).

Очень ограниченное число находок этого вида с территории Византии не опровергает гипотезу о местном — «болгарском» происхождении этого вида расписной керамики. Весьма вероятно, что сосуды этой группы производились в тех же гончарных мастерских, в которых производилось «болгарское» расписное сграффито.

В поселениях на территории нынешней Юго-Восточной Болгарии, кроме перечисленных классов расписной поливной керамики, встречается, хотя и очень редко, и расписанная белым ангобом так называемая керамика «*Slip painted ware*» (Борисов 2002а: 161—164, обр. 84: б). В поселении у с. Полски Градец, однако, нет находок этого класса.

* * *

Анализ художественной керамики из поселения у с. Полски Градец показывает, что в ней представлены почти все известные классы, характерные для византийской керамики XI—XII вв.

Анализ археологических материалов с территории современной Европы, известных в научной литературе, как и результаты археологических исследований большого количества поселений на территории Болгарии,

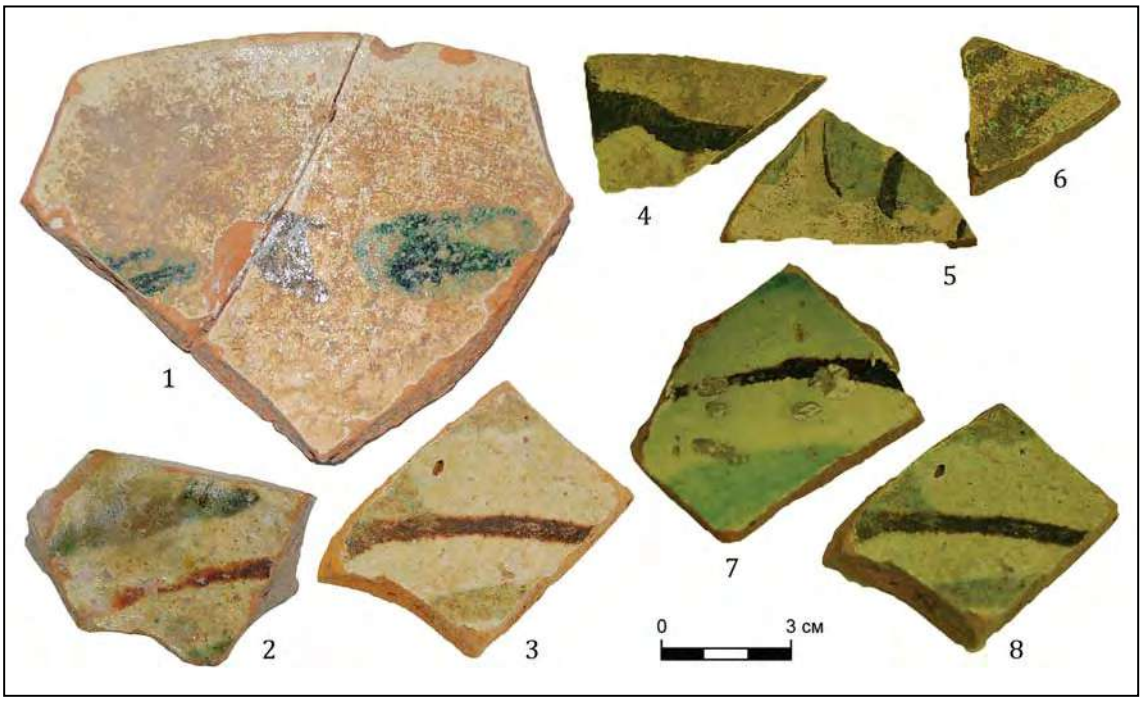

Рис. 22. Поселение Полски Градец. Фрагменты керамики, расписанной зелёной и коричневой глазурью (фото автора).

Fig. 22. Polski Gradets settlement. Fragments of Green and Brown Painted Ware (photo by the author).

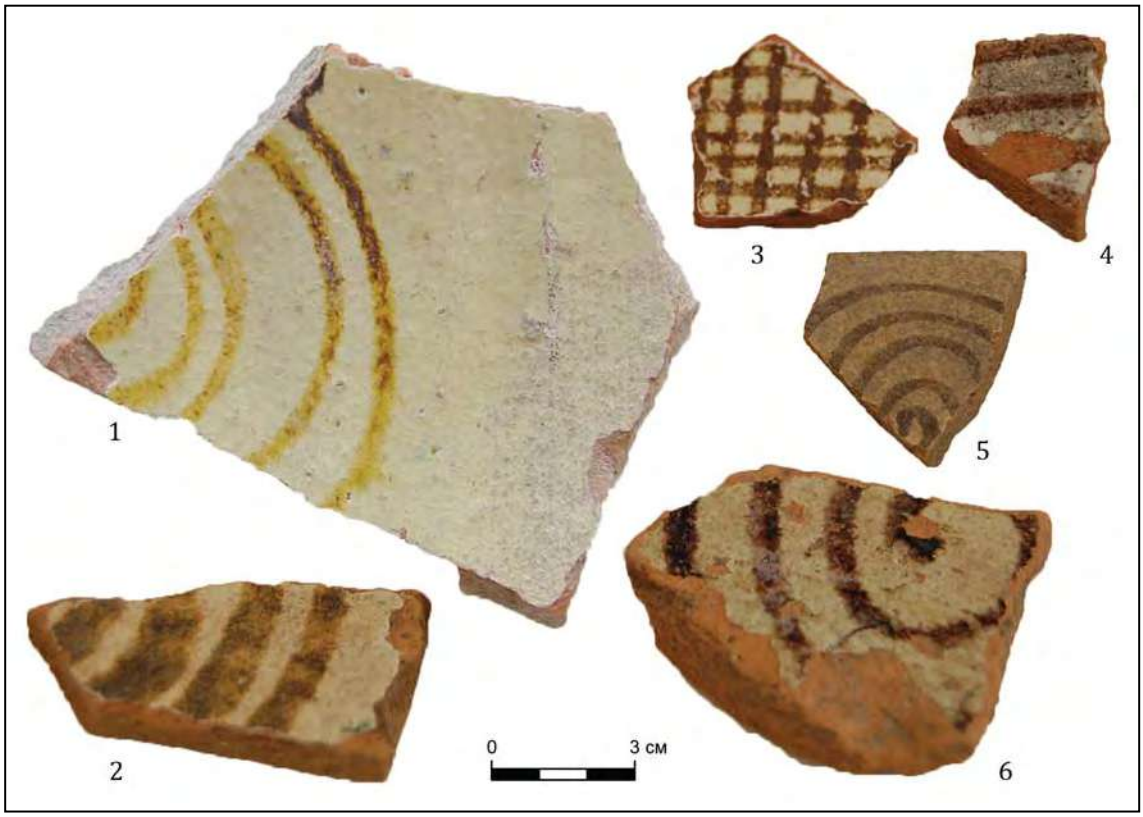

Рис. 23. Поселение Полски Градец. Фрагменты керамики, расписанной жёлтой и коричневой глазурью (фото автора).

Fig. 23. Polski Gradets settlement. Fragments of Yellow and Brown Painted Ware (photo by the author).

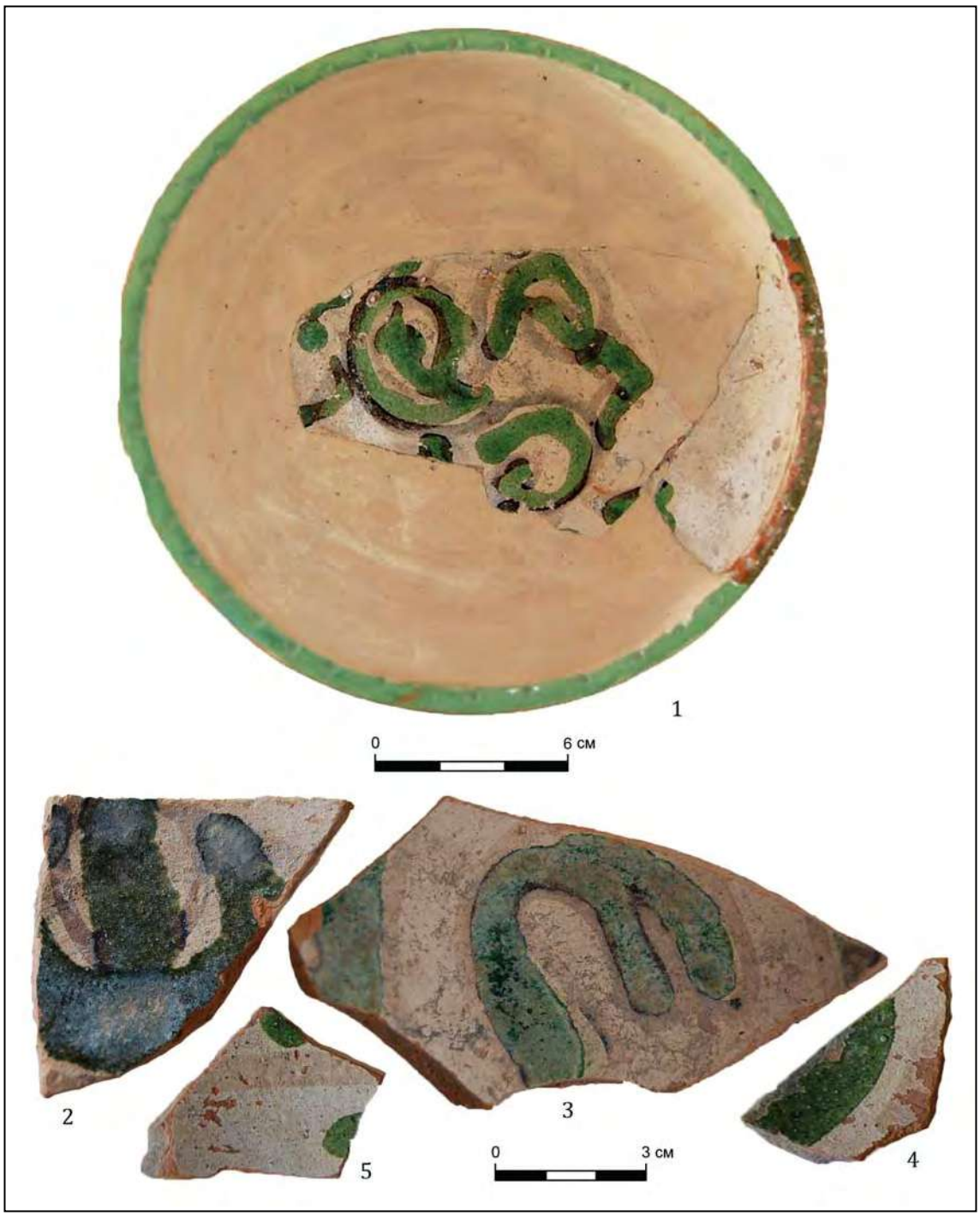

Рис. 24. Поселение Полски Градец. Керамика, расписанная зелёной и коричневой глазурью: 1 — миска; 2—5 — фрагменты сосудов (фото автора).

Fig. 24. Polski Gradets settlement. Green and Brown Painted Ware: 1 — plate; 2—5 — fragments of ceramics (photo by the author).

дают возможность определить отдельные группы находок, которые были произведены в одних и тех же мастерских. Точная локализация каждой из них, разумеется, на данном этапе невозможна. Отдаленность мест нахождения этих материалов ставит вопрос о путях их распространения в широком византийском культурном ареале и за его пределами и свидетельствует об оживленных торговых связях Византии в XI—XII в. как с провинциями внутри страны, так и за её пределами. Ярким доказательством этому являются приведенные примеры сосудов одной и той же формы, выполненных в одной и той же технике, с одинаковым декором, найденных как в соседних, так и в очень отдаленных друг от друга посе-

Рис. 25. Поселение Полски Градец. Фрагменты керамики, расписанной зелёной и коричневой глазурью (фото автора).

Fig. 25. Polski Gradets settlement. Fragments of Green and Brown Painted Ware (photo by the author).

лениях. Они были описаны нами в монографии «Полски Градец. Археологически проучвания 1» (Борисов 2013: 422—424).

Но известные уже материалы из всего византийского культурного ареала и близких или отдаленных от него районов ясно показывают, что в византийских гончарных мастерских работали опытные художники-гончары, производившие огромное количество изделий, которые насыщали гончарный рынок Империи и распространялись за её пределами. Абсолютно одинаковые врезанные подглазурные изображения и цвет глазури свидетельствуют также о разделении труда, которое неизбежно привело к росту производительности и снижению себестоимости изделий художественной керамики. Цена сосудов была невысокой, и они были доступны для широких слоев населения. Достаточно красноречивым доказательством этому является большое количество керамики сграффито даже в селах, в том числе во временных сезонных поселениях.

Нет сомнения, что в керамических мастерских Византии производилось огромное количество художественной керамики, которую продавали в близких и далеких провинциях. Определенная часть керамики распространялась морскими путями. Доказательством можно считать затонувший у острова Пелагонес (Пелагос) корабль, в котором найдены 840 сосудов, в основном керамики сграффито. Другая часть многочисленных керамических изделий распространялась наземными путями, и именно так она попала в средневековые поселения на территории нынешней Юго-Восточной Болгарии. Анализ найденной при археологических исследованиях художественной керамики категорически свидетельствует о том, что в поселениях, которые расположены у главных дорог, имеется большее количество и большее разнообразие поливной, сграффито и расписной керамики. Такое наблюдается в с. Полски Градец, Знаменосец, Дядово и Езеро. Наоборот, в по-

Рис. 26. Поселение Полски Градец. Фрагменты керамики, расписанной зелёной и коричневой глазурью (фото автора).

Fig. 26. Polski Gradets settlement. Fragments of Green and Brown Painted Ware (photo by the author).

селениях, расположенных дальше от дорог, например, Караново, Асеновец, Крум, количество художественной керамики минимально.

Сравнительный анализ расписной керамики из с. Полски Градец и Искрица показывает, что в первом поселении керамики больше, кроме того, она более разнообразна. При этом снова возникает вопрос о причинах такого положения. Во всяком случае, однако, художественная керамика была достаточно дешевой, чтобы стать достоянием простого деревенского населения не только в Полском Градце, но и в ряде других сёл, в том числе во временных сезонных поселениях. Это снова опровергает мнения, что причина её отсутствия в с. Искрица кроется в финансовых возможностях жителей крепости, тем более что там есть роскошные украшения, которые намного дороже художественной керамики. Все это также ставит вопрос о путях и способах доставки привозных товаров в поселения византийского культурного ареала и за его пределы. Правильное решение этого вопроса требует серьезного анализа всех материалов из указанной территории. Такой анализ, с одной стороны, позволит очертить пути распространения товаров, с другой стороны, — уточнить их хронологию на базе обособленных групп из одних и тех же производственных центров. Таким образом можно будет решить и ряд вопросов, связанных с торговыми связями в Византийской империи и за её пределами.

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Импортная византийская сграффито керамика из средневековых поселений в Болгарском Причерноморье

Keywords: Bulgaria, 12th—14th c., Black Sea towns, glazed pottery, Byzantine import, sgraffito pottery

Ключевые слова: Болгария, XII—XIV вв., причерноморские города, поливная керамика, византийский импорт, сграффито

M. Manolova-Vojkova

Import of Byzantine Sgraffito Pottery in the Medieval Towns of Bulgarian Black Sea Coast

The paper makes an overview of the imported Byzantine sgraffito pottery distributed in the towns along the Bulgarian Black Sea coast from the end of the 11th—12th century until the end of the 14th century. These are the following types: "Fine sgraffito ware", "Painted fine sgraffito", "Incised sgraffito" "Champlevé ware" and "Elaborate incised ware". Forms of vessels, specific decoration and designs are described. Their chronology is based on analogies with similar finds from Byzantine territories.

М. Манолова-Войкова

Импортная византийская сграффито керамика из средневековых поселений в Болгарском Причерноморье

Рассматриваются основные типы импортной византийской поливной керамики с орнаментом сграффито, распространенные в причерноморских болгарских городах в период начиная с рубежа XI—XII вв. и до конца XIV в. Это следующие типы, согласно английской терминологии: «Fine sgraffito ware», «Painted fine sgraffito», «Incised sgraffito» «Champlevé ware» и «Elaborate incised ware». Подробно описаны представленные формы посуды, сюжеты и особенности орнаментации, свойственные каждому типу, приводятся их датировки на основании аналогий с находками на византийской территории.

Значительный ввоз византийской поливной керамики в города Западного Причерноморья естественно обусловлен близостью Константинополя и стабильными экономическими контактами с ним. В сущности, культура этих поселений осталась византийской, даже в те периоды, когда они входили в состав Болгарского государства. Керамические находки являются красноречивым выражением сильного византийского влияния на быт побережья. Импортная глазурованная посуда, которую во внутренних частях болгарских земель считали роскошью, здесь распространена намного шире и включает в себя почти все описанные в литературе категории керамики из белой и красной глины. Музейные коллекции такой керамики в Каварне, Балчике, Варне, Несебре, Бургасе и Созополе впечатляюще богаты, но все еще мало известны. До сих пор опубликована всего лишь их малая часть (Cimbuleva 1980: 202—253; Кузев 1974: 155—168; 1980: 19—24; Kuzev 2003: 77—80; Манолова 2000: 1—15; Манолова-Войкова 1998—1999 (2003): 208—225; Манолова-Войкова, Костова 2005: 101—113; Манолова-Войкова и др. 2007: 164—176).

Византийское сграффитто является одной из самых интересных категорий импорта,

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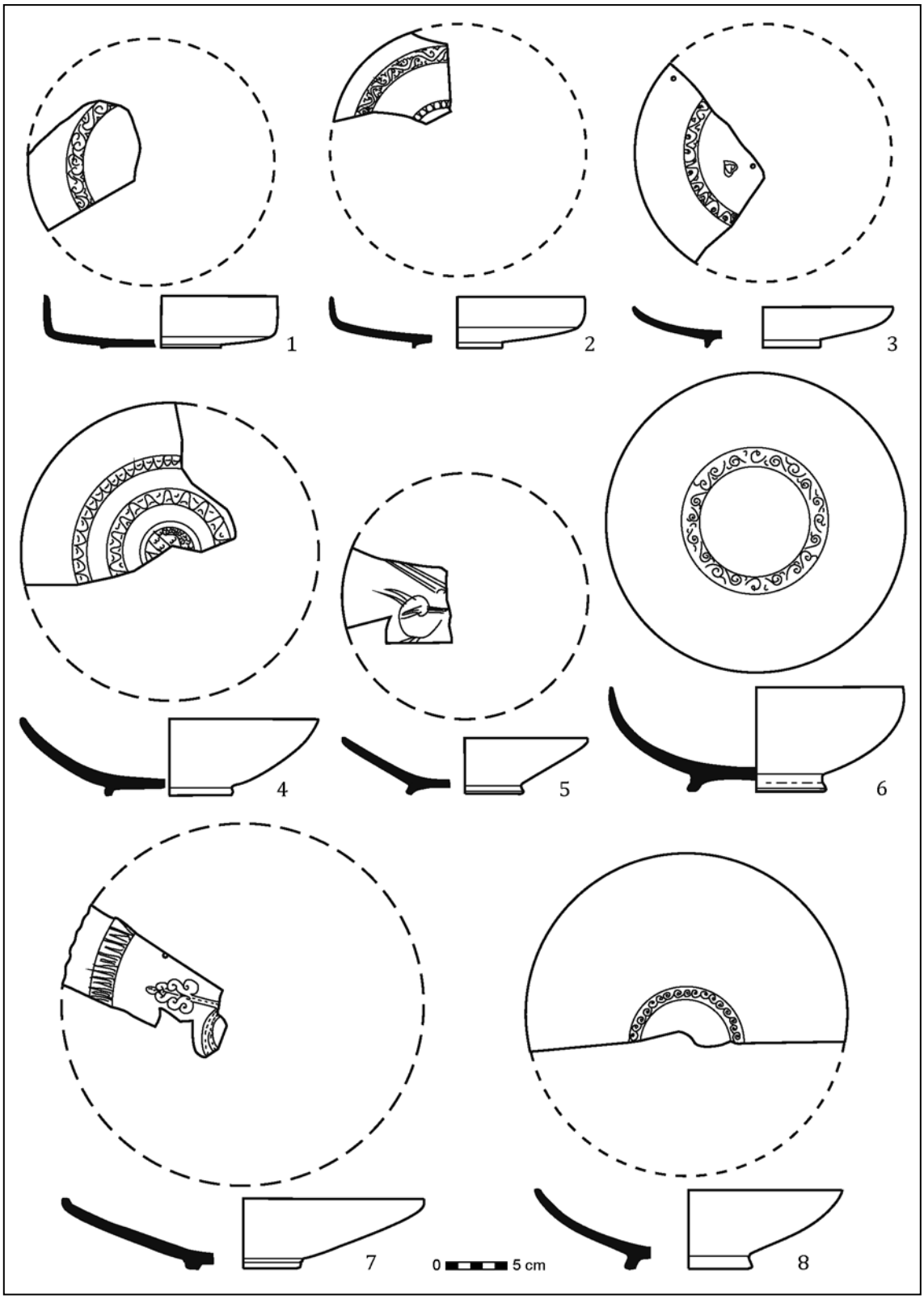

Рис. 1. Византийская импортная керамика типа «Fine sgraffito ware»: 1, 3—7 — Варна; 2, 8 — Несебыр.

Fig. 1. Byzantine Fine sgraffito ware: 1, 3—7 — Varna; 2, 8 — Nesebăr.

который появляется на болгарском побережье еще в конце XI — начале XII вв. и распространяется до XIV в. Можно выделить его основные типы, о которых далее пойдет речь: «Fine sgraffito ware», «Painted fine sgraffito», «Champlevé ware», «Incised sgraffito»

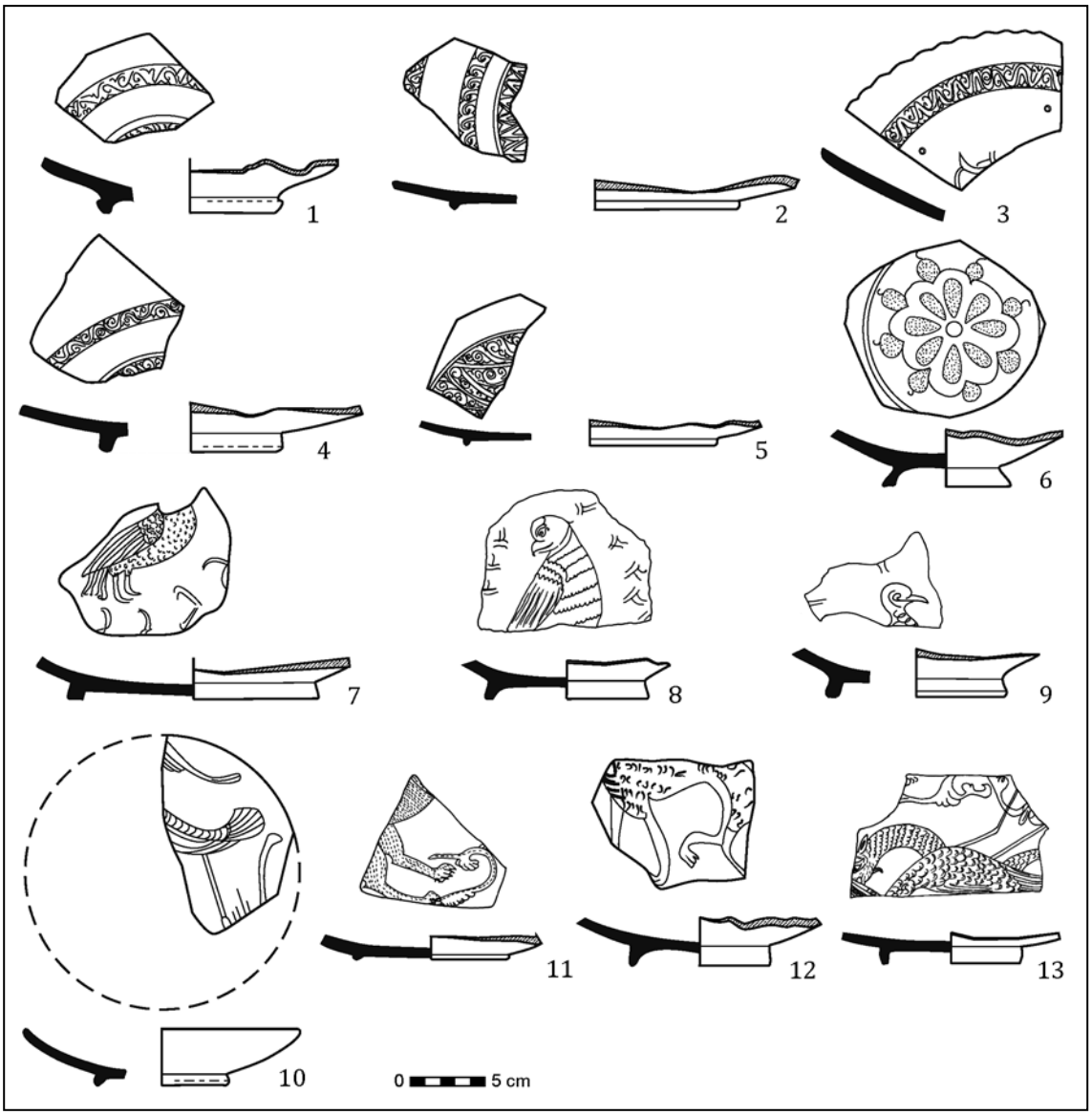

Рис. 2. Византийская импортная керамика типа «Fine sgraffito ware»: 1, 6 — Несебыр; 2—5, 8—11, 13 — Варна; 7, 12 — Ахтопол.

Fig. 2. Byzantine Fine Sgraffito Ware: 1, 6 — Nesebăr; 2—5, 8—11, 13 — Varna; 7, 12 — Akhtopol.

и «Elaborate incised ware»[1]. Описанные здесь образцы — только небольшая часть коллекций, но всё же они дают полное представление о характере и распространении византийского керамического импорта. Надо отметить, что большинство находок, к сожалению, обнаружено случайно в море или является частью материалов старых исследований и не имеет ясных стратиграфических данных об их нахождении, поэтому их датировка базируется на аналогиях с материалами, найденными на византийских территориях.

[1] Во избежание неясностей, наименования типов соответствуют принятым в литературе английским терминам.

Fine Sgraffito Ware

Самый ранний класс керамики сграффито, проникший на западное черноморское побережье, — это «Fine sgraffito ware» (рис. 1; 2). Украшения нанесены тонким острием, которое насекает только поверхностный слой ангоба. У блюд нет дополнительных украшений. Часто они покрыты ангобом целиком, а глазурь почти бесцветная или светло-желтого оттенка. Формы блюд иллюстрируют типы, которые чаще всего встречаются в XII в. К первому относятся мелкие, широко открытые блюда с очень низким поддоном (рис. 1: 1, 2; 2: 2, 5, 11). Эта форма характерна для ранних стилевых групп Коринфа —

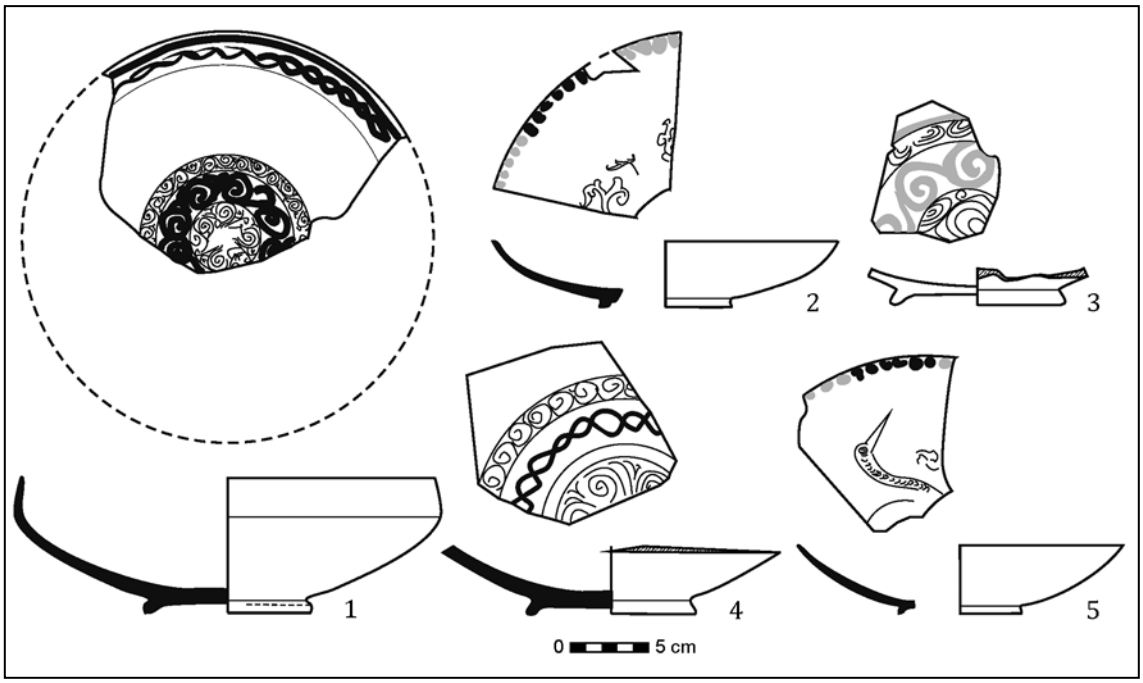

Рис. 3. Византийская импортная керамика типа «Painted fine sgraffito»: 1—3, 5 — Варна; 4 — Поморие.

Fig. 3. Byzantine Painted Fine Sgraffito: 1—3, 5 — Varna; 4 — Pomorie.

«Fine style», «Spiral style» и «Developed style», ее также можно увидеть на некоторых экземплярах конца XI — второй половины XII вв., найденных в Коринфе (Morgan 1942: fig. 91: b; 95: a, b; 103: a-d, f), в Константинополе (Hayes 1992: fig. 17: 1, 2) и среди сосудов кораблекрушения у Алонисоса (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999: Cat. №134, 136, 138—141, 143—145, 149, 151—153, 157, 159). У второго типа блюд низкое, широкое, открытое тело в форме перевернутого усеченного конуса. Поддоны немного выше, чем у первого типа, но не выше 1 см (рис. 1: 5, 7; 2: 10). К третьему типу, самому распространенному среди византийской художественной керамики, относятся миски с телом в виде полусферы на невысоком или средневысоком поддоне (рис. 1: 4, 6, 8).

Узор блюд демонстрирует самые характерные для византийского сграффито стили и мотивы, а его композиция следует двум основным принципам. Обычно композиция строится из горизонтальных фризов, расположенных концентрическими кругами вокруг центрального медальона. Как фризы, так и медальон тонко гравированы стилизованным растительным орнаментом и спиралями (рис. 1: 1—4, 6, 8; 2: 1—5). Эта система декорации хорошо известна по серии находок на территории Греции и Турции, датированных первой половиной XII в. (Morgan 1942: pl. XLII: a, c, d, g, Fig. 96; Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999: Cat. №10, 145, 146, 148; Hayes 1992: 44, pl.11: e). Подобно этому и коринфское производство так называемого «Spiral style», которое Чарльз Морган относит к первой четверти XII в. (Morgan 1942: 120—123).

В другом стиле сделана роспись группы блюд, где мотивы свободно расположены на всей поверхности их внутренней стороны (рис. 1: 5, 7; 2: 7—13). В центре композиции обычно находится изображение животного или птицы, вокруг него — сильно растянутые листья, похожие на пальмовые (рис. 2: 10, 11, 13), а в некоторых случаях — сильно стилизованные растительные орнаменты, представленные только парой пересекающихся линий (рис. 2: 7—9). Гравюры птиц изображены реалистично, а тонкий рисунок связывает их с представительными образцами середины XII в. (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999: cat. №12, 138—140; Morgan 1942: pl. XLII: a-c; The Glory of Byzantium 1997: 265, cat. no. 187; Talbot Rice 1958: fig. 25: c), известными в литературе как «Developed style». К сожалению, большинство изображений не очень хорошо сохранилось, что затрудняет их интерпретацию. Образец на одном фрагменте можно определить как птицу (рис. 2: 10), а другие две фигуры изображают льва и пантеру (рис. 2: 11, 12). В духе «Developed style» создана одна из самых интересных гравюр из Варны (рис. 2: 13). Насколько можно рассмотреть, вероятнее всего, речь идет о борьбе

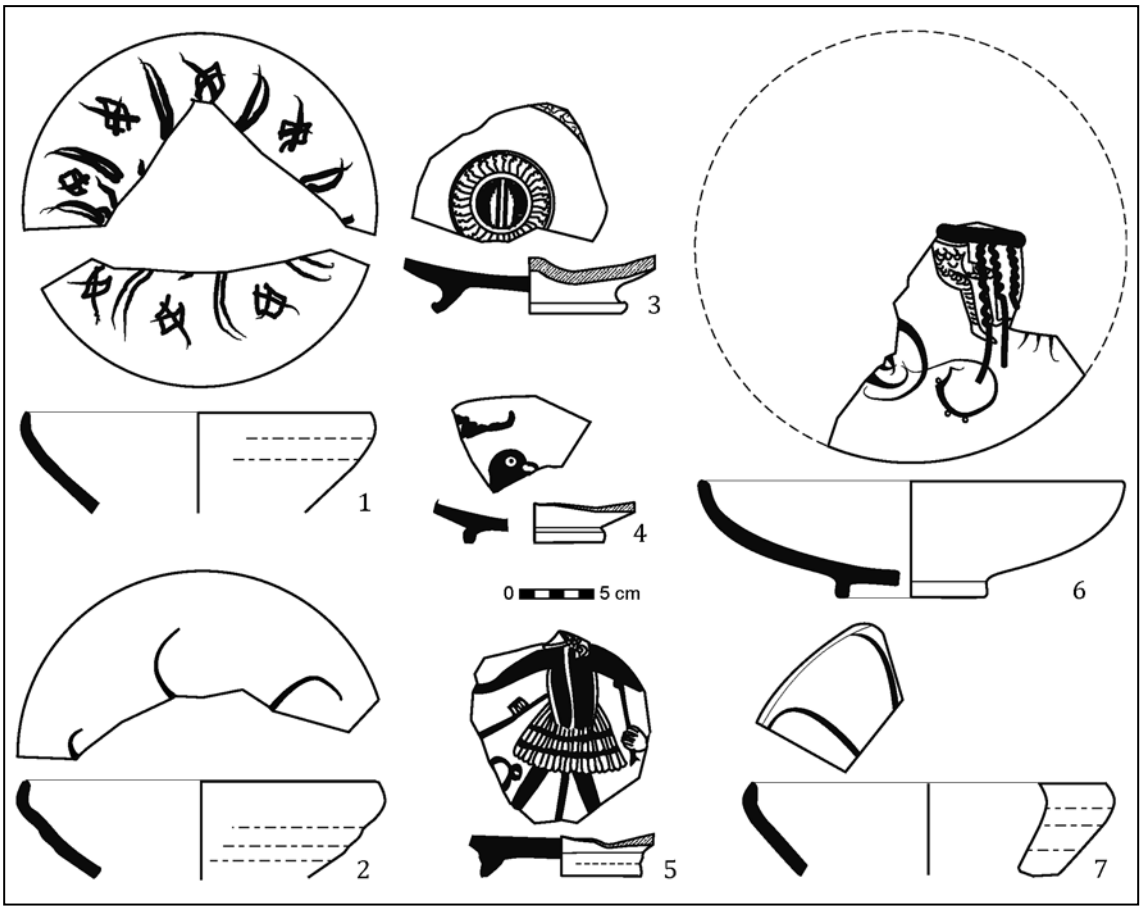

Рис. 4. Византийская импортная керамика типа «Incised sgraffito»: 1, 2 — Балчик; 3—4, 6 — Варна; 5 — Поморие; 7 — Дебелт.

Fig. 4. Byzantine Incised Sgraffito: 1, 2 — Balchik; 3—4, 6 — Varna; 5 — Pomorie; 7 — Debelt.

змеевидного дракона с павлином. Голова дракона очень напоминает голову, изображённую на блюде XII в. из Афинской агоры, где зверь представлен вместе с Дигенисом Акритом (Даркевич 1975: 253, рис. 373). Павлин изображен со сложенными крыльями, оперение передано тонко врезанными парами арковидных линий. Вокруг животных свободно нанесены растительные мотивы. Прямые аналоги этой сцены не известны среди образцов художественной керамики, но на дне одной серебряной миски изображен тот же сюжет (Даркевич 1975: 360).

Painted Fine Sgraffito

«Painted fine sgraffito» (рис. 3) эффектно сочетает тонко гравированный орнамент с глазурованным рисунком зеленого и/или коричневого цвета. Покрывающая поверхность глазурь бесцветная и нанесена тонким слоем. Она охватывает декорированную внутреннюю часть или всю поверхность сосуда. Резные орнаменты повторяют композиции «Fine sgraffito», но колорит обогащен скромными рисованными орнаментами — переплеты, волнообразные и прямые линии или спирали. У большенства блюд, похожие на предыдущий тип, формы. Они мелкие и широкие, с низкими поддонами (рис. 3: 2, 5). В то же время, встречаются и сосуды более характерные для поздней керамики сграффито. У них низкий поддон, конусообразное тело и высокое, слегка изогнутое горлышко (рис. 3: 1). Находки типа «Painted fine sgraffito» можно найти почти во всех крупных византийских городах XII в. на территории нынешней Греции (Frantz 1938: fig. 5; Bakirtzis, Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1981: 425, fig. 6; Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999: cat. №19—28), Турции (Volbach 1930: 194, Taf. 18; Stevenson 1947: pl. 25: 15; Hayes 1992: 46, pl. 11: g; Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: 124), Северной Добруджи (Barnea 1967: fig. 149: 10—11; 150: 2, 11; 151: 18; 152: 7, 23—25), Сербии (Бајаловић-Хаџи-Пешић 1997: 151, сл. 4: 1—3; Babič 1971: cat. 13; Bajalovič-Hadži-Pešič 1979: 64—67) и Южной России (Макарова 1967: табл. VIII: 5). Близкие парал-

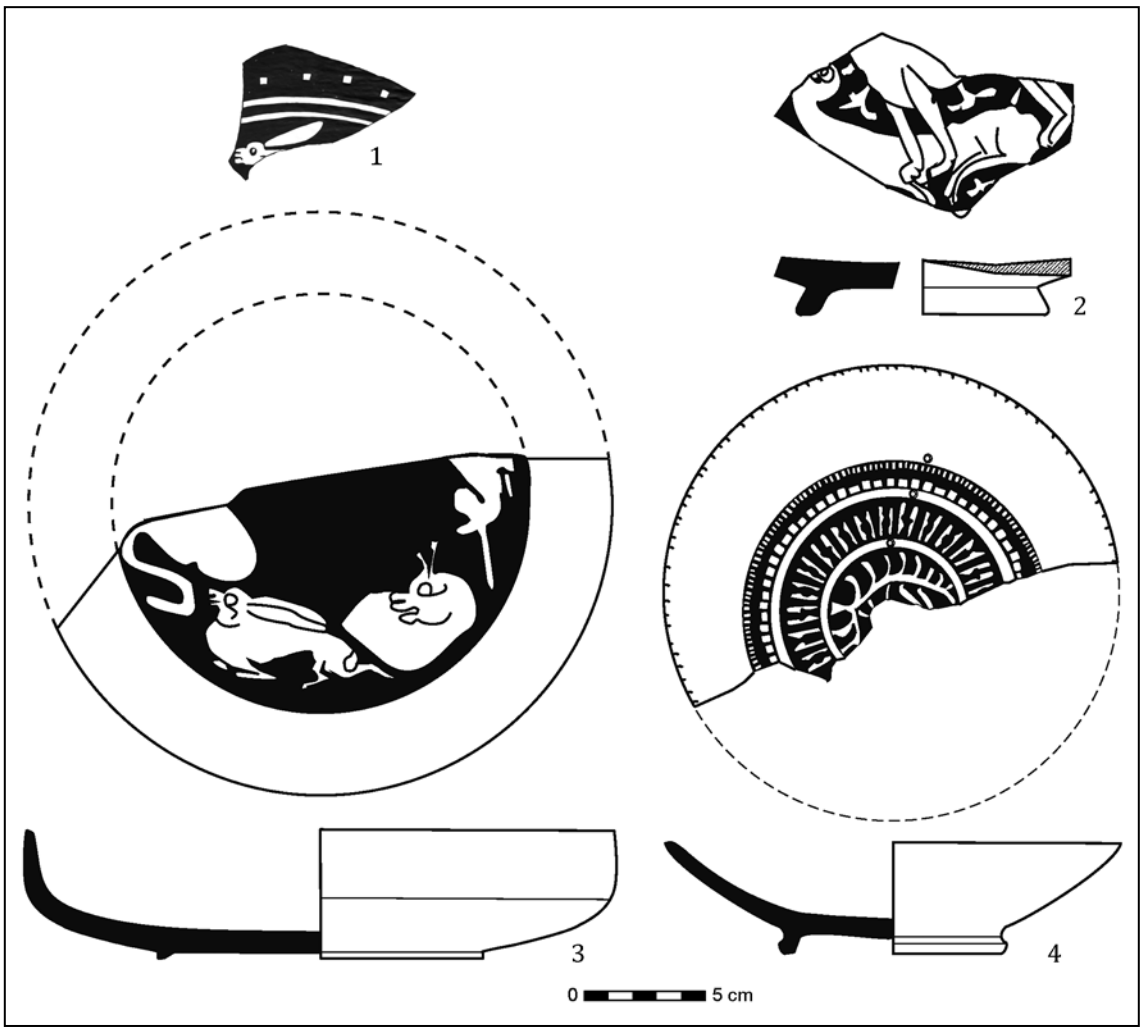

Рис. 5. Византийская импортная керамика типа «Champlevé ware»: 1, 4 — Варна; 2 — Поморие; 3 — Балчик

Fig. 5. Byzantine Champlevé Ware: 1, 4 — Varna; 2 — Pomorie; 3 — Balchik

лели, которые можно сделать между болгарскими сосудами и вышеуказанными находками дает нам основание датировать их тем же периодом.

Incised Sgraffito

Фрагменты, относящиеся к этому классу, принадлежат плоскодонным сосудам с толстыми стенками (рис. 4: 6) или глубоким мискам со слегка отогнутым внутрь венчиком (рис. 4: 1, 2, 7). Внутренняя поверхность покрыта плотным слоем белого ангоба и светло-желтой глазурью. У некоторых находок внешняя сторона полита разреженным ангобом. Отличительной чертой «Incised sgraffito» является более широкая и глубокая линия насечки. Узор расположен свободно по всей поверхности сосуда и включает в себя сильно стилизованные растительные и геометрические орнаменты, животных, птиц или человеческие фигуры. Особый интерес представляют изображения людей, которые сравнительно редко встречаются на болгарском побережье. Представленные здесь два фрагмента слишком малы для восстановления всей композиции. На одном видны ноги и нижняя часть мужского тела (рис. 4: 6). Рисунок несоразмерный, на нем небрежно обозначена облегающая тело одежда с поясом или ремнем. Более тщательной отделкой отличается дно из Анхиала (рис. 4: 5). По всей вероятности, на нем изображен воин — сюжет, ставший популярным в последней четверти XII и начале XIII вв. (Morgan 1942: pl. XLIX; Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999: cat. 34—37, 203—206, 209). Техника отделки и характер декора относят эти находки с болгарского побережья к одной широко распространенной и разнородной группе, датированной в разных районах — от Южной Франции и Италии до Крыма, Палестины и Сирии — второй половиной

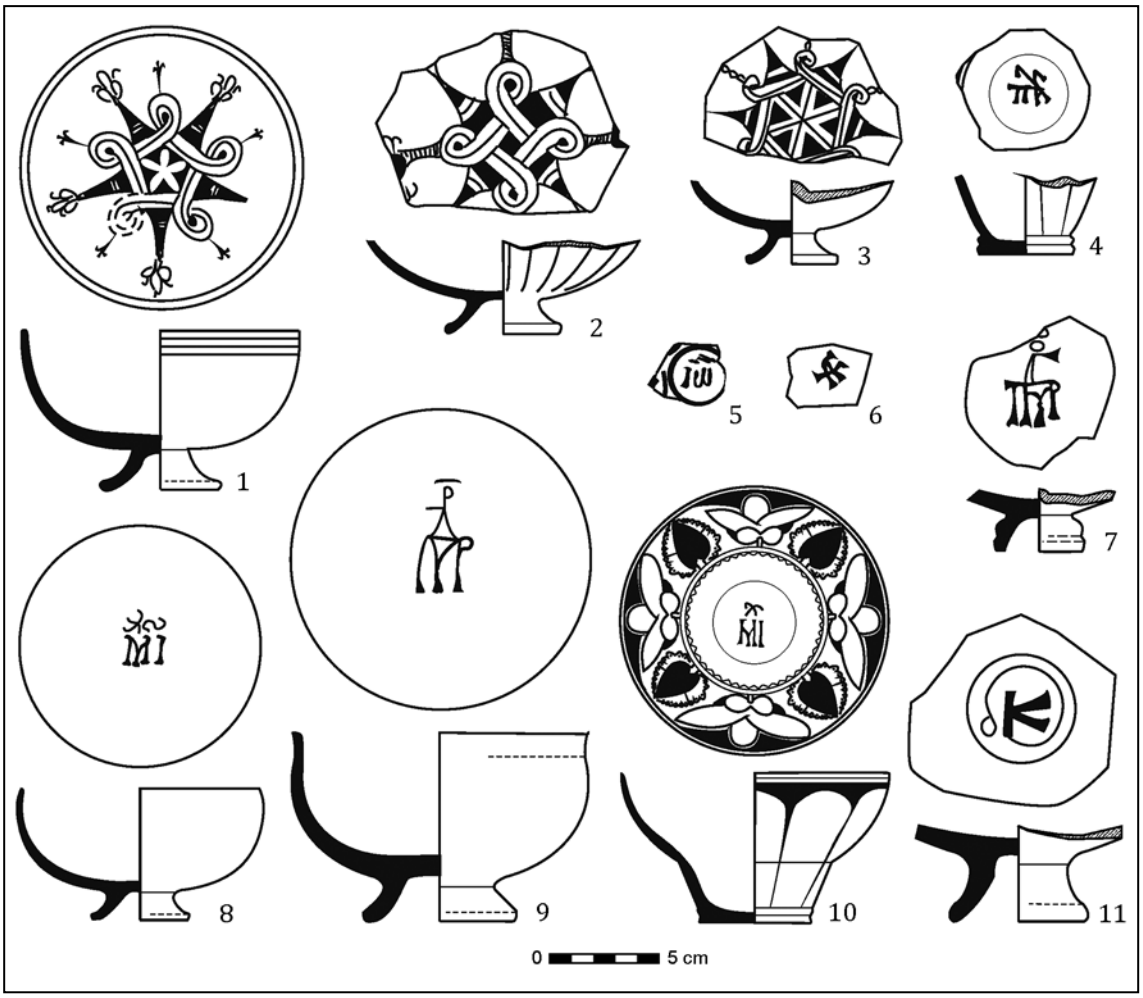

Рис. 6. Византийская импортная керамика типа «Elaborate incised ware»: 1, 4—6, 8, 10—11 — Варна; 2—3, 7 — Чиракмана; 9 — Ахтопол.

Fig. 6. Byzantine Elaborated Incised Ware: 1, 4—6, 8, 10—11 — Varna; 2—3, 7 — Chirakmana; 9 — Akhtopol.

XII и началом XIII вв. (Megaw 1975: 35—45; Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999: 19—20; Stevenson 1947: 50—52; Philotheou, Michailidou 1989: 173—176; Parman 1989: 287; Якобсон 1979: 128—131; Peduto 1993: 194; Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: 131—133; Vroom 2005: 90—91).

Champlevé Ware

Импорт «Champlevé ware» (рис. 5) сравнительно небольшой по объему, но его считали роскошью и высоко ценили, что можно видеть по заделанным трещинам на некоторых экземплярах (рис. 5: 4). Большинство форм — это мелкие и широкие блюда на низком поддоне с вертикальным горлышком (рис. 5: 3). Эта форма копирует модель раннего сграфитто конца XI — начала XII вв., но сосуды делаются более толстостенными. Встречаются и более глубокие конусовидные миски. Внутренняя поверхность сосудов покрыта плотным слоем ангоба и бледно-желтой глазурью. Часто на внешней стороне сосуда тоже встречаются следы разбавленного ангоба и глазури. Орнаменты оформлены устранением широких полей ангоба вокруг них, при этом они выделяются своим более светлым цветом на фоне темной глины. Отделка узора исключительно тонка, особенно там, где оформлены мелкие детали. Орнаментальные композиции в виде геометрических фигур, стилизованных растительных и куфических элементов, используются сравнительно редко (рис. 5: 4). Большей популярностью пользуются изображения животных, представленных в медальонной рамке или занимающих широкий сектор поверхности сосуда. Среди самых характерных мотивов — фигура зайца с подчеркнуто длинными ушами и острой мордой (рис. 5: 1). Подобные изображения можно увидеть на множестве находок конца XII — начала XIII вв. из византийской сто-

лицы (Talbot Rice 1965: Fig. 33; Hayes 1992: Pl. 11: 1; Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Taf. 68: 123; 69: 126) и ряда поселений в Греции (Sanders 1993: Pl. 23: 7; Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999: cat. 60—61, 63—66). Наиболее впечатляющим образцом с болгарского побережья является блюдо из Балчика, чье дно украшено фризом из изображений животных. Из них хорошо видны только два — зайца и оленя. Силуэты тонко вырезаны, а анатомические детали дополнительно гравированы тонкой линией. Прямой аналог этому сюжету нам неизвестен, но тщательная отделка изображений связывает блюдо из Балчика с находками из Коринта (Morgan 1942: Pl. LIII: j; Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999: cat. 208, 210, 212), датированными концом XII — началом XIII в.

Elaborate Incised Ware

Византийский импорт второй половины XIII и XIV вв. включает в основном керамику типа «Elaborate incised ware» (рис. 6), хорошо известную из исследований в Константинополе, Греции и Причерноморском регионе (François 2005: 195—208). Формы однотипные и представлены двумя видами маленьких мисок. Первый вид — полусферическое тело на элегантно оформленной длинной ножке (рис. 6: 1—3, 8, 9, 11). Второй вид — глубокое колоколовидное тело и плоское дно (рис. 6: 4, 10). Орнаменты исключительно сложные. Изображены пяти- или шестиконечные звезды, окруженные сложными плетеными композициями, или т.н. «interlace pattern» (рис. 6: 1—3). Эти характерные композиции дополняются растительными орнаментами. С исторической и археологической точки зрения особый интерес представляют фрагменты и сосуды с монограммами. Основные типы монограмм с болгарского побережья уже опубликованы (Кузев 1974: 155—168). Самыми распространенными среди них являются легированные буквы ΔIMTPOC — по всей вероятности, это сокращение имени ΔIMITPIOC (рис. 6: 7, 9); сокращения имен MIXANΛ (рис. 6: 8, 10) и IΩAN (рис. 6: 5); монограмма Палеологов (рис. 6: 4); буквы «А» и «К» (рис. 6: 6, 11).

* * *

Импортная керамика сграффито является основным типом столовой посуды на поселениях болгарского побережья до конца XIV в. Даже после появления местного производства (в середине XII в. во Фракии, а к северу от Старой Планины в начале XIII в.), приток византийских изделий не иссякает. «Zeuxippus» — единственная категория XIII в., которая все еще слабо изучена и знакома только по одиночным образцам из Несебра[2]. Все остальные классы сграфитто ввозились в больших количествах. Из поселений на побережье они проникают во внутренние области болгарских земель и оказывают значительное влияние на формирование местного художественного стиля.

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Stone-Paste Ceramics from Tarnovgrad — the Capital of the Second Bulgarian Kingdom

Keywords: Second Bulgarian kingdom, Tsarevets, Trapezitsa, stone-paste (Qashan) ceramics, trade, Golden Horde, Mamlūk Egypt

Ключевые слова: Второе Болгарское царство, Царевец, Трапезица, кашинная керамика, торговля, Золотая Орда, Мамлюкский Египет

K. Chakarov, D. Rabovyanov

Stone-Paste Ceramics from Tarnovgrad — the Capital of the Second Bulgarian Kingdom

This study if focused on pieces of the so called stone-paste (Qashan) ceramics, found during archaeological excavations on the two citadels in the capital of the Second Bulgarian kingdom. Most of the findings are sherds that come from the Southern part of Trapezitsa. There is also a restored bowl found at area 14 at Tsarvets. Their context is dated to the 13th—14th century. Not numerous artifacts of this kind, among the ceramic assemblage in this context, as stone-paste ware, Celadon ware and Western majolica ware, show that import of decorated luxory ceramic wares to the Bulgarian capital was limited.

The examples of stone-paste wares presented here were made at important production centres of the Golden Horde in the Lower Volga region and at the workshops of Mamluk Egypt. These evidences of distant trade connections are exotic exceptions among the art ware ceramic assemblage of medieval Tarnovo.

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Кашинная керамика из средневековой болгарской столицы Тырново

Исследование сосредоточено на находках кашинной керамики, обнаруженных во время археологических раскопок в двух цитаделях столицы Второго Болгарского Царства Тырново. Эти фрагменты происходят с южной террасы Трапезица и частично сохранились на участке №14 Царевец, все они датируются XIII—XIV веками. Их небольшое количество в керамическом комплексе столицы Болгарии отражает ограниченный характер импорта художественной керамики, что относится и к другим ее видам, как восточного происхождения (кашин, селадон), так и западного (майолика).

Представленные в статье изделия из кашинной керамики из цитаделей Трапезица и Царевец происходят из крупных производственных центров Золотой Орды (Поволжья) и из пределов Мамлюкского султаната. Эти свидетельства дальних торговых связей болгарской столицы являются экзотическими исключениями в комплексе художественной керамики из Тырново.

Stone-paste ceramics is an exception among the ceramic assemblage of the capital of the Second Bulgarian kingdom. Usually it has been hardy identified and pieces found at sites conquered by the Ottoman period have been interpreted as faience of Eastern origin. By publishing materials with clear context, the authors hope they will contribute and add some new facts to the information about the variety of imports of decorated pottery in the towns of the Second Bulgarian kingdom, particularly at its capital. The subject of this paper are four shards, found at the second citadel of *Tarnovgrad — Trapezitsa* and a restored bowl from *Tsarevets* — the core of the Bulgarian capital.

The first example is a piece of a bowl with flat, everted rim with rounded edge (fig. 1.). It is covered with transparent glaze that has soft yel-

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Fig. 1. Fragment of a rim of stone-paste ceramic vessel, found at the Southern sector of Trapezitsa: a — inner surface; b — outer surface (photo by D. Rabovyanov).

Рис. 1. Фрагмент венчика кашинного сосуда, найденного в Южном секторе Трапезицы: a — внутренняя поверхность; b — внешняя поверхность (фото Д. Рабовянова).

Fig. 2. Fragment of a body of stone-paste ceramic vessel, found at the Southern sector of Trapezitsa: a — inner surface; b — outer surface (photo by D. Rabovyanov).

Рис. 2. Фрагмент стенки кашинного сосуда, найденного в Южном секторе Трапезицы: a — внутренняя поверхность; b — внешняя поверхность (фото Д. Рабовянова).

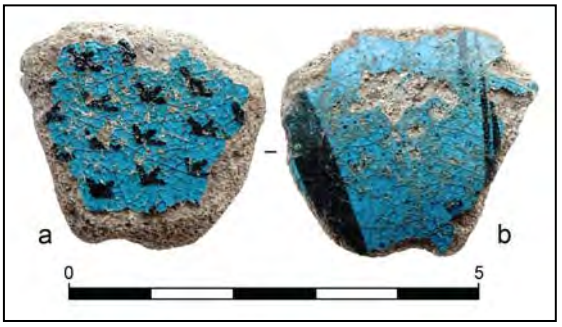

Fig. 3. Fragment of a body of stone-paste ceramic vessel, found at the Southern sector of Trapezitsa: a — inner surface; b — outer surface (photo by D. Rabovyanov).

Рис. 3. Фрагмент стенки кашинного сосуда, найденного в Южном секторе Трапезицы: a — внутренняя поверхность; b — внешняя поверхность (фото Д. Рабовянова).

lowish hue. The decoration is performed by light and dark blue and grey-green colors laid on white ground. A stripe of circumscribed rhombs with peacock feather motif in its centre takes the front surface of the rim. Panels with nets of filled and empty rhombs and oval medallions with floral motifs are presented along the inner part of the vessel. Some parts of the decoration are divided by pairs of vertical and horizontal lines. The decoration of the outer surface consists of vertically elongated narrow grey-green brush lines.

The fragment has white granular highly friable fabric. It was found on the stone pavement of a large dwelling (No 4) dated to the second half of the 14th century. This living quarter covered the Southern terrace of *Trapezitsa*.[1]

The decoration style resembles on the Underglaze-painted panel ware, made in Ilkhan Iran (Haddon 2011: cat. number 1.5.3.8a, b). Still, it is more similar to the 14th century stone-paste ceramics with underglaze polychrome decoration, found at the so-called Uveksko gorodishte in Ukek, near Saratov, Lower Volga region (Матюхина, Моржерин 2005: 110—112).

The second piece is a wall fragment of a cup or a bowl (fig. 2), covered with transparent turquoise glaze and dark painted floral motifs underneath it. There is a stylized floral wreath with rounded outline, framed with a row of dots. In the spaces in between, it has stylized lotus flowers with narrow elongated brush lines.

The fragment has white granular highly friable fabric. It is found in a rubbish-hill, accumulated on the rock cliff in front of the Southern fortress wall of *Trapezitsa* during the 80—90s of

[1] The shard was enlisted into the field inventory book under No 176c. Now it is kept at the stores of the Regional museum of History in Veliko Tarnovo.

Fig. 4. Fragment of a body of stone-paste ceramic vessel, found at earth depot of previous excavations of the Southern sector of Trapezitsa: a — inner surface; b — outer surface (photo by D. Rabovyanov).

Рис. 4. Фрагмент стенки кашинного сосуда, найденного на месте предыдущих раскопок южного сектора Трапезицы: a — внутренняя поверхность; b — внешняя поверхность (фото Д. Рабовянова).

Fig. 5. Stone-paste ceramic vessel, found in area no. XIV at Tsarevets, 14th c.: a — original inner surface without restoration; b — inner surface after restoration (photo and drawing by K. Chakarov).

Рис. 5. Кашинный сосуд, найденный в раскопе XIV, Царевец, XIV в.: a — оригинальная внутренняя поверхность без реставрации; b — внутренняя поверхность после реставрации (фото и рисунок К. Чакырова).

the 14th century (Рабовянов 2015: 289, № 1877, Табло 97).[2]

The style of the well done decoration finds parallels among the Iranian 14th century ceramics (Коваль 2010: 38—39; Кубанкин, Сергеева 2013: 263—264, рис. 3). Nonetheless, the decorative motifs do not put into any question the fact that the vessel comes from the production centres of the Golden horde in the Lower Volga basin. Almost identical decoration is found on a 14th century stone-paste cup from the above mentioned workshops (Лисова 2012: рис. 12). One more example, which has a bird surrounded by floral motifs, is found in the coeval layers at Ukek (Матюхина, Моржерин 2005: 112—113, рис. 5: 7). Quite similar is the ornamentation of a fragment of close mouthed vessel with a picture of running rabbits from the excavations of Saraychyq (Haddon 2011, cat. number 2.5.11).

[2] The shard was enlisted into the field inventory book under No 1129. Now it is kept at the stores of Regional museum of History in Veliko Tarnovo.

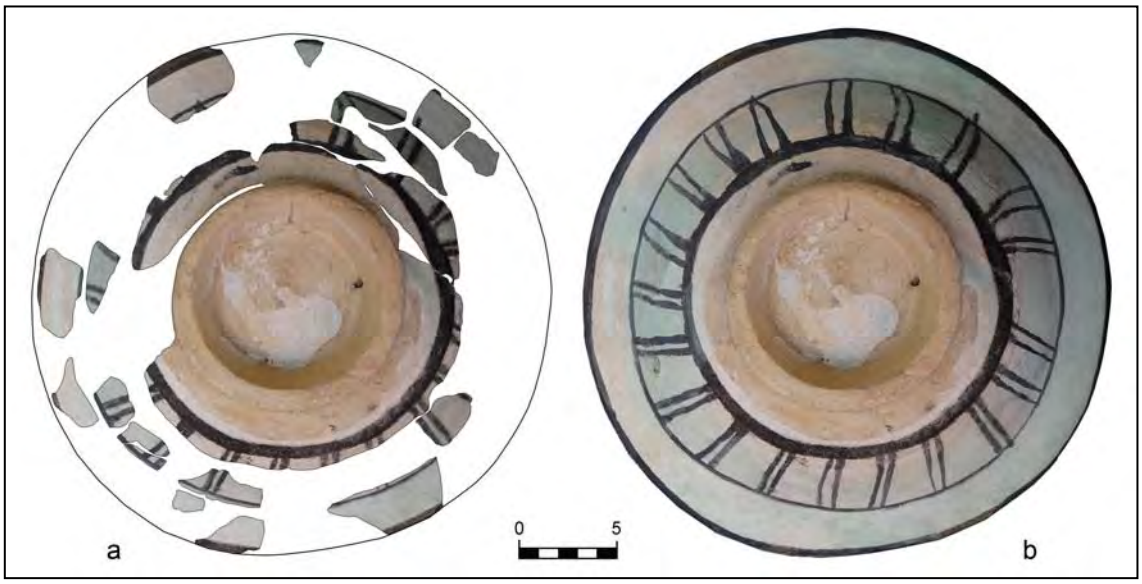

Fig. 6. Stone-paste ceramic vessel, found in area no. XIV at Tsarevets area, 14th c.: a — original outer surface without restoration; b — outer surface after restoration (photo and drawing by K. Chakarov).

Рис. 6. Кашинный сосуд, найденный в раскопе XIV, Царевец, XIV в.: a — оригинальная внешняя поверхность без реставрации; b — внешняя поверхность после реставрации (фото и рисунок К. Чакырова).

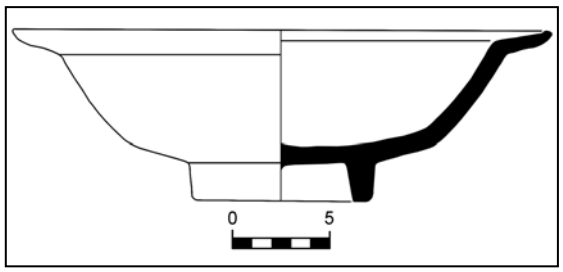

Fig. 7. Stone-paste vessel, found in area no. XIV at Tsarevets, 14th c. (drawing by K. Chakarov).

Рис. 7. Кашинный сосуд, найденный в раскопе XIV, Царевец, XIV в. (рисунок К. Чакырова).

Fig. 8. Incised graffito on the inner surface of the ring of a stone-paste ceramic vessel, found in area no. XIV at Tsarevets, 14th c. (photo and drawing by K. Chakarov).

Рис. 8. Граффито на внутренней поверхности поддона кашинного сосуда, найденного в раскопе XIV, Царевец, XIV в. (фото и рисунок К. Чакырова).

Another parallel is a part of a bowl for rose water, found at the same site (Haddon 2011: cat. number 2.5.10).

The last fragment of stone-past ceramics that comes from the excavations of the Southern area of *Trapezitsa*[3] is another piece of open mouthed vessel, a cup or a bowl (fig. 3). It is decorated with the same technique as the previous one — black painting under turquoise glaze. The inner surface reveals a panel of stylized floral motifs and the outer wide and narrow vertical stripes — probably stylized lotuses.

The fragment has the same fabric as the aforementioned. It comes from a layer with earlier materials, used as a floor level of the northern premise of a dwelling that was built in the 80es of the 14th century. The building is one of the latest ones in the residential quarter on the Southern terrace of *Trapezitsa* citadel (Рабовянов 2016). The decoration and mainly its motifs connect this fragment to the 14th century production centres of the Golden horde on the Volga river basin (Лисова 2012: табл. 22: 15). An identical 14th

[3] Two more fragments have been excavated at the Southern area of the fortress. They are found over the pavement of the main street that goes along the Southern part of *Trapezitsa* and the so-called Western square. Both of them date in the second half of the 14th century. The small size, poor condition and the lack of decoration are the reason why they are just mentioned in the study. They are covered with transparent turquoise glaze either and have the same fabric.

century bowl was found during the excavations of A. Tereshchenko at Gulistan Sarai, now kept at the Hermitage in Saint Petersburg under inventory No Cap-268 (Dschingis 2005: № 271).

One more fragment of stone-paste cup or bowl has been found at *Trapezitsa* (fig. 4). It comes from an old earth depot of previous excavations on the Southern terrace of hill. It is covered with transparent light blue glaze, while the painting is performed in indigo-like blue color. A frieze of hatched triangles with peacock feathers rising in between them is represented on the inner surface. The decoration on the outer part consists of narrow horizontal and diagonal brush lines with single spots close to them. The fabric doesn't differ from the one of the already presented pieces.

There is no doubt that the decorative motifs show that the shard belongs to a vessel painted in the flower and peacock style, widespread in the towns of the Golden horde in Volga basin. Most probably this fragment is a base of frieze of feathers depicted on the walls of a bowl. Similar vessel was found in 1969 by G. Fyodorov-Davidov at Selitrenoe gorodishte. Now this example is kept at the Astrakhan museum under inventory No 16257/26A 7551 (Haddon 2011: cat. number 2.4.1). Another analogous fragment is stored at the museum of Bolgar (Haddon 2011: cat. number 2.4.4).

The most impressive example presented in this paper is a restored vessel discovered during the previous excavations of *Tsaravets* (fig. 5—7). It is a hemispherical bowl with everted rim with horizontally rounded edge and ring base. The color of the fabric after the firing is yellowish-white.[4] The vessel is covered by white slip on its inner and outer surface and is decorated by black and blue colored motifs. The inner surface is covered by transparent glaze and the outer by light blue one. There is a *T K ω* monogram (in ligature) incised after the firing on the inner surface of the ring and partly on the very bottom of the vessel (fig. 8).

The bowl was "found" into fragments at the store of the Ancient ceramic centre near Pavlikeni[5]. It comes from area XIV on *Tsarevets* excavated in 1972 by V. Valov.[6] This place is a narrow terrace on the Western slope of the hill lying right behind the Western curtain wall of the citadel. Probably the vessel was found in the 3rd or 4th layers of this area, accumulated by the foundations of buildings adjacent to the inner side of the fortification wall. They are generally dated in the 14th century (Вълов 1973: 60).

Besides its preserved shape, the vessel attracts attention due to its exotic, for the archaeology of the Second Bulgarian kingdom, origin. Its shape and decoration have direct parallels to a shallow bowl at the Museum of Islamic ceramics in Cairo. It was done in the so called Mamlūk Underglaze-painted panel style which was common in the first half of the 14th century. The Egyptian example has four triangle panels with pseudoepigraphic and crescent-like motifs (Haddon 2011: 54—56; cat. number 3.3.5a, b). This type of decoration could be found on other 14th century pieces of Mamlūk ceramics (Haddon 2011: cat. number 3.3.8, 3.3.9, 3.3.11).[7]

The *Tsarevets* bowl evokes also the interest with its incised on the inner surface of the ring graffito. The letters *T K ω* are common in both Greek, and Bulgarian Cyrillic alphabet. It shows that the owner was a Christian among those two language commonwealths. The context of the artifact tips the balance to the second assumption. It is hard to guess what the message of this monogram tells. It could be an abbreviation of the owner's name as a sign for his property. The practice of writing different types of graffiti on ceramic vessels is typical for the population of the medieval Bulgarian capital (Ангелов 1980: 120—133, 144—146, 162—165, обр. 140, 157—159; Долмова-Лукановска 2007: 159—160, 260—267, табл. XIV—XVI; Николова, Робов 2005: 111, кат. № 8—30; Попов 1984: 41—50). That fact shows the high level of literacy among the local citizens (Алексиев 1980а: 50; 1980б: 212; Славчев 1991: 64). It should be mentioned that letter monograms are common mainly on the base of table wares — basically on sgraffito ones (Рабовянов 2015: 241—242).

The aim of this paper is limited to the analysis of particular examples from the capital of the Second Bulgarian kingdom and not to comprehensive studying of the stone-paste ceramics in medieval Bulgaria as a whole. To a certain extent, this fact is determined by the uncertain presence of this ceramics at the cities of Second Bulgarian kingdom, and what is the origin of the examples that have been found so far. The already published fragments and vessels have been

[4] Chemical analysis has not been done, but one of the contents is chalk that is visible into the fabric. The litter has white granular highly friable structure.

[5] Now it is kept at the store of the Museum of History at Pavlikeni under inventory number ПИМ А 778.

[6] The mark on the envelop shows that it was found in square XXX/3.

[7] The authors express their gratitude to Dr. Rosalind Wade Haddon for her distance consultation that coincides with their previous conclusion.

presented very generally as context of discovery and date. Usually they have been defined as fragments of faience or semi-faience ware from the Near East. Their production has been related to important production centres as Rey and Kashan in Iran (Георгиева 1985: 158, обр. 61).

The way of penetration of these imports in the Second Bulgarian kingdom is quite interesting. In the not so numerous studies on this subject, Eastern ceramics has been published from the excavations at the king's palace at *Tsarevets* and its presence in this context have been defined as gifts of foreign ambassadors and merchants (Георгиева 1974: 144—146). However the above presented materials and some single published fragments from *Cherven* (Георгиева 1985: 158, обр. 61) and Madara (Миятев 1934: Табло III)[8] show that this luxury ceramics had broader distribution.

The presence of stone-paste ceramics as single finds shows that it was an exotic exception in the variety of artistic ceramics in *Tarnovo*. It should be noted that it's not only for this particular wares but for import ceramics as Italian majolica, Spanish luster ceramics or Chinese porcelain as a whole (Георгиева 1974: 144—146; Рабовянов 2015: 289). Probably one of the reasons is the big diversity of shapes and decoration of the local *Tarnovo* sgraffito that could be enough for satisfying the needs of table ware of the local metropolitan population. Another factor that should be mentioned is that *Tarnovo* is a distant point of the international merchant routes. It is also away from water routs, which have always been main corridors for ceramic trade.

As far as for imports, regardless of their character, always emerges the question of their origin. Four of all published here examples were made at the towns of the Golden horde on Volga basin.[9] It is not a surprise, taking into account that the ceramics of this origin is widespread in the Black sea region and such vessels are presented among published assemblages (Кравченко 1986: 93—95; 1991: 117—119). Obviously by occupying the Western Black sea coast the Second Bulgarian kingdom is not an exception in these market relations and the presence of this particular luxury wares is not surprising.

The vessel made in Mamlūk Egypt is uncommon for the ceramics assemblage from *Tarnovo*. The incised monogram on its ring base reveals a complex history. The question what was the way this ware entered in the Bulgarian capital is hard to be answered. Whether this is a material evidence for the diverse links between Egypt and the Golden horde[10] in the Black sea region or a result of complex distant trade?

There is a lack of evidences about trade relations between Danubian Bulgaria and the Crimean khanate (Кръстев 2010: 284)[11]. On the other hand, records for direct contacts between *Tarnovo* and Cairo are present. In the 70-es of the XIII century[12] the Bulgarian tsaritsa (queen) Maria, the third wife of Tsar Konstantin Tih Asen (1257—1277), sent an embassy to Egypt. The goal of the mission is to receive the sultan's support in the changed relations between Bulgaria and Byzantium after the union of the Western and Eastern churches, caused by the Second council of Lyon in 1272—1274 (Кръстев 2011: 619). The next known proof of Bulgarian mission in Cairo dates in 1330/1331. It was performed during the reign of tsar Ioan Stephan or Ioan Alexander and the third enthroning of sultan An-Nasir Muhammad (1309—1341). This diplomatic mission was sent for the same reason - the sultan's military support against Byzantium. The few written records that mention the embassy reveal that the sultan sent military insignia to the Bulgarian ruler (Кръстев 2011: 630—631). There is no word for trade contacts in these campaigns. However one can suppose that the diplomatic connections between the two states lead to trade relations as well. It has indirect confirmation by the fact that at that moment Egypt was

[8] The personal expectations of the authors are that the publication of this kind of ceramics from other late medieval archaeological sites in Bulgaria will increase.

[9] Technologically they fully correspond to the so-called friable stone-paste ware of the Golden horde (Коваль 2005: 77).

[10] The relations between the Golden horde and Mamlūk Egypt were defined of the complex socio-political context in the Eastern Mediterranean and Circum-Pontic region in 13th—14th century. They depend on the Crusaders states, Byzantium, etc., moreover in 1260 the established two years earlier Hulaguid Ilkhanate became one of the main powers in this region. The relations between Cairo and Crimea had been mainly friendly untill the fall of the Iranian Ilkhanate in 1335, which was the common enemy. After the end of the Ilkhanate many small states that had not been serious threat for Egypt and the Golden horde emerged. It lead to cooling up the relations of the recent friendly states in the following decades. At certain times the political situation has caused restoration of the good terms of communication. At the end of the 14th century the energy of the Golden horde was focused mainly in the fight against the Timur's state, which caused the decline of diplomatic relations with the rest of the states as a whole (Закиров 1966: 3—97).

[11] The authors are grateful to Dr. Konstantin Golev about his consultation on the historical matters for the relations between Danubian Bulgaria, Egypt and the Golden horde at that period.

[12] Probably in 1275 (Салюм 1987: 34) or 1276 (Павлов 1989: 20).

searching for alternative trade routes along the Western Black sea coast, because of the customs duty the Genoas merchants set down in the region of Crimea (Поляк 1964: 47—51). The embassy of 1330/1331 corresponds best to the date of the bowl from *Tsarevets* among all available evidences about Bulgarian-Egyptian relations at that period. Nevertheless linking the vessel to that particular historical moment would be speculative.

The very few examples that come from dated contexts do not allow us to answer the question when exactly the stone-paste ceramics appeared in the Second Bulgarian kingdom. It should be noted that the already presented material was found in 14th century layers. Probably it is not a casual fact and marks the better access this expensive luxury ceramics had, due to the presence of the new and not so distant production centres of the Golden horde on the Volga river basin [13].

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[13] This corresponds to the fact that the mass production of stone-paste ceramics at the towns of the Golden horde started right in 14th century (Коваль 2005).

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Поливная керамика Торговицкого археологического комплекса периода Золотой Орды

Keywords: Golden Horde, Torhovytsia, glazed red-clay ceramics, Qashan ceramics, ornamentation, classification

Ключевые слова: Золотая Орда, Торговица, поливная красноглиняная керамика, кашинная керамика, орнаментация, классификация

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Torhovytsia Archaeological Complex Glazed Ceramics of the Golden Horde Period

Glazed ceramics from monument excavations near Torhovytsia village (Ukraine), which belongs to the Golden Horde urban culture, is introduced in this paper. The classification of ceramic materials has been carried out on the well-established basis; classification criteria are already developed in the literature and include the composition of clay, the transparency and color of the glaze, peculiarities of the decor. Torhovytsia glazed ceramics is divided into glazed red-clay ceramics and the Qashan ceramics.

Torhovytsia red-clay ceramics quantitatively prevails (94.4%) in the composition of glazed ware. Green and yellow colors constitute the basis of the glaze color palette. Sgraffito technique predominates in the decor.

The Qashan ceramics is very rare in Torhovytsia. All of it was brought mostly from the eastern regions of the Golden Horde.

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Поливная керамика Торговицкого археологического комплекса периода Золотой Орды

В научный оборот вводится поливная керамика из раскопок памятника у с. Торговица (Украина), который принадлежит к кругу золотоордынской городской культуры. Классификация керамических материалов осуществлена на основе уже разработанных в специальной литературе критериев, включающих характер формовочной массы, прозрачность и цвет поливы, особенности декора. Торговицкая поливная керамика разделяется на красноглиняную и кашинную.

Красноглиняная керамика из Торговицы количественно преобладает в составе поливной посуды (94,4%). Основу цветовой гаммы поливы составляют зеленый и желтый цвета. В декоре преимущественно используется техника сграффито.

Кашинная керамика в Торговице встречается очень редко. Вся она была привозной из более восточных регионов Золотой Орды.

Торговицкий археологический комплекс принадлежит к кругу памятников золотоордынской городской культуры. Расположен на правом берегу р. Синюха, притока Южного Буга, на площади современного села Торговица Кировоградской области (Украина). Открыт в 1997 году археологической экспедицией Кировоградского государственного педагогического университета под руководством Н. М. Бокий (Бокій, Козир 2002: 90—93).

Населенный пункт здесь зафиксирован в источниках XVII—XVIII вв. Впервые «на речке на Синей воде, 70 верст от Бокга, город Синяя Вода» упоминается в «Книге Большому Чертежу», составленной в 1627 году как комментарий к более ранней московской карте середины XVI века (Сербина 1950: 112). На европейских географических картах Абрагама Ортелия (1602 г.) и Герхарда Меркатора (1628, 1630, 1638 гг.) на правом берегу реки «Синяя Вода» также обозначен

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город «Синяя Вода» (Вавричин и др. 2006: 98—99; 124—125, 140—141, 162—16). У Гийома де Боплана (1665, 1686 гг.) в этом же месте, но на левом берегу Синей Воды значится город Торговица (Вавричин и др. 2009: 42—43; 76—77). На более поздних картах Иоганна Фациуса (1769 г.) и Йозефа Лидла (1772 г.), как и раньше, на правом бегу Синей Воды встречаем населенный пункт Торговицу или характерный знак, обозначающий развалины древнего города, подписанного как Торговица (Вавричин и др. 2009: 186—187; 202—203). Причем у И. Фациуса одно под другим дано два названия реки: «Синяя Вода (Sinawoda)» и «Синюха (Sinucha)».

Более ранняя история города не отражена в исторических источниках. Однако сохранился ряд сведений, которые дают определенную информацию о характере заселения этой местности в то время. Так, крымский хан Сахиб I Герай в 1547 году писал к великому князю литовскому Сигизмунду II Августу, что «урочища… по Богу реце и по Синей Воде… знаки того же предъсе моего Саинъ Цара Езюбекъ Чаанъбекъ Цара кочовища были, якожъ они и до сихъ часовъ у тыхъ кишеняхъ есть похованы и теперь тыи кешени стоятъ» (Книга посольская 1843: 41). Кроме того, в исторической литературе сохранились свидетельства о наличии в Торговице остатков «мечетей босурманских» и мусульманских надгробий с надписями (Петрунь 1928: 164).

Археологические материалы из раскопок у с. Торговицы подтверждают факт существования золотоордынского поселения во времена Узбека и Джанибека, упоминавшихся в письме хана Сахиб I Герая. Многочисленные монетные находки позволяют датировать памятник первой половиной — серединой XIV в. Верхней датой существования города, очевидно, следует считать начало 60-х гг. XIV в. Все серебряные монеты, которые происходят из Торговицы, принадлежат к правлению ханов Токты (1290—1312 гг.), Узбека (1312—1342 гг.), Джанибека (1342—1357 гг.), Бердибека (1357—1359 гг.), Кульпы и Навруза (1359—1360 гг.) (Козубовський 2005: 94; Боровик 2012: 93).

Торговицкий археологический комплекс состоит из собственно населенного пункта (города) и грунтового могильника (Козир 2014: 10—21). Грунтовый могильник находится на окраине современного села на достаточно крутом склоне берега реки. Всего тут исследовано 574 погребения, раскопки могильника продолжаются.

Культурный слой золотоордынского города перекрыт современной застройкой села Торговица, что создает значительные трудности в процессе археологических раскопок. На площади золотоордынского города, там, где возможно было проводить работы, открыто несколько объектов. Пока единственным кирпичным сооружением является баня восточного типа — *hammam*, раскопки которой практически завершаются. Раскрыта большая часть площади строения, останцы внешних и внутренних стен. Система отопления состояла из большой кирпичной сферической печи на каменном фундаменте и отходящих от нее отопительных каналов. В отдельных помещениях бани четко зафиксированы остатки гипокауста.

Исследован также производственный комплекс — мастерская по обжигу керамики. Здесь зафиксированы два горна (двухкамерный и однокамерный), печь, пять тандыров, погребок-тайник, склад огнеупорной глины и искусственный ровик для отвода сточных вод. Мастерская, очевидно, была перекрыта навесом, поскольку никаких остатков стен не зафиксировано, кроме следов нескольких сгоревших деревянных столбов. Судя по находкам, здесь обжигали красноглиняные сосуды и сфероконусы (Козир 2010: 6—14).

Кроме этого, в разных местах Торговицы были сделаны отдельные находки: отрезок линии водопровода, состоящий из секций керамических труб, и два тандыра. Многочисленные шурфы на территории села дали наличие культурного слоя золотоордынского времени. Практически во всех раскопах фиксируются следы пожарища.

В результате многолетних археологических раскопок в с. Торговице накоплен огромный археологический материал: керамика, изделия из железа и цветных металлов, стекла, камня, медные и серебряные монеты. Наиболее многочисленной категорией находок, конечно, является керамика. Ее изучение представляет особый интерес, поскольку золотоордынский город на р. Синюхе находится на северо-западной окраине золотоордынских владений, значительно удаленной от уже хорошо известных очагов городской культуры в Поволжье, городских центров Поднестровья.

Керамический комплекс из Торговицы включает в себя трубы, посуду, сфероконусы, светильники, черепицу и др. Преобладает красноглиняная керамика с различным оформлением поверхности сосудов. Очень мало привозной сероглиняной посуды. Поливная красноглиняная и кашинная керамика, которая рассматривается в настоящей статье, составляет 372 фрагмента (9,8 % от всей посуды,

найденной в Торговице). Наибольшее количество фрагментов поливной посуды происходит из раскопок бани, а также из культурного слоя на площади поселения. Такие находки встречались и в засыпке грунтового могильника. Пока не найдены элементы декора интерьеров или внешней облицовки сооружений, выполненные с использованием технологии глазурования.

Поскольку вся коллекция торговицкой поливной керамики характеризуется полным отсутствием целых форм, то осуществить ее классификацию по видовому признаку не представляется возможным. По отдельным деталям профиля и оформления сосудов можно предположить, что декорирование поливой было характерно только для столовой посуды. Классификация торговицкой поливной керамики произведена на основе уже выработанных в специальных исследованиях критериев и подходов (Булатов 1968: 95—109; 1976: 73—107; Полевой 1969: 145—186; Федоров-Давыдов, Булатов 1989: 133—248).

Красноглиняная поливная керамика

В составе поливной посуды полностью преобладает красноглиняная керамика (94,4%), которая вся найдена в виде обломков. Всего в анализ включен 351 фрагмент поливной красноглиняной керамики.

Формы посуды определяются лишь по отдельным деталям профиля. Большинство изделий изготовлено из той же формовочной массы, что и простая красноглиняная посуда. Тесто достаточно однородное, плотное. В качестве основных примесей использовался шамот, дресва, песок. Часто наблюдаются включения обломочного известняка, иногда — мелкие чешуйки слюды. Последние примеси являются природной составляющей исходного сырья. В изломе преобладает яркий красно-оранжевый (кирпичный) цвет черепка. Хотя есть экземпляры с красно-коричневым, розоватым или красно-желтым черепком. Обжиг равномерный.

Большинство сосудов покрыто монохромной поливой, но иногда наблюдается и сочетание разных цветов или оттенков в одном изделии. В орнаментации торговицкой красноглиняной поливной керамики преобладает гравировка (техника сграффито). Встречается усложнение выгравированного узора полихромной подцветкой. В единичных экземплярах присутствует рельеф, элементы техники «резерва». Самым ярким декором для всей этой посуды, несомненно, служили разноцветные поливы. Их наносили на белый или светлый ангоб и очень редко — непосредственно на красное тесто основы. Поэтому основным критерием, по которому производилась классификация красноглиняной керамики, является цвет поливы.

Коллекция торговицкой поливной красноглиняной керамики фактически состоит из двух отделов: с прозрачной и непрозрачной (глухой) поливой. Практически вся анализируемая посуда относится к первому отделу. Лишь в единичных случаях использовалась непрозрачная (глухая) полива. Таким образом, основные классификационные элементы — это группы, выделяемые по цвету поливы, а в их пределах — типы, выделяемые по особенностям технологии дополнительного декорирования.

Керамика с зеленой поливой

Различные оттенки зеленого цвета преобладают в оформлении красноглиняных поливных керамических изделий из Торговицы (54%). Колеровка поливы в зеленый цвет обычно достигалась путем добавления в ее состав окиси меди. Можно выделить несколько типов керамики с зеленой поливой, которые отличаются наличием или отсутствием подгрунтовки на поверхности изделия, дополнительного орнамента, а также техникой его нанесения.

Тип 1. Керамика с зеленой поливой без ангобной подгрунтовки. Такая керамика встречается в Торговице очень редко (рис. 1: 6, 9, 10). Ее особенность состояла в том, что прозрачная зеленая полива наносилась непосредственно на красное обожженное тесто сосуда. В результате поверхность приобретала коричневый с зеленоватым отливом или грязно-зеленый (бутылочный) цвет с вкраплением коричневых крупинок. Тесто этих изделий имеет различные примеси, характерные для местной красноглиняной посуды: шамот, песок, обломочный известняк, мелкие чешуйки слюды, растительные элементы. По фрагментам из Торговицы можно судить, что такое оформление поверхности использовалось при изготовлении сосудов кувшиновидных и горшковидных форм. В целом — это сравнительно малочисленная категория находок и в других золотоордынских центрах (Полевой 1969: 150, 153; Абызова и др. 1981: 58; Якобсон 1950: 175; Булатов 1976: 78—79).

Тип 2. Керамика с зеленой поливой по ангобной подгрунтовке. Среди торговицкой поливной керамики это самый многочисленный

Рис. 1. Торговица. Керамика с прозрачной зеленой поливой: 1, 4, 5, 7, 8 — с ангобной подгрунтовкой; 6, 9, 10 — без ангобной подгрунтовки; 2, 3 — с рельефным орнаментом*.

Fig. 1. Torhovytsia. Ceramics with transparent green glaze: 1, 4, 5, 7, 8 — with slip; 6, 9, 10 — without slip, 2, 3 — with relief decoration.

тип посуды. Основой для поливы служил тонкий слой ангоба кремового или белого цвета. Зеленая полива на таком фоне выглядела ярко и нарядно. Хотя большинство сосудов имело довольно грубоватую отделку (потеки, капли поливы, крошки глиняного теста, неровные поверхности), что свидетельствует об их массовом ремесленном производстве. Тесто изделий преимущественно яркого красно-оранжевого цвета с примесями шамота, дресвы, песка, известняка. Выгоревшие мелкие пустоты свидетельствуют и об использовании растительных добавок. Но, вместе с тем, встречаются фрагменты достаточно тонкой аккуратной выделки, с плотным тестом без примесей или с примесью шамота.

Оформление поверхности зеленой поливой по ангобной подгрунтовке применялось на различных видах посуды: чашах, мисках, тарелках, кувшинах, кумганах, горшках, тувацах и т. д. (рис. 1: 1, 4, 5, 7, 8). В зависимости от вида изделий, полива наносилась на вну-

*Фото и рисунки сделаны в фондах Археологического музея им. Нинель Бокий Кировоградского государственного педагогического университета. Автор рисунков — А. В. Черный, автор фотографий — К. И. Панченко.

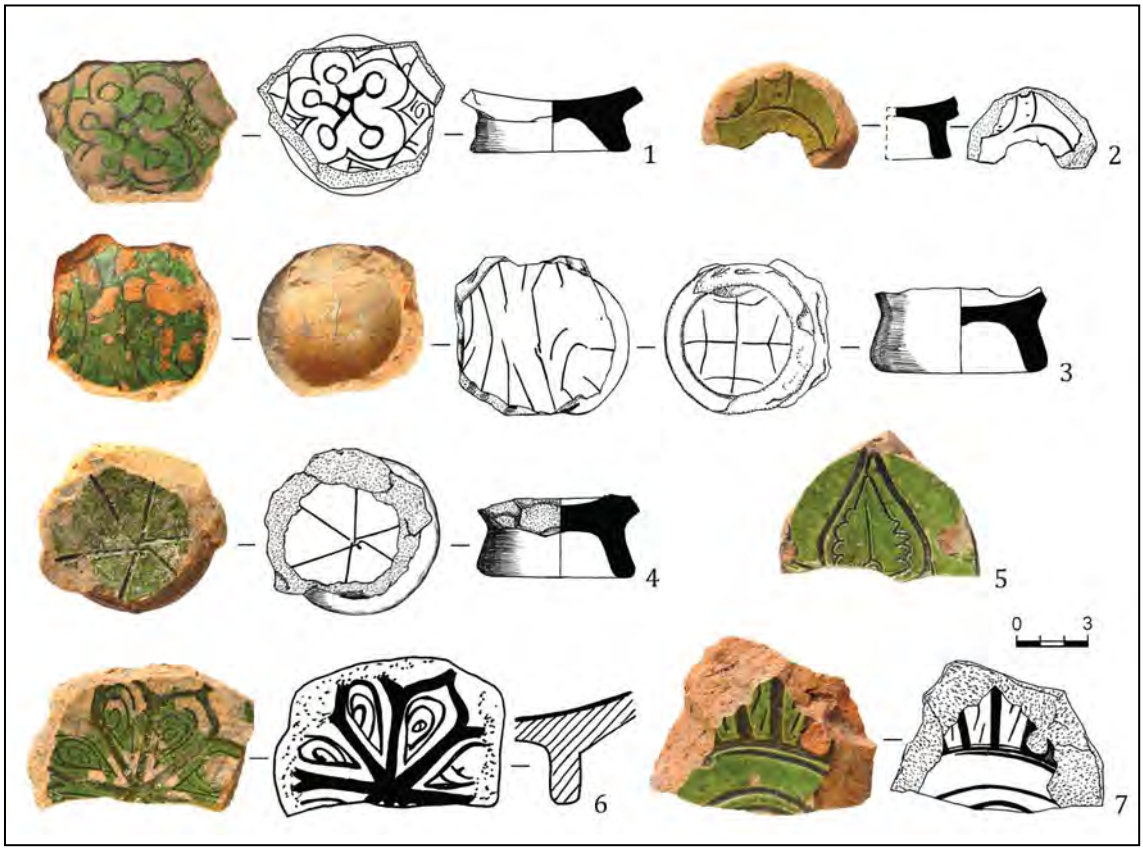

Рис. 2. Торговица. Керамика с гравировкой по ангобу под прозрачной зеленой поливой.

Fig. 2. Torhovytsia. Ceramics with sgraffito and transparent green glaze.

треннюю (чаши, миски) или наружную (кувшины, кумганы) поверхность. Иногда сосуды еще по сырому тесту украшались прочерченными линиями в верхней части корпуса или на горловине. Часто поливой покрывалась лишь верхняя часть таких изделий, и снаружи, и внутри. На некоторых фрагментах на внешней поверхности была нанесена зеленая полива по белому или светлому ангобу, а изнутри по красному черепку — прозрачная полива или зеленая, имеющая без ангоба коричневатый оттенок.

В целом, керамика с зеленой поливой по ангобной подгрунтовке имеет многочисленные аналогии в золотоордынских городах Поволжья (Булатов 1976: 81—82; Курочкина 2002: 91), Поднестровья (Абызова и др. 1981: 58).

Тип 3. Керамика с гравировкой по ангобу под прозрачной зеленой поливой. Это самая известная техника подглазурного декора на красноглиняной золотоордынской керамике. Эффектный орнамент выполнялся методом прочерчивания (гравировки) острым инструментом по изделию, покрытому ангобом, до слоя красной глины. После покрытия поливой и повторного обжига гравированные линии приобретали более темный коричнево-зеленый или бурый цвет, а ангобированные поверхности — ярко-зеленый. Прочерченные линии могли быть тонкими или широкими, иногда они сочетались в одном изделии. В литературе такой орнамент называют гравировкой или техникой сграффито (граффито). По мнению Н.М. Булатова, такой принцип орнаментации, несомненно, восходит к торевтике (Булатов 1976: 85). В золотоордынском керамическом производстве он применялся только к столовой посуде.

В Торговице обнаружены преимущественно фрагменты мисок, чаш и чашечек полусферической формы или с вертикальным бортиком, украшенные гравировкой под зеленой поливой, на невысоком кольцевом поддоне (рис. 2; 3; 4). Открытые формы посуды с гравировкой по ангобу и поливой орнаментировались по широким внутренним плоскостным поверхностям. Орнамент размещался в виде концентрических или радиальных композиций, преобладают растительные и геометрические мотивы.

Гравировка выполнена, преимущественно, тонким резцом, хотя на некоторых экземплярах ангоб выбран более широкими линиями,

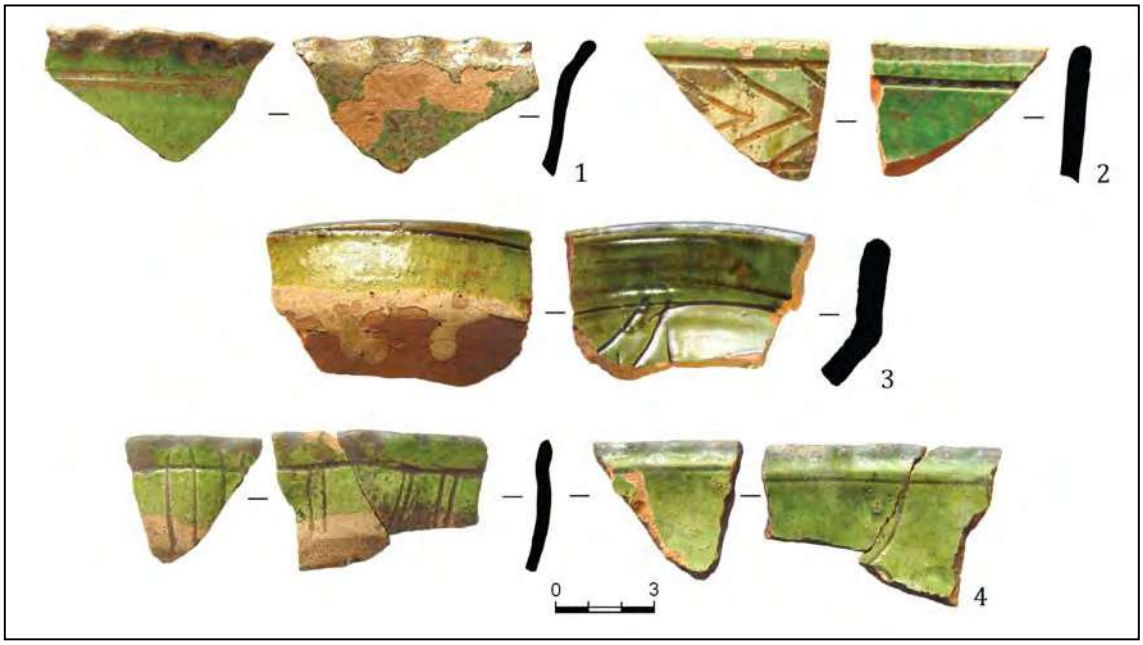

Рис. 3. Торговица. Керамика с гравировкой по ангобу под прозрачной зеленой поливой.

Fig. 3. Torhovytsia. Ceramics with sgraffito and transparent green glaze.

которые подчеркивают основной орнаментальный мотив. Иногда этот способ орнаментировки «толстой линией» относят к технике «резерва» (Булатов 1976: 90). Бортики чаш изнутри украшали тонкие линии. На одном экземпляре полоса между двух параллельных линий на бортике чаши была заполнена «уголками» (рис. 3: 2). После покрытия поливой все выгравированные контуры приобрели темный коричнево-зеленый цвет. На образцах с темно-зеленой поливой эти линии выглядят почти черными. Внешняя сторона бортиков чаш покрывалась поливой по ангобу только в верхней части, иногда тут также наносились тонкие линии.

В торговицкой керамике с гравированным орнаментом по качеству исполнения выделяются изделия с более плотным тестом без видимых примесей или с редкими включениями мелкого известняка. На одном из таких фрагментов орнаментирована была внешняя, выгнутая сторона стенки сосуда (кувшинчик?).

Также был найден венчик тонкостенной чашечки с волнистым краем. Сохранился гравированный орнамент в виде тонкой линии по краю венчика и отходящих от нее перпендикулярных отрезков на внешней стороне чашечки. Поливой была покрыта вся внутренняя сторона изделия, а снаружи — только верхняя часть. Привлекает внимание еще один венчик тонкостенной чашечки с волнистым краем, отогнутым наружу. На внешней стороне этого фрагмента под венчиком выгравирована тонкая линия, а на внутреннем крае венчика в результате иризации глазури образовалась полоса с зеркально-радужным отливом (рис. 3: 1). Волнистые края венчика известны на золотоордынской керамике из Старого Орхея (Абызова и др. 1981: 67, рис. 26). Судя по орхейской аналогии, на торговицкой чашечке гравированный орнамент мог быть нанесен на дне сосуда.

Большинство экземпляров из Торговицы изготовлено из формовочной массы, которая содержала примеси шамота, дресвы, песка, известняка, растительных остатков. Обжиг равномерный, тесто в изломе — яркого красно-оранжевого цвета. Они отличаются достаточно грубоватой выделкой.

На одном таком фрагменте зафиксировано клеймо на нижней части кольцевого поддона (рис. 2: 3). Такие знаки еще называют тамгами, метами, марками и т. д. Знак из Торговицы относится к типу крестовидных тамг, который является наиболее многочисленным среди знаков, используемых в керамическом комплексе золотоордынских центров (Полубояринова 1980: 178—181). Но для описываемой тамги прямые аналогии не известны. Она отличается наличием дополнительных перпендикулярных черточек на краю всех четырех лучей прямого креста. Изображение креста с древнейших времен считается солярным знаком.

Описанный тип керамики имеет широкое распространение на золотоордынских па-

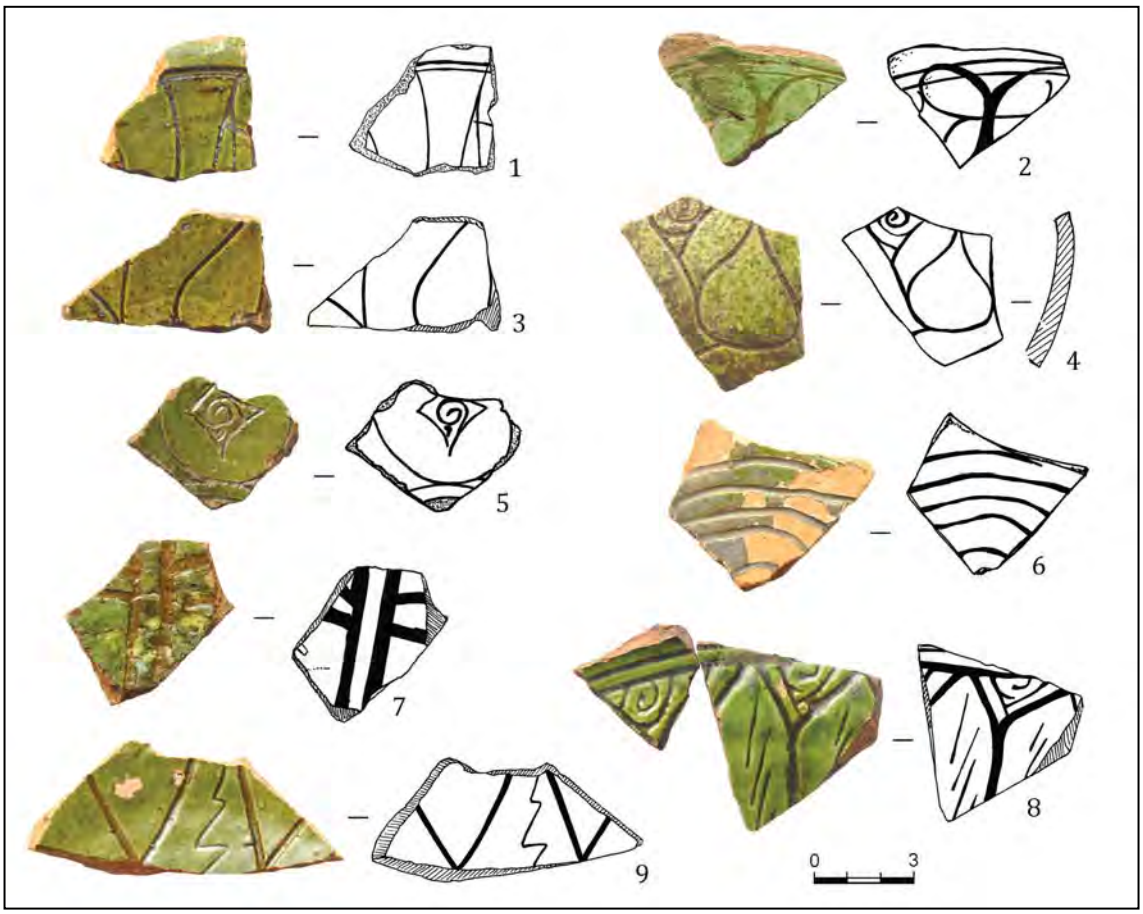

Рис. 4. Торговица. Керамика с гравировкой по ангобу под прозрачной зеленой поливой.

Fig. 4. Torhovytsia. Ceramics with sgraffito and transparent green glaze.

мятниках Поволжья (Булатов 1976: 85—89), Поднестровья (Полевой 1969: 158—169; Абызова и др. 1981: 59—65; Кравченко 1986: 68), Крыма (Айбабина 2005: 233). Растительные орнаменты на поливной столовой посуде, украшенной в технике подглазурной гравировки, сочетаются с геометрическими элементами. Композиций этих мотивов множество. Фактически две одинаково оформленные чаши встречаются редко (Гусева 1974: 138). Но некоторые орнаментальные мотивы на торговицкой керамике (рис. 2: 1, 4—6; 4: 2, 5, 8) в точности повторяют узор на посуде из Царевского городища (Гусева 1974: рис. 9: 2; 10: 1, 4), Старого Орхея (Абызова и др. 1981: 63, 65, рис. 21), Костешт (Полевой 1969: 160, 162, 167). Перекликаются они и с орнаментами на сосудах, найденных в Крыму (Белый и др. 2005: 189, рис. 3: 1).

Тип 4. Керамика с рельефным орнаментом под прозрачной зеленой поливой. Этот тип в Торговице представлен всего двумя маленькими фрагментами стенок сосудов, которые отличаются наличием подглазурного рельефа. Такой орнамент в литературе называют штампованным (Кузнецова 2015: 169; Бочаров, Масловский 2015: 192). О нанесении рельефа специально изготовленными штампами говорил и Н.М. Булатов (Булатов 1976: 84). В нашем случае представляется, что рельефная моделировка сосудов производилась методом оттиска в специальной форме — штампе (калыпе).

Фрагменты различаются и по тесту, и по особенностям декора. Формовочная масса одного фрагмента (рис. 1: 3) имеет примесь шамота, обломочной извести, в изломе она коричневатого оттенка. Фрагмент достаточно толстостенный. На поверхности — рельеф в виде каплевидных фигур, расположенных по кругу вокруг полусферического выступа. По стилистике изображения этот орнамент напоминает мотив «ныряющих рыбок», который часто воспроизводился на золотоордынской кашинной керамике (Коваль 2005: 83—84). Там же использовался и орнамент в виде каплевидных элементов, расположенных по кругу (Лисова 2012: 153, табл. 20: 14). Подобный мотив присутствует и на зо-

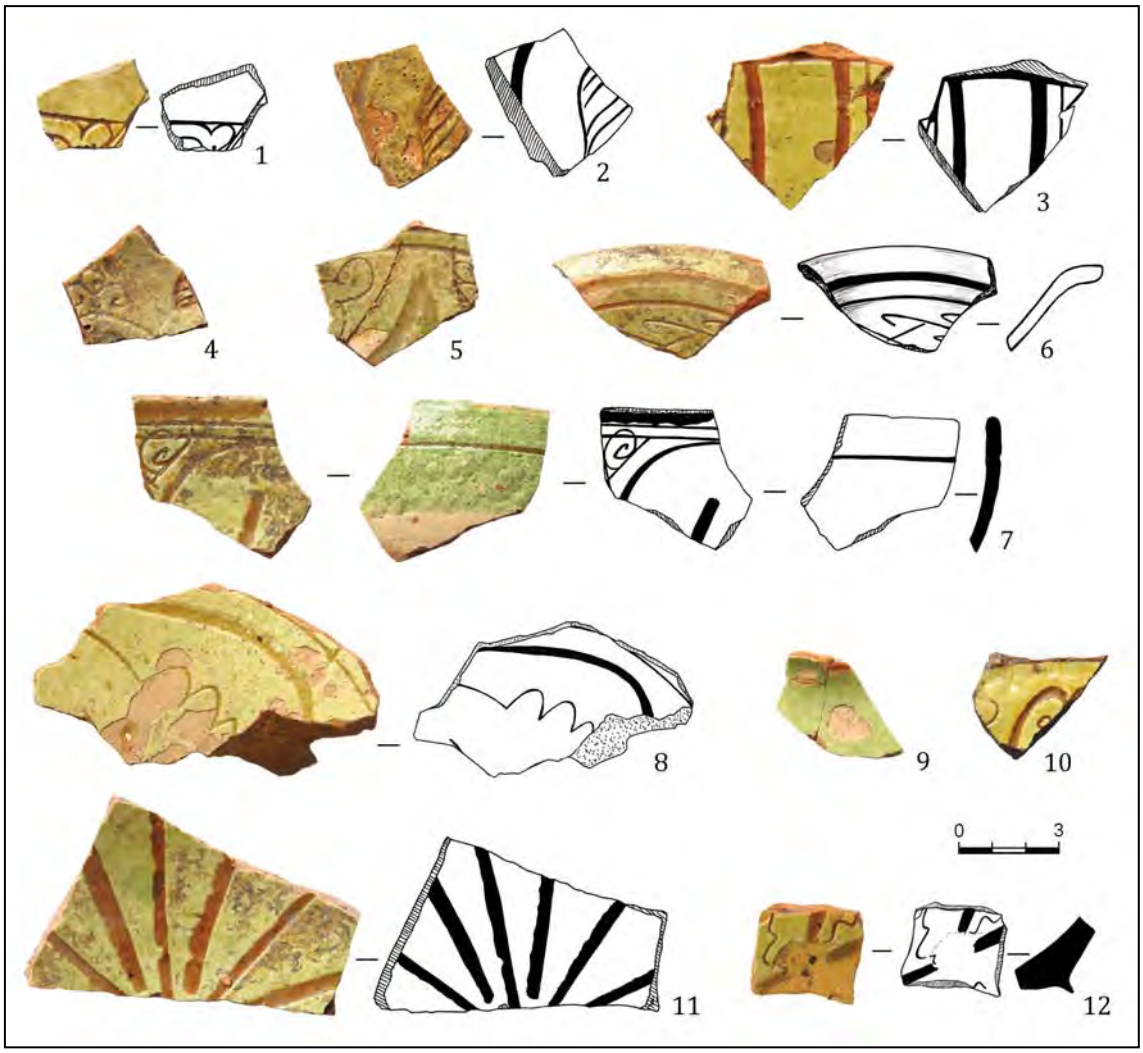

Рис. 5. Торговица. Керамика с гравировкой по ангобу под прозрачной поливой оливкового оттенка.

Fig. 5. Torhovytsia. Ceramics with sgraffito and transparent olive-tinted glaze.

лотоордынской красноглиняной керамике с росписью ангобом (Булатов 1969: 52). В керамике XIII—XIV вв. из Южной Туркмении известны сосуды с орнаментальными розетками из стилизованных фигур рыб (Коваль 2005: 84). Таким образом, подобная керамика отражает процесс заимствования орнаментальных мотивов кашинной керамики мастерами, изготовлявшими более дешевую глазурованную керамику (Коваль 2005: 84).

Второй маленький фрагмент тонкостенного сосуда (рис. 1: 2) выполнен из очень плотной глины без видимых примесей, в изломе ярко-оранжевого цвета. На поверхности — округлые бугорки. Более точно описать орнамент не представляется возможным из-за небольшого размера фрагмента. Полива сильно патинирована, имеет металлический отблеск, сквозь который просвечивает зеленый тон. Достаточно близкая аналогия данному рельефному декору, как элемент более сложной орнаментальной композиции, присутствует на красноглиняном сфероконическом сосуде из Исакчи, где он датируется XIII—XIV вв. (Stănică 2009: 412, 416, pl. 1).

В Юго-Восточном Крыму кувшины с подобным штампованным орнаментом считаются одним из самых распространенных видов поливной посуды, которая изготавливалась в местных мастерских (Бочаров, Масловский 2015: 192). Найденные во время раскопок Солхата штампованные поливные кувшины фиксируют начало их местного производства и активного распространения с последней четверти XIII в. (Масловский 2012: 193, 195, рис. 3:7). Во время раскопок золотоордынского города Азака найдены похожие кувшины, как местного производства, так и завезенные из Солхата. (Бочаров, Масловский 2015: 191, рис. 1: 4, 192).

Керамика с гравировкой по ангобу под прозрачной поливой оливкового оттенка

Эта группа поливной посуды, по сути, является разновидностью керамики с зеленой прозрачной поливой. В ее составе, несомненно, присутствует медь, придающая поверхности зеленоватый оттенок, однако общий цвет изделий отличается от описанных выше зеленых полив светлым оливковым тоном. В Торговице такая керамика встречается достаточно часто (21% от красноглиняной поливной керамики), поэтому мы выделили ее в отдельную группу.

Найдены венчики тонкостенных чашечек и тарелочек, фрагменты крупных чаш на кольцевом поддоне, стенки сосудов (рис. 5). Полива, в основном, нанесена на внутренней плоскости открытых сосудов. Редко встречается на выпуклых сторонах стенок кувшинчиков (?).

Тесто тонкостенных сосудов довольно плотное, с примесями шамота, обломочного известняка. В изломе одного фрагмента зафиксированы мелкие частички толченой ракушки. В орнаменте присутствуют растительные и геометрические мотивы, аналогичные декору керамики с зеленой поливой.

Керамика с гравировкой по ангобу и прозрачной двухцветной поливой

Среди поливной красноглиняной керамики Торговицы иногда попадались фрагменты чаш с вертикальным бортиком, украшенные двухцветной поливой (около 3%). Внутри бортики орнаментированы тонкими линиями гравировки и покрыты по ангобу светлой оливковой поливой. Снаружи эти чаши покрывались зеленой поливой лишь в верхней части или только по бортику.

Найдено несколько фрагментов такой чаши с двухцветной поливой, по которым можно частично реконструировать ее форму (рис. 6: 5). Эта чаша имела вертикальный бортик с округленным и отогнутым наружу венчиком. По краю венчика и по основанию бортика выгравированы тонкие концентрические линии. Дно не сохранилось. Внутренняя плоскость чаши орнаментирована радиальной композицией из листочков, подчеркнутых широкой гравировкой. Пространство между ними заполнено тонко прочерченными завитками. Такие же тонкие линии намечают «прожилки» внутри листочков. Внутренняя поверхность чаши была покрыта поливой оливкового оттенка,

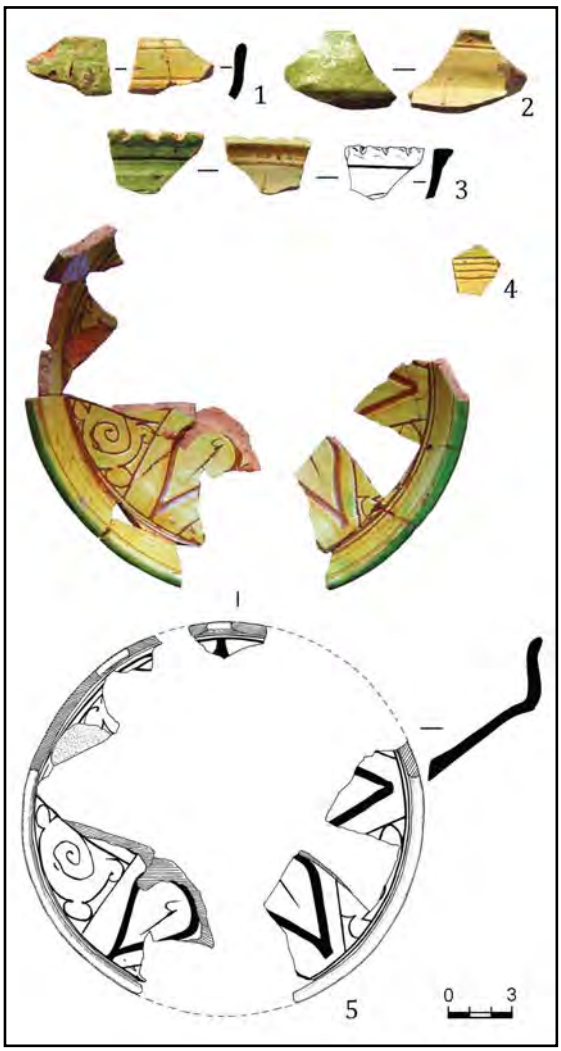

Рис. 6. Торговица. Керамика с гравировкой по ангобу с двухцветной поливой.

Fig. 6. Torhovytsia. Ceramics with sgraffito and two-colored glazes.

а внешняя — зеленой. Практически однотипная орнаментальная композиция присутствует на красноглиняной чаше с орнаментом сграффито, но покрытом зеленой поливой. Происходит она из Нижнего Поволжья (Лисова 2012: рис. 39; 41).

Представляет интерес еще один фрагмент венчика с утолщенным прямо срезанным краем и нанесенными по срезу насечками. По верхнему краю венчика и по его плоскому срезу выгравированы тонкие линии, которые приобрели коричневый цвет после заполнения поливой (рис. 6: 3).

Керамика с прозрачной желтой поливой

Считается, что чистый желтый цвет достигался окрашиванием поливы окисью же-

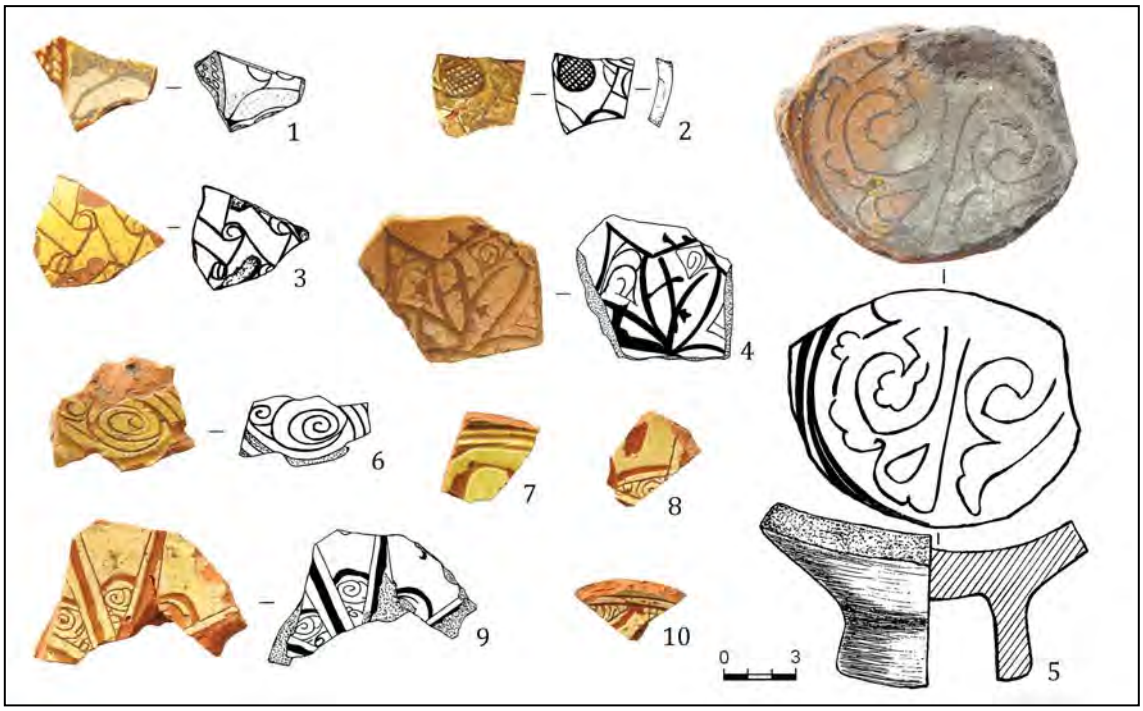

Рис. 7. Торговица. Керамика с прозрачной желтой поливой: 1, 2 — с подглазурной гравировкой и элементами техники «резерва»; 3—10 — с подглазурной гравировкой.

Fig. 7. Torhovytsia. Ceramics with transparent yellow glaze: 1, 2 — with glazed-over painting and elements of the "reserve" technique; 3—10 — with glazed-over painting.

леза либо иными примесями (Коваль 2010: 21). Желтая прозрачная полива на торговицкой красноглиняной керамике встречается значительно реже, чем зеленая и оливковая (10% от всей красноглиняной поливной посуды). Небольшие фрагменты не позволяют реконструировать в точности формы посуды с желтой поливой, однако, можно предположить, что это были чашки на кольцевом поддоне, тарелки, кувшинчики.

Тип 1. Керамика с желтой поливой по ангобной подгрунтовке. Найдено всего лишь несколько фрагментов. На поволжских золотоордынских городищах такая керамика также немногочисленна. Чаще она встречается на Маджарском и Азакском городищах (Булатов 1976: 93). Все же остается сомнение относительно возможного наличия орнамента на других частях этих сосудов.

Тип 2. Керамика с прозрачной желтой поливой и гравировкой по ангобу. Этот тип орнамента полностью соответствует керамике с гравировкой под зеленой поливой (рис. 7). Заполняя выгравированный по ангобу орнамент, желтая полива придает ему насыщенный коричневый цвет. Иногда при оформлении поверхности сосудов гравировкой, вводились элементы техники «резерва». В этом случае изображение на светлом ангобе как бы накладывается на темный фон глины (рис. 7: 1, 2).

Рис. 8. Торговица. Керамика с гравировкой по ангобу под прозрачной коричневой поливой.

Fig. 8. Torhovytsia. Ceramics with sgraffito and transparent brown glaze.

Керамика с желтой поливой и гравировкой также представлена в городах Нижнего Поволжья и Северного Кавказа (Булатов 1976: 93). Схожие с торговицкими орнаментальные мотивы присутствуют на керамике Азова (Романчук, Перевозчиков 1990: рис. 7: 24; 8: 31, 33; 14: 49).

Керамика с гравировкой по ангобу под прозрачной коричневой поливой

Коричневый цвет поливы не часто встречается на золотоордынской керамике. В Торговице найдено всего лишь 6 фрагментов сосудов, декорированных коричневой поливой по гравированному орнаменту. Линии гравировки получились особенно темными. Эти изделия отличались по составу теста: в изломе — красно-коричневого цвета, в глине — примесь шамота и песка. Среди находок есть фрагменты мисок, чаш с вертикальным бортиком, тонкостенной полусферической чашечки. В одном случае фрагмент, возможно, принадлежал тонкостенному кувшинчику, поскольку орнаментом с гравировкой была декорирована внешняя выпуклая сторона стенки, а внутренняя покрывалась тонким слоем прозрачной поливы, через которую просвечивалось тесто сосуда. На торговицких образцах присутствует геометрический орнамент: линии, завитки.

Схожие образцы керамики с коричневой поливой найдены в Сарайчике (Кузнецова 2015: 170), Старом Орхее (Абызова и др. 1981: 65, 66).

Керамика с гравировкой по ангобу и полихромной подцветкой

Эта группа поливной керамики представлена небольшим количеством фрагментов, на которых сохранился трехцветный желто-коричнево-зеленый декор. Она составляет около 8% от всей поливной красноглиняной посуды. Можно предположить, что такой орнамент применялся, преимущественно, на сосудах открытого типа — мисках и чашах. Декор такой посуды состоял из гравировки тонкой линией, создававшей геометрический или абстрактный орнамент, и полихромной подцветки, которая наносилась по ангобу. Роспись помещалась в контурах выгравированного орнамента (рис. 9: 8, 9), но чаще подцветка была не согласована с очерченным контуром (рис. 9: 1—7). Орнамент нередко дополнялся крупными точками темно-коричневого цвета. Далее изделие покрывалось бесцветной или слабоокрашенной поливой (светло-оливковой или желтой).

Аналогии этой группе поливной керамики встречаются достаточно часто в Крыму. Так, красноглиняные полихромные миски с подглазурной гравировкой по ангобу найдены во время раскопок Симеиза, Гурзуфской крепости, монастыря Сурб-Хач, Феодосии (Айбабина 2005: 234, 242—245, рис. 7—10), Мангупа (Герцен, Науменко 2005: 261), Херсонеса (Романчук, Перевозчиков 1990: 132, рис. 30: 96). Исследователи отмечали, что в местной керамике Херсонеса принцип полихромной росписи сложился под влиянием закавказской школы (Банк 1938: 184; Якобсон 1950: 179).

Также внушительные коллекции керамического материала времен Золотой Орды собраны в крупных производственных центрах юго-востока Крыма — Солхате, Кафе, Судаке, где в последней четверти XIII — XIV вв. зарождается и ведется активное производство красноглиняной поливной моно- и полихромной посуды с подглазурной гравировкой по ангобу (Масловский 2012: 194). Близкие по орнаментации поливные сосуды также происходят из Азова (Романчук, Перевозчиков 1990: 118, 119, 121, рис. 21). Полихромная роспись отмечена и на керамике золотоордынских центров Поднестровья (Полевой 1969: 174, 176; Абызова и др. 1981: 68, 69; Кравченко 1986: 69—71).

К *отделу керамики с непрозрачной поливой* относится лишь одна малочисленная группа с бирюзово-голубой поливой. Она составляет около 2% от всей поливной красноглиняной посуды.

Керамика с бирюзово-голубой поливой

Найдено несколько фрагментов такой керамики. Все они отличаются от традиционных торговицких изделий по составу глин. Два маленьких обломка венчика и стенки (рис. 10: 2, 3) изготовлены из теста яркого красно-оранжевого цвета, хорошо вымешанного, плотного, без каких либо видимых примесей. Цвет глазури — светло-голубой. В колористике его еще называют небесно-голубым. Верхний слой поливы патинирован.

Фрагмент придонной части и дна на кольцевом поддоне небольшой тонкостенной чашечки (пиалы?) изготовлен из плотного теста розоватого оттенка (рис. 10: 4). Слой поливы голубого цвета значительно поврежден, большей частью отслоился. Но сохранившие-

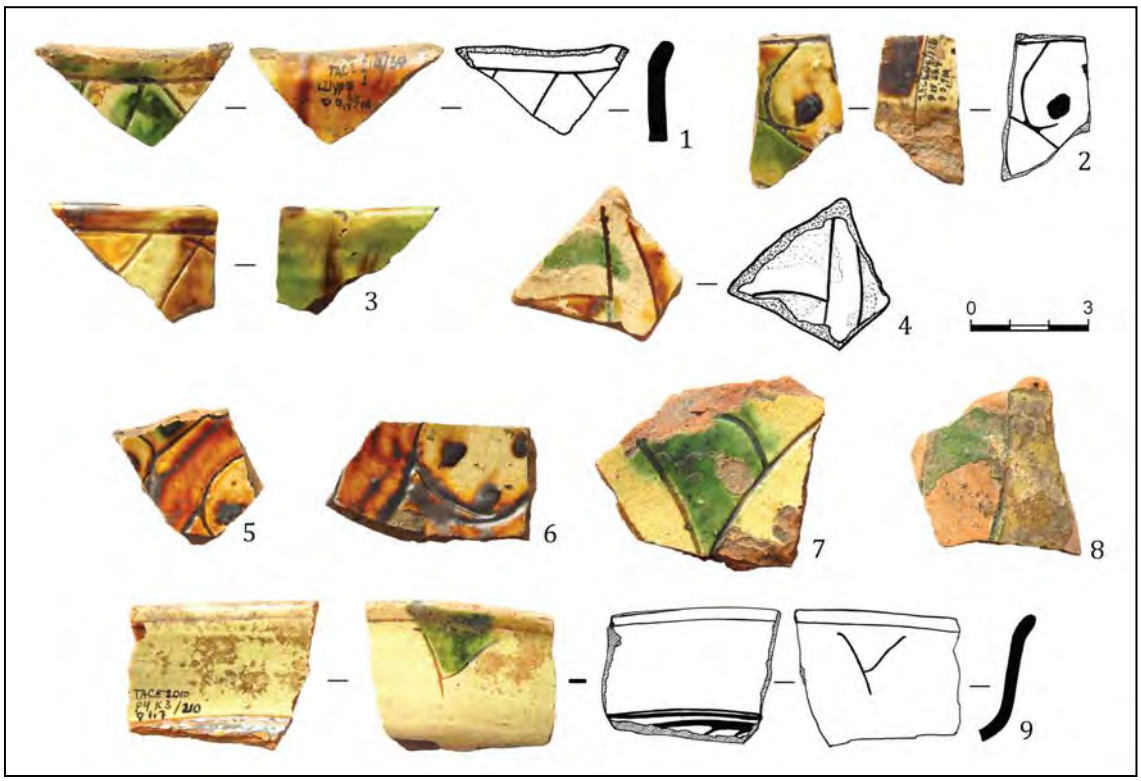

Рис. 9. Торговица. Керамика с гравировкой по ангобу и полихромной подцветкой.

Fig. 9. Torhovytsia. Ceramics with sgraffito and polychrome shading color.

ся остатки свидетельствуют о том, что когда-то поливой была покрыта вся поверхность изделия, даже внешняя сторона кольцевого поддона.

Подобное розоватое в изломе плотное тесто имеет и второй фрагмент чаши на кольцевом поддоне (рис. 10: 5). Здесь вся полива утрачена, лишь на внешней части поддона сохранилась капелька ярко-голубой поливы. Изделие отличается формой поддона в виде раструба с горизонтально уплощенным нижним краем.

По качеству формовочной массы выделяется третий фрагмент сосуда на поддоне конической формы (рис. 10: 1). Тесто здесь красно-коричневое, мелкопористое, с примесью шамота. Черепок окрашен неравномерно, внешние слои красно-коричневого цвета, а внутренний слой — серый. На внешней части поддона сохранилась бирюзовая полива с сильно патинированным верхним слоем, имеющим металлический отлив. Очевидно, сосуд был очень ценным, потому что найденный фрагмент имеет следы вторичного использования. Чаша была разбита в древности, после чего края придонной части ее корпуса были тщательно зашлифованы и выровнены. Сохранился поддон с частью дна сосуда, на котором заметны остатки такой же поливы. Скорее всего, в таком виде поддон продолжали использовать уже как крышку.

Керамика с бирюзовой и голубой непрозрачной поливой встречается в золотоордынских городах Поволжья (Булатов 1976: 76—77). Зафиксировано производство посуды с непрозрачной бирюзовой и голубой поливой и в Костештах, где данная технология могла быть позаимствована из золотоордынского Поволжья (Полевой 1969: 184). Также высказывались мнения о ее возможном производстве в Белгороде на Днестре (Кравченко 1986: 80) и Азаке (Масловский 2006: 430).

В связи с этим особое внимание привлекает коническая форма поддона (рис. 10: 1), который изготавливался по определенной технологии. Если для простых кольцевых поддонов использовался валик, который крепился ко дну сосуда, то для конических поддонов лепилась массивная заготовка, в нижней части которой выбиралась выемка, образовывавшая внутреннюю полость. Эта технология применялась византийскими гончарами. Поэтому подобные изделия в Северо-Восточном Причерноморье и в городах Юго-Восточного Крыма относятся к группе византийской поливной керамики середины XIII — XIV вв. (Бочаров, Масловский 2012: 23, 24).

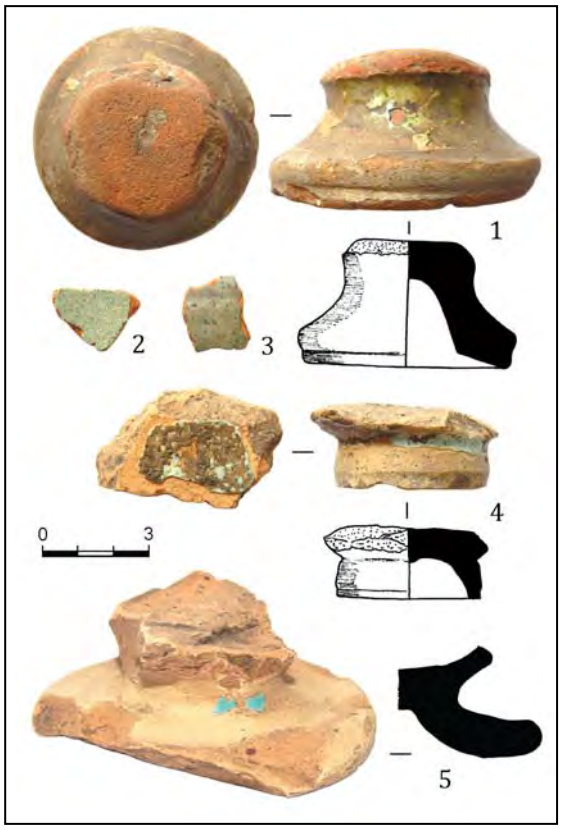

Рис. 10. Торговица. Керамика с бирюзовой и голубой непрозрачной поливой.

Fig. 10. Torhovytsia. Ceramics with opaque turquoise and blue glaze.

Кашинная керамика

Столовая посуда, изготовленная из особого силикатного теста, известного как кашин, в Торговице встречается чрезвычайно редко и составляет всего лишь 5,6% от всей поливной посуды. Найдены небольшие фрагменты стенок и несколько венчиков. Формы этих изделий не восстанавливаются, однако, судя по аналогиям, большинство из них принадлежали к категории чаш, пиал. Венчики кашинных изделий из Торговицы имеют характерный, слегка отогнутый, край, что, по мнению исследователей, является культурным индикатором ордынской керамики (Коваль 2005: 76). Именно для золотоордынской кашинной посуды характерно достаточно рыхлое тесто. Оттенки формовочной массы Торговицких кашинных изделий варьируются от светло-серого (почти белого) до темно-серого и серо-кремового.

Соответственно классификационной схеме Н.М. Булатова (Булатов 1968: 95—109; Федоров-Давыдов, Булатов 1989: 195—199), фрагменты кашинных сосудов можно разделить на два отдела: с прозрачной и непрозрачной поливой. Далее по цвету поливы выделяются отдельные группы, а внутри групп — типы, исходя из особенностей декора. Ввиду малочисленности находок, кашинная керамика из Торговицы описывается на основании комплексных групповых признаков. В отдельных случаях выделяются типы по характеру орнаментации.

Керамика с прозрачной бесцветной поливой

Фрагмент верхней части полусферической чаши с отогнутым венчиком относится к типу *керамики с подглазурной полихромной росписью и подглазурным рельефом* (рис. 11: 1). Излом светло-серый, кашин достаточно плотный. Орнамент нанесен на внешней стороне сосуда. На белом фоне выделяется подглазурный рельеф в виде расположенных в шахматном порядке рядов трилистников с округлыми лепестками. Трилистники окаймлены зеленым контуром, а внутри них нанесены достаточно крупные синие кобальтовые точки. Промежутки между трилистниками заполнены цепочками мелких зеленых точек. Верхний край композиции с трилистниками ограничен горизонтальной зеленой линией. Две таких же линии, между которыми помещена горизонтальная лента из уголков, украшают край венчика. Внутренняя сторона венчика также украшена по краю тонкими зелеными линиями и крупными синими кобальтовыми точками. На внешней и внутренней поверхностях сосуда заметны подтеки краски.

Фрагмент с таким же декором венчика присутствует среди кашинной керамики Царина городища у с. Маяки (Кравченко 2015: 460, рис. 32: 12). Подобный рельефный орнамент в виде трилистников с подглазурной росписью на стенках есть в коллекции кашинной керамики городища Сарайчик (Кузнецова 2015: 171, рис. 4: 6). Имеются и целые формы полусферических чаш с орнаментом в виде рельефных трилистников среди керамики Сарая Берке, Болгарского городища, Сарайчика. На дне этих сосудов наиболее часто встречается изображение уточки (Давлетшина 2009: 477, рис. 2—6). Орнамент в виде расположенных в шахматном порядке рельефных трилистников использовался и при украшении парадных сосудов — гульабданов, которые представлены в каталоге Н.Ф. Лисовой (Лисова 2012: рис. 17; 32).

Тип *керамики с подглазурной росписью без рельефа* представлен двумя фрагментами. Судя по профилю стенки, один из них являет-

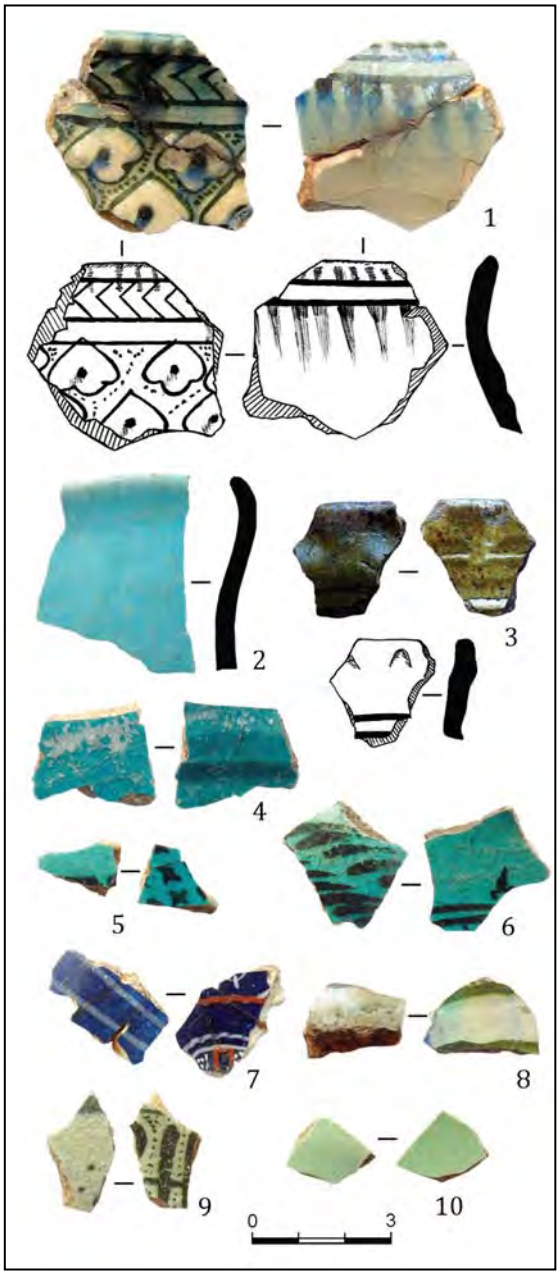

Рис. 11. Торговица. Кашинная керамика.

Fig. 11. Torhovytsia. Qashan ceramics.

ся обломком придонной части чаши на кольцевом поддоне (рис. 11: 8). Цвет теста — серый, но в изломе со стороны поддона четко фиксируется красно-оранжевая внутренняя прослойка. На этом фрагменте сохранились горизонтальные зеленоватые линии на светлом фоне бледно-зеленого оттенка. Также фиксируется остаток краски синего цвета, возможно, от точки, нанесенной между этими линиями.

Второй фрагмент стенки сосуда имеет серо-зеленую роспись на бледно-зеленоватом фоне (рис. 11: 9). Она состоит из горизонтальных узких и вертикальных широких линий, в промежутках между которыми нанесены цепочки мелких точек. Можно предположить, что этот орнамент относится к типу эпиграфических или псевдоэпиграфических мотивов, которые применялись как на посуде с подглазурным рельефом, так и без рельефа (Лисова 2012: 72, 73). Подобная подглазурная роспись присутствует на чаше из Сарайчика (Кузнецова 2015, 173, рис. 7: 1), Маджар (Гражданкина, Ртвеладзе 1997: 128, рис. 1: 1).

Керамика с прозрачной бирюзовой поливой

К этой группе керамики относятся три фрагмента тонкостенных сосудов из серого теста, украшенных *черной подглазурной росписью* (рис. 11: 5, 6). Такие изделия еще называют сине-черной кашинной керамикой. Прототипом для золотоордынских фаянсов с бирюзовой глазурью и черной подглазурной росписью послужила сирийская керамика XIII—XIV вв. (Булатов 1968: 103). Такая посуда широко представлена в материалах городищ золотоордынского Поволжья. По образному выражению Н. Ф. Лисовой, она «очень хорошо известна в средневековой Средней Азии, в Армении, Иране и по всем странам огромного мусульманского мира» (Лисова 2012: 25).

Орнаменты на очень мелких торговицких фрагментах достаточно простые. Это тонкие линии, полосы из каплевидных штрихов и крестики, расположенные в шахматном порядке. К этим орнаментальным мотивам применяются различные названия. Так, каплевидные штрихи определяются как стилизация силуэтов ныряющих рыбок (Коваль 2005: 82, рис. 2: 5) или «павлиний глаз» (Лисова 2012: 86, табл. 22: 14). Орнаментация в виде рядов черных крестиков, расположенных в шахматном порядке, под бирюзовой глазурью рассматривается как стилизованное изображение звездочек (звездного неба) (Коваль 2005: 83) или как стилизованные соцветия (Коваль 2010: 90, рис. 31: 3, 7, 8). Также они определяются как «птички» (Кузнецова 2015: 175), «птички-крестики» (Лисова 2012: 51). В сине-черной кашинной керамике традиционных городских центров Золотой Орды это один из самых распространенных типов орнаментов (Кузнецова 2015: 175; Гражданкина, Ртвеладзе 1997: 129). А вот в ее западных областях такие находки с орнаментом в виде «летящих птичек» и черных мазков (птичье перо) достаточно редки (Кравченко 1986: 94—95, рис. 36: 4).

В Торговице встречаются мелкие обломки кашинной керамики с поливой классического ярко-бирюзовый цвета. На небольшом фрагменте стенки такого сосуда на внутренней поверхности имеется слабовыпуклый рельефный валик (рис. 11: 4). Тесто светло-серого цвета, рыхлое.

В коллекции поливной посуды Торговицкого комплекса присутствует один фрагмент, который по структуре силикатного теста также может быть отнесен к кашинной керамике. Это венчик с волнистым краем, покрытый салатово-зеленой прозрачной поливой (рис. 11: 3). В изломе фрагмент имеет светло-кремовый оттенок. В основании венчика имеются две слабо углубленные линии. Полива патинирована, имеет металлический отблеск. Фрагмент очень маленький, поэтому трудно реконструировать форму сосуда.

Керамика с непрозрачной кобальтовой поливой

Эта группа представлена одним тонкостенным фрагментом, собранным из трех мелких обломков (рис. 11: 7). Он отличается от вышеописанных образцов кашинной посуды светлым, почти белым цветом достаточно рыхлого теста. Глубокий синий (ультрамариновый) цвет поливы образуется путем введения в ее состав кобальта. Торговицкий фрагмент относится к *типу керамики с полихромной надглазурной росписью по ультрамариновой поливе*, который в литературе еще называют «ладжвардином» (Лисова 2012: 29). Внешняя поверхность нашего образца украшена тонкими белыми линиями, а на внутренней угадываются элементы растительного и геометрического орнамента: прямые и волнистые линии, выполненные красной и белой краской.

Подобная посуда встречается на многих золотоордынских памятниках. Аналогии известны в Маджаре (Гражданкина, Ртвеладзе 1997: 129, рис. 2:2), на Царевском городище (Федоров-Давыдов 1966: 241; Булатов 1968: 108, рис. 4,2), в Сарайчике (Кузнецова 2015: 177), в Хорезме (Вактурская 1959: 324, рис. 29:2—3). Однако по численности она уступает другим типам кашинных изделий.

Керамика с непрозрачной бирюзовой поливой

Керамика, относящаяся к этой группе, отличается однотонным цветом покрытия без росписи. Понятие «бирюзовая полива» объединяет несколько оттенков цветовой палитры, образованной включением в глазурь окиси меди.

Светло-бирюзовой (небесно-бирюзовой) непрозрачной поливой покрыт фрагмент тонкостенного сосуда (рис. 11: 10). Его тесто светло-серое с кремовым оттенком.

Ярко-голубой цвет поливы имеет венчик тонкостенной чашечки с отогнутым наружу краем (рис. 11: 2). Такой же голубой поливой покрыто еще несколько маленьких обломков стенок сосудов, найденных в Торговице. Большинство этих фрагментов имеют светло-серый цвет в изломе, один — с кремовым оттенком.

Кашинные изделия с бирюзовой и голубой поливой производились во многих центрах Востока (Коваль 2010: 38, 53), в том числе и в городах Золотой Орды (Булатов 1968: 107; Кузнецова 2015: 177; Кравченко 2015: 460, рис. 32: 5, 9, 13, 15).

Таким образом, керамический комплекс Торговицы ярко иллюстрирует принадлежность памятника к золотоордынской городской культуре. Типы описанной поливной керамики имеют аналогии в традиционных центрах Золотой Орды в Поволжье, Приднестровье, Крыму, на Кавказе. Исследования Н.М. Булатова показали, что в различных золотоордынских городах было налажено местное производство глазурованной керамики (Булатов 1976: 78). Очевидно, это определялось достаточно большим потребительским спросом на данный вид столовой посуды.

Вопрос о существовании собственного производства поливной посуды в Торговице пока остается открытым. Некоторые косвенные признаки позволяют лишь предположить такую возможность. К ним относятся: находка специальной подставки — сипаи (треножника) с затеками поливы, наличие фрагментов красноглиняных чаш с каплями поливы на дне и на обратной стороне кольцевого поддона. Кроме того, в 2015 г. за пределами золотоордынского города, но в непосредственной близости от него (2,5 км на северо-восток), в урочище «Синие росы», было открыто местонахождение с золотоордынским культурным слоем. В одном из разведочных шурфов там был найден фрагмент сосуда, покрытого белым ангобом и украшенного орнаментом в технике сграффито. Отсутствие каких либо следов поливы может свидетельствовать о том, что данный экземпляр был заготовкой для последующей глазуровки изделия.

Факт наличия в Торговице производства простой красноглиняной посуды уже нашел

подтверждение в виде открытия мастерской по обжигу такой керамики. Очевидно, лишь последующие раскопки и тщательный анализ всего комплекса археологических материалов дадут возможность найти ответ на вопрос об изготовлении здесь и поливной посуды.

Вся кашинная керамика из Торговицкого комплекса явно была привозной из восточных регионов Золотой Орды. Ее малочисленность объясняется значительной удаленностью населенного пункта от традиционных золотоордынских городских центров.

Продолжающиеся исследования в Торговице открывают перспективу пополнения керамической коллекции, что даст возможность более глубокой разработки классификации поливной посуды для западных регионов Золотой Орды.

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Тисненая керамика городища Большие Кучугуры

Keywords: Lower Dnieper region, Bolshie Kuchugury hillfort, Golden Horde sites, embossed ceramics, group, subgroup, molding composition, decoration

Ключевые слова: Нижнее Поднепровье, городище Большие Кучугуры, золотоордынские памятники, тисненая керамика, группа, подгруппа, формовочная масса, декор

M. V. Elnikov, I. R. Tihomolova

Relief Decoration Ceramics from the Bolshie Kuchugury Hillfort

The authors discuss characteristic features of the relief decoration ceramics collected from the Bolshie Kuchugury hillfort in the Lower Dnieper region. The ratio of groups of this ceramics tells about existence of close ties between Bolshie Kuchugury and towns in the South-Eastern Crimea and the Golden Horde centers in the Volga region. The main features of vessels are typical for the developed Golden Horde pottery. The low quality of turquoise glaze on Crimean vessels seems to reflect the process of learning a new type of decoration. Two groups of ceramics belong to one or several undetermined ceramic workshops practicing mixed traditions from the above indicated regions. Analogies to these industrial techniques and the marked style of relief decoration, the area of distribution of such finds suggest that they were possibly produced in one or several provincial centers in the western regions of the Golden Horde, which developed their industries based on a variety of traditions, though under doubtless impact of the Crimean pottery.

М. В. Ельников, И. Р. Тихомолова

Тисненая керамика городища Большие Кучугуры

Статья посвящена характеристике тисненой керамики городища Большие Кучугуры в Нижнем Поднепровье. Соотношение групп данной керамики свидетельствует о тесной связи Больших Кучугур с городами Юго-Восточного Крыма и поволжскими центрами Золотой Орды. Основные характеристики сосудов присущи развитому золотоордынскому гончарству. Низкое качество бирюзовой глазури на крымских сосудах, возможно, отражает процесс освоения нового вида декора. Две группы керамики относятся к одной или нескольким неопределенным керамическим мастерским со смешанными традициями выделенных регионов. Аналогии приемам изготовления и узнаваемый стиль тисненого декора, ареал распространения находок позволяют предположить возможность их изготовления в одном или нескольких провинциальных центрах западных районов Золотой Орды, становление производства в которых происходило на основе разных традиций, но при несомненном влиянии крымского гончарства.

Городище Большие Кучугуры принадлежит к числу наиболее значимых золотоордынских памятников Нижнего Поднепровья, однако в научный оборот введена лишь незначительная часть материалов (Ельников 2015: 487—488). Статья продолжает серию публикаций, посвященных керамическому комплексу памятника (Тихомолова 2002: 239—252; Тихомолова, Попандопуло 2005: 190—194). В коллекции керамики городища Большие Кучугуры из раскопок Горностаевской экспедиции ИА АН УССР 1953 г., частично опубликованных В. И. Довженком (Довженок 1961: 191, табл. I: 12—14), посуда, хранящаяся в фондах Запорожского областного краеведческого музея, изготовленная с исполь-

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зованием матриц-кальпов, представлена 34 фрагментами 15-ти сосудов. Все определимые экземпляры принадлежат узкогорлым кувшинам с округлым туловом, собранным из двух половин, оттиснутых в полусферических формах с углубленным орнаментом. Тисненый орнамент в большинстве случаев дополнен росписью ангобом и глазурью (отдельные детали). Горло и поддон присоединяли на гончарном круге, на завершающем этапе. По особенностям подготовки формовочной массы, обжигу, деталям формы и декора выделено шесть групп, связанных с различными гончарными центрами.

Группа 1 (рис. 1). Представлена десятью фрагментами одного сосуда. Формовочная масса содержит небольшие примеси известняка и слюды, значительные добавки разноразмерного красного шамота и органики. Обжиг двухслойный, желто-красный, граница между слоями размыта, черепок массивный пористый. Все десять фрагментов принадлежат одному сосуду — кувшину с узким цилиндрическим горлом, округлым туловом и высоким поддоном-ножкой. Восстанавливается большая часть профиля, за исключением венчика. Общая высота кувшина более 17 см, диаметр тулова — 15 см, диаметр горла — 4,5 см, диаметр основания поддона — 7,5 см, высота поддона — 3,5 см, толщина стенок сосуда — 0,5—0,7 см. Тулово собрано из двух половин, оттиснутых в матрице. Соединение произведено с помощью глины, ее излишки, вытесненные при формовке, сохранились на внутренней поверхности кувшина. Снаружи место стыковки обозначено гладким слаборельефным валиком. На гончарном круге изготовлены и прикреплены к тулову горло и поддон. Горло вставлено в прорезанное в центре верхней полусферы отверстие, а поддон закреплен на сформированном днище сосуда поверх орнамента.

Декор состоит из рельефного многорядного зигзага, образующего вписанные друг в друга ромбы, дополненного росписью верхней половины сосуда ангобом и глазурью. Белым ангобом выделено основание горловины, зигзаг на плечиках и центральный валик, бессистемно расставлены крупные выпуклые точки. Ромбические фигуры на плечиках поочередно закрашены белым или светло-желтым ангобом. Ромбы со светло-желтым ангобом залиты прозрачной темно-желтой глазурью с крупинками не растворившегося красителя, а ромбы с белым ангобом покрыты глазурью бирюзового цвета. На валике и рельефных точках бирюзовая роспись чередуется с прозрачной слабоокрашенной

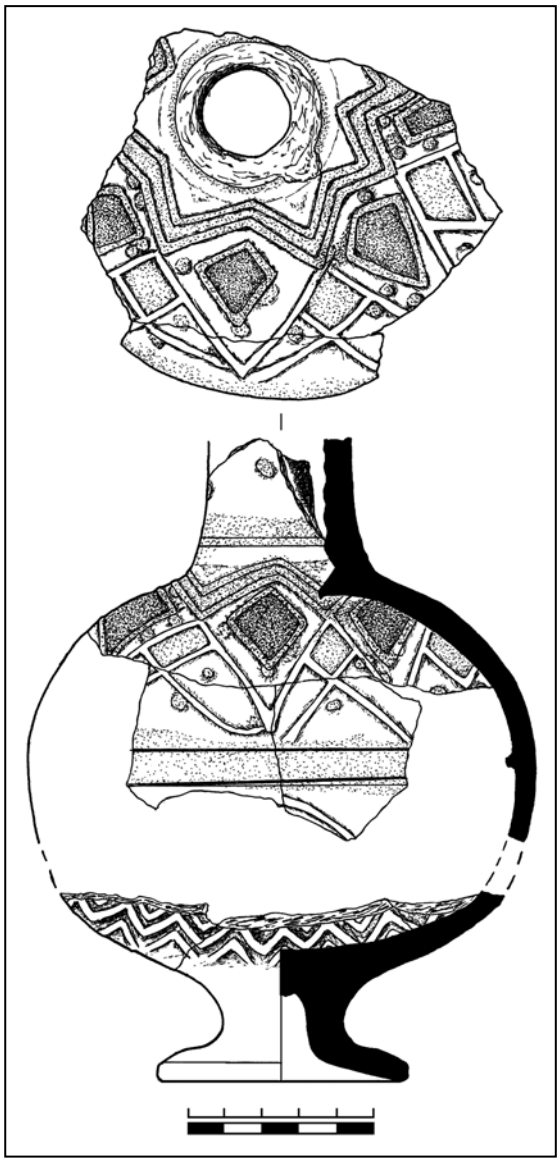

Рис. 1. Городище Большие Кучугуры. Тисненая керамика группы 1 (рисунок М.В. Ельникова).

Fig. 1. Bolshie Kuchugury hillfort. Relief decoration ceramics, group 1 (drawing by M.V. Elnikov).

светло-желтой глазурью. Тиснение выполнено небрежно, контуры росписи ангобом, глазурь и рельефный орнамент не совпадают. Бирюзовая глазурь почти полностью разложилась и ее следы с трудом прослеживаются на сосуде. Поверхность нижней половины сосуда заполняют ряды тисненого зигзага, роспись отсутствует. На тулове сохранились отпечатки печного припаса.

Красноглиняные тисненые сосуды, изготовленные из формовочной массы с примесью красного шамота, хорошо известны в материалах памятников Золотой Орды и на сопредельных территориях. Местом их производства является Юго-Восточный Крым (Масловский 2006: 355). В продукции ма-

стерских этого региона находят соответствие основные характеристики группы 1. Глиняное тесто с обильными добавками разноразмерного красного шамота характерно для Солхата (Масловский 2006: 355—356; 2012: 13). Налепные поддоны, восходящие к причерноморским традициям, представлены во многих золотоордынских центрах (Курочкина 2006: 51—53), но особенно выразительные серии составляют изделия гончарных мастерских Крыма (Булгаков 2005: 360—361). В декоре кувшина использованы уже оформившиеся в золотоордынской керамике принципы орнаментации (Курочкина 2006: 160—164), а выделение отдельных элементов узора бирюзовой глазурью перенесено на красноглиняную керамику в подражание сероглиняным тисненым сосудам Средней Азии и Закавказья (Федоров-Давыдов 1994: 146—147).

Отличия состоят в высокой пористости черепка, желто-красном цвете обжига, известным в керамики Маджара (Волков 2007: 41), упрощенности рельефных орнаментальных композиций, низком качестве тиснения и бирюзовой глазури. Аналогии приемам формовки, глиняному тесту с обилием красного шамота, невыразительным геометрическим композициям тисненого узора, расцвеченным ангобом и глазурью, небрежности изготовления группы 1 обнаруживаются в находке на поселении Мамай-Сурка, расположенном ниже по Днепру (Ельников 2006: 152, рис. 95: 1—2). Близкая по составу и декору керамика найдена в Белгороде-Днестровском (Кравченко 1983: 78—79) и Москве (Коваль 1997: 100, рис. 3: 1). Однако черепок всех этих сосудов плотный, кирпично-красного цвета, вместо бирюзовой глазури используется зеленая.

Группа 2 (рис. 2: 1—3; 3: 1—4). *Подгруппа А.* Представлена семью фрагментами одного сосуда (рис. 2: 1—3). Формовочная масса содержит обильную добавку мелкого темно-красного шамота, примеси известняка и дресвы. Обжиг сквозной, черепок плотный, излом кирпично-красного цвета, на отдельных участках прослеживается узкая коричневатая прослойка без четких границ. Внешняя поверхность более темная. Восстанавливается сферическое тулово кувшина, аналогичного по форме сосуду 1 группы, горло и днище отсутствуют. Диаметр тулова — 15 см, высота тулова — 10—12 см, толщина стенок — 0,4—0,6 см. Отверстие для горловины прорезано ножом. Соединение половин произведено с помощью жидкой глины (барботина), следы которой сохранились на внутренней стороне фрагментов. Вероятно,

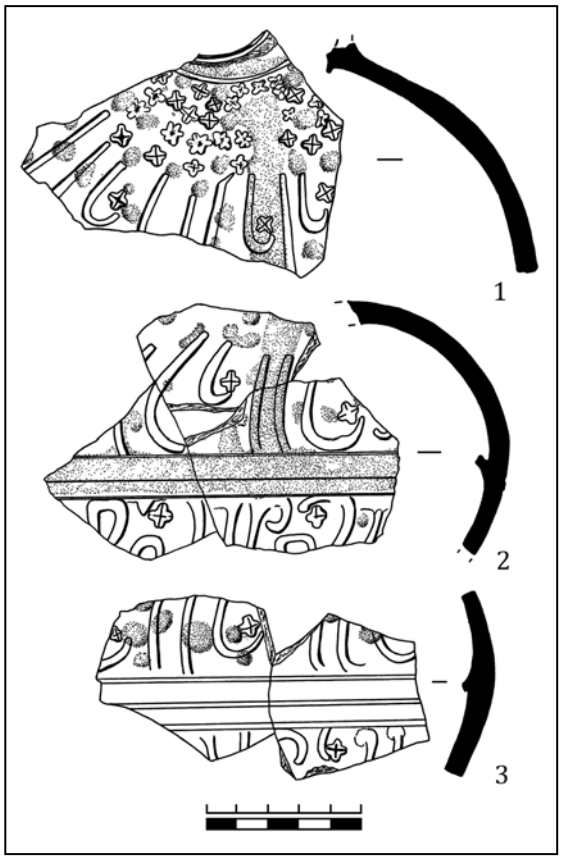

Рис. 2. Городище Большие Кучугуры. Тисненая керамика группы 2, подгруппа А (рисунок М.В. Ельникова).

Fig. 2. Bolshie Kuchugury hillfort. Relief decoration ceramics, group 2, subgroup A (drawing by M.V. Elnikov).

обе половины тулова были оттиснуты в одной матрице.

Декор состоит из нескольких поясов, основание горла охватывает широкая полоса, заполненная отпечатками мелких четырех- и шестилепестковых розеток. Ниже расположен эпиграфический орнамент, отдельные элементы которого украшены такими же розетками. В месте скрепления половин по наибольшему диаметру тулова проходит слаборельефный валик. Узор дополнен росписью белым ангобом, состоящей из горизонтальной полосы по валику, бессистемно расположенных вертикальных мазков и крупных выпуклых точек. На ангоб нанесены пятна разложившейся бирюзовой и прозрачной коричневой глазури. В нижней половине тулова к валику примыкает полоса эпиграфического орнамента, роспись ангобом и глазурью отсутствует. Рельефный орнамент изящный, на плечиках оттиск несколько сглаженный, роспись ангобом небрежная, глазурь невысокого качества.

Подгруппа Б. Представлена пятью фрагментами пяти сосудов (рис. 3: 1—4). Формо-

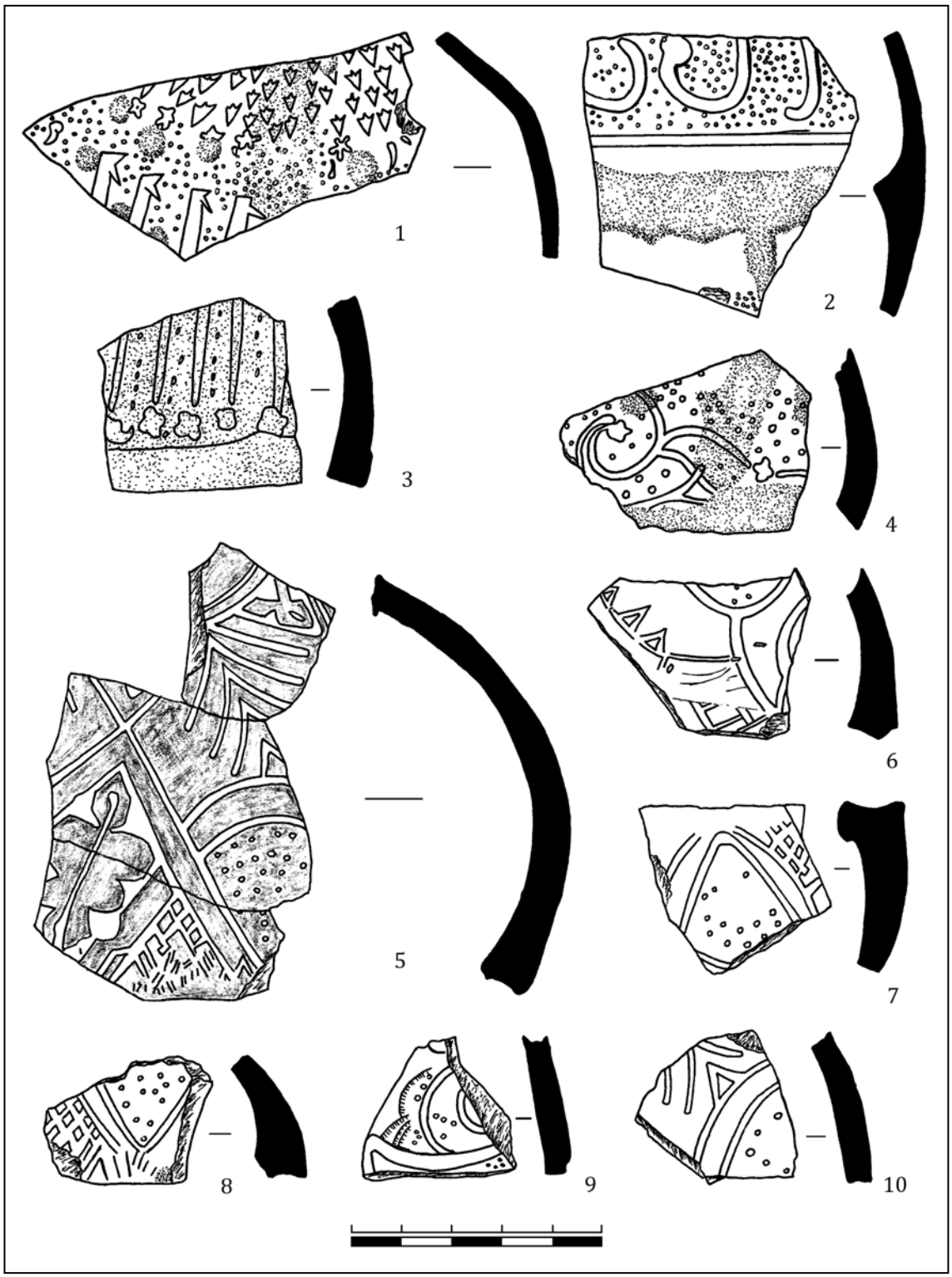

Рис. 3. Городище Большие Кучугуры: 1—4 — тисненая керамика группы 2, подгруппа Б; 5—10 — группа 3 (рисунок М.В. Ельникова).

Fig. 3. Bolshie Kuchugury hillfort: 1—4 — relief decoration ceramics, group 2, subgroup B; 5—10 — group 3 (drawing by M.V. Elnikov).

вочная масса содержит примеси известняка и мелкого темно-красного шамота. Качество подготовки формовочной массы, примесей известняка и шамота близко подгруппе А, но отсутствует дресва. Обжиг сквозной, ярко-красный, черепок тонкий, плотный. Внешняя поверхность у трех фрагментов более темная, у остальных совпадает с цветом излома. Они, очевидно, принадлежат тулову кувшинов, близких подгруппе А. Сохранились следы ис-

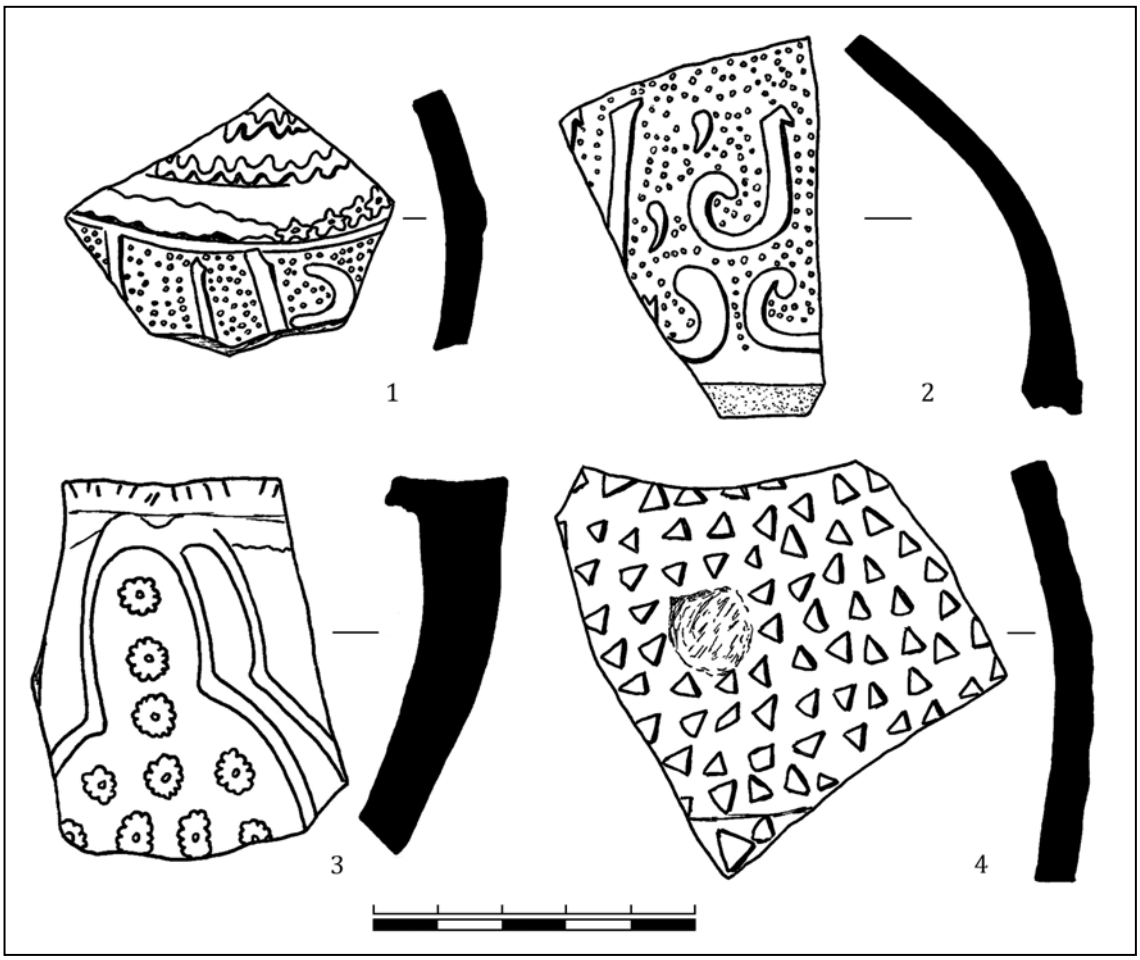

Рис. 4. Городище Большие Кучугуры: 1, 2 — тисненая керамика группы 4; 3 — группы 5; 4 — группы 6 (рисунок М.В. Ельникова).

Fig. 4. Bolshie Kuchugury hillfort: 1, 2 — relief decoration ceramics group 4; 3 — group 5; 4 — group 6 (drawing by M.V. Elnikov).

пользования аналогичных приемов формовки, в одном случае место соединения тулова снаружи отмечено не валиком, а неглубоким желобком. Основные размеры не восстанавливаются, толщина стенок — 0,3—0,4 см.

Схема орнаментации керамики совпадает с подгруппой А. Декор одного из сосудов состоит из широкой полосы вокруг основания горловины, заполненной рельефными трилистниками (рис. 3: 1). Ниже, на фоне мелких рельефных точек, расположен эпиграфический орнамент, его элементы встречаются еще на двух фрагментах. По тисненому орнаменту белым ангобом проведены вертикальные мазки и горизонтальная полоса по желобку, поставлены крупные точки, не связанные с основным узором. В одном случае на белый ангоб нанесена желтая глазурь (рис. 3: 2). Тисненый орнамент четвертого сосуда состоит из ряда вертикальных линий, заканчивающихся розетками, пространство между линиями заполнено мелкими точками. Белый ангоб нанесен на валик и, двумя аморфными пятнами, на рельефный орнамент, прозрачная светло-желтая глазурь перекрывает ангоб (рис. 3: 3). Фрагмент пятого сосуда украшен изображением вьющегося стебля с цветами на фоне мелких рельефных точек. Орнамент пересекает вертикальная полоса белого ангоба, покрывающего и сохранившуюся часть валика, поверх ангоба прослеживаются отдельные пятна прозрачной светло-зеленой глазури (рис. 3: 4).

Керамика этой группы имеет близкое сходство с продукцией гончарных мастерских Юго-Восточного Крыма по способам формовки, обжигу и орнаментации тисненых сосудов. Нетипично наличие в составе глиняного теста подгруппы А примеси дресвы, однако она встречается в формовочных массах ряда центров, работающих в постсалтовских традициях (Масловский 2012: 12—13). Известная в гончарстве золотоордынских памятников Поволжья керамика с дресвой и шамотом содержит заметную примесь песка и отличается декором (Федоров-Давыдов, Булатов

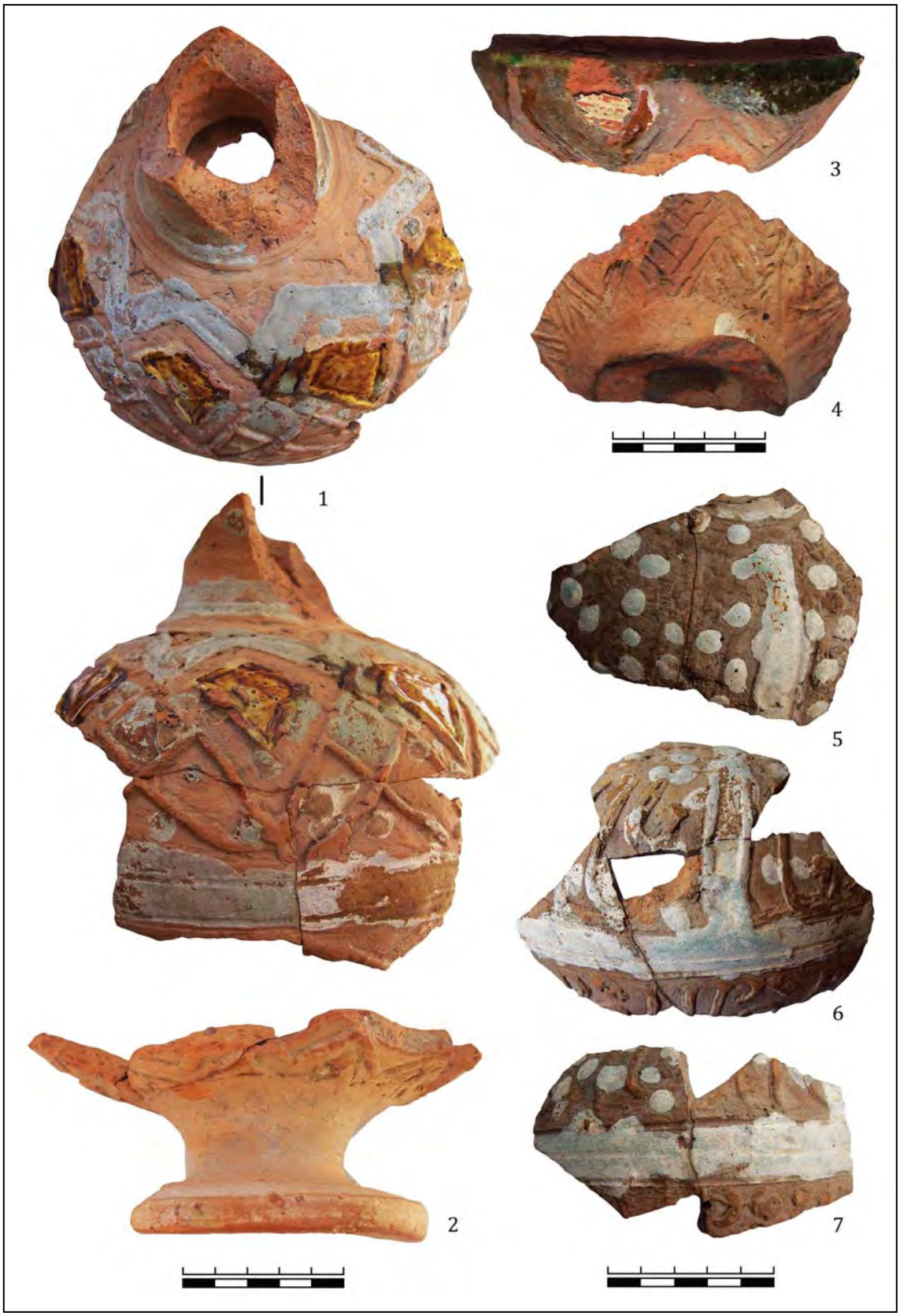

Рис. 5. Тисненая керамика. 1, 2 — городище Большие Кучугуры, группа 1; 3, 4 — поселение Мамай-Сурка; 5—7 — городище Большие Кучугуры, группа 2, подгруппа А (фото М.В. Ельникова).

Fig. 5. Relief decoration ceramics. 1, 2 — Bolshie Kuchugury hillfort, group 1; 3, 4 — Mamai-Surka settlement; 5—7 — Bolshie Kuchugury hillfort, group 2, subgroup A (photo by M.V. Elnikov).

Рис. 6. Тисненая керамика городища Большие Кучугуры: 1—4 — группа 2, подгруппа Б; 5—10 — группа 3; 11, 12 — группа 4; 13 — группа 5; 14 — группа 6 (фото М.В. Ельникова).

Fig. 6. Bolshie Kuchugury hillfort. Relief decoration ceramics: 1—4 — group 2, subgroup B; 5—10 — group 3; 11, 12 — group 4; 13 — group 5; 14 — group 6 (photo by M.V. Elnikov).

1989: 199, 207, рис. 25: 1—6; Курочкина 2006: 45—47). Подгруппа Б находит аналогии в изделиях Каффы и Судака (Масловский 2006: 355—356).

Группа 3 (рис. 3: 5—10). Представлена восемью фрагментами четырех сосудов. Формовочная масса содержит небольшую примесь мелкого шамота, дресвы, известняка. Обжиг восстановительный серый двухслойный, с прослойками светло-серого и сероватокоричневого цвета. Внешняя поверхность серовато-коричневая или серая. В одном случае восстанавливается часть плечика и округлого тулова кувшина, близкого по форме и размерам группам 1—2. Диаметр тулова — 14—16 см, высота тулова — 10—12 см, толщина стенок — 0,4—0,7 см. Зафиксированы следы использования общих для всех групп приемов сборки тулова. Остальные фрагменты — невыразительные обломки стенок.

Декор сосудов состоит из тисненых геометрических композиций, включающих ромбическую сетку, дугообразные линии, вертикальную и горизонтальную «елочку», заполненные точками окружности. На плечике одного сосуда в ромб вписан листовидный узор (рис. 3: 5). Роспись ангобом и глазурью не зафиксированы. Встречаются отпечатки печного припаса, в одном случае — капля белой опаковой глазури, полученная при обжиге.

Формовочные массы этой группы имеют определенное сходство с красноглиняной керамикой золотоордынских центров Поволжья (Васильева, 1988: 132; Федоров-Давыдов, Булатов 1989: 199), но обожженная в восстановительном режиме посуда из Поволжья заметно отличается качеством изготовления и сложностью декора (Федоров-Давыдов 1994: 142). Серия тисненых сосудов, орнаментальные схемы которых совпадают с группой 3, известна в материалах Белгорода-Днестровского (Кравченко 1986: 79, рис. 31). Форма, характер обработки поверхности и подготовки глиняного теста также обнаруживают ряд параллелей, но все они обожжены в окислительном режиме. В Москве найден фрагмент красноглиняного и два фрагмента сероглиняного кувшина с аналогичной орнаментальной схемой и близким составом черепка, покрытых зеленой глазурью и соотнесенных автором с продукцией Восточного Крыма (Коваль 1997: 100, рис. 2: 1—3).

Группа 4 (рис. 4: 1, 2). Представлена двумя фрагментами двух сосудов. Формовочная масса с примесью известняка и песка. Обжиг сквозной, кирпично-красный, черепок плотный тонкий, поверхность светлая. Декор плечика одного из сосудов состоит из двойного зигзага с нешироким шагом, охватывающего место крепления горла, далее следует ряд, составленный из шестилепестковых розеток. Ниже, на фоне мелких рельефных точек, располагается эпиграфический орнамент (рис. 4: 1). Второй фрагмент принадлежит небольшому обломку стенки над соединительным валиком. Он украшен эпиграфическим орнаментом на точечном фоне (рис. 4: 2). Роспись ангобом и глазурь отсутствуют.

Керамика группы 4 относится к продукции золотоордынских центров Поволжья. Формовочные массы и тисненый орнамент фрагментов находят полные аналогии в керамическом комплексе Селитренного и Царевского городищ, а также Увека (Федоров-Давыдов, Булатов 1989: 207, рис. 25; Курочкина 2006: 44—48).

Группа 5 (рис. 4: 3). Представлена одним фрагментом одного сосуда. Формовочная масса содержит незначительное количество песка и редкие включения красного мелкого шамота и известняка. Обжиг сквозной, темно-серый. Стенка сосуда украшена медальоном, заполненным мелкими хризантемовидными розетками. Несмотря на отсутствие характерного зеленоватого оттенка по составу глины и качеству обжига он, видимо, принадлежит к продукции золотоордынских центров Поволжья (Федоров-Давыдов 1994: 142—144).

Группа 6 (рис. 4: 4). Представлена одним фрагментом одного сосуда. Формовочная масса с незначительной естественной примесью известняка, песка и слюды. Обжиг сквозной, оранжево-красный. Форма и размеры не восстанавливаются. Толщина стенки — 0,3—0,4 см. Декор фрагмента состоит из небольших рельефных треугольников, полностью покрывающих черепок. Аналогичный по составу и орнаменту фрагмент известен из находок в Переяславле-Рязанском. Сходство с тиснеными кувшинами Баку, отмеченное для него, является значимым и для описанной группы (Коваль 2010: 144, илл. 60: 3).

Коллекция тисненой керамики городища Большие Кучугуры представлена продукцией нескольких гончарных центров. Анализ подготовки формовочных масс, приемов изготовления, принципов декора дают основания выделить продукцию мастерских Поволжья и Юго-Восточного Крыма. Основные характеристики сосудов присущи развитому золотоордынскому гончарству. Низкое качество бирюзовой глазури на крымских сосудах, возможно, отражает процесс освоения нового

вида декора. Неизвестным мастерским принадлежат две группы керамики. Аналогии приемам изготовления и узнаваемый стиль тисненого декора, ареал распространения находок позволяют предположить возможность их изготовления в одном или нескольких провинциальных центрах западных районов Золотой Орды, становление производства в которых происходило на основе разных традиций, но при несомненном влиянии крымского гончарства.

Появление на городище тисненой посуды носило случайный характер. В отличие от поливной и тарной керамики, она не обеспечивала бытовые нужды населения, не имела специального применения, не подчеркивала социальный статус владельцев. В торгово-ремесленном квартале обнаружены семь из 14 сосудов, четыре найдены в окрестностях богатой усадьбы, три происходят из раскопок мечети. Фрагмент одного сосуда — случайная находка (группа 5). Поставщики некоторых видов гончарных изделий — города Юго-Восточного Крыма и Нижнего Поволжья, такую керамику производили, и на других золотоордынских памятниках ее доля в общей массе материала выше, но в комплексе посуды Больших Кучугур она определенного места не занимала.

Присутствие тисненой керамики на городище, вероятно, связано с появлением здесь населения, использовавшего данный вид посуды. В таком случае она в определенной степени отражает маршруты передвижения ее носителей. Помимо Юго-Восточного Крыма и Нижнего Поволжья, одним из отправных пунктов такого перемещения мог быть один из золотоордынских центров Днепровско-Днестровского междуречья.

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Строительная кашинная керамика городища Конские Воды

Keywords: North-Western Azov Sea Area, Golden Horde, Konskie Vody hillfort, Qashan, ornament, glazed tiles, glaze

Ключевые слова: Северо-Западное Приазовье, Золотая Орда, городище Конские Воды, кашин, орнамент, изразцы, глазурь

M. V. Elnikov

Architectural Qashan Ceramics from Konskie Vody Hillfort

The article discusses the architectural Qashan ceramics from the Konskie Vody hillfort in the North-Western Azov Sea Area. Functionally, ceramics is divided into bricks and decorative facing glazed tiles covered with monochrome glaze. The first category of products is spread on the sites of the Don Region, the Volga region and the North Caucasus in the middle — the second half of the 14th century. Ornamental motifs from the hillfort find analogies among Volga region centers. The use of two- and three composite glazes occurs among items found on Madzhar and New Saray, where where they appeared under the influence of Khwarezm. Local production of Qashan is not excluded, which is demonstrated by finds of ceramic cores on the site.

М. В. Ельников

Строительная кашинная керамика городища Конские Воды

В статье рассматривается строительная кашинная керамика золотоордынского городища Конские Воды в Северо-Западном Приазовье. Функционально керамика разделена на кирпичи и декоративные облицовочные изразцы, покрытые монохромной глазурью. Первая категория изделий распространена на памятниках Подонья, Поволжья и Северного Кавказа середины — второй половины XIV в. Орнаментальные мотивы строительной керамики городища имеют аналогии среди поволжских центров. Использование двух- и трехсоставных глазурей встречается среди изделий Маджара и Нового Сарая, где появились под влиянием Хорезма. Не исключается местное производство кашина, на что указывают находки керамических стержней на памятнике.

Число памятников с элементами архитектурного мозаичного кашинного декора к западу от центрального, поволжского региона Золотой Орды значительно уменьшается, не выходя на пределы левобережья Днепра. Самым северным участком с использованием строительной кашинной керамики в составе декора зданий, является устье правого берега р. Ворсклы, где в 1912 г. при исследовании некрополя Кишеньковского поселения в урочище «Мечеть» Полтавской области (рис. 1: 1) выявлено два мавзолея. Культовые сооружения Мечетского некрополя, датированные концом XIII—XIV вв., были украшены мозаикой из кашинных плиток с подглазурным орнаментом белого, бирюзового и синего цветов (Супруненко, Приймак, Мироненко 2004: 19, 22—23, рис. 23: 15—17).

В Нижнем Поднепровье и Северо-Западном Приазовье археологически известен ряд памятников, в строительной традиции которых применялся мозаичный декор. В Запорожском краеведческом музее хранятся несколько неизданных экземпляров кашинных кирпичей из городища Большие Кучугуры (рис. 1: 2) — прямоугольных, трапециевидных в сечении, с продольными пазами-фасками, размерами 22 × 9,3—9,4 см и высотой 7 см, лицевая сторона и частично торцы всех изделий покрыты бирюзовой глазурью.

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Рис. 1. Схема расположения памятников со строительной кашинной керамикой на левом берегу Днепра: 1 — урочище «Мечеть»; 2 — Большие Кучугуры; 3 — Мамай-Сурка; 4 — Конские Воды.

Fig. 1. Mapping of sites with architectural Qashan ceramics on the left bank of the Dnieper: 1 — the stow "Mosque"; 2 — Bolshie Kuchugury; 3 — Mamay-Surka; 4 — Konskie Vody.

Они происходят из раскопа VI, где в 1953 г. В.И. Довженком открыто многокомнатное здание, интерпретированное исследователем как «дом феодала» (Довженок 1961: 191). Весь кашин рыхлый, белого цвета, типичный для поволжских золотоордынских центров. Автор раскопок указывал, что на ряде стен сохранился толстый слой штукатурки с рельефным орнаментом и «какими-то рисунками с позолотой и розовой краской» (Довженок 1961: 189). Однако в описи, а также среди музейных экспонатов, отсутствуют данные о деталях этого орнамента. Интересной является находка кашинной плитки в составе погребального инвентаря могильника Мамай-Сурка (рис. 1: 3), в виде небольшого прямоугольника, лицевая сторона которого покрыта ультрамариновой глазурью (Ельников 2006: 240—243, рис. 145: 6). Изразец изготовлен из твердого кашина, что не свойственно большинству кашинных изделий региона. По-видимому, плитка привезена в Нижнее Поднепровье в качестве сувенира и не соотносится ни с одним известным золотоордынским городищем.

При исследовании городища Конские Воды, расположенного у притока Конки — р. Жеребец Ореховского района Запорожской области (рис. 1: 4) (Ельников 2015: 483), обнаружено более десяти объектов, функциональное назначение которых и время существования остается спорным (Güldenstädt 1791: 103; Зиливинская 2014: 260, 272). Находясь в плотной современной застройке, часть из них разрушена хозяйственной деятельностью. Лучше всего сохранился участок на левобережной части памятника — холмистом возвышении Мечеть-Могила, где в ходе работ 2008—2015 гг. при исследовании двух строений выявлено несколько тысяч строительных кашинных изделий.

Функциональное назначение и типы кашинной керамики

Строительная кашинная керамика золотоордынского городища Конские Воды по функциональному назначению включает в себя две категории изделий: кашинные кирпичи и декоративные облицовочные изразцы, покрытые монохромной глазурью. Кашинных кирпичей на памятнике встречено несколько вариантов:

Вариант А: прямоугольно-усеченной формы, с пазами-фасками по длинным торцевым сторонам для лучшего крепления в растворе. Лицевая сторона и частично торцы покрыты глазурью бирюзового цвета светлых и насыщенно-темных оттенков. Имеется два вида этого варианта, первый из которых имел размеры по лицевой стороне 19,3—20,2 × 7,8—8,4 см; углы кирпичей округлены, высота изделий 7,0—8,2 см. Короткие стороны ровно опускались вниз на 1,3—3,3 см (покрыты глазурью), затем косо сходились к узкому, прямоугольному дну — «пятке», размерами до 5,0—8,0 × 3,7—5,8 см, образуя в сечении вид перевернутой трапеции. Длинные торцы также ровно опускались вниз на 1,1—3,0 см, ниже имелись удлиненно-овальные пазы-фаски, размерами до 7,2—11,0 × 2,0—3,1 см, при глубине 1,1—2,5 см; далее к низу торцы плавно сужались к дну (рис. 2: 1). Кирпичи такого вида имели глубокие насыщенные темные оттенки бирюзовой глазури с блестящей, глянцевой поверхностью.

Второй вид *варианта А* имел близкие пропорции по лицевой стороне изделий: 19,9—20,2 × 8,2—8,8 см и высоту 7,1—7,4 см, но короткие стороны торцов имели вогнутую, слегка округлую поверхность. Удлиненные пазы-фаски имели размеры 8,0—8,8 × 2,1—3,2 см при глубине 0,7—1,2 см. Дно — «пятка» меньших размеров 3,6—6 × 2,3—4,6 см (рис. 2: 2). Изделия этого вида были покрыты поливой бирюзового цвета светлых оттенков, глазурь довольно часто со следами брака (пузырьки воздуха).

Э.В. Ртвеладзе отмечал, что в золотоордынских мавзолеях XIV в. из района Пятигорья (Северный Кавказ) применялся бру-

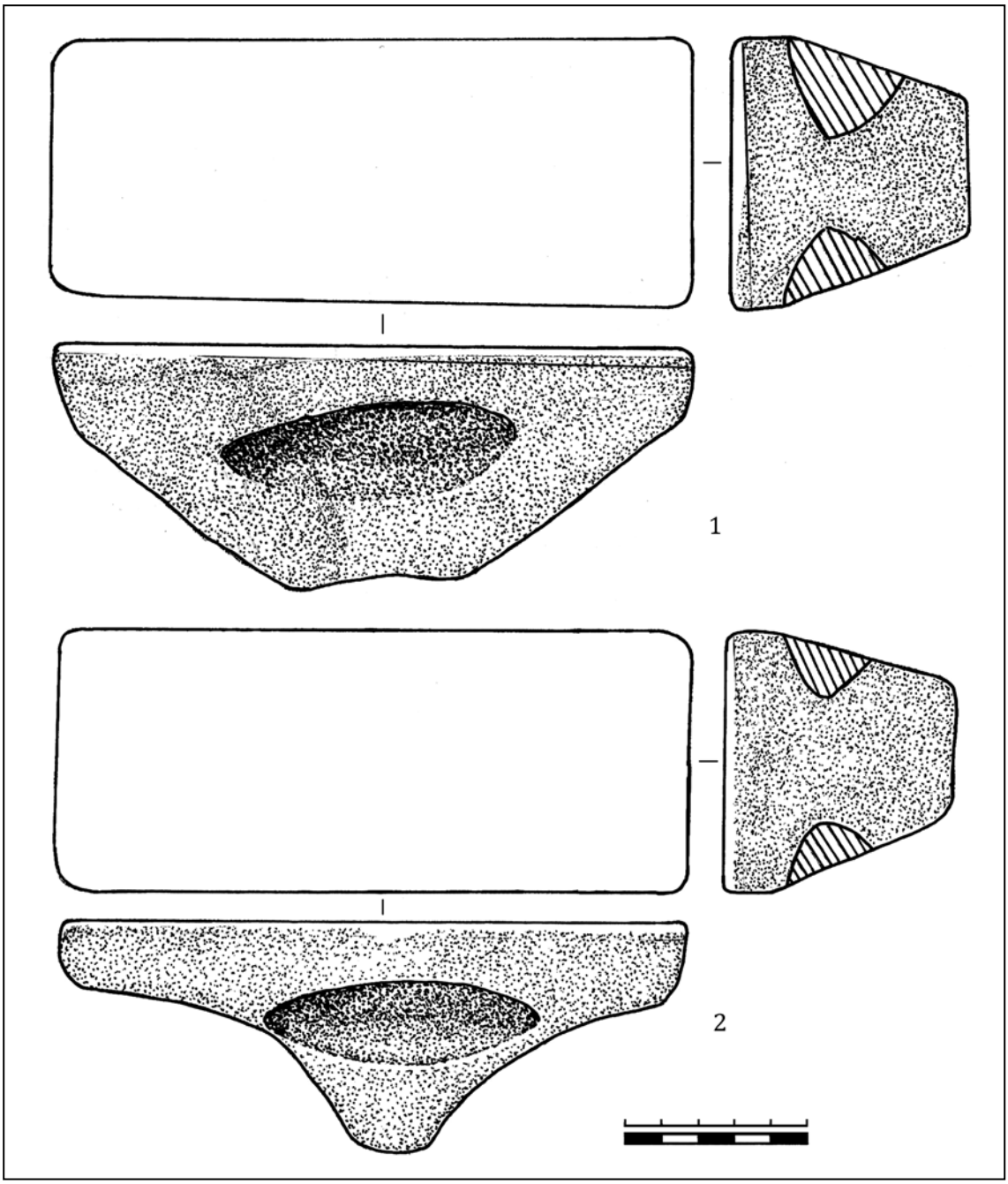

Рис. 2. Городище Конские Воды. 1—2 — кирпичи типа А (рисунки автора).

Fig. 2. Konskie Vody hillfort. 1—2 — bricks are of type A (drawings by the author).

сковидный с продольными фасками кирпич, трапециевидный в сечении, лицевая сторона которого покрыта поливой голубого цвета, размерами 21 × 6,5 см и высотой 5 см. По мнению исследователя, подобные поливные кирпичи широко применялись в облицовке архитектурных памятников Средней Азии XIV в., Нового Сарая, на городище Маджары, встречены также при раскопках мавзолея-мечети в Воронежской области (Ртвеладзе 1969: 262—264, рис. 1: 3). Кашинные кирпичи аналогичных с городищем Конские Воды пропорций были распространены на золотоордынских памятниках Подонья, Поволжья, Кавказа и Северного Ирана (Волков 2007: 36, рис. 3: 6; Цыбин 2007: 114—115), где появились в XIV в. (Федоров-Давыдов 1978: 35).

Л. М. Носкова указывала, что поливные кирпичи с пазами-фасками и без них, покрытые бирюзовой, ультрамариновой и белой поливой, встреченные на Селитренном городище, применялись для оформления ку-

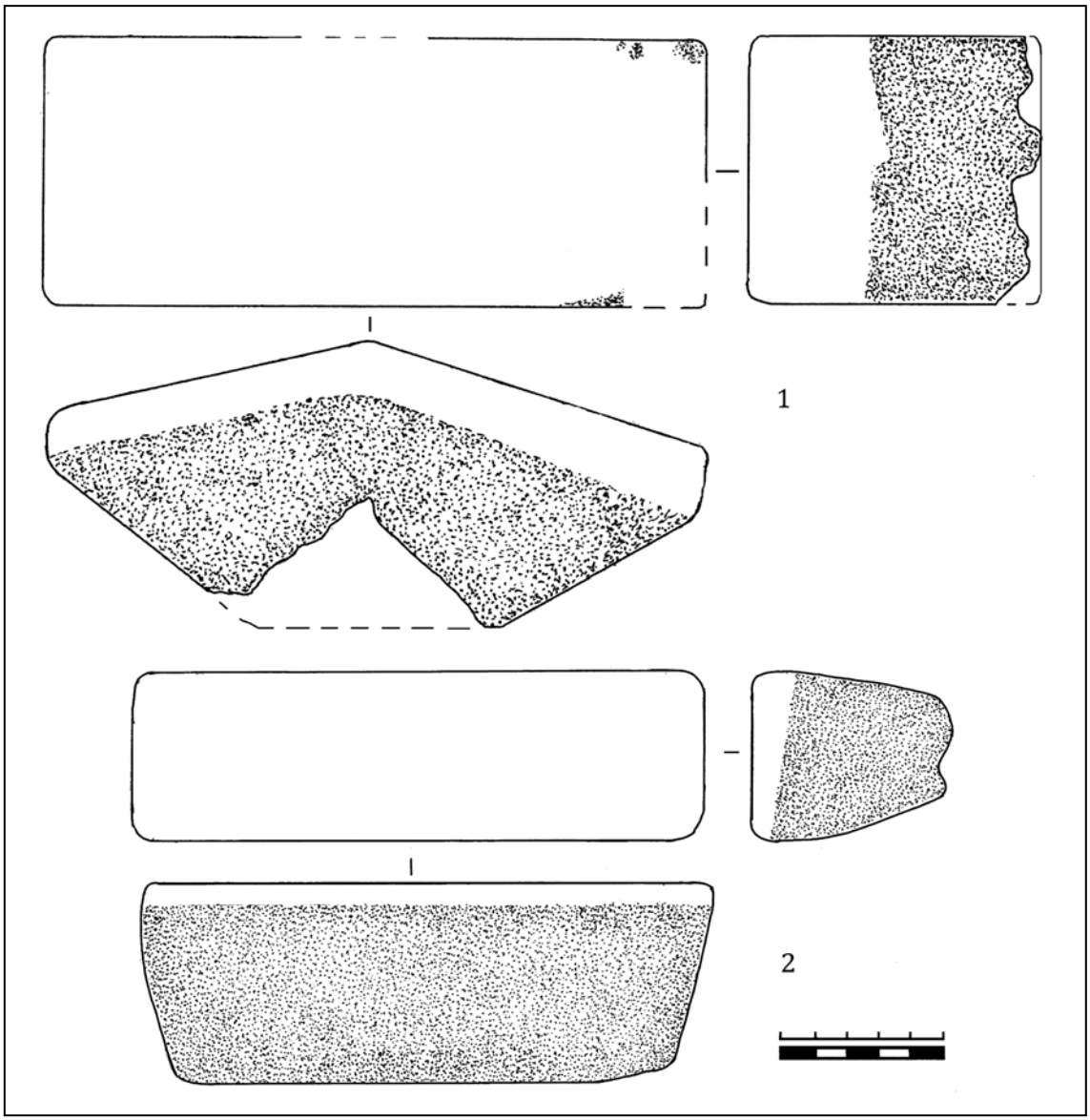

Рис. 3. Городище Конские Воды. Кирпичи типа B (1) и типа C (2) (по Єльников 2011: 105, рис. 1: 3, 4).

Fig. 3. Konskie Vody hillfort. Bricks are of type B (1) and type C (2) (after Єльников 2011: 105, рис. 1: 3, 4).

польных поверхностей, внешней облицовки и пола (Носкова 1972: 171—172). На городище Конские Воды зафиксировано использование подобных кирпичей в качестве бордюров во внешнем убранстве стены, которая была украшена двумя (через четыре обожженных глиняных кирпича) двойными горизонтальными полосами.

Вариант B: прямоугольно-усеченной формы, с перегибом в центральной части. Размеры по лицевой стороне 20,5×8,1—8,4 см, высота 7,8—9 см. Углы кирпича округлены, в центральной части — перегиб под тупым углом в 120°. Длинные торцы ровно опущены к ровному дну (без пазов-фасок), короткие стороны также ровно опускались на 0,8—3 см вниз, затем косо сходились к дну (рис. 3: 1). Кирпичи такого вида имели насыщенные темные оттенки бирюзовой глазури с блестящей поверхностью. Число кирпичей этого варианта незначительно, они могли применяться на углах зданий шести- или восьмиугольной конструкции. Аналогии использования изделий такого варианта на территории Золотой Орды нам не известны.

Вариант C: профильные кирпичи — «сухари», узкой прямоугольной формы, размерами 17,4—18,2×4,8—5,6 см, высотой 6,0—6,8 см. Боковые стороны плавно сужались к прямоугольному дну (дно часто вогнуто — усадка при обжиге). Лицевая поверхность и частично боковые стороны покрыты поливой бирю-

зового цвета (рис. 3: 2). Подобные «сухари» широко применялись на золотоордынских памятниках XIV в. в качестве внешней облицовки стен. На Конских Водах обнаружено большое число подработанных частей «сухарей», размерами около 5×5 см. Такими «квадратами» могли выкладываться различные орнаментальные композиции, как на стенах дворцового здания 1 золотоордынского городища у пос. Комсомольский в Нижнем Поволжье (Плахов 2008: 130—132, рис. 6).

Процентное соотношение встречаемости кашинных кирпичей вариантов *A*, *B* и *C* на памятнике Конские Воды — 35: 5: 60 соответственно. Кирпичи могли изготовляться в алебастровых формах — калыпах, использовавшихся как для изготовления штампованной керамики, так и для производства поливных кашинных архитектурных деталей (Булатов 1972: 272—274). При этом пазы-фаски могли формоваться как в калыпах, так и вырезаться вручную, что отмечено на ряде изделий городища.

Декоративные облицовочные плитки входили в состав панно и обойм из алебастра, который после выпадения большинства изразцов сохранил контуры орнаментальных композиций (рис. 4: 1, 2; 6: 1; 7: 1; 8: 1—4; 9: 1—3; 10: 1). Алебастровые части толщиной до 4,7—6,4 см, на тыльной стороне которых имеются глубокие пальцевые горизонтальные расчесы; кашинные изразцы толщиной 1,9—2,7 см, при средней толщине 2,4 см. Орнаментальные мотивы строительной керамики городища Конские Воды можно разделить на несколько типов.

Тип А. Геометрический орнамент, состоящий из трех видов: 1) простой узор, построенный на плоской орнаментальной сетке по закону гириха, где центральное место занимала шестиугольная звезда. Орнамент представлял собой узкую обойму шириной около 19 см (рис. 4: 1, 2), ограниченную с двух стороной по одной полосе вставок из прямоугольных плиток, покрытых бирюзовой глазурью (рис. 5: 7). В каждый внутренний угол звезды, покрытой зеленой (изумрудной) глазурью (рис. 4: 3), вставлены плитки неправильной четырехугольной формы (рис. 4: 4), образуя большую шестиугольную звезду. Четырехугольные плитки, которые, по Л. С. Носковой, называются «чаша» (Носкова 1984: 225, рис. 1: 3), покрыты поливой белого или желтого (реже) цвета. На одной центральной горизонтальной линии со звездой с двух сторон располагались равнобедренные шестиугольники (их углы соединены с углами «чаш»), покрытые глазурью бледно-бирюзового цвета (рис. 4: 5). Между шестиугольниками располагались плитки в виде двойных спаренных пятиугольных трапеций ультрамаринового цвета (рис. 4: 6) — барабанов («таули» по классификации Л. Н. Носковой (Носкова 1984: 225, рис. 1: 4)). У ограничительных линий, изнутри, в орнамент вписаны изразцы, повторяющие бесконечность орнамента: разрезанные на половину «таули» (рис. 5: 1, 2), шестиугольники (рис. 5: 3, 4) и звезды (рис. 5: 5, 6). Все они повторяют цветовую гамму своих «целых» изразцов, за исключением половинок шестиугольников (трапеций), покрытых желтой глазурью. Орнамент этого типа (*А-1*) из Конских Вод близок ложным мозаикам на кашинном тесте из Селитренного городища (Носкова 1972: 182, рис. 5: 2). По мнению исследовательницы, геометрический орнамент в золотоордынской архитектуре представлен шестиугольниками и подобными им звездами, без хитроумных переплетений, а вписанными лишь один в другой и построенными на очень простой орнаментальной сетке (Носкова 1972: 174). Шестиугольная звезда (хатим Сулайман) часто встречается в декоре культовых зданий как символ ислама; шестиугольники являются геометрическим выражением числа шесть. В исламской космографии шесть — число дней, в течение которых Бог сотворил небеса и землю (Стародуб 2010: 193). Подобные композиции широко использовались в отделке архитектурных сооружений Османской империи (Хлебнова 2004: 197—198, табл. 68).

К типу *А-2* относится геометрический орнамент, где центральная горизонтальная линия состоит из квадратов, поставленных вертикально на угол, между которыми вписаны треугольники (рис. 6: 1). Квадратные изразцы покрыты поливой белого, реже бирюзового цвета (рис. 6: 2), треугольные плитки — глазурью ультрамаринового цвета (рис. 6: 3). Как и в типе *А-1*, орнамент также представлял собой узкую алебастровую обойму, шириной до 12 см, где центральную композицию ограничивают с двух сторон полоски прямоугольников различной длины (рис. 6: 5, 6), покрытых глазурью бирюзового цвета. Соединенные между собой два треугольника составляли «целый» квадрат (рис. 6: 4), что позволяло строить композиции с поворотом на 90°. Подобный орнамент встречается в Поволжье среди архитектурного декора Водянского городища (Егоров, Полубояринова 1974: 78, табл. III: 7).

Тип *А-3* представлен геометрическим орнаментом, ограниченным узкой алебастровой

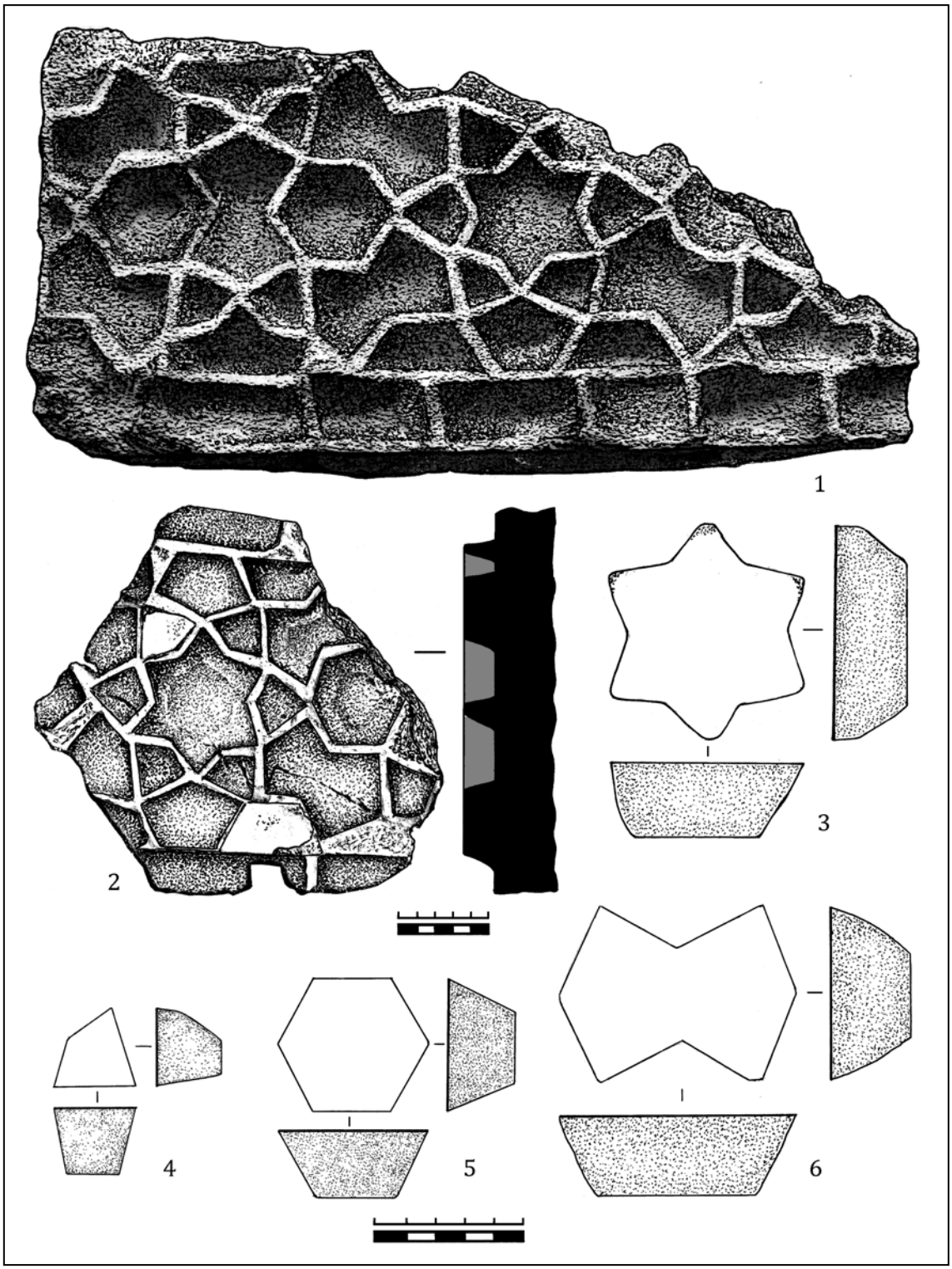

Рис. 4. Городище Конские Воды. Геометрический орнамент типа А-1: 1, 2 — алебастровые обоймы; 3—6 — кашинные плитки (по Ельников 2011: 106, рис. 2: 4, 5; 2015: 53, рис. 1: 3—5).

Fig. 4. Konskie Vody hillfort. Geometric ornament of type A-1: 1, 2 — alabasters holders; 3—6 — Qashan tiles (after Ельников 2011: 106, рис. 2: 4, 5; 2015: 53, рис. 1: 3—5).

обоймой шириной до 16 см, центральная горизонтальная линия которого состояла из овалов и квадратов, ограниченных с двух сторон полосками прямоугольников (рис. 7: 1, 5). Овалы вытянутых пропорций, с заостренными углами, покрытые на лицевой стороне глазурью белого цвета (рис. 7: 2); квадраты, поставленные вертикально на угол — поливой

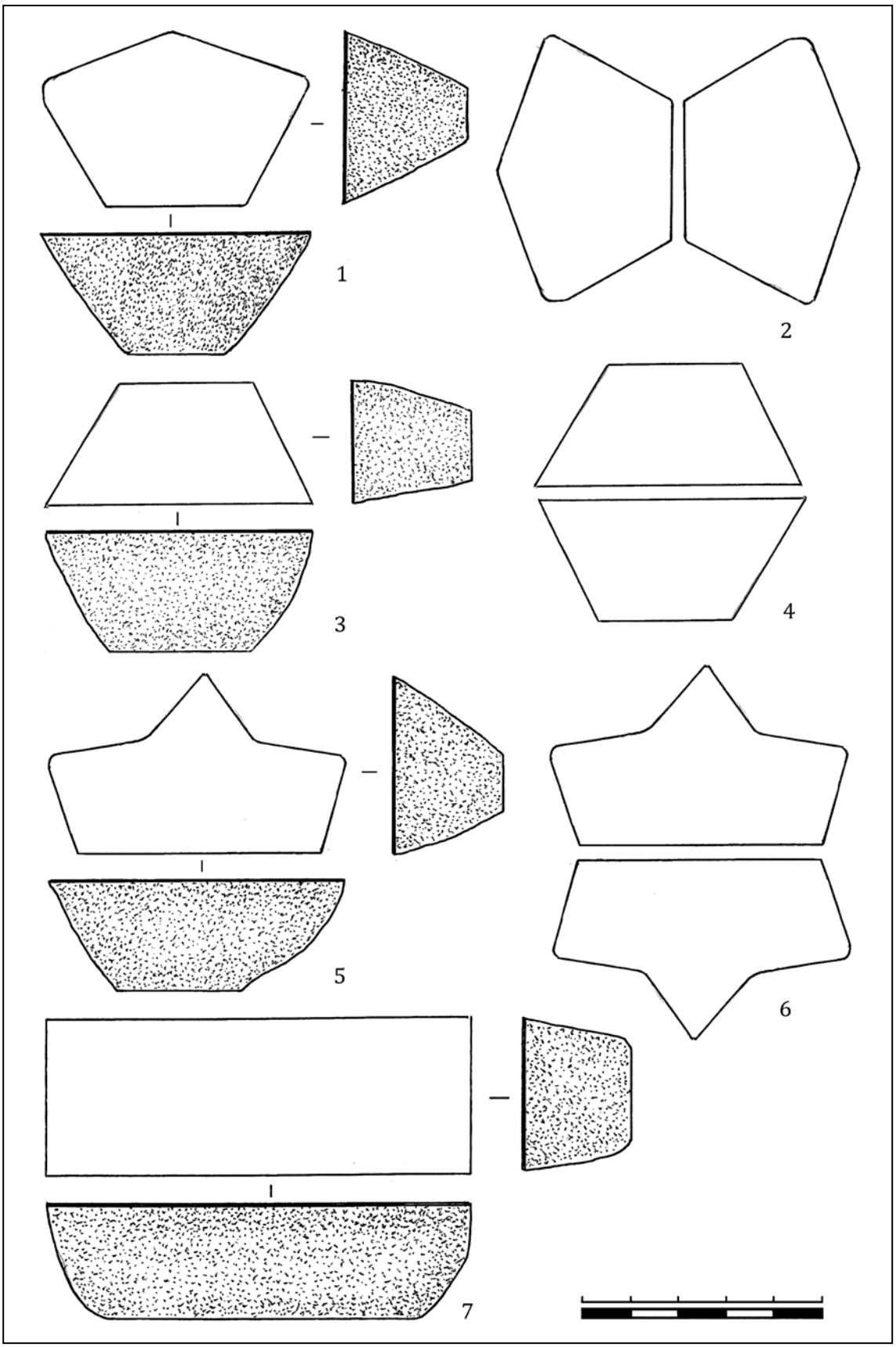

Рис. 5. Городище Конские Воды. Геометрический орнамент типа А-1: 1—7 — кашинные плитки (рисунки автора).

Fig. 5. Konskie Vody hillfort. Geometric ornament of type A-1: 1—7 — Qashan tiles (drawings by the author).

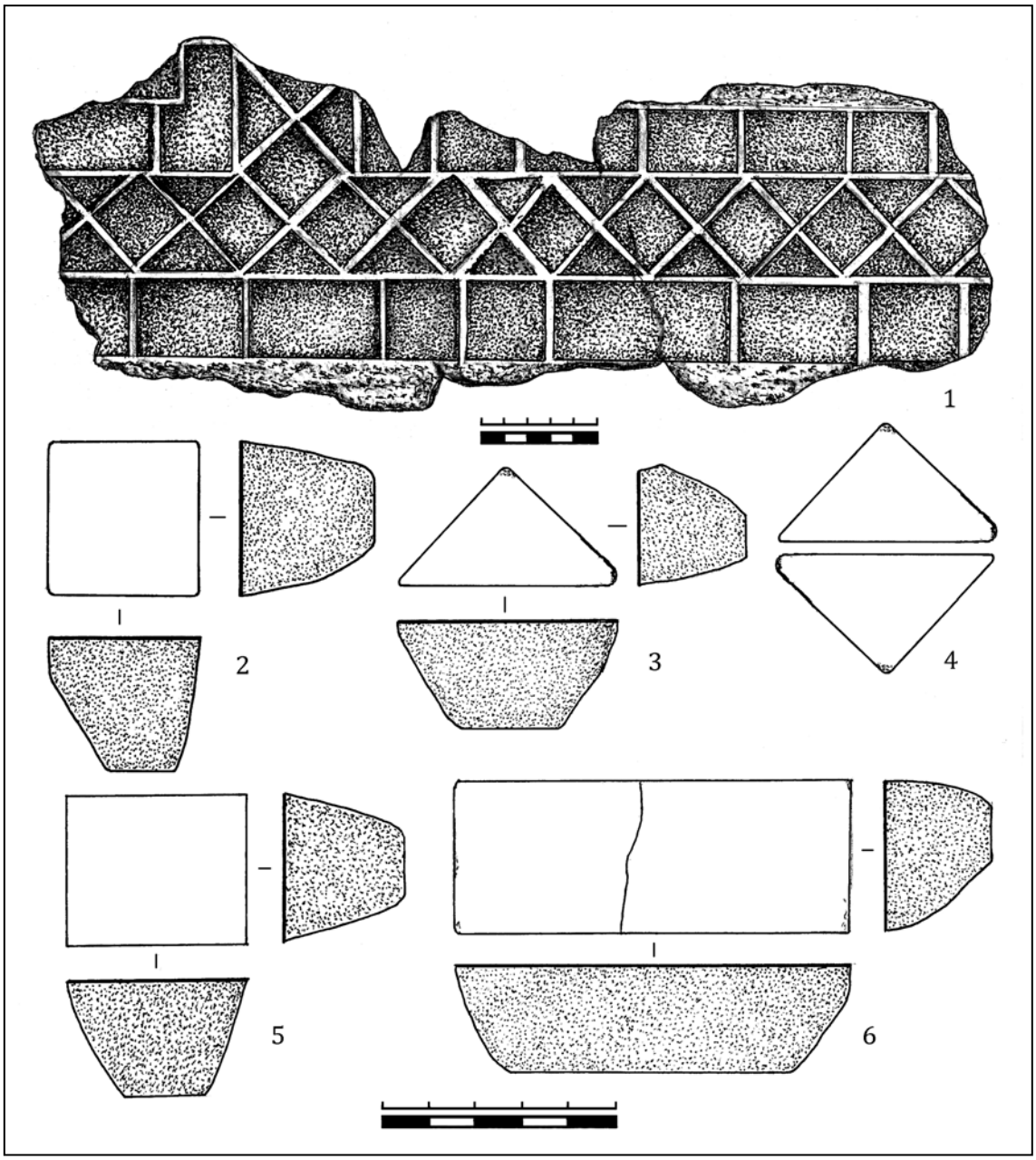

Рис. 6. Городище Конские Воды. Геометрический орнамент типа А-2: 1 — алебастровая обойма; 2—6 — кашинные плитки (рисунки автора).

Fig. 6. Konskie Vody hillfort. Geometric ornament of type A-2: 1 — alabaster holder; 2—6 — Qashan tiles (drawings by the author).

бирюзового цвета (рис. 7: 3). Между овалами и квадратами «вписаны» трапеции вытянутых форм с овальным вырезом (напоминают разрезанные по длинным осям «таули»), покрытые глазурью ультрамаринового цвета (рис. 7: 4). Этот тип геометрического орнамента известен среди архитектурного декора Селитренного городища (Федоров-Давыдов 1981: 235, рис. 102: 16; Зиливинская 2008: 37, 76, рис. 30). Мелкие детали мозаик геометрического орнамента типов А свидетельствуют, что подобные мозаики воспринималась с близкого расстояния и могли применяться в обработке порталов и надгробий.

Геометризованный орнамент (тип *B*) встречен на городище фрагментарно (рис. 8: 1, 2), представлен крупными изразцами геометрически-растительной формы, покрытыми на лицевой стороне глазурью синего цвета. Невозможно выделить варианты этого орнамента, по сохранившимся алебастровым частям шириной до 34—42 см, он являлся частью крупного панно. Ультрамариновый цвет,

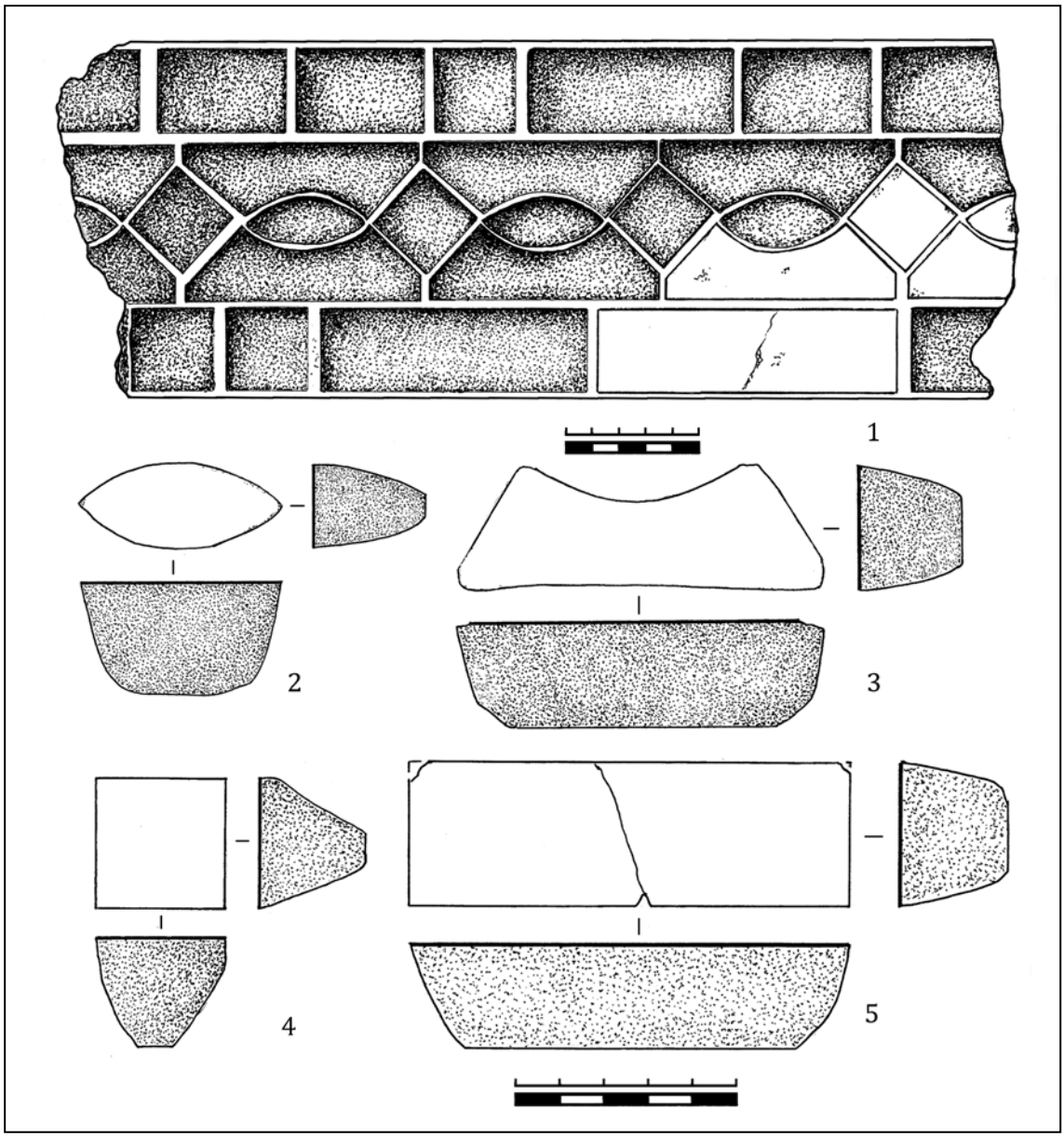

Рис. 7. Городище Конские Воды. Геометрический орнамент типа А-3: 1 — алебастровая обойма; 2—5 — кашинные плитки (рисунки автора).

Fig. 7. Konskie Vody hillfort. Geometric ornament of type A-3: 1 — alabaster holder; 2—5 — Qashan tiles (drawings by the author).

вероятно, служил основным фоном, на котором располагался узор из ломаных линий изразцов, покрытых белой глазурью.

Растительный узор (тип *С*), являвшийся частями крупного панно шириной до 45—70 см, также сложно разделить на подтипы. Такие панно имели тройные ограничительные линии синего (или темно-бирюзового), сине-зеленого (цвета «морской волны») и белого цветом различной ширины, в сторону уменьшения от края (рис. 8: 3, 4; 9: 1—3). Сохранившиеся детали растительного орнамента позволяют реконструировать узор, где на основном зеленом фоне располагались изогнутые узкие растительные стебли, покрытые глазурью желтого цвета (рис. 10: 1). В центральной части между листьями белого, красного и желтого цветов располагались стилизованные цветы и бутоны в виде трилистников, лилий и пальметт, покрытых глазурью желтого, белого и бирюзового цветов (рис. 10: 2—8). Узор — ат-таурик («покрывающийся листьями») характерен для орнамента арабских стран. Композиция, построенная на соединении растительного стебля-вьюнка и спирали, у иранских и тюркских народов с XII в. получила название ислими (Стародуб 2010: 195). Встречаются также из-

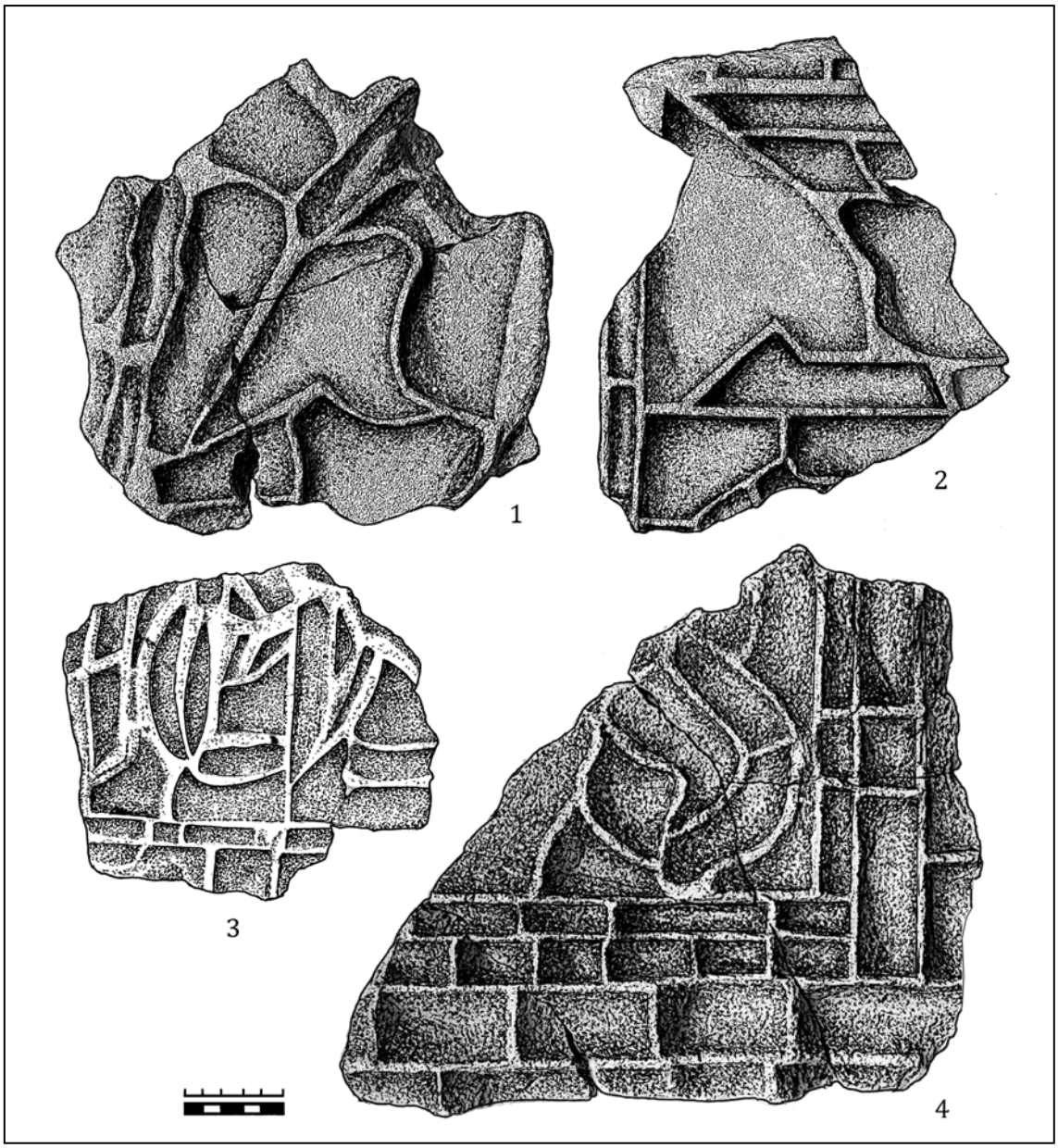

Рис. 8. Городище Конские Воды. Геометризованный орнамент типа B: 1, 2 — алебастровые обоймы; растительный орнамент типа C: 3, 4 — алебастровые обоймы (по Єльников: 2015: 53, рис. 1: 2).

Fig. 8. Konskie Vody hillfort. Geometrized ornament of type B: 1, 2 — alabaster holders; vegetal ornament of type C: 3, 4 — alabaster holders (after Єльников: 2015: 53, рис. 1: 2).

разцы растительного орнамента (пальметты, цветы (гвоздики, лотосы), трилистники, побеги, сердечки) с процарапанным орнаментом уже после обжига изделий, покрытые на лицевой стороне глазурью белого или бирюзового цветов (рис. 11: 1—5). Отдельные изразцы двухсоставные, где в просверленную сердцевину плитки одного цвета вставлен изразец другого цвета (рис. 11: 1). Прямые аналогии растительному орнаменту нам не известны; они близки «пышным» растительным узорам Селитренного городища (Носкова 1984: 223—225, рис. 7: 1—7, 8: 1—11).

Отдельные изразцы с белой, бирюзовой и желтой глазурью с процарапанным орнаментом (рис. 11: 6—8; 12: 1) могли являться частями эпиграфического орнамента, оформленного почерком насх. На это могут указывать также отдельные плитки (рис. 12: 2), часть из них — «запятые», которые могли быть разделительными знаками (рис. 12: 3).

Л. М. Носкова отмечала, что одноцветные плитки, применявшиеся для украшения стен и полов зданий Селитренного городища, первоначально имели прямоугольную

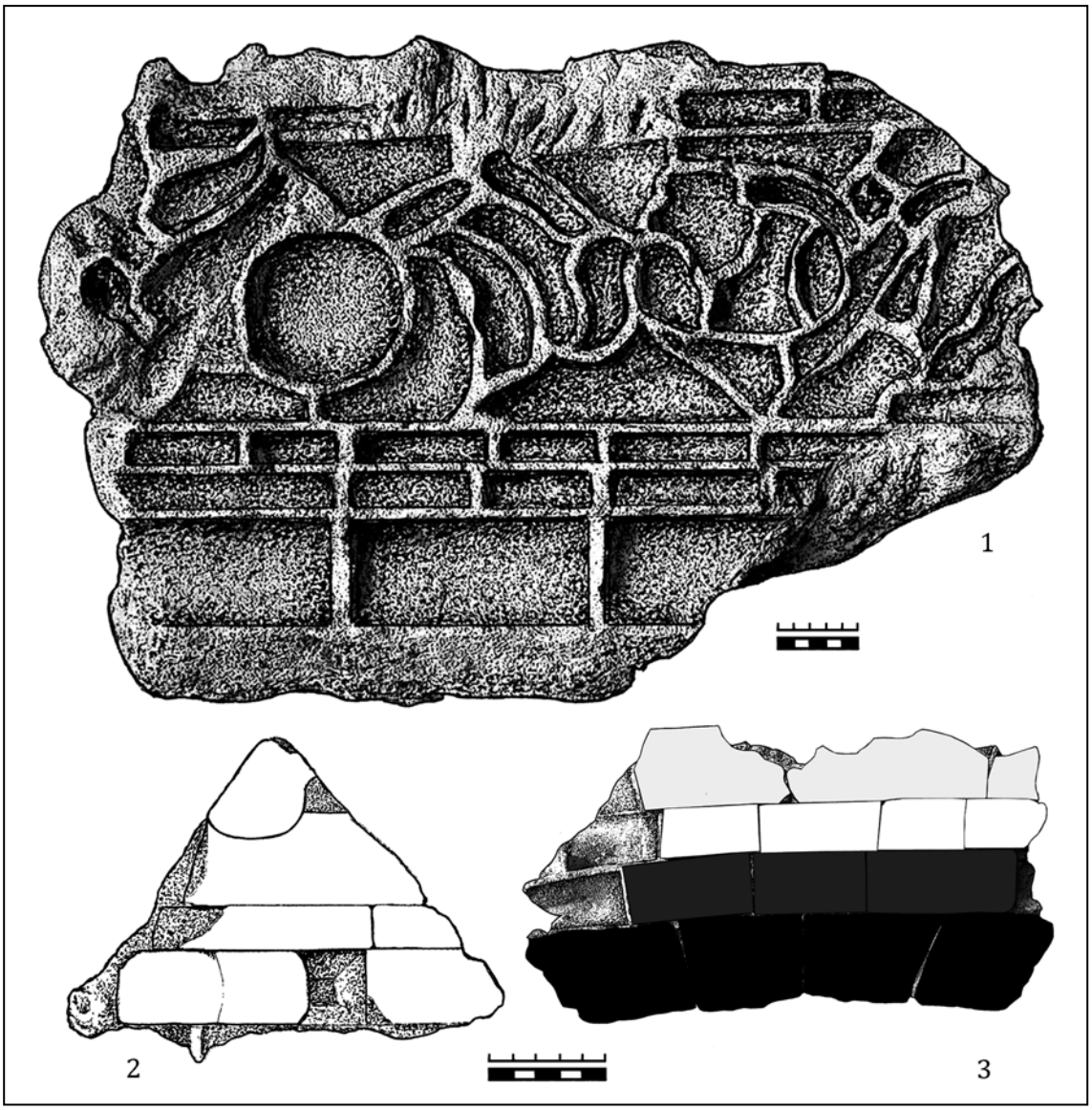

Рис. 9. Городище Конские Воды. Растительный орнамент типа С: 1—3 — алебастровые обоймы (по Єльников: 2015: 53, рис. 1: 1).

Fig. 9. Konskie Vody hillfort. Vegetal ornament of type C: 1—3 — alabaster holders (after Єльников: 2015: 53, рис. 1: 1).

форму (приблизительно 22×22 см), при толщине 15—20 мм. Затем из них вырезались нужные фигуры: элементы мозаик (Носкова 1972: 183). Вырезанные детали имели трапециевидную, коническую в профиле форму, что соответствует и деталям строительных кашинных изразцов из городища Конские Воды. В золотоордынской архитектуре применялся обратный вид набора, когда детали узора выкладывались на ровной поверхности лицевой частью вниз, вплотную друг к другу, с дальнейшей заливкой раствором — алебастром. Такой вид набора идентичен технологии набора мозаичных блоков в декоре сельджукской Анатолии (Измайлов, Саттарова 2009: 630—631).

Формовочная масса кашинных изделий

По указанию В. Ю. Коваля, основой кашина является перемолотый в порошок кварцевый песок, иногда с добавлением стеклянного порошка, флюсов (небольшого количества белой глины, извести), смешанный с водным раствором клея (животного или растительного происхождения) и сплавленный при температуре 1000—1200 °С или всего 900—1000 °С, как установлено для золотоордынских кашинов (Коваль 2005: 75; 2010: 18), для кашинов Узбекистана XII—XV вв. — 910—950 °С (Абдуразаков, Болиев 2005: 157). По качественным характеристикам фактуры формо-

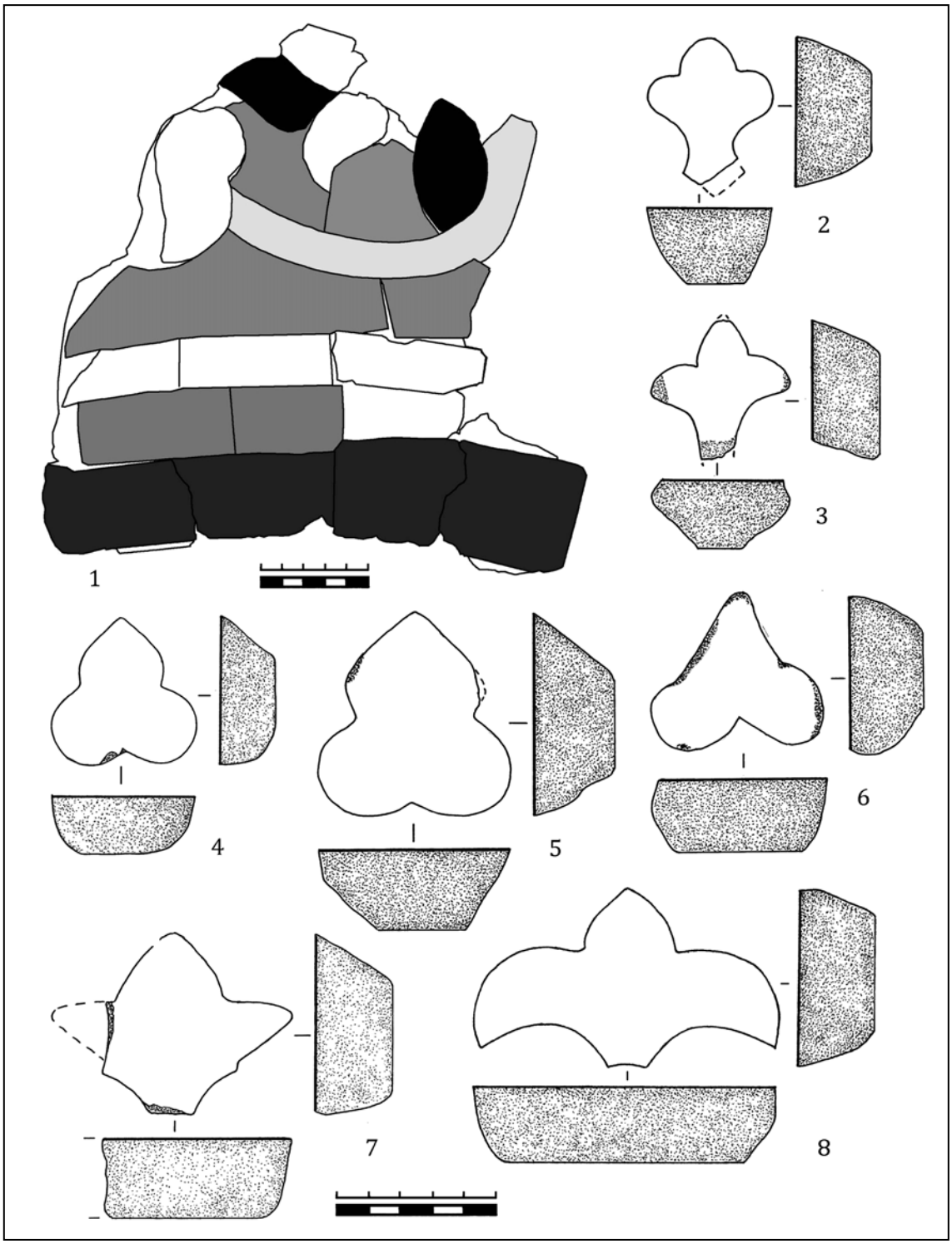

Рис. 10. Городище Конские Воды. Растительный орнамент типа С: 1 — алебастровая обойма с изразцами; 2—8 — кашинные изразцы (рисунки автора).

Fig. 10. Konskie Vody hillfort. Vegetal ornament of type C: 1 — alabaster holder with tiles; 2—8 — Qashan glazed tiles (drawings by the author).

вочной массы строительная кашинная керамика городища «Конские Воды» относится к числу рыхлых кашинов, что характерно для золотоордынских центров (Коваль 2005: 77). Химический (минеральный) состав кашина городища Конские Воды состоял из кварца (речного аллювиального песка) с высоким содержанием кремнезема (SiO_2) в пределах 90,42—93,83%, глины — 0,92—2,92% и извести — 4,14—6,48%. В составе кашина при-

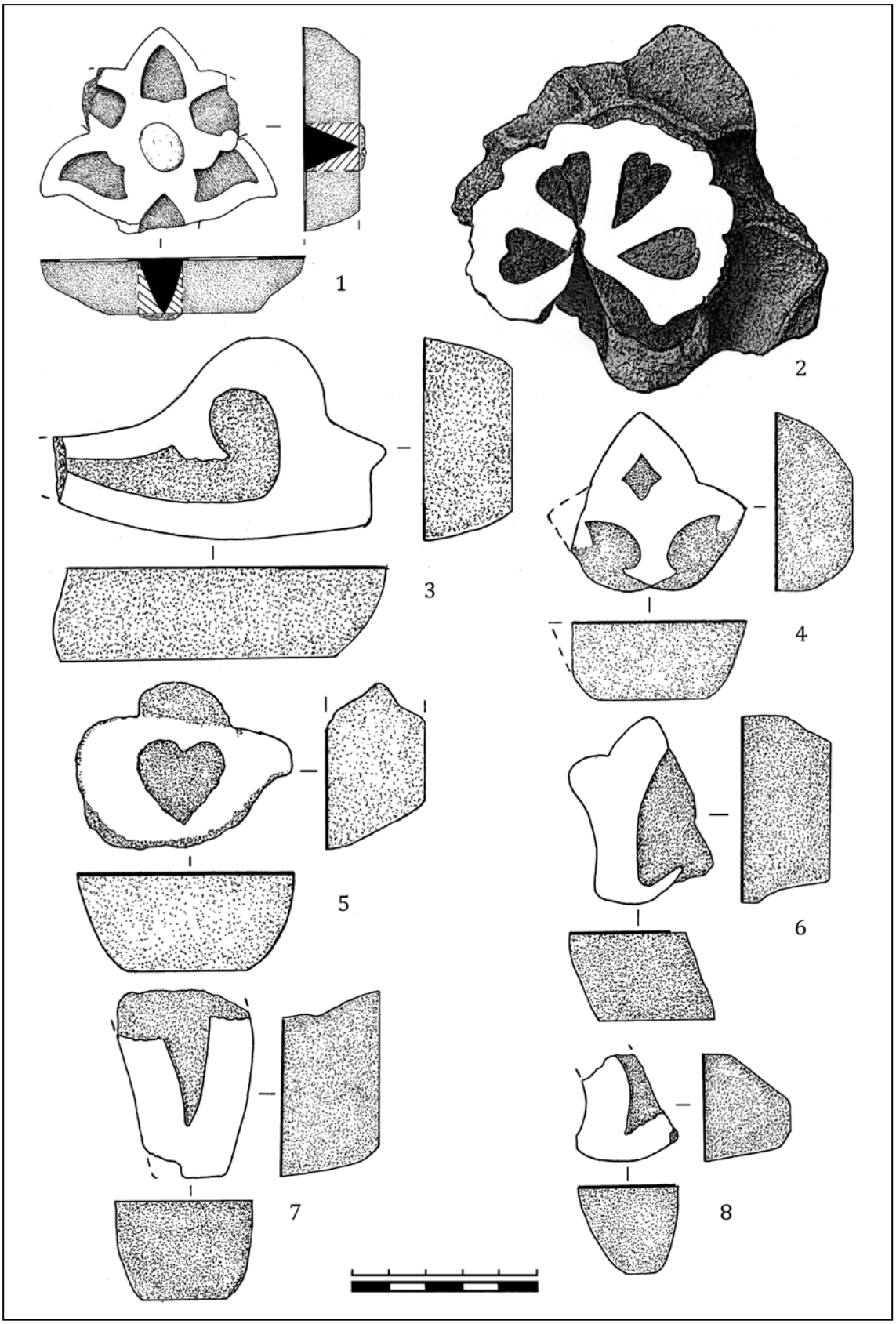

Рис. 11. Городище Конские Воды. Кашинные плитки с процарапанным орнаментом: 1—5 — детали растительного декора; 6—8 — кашинные изразцы эпиграфического орнамента (рисунки автора).

Fig. 11. Konskie Vody hillfort. Qashan tiles with scratched ornament: 1—5 — details of vegetal decoration; 6—8 — Qashan glazed tiles of epigraphic ornament (drawings by the author).

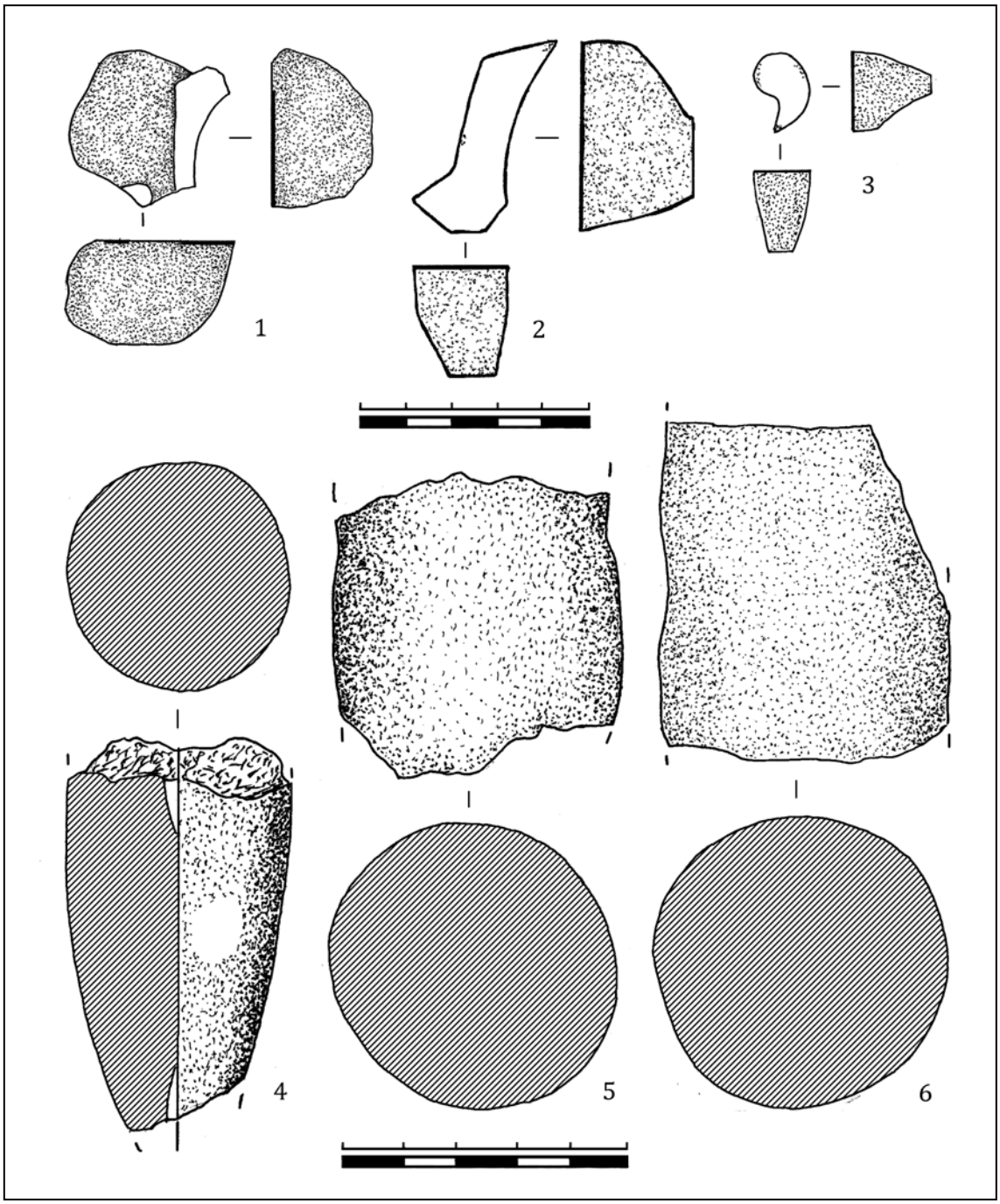

Рис. 12. Городище Конские Воды. 1—3 — кашинные плитки эпиграфического орнамента; 4—6 — керамические стержни (рисунки автора).

Fig. 12. Konskie Vody hillfort. 1—3 — Qashan tiles of epigraphic ornament; 4—6 — ceramic cores (drawings by the author).

сутствует незначительное количество микропримесей (суммарная масса около 2—2,33%) породообразующих минералов: Al_2O_3 (глинозем), Fe_2O_3 (оксид железа) и MgO (оксид магния). Они могли входить как в состав кварце- или глинообразующих материалов, так и искусственно добавляться в формовочную массу. Встречаются единичные зерна калиевого полевого шпата, карбонатные примеси отсутствуют. Преобладает кашин желтого цвета, присутствуют кашины сероватого, белого и розового оттенков в процентном отношении соответственно 37: 28: 15: 12. Обращает внимание, что кашинная масса мозаичных плиток в большинстве желтого и сероватого цветов. В формовочной массе кирпичей, кроме кашина желтого, белого и розового цветов, встречаются серые кашины с коричневыми

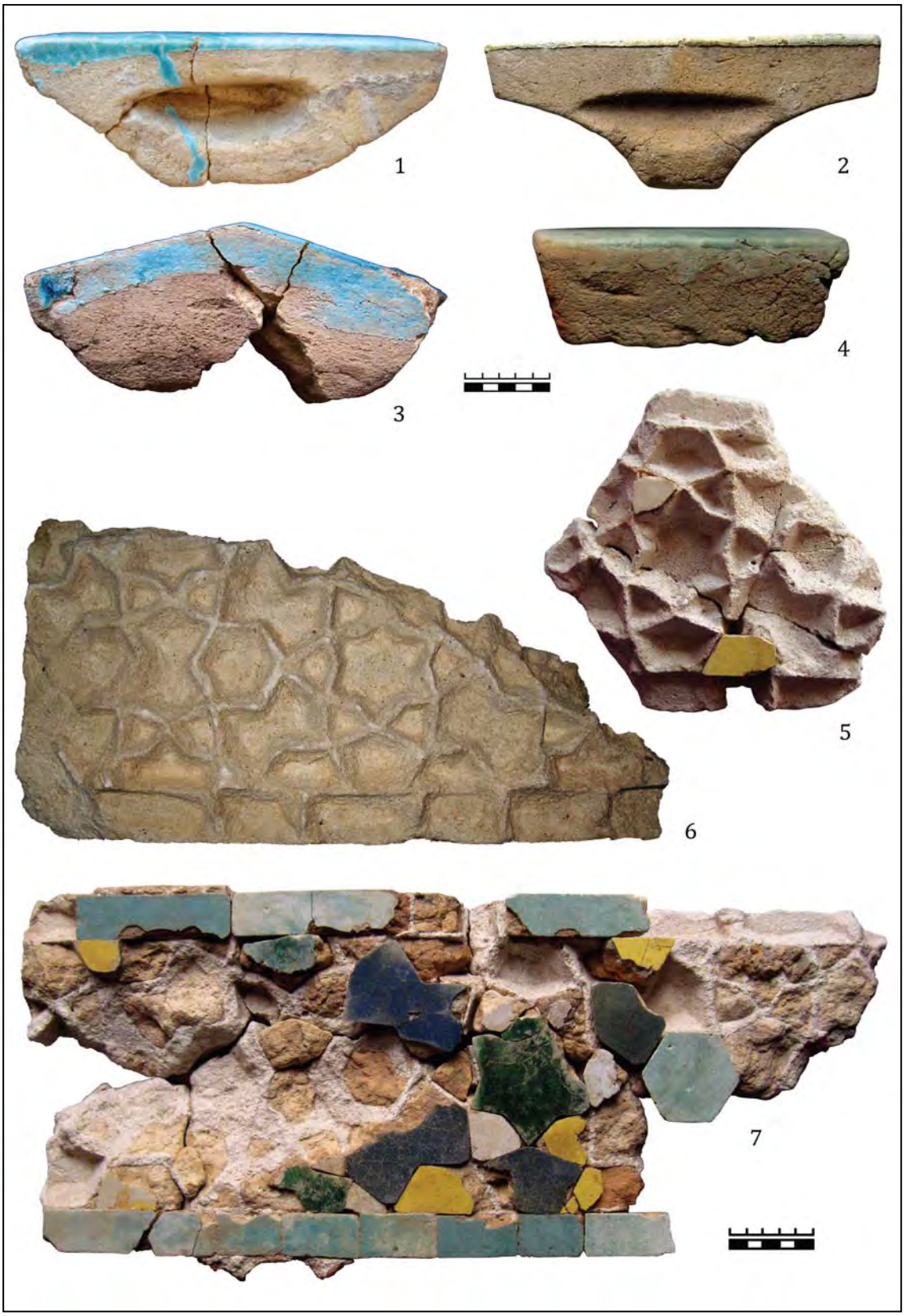

Рис. 13. Городище Конские Воды: 1—4 — типы кашинных кирпичей; 5—7 — алебастровые обоймы с геометрическим орнаментом и кашинными изразцами (по Ельников 2011а: цвет. вкл. VII, рис. 2: 2).

Fig. 13. Konskie Vody hillfort: 1—4 — types of Qashan bricks; 5—7 — alabaster holders with geometrically ornamented and Qashan glazed tiles (after Ельников 2011а: цвет. вкл. VII, рис. 2: 2).

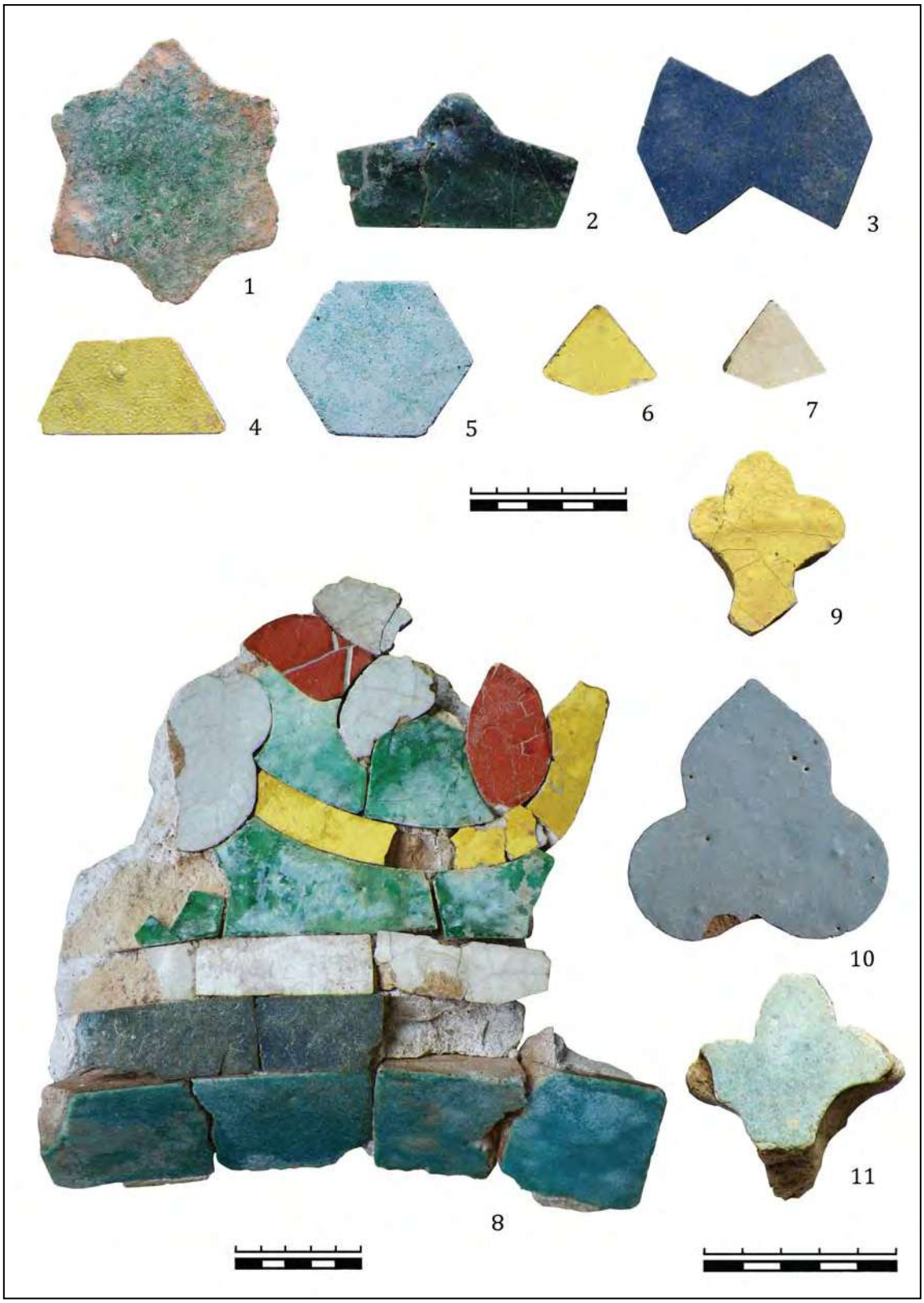

Рис. 14. Городище Конские Воды: 1—7 — кашинные плитки геометрического орнамента; 8 — фрагмент алебастрового панно с растительным орнаментом и кашинными изразцами; 9—11 — кашинные плитки растительного орнамента (по Єльников 2011а: цвет. вкл. VII, рис. 2: 5).

Fig. 14. Konskie Vody hillfort: 1—7 — Qashan tiles of geometric ornament; 8 — fragment of alabaster panels with floral ornaments and Qashan glazed tiles; 9—11 — Qashan tiles of floral ornament (after Єльников 2011а: цвет. вкл. VII, рис. 2: 5).

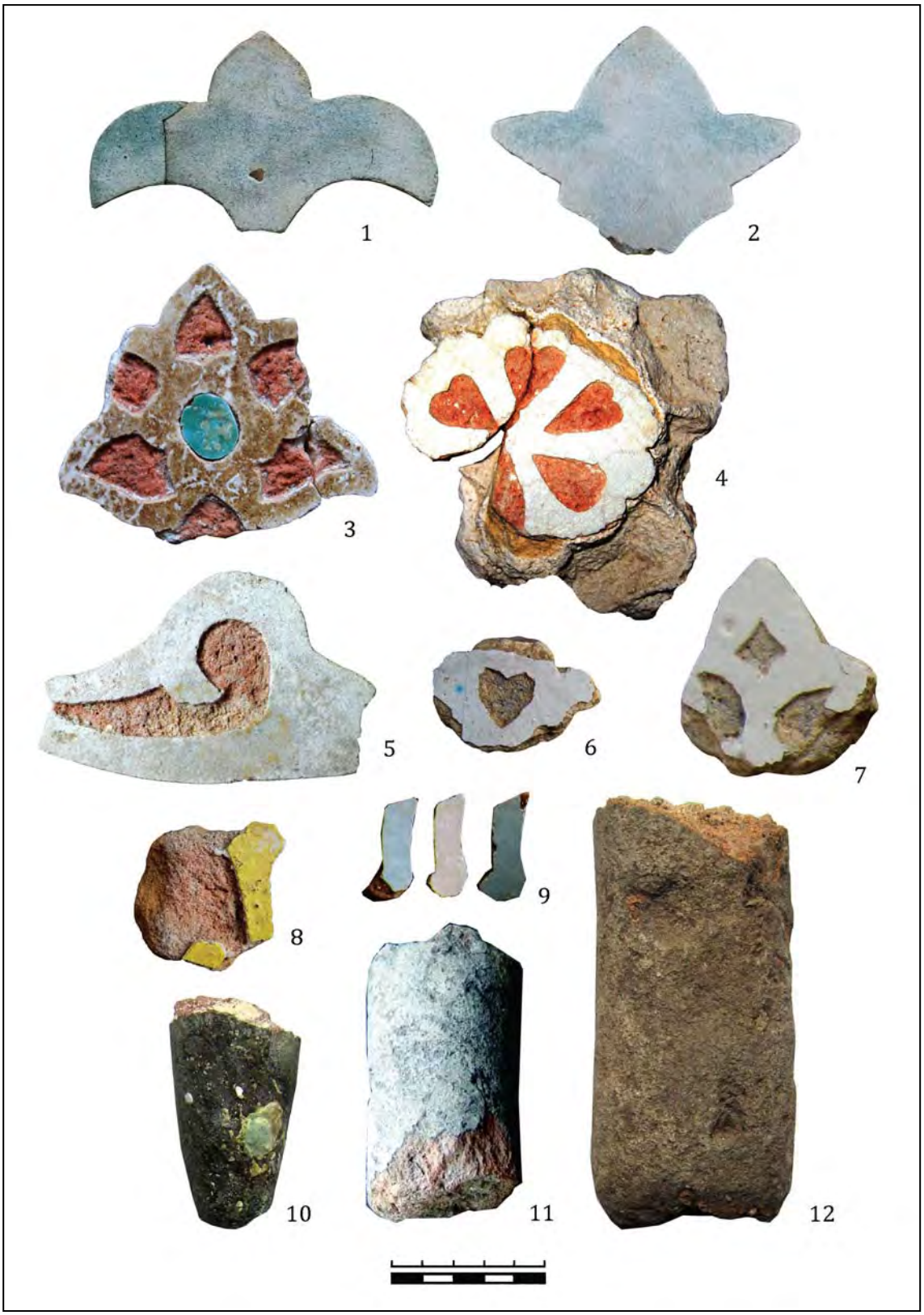

Рис. 15. Городище Конские Воды: 1, 2 — кашинные плитки растительного орнамента; 3—7 — кашинные изразцы с процарапанным орнаментом; 8, 9 — кашинные изразцы эпиграфического орнамента; 10—12 — керамические стержни (фото автора).

Fig. 15. Konskie Vody hillfort: 1, 2 — Qashan tiles of floral ornament; 3—7 — Qashan glazed tiles with scratched ornament; 8, 9 — Qashan glazed tiles of epigraphic ornament; 10—12 — ceramic cores (photo by the author).

прожилками, белые — с сердцевиной или вкраплениями розового или красного оттенков. Такие «грязные» или «переходные» оттенки кашина составляют на памятнике около 8%. Этим различиям могло способствовать использование различных видов глин, как по качественным, так и по количественным показателям.

Рыхлый кашин отличается запесоченностью фактуры, с низкой спекаемостью минералов, разламывается пальцами, причиной чему были отступления от технологических норм при его изготовлении: недостаточная насыщенность кашинной массы водой, грубый помол песка, недостаточно высокая температура обжига (Коваль 2010: 22). Так, при изготовлении кашинных кирпичей на городище Конские Воды отмечен более грубый помол песка, чем в мозаичных изразцах, встречаются крупные зерна кварца и магнетита (оксида железа) — до 1 мм. В. Ю. Коваль отмечает, что какой-то устойчивой зависимости между цветом кашина и местом его производства не выявлено. Он характерен для керамического производства золотоордынских центров Поволжья XIV в., но встречается и у изделий XIV—XV вв., происходивших из Ирана, Средней Азии и Сирии (Коваль 2010: 22).

Различия в цвете кашина зависят от состава исходного сырья (включения в состав кашина глины или извести, которые меняют цвет при термическом воздействии). Так, появление розового цвета кашина специалисты объясняют его высокосиликатным составом при незначительном количестве добавок глины и извести (Гражданкина, Ртвеладзе 1971: 131; Коваль 2010: 22). Кашинные изделия сарайских мастеров, по мнению Г. А. Федорова-Давыдова, отличаются от хорезмийского кашина розовым цветом, большей плотностью и большим содержанием извести (Федоров-Давыдов 1964: 253). Красный цвет кашина может объясняться добавлением к формовочной массе красной глины взамен белой, применявшейся в стандартном рецепте приготовление кашина, для удешевления производства в связи с дефицитом белой глины, запасы которой в Нижнем Поволжье отсутствуют (Коваль 2010: 23).

Химический анализ кашинной поливной архитектурной (строительной) керамики из восьми пунктов золотоордынского Поволжья позволил А. С. Воскресенскому разделить все образцы на две группы. В первую из них вошли изделия, в тесте которых имелось большое содержание кварцевого песка (кремнезема): Сарай-Берке, Сарай-Бату, Увек, городища Маджары, Лапас и Мечетное, — 90,82—94,86%. Процент извести (CaO) незначителен — 0,45—0,75%. По мнению исследователя, такой небольшой процент извести является не искусственной добавкой, а естественной примесью песка, являясь специфической особенностью поволжских месторождений. Содержание Al_2O_3 (глинозем), Fe_2O_3 (оксид железа) и MgO (оксид магния) — обычное для кварцевых песков. Не исключено, что глинозем — искусственно вводимый минерал, снижающий температуру обжига. Устойчивый состав кашина является, по его мнению, показателем местного производства. Отсутствие следов собственного производства на городищах Маджары, Лапас и Мечетное указывает на то, что кашинная керамика — привозная из более крупных центров Увека и Сараев (Воскресенский 1970: 264—265). Изделия из Болгар и Дубовского (Водянского) городища дают кашин несколько другого состава: кварцевый песок (SiO_2) составлял 88,86—91,37% и более высокий процент извести (CaO) — 2—3,15%. Кашины этого состава близки к кашинам Ургенча, Миздахкана и Нисы. Отсутствие собственного производства в этих центрах может указывать на то, что кашинные изделия привезены из Хорезма (Воскресенский 1970: 265).

Архитектурная, облицовочная керамика городища Маджары, по мнению Н. С. Гражданкиной и Э. В. Ртвеладзе, состоит из двух видов фаянса (кашина). К первому относится розоватый, с несколько грубой текстурой, с высоким содержанием кремнезема (92,17%), без (или почти без) глиняной составляющей (0,84%). Такой кашин имеет незначительное количество примесей, играющих роль минерализаторов, способствующих спеканию частиц кварца: Fe_2O_3 (0,87%) и MgO (0,30%), SO_3 (оксид серы — 0,11%), K_2O (калийная соль — 0,70%) и Na_2O_3 (оксид азота — 1,62%) (Гражданкина, Ртвеладзе 1971: 131—132, табл. 1). Второй тип фаянса из Маджар — более светлый, почти белый, содержит 8% глины и 2% извести. Доля кварца здесь приближается к самаркандским фаянсам (Гражданкина, Ртвеладзе 1971: 131—134, табл. 1; 2).

Состав глазурей городища Конские Воды

Цвет глазурей кашинных кирпичей на городище Конские Воды бирюзовый разной насыщенности (100%). Среди мозаичных плиток количественно преобладают поливы с бирюзовыми (26%), ультрамариновыми

(23%) и белыми (20%) цветами. Значительно меньше зеленых (16%), желтых (8%) и красных (4%) кашинных плиток. Около 3% приходится на «переходные» глазури — сине-зеленого цвета (цвета «морской волны»).

Микроскопический анализ (увеличение в 25 раз)[1] позволили установить минеральный состав глазурного покрытия, а также использование двухсоставных глазурей на городище. Первоначально на кашинную основу изделия наносился слой белой глазури, состоящей преимущественно из оксида кремния (кремнезема) — кристаллический белый ангоб, по определению Н. С. Гражданкиной и Э. В. Ртвеладзе (Гражданкина, Ртвеладзе 1971: 134, табл. 3). На этой сливной массивной подложке сверху размещался слой цветного покрытия. Исключением являются изразцы с желтой глазурью, где подложка была не белого, а голубовато-белого («молочного») цвета. Кроме этого, на изделиях с зеленой поливой сверху нанесен тонкий слой чистого стекла (трехсоставные глазури).

Присутствующие во всех образцах известь и магнетит представляют собой, по-видимому, материал основы изделий — кашина. Это особенно видно в составе подложки (ангоба), соприкасающейся с кашинной основой. Подложка состоит из прозрачного стекла, смешанного с кварцевыми (кремнезем) зернами. Кварцевые зерна взяты из речного аллювия, степень окатанности высокая, гранулярно однородная, остроугольных обломков почти нет (в ряде случаев их пытались дополнительно измельчить, о чем свидетельствуют остроугольные осколки зерен).

Суммарная толщина белого глазурного слоя составляет 0,5 мм, на белую подложку приходится около 0,1 мм. Верхнее цветное покрытие — стекло молочно-белого цвета, чистое, однородное, плотное, с редкими пузырьками воздуха ближе к подложке. На ряде экземпляров есть включения дымчатого кварца и кусочков синего и бирюзового стекла. Поверхность стеклянной массы ровная, покрытая крупной сеткой трещин.

Толщина цветного слоя светло-бирюзовой глазури составляет 0,2 мм, на белую подложку приходится меньше половины. Поверхность стеклянной массы ровная, покрытая трещинами. В глубине стеклянной массы видны пузырьки воздуха и не оплавленные осколки кварца (кварцевые зерна с оплавленными краями). Вблизи осколков кварца окраска стекломассы от светло-голубой осветляется и становится практически белой. Калиевый полевой шпат (КПШ), встречающийся в сливной массе (кристаллический белый ангоб), представлен слабо окатанными зернами. Суммарная толщина темно-бирюзовой глазури составляет 0,3—0,5 мм, на белую подложку приходится более половины. Поверхность стеклянной массы ровная, трещины на поверхности стекла отсутствуют. Толщина цветного слоя сине-зеленых и ультрамариновых глазурей в пределах 0,2—0,4 мм, половина приходится на белую подложку. Поверхность стеклянной массы ровная, покрыта крупными цеками (особенно на сине-зеленных глазурях). В глубине стеклянной массы видны пузырьки воздуха и кварцевые зерна с оплавленными краями. Вблизи осколков кварца окраска стекломассы от светло-голубой осветляется и становится практически белой. В ультрамариновом покрытии почти нет включений, масса ровная и плотная.

Цветной слой желтых глазурей составляет 0,3—0,5 мм, на верхний желтый слой приходится не более 0,1 мм. Желтое вещество (керамическая краска) представляло собой пористую с матовой поверхностью массу с редкими вкраплениями кварца, нанесенную на плотную голубовато-белую («молочную») подложку. Имеются искусственно нанесенные царапины на подложке; краска имеет вид примазок в трещинах подложки. Суммарная масса зеленого цветного слоя составляет 0,5 мм, на белую подложку и зеленую глазурь приходится по 0,2 мм, около 0,1 мм составляет самый верхний слой — чистое стекло с радужным эффектом (иридизация). Зеленый слой состоит практически из чистого стекла, с крупными трещинами и включениями зерен кварца. Толщина цветного слоя красных глазурей составляет 0,3 мм, на белую подложку приходится 0,2 мм, не более 0,1 мм составляет похожая на желтую глазурь пористая с матовой поверхностью масса с редкими вкраплениями кварца. На поверхности имеются выпуклые трещины, заполненные кварцем (вероятно, они образовались при прогреве изразцов). Подложка представлена сливной плотной белой массой, на которую была нанесена краска. Плитки с нанесенной краской (свинцовая охра), очевидно, были прогреты, поскольку на нижней поверхности цветного покрытия, там, где оно примыкает к подложке, обнаруживается тонкий слой чистого, плотного, прозрачного стекла, то есть краска как бы приварена.

[1] Анализы выполнены в Крымском отделении Украинского государственного геологоразведочного института, г. Симферополь, в 2011 г.

Микроскопический и химический анализы глазурных покрытий фаянсовых изделий городища Маджары, произведенный Н.С. Гражданкиной и Э.В. Ртвеладзе, указывают на использование двухслойных глазурей: темно-красной по белой глухой глазури (кристаллический белый ангоб) и светло-зеленой керамической краски, которая нанесена поверх прозрачной стекловидной глазури. Они отмечают, что в керамике Хорезма практиковалось использование двух- и трехслойных глазурей или двух слоев глазури, наложенных на специальную подготовку из светлого, почти целиком сделанного из кварца фаянса. Среди изделий Нового Сарая встречается трехслойная глазурь: желтая на зеленой и на стекловидной. Верхний слой, собственно, не является глазурью, а керамической краской, о чем свидетельствует ее меньшая твердость по сравнению с подстилающей глазурью (Гражданкина, Ртвеладзе 1971: 134, табл. 3). Таким образом, по мнению Н.С. Гражданкиной и Э.В. Ртвеладзе, облицовочная архитектурная керамика городища Маджары появилась под влиянием Хорезма, парадные здания новых городов Золотой Орды строили хорезмийские мастера. Затем у них появились ученики, которые, в зависимости от сырьевых материалов, приспособили хорезмийские ремесленные традиции к местным возможностям (Гражданкина, Ртвеладзе 1971: 138—139).

Фотолюминесценция позволила выделить строительную кашинную керамику с желтым, зеленым и красными глазурями в отдельную группу, которая в ультрафиолетовых лучах светится бурым светом. Такое свечение можно объяснить присутствием в красящих пигментах свинцовых охр. Это подтверждается и спектральным анализом глазурей (табл. 1)[2].

Полученные результаты спектральных анализов (37 образцов) не позволяют сделать достоверных выводов, однако дают возможность отметить определенные тенденции. Не исключается некоторая погрешность, обусловленная естественным загрязнением. Так, во всех образцах установлено наличие кусочков металла серого цвета — современное загрязнение. На некоторых анализах лития стоит знак сурьмы — ее слишком много и она не дает определить наличие или отсутствие лития. Кремния на самом деле намного больше (полуколичественный метод анализа). Собственно глазурь содержит около 55—60% окатанных зерен кварца, около 2% калиевого полевого шпата, менее 1% плагиоклаза (группа натриево-кальциевых алюмосиликатов), остальное — стекло. Жирным шрифтом в таблице выделены цифры, указывающие на элементы-хромофоры и характерные примеси (серебро в желтой и зеленой глазурях; барий, фосфор, мышьяк, ртуть — в ультрамариновой). Очевидно, кобальт (ультрамариновые глазури) привезен вообще из других мест: совершенно не типично повышенное содержание бария, фосфора, мышьяка и ртути — т.е. другой не только тип месторождения (формация), но и район добычи. Натрий (сода для стекловарения), кремний, алюминий, магний и кальций — основные составляющие стекла и подложки. Содержание натрия идентично в белых и ультрамариновых (12%), желтых и зеленых (8%) глазурях. Наличие олова, в большинстве случаев, менее 0,1%, за исключением желтых (8,0%), зеленых (2,5%) и бирюзовых (0,32%) глазурей.

В.Ю. Коваль отмечает, что оксид олова являлся в качестве основного глушителя глазури с наиболее часто встречающимися значениями в интервале 5—12%. В прозрачных поливах этот компонент составлял до 0,1%. В то же время доля оксида олова в пределах 0,1—1,15% не влияла на понижение прозрачности глазури в ряде групп — бирюзовой и ультрамариновой полив, окрашенных оксидом меди (Коваль 2010: 28—29). По указаниям Н.С. Гражданкиной и Э.В. Ртвеладзе, глазури белого, голубого и зеленого цветов из городища Маджары относятся к типам щелочно-свинцово-оловянных, что характерно для XIV в., когда глазури светлых тонов заглушались оловом для того, чтобы через них не просвечивались различные оттенки основания. Синие (ультрамариновые) щелочные глазури, окрашенные кобальтом, никогда не заглушались, так как темная насыщенная окраска скрывала дефекты основы. Излишек щелочи часто вызывал образование ее кристаллов во время застывания. В кобальтовых глазурях встречаются не проваренные частицы, и они быстрее поддаются разлагающему воздействию солей во время пребывания в земле (Гражданкина, Ртвеладзе 1971: 134).

В подложке и белых глазурях высокое содержание элементов-хромофоров не установлено. Полученные параметры соответствуют составу кварцевой основы, описанной при микроскопическом исследовании. Для бирюзовых и зеленых глазурей характерно высокое содержание меди, свинца и олова. Очевидно, с изменением соотношения этих компонентов меняется цвет глазури: Sn: Pb: Cu = 1:

[2] Анализ выполнен инженером-химиком Г.Н. Рейн.

Таблица 1.

Результаты спектрального анализа глазурей городища Конские Воды,%

Элемент	Цвет глазури						
	Подложка	Белый	Бирюзовый (светлых и темных оттенков)	Ультрамариновый	Желтый	Зеленый	Красный
Cu	0,01	0,005	**1,5**	0,008	0,05	**1,2**	0,01
Pb	0,008	0,032	**0,5**	0,05	**6,3**	**12,0**	**0,5**
Co	0,0005	0,0004	0,0008	**0,12**	0,0012	0,001	0,0012
Ni	0,0004	0,0005	0,0012	0,0004	0,0005	0,0012	0,001
Zn	0,0025	0,005	0,004	0,005	0,004	0,0032	0,004
Mo	0,0025	0,0002	0,0002	0,00032	0,0063	0,0005	0,00035
Cr	0,01	0,001	0,0008	0,00063	0,0020	0,0012	0,0015
V	0,0032	0,002	0,0015	0,002	0,0063	0,0063	0,0032
Ti	0,5	0,063	0,04	0,04	0,1	0,1	0,1
Sn	0,0008	0,008	**0,32**	0,1	**8,0**	**2,5**	0,0063
Mg	0,2	2,5	4,0	2,5	2,0	2,0	2,0
Mn	0,02	0,02	0,015	0,02	0,015	0,015	0,02
Ba	—	—	—	**0,04**	—	—	—
Nb	0,002	—	—	—	—	—	—
Zr	0,004	0,0032	—	0,005	0,004	0,005	0,005
Ga	0,0008	0,0005	0,0004	0,0008	0,0008	0,0004	0,0008
La	0,0012	0,0012	0,001	0,001	0,0012	—	0,0012
Ag	0,0005	0,00008	0,0002	0,000002	**0,002**	**0,008**	0,00005
Bi	0,0002	—	0,0005	—	0,0040	0,0004	0,0002
Li	0,001	0,0015	0,002	0,0015	Sb	Sb	0,0015
P	0,2	0,1	0,1	**0,8000**	0,5	0,5	0,8
As	—	—	0,01	**0,2**	0,01	0,063	0,01
Sb	—	—	0,015	0,005	**1,0**	**3,2**	0,32
Hg	—	—	—	**0,0063**	—	—	—
Tl	0,0005	—	0,00012	—	—	0,00012	—
B	0,0032	0,01	0,0080	0,012	0,008	0,008	0,01
Al	0,8	0,8	0,63	1,0	1,5	1,0	1,5
Fe	0,8	0,8	0,5	1,5	0,63	0,8	0,8
Ca	0,15	2,5	3,2	2,5	2,0	2,5	2,0
Si	40,0	25,0	25,0	25,0	25,0	25,0	32,0
Na	0,8	12,0	1,5	12,0	8,0	8,0	1,0

1,56: 4,69 (бирюзовый цвет), Sn: Pb: Cu = 1: 4,8: 0,48 (зеленый). Добавка свинца к красителю на основе меди придает ему голубой оттенок. Наличие сине-зеленых глазурей может указывать на промежуточные показатели соотношения компонентов меди, свинца и олова. Ссылаясь на Э.В. Сайко, В.Ю. Коваль отмечает, что зеленоватые оттенки бирюзовой поливе придает небольшое количество окиси железа или окиси свинца (Коваль 2011: 21). Для зеленой поливы городища Конские Воды установлено также высокое содержание серебра (табл. 1), обусловливающее, возможно более высокую прозрачность стекла. Для желтых и красных глазурей характерно высокое содержание свинца без повышенного содержания меди. В желтом пигменте также установлено высокое содержание олова и серебра.

Группа ультрамариновых глазурей характеризуется повышенным содержанием элементов, не установленных в других видах глазурей — кобальт (синий хромофор), барий, фосфор, мышьяк, ртуть. Другой состав элементов-примесей позволяет предполагать для этой глазури другой вид исходного сырья, т.е. другой тип руд, использованных для получения краски (глазури). Таким образом, минеральным сырьем для получения краски (пигмента глазурей) бирюзового, желтого, зеленого и красного цветов служили свинцово-оловянные руды, для ультрамариновых глазурей — кобальтосодержащие руды. Полученные результаты не противоречат результатам микрозондового анализа, приведенным в работе В.Ю. Коваля для полуфаянса бирюзового без дополнительного декора, %: Na_2O — 14—14,2; K_2O — 1,5—1,6;

CaO — 4,4—4,6; Pb — 2,8– 3,3; SnO_2 < 0,1; Sb_2O_3 < 0,1; MgO — 2—2,3; Al_2O_3—1,2—1,6; MnO < 0,1; FeO — 0,5; CuO — 0,5—0,6; CoO — нет; SiO_2—70—71; TiO_2 < 0,1 (Коваль 2011: 206—207, прил. 1).

Бирюзовые глазури Конских Вод аналогичны по составу глазурям, указанным В.Ю. Ковалем, однако отсутствие микрозондовых (химических) анализов для указанного городища не позволяет напрямую сравнивать эти показатели со спектральными. Сравнение результатов состава золотоордынских глазурей середины — второй половины XIV в. и иранских полив XII — первой трети XIII в. позволили исследователю сделать выводы, что «золотоордынские» были собственно иранскими глазурями, при их производстве использовалось не только иранское сырье, но и другие полуфабрикаты, вплоть до песка. Собственно, само производство фаянсов было налажено в золотоордынском Поволжье иранскими мастерами (Коваль 2010: 30—31).

Выводы

Таким образом, рассмотренные типы строительной кашинной керамики городища Конские Воды обнаруживают тесную связь с золотоордынскими центрами Подонья, Поволжья и Северного Кавказа середины — второй половины XIV в. Геометрические орнаменты находят прямые аналогии среди орнаментальных мотивов поволжских центров — Селитренного и Водянского городищ. Формовочная масса по своему составу также не выходит за пределы качественных характеристик кашина золотоордынских центров, небольшое содержание глины сближает его с кашинной облицовочной керамикой Маджар. В то же время цветовые оттенки кашина («грязные или «переходные») городища Конские Воды с различными составляющими глины в формовочной массе не имеют близких показателей на известных памятниках Золотой Орды. Все это может указывать на вероятность местного производства кашинной строительной керамики. Наличие выходов песка по берегам р. Конки вблизи памятника — белого мелкодисперсного на правом и желтого (с выходами песчаника с высоким содержанием оксида железа) песка на левом берегу может указывать как на наличие сырья для изготовления кашина, так и в последующем, при производстве, на его различные оттенки. Среди балок, примыкающих к памятнику, выделяются несколько, имеющие топонимы «Белоглиняная». Везти строительный кашин на значительные расстояния, по-видимому, было достаточно дорогостоящим мероприятием, учитывая его хрупкость.

Использование двух- и трехслойных (покрытие стекловидной массой) глазурей на городище Конские Воды, где ангобом служила белая глухая полива, позволял уменьшить расход красящего пигмента. Также глазурь без кристаллического белого ангоба на рыхлом кашине была менее устойчивой и долговечной. Так, на глиняных кирпичах — «сухарях» из городища подобный ангоб не применялся. Желтая и красная глазурь являются собственно керамической краской, о чем свидетельствует ее хрупкость — часть глазури на изразцах отсутствует. Подобные двух- и трехсоставные глазури встречаются среди фаянсовых изделий Маджар и Нового Сарая, где появились под влиянием хорезмийских традиций.

Вероятность местного производства, при отсутствии исследованных горнов, может подтверждаться находками на городище керамических «штырей» (рис. 12: 4—6). Это небольшие, обломанные стержни длиной до 14 см, округлой в сечении формы, имеют диаметр 4,2—5,7 см, суживаются с одного края на конус, на ряде фрагментов — следы поливы. Подобные «штыри» встречены на Царевском городище, где использовались в стенках горнов при обжиге кашинной керамики (Федоров-Давыдов, Вайнер, Мухамадиев 1970: 102—103, 110—112, табл. III: 4). Письменные источники указывают на находки остатков кирпичных сооружений в размытых водами глубоких балках, примыкающих к р. Конке (Лутай 1929: 33), которые могли быть горнами.

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Комплекс керамики из раскопок усадьбы золотоордынского периода на территории средневекового городища в Алуште (Крым)

Keywords: Taurica, Alushta, Golden Horde, 14th century, Genoese, pottery

Ключевые слова: Таврика, Алушта, Золотая Орда, XIV век, генуэзцы, керамика

I. B. Teslenko

Pottery Assemblage from the Excavation of a Household of the Golden Horde period on the Territory of the Medieval Settlement in Alushta (Crimea)

Ruins of the medieval settlement, one of the names of which in the 14th centuries was known as Lusta, are located on the top of a coastal hill between two rivers in the central part of modern Alushta (Southern coast of Crimea). The excavations were carried out there in 1981 (V. Sidorenko), 1984—1994 (V. Myts) and 1998, 1999, 2001, 2009 (I. Teslenko). On the basis of the archaeological data and evidence of written sources V. Myts has determined the Golden Horde period in the history of the town dating it from the end of the 13th to the 80s of the 14th century. During this period a new urban design of the settlement started to form, and several lines of streets with many houses were constructed. But in less than a century the settlement was burned. Remains of some of the household with traces of the fire have been investigated during the excavations. The materials from one of them are particularly interesting. They include the collection of well-preserved ceramic wares of various functions and origin, among which there are about three dozen of glazed table wares from local and overseas workshops, dating back mainly to the second quarter — last third of the 14th century. Analysis of the ceramic assemblage allows to conclude that connections of "Golden Horde" Lusta with the urban centers of the Golden Horde were rather weak, but at the same time the interest of Genoese merchants to this area was rather significant even before the official transition of the coastal land under the jurisdiction of the municipality of Genoa.

И. Б. Тесленко

Комплекс керамики из раскопок усадьбы золотоордынского периода на территории средневекового городища в Алуште (Крым)

Руины средневекового городища, одно из названий которого в XIV в. было известно как Луста (Lusta), располагаются на вершине прибрежного холма между двух рек в центральной части современной Алушты (Южный берег Крыма). Раскопки здесь проводились в 1981 (В.А. Сидоренко), 1984—1994 (В.Л. Мыц), 1998, 1999, 2001, 2009 гг. (И.Б. Тесленко). На основании данных археологии и свидетельств письменных источников В.Л. Мыц выделил золотоордынский период в истории Алушты, определив его в рамках конца XIII — 80-х гг. XIV вв. Для этого времени характерно начало формирования нового архитектурного облика городища, подвергшегося разрушениям в последней четверти XIII в. Однако менее чем через сто лет селение вновь погибает в пожаре. Остатки строений, ставших жертвой этого бедствия, были изучены в разные годы в процессе раскопок. Материалы исследований одного из домов, в силу своей хорошей сохранности, вызывают особый интерес. Они включают коллекцию разнообразных керамических изделий, большую часть которой составляет столовый сервиз, состоящий из около трех десятков глазурованных сосудов открытой формы различного происхождения, датирующихся преимущественно в рамках второй четверти — последней трети XIV столетия. Анализ состава керамического комплекса позволил прийти к выводу о довольно слабой связи «золотоордынской» Лусты с собственно городскими центрами Золотой Орды и весьма пристальном внимании к этой территории генуэзских купцов еще до официального перехода прибрежных земель Крыма под юрисдикцию Коммуны Генуи.

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На сегодняшний день в научной литературе практически отсутствует детальная информация о населенном пункте, существовавшем в золотоордынский период истории Крыма в центральной части современной Алушты на территории Крепостной горки, где еще в VI в. при императоре Юстиниане была воздвигнута крепость Алустон (Мыц 1997а)[1] (рис. 1).

Свидетельства о нем письменных источников, введенных в научный оборот, довольно скромны. Луста (Lusta) упоминается среди одиннадцати приморских селений, переданных генуэзцам татарами по договорам 1380 и 1381 гг., подтвержденным в 1387 г. (см. напр. Balard 1978: 161; Basso 1991: 11—12, 14, 15; Бочаров 2004: 186; Мыц 2009: 43—45). Вероятно, гораздо информативнее бухгалтерские книги казначейства Каффы[2]. Но специфика этого источника, требующая особого исследовательского подхода, позволяет лишь ожидать очередных публикаций специалистов (Пономарев 2000).

Более доступны археологические материалы. Раскопки на городище и его посаде проводились в 1981 (В. А. Сидоренко), 1984—1994 (В. Л. Мыц) и 1998, 1999, 2001, 2009 гг. (И. Б. Тесленко). На основании данных археологии и свидетельств письменных источников В. Л. Мыц выделил пять этапов в истории средневековой Алушты, обозначив золотоордынский период в рамках конца XIII — 80-х гг. XIV в. (Мыц 1997а: 189). Его нижний хронологический рубеж исследователь маркирует тотальным пожаром в крепости, связываемым с походами беклярибека Ногая 1278 г. и/или 1299 г., подчинившего горные районы полуострова власти Крымского улуса Золотой Орды (Мыц 1997б: 66—67), верхний — выделяет на основании информации упомянутых выше договоров, изменивших политический статус южнобережных территорий.

Однако этот довольно продолжительный этап в истории Алушты все еще не наполнен каким-то конкретным содержанием. Попрежнему крайне мало известно об облике Лусты периода с конца XIII до конца XIV вв. и специфике материальной культуры ее обитателей, в частности, о бытовой керамике[3]. В этой связи интерес представляет анализ находок из археологических объектов золотоордынского времени, в особенности жилищно-хозяйственных комплексов, открытых на памятнике.

Сводный план застройки городища, сформировавшейся после пожара конца XIII в. и просуществовавшей с некоторыми изменениями вплоть до турецкого вторжения в 1475 г., был выполнен по инициативе и при непосредственном участии автора в 2000 г. (рис. 2). Изучение отчетной документации, а также описей и коллекций добытых раскопками материалов, хранящихся в Алуштинском филиале КРУ «Центральный музей Тавриды»[4], позволили выделить объекты с культурными напластованиями, образовавшимися в промежутке с рубежа XIII—XIV в. и до конца XIV в. (Тесленко 2005: 332—333).

Наилучшим образом культурные слои обозначенного периода сохранились в одной из усадеб, раскопанной в 1986—1987 гг. (Мыц 1986: 14—16, 24—26, 27—28, 29—30, 31—32, 40—84; 1987: 4—5). Усадьба включала дом, состоящий из трех помещений (рис. 2: №№ 39—41), и примыкающий к нему с северо-востока «крытый дворик» (рис. 2: № 38) (Мыц 1986: 14).

Строение вытянуто по линии СЗ-ЮВ, образуя небольшую дугу вдоль одной из улиц, повторяющих контур цитадели, в северо-восточной части городища (рис. 2). Длина дома — около 14,7 м, ширина — 3,7—4,4 м, сохранность кладок стен — на высоту до 0,8 м. Стены сложены из подобранного камня на грунте, кладки двухлицевые, шириной 0,45—0,73 м. Во всех помещениях комплекса зафиксированы следы пожара, разрушившего усадьбу (Мыц 1986: 14—16). Во «дворике» (№ 38) слой, насыщенный фрагментами обгоревшей древесины, залегал на земляном полу в один ярус (площадь 3,0 × 5,8 м). Во внутренних помещениях (№№ 39—41) отмечены два горизонта обугленных органических остатков.

[1] Средневековое городище в Алуште занимает вершину нижней, прибрежной части хребта (историческое название — «Крепостная горка»), разделяющего долины рек Демерджи и Улу-Узень (Месарли), располагаясь на высоте около 44 м н. у. м., в 170—400 м от берега моря.

[2] Цифровые изображения рукописей — Массария Каффы 1374, 1381, 1424 гг. представлены в электронной библиотеке исторического факультета МГУ.

[3] В 1991 г. В. Л. Мыц опубликовал несколько декорированных поливных сосудов «XIII—XV вв. из раскопок крепости Алустон», которые по морфолого-стилистическим признакам могут быть отнесены к рассматриваемому периоду (Мыц 1991: 90, рис. 39: 6—9). Однако иллюстрация подана без каких-либо пояснений и уточнения контекста находок.

[4] Ныне Государственное бюджетное учреждение Республики Крым «Центральный музей Тавриды».

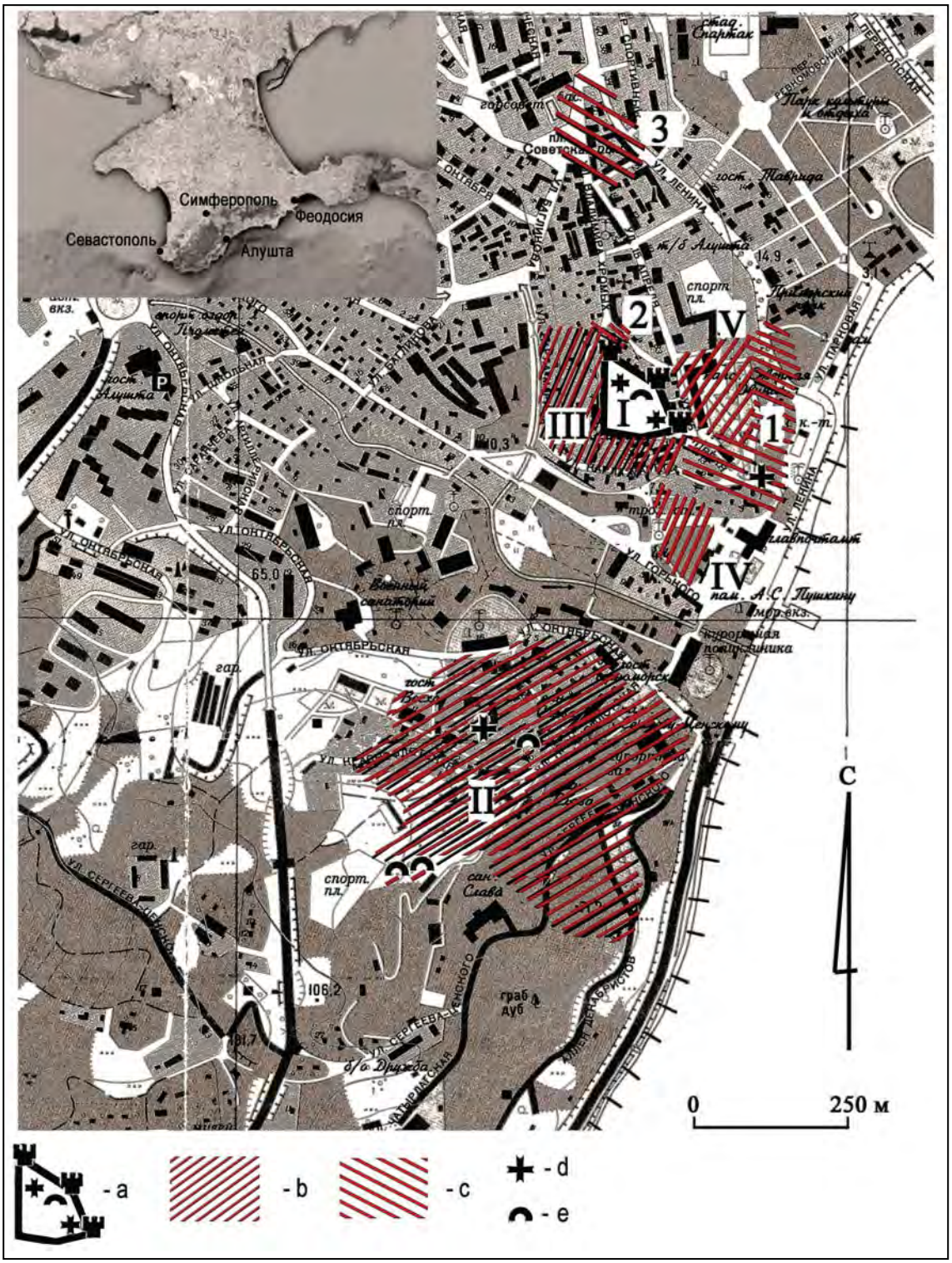

Рис. 1. Карта-схема расположения средневековых археологических объектов в г. Алушта. М 1:10000. I — укрепление на вершине «Крепостного холма», VI—XV вв.; II — поселение VIII—X вв.; III—V — участки поселений IX—XV вв., посад. Условные обозначения: a — укрепление; b — средневековые поселения; c — средневековые могильники; d — христианские храмы; e — гончарные мастерские; 1—3 — участки некрополя средневекового времени. Сост. А.В. Лысенко и И.Б. Тесленко.

Fig. 1. Location of medieval archaeological sites in Alushta. M 1:10000. I — fortress on the top of "Castle Hill", 6th—15th centuries; II — settlement of the 8th—10th centuries; III—V — parts of the settlements of the 9th—15th centuries, town (posad). Legend: a — fortification; b — medieval settlements; c — medieval cemeteries; d — Christian churches; e — potter's workshops; 1—3 — areas of the medieval necropolis. Drawn by A.V. Lysenko and I.B. Teslenko.

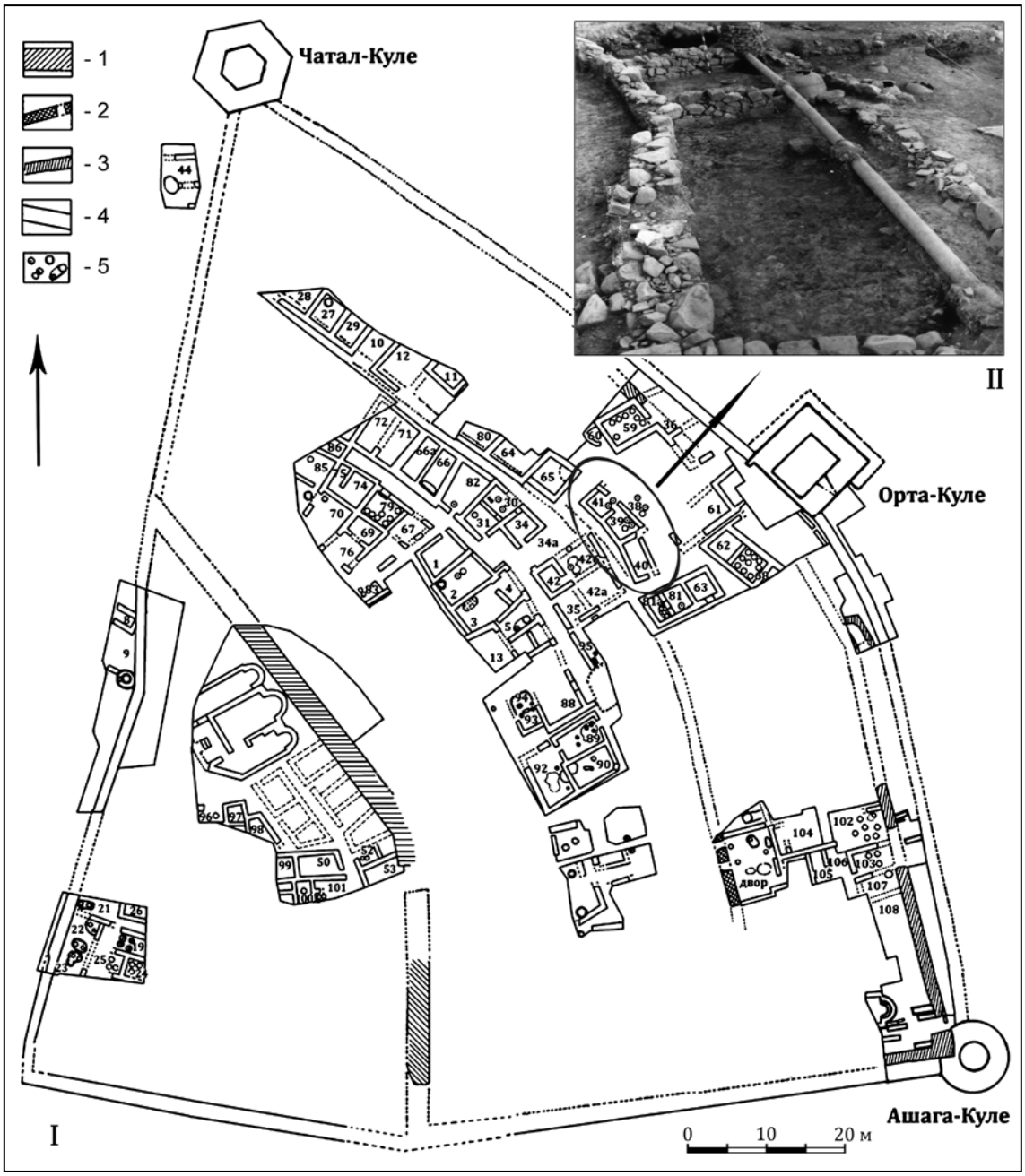

Рис. 2. Алушта, укрепление на вершине «Крепостного холма». I — план застройки XIV—XV вв. с обозначением усадьбы со слоем пожара XIV в. (№ 38—41) (1 — куртина первой линии обороны, VI в.; 2 — куртина второй линии обороны, X в.; 3 — куртина третьей линии обороны, не позднее 20-х гг. XV в.; 4 — куртина последней линии обороны, 60-е гг. XV в.; 5 — пифосные ямы и вкопанные пифосы); II — общий вид усадьбы (I — чертеж автора; II — по Мыц 1986: рис. 34).

Fig. 2. Alushta, fortress on the top of "Castle Hill". I — building plan of the 14th—15th centuries with indication of the household with a layer of fire of the 14th century (№ 38—41) (1 — curtain of the first line of defense, 6th century; 2 — curtain of the second line of defense, 10th century; 3 — curtain of the third line of defense, no later than 1420s; 4 — curtain of the last line of defense, 1460's; 5 — pithos pits and embedded pithoi); II — general view of the household (I — drawing by the author; II — after Мыц 1986: рис. 34).

Эти обстоятельства, по мнению автора раскопок, скорее всего, могут указывать на то, что строение было двухэтажным, возможно, с деревянным верхним этажом, а двор был оборудован деревянным навесом. Остатки керамических кровельных материалов не найдены, вероятно, черепица для перекрытия не использовалась. Не отмечены также следы реконструкции и использования строения после пожара (Мыц 1986: 14—16).

Керамика из раскопок усадьбы довольно многочисленна. В ее составе — крупная

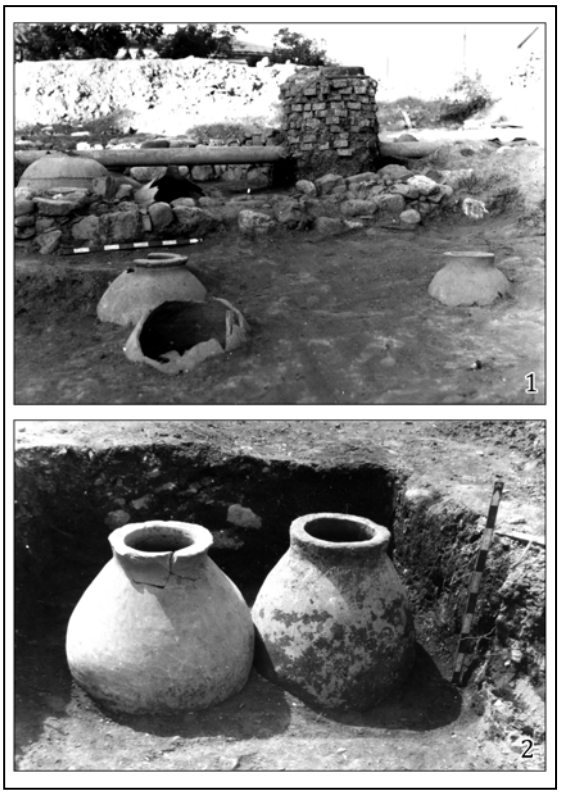

Рис. 3. Пифосы группы СП из раскопок усадьбы: 1 — три сосуда в «крытом дворике» (№38), вид с северо-востока; 2 — два сосуда в помещения №41, вид с северо-запада (по Мыц 1986: рис. 35; 1987: рис. 5).

Fig. 3. Pithoi of "Northern Black Sea" group from the excavated household. 1 — three vessels in covered courtyard (38), view from north-east; 2 — two vessels in building 41, view from north-west (after Мыц 1986: рис. 35; 1987: рис. 5).

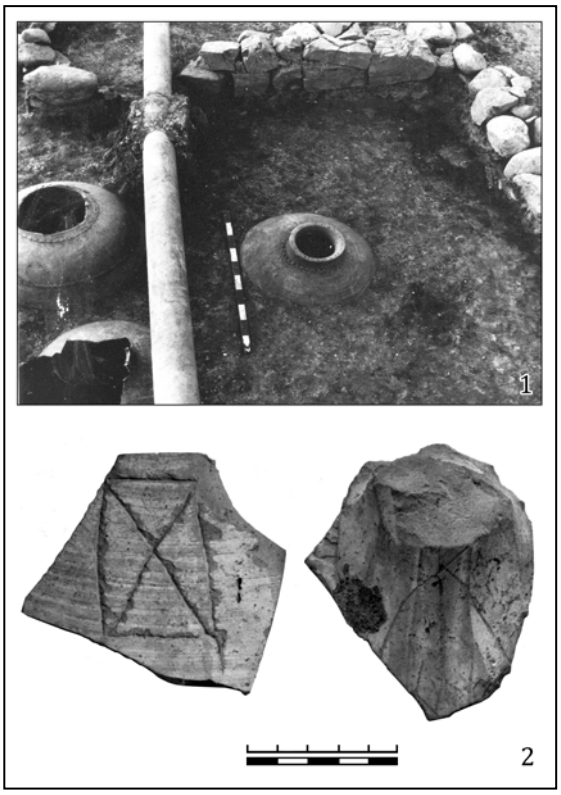

Рис. 4. Пифосы и амфоры из раскопок усадьбы: 1 — три пифоса группы ЮЗК в помещении №39, вид с запада (по Мыц 1986: рис. 38); 2 — фрагменты амфор XIII—XIV вв. (тип IV по Н. Гюнсенин) с граффити из раскопок двора (№38) (фото автора).

Fig. 4. Pithoi and amphorae from the excavation of the household. 1 — three pithoi of Southwest Crimean group in building 39, view from west (Мыц 1986: рис. 38); 2 — the fragments of the amphorae of the 12—14th centuries (type IV by N. Günsenin) with graffiti from courtyard (38) (photo by the author).

и среднегабаритная тара, кухонно-столовая посуда и осветительные приборы.

Тара представлена пифосами и амфорами.

Во дворе и двух помещениях усадьбы обнаружено восемь пифосов, вкопанных в грунт на различную глубину (рис. 3; 4: 1). Сосуды принадлежат к двум группам керамических изделий местного производства.

Пять из них — это толстостенные красноглиняные пифосы с треугольным в сечении венчиком группы «Северное Причерноморье» (далее СП)[5] (рис. 3: 1, 2) (Тесленко 2015: 155). Аналогичные сосуды хорошо известны в комплексах конца VIII — X вв. и, как показывают исследования, благодаря своей прочности и практичности могли использоваться на протяжении многих столетий (Teslenko 2009: 876—878; Тесленко 2015: 142—145).

Три пифоса относятся к группе изделий Юго-Западного Крыма (далее ЮЗК)[6] (рис. 4: 1). Это тонкостенные коричневоглиняные сосуды, датируемые в рамках XIV—XV вв. (Тесленко 2015: 136—139, 146—148). Интересно отметить, что два сосуда группы

[5] Характеристику технологических и морфологических особенностей сосудов см. (Якобсон 1966: 196—198) и в специальном исследовании автора, где эти пифосы объединены в группу I (Teslenko 2009: 870—872; Тесленко 2015: 132—135). Название «Северное Причерноморье» предлагается в качестве общего для обширной группы керамики, включающей также так называемые амфоры «причерноморского типа», кухонно-столовую, строительную, архитектурную и другую керамику, во множестве изготавливавшуюся в крупных гончарных мастерских на территории Южного и Юго-Западного Крыма на протяжении второй половины VIII — первой половины X вв. (см. напр. Паршина и др. 2001).

[6] Это группа III по нашей классификации пифосов Таврики (Тесленко 2015: 136—140). Характеристика группы ЮЗК в целом приведена в исследованиях: (Волков 1992: 9—10; Тесленко 2014а).

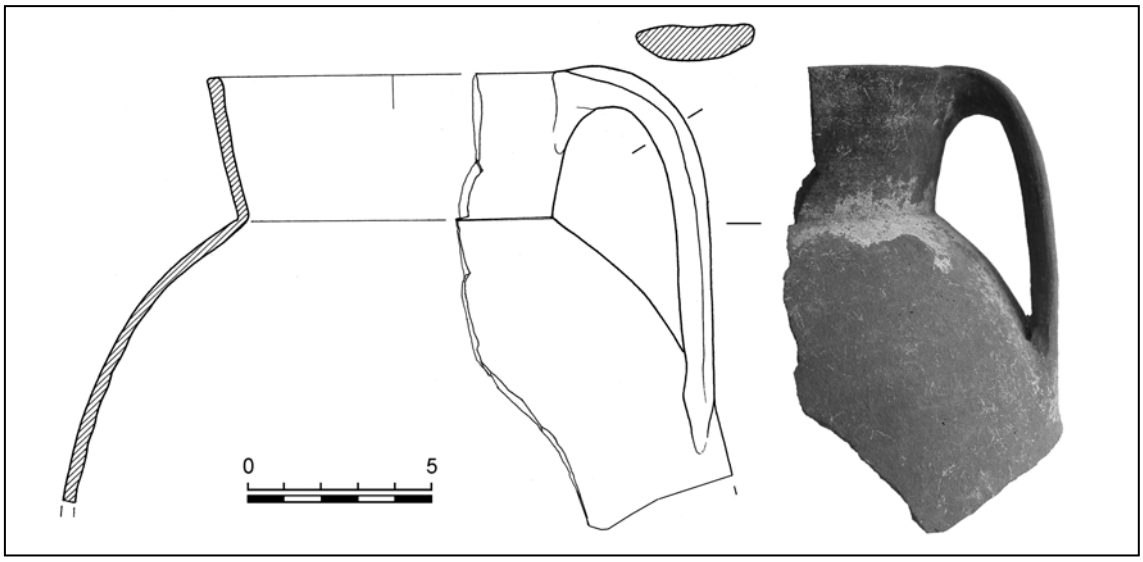

Рис. 5. Керамические изделия группы ЮЗК из раскопок усадьбы: одноручный горшок с округлым туловом (фото автора, рисунок С.В. Семина).

Fig. 5. Pottery of South-West Crimean group from the excavated household: one-handed pot with globular body (photo by the author, drawing by S. Siomin).

СП были впущены в ямы с остатками пифосов группы ЮЗК (Мыц 1987: 5—6, рис. 5). Вероятно, обитатели усадьбы заменили пришедшие в негодность тонкостенные емкости на более прочные.

Многочисленные фрагменты стенок и ручек амфор, согласно отчету, находились на глиняном полу двора и закрытых помещений (Мыц 1986: 14—16). Судя по описанию, все они принадлежали византийским сосудам с грушевидным туловом и дуговидными ручками (тип IV по Н. Гюнсенин) (Günsenin 1989: 274—276, fig. 12—14), характерным для комплексов XII—XIV вв. В фондах музея удалось обнаружить всего 2 обломка от таких амфор с граффити (рис. 4: 2). Дошедшие до нас фрагменты невыразительны, поэтому детализировать датировку сосудов по технологическим признакам, как это, например, предлагает И.В. Волков (Волков 2005: 129—130, рис. 9), невозможно.

Неполивная кухонно-столовая посуда представлена фрагментированными изделиями группы ЮЗК, в том числе с росписью белым ангобом. Это типичные для группы тонкостенные одноручные горшки и кувшины (рис. 5; 6), а также крышки (рис. 7: 2, 3) и подвесной светильник (рис. 7: 1), датирующиеся в рамках первой четверти XIV — третьей четверти XV вв. (Тесленко 2012б: 225—229; 2014а). Детальная хронология типов еще не разработана.

Коллекция поливной посуды выгодно выделяется своим разнообразием. Она включает около трех десятков изделий трех различных групп. В основном это сосуды открытой формы. В описях находок к отчету о раскопках упоминаются также два носика кумганов и две ручки поливных кувшинов (Мыц 1986: 69), но в музейных коллекциях отыскать их не удалось.

К группе «Юго-Восточный Крым» (далее ЮВК)[7] отнесены 22 частично или полностью реконструированных изделия (около 75,9% поливной керамики комплекса). Среди них колоколовидные и усечено-эллипсоидальные чаши с декоративной деформацией корпуса и одноцветной или двухцветной глазурью с внутренней и частично внешней сторон (рис. 8: 1—3; 13: 1—4); чаши, украшенные орнаментом сграффито, выполненным резцами одной или различной ширины под монохромной зеленой (рис. 9; 10: 2—4; 13: 5—9; 14: 1, 3, 4), коричневой, желтой или зеленовато-желтой поливой (рис. 8: 4; 10: 1, 5, 6; 14: 5—6; 15: 4—6), а также тарелка и два днища с трехцветной и двухцветной раскраской гравированного орнамента (рис. 11; 15: 1—3). Основная масса этой керамики находит аналогии в комплексах Азака и памятников Крыма, датируемых временем не ранее 30—40-х гг. и не позднее последней трети XIV в. (по крайне мере, 60—80-х гг.)

[7] Группа ЮВК (Юго-Восточного Крыма) выделена И.В. Волковым на материалах Азака (Волков 1992: 9—10).

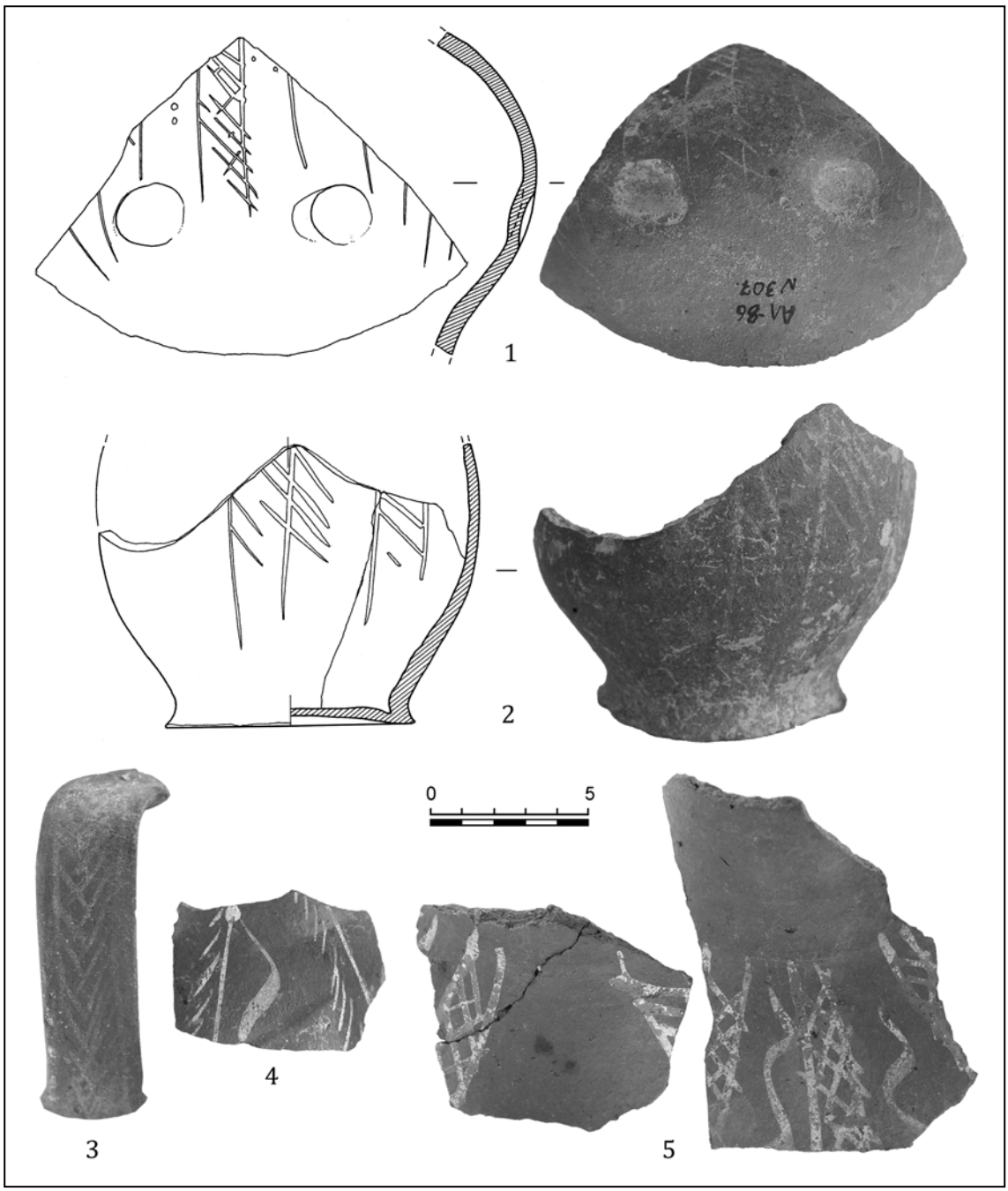

Рис. 6. Керамические изделия группы ЮЗК из раскопок усадьбы: кувшины с росписью белым ангобом (фото автора, рисунки С.В. Семина).

Fig. 6. Pottery of South-West Crimean group from the excavated household: jugs with white slip-painted decoration (photo by the author, drawing by S. Siomin).

(см. напр. Айбабина 1991а: 195—197; 2005: 229—235, рис. 7: 2; 8: 3; Белинский, Масловский 1998: 209—218, рис. 12: 1, 3; 14: 9; 15: 1, 4; 2005: 160—161, рис. 4: 1, 3; Масловский 2004: 76—78, рис. 3: 5; 2010: 198—200, рис. 11: 1; Крамаровский, Гукин 2002: 18, 57, табл. 15: 1; 82—84, 105, табл. 3: 1; 2007: 10—19, табл. 27: 4; 31). Исключение составляет фрагмент поддона со спиралью в центре (рис. 10: 6; 15: 5). Этот элемент декора, наряду с концентрическими окружностями, более свойственен местной и привозной керамике рубежа XIII—XIV, первой четверти XIV вв. (см. напр. Waksman, Teslenko 2010; Масловский 2012: 193), хотя встречается и на изделиях из слоев середины — второй половины XIV в., например, в Чембало (Гинькут 2001: 53—55, рис. 3: 18, 19). Не ис-

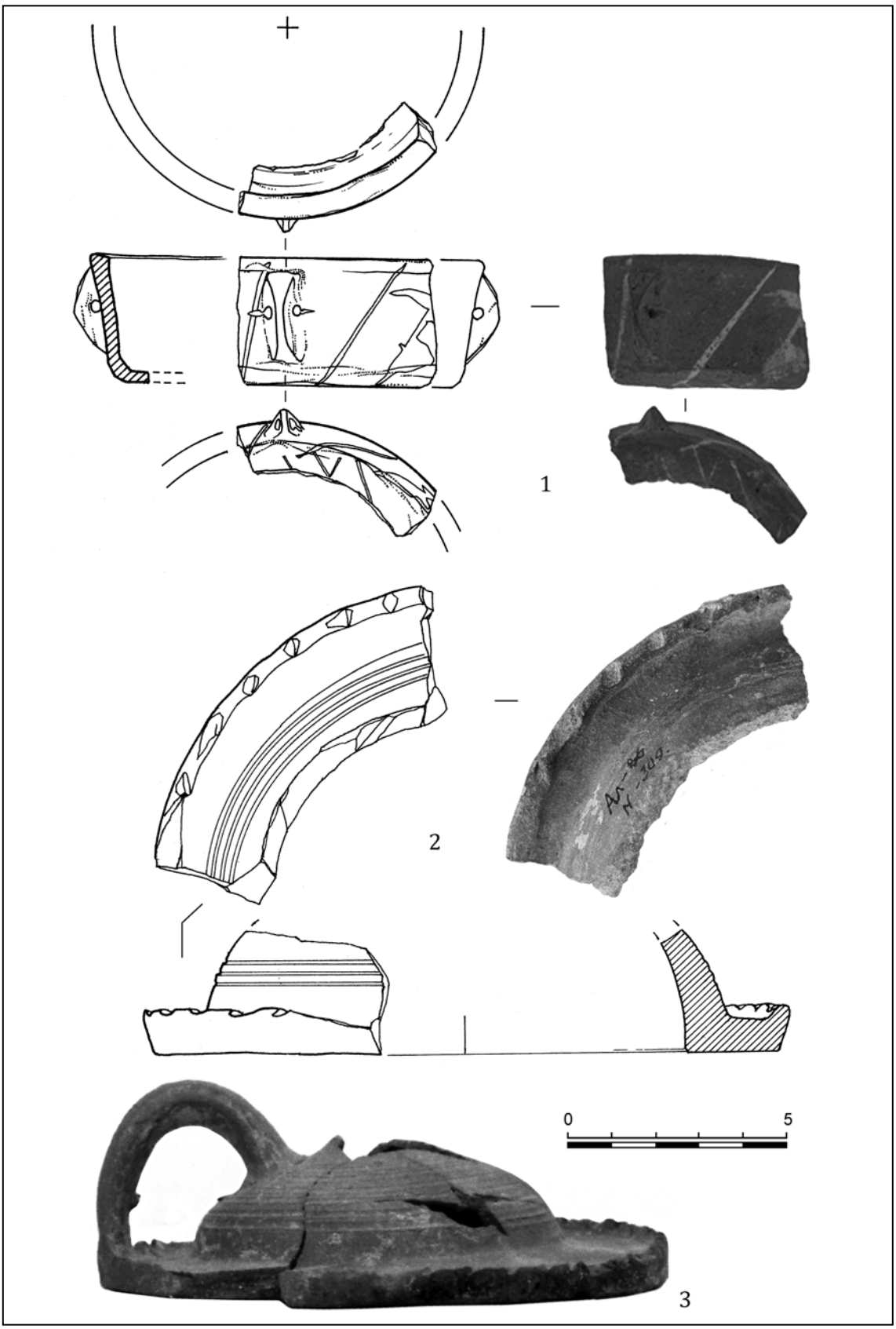

Рис. 7. Керамические изделия группы ЮЗК из раскопок усадьбы: 1 — подвесной светильник; 2, 3— крышки (фото автора, рисунки С.В. Семина).

Fig. 7. Pottery of South-West Crimean group from the excavated household: 1 — pendant lamp; 2, 3 — lids (photo by the author, drawing by S. Siomin).

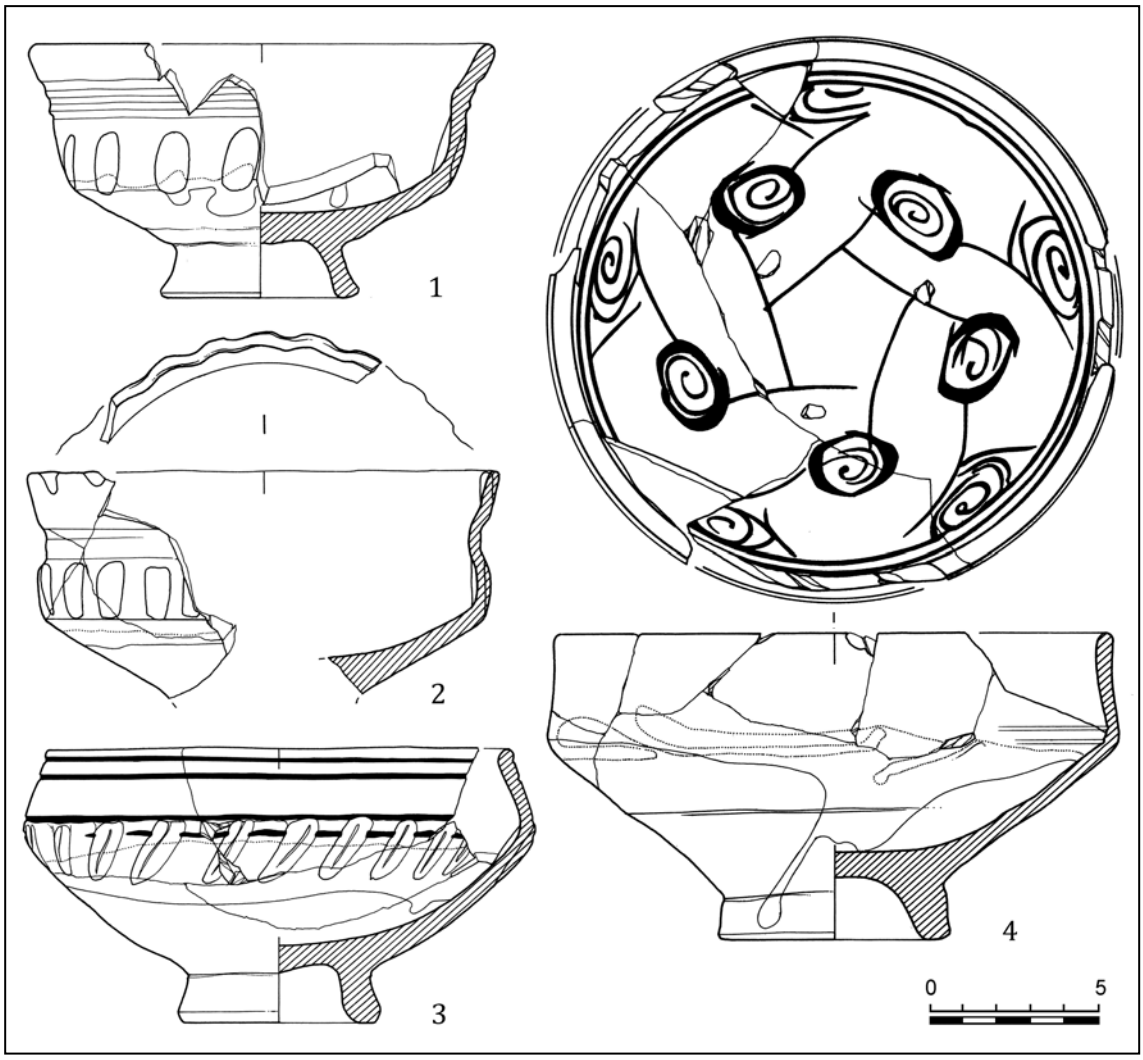

Рис. 8. Поливные сосуды группы ЮВК из раскопок усадьбы: 1—3 — чаши с декоративной деформацией корпуса; 4 — чаша с орнаментом сграффито (рисунок автора и С.В. Семина).

Fig. 8. Glazed ware of South-East Crimean group from the excavated household: 1—3 — bowls with decorative deformations of the body; 4 — bowl with sgraffito decoration (drawing by the author and S. Siomin).

ключено также, что в контексте данной усадьбы фрагмент может быть переотложен из более ранних слоев.

Кроме того, следует обратить внимание на то, что группа керамики ЮВК в целом не гомогенна. В настоящее время в нее условно объединяют три подгруппы изделий, предположительно связываемых с продукцией крупных гончарных мастерских Каффы, Солхата и Сугдеи. Керамика подгрупп различается по ряду визуально фиксируемых технологических признаков (см. напр. Масловский 2006: 355—356). Поливные сосуды, обнаруженные в усадьбе Лусты, наиболее близки подгруппе Б (Каффа), для которой характерна относительно светлая окраска черепка и меньшая концентрация шамота мелкой фракции, а поверхностный слой черепка часто заметно светлее излома (Масловский 2006: 356)[8].

Группа «Алушта» состоит из продукции гончарной мастерской, следы деятельности которой зафиксированы преимущественно в восточной и северо-восточной части городища. Она представлена в коллекции профильными частями пяти сосудов (рис. 12: 1—5; 15: 9—13) (около 17,2 % поливной керамики комплекса). Черепок изделий плотный, на изломе приглушенного желто-красного

[8] Безусловно, до полной публикации материалов каждого из этих центров, а также результатов петрографических и химических анализов их продукции, предложенное деление следует считать условным, хотя и вполне применимым в повседневной практике полевой археологии.

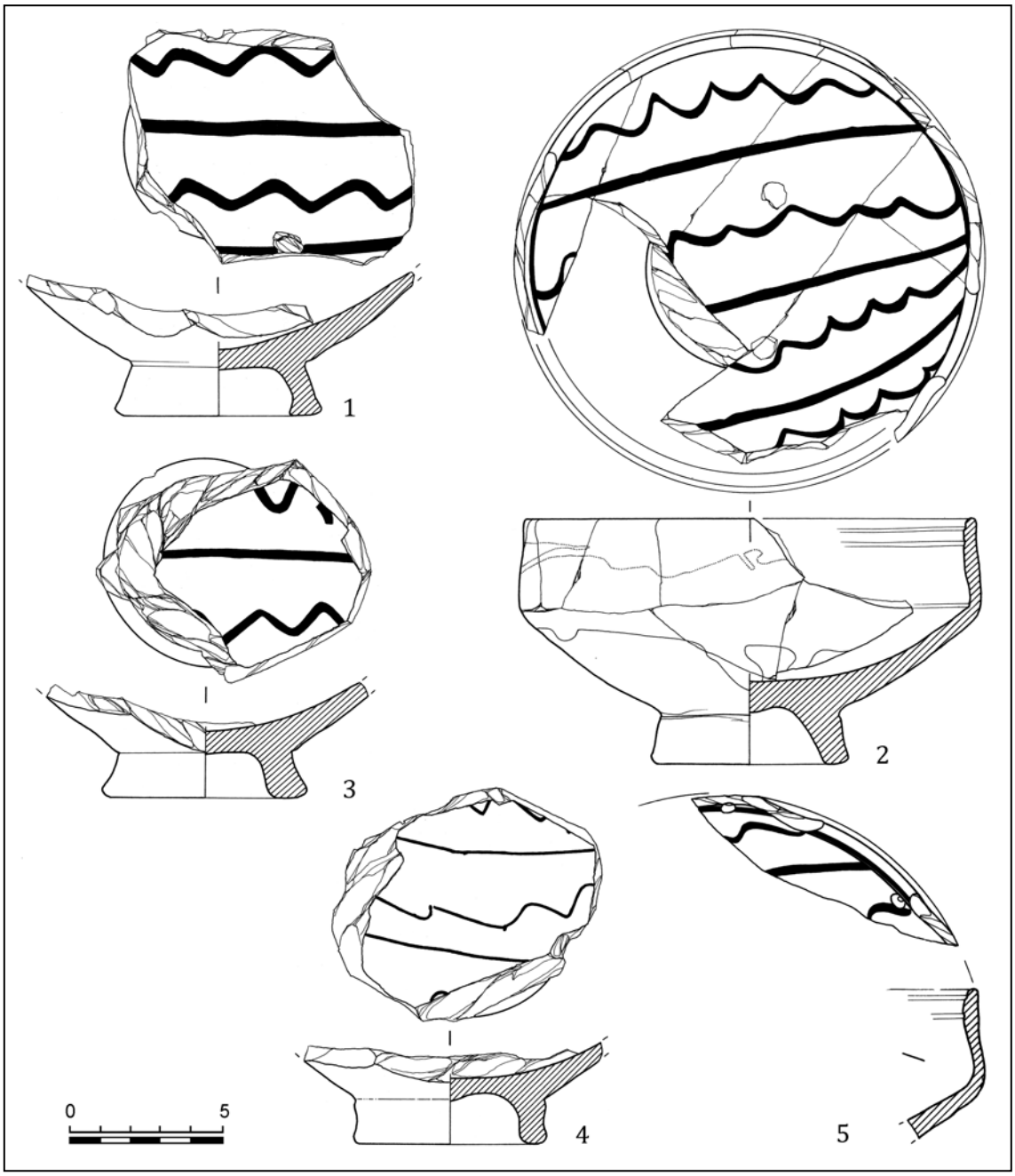

Рис. 9. Поливные чаши группы ЮВК с орнаментом сграффито из раскопок усадьбы (рисунок автора и С.В. Семина).

Fig. 9. Glazed bowls of South-East Crimean group with sgraffito decoration from the excavated household (drawing by the author and S. Siomin).

или коричневато-красного цвета, поверхность иногда более темная или коричневая. Формовочные массы песчанистые, с включениями дресвы плотного минерала темно-коричневого или серо-коричневого цвета, заметны также мелкие частицы рыхлого минерала белого цвета, вероятно, известняка[9]. Функционирование мастерской относится к XIV в. (Тесленко 2005: 332). Более детальная хронология ее деятельности пока затруд-

[9] В 2013 г. в Лаборатории керамологии в Лионе (UMR 5138 «Archéométrie et Archéologie», Lyon, France), в рамках совместного франко-украинского проекта программы «Днипро», проводились специальные исследования сырья поливной керамики алуштинской мастерской, что позволило определить его химический состав с довольно специфическими характеристиками, позволяющими достаточно уверенно выделить группу «Алушта» среди разнообразной продукции синхронных гончарных центров Крыма (Teslenko, Waksman 2016).

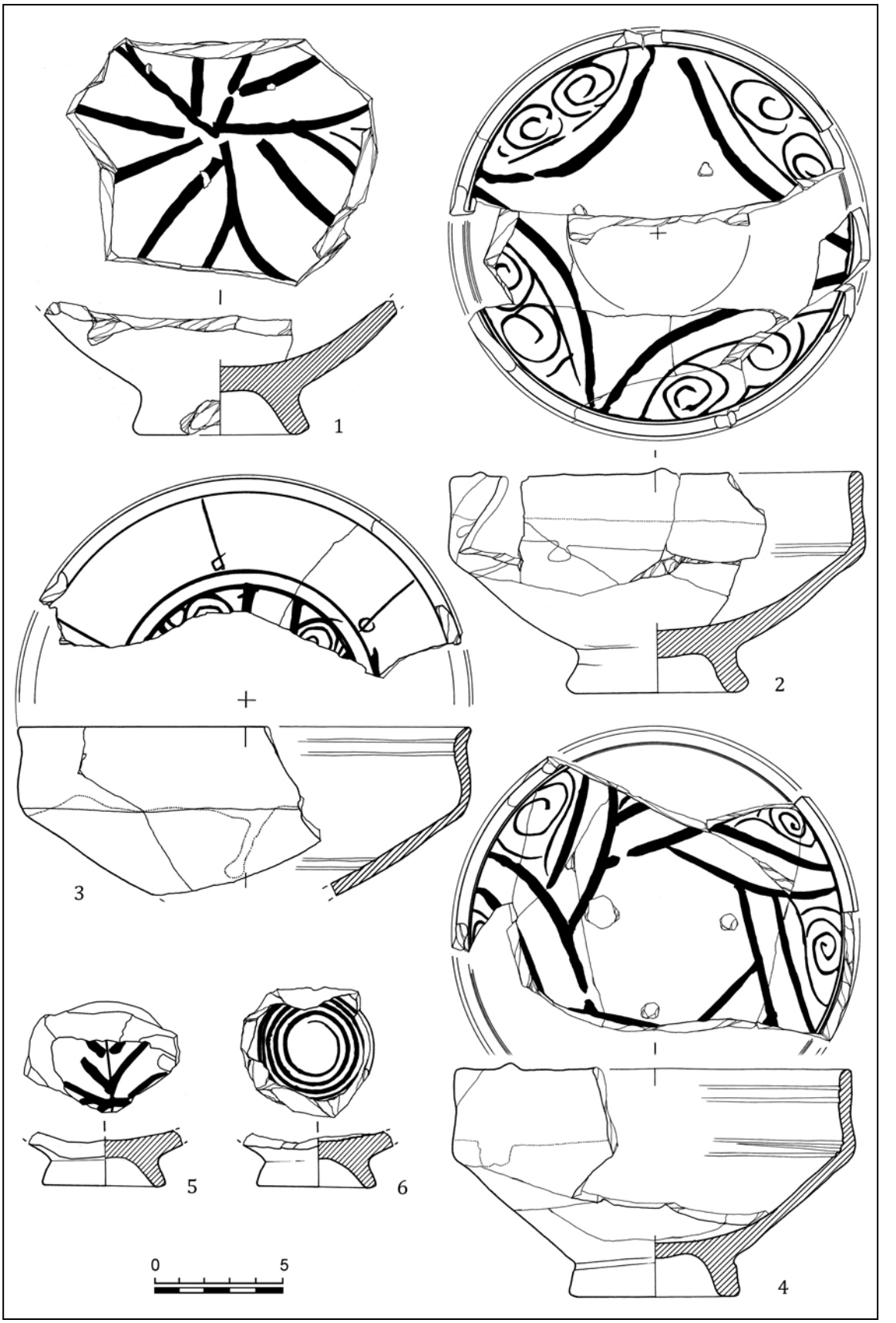

Рис. 10. Поливные чаши группы ЮВК с орнаментом сграффито из раскопок усадьбы (рисунок автора и С.В. Семина).

Fig. 10. Glazed bowls of South-East Crimean group with sgraffito decoration from the excavated household (drawing by the author and S. Siomin).

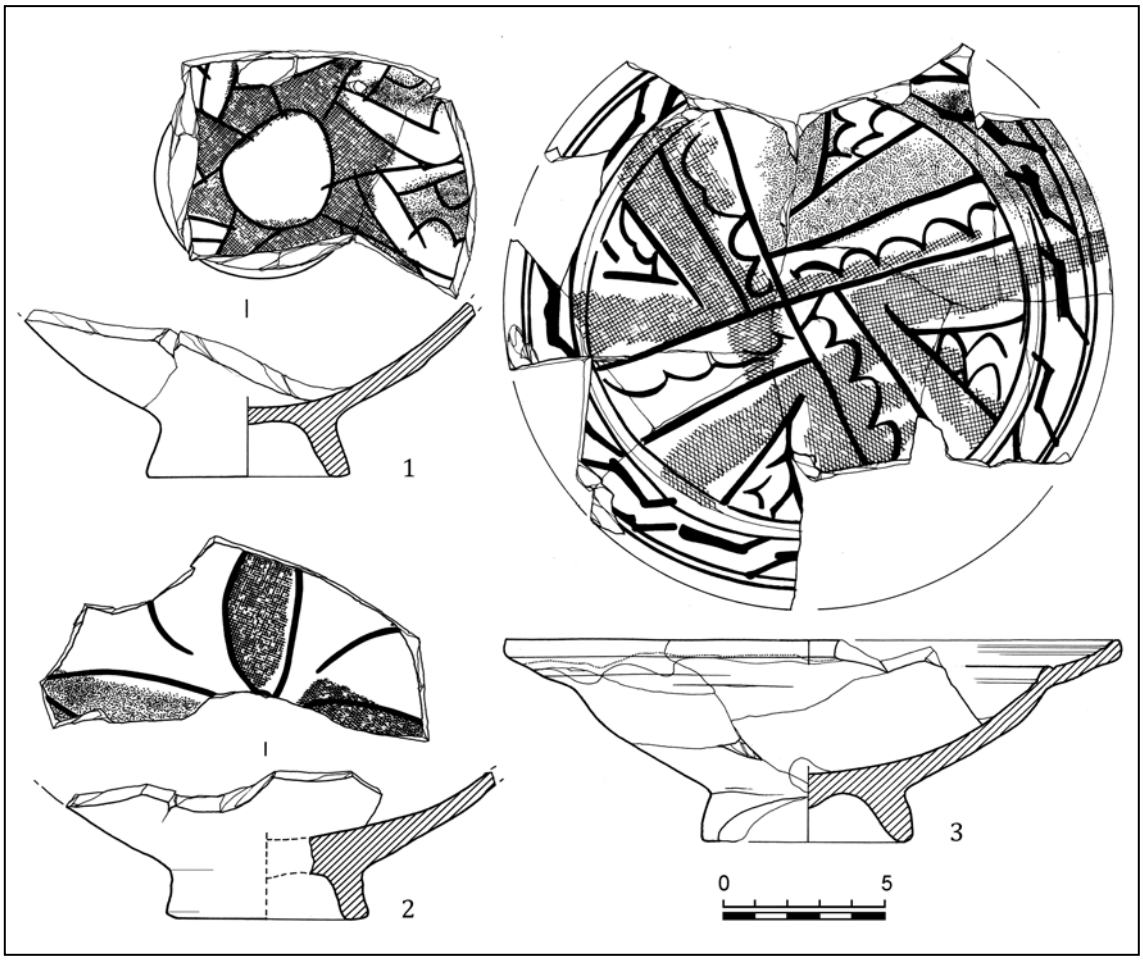

Рис. 11. Поливные сосуды открытой формы группы ЮВК с орнаментом сграффито, двухцветной (1) и трехцветной (2, 3) раскраской рисунка из раскопок усадьбы (рисунок автора и С.В. Семина).

Fig. 11. Open form glazed wares of South-East Crimean group with sgraffito decoration, and two-color (1) or three-color (2, 3) painting of engraving from the excavated household (drawing by the author and S. Siomin).

нительна. Отметим только, что отдельные находки этой группы известны в комплексах середины — второй половины XIV в. из раскопок Фуны, Чембало и Азака (Кирилко 2005: 49; Белинский, Масловский 2005: 161).

К группе «Византия» или «Elaborate incised ware» (далее EIW) относятся реконструированная и фрагментированная чаши, украшенные орнаментом в технике резерв и сграффито (рис. 12: 6, 7; 15: 7, 8) (6,9% поливной керамики). Такие изделия хорошо известны на средневековых памятниках Восточного Средиземноморья и Причерноморья: Салоники, Афины, Крит, Константинополь, Никея, Эфес, Калиакра, Варна, Несебр, Белгород-Днестровский, Херсонес, Чембало, Луста, Судак, Каффа, Азак и др. (см., напр.: Штерн 1906: 65—77, №43, 57, 59, 60, 74, 75, 79; Кравченко, Столярик 1983: 176—190; Кравченко 1986: 104—111; 1991: 112—116; Романчук 2003: 51—56, табл. 29: 94, 96—98; 30: 99—105, 32; Бочаров 2005; Гинькут 2005: 100—103, рис. 2; 3; François 2005: 195—202; Waksman 2012: 147—151; Тесленко 2014б). Их производство традиционно связывали со столицей Византийской империи (Штерн 1906: 64; Rice 1930: 38; François 2005 и др.), что нашло некоторые археологические подтверждения в последнее десятилетие (Waksman 2012: 147—150). Западноевропейские коллеги зачастую датируют EIW достаточно широко — в рамках второй половины XIII—XIV вв. (François 2005: 202; Vroom 2005: 123). Однако в Азаке и в Крыму эта группа византийского импорта зафиксирована лишь в комплексах не ранее середины — второй половины XIV в. (Белинский, Масловский 2005: 162; Сазанов, Иващенко 1994: 180; Бочаров 2005: 308—309; Гинькут 2005: 101—103; Бочаров, Масловский 2012: 32—33, рис. 5: 3—13; Тесленко 2014б).

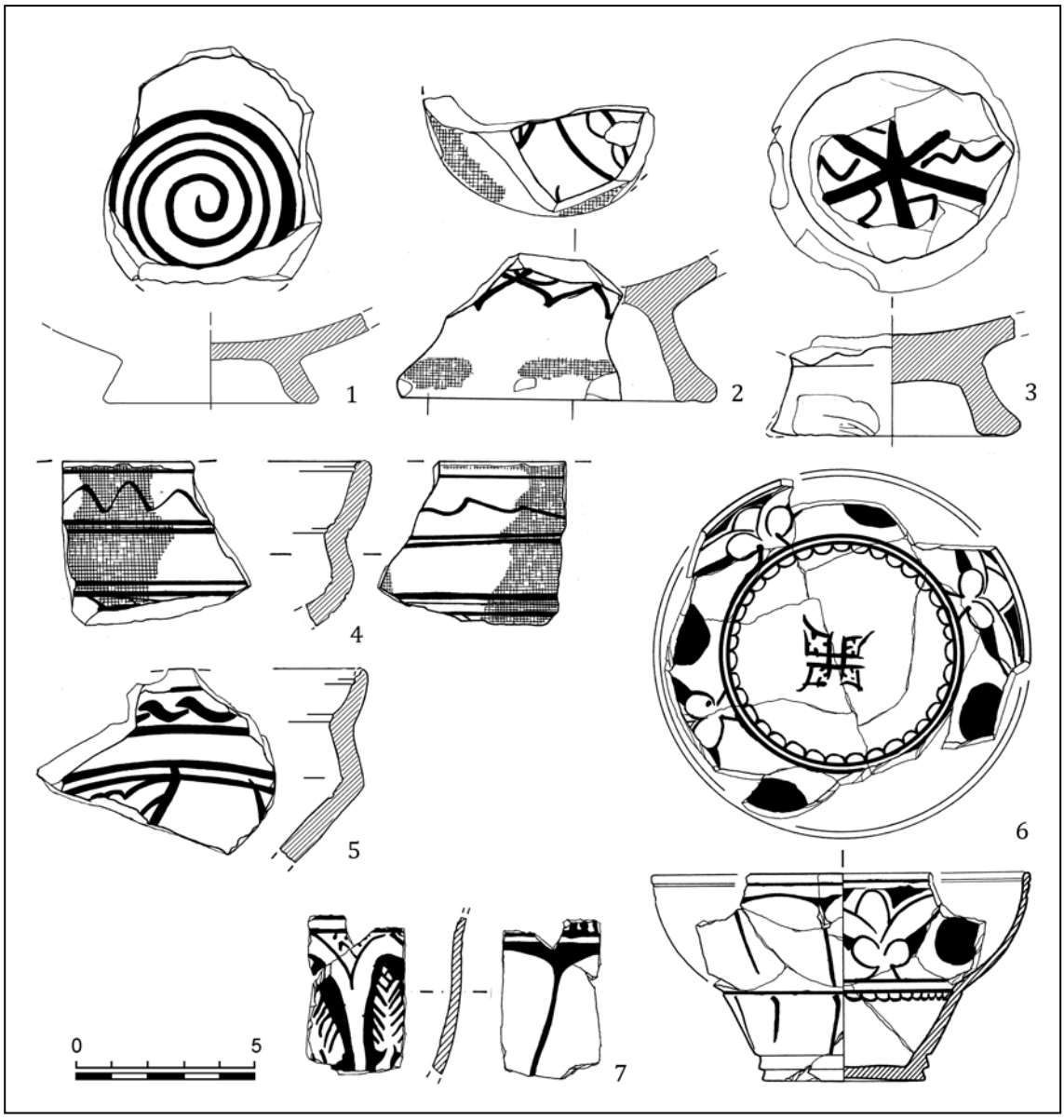

Рис. 12. Поливные сосуды открытой формы из раскопок усадьбы: 1—5 — группа «Алушта»; 6, 7 — группа «Византия» или EIW (рисунок автора и С. В. Семина).

Fig. 12. Open form glazed wares from the excavated household: 1—5 — "Alushta" group; 6, 7 — "Byzantium" or EIW group (drawing by the author and S. Siomin).

Таким образом, учитывая приведенные выше сведения, большую часть поливных изделий из раскопок рассматриваемой усадьбы на Крепостной горке в Алуште можно датировать в рамках второй четверти — последней трети XIV в. Сколько-нибудь выразительных находок, характерных для конца XIII в., рубежа XIII—XIV — первой четверти XIV в., в заполнении ее строений не выявлено. Следовательно, по набору поливной керамики функционирование усадьбы также, вероятно, следует ограничить периодом со второй четверти XIV в. до последней трети (60—80-е гг.?) XIV в. Предложенная хронология не противоречит данным нумизматических находок из других синхронных объектов памятника (Тесленко 2005: 332)[10].

Возвращаясь к коллекции керамики из раскопок усадьбы, отметим, что в рассматриваемом комплексе столовых изделий абсолютно преобладает поливная посуда так называемой группы ЮВК, предположительно, каффин-

[10] Анализ событий, которые могли стать причиной пожара на городище во второй половине (60-х гг.) XIV в., приведшего к гибели этой и других усадеб, предлагает В. Л. Мыц (2009: 55—68).

Рис. 13. Поливные сосуды группы ЮВК из раскопок усадьбы золотоордынского времени на средневековом городище в Алуште: 1—4 — чаши с декоративной деформацией корпуса; 5—9 — чаши с орнаментом сграффито (фото А.А. Чекановского).

Fig. 13. Glazed ware of South-East Crimean group from the excavated household of Golden Horde period on the territory of the medieval settlement in Alushta: 1—4 — bowls with decorative deformations of the body; 5—9 — bowls with sgraffito decoration (photo by A. Chekanovski).

ского производства. В ней выделяются серии изделий, образованные экземплярами с практически идентичным декором, что, возможно, свидетельствует о единоразовом или близком по времени приобретении.

Следует обратить внимание на отсутствие, как в коллекции из усадьбы, так и среди керамического материала из раскопок городища, тисненой в орнаментированных формах (т.н. «штампованной») посуды, которая считается

Рис. 14. Поливные сосуды группы ЮВК с орнаментом сграффито из раскопок усадьбы золотоордынского времени на средневековом городище в Алуште (фото А. А. Чекановского).

Fig. 14. Glazed ware of South-East Crimean group with sgraffito decoration from the excavated household of Golden Horde period on the territory of the medieval settlement in Alushta (photo by A. Chekanovski).

одной из характерных черт золотоордынской культуры и изготавливалась в большинстве крупных городов, в том числе, в Восточном Крыму (Солдая, Солхат) (см., напр.: Панина, Волков 2000; Фронджуло 1974: 48; Джанов 1998: 82—89; Крамаровский, Гукин 2004: 293—294, табл. 110; 111; Масловский 2012: 194). При этом она широко представлена

Рис. 15. Поливные сосуды из раскопок усадеб золотоордынского времени на средневековом городище в Алуште: 1—6 — группа ЮВК; 7, 8 — группа «Византия» или EIW; 9—13 — группа «Алушта» (объекты №38—40); 14 — группа «Maiolica arcaica blu» (объект №52 на цитадели) (фото А.А. Чекановского).

Fig. 15. Glazed ware from the excavated households of Golden Horde period on the territory of the medieval settlement in Alushta: 1—6 — South-East Crimean group; 7, 8 — "Byzantium" or EIW group; 9—13 — "Alushta" group (buildings 38—41); 14 — "Maiolica arcaica blu" (building 52 at the citadel) (photo by A. Chekanovski).

в комплексах XIV в. других синхронных памятников, как на территории Таврики, так и за ее пределами (см. напр. Кравченко 1986: 78—79, рис. 31; Белинский, Масловский 1998: 218, рис. 16: 4—5; 2006: 368—369; Романчук 2003: табл. 210: 1, 3, 4, 6; Коваль 2010: 112—113, 144). Кроме того, на городище крайне скудны находки иных керамических изделий, типичных для ордынских мастерских — кашинных сосудов (см., напр.: Коваль 2005), достаточно хорошо известных в крупных городских центрах Крыма (Айбабина

1991б; Баранов 2004: 534, рис. 7; 26: 1). В отчетной документации о раскопках в Алуште упомянуты лишь «кусочек чаши из кашина» (Мыц, Адаксина 1990: 19) и «обломок ручки белоглиняного кувшина из кашинного теста» (Мыц и др. 1993: 73) из раскопок в юго-восточной части городища[11]. В то же время, при работах на цитадели в одном из строений был найден обломок практически уникального для здешних мест итальянского кувшина с росписью кобальтом и марганцем группы «Maiolica arcaica blu» (Faenza) XIV в. (рис. 15: 14)[12] (Nepoti 2006: 102—103, tav. IX: 2, 3).

Исходя из набора керамического импорта, с высокой долей вероятности можно предположить, что Алушта, в так называемый золотоордынский период своей истории, не имела стабильных связей с городскими центрами Золотой Орды, находилась в стороне от оживленных торговых путей. Она, скорее всего, оставалась небольшим региональным центром, коммерческий интерес к которому, по-видимому, проявляли преимущественно генуэзские купцы из Каффы, осваивающие местные рынки морским путем, пытаясь подчинить прибрежные территории своей власти еще до закрепления соответствующих притязаний *de jure* в 1380, 1381 и 1387 гг. В этой связи вполне логично преобладание в коллекции из раскопок усадьбы поливных изделий предположительно каффинского производства[13]. Присутствие в жилищно-хозяйственных комплексах незначительного количества византийского импорта (EIW) не противоречит высказанным предположениям, так как его распространение в Северном Причерноморье также связано с деятельностью итальянских негоциантов, которые могли доставлять сюда более дорогие и утонченные изделия для отдельных потенциальных покупателей.

Безусловно, все эти версии еще нуждаются в дополнительных аргументах. Рассмотренный же комплекс — это всего лишь небольшой штрих к облику Лусты золотоордынского времени, воссоздать который помогут дальнейшее изучение отчетной документации, музейных коллекций, новые археологические раскопки и очередные научные публикации.

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[11] Среди материалов из раскопок в Алуште есть сосуды, украшенные в технике подглазурной росписи белым ангобом, также характерной для золотоордынской керамики. Однако эта техника декора была распространена в целом довольно широко, в том числе и на византийских землях, поэтому вопросы происхождения изделий из алуштинской коллекции требуют дополнительных исследований.

[12] Определить сосуд удалось после обнаружения его в фондах музея, в отчетной документации содержится лишь краткое упоминание фрагмента белоглиняного сосуда, «раскрашенного голубой, синей и зеленой (? — *И.Т.*) красками» (Мыц 1987: 86).

[13] Интересно также отметить редкость монетных находок на городище в отложениях рассматриваемого периода, что свидетельствует о преимущественно меновом характере торговли на рынке Лусты. Вероятно, итальянцев интересовала, в первую очередь, возможность выгодного приобретения продовольствия и сырья в обмен на различные привлекательные для местных жителей товары, получаемые купцами с наименьшими затратами, например, такие, как поливная керамика из мастерских Каффы.

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Поселение Посидима в Юго-Восточном Крыму и его керамический комплекс (рубеж XIII—XIV вв.)

Keywords: South-Eastern Crimea, Possidima, Byzantine glazed pottery, Golden Horde period, local production of glazed pottery, maps-portolans, historical geography

Ключевые слова: Юго-Восточный Крым, Посидима, византийская поливная керамика, золотоордынский период, поливная керамика местного производства, карты-портоланы, историческая география

S. G. Bocharov

Possidima Settlement in South-Eastern Crimea and Its Pottery Complex (edge 13th — 14th centuries)

This article focuses on the complete publication of available to the author pottery materials obtained in the archaeological research on a medieval settlement Posidima in South-Eastern Crimea. Based on written, archaeological and cartographic evidences, the author offers an attribution of this settlement. Ceramic materials date the studied cultural layers to the last quarter of the 13th — the first quarter of the 14th centuries. The important role of the pottery complex of Possidima is determined by the fact that it clearly illustrates how the Byzantine ceramic complex was replaced by another one, the Golden Horde pottery assemblage, on the turn of the 13th — 14th centuries.

С. Г. Бочаров

Поселение Посидима в Юго-Восточном Крыму и его керамический комплекс (рубеж XIII—XIV вв.)

Статья посвящена полной публикации доступных автору керамических материалов, полученых в ходе археологического исследования позднесредневекового селения Посидима в Юго-Восточном Крыму. На основании письменных, картографических и археологических источников выполнена локализация и культурная атрибуция этого памятника. По керамическому материалу исследованные культурные напластования удалось датировать последней четвертью XIII — первой четвертью XIV вв. Важность керамического материала селения Посидима определяется тем, что он наглядно иллюстрирует произошедшую на рубеже XIII—XIV вв. смену византийского керамического комплекса новым — золотоордынским.

Холм Тепсень[1] находится на западной окраине пгт. Коктебель Феодосийского горсовета. Верхняя часть возвышенности полностью занята раннесредневековым (VIII—X вв.) поселением салтово-маяцкой археологической культуры (рис. 1: 2). Однако на юго-восточном прибрежном склоне холма Тепсень расположен ещё один археологический объект, относящийся к другому хронологическому периоду — позднему средневековью (рис. 1: 2). Определить название этого селения позволяют компасные карты — портоланы. На них между Каффой (Феодосией) и Солдайей (Судаком) отмечены три пункта в направлении с востока на запад: Провато, Посидима и Калиера (Бочаров 2001: 89). Пункт Провато располагался в юго-западной части побережья современной бухты Двухякорной (Бочаров 2015а: рис. 2). Далее по побережью в восточной части Тихой бухты находилась якорная стоянка у мыса Св. Иоанна (Бочаров 2015б: рис. 2). Селение

[1] В переводе с тюркского — «*блюдо, круглый в плане холм*» (Белянский и др. 1998: 36).

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Рис. 1. Средневековое поселение Посидима на холме Тепсень. I — расположение памятника на карте Крыма; II — общий план: 1 — участок исследований 1954—1963 гг.; 2 — раскоп 9, 2006 г. (рисунок автора на основе карты Google Earth).

Fig. 1. Medieval settlement Possidima on the Tepsen hill. I — location of the site on the map of Crimea; II — general plan: 1 — excavations of 1954—1963; 2 — trench 9, 2006 (drawing by the author on the Google Earth map).

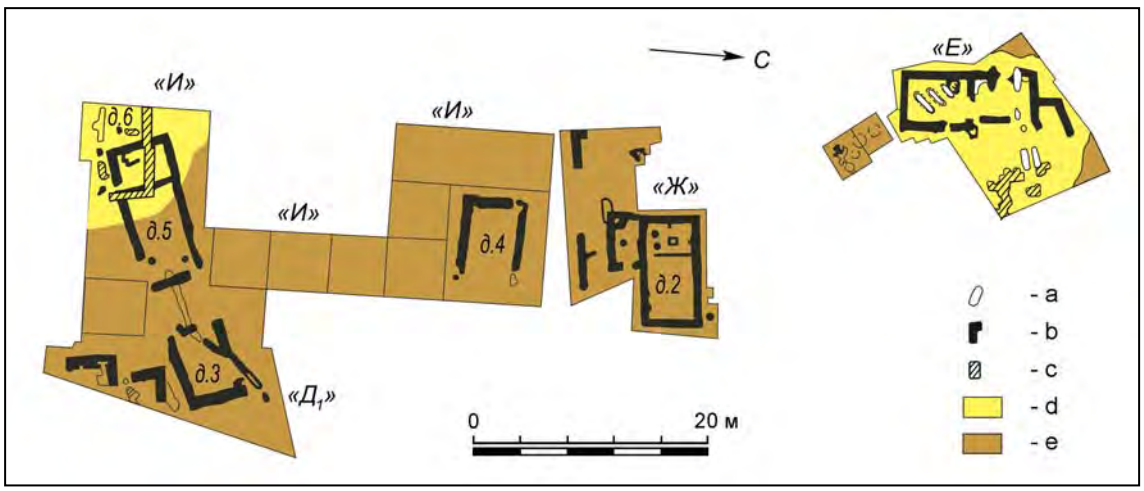

Рис. 2. Поселение Посидима. План раскопов 1954—1959 гг. (рисунок автора по Фронджуло 1968: рис. 2). Условные обозначения: постройки: a — VIII в.; b — VIII—IX вв.; c — XIII—XV вв.; культурные слои: d — XIII—XIV вв.; e — VIII—IX вв.

Fig. 2. Settlement Possidima. Excavations of 1954—1959. Plan (drawing by the author after Фронджуло 1968: рис. 2). Legend: buildings: a — 8th c.; b — 8th—9th cc.; c — 13th—15th cc.; cultural layers: d — of 13th—14th cc.; e — of 8th—9th cc.

Калиера удалось локализовать в южной части современного пос. Куротное (Бочаров 2015в: рис. 1). Изучаемый нами памятник — это единственное приморское позднесредневековое селение между Тихой бухтой (стоянка у мыса Св. Иоанна) и бухтой пос. Курортное

Рис. 3. Поселение Посидима. Раскоп 9 (2006 г.), вид с севера (фото автора).

Fig. 3. Settlement Posidima. Trench 9 (2006), view from the north (photo by the author).

(Калиера), что даёт возможность отождествить топоним Посидима именно с этим местом. Данные письменных портоланов также позволяют связать название «Посидима» с селением, находящимся на территории современного пос. Коктебель. Первый источник — это «Compasso da navigare» (конец XIII в.), в котором указано: «De Caffa a Sipidimma XXX millara per ponente ver garbino» («от Каффы до Сипидимы 30 миль на запад-юго-запад») и «De la Sipidima a Callita X millara per garbino («от Сипидимы до Калиты 10 миль на юго-запад») (Motzo 1947: 136). Второй источник — это рукописный греческий (Лейденский по месту хранения) портолан XVI в.: «От Елафопидима (Ελαφοπήδημα) до Халита, и Тузис, 9 миль» (Delate 1947: 39)[2]. В связи с тем, что основными жителями прибрежных таврических поселений были греки (византийцы-ромеи), очень важно, что в портолане XVI в. приведено название этого пункта именно на греческом языке — Елафопедима (Ελαφοπήδημα). Дословный перевод — «прыжок оленя (лани)» (elaphos/ἔλαφος — *олень* + pedema/πήδημα — *прыжок)* (Liddell, Scott, Jones 1940: 641, 1551). Это название живо и сегодня: замыкающий с востока Коктебельский залив мыс называется Киик-Атлама, что с тюркского переводится так же — «прыжок лани (дикой козы)» (Белянский и др. 1998: 47). То есть, в данном случае мы имеем кальку перевода более раннего греческого топонима. Греческий ойконим «Елафопедима» воспроизводился на латинских морских картах по-разному — *Sipidima*, *Sipidimma*, *Peffidima*, *Pofedima*, *Pefidema*, *Pefidima*, *Perfidima*, *Pecfidema*, *Possidima* (Desimoni, Belgrano 1869: 255; Фоменко 2003: 61; 2007: 273, 321). Вслед за А. Л. Бертье-Делагардом в отечественной литературе утвердилось, наверное, наименее распространённое средневековое название — Посидима (Бертье-Делагард 1920: 31).

Об истории этого населённого пункта мы можем судить только исходя из политической ситуации в регионе в целом. Скорее всего, с середины XIII в. греческое селение Посидима находилось на подвластных Монгольской империи территориях. Хан Джанибек в 1356 г.

[2] Выражаю благодарность И. В. Волкову за консультации по вопросам изучения средневековых карт-портоланов и любезно предоставленные публикации этих источников.

Рис. 4. Поселение Посидима. Раскоп 9 (2006 г.), вид с востока. Стратиграфия (фото автора).

Fig. 4. Settlement Possidima. Trench 9 (2006). View from the east. Stratigraphy (photo by the author).

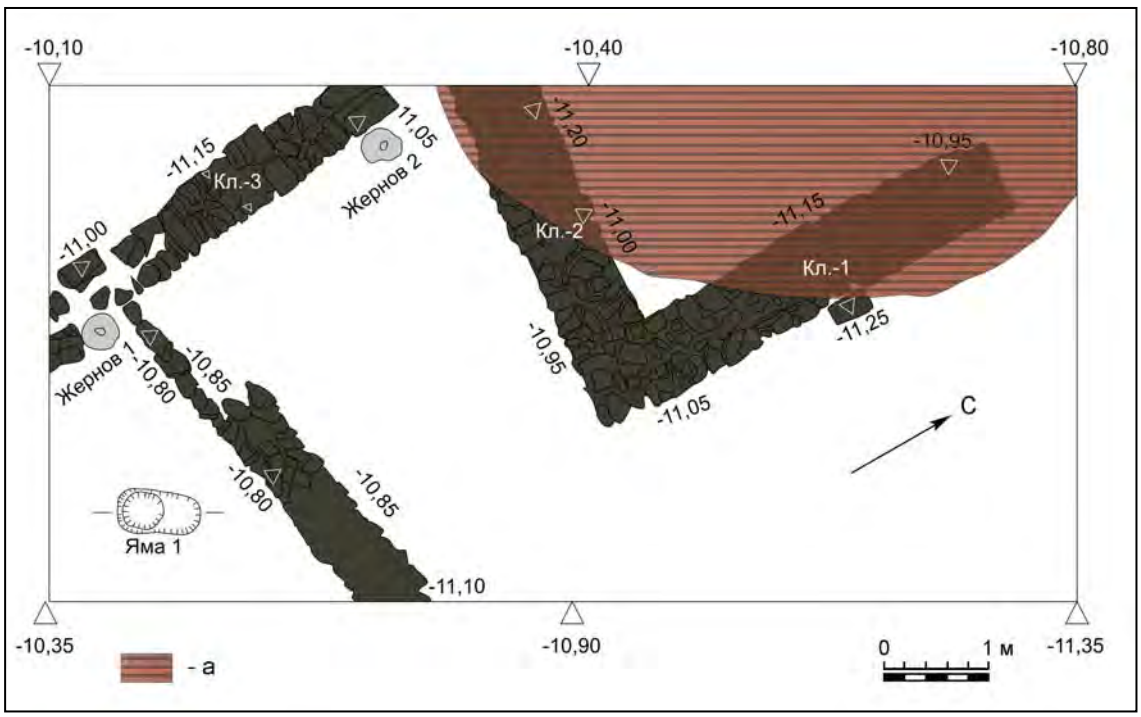

Рис. 5. Поселение Посидима. Раскоп 9 (2006 г.). План (рисунок автора). а — культурный слой XIII—XIV вв.

Fig. 5. Settlement Possidima. Trench 9 (2006). Plan (drawing by the author). a — cultural layer of 13th—14th cc.

Рис. 6. Поселение Посидима. Раскоп 9 (2006 г.), вид с востока. Стратиграфия северо-западного борта (фото автора).

Fig. 6. Settlement Possidima. Trench 9 (2006), view from the east. Stratigraphy of the north-western board (photo by the author).

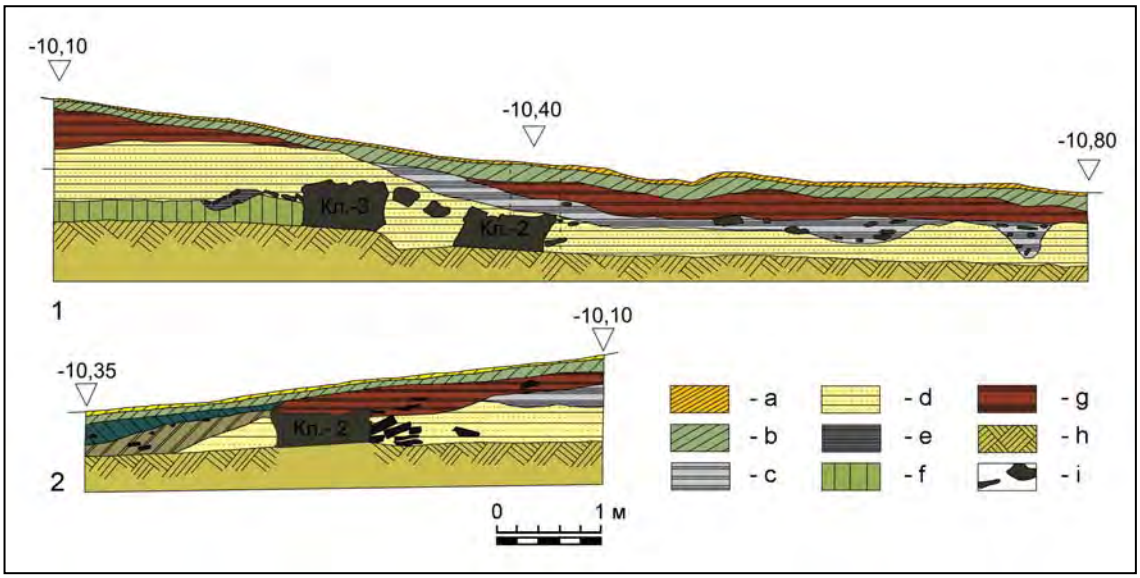

Рис. 7. Поселение Посидима. Раскоп 9 (2006 г.). Стратиграфия (рисунок автора). 1 — стратиграфия северо-западного борта; 2 — бровка 1. Условные обозначения: a — дерн; b — коричневый суглинок; c — желто-серая плотная глина; d — темно-коричневый плотный грунт; e — серый грунт; f — серо-коричневый суглинок; g — темно-серый плотный грунт; h — материк; i — камни.

Fig. 6. Settlement Possidima. Trench 9 (2006). Stratigraphy (drawing by the author). 1 — stratigraphy of the north-west side; 2 — edge 1. Legend: a — topsoil; b — brown loam; c — yellow-gray compact clay; d — dark brown compact soil; e — gray soil; f — greyish brown loam; g — dark grey compact soil; h — subsoil; i — stones.

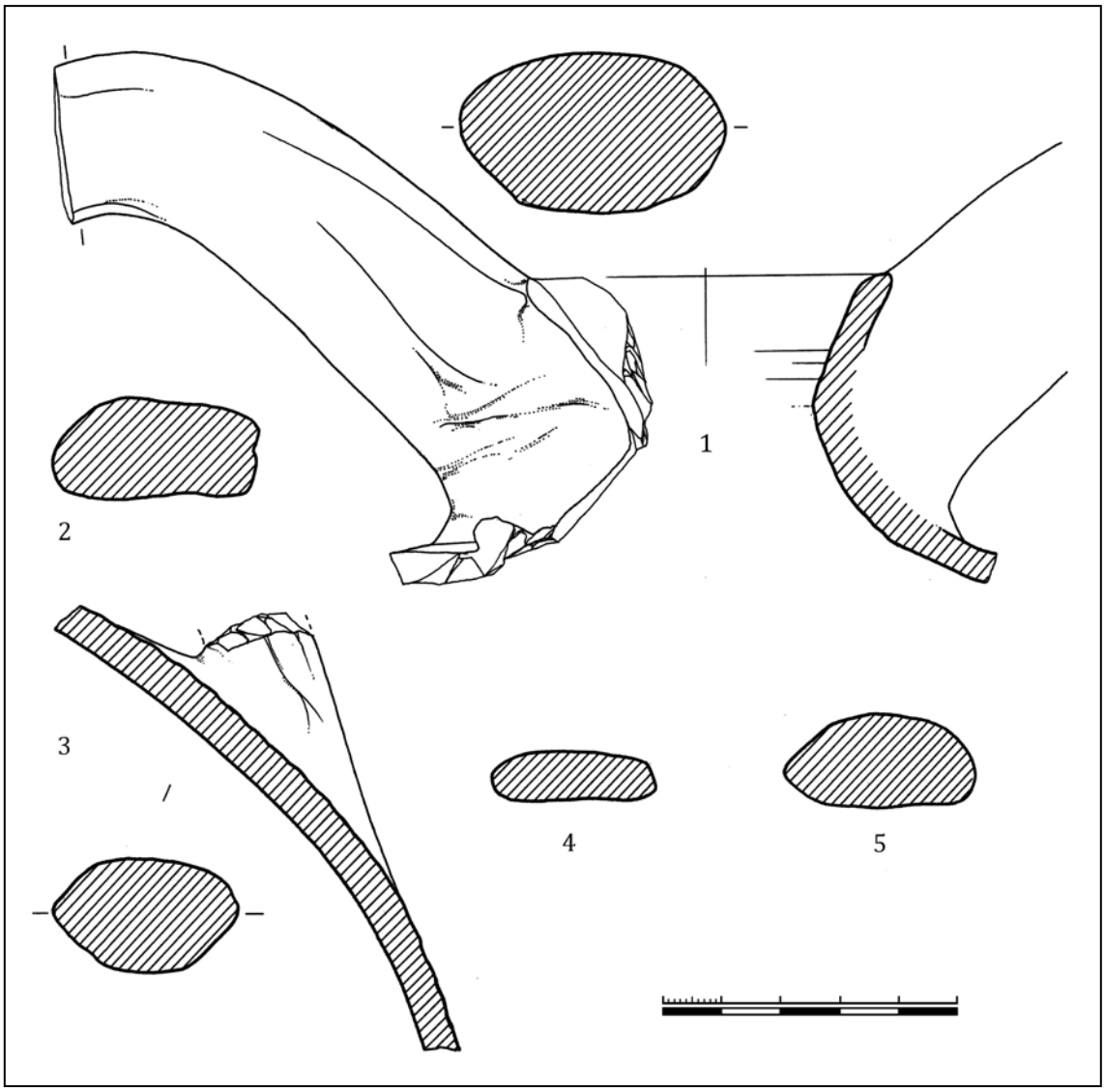

Рис. 8. Поселение Посидима. Исследования 1954—1963 гг. 1—3, 5 — ручки и стенки амфор, группа 1 «Трапезунд», Византия; 4 — ручка красноглиняного сосуда, группа 5, Юго-Восточный Крым (рисунок автора).

Fig. 8. Settlement Possidima. Excavations of 1954—1963. 1—3, 5 — amphorae handles and wall, Group 1 "Trapezund", Byzantium; 4 — handle of vessel, Group 5, South-Eastern Crimea (drawing by the author).

разрешает венецианцам строительство в Юго-Восточном Крыму фактории в местности Провато (Provato, Prouato) (Бочаров 2015а: 306). Новый правитель государства Бердибек, сменивший своего отца хана Джанибека на ордынском престоле, в 1358 г. предоставил Венецианской республике в Крыму более значительные привилегии. Республика Св. Марка получила подтверждение на владение портом Провато и право заходов в порты Солдайя и Калиера (Бочаров 2015в: 92). В 1365 г. генуэзцы захватили Солдайю и земли по побережью от Солдайи до Каффы (Balard 1978: 161). Тогда же под их власть вместе со всем регионом перешла и Коктебельская долина. Затем, в начале 80-х гг. XIV в., во время длительного конфликта генуэзцев с Крымским улусом Золотой Орды, эта приморская территория от Каффы до Солдайи на незначительный срок возвращается под протекторат Золотой Орды. Венецианцы поддерживали в этом конфликте ордынцев и даже пытались вернуть себе пункт Провато. В 1382 г., в разгар военной конфронтации, они отправили караван судов именно в этот порт с десятидневной стоянкой кораблей в нем (Карпов 1994: 64). Окончательно данный участок побережья с селением Посидима был закреплен за коммуной Каффы по итогам Солхатской войны мирным договором 1387 г. (Basso 1991: 15) и оставался ее владением до османского завоевания Крыма в 1475 г.

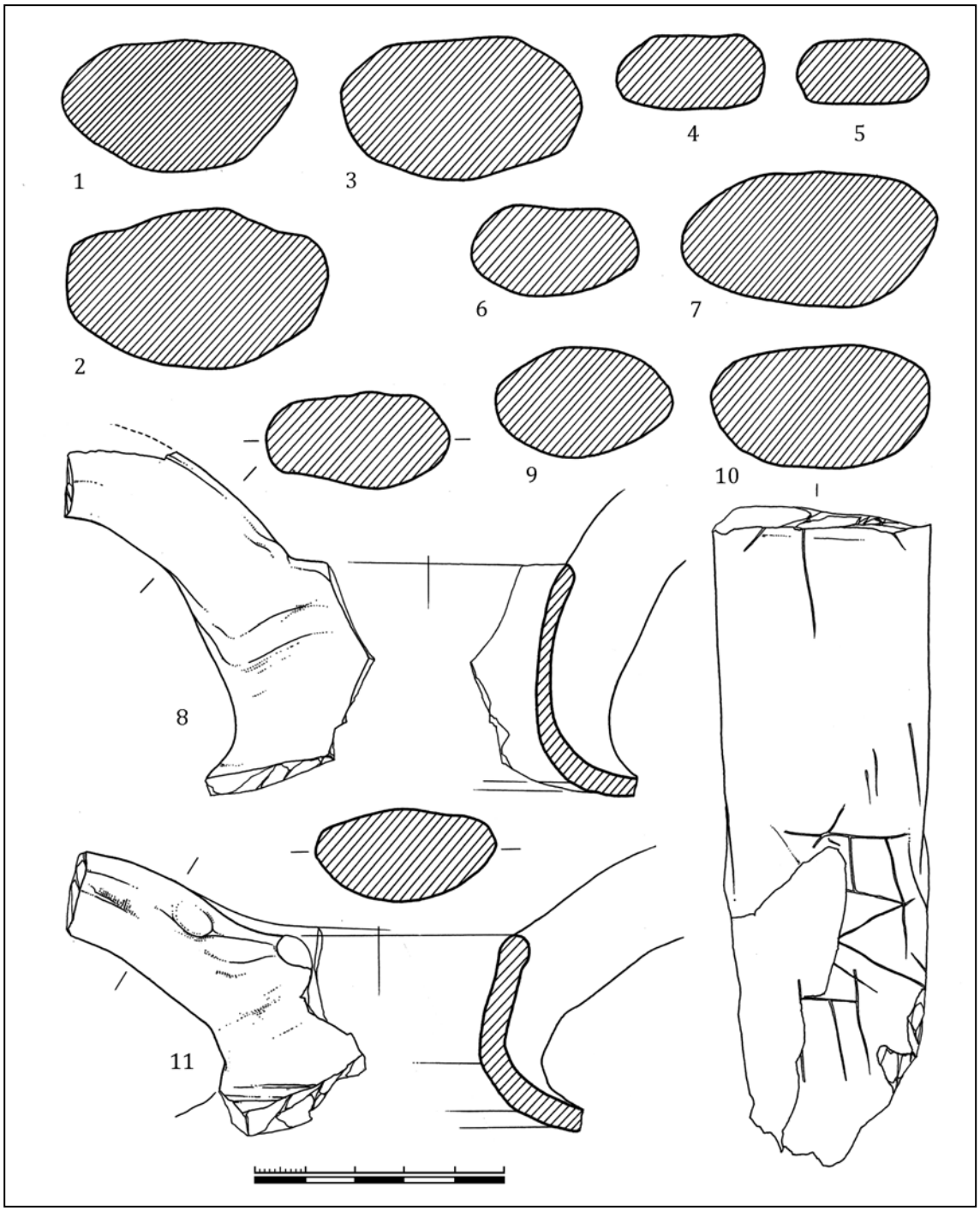

Рис. 9. Поселение Посидима. Исследования 1954—1963 гг. 1—3, 6—11 — ручки и стенки амфор, группа 1 «Трапезунд», Византия; 4, 5 — ручки красноглиняных сосудов, группа 5, Юго-Восточный Крым (рисунок автора).

Fig. 9. Settlement Possidima. Excavations of 1954—1963. 1—3, 6—11 — amphorae handles and wall, Group 1 "Trapezund", Byzantium; 4, 5 — handles of red-clay vessels, Group 5, South-Eastern Crimea (drawing by the author).

Впервые позднесредневековые материалы из основного керамического массива хазарского времени были выделены В. П. Бабенчиковым. Во время археологических раскопок на Тепсене в полевые сезоны 1949—1953 гг. в качестве подъёмного материала собраны 9 фрагментов поливных сосудов, из которых четыре с зелёной поливой, четыре с жёлтой и один полихромный (Бабенчиков 1958: 140—141, рис. 27).

Во время раскопок М. А. Фронджуло в 1954—1959 гг. на восточном приморском участке холма среди общей массы строительных комплексов раннего средневековья были

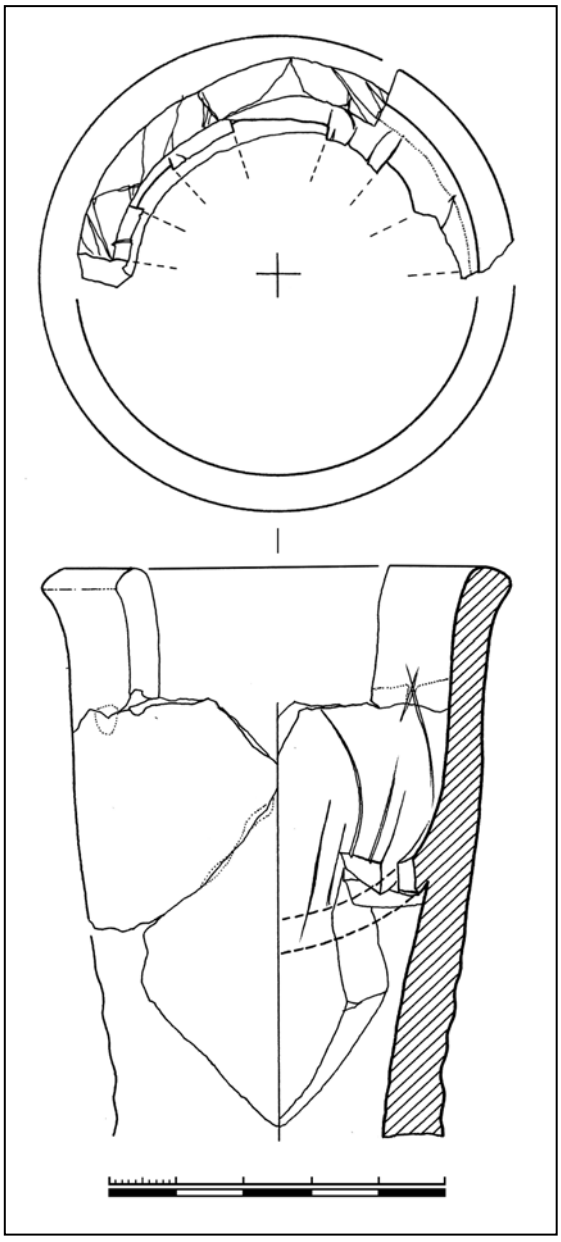

Рис. 10. Поселение Посидима. Исследования 1954—1963 гг. Горло красноглиняного кувшина с ситечком, группа 5, Юго-Восточный Крым (рисунок автора).

Fig. 10. Settlement Possidima. Excavations of 1954—1963. Neck of jug with a strainer, Group 5, South-Eastern Crimea (drawing by the author).

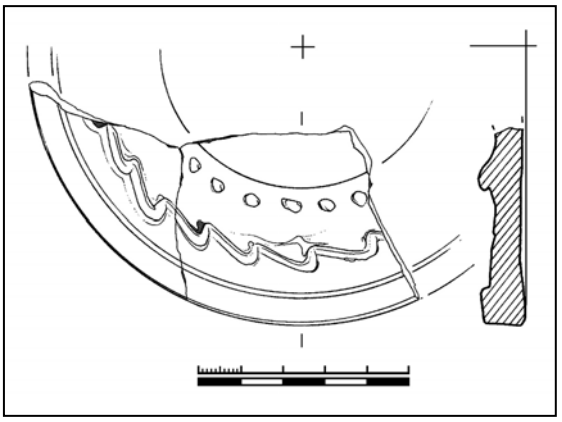

Рис. 11. Поселение Посидима. Исследования 1954—1963 гг. Крышка красноглиняного сосуда, группа 5, Юго-Восточный Крым (рисунок автора).

Fig. 11. Settlement Possidima. Excavations of 1954—1963. Lid of a red-clay vessel, Group 5, South-Eastern Crimea (drawing by the author).

выделены одно помещение и одна хозяйственная яма XIII—XIV вв., открыт участок могильника, угол, предположительно, храмовой постройки и позднесредневековый культурный слой. Около стен церкви найдены фрагменты штукатурки, один из обломков имел следы фресковой росписи. У западной стены постройки зачищены три плитовых могилы, ориентация костяков западная, погребальный инвентарь отсутствовал (рис. 1; 2). Здесь же было найдено надгробие XIV в. — прямоугольная вертикальная стела с резным изображением креста с расширяющимися концами и четырьмя розетками между ветвями, выполненным в контррельефе (Фронджуло 1968: 103, рис. 5: 2). Еще пять одиночных погребений в грунтовых могилах с западной ориентацией были открыты в 7,0 метрах к западу от стен храма. Все костяки лежали в вытянутом положении на материковой глине, руки сложены на груди или животе, погребения безинвентарные. Из этих напластований были опубликованы три фрагмента поливной керамики (Фронджуло 1968: 119, рис. 21). Раскопки были продолжены в 1960—1963 гг., но полученные материалы автором в научный оборот введены не были.

Отдельные фрагменты поливных сосудов были выявлены во время исследований 1998—2000 гг. В 2008 г. В.В. Майко опубликовал позднесредневековые находки и утверждал, что были найдены культурные напластования и строительные остатки интересующего нас периода, но при этом ни одна стратиграфия не представлена (Майко 2008: 473). Разобраться в хитросплетениях мыслей автора на эту тему я не смог. Поэтому ограничусь только констатациями. Публикуются три фрагмента чаш из раскопок 1959—1960 гг. М.В. Фронджуло и 23 фрагмента, полученные в ходе работ 1998—2000 гг., при полном отсутствии каких-либо статистических данных в целом. При этом на шести страницах текста присутствуют датировки XIII—XV вв., XIII—XIV вв., XIV—XV вв., вторая половина XIV — XV вв., вторая половина XIV — первая половина XV вв. (Майко 1998: 467, 468, 472,

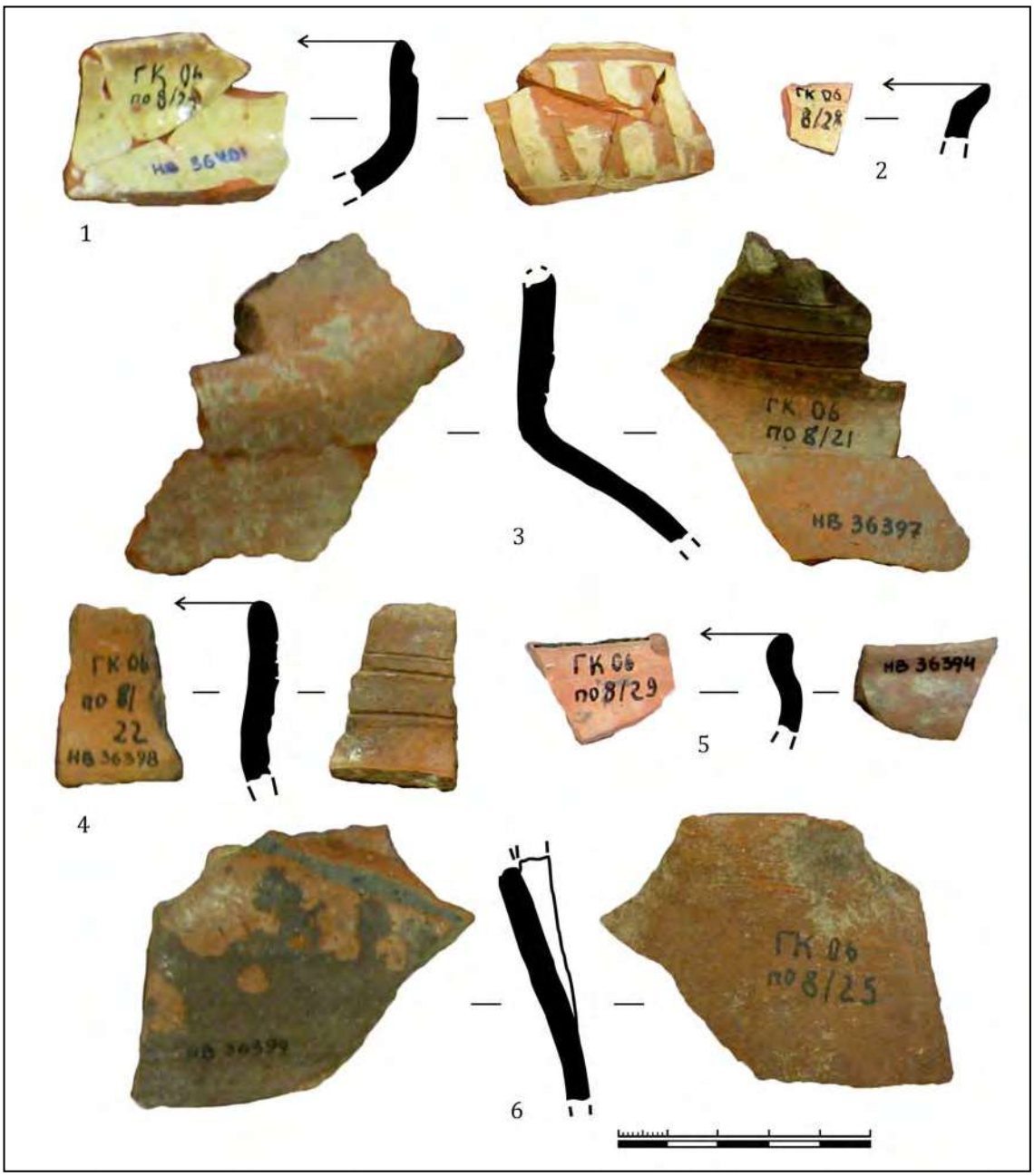

Рис. 12. Поселение Посидима. Раскоп 9 (2006 г.). 1, 2, 5 — венчики поливных красноглиняных чаш, группа 5, Юго-Восточный Крым (1 — Каффа, 2, 5 — Солхат); 3, 6 — стенки и 4 — венчик красноглиняных сосудов, группа 4, Юго-Западный Крым (фото и рисунки автора).

Fig. 12. Settlement Possidima. Trench 9 (2006). 1, 2, 5 — rims of glazed red-clay bowls, Group 5, South-East Crimea (1 — Caffa, 2, 5 — Solkhat); 3, 6 — walls, and 5 — rim of red-clay vessels, Group 4, South-West Crimea (photo and drawings by the author).

473[3], 475, 478). Также указано, что автору известно всего о пяти медных монетах (ни одна не определена) из раскопок 1956—1957 гг. и 1998 г. (Майко 2008: 478).

В 2006 г. в процессе исследований Восточно-Крымской (Феодосийской) экспедиции Крымского филиала Института археологии НАН Украины под руководством автора на юго-восточной части холма Тепсень (рис. 1) в раскопе 9 (рис. 3) был обнаружен участок культурного слоя XIII—XIV вв. (Бочаров

[3] Здесь более чем странной выглядит ссылка на мою публикацию (Бочаров 2007), приведённая для обоснования даты XIV—XV вв. и подобности слоя серой глины из раскопа К (1998 г.) и слоя темно-серого грунта раскопа 9 (2006 г.). Ни то, ни другое не отвечает действительности — слои разные, и на раскопе 9 слой тёмно-серого грунта датирован более ранним временем.

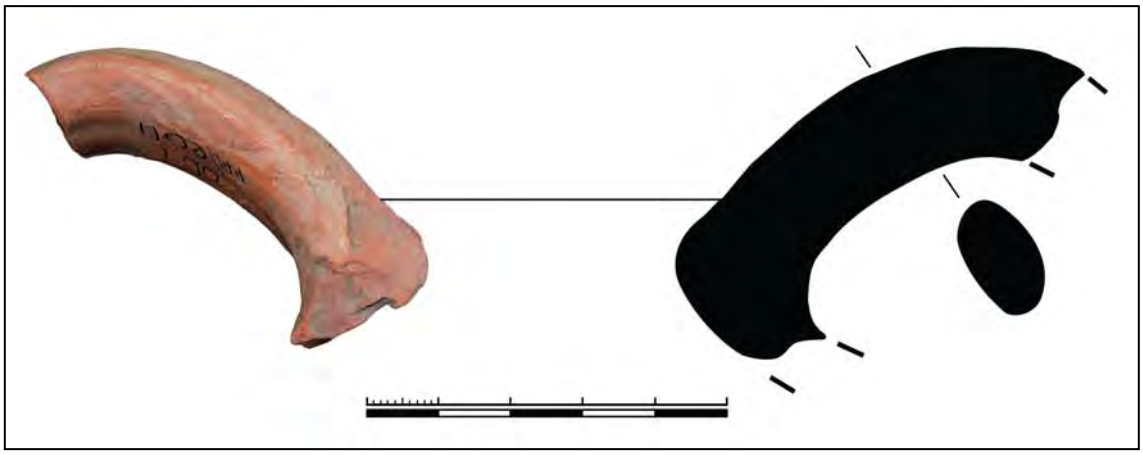

Рис. 13. Поселение Посидима. Раскоп 9 (2006 г.). Фрагмент амфоры, группа 1 «Трапезунд», Византия (фото и рисунок автора).

Fig. 13. Settlement Possidima. Trench 9 (2006). Amphora's fragment, Group 1 "Trapezund", Byzantium (photo and drawing by the author).

2007а: 34—45). Материалы этих исследований были частично опубликованы (Бочаров 2007б: 12—18; 2015г: 123—127; 2016).

В 2011 г. в непосредственной близости от раскопа 9 (2006 г.) Южнобережной экспедицией Крымского филиала Института археологии НАН Украины под руководством В. В. Майко был заложен раскоп 2. Эти материалы не опубликованы. Имеется лишь беглое упоминание результатов в научном сборнике об археологических исследованиях 2011 года, из которого следует, что «обнаружен уникальный для данного памятника, богатый и разнообразный материал, включающий археологические целые формы тарной, столовой, кухонной, производственной керамики, индивидуальные находки» (Майко, Баранов, Алядинова 2012: 83). Собственно, на этом и заканчивается историографический обзор изучения древностей Посидимы.

В 2005 г. мне удалось просмотреть часть керамической коллекции из раскопок М. А. Фронджуло на холме Тепсень. Обработка этой коллекции имела свои особенности. Это были деревянные ящики, набитые керамикой, которые более 30 лет пролежали в подвалах Бахчисарайского дворца-музея. В конечном итоге сотрудники последнего отказались от приёма этих материалов на постоянное хранение, и ящики были перевезены в Крымский филиал Института археологии НАН Украины. Все материалы были фактически депаспортизированы, и имели только шифры, нанесённые тушью на черепок. Ни на строительные комплексы, ни на слои они подразделены не были. Также непонятно, по какому принципу находки отбирались для этой коллекции, что оставлялось, а что выбрасывалось. Фактически приходилось из общей массы материалов VIII—X вв. выбирать позднесредневековые вещи. В итоге в моем распоряжении оказались 150 фрагментов позднесредневековой керамики.

Настоящая статья посвящена публикации этих материалов, а также находок из раскопа 9 (2006 г.). Интересующий нас слой темно-серого плотного грунта был зафиксирован частично в северо-западной и центральной части раскопа 9 (рис. 4; 5), залегал на глубине 0,20—0,40 м от уровня современной дневной поверхности. Мощность слоя до 0,25 м (рис. 6; 7). В слое обнаружен 261 фрагмент керамики, из которых 167 относятся к сосудам салтово-маяцкой культуры VIII—X вв., а 94 — ко времени существования селения Посидима. В конечном итоге, мы располагаем 244 фрагментами позднесредневековых сосудов (Бочаров 2007б: 12—18).

При обработке керамики использовались методические рекомендации А. А. Бобринского. Им разработаны практические приёмы выявления признаков технологий использованных древними гончарами, начиная с общего технического уровня до особенностей отбора сырья и режима обжига. На основе визуально фиксируемых признаков предложенная методика позволяет выделять продукцию отдельных гончарных мастерских, и, как следствие, появляется возможность установить степень генетического родства между гончарными мастерскими (Бобринский 1978: 14—265).

Для дальнейшей классификации керамических материалов используется система

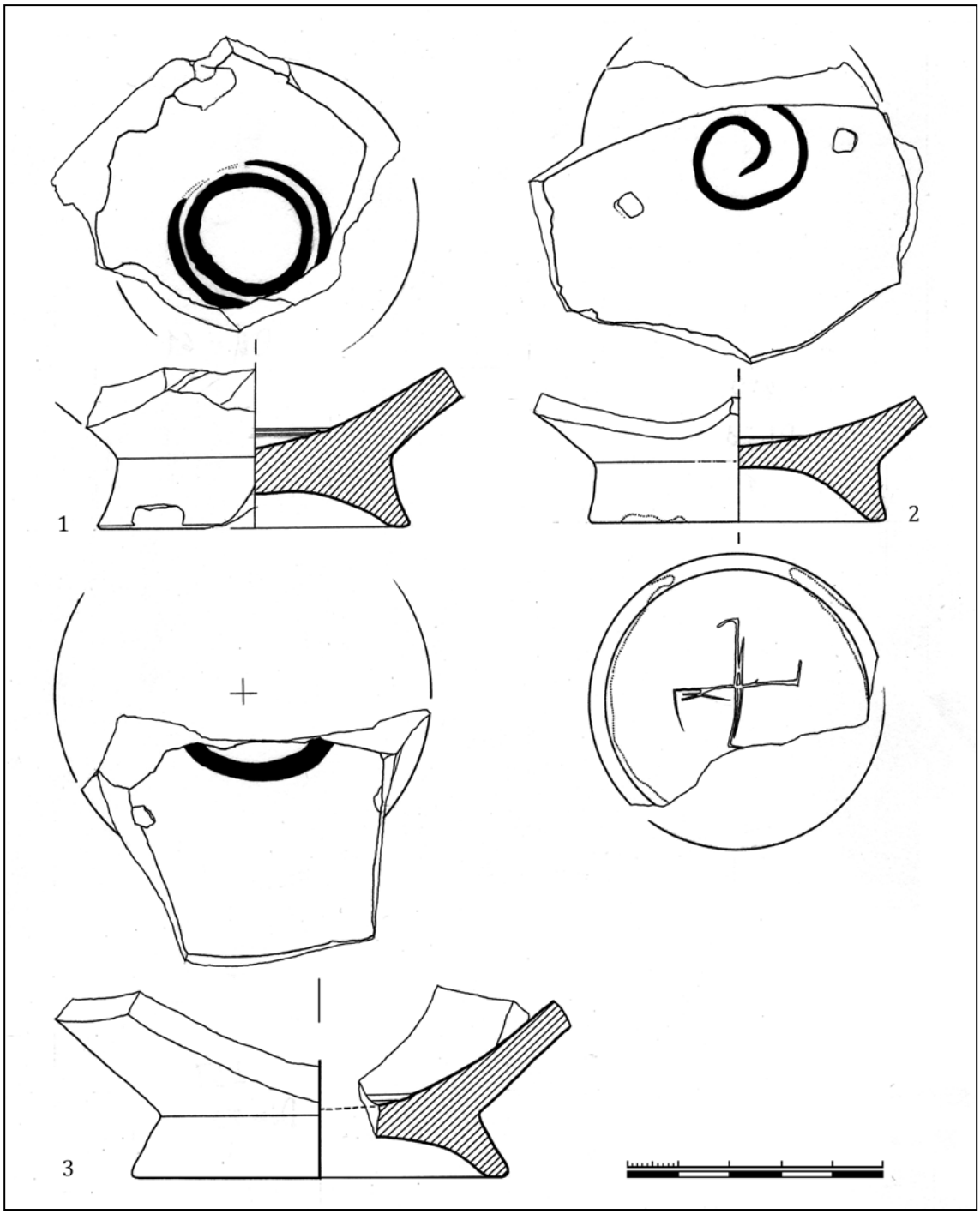

Рис. 14. Поселение Посидима. Исследования 1954—1963 гг. Донья поливных чаш с орнаментом сграффито, группа 2, Византия (рисунок автора).

Fig. 14. Settlement Possidima. Excavations of 1954—1963. Bottoms of glazed sgraffito bowls, Group 2, Byzantium (drawing by the author)

с четырьмя уровнями членения, предложенная И. В. Волковым (Волков 2005: 131—135). Первый уровень — это ***группы***, которые объединяют продукцию одной или нескольких близкородственных гончарных мастерских. Их выделение происходит на основании анализа технологических особенностей изготовления сосудов, которые могут быть определены визуально. Один гончар для изготовления разных сосудов мог использовать различные технологии, поэтому на втором уровне классификации сосуды, изготовленные в одной мастерской, с применением различных технологических приёмов группируются в ***отделы***.

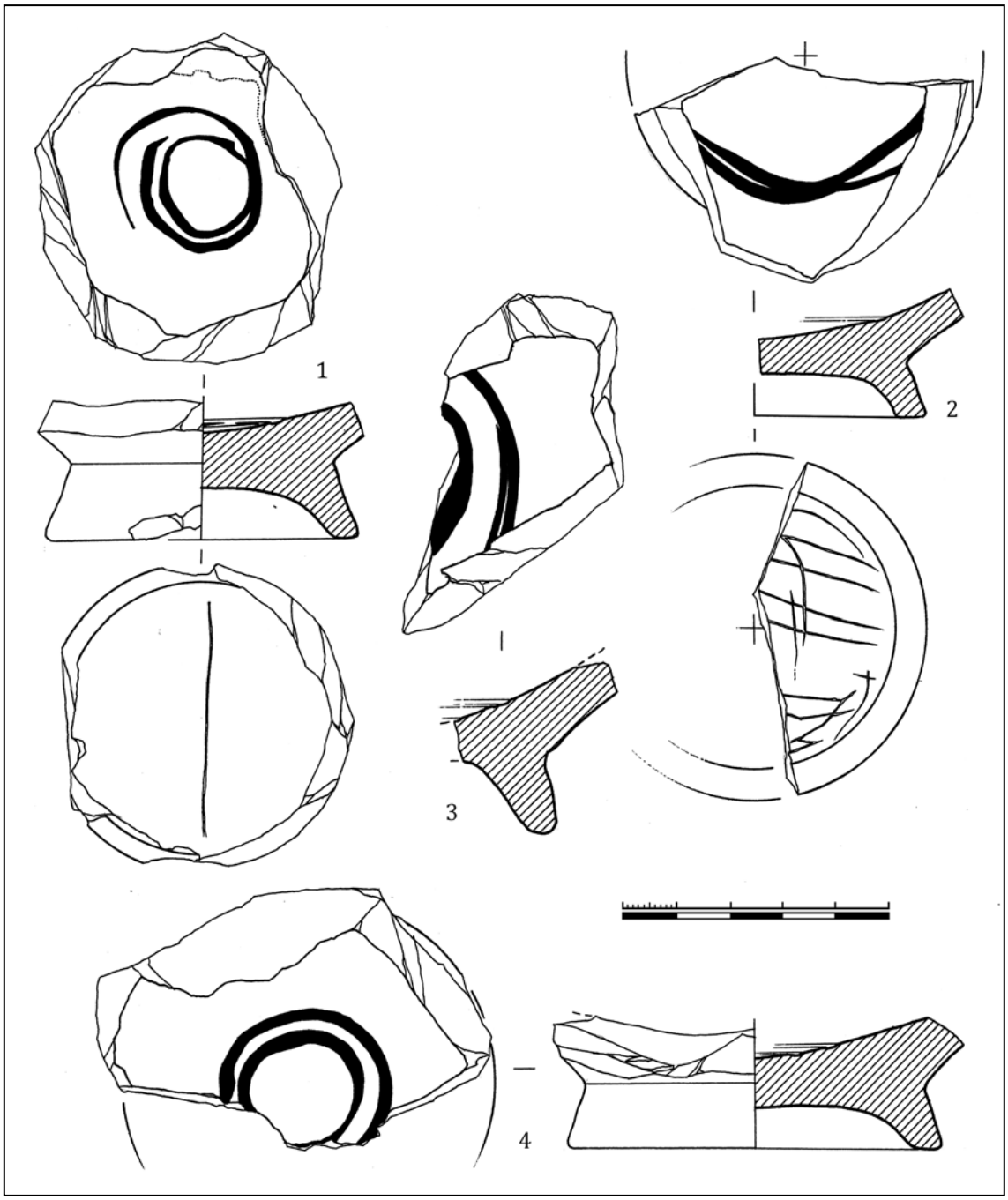

Рис. 15. Поселение Посидима. Исследования 1954—1963 гг. Донья поливных чаш с орнаментом сграффито, группа 2, Византия (рисунок автора).

Fig. 15. Settlement Possidima. Excavations of 1954—1963. Bottoms of glazed sgraffito bowls, Group 2, Byzantium (drawing by the author).

Третий уровень классификации — ***виды*** — объединяет сосуды с одинаковым функциональным назначением, сходные по форме и размерам. Четвертый уровень классификации — ***тип*** — объединяет изделия с одинаковыми деталями профилировки и размерами.

В керамическом комплексе селения Посидима представлена византийская керамика трёх основных групп.

Группа 1. «Трапезунд» (или Gunsennin IV) представлена 48 фрагментами амфор (описание группы см.: Волков 1992а: 144—148; Масловский 2006: 383): 37 фрагментов (из них 23 единицы — мелкие фрагменты стенок) происходят из исследований М. А. Фронджуло (рис. 8: 1—3, 5; 9: 1—3, 6—11; 36: 3, 4) и 11 фрагментов (из них 10 экз. — мелкие части стенок) — из рас-

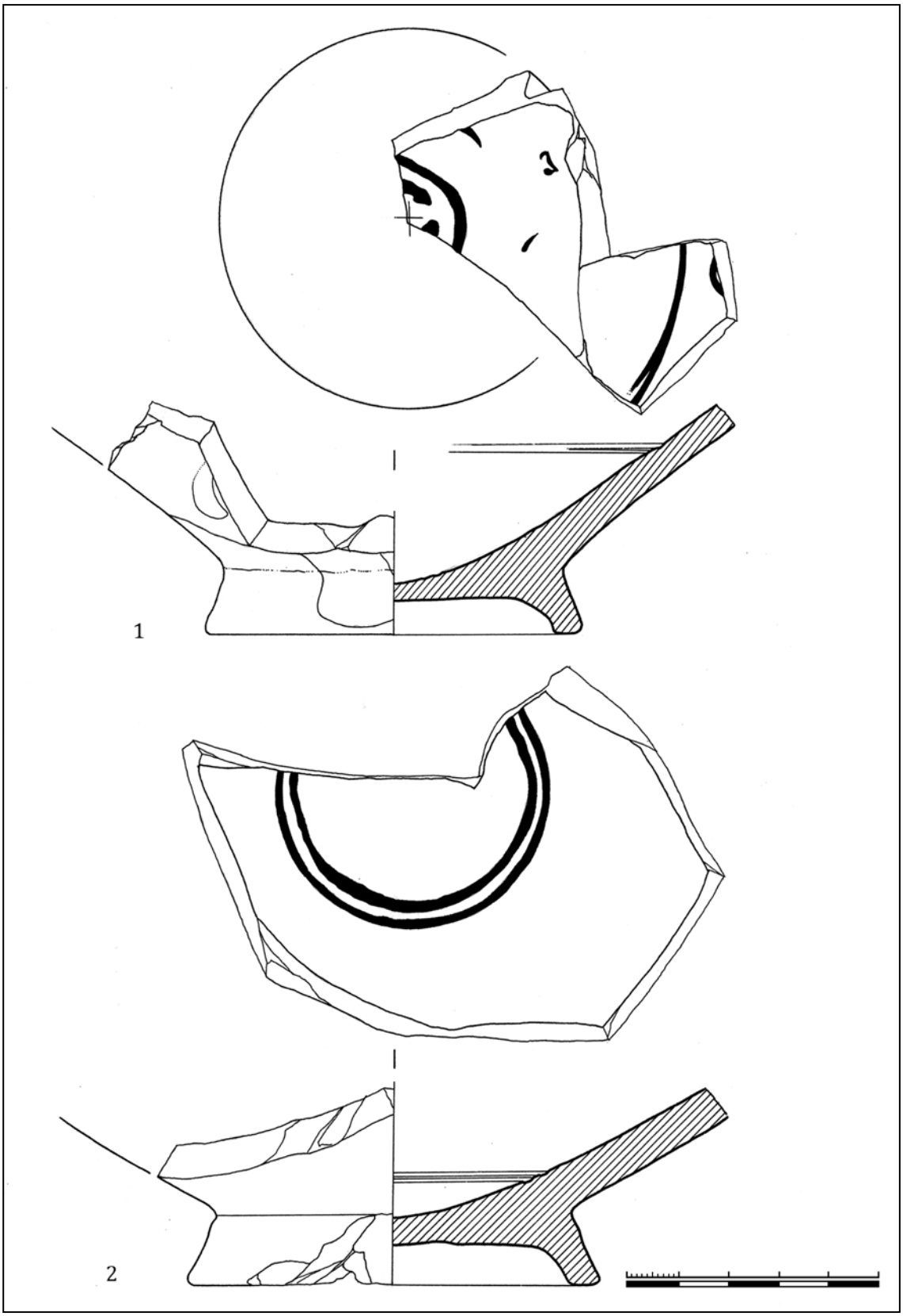

Рис. 16. Поселение Посидима. Исследования 1954—1963 гг. Донья поливных чаш с орнаментом сграффито, группа 2, Византия (рисунок автора).

Fig. 16. Settlement Possidima. Excavations of 1954—1963. Bottoms of glazed sgraffito bowls, Group 2, Byzantium (drawing by the author).

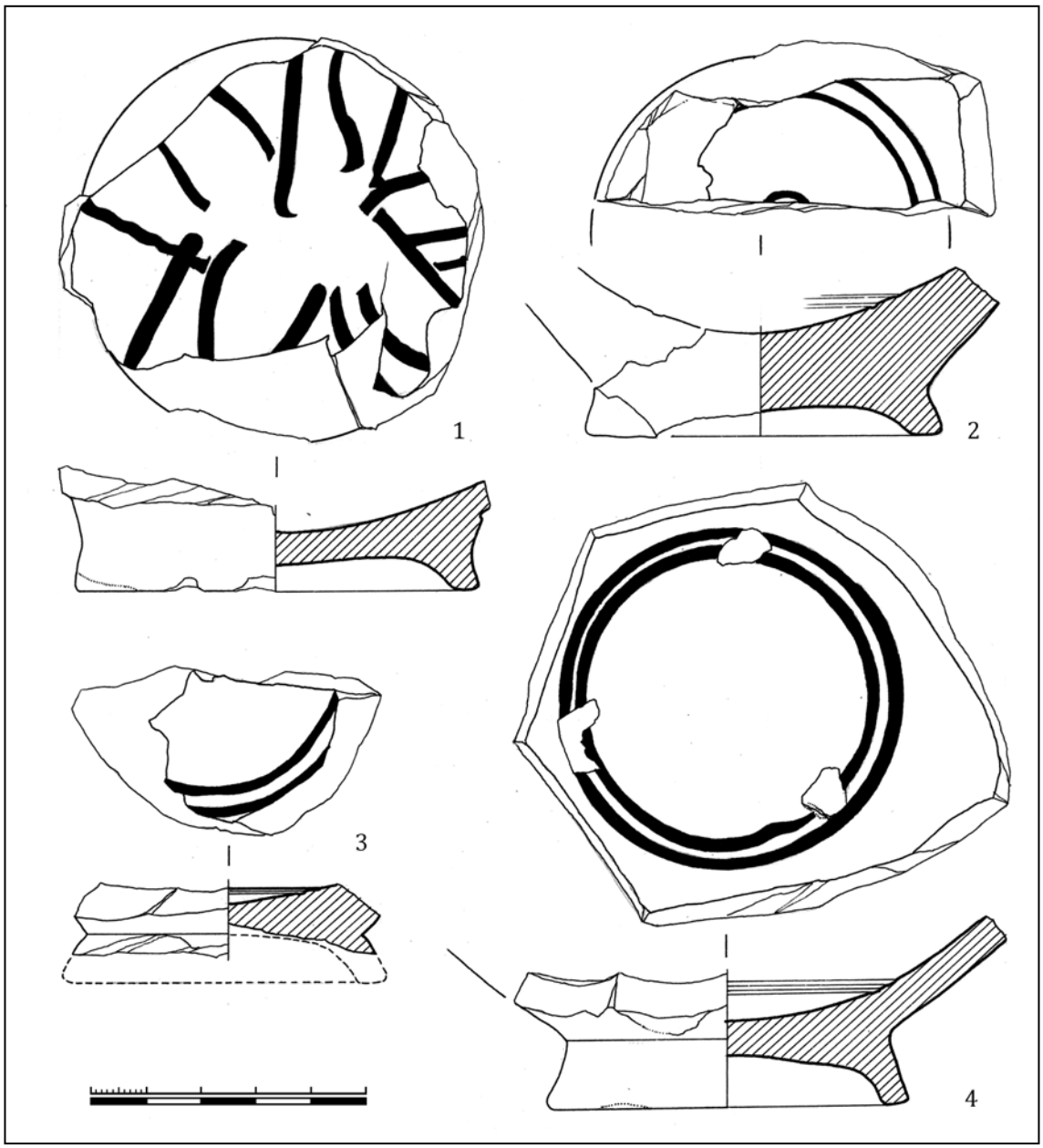

Рис. 17. Поселение Посидима. Исследования 1954—1963 гг. Донья поливных чаш с орнаментом сграффито, группа 2, Византия (рисунок автора).

Fig. 17. Settlement Possidima. Excavations of 1954—1963. Bottoms of glazed sgraffito bowls, Group 2, Byzantium (drawing by the author).

копок 2006 г. (рис. 13; табл. 1—3). В настоящее время есть две версии локализации места производства этих амфор. Первая — южный берег Чёрного моря, город Трапезунд (Волков 1989: 87—95), вторая — северный берег Мраморного моря, урочище Ганос (Günsenin 1989: 267—276).

Группа 2. Византийская поливная керамика, 82 фрагмента красноглиняных чаш и тарелок. Из материалов раскопок М. А. Фронджуло происходит 59 фрагментов (рис. 14: 1—3; 15: 1—4; 16: 1, 2; 17: 1—4; 19: 1; 20: 1; 21: 1; 22: 1; 23: 1—10; 24: 2, 4, 6; 25: 10, 20; 26: 1, 4), из исследований 2006 г. — 23 (рис. 27: 3, 6; 28: 1—7; 29: 9; 37: 2—5; табл. 1—3). Формовочная масса красно-оранжевого цвета с большим количеством мелких слюдистых чешуек. Полива интенсивно-жёлтого, иногда оранжевого цвета, очень редко насыщенного зелёного (рис. 15: 4; 27: 3). По форме это чаши на кольцевом поддоне с выделенным бортиком, имеющим разную профилировку (рис. 21: 1; 25: 10, 20; 28: 7). Орнаментация очень ограничена. Это одиночные волнистые

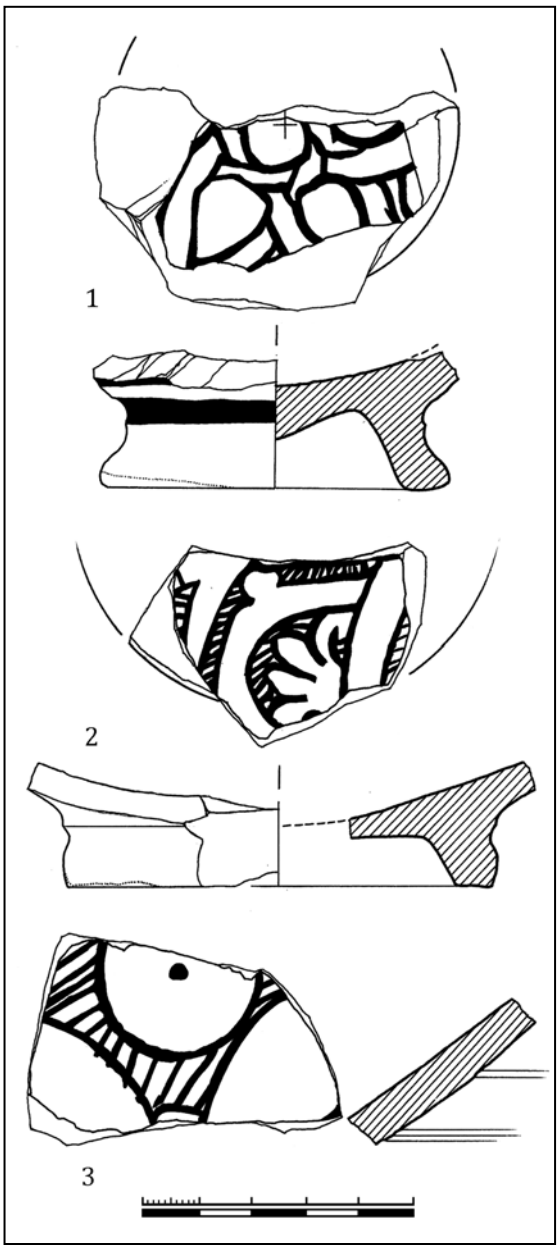

Рис. 18. Поселение Посидима. Исследования 1954—1963 гг. 1 — дно поливной монохромной чаши с орнаментом сграффито, группа 5, Юго-Восточный Крым (Солхат); 2, 3 — донья поливных чаш с орнаментом сграффито, группа 3, Византия (рисунок автора).

Fig. 18. Settlement Possidima. Excavations of 1954—1963. 1 — bottom of glazed monochrome sgraffito bowl (Solkhat), Group 5, South-East Crimea; 2, 3 — bottoms of glazed sgraffito bowls, Group 3, Byzantium (drawing by the author).

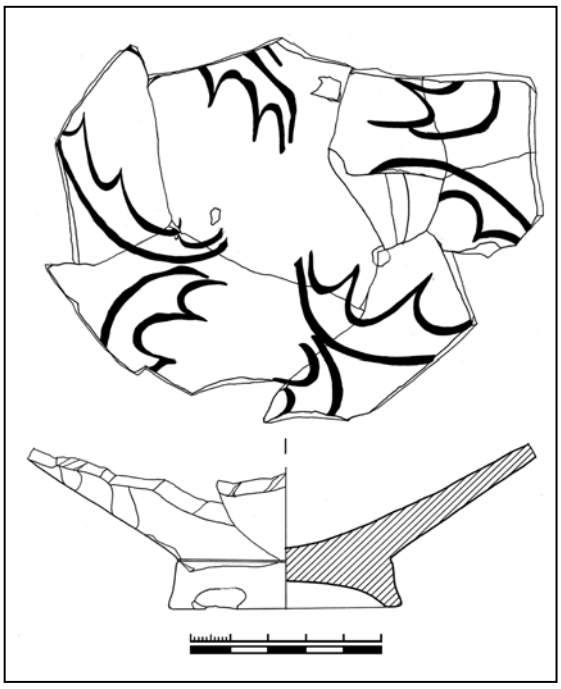

Рис. 19. Поселение Посидима. Исследования 1954—1963 гг. Дно поливной чаши с орнаментом сграффито, группа 2, Византия (рисунок автора).

Fig. 19. Settlement Possidima. Excavations of 1954—1963. Bottom of glazed sgraffito bowl, Group 2, Byzantium (drawing by the author).

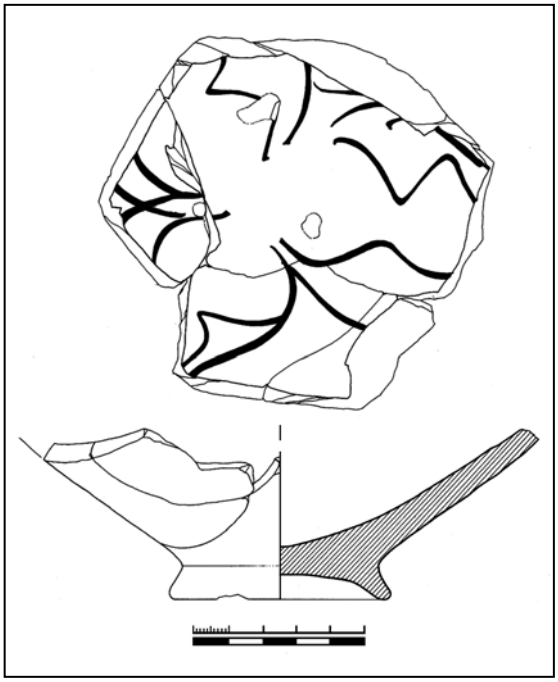

Рис. 20. Поселение Посидима. Исследования 1954—1963 гг. Дно поливной чаши с орнаментом сграффито, группа 2, Византия (рисунок автора).

Fig. 20. Settlement Possidima. Excavations of 1954—1963. Bottom of glazed sgraffito bowl, Group 2, Byzantium (drawing by the author).

линии с внутренней стороны стенок или венчиков (рис. 25: 20; 28: 7), концентрические окружности в центре и под бортиком (рис. 14: 1—3; 15: 1—4; 16: 1, 2; 17: 2—4; 23: 4, 6, 8, 9; 27: 3), редко пучки дугообразных и волнистых линий на донной части (рис. 17: 1; 19: 1; 20: 1; 23: 1, 5, 7, 10). Достаточно характерна роспись ангобом на внешней стороне борти-

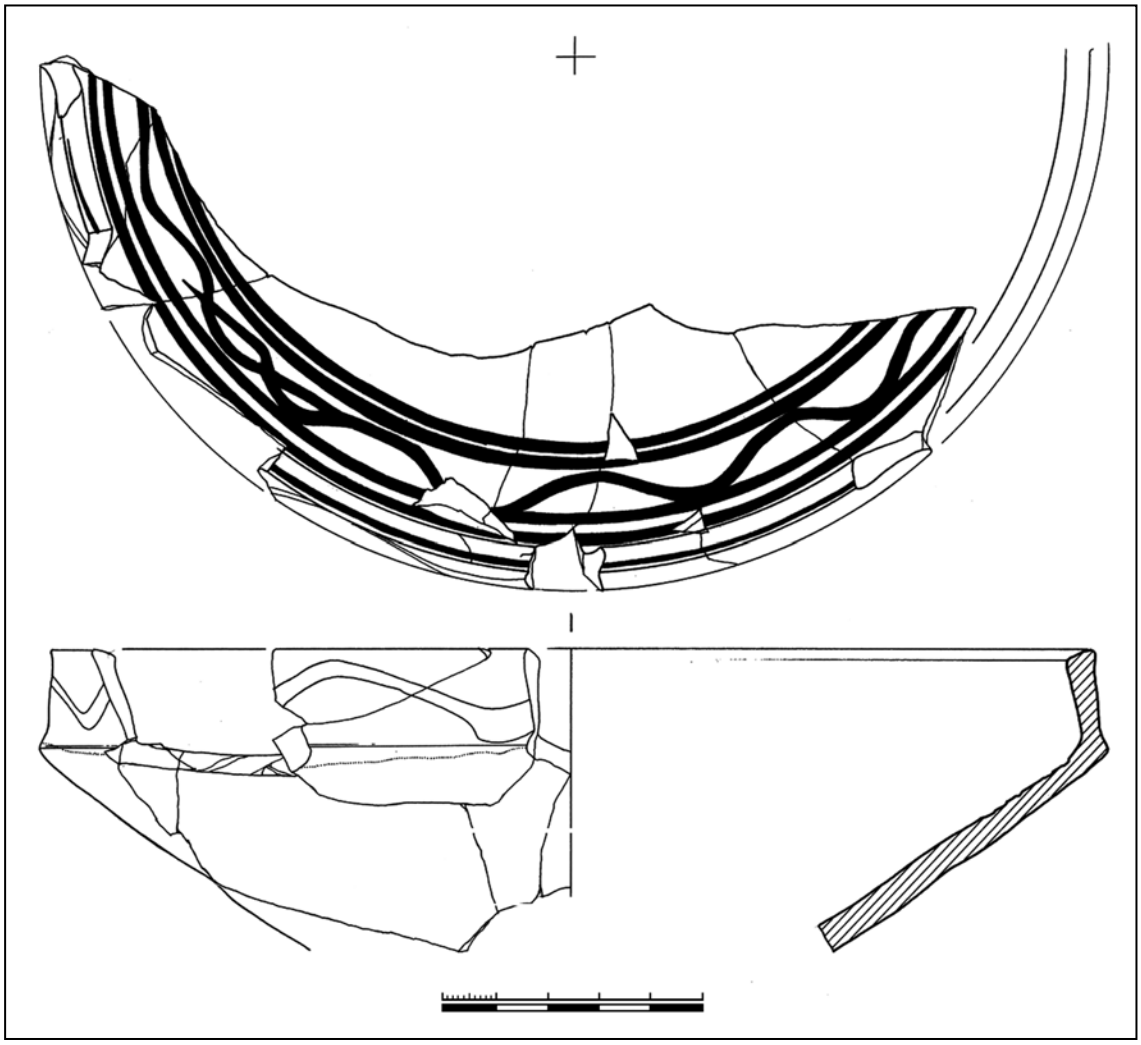

Рис. 21. Поселение Посидима. Исследования 1954—1963 гг. Венчик и верхняя часть поливной чаши с орнаментом сграффито, группа 2, Византия (рисунок автора).

Fig. 21. Settlement Possidima. Excavations of 1954—1963. Rim and top part of glazed sgraffito bowl, Group 2, Byzantium (drawing by the author).

ка, как правило, в виде волнистой или зигзагообразной линии (рис. 21: 1; 22: 1; 24: 2; 28: 7; 37: 24). Все сосуды относятся ко 2-й группе византийской поливной керамики (Бочаров, Масловский 2012: 26). Эта дешёвая массовая продукция поступала в этот регион в большом количестве в середине — третьей четверти XIII в. Но уже к концу XIII в. её импорт полностью прекращается. Причём в этот период она абсолютно преобладает среди поливной керамики, бытовавшей в регионе Северного Причерноморья (Бочаров, Масловский 2012: 26). В большом количестве эта керамика встречена на сельских поселениях Северного Приазовья (Волков 2005: 132—133), в наиболее ранних комплексах Азака (Масловский 2006: 280—281), среди груза корабля, затонувшего в бухте Судака (Зеленко 1999: 229).

Группа 3. Византийская поливная керамика, представлена 10 фрагментами красноглиняных чаш, в т. ч. 9 из раскопок 1950—1960-х гг. (рис. 18: 2, 3; 24: 1, 3; 25: 11, 13, 15—17) и 1 из исследований 2006 г. (рис. 33: 2; табл. 1—3). Формовочная масса содержит примесь мельчайших слюдистых чешуек, мелкого песка, коричневых частиц (размер от 0,5 до 2—3 мм). Встречаются продольные поры (длина 1—3 мм) от выгоревших органических волокон. Цвет черепка от светло-коричневого до оранжевого. Преимущественно встречаются сосуды с кроющей ярко-жёлтой глазурью, очень редко наносится светло-зелёная глазурь. В материалах Посидимы представлены два варианта декора: в технике сграффито, когда основной рисунок нанесён резцом шириной 2,0—3,0 мм, а детали орнамента заполнялись

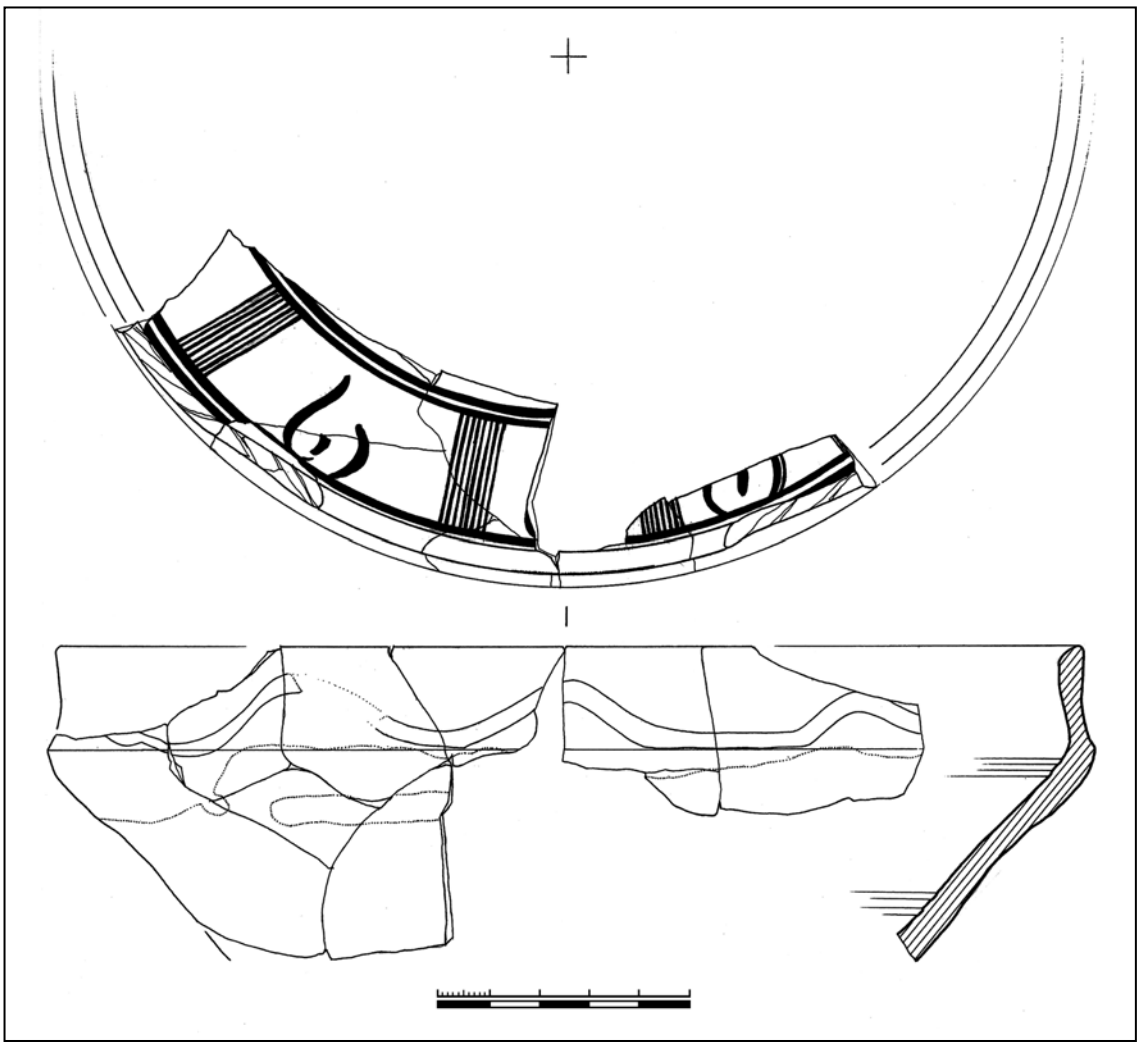

Рис. 22. Поселение Посидима. Исследования 1954—1963 гг. Венчик и верхняя часть поливной чаши с орнаментом сграффито группа 2, Византия (рисунок автора).

Fig. 22. Settlement Possidima. Excavations of 1954—1963. Rim and top part of glazed sgraffito bowl, Group 2, Byzantium (drawing by the author).

тонкими врезными линиями менее 1,0 мм (рис. 18: 2, 3) и росписью пятнами марганца (рис. 33: 2). Сосуды относятся к 3-й группе византийской поливной керамике (Бочаров, Масловский 2012: 26—30). Импорт этой группы керамики в Северное Причерноморье начинается в конце третьей четверти XIII в. и заканчивается в середине XIV в. К концу первой четверти XIV в. она почти полностью вытесняет другую византийскую поливную керамику (Бочаров, Масловский 2012: 30). Сосуды 3-й группы с росписью марганцем являются хорошим хроноиндикатором для периода 1290—1325 гг. (Бочаров, Масловский 2016: 35). Находки сосудов этой группы представлены в Северном Причерноморье (Романчук 2003: табл. 38, 129; Масловский 2006: 395) и в городских центрах Золотой Орды (Кубанкин, Маскловский 2013: 139; Бочаров, Масловский 2016: 20—21).

Относительно центра производства обеих групп византийской поливной керамики высказаны два мнения. И. В. Волоков считает, что сосуды поступали с территории Трапезундской империи (Волков 2004: 289), В. Франсуа относит их к изделиям гончаров города Никея (François 1997: 413—416). В качестве гипотезы, одним из мест производства керамики 3-й группы может быть керамическая мастерская, открытая в 1998 г. на южном склоне Родопских гор в селении Микро Писто во Фракии (Zikos 1999: 234, fig. 1).

Керамика крымского производства представлена двумя группами.

Группа 4. Юго-Западный Крым, 4 фрагмента все из раскопа 9 2006 г. (табл. 1; 3). Керамика этой группы тонкостенная, изготов-

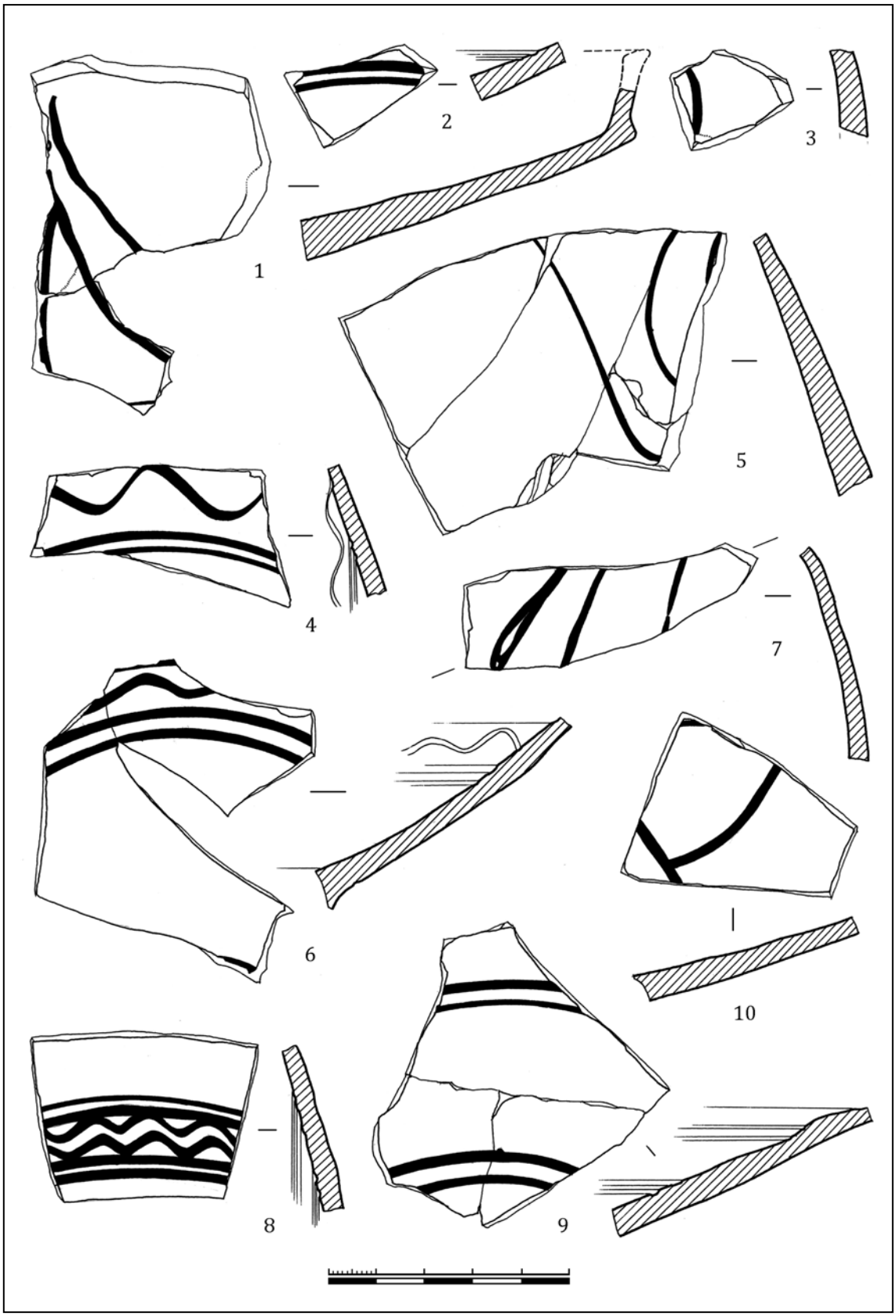

Рис. 23. Поселение Посидима. Исследования 1954—1963 гг. Стенки поливных чаш с орнаментом сграффито, группа 2, Византия (рисунок автора).

Fig. 23. Settlement Possidima. Excavations of 1954—1963. Walls of glazed sgraffito bowls, Group 2, Byzantium (drawing by the author).

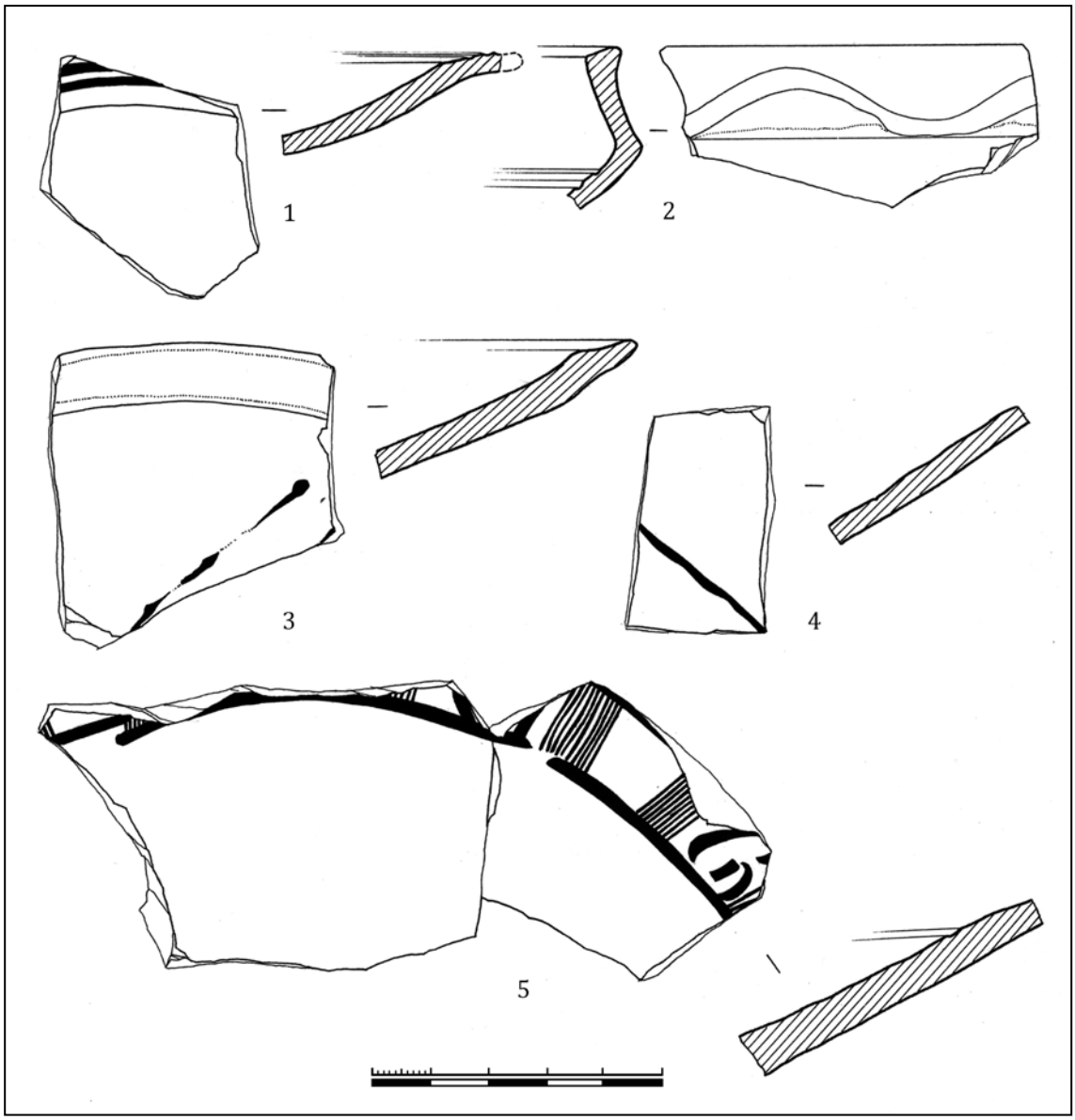

Рис. 24. Поселение Посидима. Исследования 1954—1963 гг. 1, 3 — венчики поливных чаш с орнаментом сграффито, группа 3, Византия; 2 — венчик и 4, 5 — стенки поливных чаш с орнаментом сграффито, группа 2, Византия (рисунок автора).

Fig. 24. Settlement Possidima. Excavations of 1954—1963. 1, 3 — rims of glazed sgraffito bowls, Group 3, Byzantium; 2 — rim, and 4, 5 — walls of glazed sgraffito bowls, Group 2, Byzantium (drawing by the author).

лена путём вытягивания на гончарном круге из комка глины (рис. 12: 3, 4, 6). Формовочная масса содержит примесь мелкого песка и включений чёрного цвета, цвет черепка — от темно-красного до темно-коричневого, обжиг сквозной (Волков 1992б: 12; Масловский 2006: 384—385). Группа в целом имеет широкую дату — XIII—XV вв., и известна на большинстве изученных памятников этого периода в Северном Причерноморье (Масловский 2006: 385).

Группа 5. Юго-Восточный Крым — 100 единиц, 45 фрагментов происходят из исследований М. А. Фронжуло и 55 из раскопа 9 2016 г. Среди них 28 фрагментов красноглиняных сосудов — 9 фр. найдены в 1954—1963 гг. (рис. 8: 4; 9: 4, 5; 10: 1; 11: 1; 25: 9; 26: 3; 36: 1, 3, 8) и 19 фр. — в 2006 г.; 73 фр. — части поливных сосудов, из них 33 обнаружены в 1954—1963 гг. и 36 — в 2006 г. (табл. 1—3); 4 фр. стенок красноглиняных штампованных кувшинов: 3 найдены в 1954—1963 гг. (рис. 36: 5—7) и 1 — в 2006 г. (рис. 37: 1; табл. 1—3). Все поливные сосуды изготовлены путём вытягивания из комка глины. Формовочные массы пластичные, очень

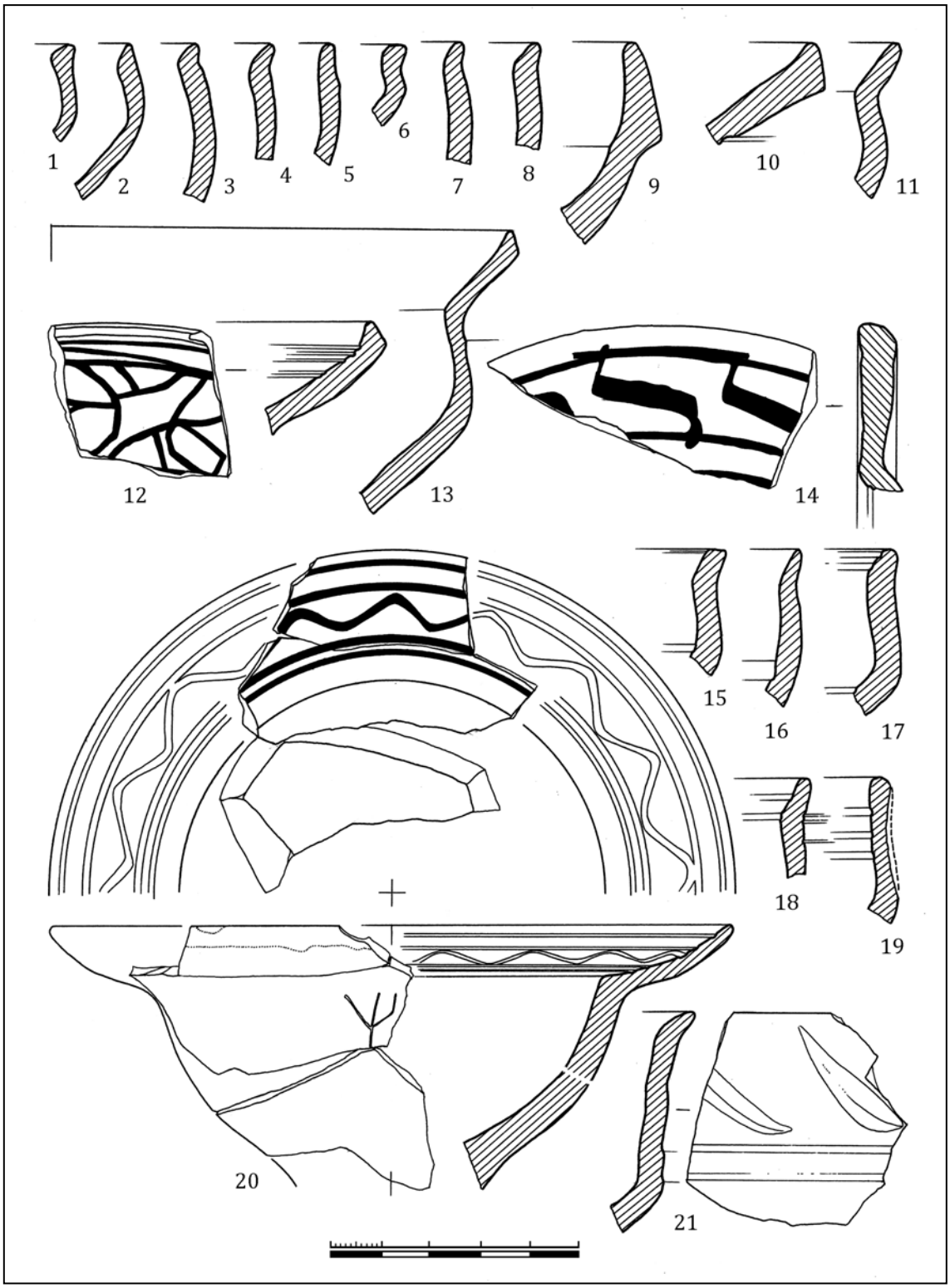

Рис. 25. Поселение Посидима. Исследования 1954—1963 гг. 1—8, 18, 19 — венчики поливных чаш, 12, 14, 21 — венчики поливных чаш с орнаментом сграффито, группа 5, Юго-Восточный Крым (Солхат); 9 — венчик красноглиняного сосуда, группа 5, Юго-Восточный Крым; 10, 20 — венчики поливных чаш с орнаментом сграффито, группа 2, Византия; 11, 13, 15—17 — венчики поливных чаш группа 3, Византия (рисунок автора).

Fig. 25. Settlement Possidima. Excavations of 1954—1963. 1—8, 18, 19 — rims of glazed monochrome bowls, 12, 14, 21 — rims of glazed monochrome sgraffito bowls, Group 5, South-East Crimea (Solkhat); 9 — rim of a red-clay vessel, Group 5, South-East Crimea; 10, 20 — rims of glazed sgraffito bowls, Group 2, Byzantium; 11, 13, 15—17 — rims of glazed vessels, Group 2, Byzantium (drawing by the author).

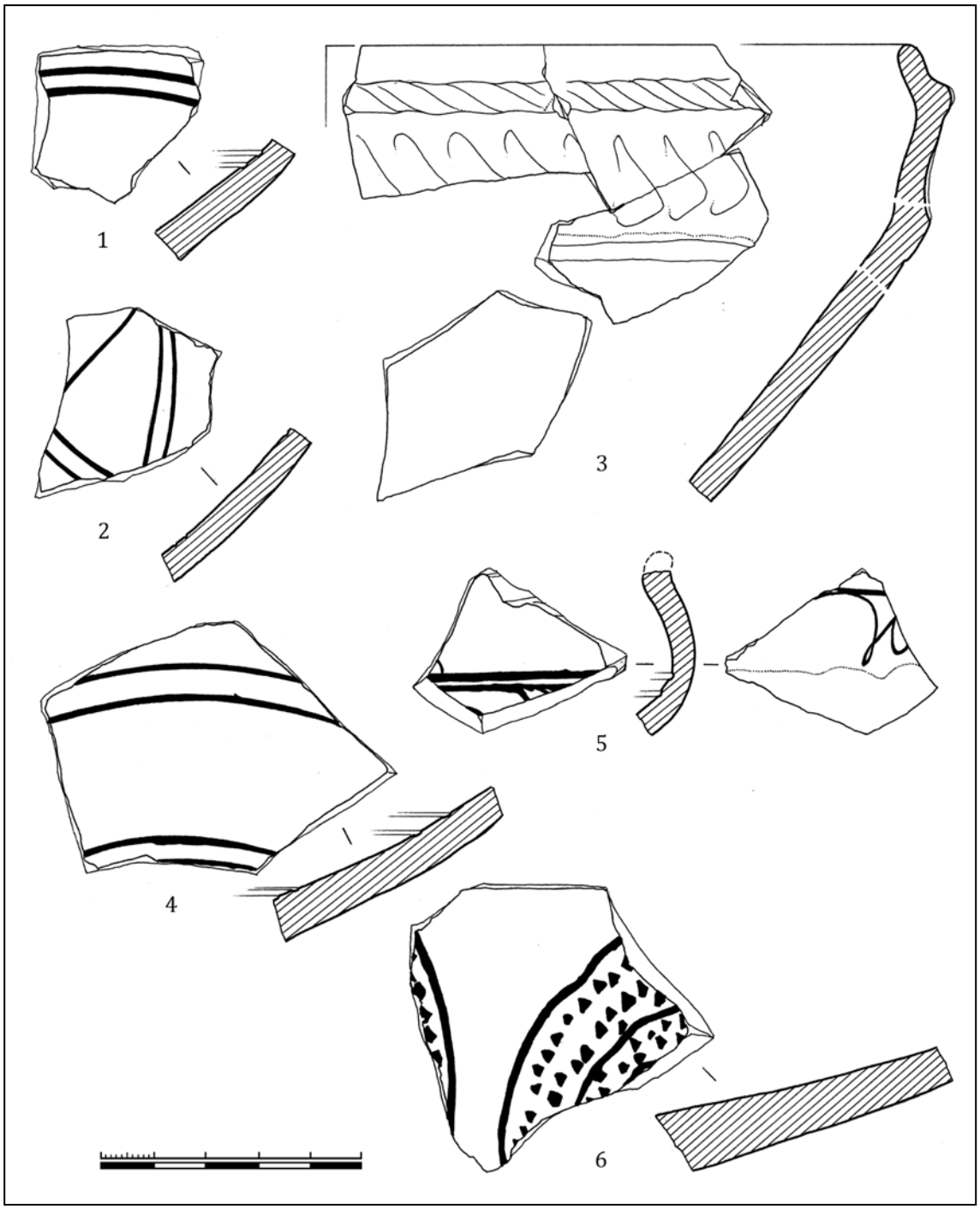

Рис. 26. Поселение Посидима. Исследования 1954—1963 гг. 1, 4 — стенки поливных чаш с орнаментом сграффито, группа 2, Византия; 2, 5, 6 — стенки поливных чаш с орнаментом сграффито, группа 5, Юго-Восточный Крым (2, 5 — Солхат, 6 — Бокаташ); 3 — венчик красноглиняного сосуда, группа 5, Юго-Восточный Крым (рисунок автора).

Fig. 26. Settlement Possidima. Excavations of 1954—1963. 1, 4 — walls of glazed sgraffito bowls, Group 2, Byzantium; 2, 5, 6 — walls of glazed monochrome sgraffito bowls, Group 5, South-East Crimea (2, 5 — Solkhat, 6 — Bokatash); 3 — rim of a vessel, Group 5, South-East Crimea (drawing by the author).

однородные. Глина иногда содержит природную примесь вторичных известковых включений различной концентрации и разных размеров. При расположении этих включений близко к поверхности черепка, вокруг него образуется характерный кратерообразный скол. В формовочную массу добавлялся шамот, который может иметь цвет, совпадающий с окраской черепка или более темный. Обжиг, как правило, сквозной, различных оттен-

Рис. 27. Поселение Посидима. Раскоп 9 (2006 г.). 1, 2, 4, 5 — донья поливных красноглиняных чаш, группа 5, Юго-Восточный Крым (Солхат); 3, 6 — донья поливных чаш с орнаментом сграффито, группа 2, Византия (фото и рисунки автора).

Fig. 27. Settlement Possidima. Trench 9 (2006). 1, 2, 4, 5 — bottoms of glazed red-clay monochrome sgraffito bowls, Group 5, South-East Crimea (Solkhat); 3, 6 — bottoms of glazed sgraffito bowls, Group 2, Byzantium (photo and drawings by the author).

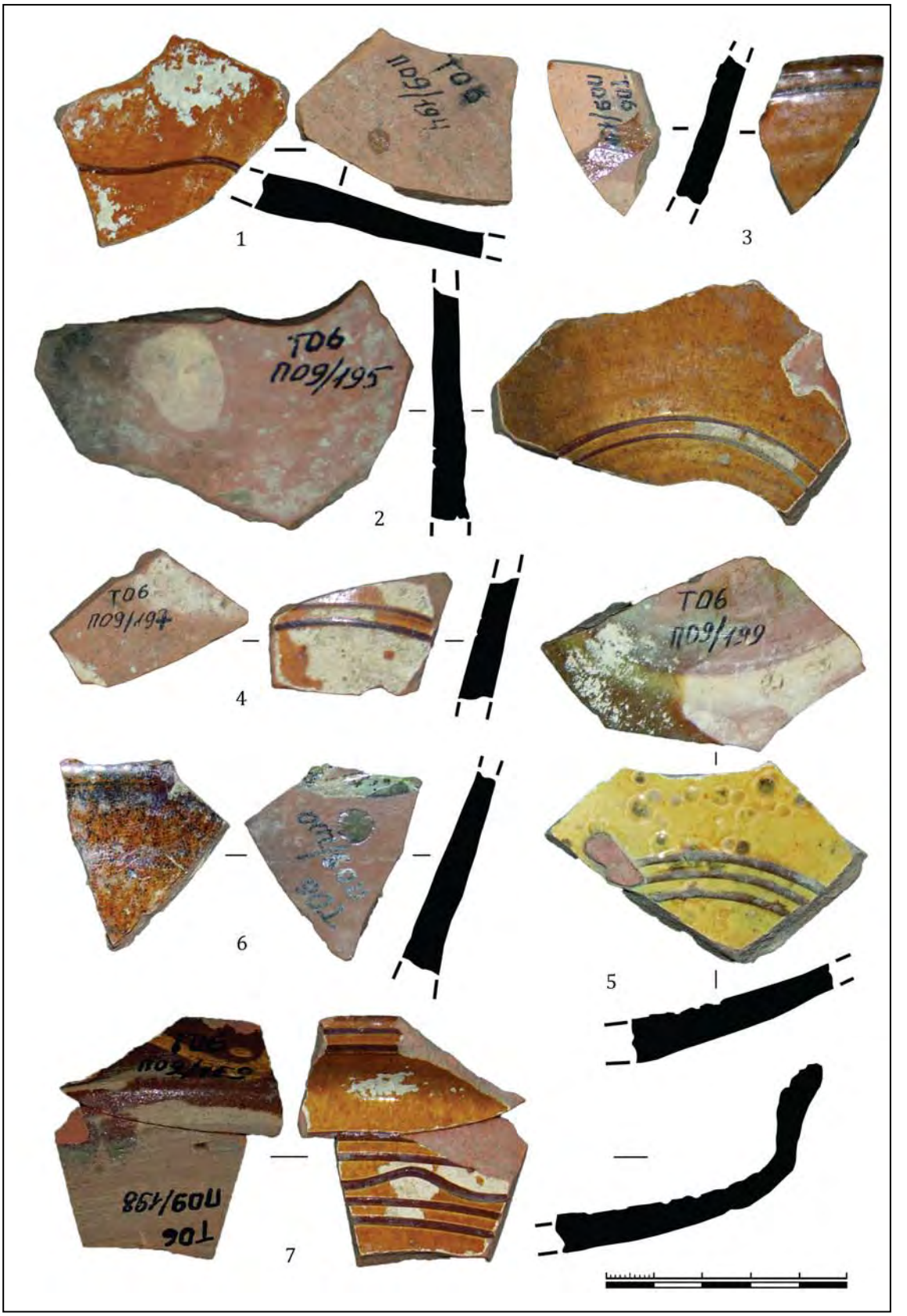

Рис. 28. Поселение Посидима. Раскоп 9 (2006 г.). 1—6 — стенки и 7 — венчик поливных чаш с орнаментом сграффито, группа 2, Византия (фото и рисунки автора).

Fig. 28. Settlement Possidima. Trench 9 (2006). 1—6 — walls, and 7 — rim of glazed sgraffito bowls, Group 2, Byzantium (photo and drawings by the author).

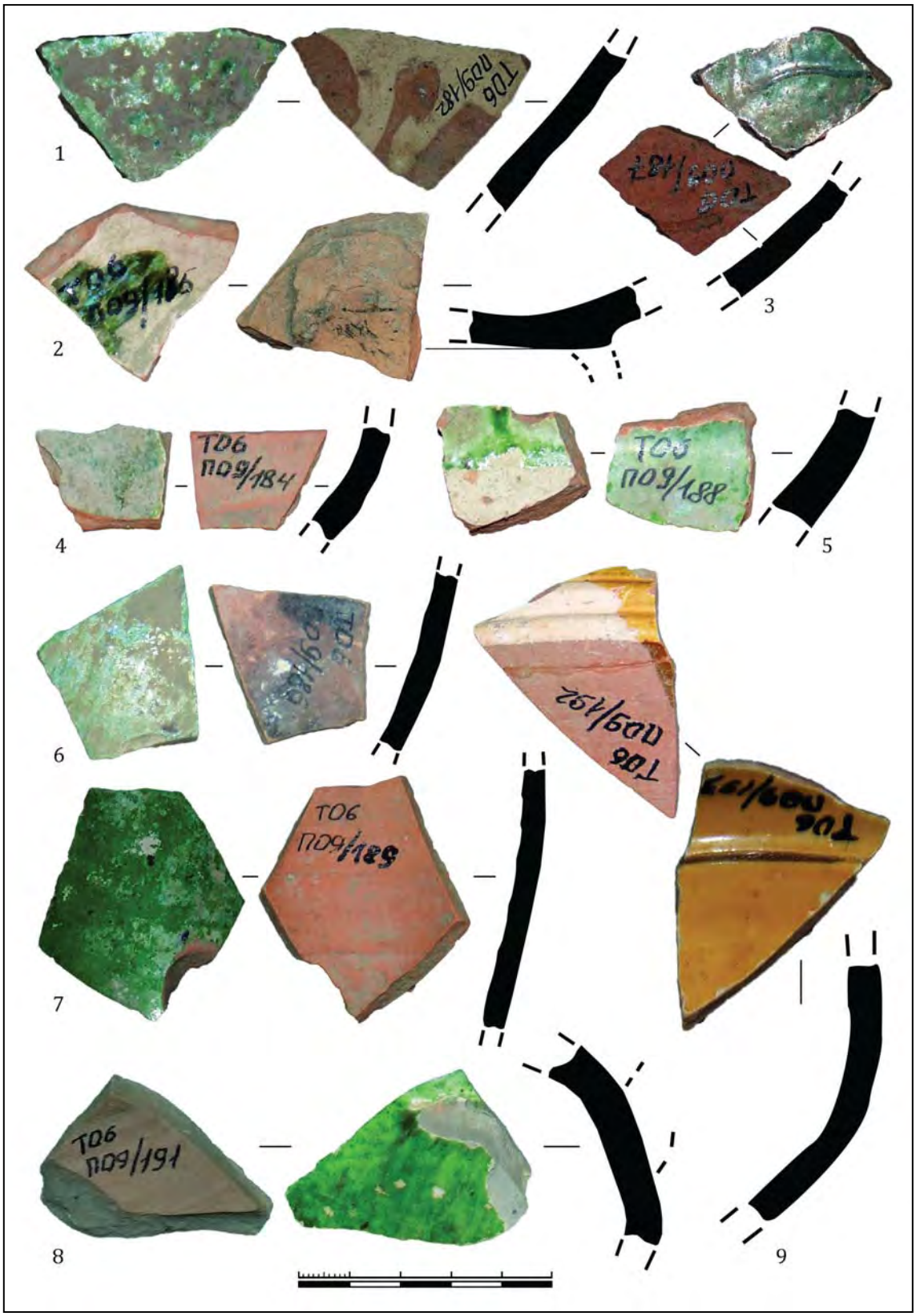

Рис. 29. Поселение Посидима. Раскоп 9 (2006 г.). 1, 2, 4—8 — стенки поливных красноглиняных чаш, 3 — стенка поливной красноглиняной чаши с орнаментом сграффито, группа 5, Юго-Восточный Крым (1, 4—8 — Солхат, 2 — Судак); 9 — стенка поливной чаши с орнаментом сграффито, группа 2, Византия (фото и рисунки автора).

Fig. 29. Settlement Possidima. Trench 9 (2006). 1, 2, 4—8 — walls of glazed red-clay vessels, 3 — wall of glazed red-clay monochrome sgraffito bowl, Group 5, South-East Crimea (1, 4—8 — Solkhat, 2 — Sudak); 9 — wall of glazed sgraffito bowl, Group 2, Byzantium (photo and drawings by the author).

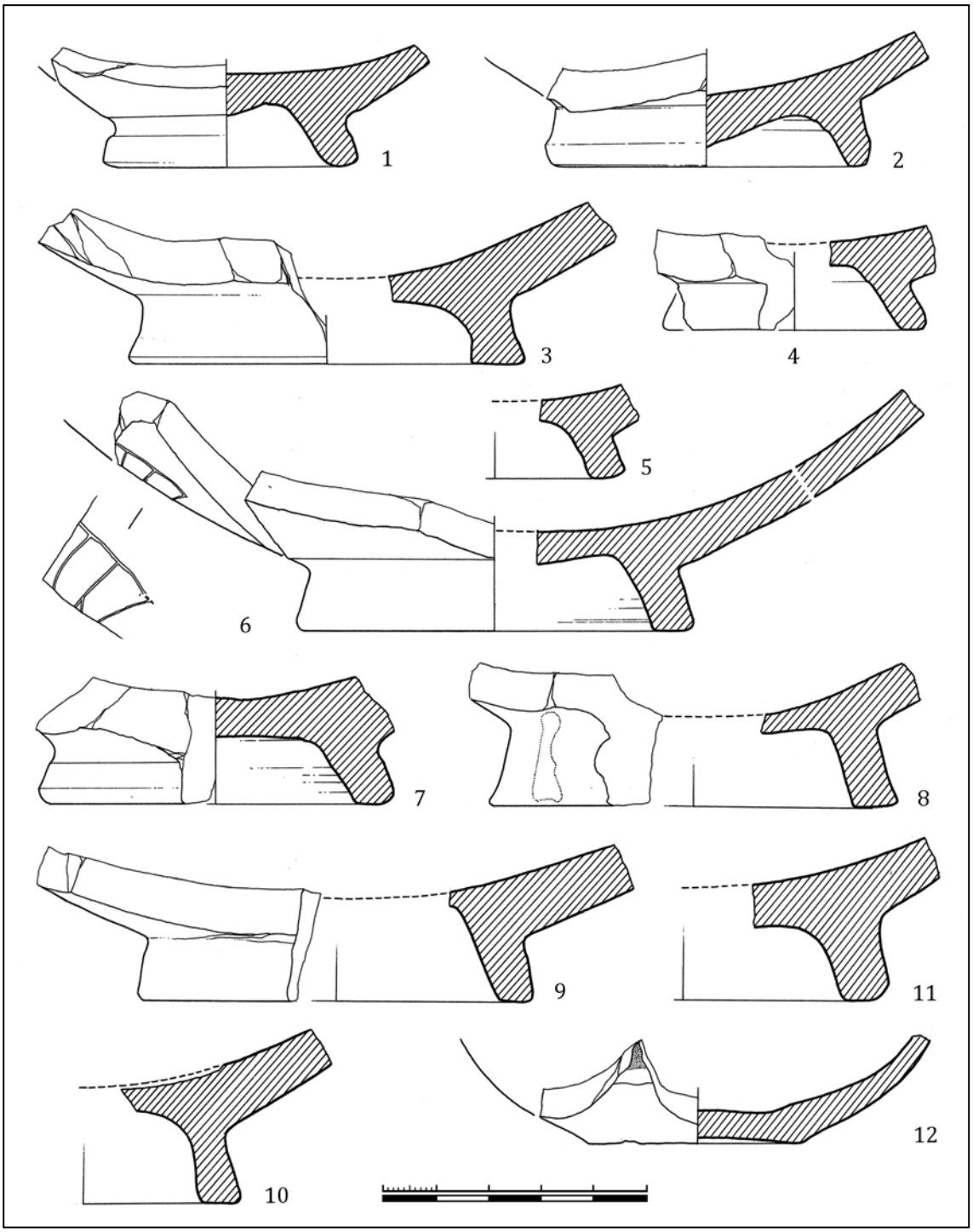

Рис. 30. Поселение Посидима. Исследования 1954—1963 гг. 1—11 — донья чаш поливных красноглиняных, 12 — дно светильника поливного красноглиняного, группа 5, Юго-Восточный Крым (Солхат) (рисунок автора).

Fig. 30. Settlement Possidima. Excavations of 1954—1963. 1—11 — South-East Crimea, Group 5, glazed monochrome bowls, 12 — bottom of a glazed lamp (Solkhat) (drawing by the author).

ков: светло-коричневого, розово-коричневого, оранжево-коричневого, иногда кирпично-красного цвета. Основными центрами производства керамики группы «Юго-Восточный Крым» были города Солхат, Каффа и Сугдея. Сосуды производства Солхата имеют признаки более высокотемпературного обжига и более тёмную окраску поверхности и излома, также размеры и концентрация частиц шамота заметно больше в изделиях из этого центра. Подавляющее большинство найденных на холме Тепсень фрагментов ке-

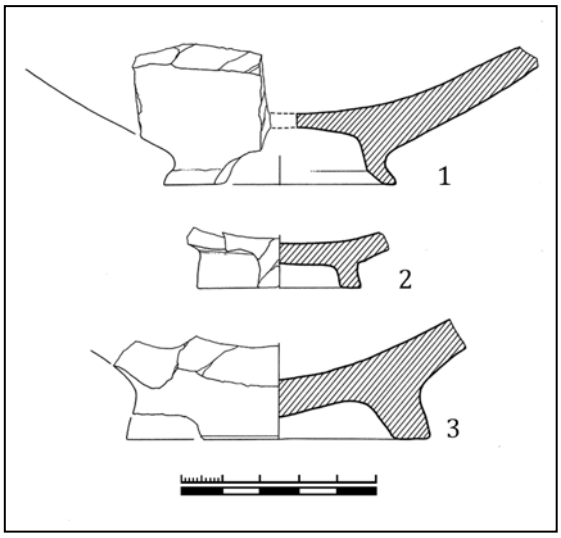

Рис. 31. Поселение Посидима. Исследования 1954—1963 гг. Донья поливных красноглиняных чаш, группа 5, Юго-Восточный Крым (Солхат) (рисунок автора).

Fig. 31. Settlement Possidima. Excavations of 1954—1963. Bottoms of glazed monochrome bowls, Group 5, South-East Crimea (Solkhat) (drawing by the author).

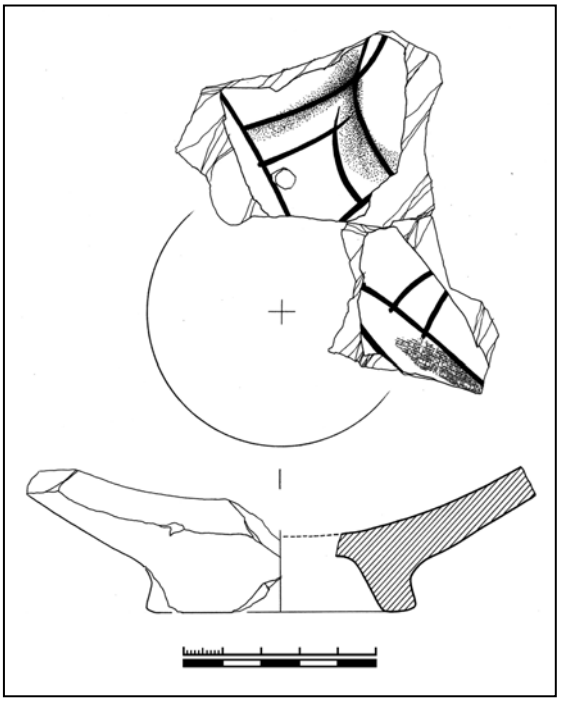

Рис. 32. Поселение Посидима. Исследования 1954—1963 гг. Дно поливной красноглиняной полихромной чаши с орнаментом сграффито, группа 5, Юго-Восточный Крым (Солхат) (рисунок автора).

Fig. 32. Settlement Possidima. Excavations of 1954—1963. Bottom of glazed red-clay polychrome sgraffito bowl, Group 5, South-East Crimea (Solkhat) (drawing by the author).

рамики покрыто поливой темно-зеленого цвета, в трёх случаях отмечена желтая глазурь (рис. 12: 2; 27: 5; 34: 1). Из 73 поливных сосудов, фрагмент чаши с зелёной глазурью (рис. 29: 2) и фрагмент стенки тарелки со светло-зеленой глазурью (рис. 33: 1) произведены в Солдайе — Судаке, фрагмент венчика чаши со светло-зелёной глазурью (рис. 12: 1) и фрагмент стенки миски с зелёной глазурью (рис. 34: 3) — в Каффе, все остальные сосуды сделаны, предположительно, в Солхате. Поливная керамика группы Юго-Восточного Крыма солхатского производства представлена двумя фрагментами полихромных поливных чаш с орнаментом сграффито, кроющая полива светло-зеленая, рисунок выделен коричневой и жёлтой глазурью (рис. 32: 1; 33: 4); шестью фрагментами стенок поливных чаш, украшенных орнаментом сграффито, полива зелёного цвета (рис. 18: 1; 25: 12, 14; 26: 2, 5; 29: 10), одним фрагментом стенки чаши украшенной орнаментом сграффито и зелёной поливой, произведенной в мастерских селения Бокаташ (ближайшие окрестности Солхата)[4] (рис. 26: 6) (аналогии см.: Крамаровский, Гукин 2006: табл. 20: 3; 34: 4; 37: 4; 145), 47 фрагментами чаш и тарелок, украшенных по внутренней поверхности зелёной (рис. 12: 5; 25: 1—8, 18, 19, 21; 27: 1, 2, 4; 29: 1, 4, 5; 30: 1—11; 31: 1—3; 33: 5—7; 34: 2, 6; 35: 1—3, 6, 7; 37: 2, 6, 7) и желтой (рис. 12: 2; 27: 5; 34: 1) глазурью; фрагментами штампованных сосудов — 4 экз. (рис. 36: 5—7; 37: 1); фрагментом поливного светильника, украшенного зелёной глазурью (рис. 30: 12); фрагментами поливных кувшинов, покрытых глазурью зелёного цвета, — 7 экз. (рис. 29: 6, 7, 8; 33: 3; 34: 4; 35: 4, 5; см. табл. 1).

Если мы разделим находки по исследованиям 1954—1963 гг. и 2006 г., то процентное соотношение различных групп керамики будет несколько другое (табл. 2; 3).

Так как непонятны критерии, по которым отбирались сосуды во время исследований 1954—1963 гг., то и за достоверность статистической выборки ручаться нельзя. Сложно сказать, чем вызваны различия в процентном отношении материалов 1950-х и 2000-х гг. — несколько отличными хронологическими периодами, зафиксированными изучением в разных частях селения Посидима, или недостоверностью выборки керамики в 1950-х гг.

Точно определить дату начала производства поливной керамики в городах Юго-

[4] Возможно это фрагмент от чаши из исследований 1959 г., уже опубликованной (Майко 2008: рис. 4: 1).

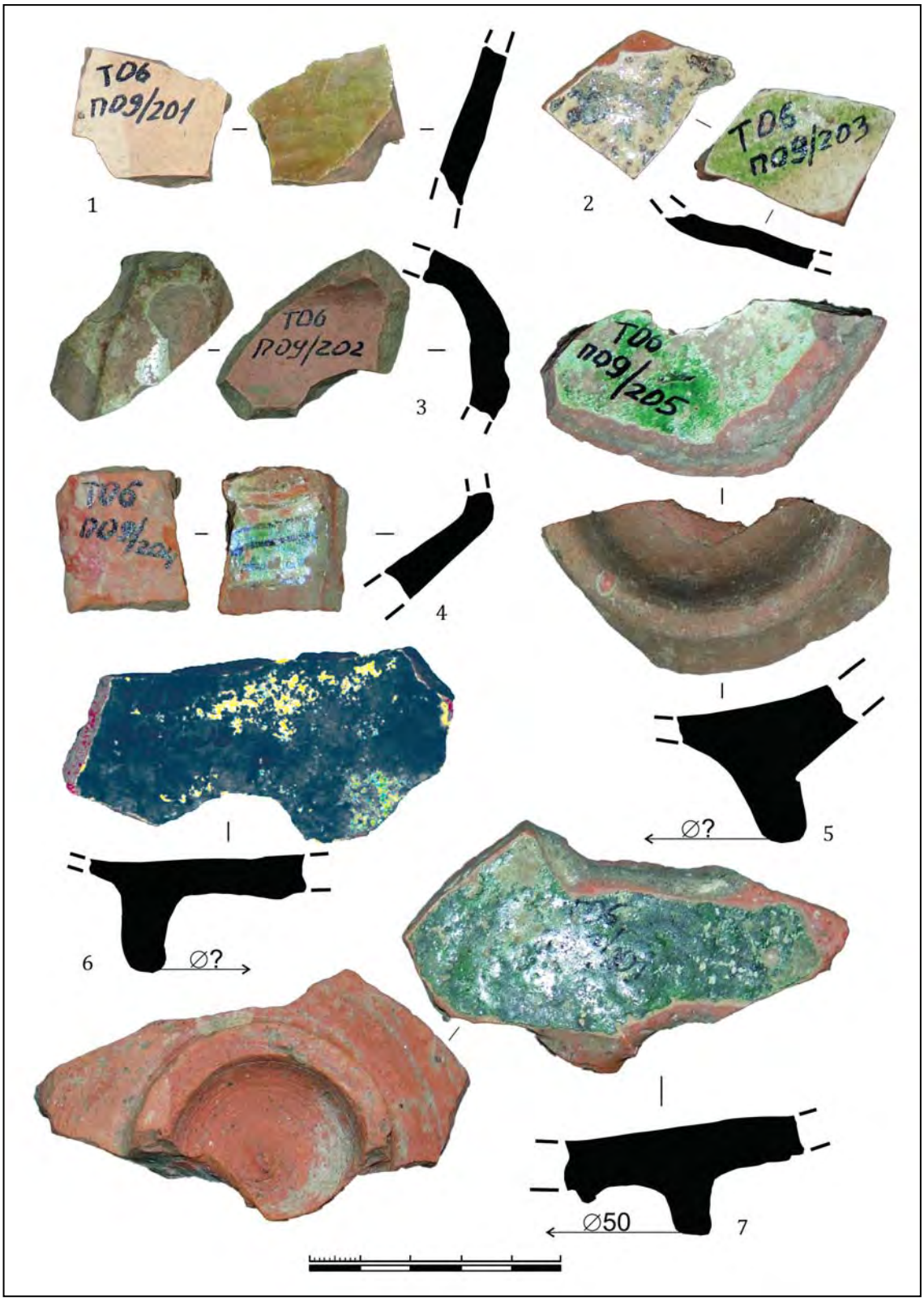

Рис. 33. Поселение Посидима. Раскоп 9 (2006 г.). 1 — стенка, 5—7 — донья поливных красноглиняных чаш; 3 — стенка поливного красноглиняного кувшина; 4 — стенка поливной красноглиняной полихромной чаши с орнаментом сграффито, группа 5, Юго-Восточный Крым (1 — Судак, 3—7 — Солхат); 2 — стенка поливной чаши с росписью пятнами марганца, группа 3, Византия (фото и рисунки автора).

Fig. 33. Settlement Possidima. Trench 9 (2006). 1 — wall, and 5—7 — bottoms of glazed monochrome bowls; 3 — wall of glazed red-clay jug; 4 — wall of glazed red-clay polychrome sgraffito bowl, Group 5, South-East Crimea (1 — Sudak, 3—7 — Solkhat); 2 — glazed sgraffito bowl, Group 3, Byzantium (photo and drawings by the author).

Рис. 34. Поселение Посидима. Раскоп 9 (2006 г.). Стенки поливных красноглиняных чаш, группа 5, Юго-Восточный Крым (1, 2, 4—6 — Солхат, 3 — Каффа) (фото и рисунки автора).

Fig. 34. Settlement Possidima. Trench 9 (2006). Walls of glazed red-clay monochrome bowls, Group 5, South-East Crimea (1, 2, 4—6 — Solkhat, 3 — Caffa) (photo and drawings by the author).

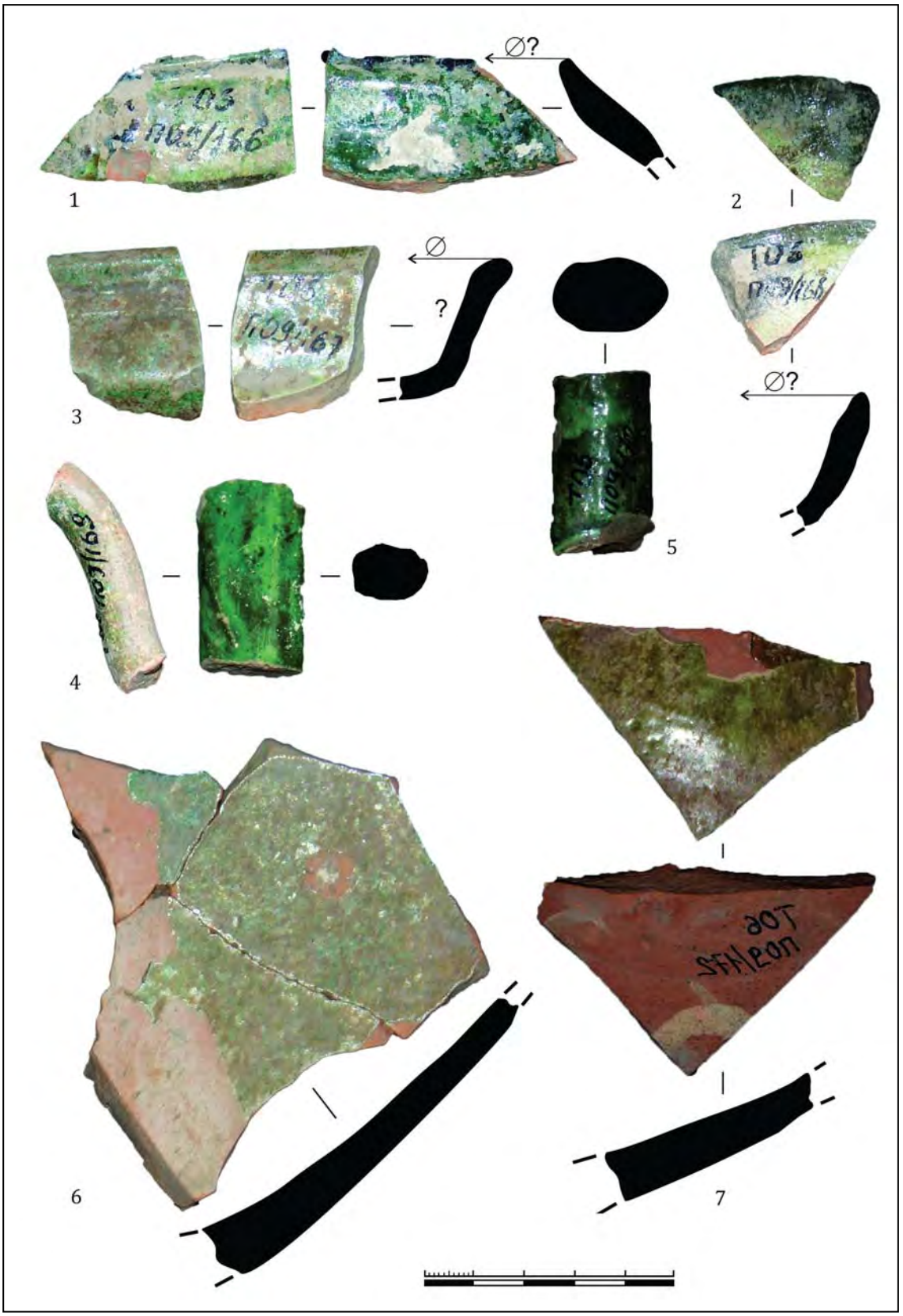

Рис. 35. Поселение Посидима. Раскоп 9 (2006 г.). 1—3 — венчики, 6, 7 — стенки поливных красноглиняных чаш; 4, 5 — ручки поливных красноглиняных кувшинов, группа 5, Юго-Восточный Крым (Солхат) (фото и рисунки автора).

Fig. 35. Settlement Possidima. Trench 9 (2006). 1—3 — rims, and 6, 7 — walls of glazed monochrome red-clay bowls, 4, 5 — handles of glazed red-clay jug, Group 5, South-East Crimea (Solkhat) (photo and drawings by the author).

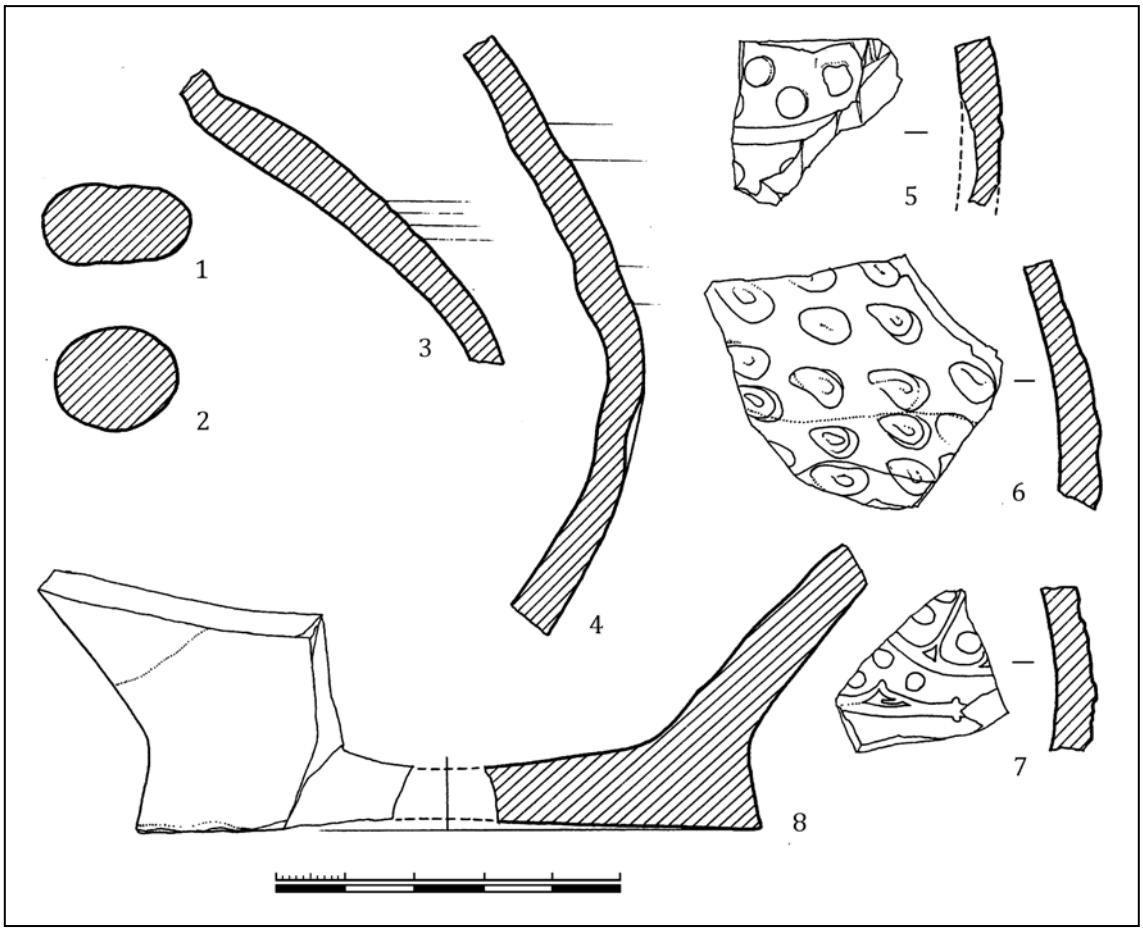

Рис. 36. Поселение Посидима. Исследования 1954—1963 гг. 1, 2 — ручки, 8 — дно красноглиняных кувшинов; 5—7 — фрагменты стенок штампованных кувшинов, группа 5, Юго-Восточный Крым; 3, 4 — стенки амфор, группа 1 «Трапезунд», Византия (рисунок автора).

Fig. 36. Settlement Possidima. Excavations of 1954—1963. 1, 2 — handles, and 8 — bottom of red-clay jugs; 5—7 — fragments of the walls of stamped jugs, Group 5, South-East Crimea; 3, 4 — amphorae walls, Group 1 "«Trapezund", Byzantium (drawing by the author).

Восточного Крыма на сегодняшний день достаточно сложно. Пока она установлена в пределах середины третьей четверти XIII в. на материалах двух археологических объектов поселения Кабарди и города Азак (Bocharov, Maslovskiy, Sitdikov 2015: 331). Наиболее ранняя находка трёх фрагментов от одного поливного кувшина происходит из поселения Кабарди на северном берегу Азовского моря из заполнения ямы; в целом весь публикуемый комплекс отнесён исследователем к 1240—1260 гг. (Волков 2005: 137). Если взять эту дату за отправную точку, то самое раннее производство крымской поливной керамики могло возникнуть только в городе Солдайя-Судак, так как Солхат лишь появляется как город в это время, а город Каффа ещё не существовал. Самые ранние находки, происходящие из раскопок средневекового города Азак (раскоп 2005 г., ул. Московская 4, ямы 7 и 9), датированы в пределах третьей четверти XIII в. (Масловский 2006б: 284, 292; Белинский, Масловский 2007: 326—327). В начале второй четверти XIV в. окончательно сформировались все особенности, связанные с производством поливной керамики в городах Юго-Восточного Крыма, с её ассортиментом и техникой орнаментации сосудов (Дмитриенко, Масловский 2006: 237). Эта керамика будет основной составляющей глазурованного красноглиняного комплекса сосудов, представленных на памятниках Восточной Европы. Среди этих изделий преобладали сосуды открытых форм самой разнообразной профилировки (чаши, кубки, тарелки, блюда) и орнаментации (монохромные и полихромные, с орнаментом в технике сграффито, с выемчатой техникой орнамента, росписью ангобом, росписью марганцем). Значительны находки также сосудов закрытых форм: аптечных амфор, штампованных кувшинов, винных кувшинов с узким удли-

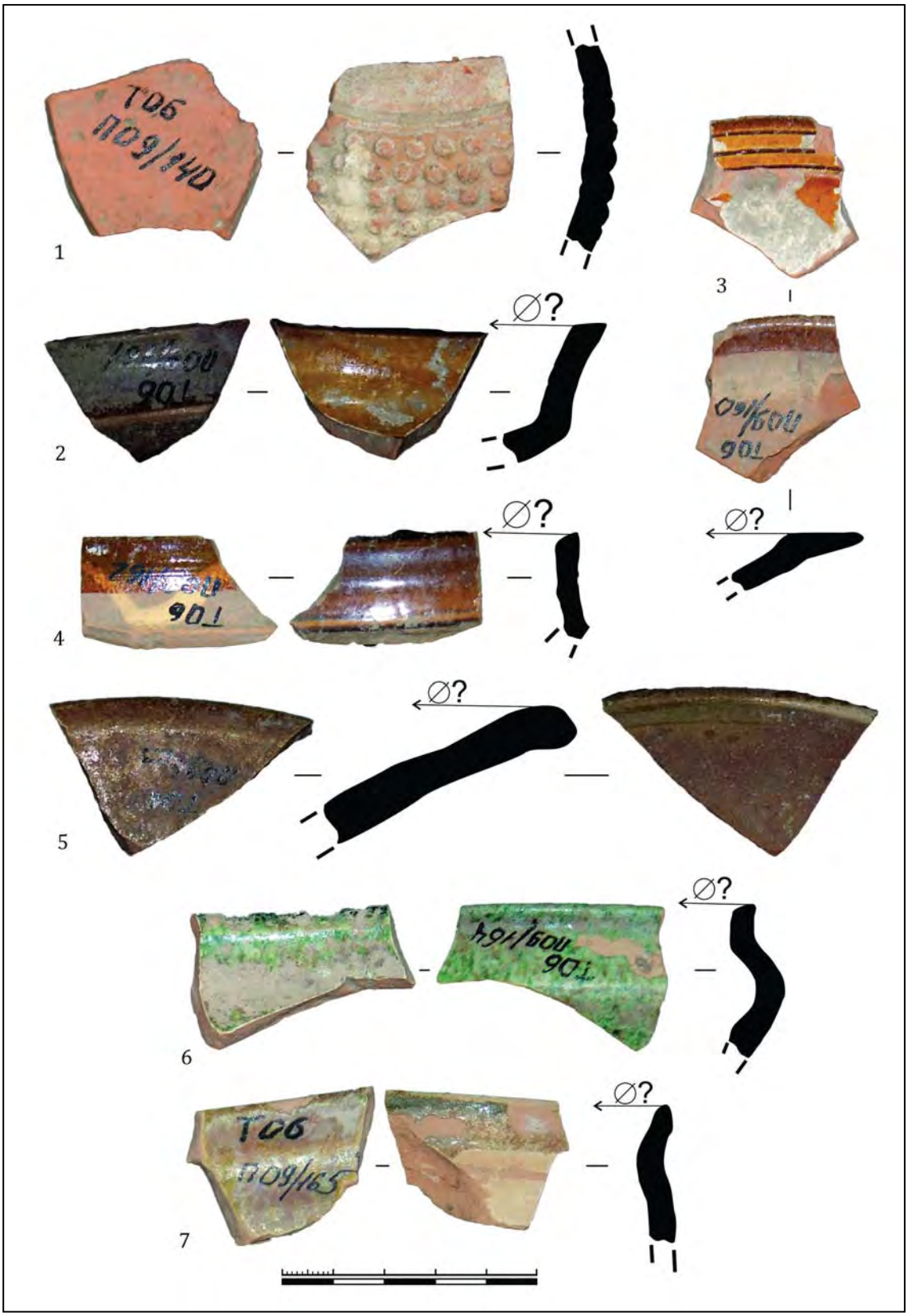

Рис. 37. Поселение Посидима. Раскоп 9 (2006 г.). 1 — стенка штампованного кувшина; 6, 7 — венчики поливных красноглиняных чаш, группа 5, Юго-Восточный Крым (6, 7 — Солхат); 2—5 — венчики поливных чаш, группа 2, Византия (фото и рисунки автора).

Fig. 37. Settlement Possidima. Trench 9 (2006). 1 — wall of a stamped jug; 6, 7 — rims of glazed monochrome red-clay bowls, Group 5, South-East Crimea (6, 7 — Solkhat). 2—5 — rims of glazed sgraffito bowls, Group 2, Byzantium (photo and drawings by the author).

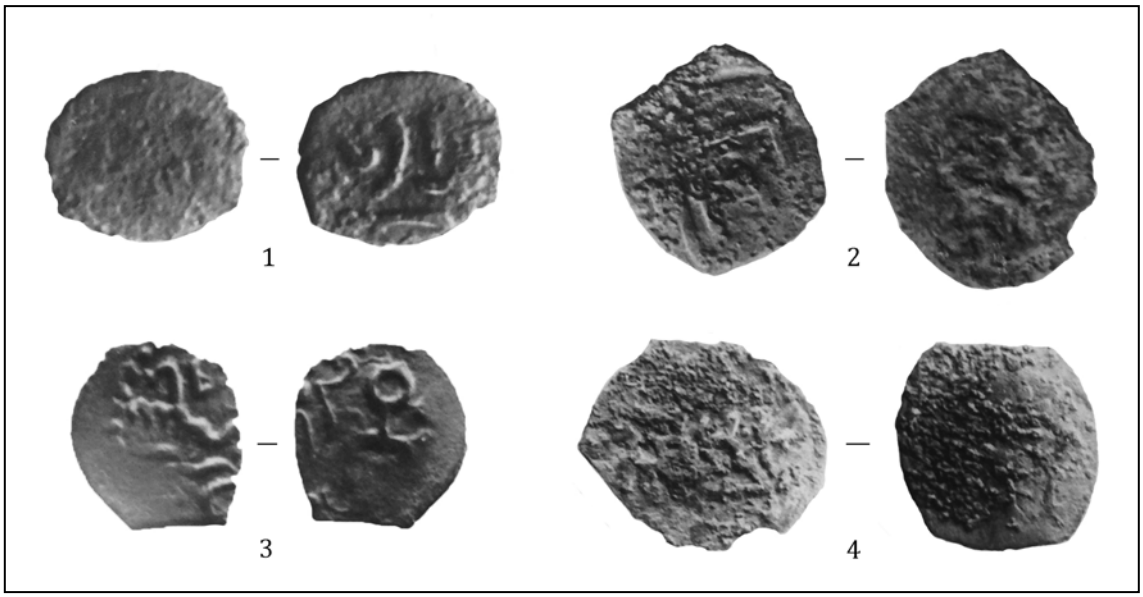

Рис. 38. Поселение Посидима. Исследования 1954 г. Монеты (фото М.А. Фронджуло).

Fig. 38. Settlement Possidima. Excavations of 1954. Coins (photo by M.A. Frondzhulo).

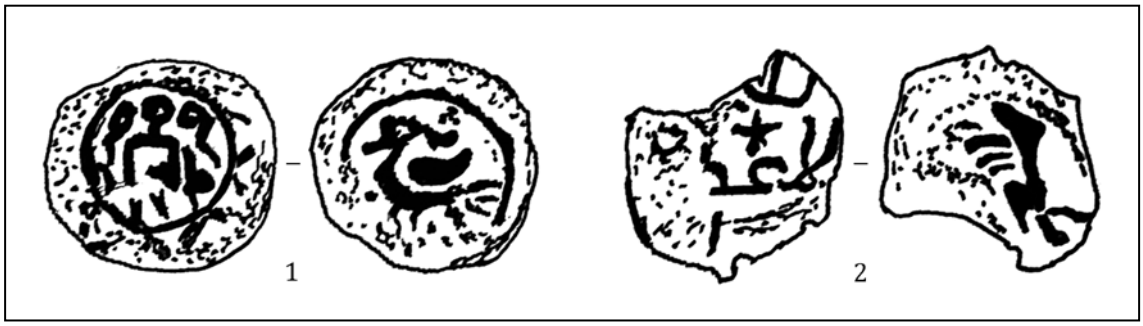

Рис. 39. Поселение Посидима. Раскоп 9 (2006 г.). Монеты (рисунок автора).

Fig. 39. Settlement Possidima. Trench 9 (2006). Coins (drawing by the author).

Таблица 1.

Селение Посидима.
Общая статистическая таблица керамических находок

Находки	Красноглиняная керамика			Поливная керамика				
	Крым		Византия	Византия		Юго-Восточный Крым		
	ЮЗК	ЮВК	Трапезунд	1 гр.	2 гр.	Солхат	Солдайя	Каффа
Сосуды закрытых форм	4 (1,2%)	26 (9,5%)	48 (28,2%)			7 (2,7%)		
Штампованные кувшины						4 (1,4%)		
Сосуды открытых форм		2 (0,8%)						
Монохромные					2 (0,8%)	49 (18%)	2 (0,6%)	2 (0,6%)
Монохромные с орнаментом сграффито				82 (30,4%)	7 (1,8%)	7 (2,9%)		
Полихромные с орнаментом сграффито						2 (0,7%)		
С росписью марганцем					1 (0,4%)			
Всего — 244 фр.	4 (1,2%)	28 (10,3%)	48 (28,2%)	82 (30,4%)	10 (3%)	68 (25,7%)	2 (0,6) %	2 (0,6%)

Таблица 2.

Селение Посидима.
Статистическая таблица керамических находок 1954—1963 гг.

Находки	Красноглиняная керамика			Поливная керамика				
	Крым		Византия	Византия		Юго-Восточный Крым		
	ЮЗК	ЮВК	Трапезунд	1 гр.	2 гр.	Солхат	Солдайя	Каффа
Сосуды закрытых форм		7 (4,7%)	37 (24,7%)					
Штампованные кувшины						3 (2%)		
Сосуды открытых форм		2 (1,3%)						
Монохромные					2 (1,3%)	25 (16,7%)		
Монохромные с орнаментом сграффито				59 (39,3%)	7 (4,7)	6 (4%)		
Полихромные с орнаментом сграффито						1 (0,7%)		
С росписью марганцем								
Всего — 150 фр.		9 (6%)	37 (24,7%)	59 (39,3%)	9 (6%)	36 (24%)		

Таблица 3.

Селение Посидима.
Статистическая таблица керамических находок из раскопа 9 (2006 г.)

Находки	Красноглиняная керамика			Поливная керамика				
	Крым		Византия	Византия		Юго-Восточный Крым		
	ЮЗК	ЮВК	Трапезунд	1 гр	2 гр.	Солхат	Солдайя	Каффа
Сосуды закрытых форм	4 (4,3%)	19 (20,2%)	11 (11,7%)			7 (7,4%)		
Штампованные кувшины						1 (1%)		
Сосуды открытых форм								
Монохромные						22 (23,4%)	2 (2,1%)	1 (1%)
Монохромные с орнаментом сграффито				23 (24,5%)		1 (1%)		1 (1%)
Полихромные с орнаментом сграффито						1 (1%)		
С росписью марганцем					1 (1%)			
Всего — 94 фр.	4 (4,3%)	19 (20,2%)	11 (11,7%)	23 (24,5%)	1 (1%)	32 (34%)	2 (2,1%)	2 (2,1%)

нённым корпусом, аптечных сосудов — альбарелло (Бочаров, Масловский 2015: 190). А. Н. Масловский на примере наполнения археологических слоёв города Азака выделяет две фазы в появлении и распространении поливной керамики восточного Крыма. Первый период — середина — третья четверть XIII в. — это время появления этой керамики, её доля в Азаке составляет 2—5% всего комплекса глазурованных сосудов. Следующий хронологический этап датирован в пределах последней четверти XIII — начала XIV вв. В это время доля восточнокрымской продукции среди поливной керамики Азака возрастает до 20—30% (Масловский 2001: 85—86; Bocharov, Maslovskiy, Sitdikov 2015: 331).

Публикуемый в настоящей статье керамический комплекс позволяет датировать изученную часть поселения Посидима последней четвертью XIII — первой четвертью XIV вв., то есть в пределах второй фазы распространения восточнокрымской поливной керамики, выделенной А. Н. Масловским. В пользу такой датировки свидетельствует, во-первых, очень малое число (2 экземпляра) находок керамики самого раннего солдайского производства (табл. 3). Во-вторых, наличие в керамическом комплексе двух сменяющих друг друга групп сосудов византийского происхождения (табл. 1). В-третьих, значительный процент поливной керамики местного производства при малом количестве полихромных сосудов с орнаментом сграффито (табл. 1—3). Такую дату подтверждают и монетные находки. В моем распоряжение было фото четырех медных монет из исследований 1954 г. (рис. 38). Монеты №1, 2, 4 найдены

в квадрате 1, на глубине штыка 4. Монета 3 — подъемный материал. Все монеты — анонимные пулы крымской чеканки, монеты №1 и 3 датированы 674 г.х. (1276 г.), №2 и 4 имеют более широкую дату — конец XIII — начало XIV вв. (определения Д.Г. Мухаметшина). В 2006 г. в слое темно-серого плотного грунта найдены две медные монеты (Бочаров 2007: рис. 61) (рис. 39). Одна пока не определена, вторая (рис. 39: 1) — пул крымской чеканки, датирован 690 г.х. (1291 г.) (определение И.В. Волкова). Необходимо заметить, что материалы, опубликованные В.В. Майко, ничем не отличаются от представленных в этой статье, следовательно, дату XIV—XV вв., опубликованную им (Майко 2008: 478) и полученную в ходе неверной интерпретации керамических находок, следует считать ошибочной. Посидима, несомненно, существовала и во второй половине XIV в., и в XV в., так в конце мая 1475 г. у селения появился турецкий флот и османский главнокомандующий Гедик-Ахмет-паша проводил здесь переговоры с татарской знатью о совместных военных действиях против Каффы (Мыц 2009: 419), но археологические культурные напластования этого времени на памятнике пока не найдены, и постулировать их наличие сегодня преждевременно.

В заключение отметим, что важность керамического комплекса селения Посидима определяется тем, что он наглядно иллюстрирует смену византийского керамического комплекса новым, золотоордынским, произошедшую на рубеже XIII—XIV столетий. В керамическом комплексе присутствуют две группы византийской импортной поливной керамики и группа местной восточнокрымской. Помимо ранних предметов из Кавалари и Азака, в наше распоряжение поступают новые находки, позволяющие судить об ассортименте начальных этапов золотоордынского производства поливной керамики в Крыму связанного в первую очередь с городом Солхат, так как сосуды, сделанные в Каффе и Солдайе, на памятнике единичны. При этом керамический комплекс относится не ко времени начала производства поливной керамики в Крыму, а ко второй стадии раннего производства — последней четверти XIII — первой четверти XIV вв. Здесь можно проследить, как исторические изменения XIII в. отразились на заполнении культурных слоёв, и более того, как на рубеже XIII—XIV вв. керамический комплекс претерпевает значительные изменения, связанные с появлением массового местного производства поливной керамики. В византийском Крыму в VIII — первой половине XIII вв. пользовались импортными поливными сосудами. Основная часть поливной посуды привозилась из центральных и периферийных частей Византийского государства, самостоятельное производство поливной керамики в регионе так и не было налажено (Bocharov, Maslovskiy 2011: 259). Ситуация изменяется с вхождением полуострова в Монгольскую империю. В золотоордынских городах Судаке и Солхате, а затем и в генуэзской Каффе, начинается производство поливной керамики (Масловский 2012: 193, 194; Bocharov, Maslovskiy, Sitdikov 2015: 330), находки которой в XIV—XV вв. будут представлены на значительной части археологических памятников Восточной Европы.

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Поливные чаши с изображениями кошачьих хищников из раскопок на территории золотоордынского Азака

Keywords: Azak, Golden Horde time, glazed bowls, ornament, images of feline predators, production centers

Ключевые слова: Азак, золотоордынское время, поливные чаши, орнамент, изображения кошачьих хищников, центры производства

M. V. Dmitrienko

Glazed Bowls with Images of Feline Predators from the Digs on the Golden Horde City of Azak

The author examines finds of glazed bowls with images of lion and leopards from the digs on the Golden Horde City of Azak. Similar bowls, usually small and ornamented in reserved and sgraffito technique, are widely spread mainly in the Balkans and the Crimea and are dated by the second half of the fourteenth century. The article contains detailed description of the finds from Azak and determines its production centers: Byzantium in four cases (Constantinople or its environs) and South-Eastern Crimea (possibly Caffa, which produced imitations of Byzantine items) for the other two.

М. В. Дмитриенко

Поливные чаши с изображениями кошачьих хищников из раскопок на территории золотоордынского Азака

Рассматриваются находки поливных чаш с изображениями льва и леопардов, происходящие из раскопок золотоордынского Азака. Подобные чаши, обычно небольшого размера, орнаментированные при помощи сочетания техник резерва и сграффито, имеют широкое распространение, преимущественно на территории Балкан и Крыма, и датируются 2-й пол. XIV в. В статье приводится подробное описание находок из Азака и определяются центры их производства: в четырех случаях это Византия (Константинополь или его округа), в двух — Юго-Восточный Крым (вероятно, Каффа), где изготовлялись подражания византийским образцам.

Поливные чаши с изображенными на них фигурами леопардов достаточно широко известны и уже неоднократно привлекали к себе внимание исследователей. География находок данных сосудов весьма разнообразна: Константинополь, о. Тасос, Никея, Варна, Калиакра, Каффа, Алушта, монастырь на мысе Виноградный под Херсонесом, Судак (Кравченко 1991: 114—116), известны многочисленные аналогии из Белгорода (Кравченко 1986: 104—113, рис. 40: 2, 6, 7, 10; 41: 2—4; 42: 11, 12; 43: 2, 6—8, 17) и Херсонеса (Романчук 2003: табл. 29: 94, 98; 30: 99, 102, 103, 105). Обнаружены были чаши с изображениями леопардов также и на территории Азова (Щеглова, Бойко 1992: 191, рис. 1) (рис. 1: 1—4)

Все сосуды данной группы имеют относительно небольшой размер, одинаковую пиалообразную форму с миниатюрным кольцевым поддоном, орнамент их выполнен с помощью сочетания техник резерва и сграффито. Черепок в изломе ярко-красного цвета, глина плотная, практически без пор и видимых включений. Внешняя поверхность сосудов покрыта зеленой поливой и ангобом практически до самого поддона, внешний край венчика украшают три или четыре го-

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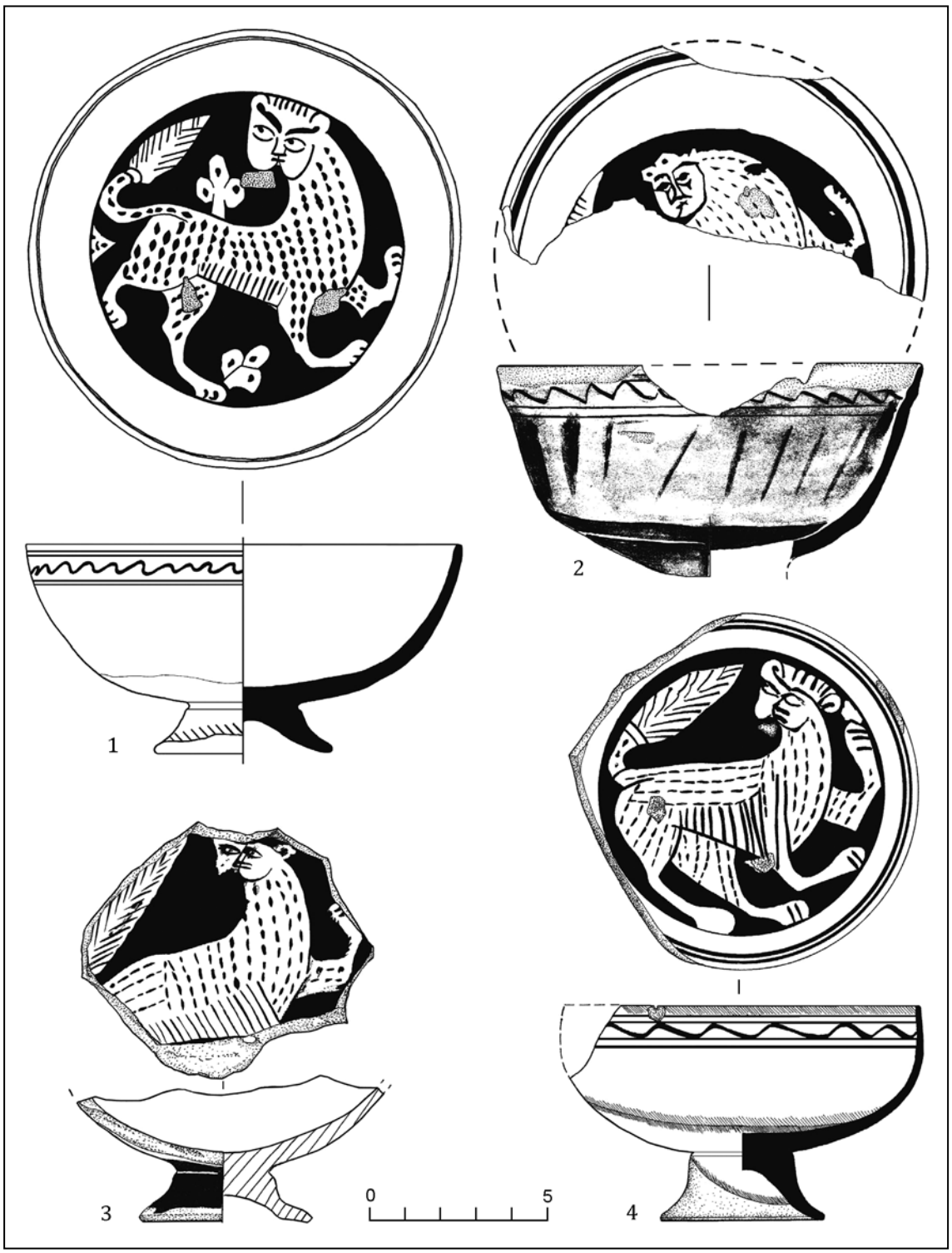

Рис. 1. Чаши с изображениями леопардов византийского производства из раскопок в г. Азове: 1 — раскопки А.Л. Бойко в 1990 г. по ул. Чехова, 3, котлован, я-24. КП 26062 А1 516/9; 2 — раскопки И.В. Белинского в 1997 г. по ул. Чехова, 3, я-4; 3 — раскопки И.В. Белинского и А.Н. Масловского в 2000 г. по ул. Толстого, 41, я-14; 4 — раскопки А.Н. Масловского в 2003 г. по ул. Толстого, 74, я-3А.

Fig. 1. Bowls with images of leopards from the digs in Azak. Production center: Byzantium. 1 — digs by L. Boiko at 3, Chekhov St. in 1990. Trench, pit 24. КП 26062 А1 516/9; 2 — digs by I.V. Belinsky at 3, Chekhov St. in 1997, pit 4; 3 — digs by I.V. Belinsky and A.N. Maslovskiy at 41, Tolstoy St. in 2000, pit 14; 4 — digs by A.N. Maslovskiy at 74, Tolstoy St. in 2003, pit 3A.

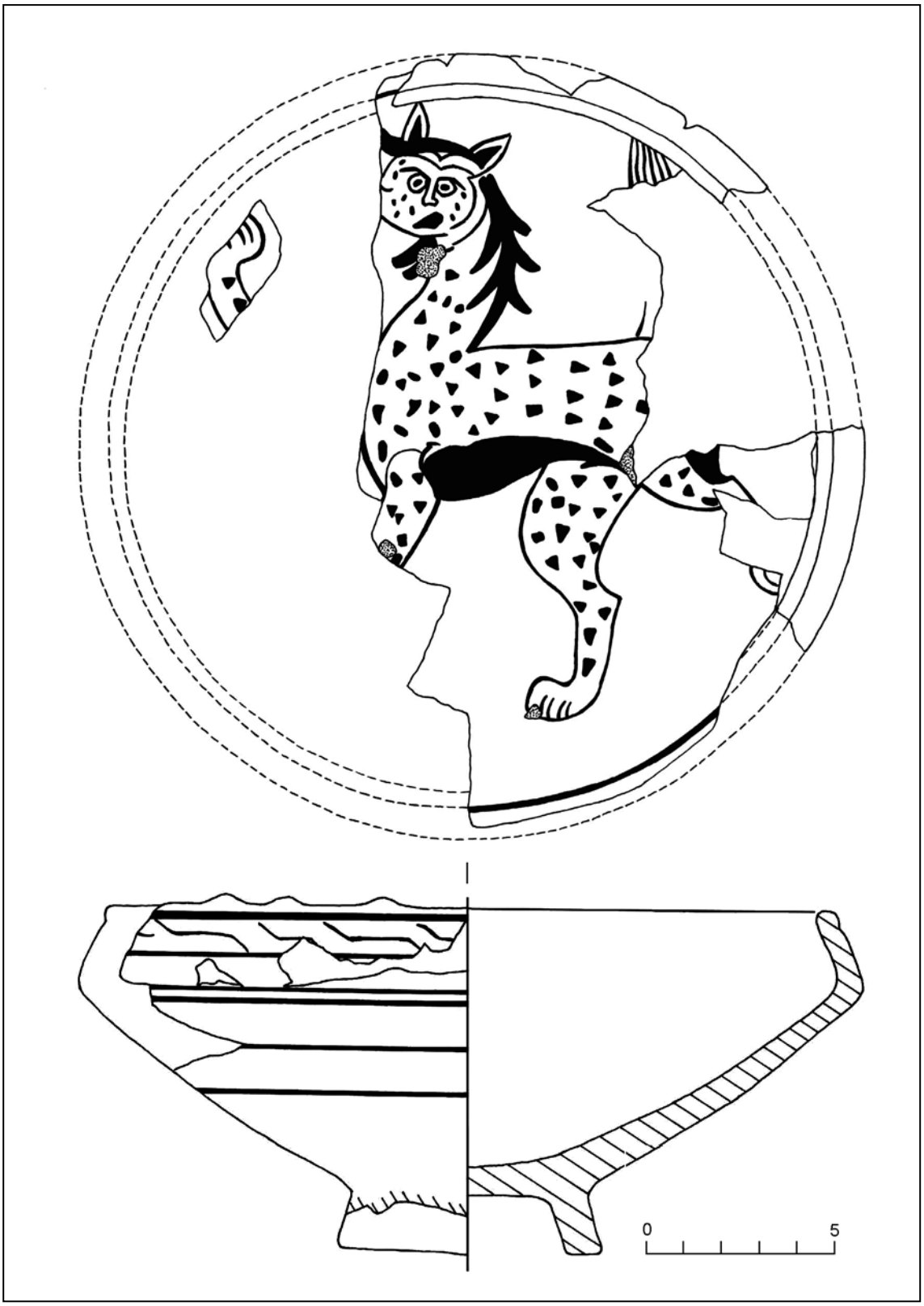

Рис. 2. Чаша с изображением леопарда производства Юго-Восточного Крыма из раскопок А.Л. Бойко в г. Азове в 1990 г. по ул. Чехова, 3, котлован, я-19. КП 26062 А1 516/7.

Fig. 2. Bowl with image of leopard from the digs by L. Boiko at 3, Chekhov St., Azov, in 1990. Trench, pit 19. КП 26062 А1 516/7. Production center: South-Eastern Crimea.

Рис. 3. Чаша с изображением льва производства Юго-Восточного Крыма из раскопок М.В. Дмитриенко в г. Азове в 2007 г. на территории городского парка, раскоп II, я-14.

Fig. 3. Bowl with image of lion from the digs by M.V. Dmitrienko on the territory of the city park in Azov in 2007, dig II, pit 14. Production center: South-Eastern Crimea.

Рис. 4. 1 — чаша с изображением леопарда производства Юго-Восточного Крыма из раскопок А.Л. Бойко в г. Азове в 1990 г. по ул. Чехова, 3, котлован, я-19. КП 26062 А1516/7; 2 — чаша с изображением льва производства Юго-Восточного Крыма из раскопок М.В. Дмитриенко в г. Азове в 2007 г. на территории городского парка, раскоп II, я-14.

Fig. 4. 1 — a bowl with image of leopard from A.L. Boiko's expedition in Azov, 1990: 3, Chekhov St. Ditch, pit-19. КП 26062 A1516/7. Production center: South-Eastern Crimea; 2 — a bowl with image of lion from M.V. Dmitrienko's expedition in Azov, 2007, city park, dig II, pit-14. Production center: South-Eastern Crimea.

ризонтальных врезных линии и одна волнообразная между ними. Внутренняя поверхность покрыта желтой поливой, нанесенной по белому ангобу. На внутреннюю поверхность сосудов нанесены изображения леопардов с разворотом корпуса к зрителю правым боком и с правым поворотом головы, морды животных имеют антропоморфные очертания. Орнаментальная композиция отличается наличием, либо отсутствием рядом с туловищем зверя кипарисовой ветви, трилистника или треугольника с точкой внутри. По-разному выполнялся и рисунок шкуры зверя: точками, горизонтальными или вертикальными штрихами, ломанными или волнистыми линиями, спиралевидными завитками, г-образными значками. Датируются данные сосуды 2-й половиной XIV века, центром их производства является Константинополь или его округа (Бочаров 2005: 308—309).

Чаши с изображениями леопардов, по всей вероятности, были настолько популярны, что существовали многочисленные подражания, выполненные в других производственных центрах. В музее г. Несебра выставлена подобная имитация, болгарского производства (Кузев 1984: 14). Подражанием, вероятно, является и поливная чаша, обнаруженная в г. Азове в 1990 году во время раскопок по ул. Чехова, 3 (рис. 2; 4: 1) (Бойко 1991: 7—9, рис. 1: 4). Сосуд относится к одному из производственных центров Юго-Восточного Крыма (Каффа), выполнен из пластичной, очень однородной формовочной массы, с небольшой выгоревшей примесью мелких частиц оолитовой извести и незначительной примесью мелкого шамота бежево-коричневого цвета. Обжиг сквозной, бежево-коричневый, поверхность черепка имеет более светлую бежевую окраску. Высота чаши составляет 9,4 см, диаметр венчика 19,8 см, толщина венчика 0,6 см, толщина стенок 0,5—1,1 см, максимальный диаметр тулова 21,4 см; диаметр поддона 6,45—7,05 см, высота поддона 1,7 см, толщина 0,95 см. Венчик сливается с бортиком сосуда, с закругленной верхней закраиной, слегка отогнут наружу; бортик высокий, отогнут вовнутрь; тулово — усеченно-

коническое; поддон высокий, широкий, усеченно-конический. Внешняя поверхность чаши, за исключением поддона, покрыта прозрачной зеленой глазурью, нанесенной по белому ангобу. Бортик оформлен горизонтальным поясом коротких S-образных отрезков, сверху и снизу ограниченным тонкими горизонтальными врезными линиями, место перехода бортика в тулово оформлено сдвоенной горизонтальной тонкой линией, а также тулово сосуда, в верхней части, оформлено двумя тонкими горизонтальными врезными линиями. Внутренняя поверхность чаши покрыта светлой желто-коричневой глазурью, со следами от трехножки-сипая. Внутреннее поле сосуда занимает изображение леопарда, выполненное с помощью техники гравировки по ангобу и незначительных элементов резерва. Хищник изображен идущим влево, он стоит на трех ногах, а четвертую заносит вперед, высокая шея изогнута, с длинной черной гривой, туловище покрыто многочисленными подтреугольными пятнами. Голова животного круглая, развернута влево, с заостренными, стоящими торчком ушами, морда имеет антропоморфные очертания: округлый открытый рот, округлые глаза, брови и нос. Задняя часть туловища утрачена, хвост поднят кверху. Таким образом, за исключением разворота тела зверя (влево, а не вправо), наличия гривы, и пояса в виде S-образных отрезков на внешней стороне бортика, а не волнообразной линии, прочие детали совпадают с орнаментацией византийских чаш.

В 2007 году при проведении археологических раскопок в г. Азове, на территории центрального городского парка, в хозяйственной яме, была обнаружена еще одна поливная чаша с изображением кошачьего хищника (рис. 3; 4: 2). Венчик сосуда с небольшим подтреугольным валиком, с уплощенной верхней закраиной, слегка отогнут наружу, бортик — высокий, вертикальный, тулово усеченно-коническое, на высоком, широком, усеченно-коническом кольцевом поддоне. Внешняя поверхность чаши, по бортику, вскрыта прозрачной коричневой глазурью, нанесенной по белому ангобу, и дополнительно украшена пятнами зеленой глазури. Бортик сосуда под венчиком и в нижней части оформлен: в первом случае единичной, во втором — сдвоенной, горизонтальными тонкими врезными линиями. Тулово чаши на внешней поверхности покрыто потеками белого ангоба. Высота сосуда 11 см, диаметр венчика 26 см, толщина венчика 0, 9 см, толщина стенок 0,45—1,1 см, диаметр поддона 8—8,6 см, высота поддона 2,2 см, толщина 1,4 см. Чаша изготовлена в одном из производственных центров Юго-Восточного Крыма (Каффа), выполнена из пластичной, очень однородной формовочной массы, с незначительной выгоревшей примесью мелких частиц обломочной извести и небольшой примесью мелкого шамота красновато-коричневого цвета. Обжиг сквозной, красновато-коричневый, черепок имеет более светлую — бежево-коричневую окраску.

Практически все внутреннее поле чаши занято изображением хищного животного, выполненным в технике гравировки по белому ангобу в сочетании с незначительными элементами резерва. Зверь изображен в профиль, повернут вправо, передние лапы вынесены вперед. Изображение задней части животного, левой задней лапы и нижней части хвоста утрачено. Уши животного небольшие, заостренные кверху, стоят торчком, пасть оскалена, с многочисленными острыми зубами и высунутым языком. Шея довольно высокая, с гривой, стоящей дыбом. Хвост поднят кверху, изгибается над спиной животного, кисточка на конце раздваивается. Туловище, лапы и шея животного покрыты многочисленными широкими штрихами, изображающими, по всей вероятности, густую шерсть. Подгрудок и живот зверя выполнены в технике резерва, т. е. имеют однотонную окраску. Перед грудью животного имеется небольшое граффити в виде П-образной фигуры, лежащей на боку и направленной отростками в сторону хищника. Внутренняя поверхность, также как и внешняя, покрыта прозрачной коричневой глазурью, в центральной части имеются отпечатки трехножки-сипая.

На первый взгляд, казалось бы, мы видим перед собой очередное подражание сюжету византийских чаш. Однако обратимся к данным геральдики. Самыми любимыми животными, по символическому их значению в гербах, были леопард и лев. Первый являлся представителем храбрости и отваги, второй — силы, мужества и великодушия. Обычно геральдический лев изображался в профиль, так что видны были одно его ухо и один глаз, стоящим на задних лапах, а передними бросающимся вправо; с окровавленным языком, выходящим из пасти, с поднятым кверху хвостом, конец которого падал на спину. Фигура леопарда отличалась тем, что на изображениях была видна вся его голова с двумя глазами; он представлялся идущим, т. е. стоял на трех ногах, а четвертую заносил вперед; хвост падал не на спину, а напротив, был поднят кверху и откинут (Лакиер 1855:

39—40). Таким образом, несмотря на кажущееся сходство орнаментального мотива вышеописанной чаши с сосудами византийского производства, в этом случае мы имеем дело не с подражанием, а с совершенно независимым сюжетом. Помимо этого, как уже упоминалось выше, поливные чаши византийского производства с изображением леопарда датируются 2-й половиной XIV века, последний же сосуд, по данным нумизматического материала (медные пулы анонимного чекана Узбека 734 г. х.) из хозяйственной ямы, в которой он был обнаружен, датируется 30-ми годами XIV века.

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Восточнокрымский поливной импорт в золотоордынском Азаке. Вопросы хронологии

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Ключевые слова: Золотая Орда, Юго-Восточный Крым, Азак, Каффа, Солхат, Судак, чаша, блюдо, кувшин, сграффито, роспись ангобом, полихромная расцветка

A. N. Maslovskiy

East Crimean Imported Glazed Ceramics in Azak, a Golden Horde City. Questions of Chronology

The author discusses glazed ceramics manufactured in cities of the South-East Crimea (Caffa, Sudak, Solkhat) in late 13th — 14th centuries. During those centuries, it got spread over the territory of Eastern Europe and therefore can be a good dating factor, much more accurate than many other types of finds and comparable only to coins. Presently, many vessels can be dated precisely within fifty years to one decade. This is possible because of a big number of closed assemblages studied during the digs on Azak and dated by copper coins. For this purpose, the glazed ceramics is classified by series, which group vessels similar by forms and use (for instance, bowls and dishes) with a steady identical design of decorative compositions.

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Восточнокрымский поливной импорт в золотоордынском Азаке. Вопросы хронологии

В статье рассматривается поливная керамика, произведенная в городах Юго-Восточного Крыма (Каффа, Судак, Солхат) в конце XIII — XIV вв. В этот период она распространяется на территории всей Восточной Европы и в силу этого может выступать хорошим датирующим материалом, превосходящим по точности многие другие категории находок и сопоставимым только с монетами. На настоящий момент многие сосуды могут быть датированы с точностью от полустолетия до одного десятилетия. Такая возможность предоставляется в связи с большим числом закрытых комплексов, исследуемых в ходе раскопок в Азаке и датированных медными монетами. Для этого поливная керамика классифицируется по сериям — в которые объединялись сосуды, близкие по форме и назначению (например, чаши и блюда) с устойчивым идентичным оформлением декоративных композиций.

В 3-й четверти XIII в. начинают свою работу гончарные центры в городах Юго-Восточного Крыма (Масловский 2012а: 193). Значительную часть их продукции составляют поливные сосуды. Это первый в Восточной Европе крупный центр по производству поливной керамики. За короткий период она распространяется по территории всей Восточной Европы, включая Русь. Впервые здесь появляется столовая поливная керамика, доступная не только социальной верхушке, но и широким массам городского, а в некоторых регионах (Приазовье, Закубанье, некоторые районы Поволжья и Подонья) и сельского населения.

По числу находок поливные сосуды производства городов Юго-Восточного Крыма в материалах из раскопок Азака занима-

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ют первое место среди групп импортной керамики и в целом составляют от 1/2 до 3/4 доли всего импорта глазурованной посуды (Масловский 2012б: 44). Схожую картину мы наблюдаем и в материалах Укека (Кубанкин, Масловский 2013: 131, 136—137). Даже в таких удаленных центрах, как Болгар, восточнокрымская поливная керамика представлена значительным количеством образцов и в 1-й половине XIV в. составляет большинство. Во многих комплексах Азака она превышает количественно местную продукцию, даже в 3-й четверти XIV в. При этом массовый выпуск продукции гончарами Крыма на очень широкий рынок привел к стандартизации как форм изделий, так и их орнаментации. Предварительные наблюдения показывают, что орнаментация поливных сосудов не оставалась неизменной, а была подвержена непрерывным изменениям. Изменения происходили и в формах сосудов.

Очевидно, что археология городов Золотой Орды нуждается в разработке дробной хронологии, основанной не только на нумизматических, но и на других категориях находок. Эти соображения ранее уже неоднократно высказывались автором (Масловский 2011). Благодаря широкому ареалу распространения, массовости, стандартности и быстрым изменениям в форме и орнаментации изделий фрагменты поливных сосудов производства Юго-Восточного Крыма могут стать хорошим датирующим материалом, сопоставимым, а в чем-то даже превосходящим точность датировок по монетным находкам. При этом мы исходим из этнографических данных, которые показывают, что срок службы сосудов (за исключением, вероятно, крупной стационарной тары) редко превышал 10—12 лет (Гельман 2008: 160—161).

Керамика Юго-Восточного Крыма в большинстве случаев без труда может быть опознана, даже по фрагментам размером в несколько квадратных сантиметров, благодаря специфическим визуально определимым признакам черепка. Для формовочной массы гончары использовали высокопластичные глины с естественной нестабильной примесью известковых включений разного размера (от долей миллиметра до 3—4 мм). При расположении этих включений близко к поверхности вокруг них образуются характерные кратерообразные сколы. В качестве искусственной примеси, как правило, использовался шамот или дробленая сухая глина. Размер частиц шамота составляет от долей миллиметров до 2—3 мм. Это в большей степени характерно для Солхата и Судака, и менее характерно для Каффы, где часть сосудов изготавливалась из глины без примеси шамота (Бочаров и др. 2013: 51). Вероятно, использовалась и органическая примесь, которая фиксируется по отпечаткам растительных волокон и закалу на стенках пор. В черепке хорошо заметны поры, преимущественно узкие, линзовидной формы, ориентированные параллельно стенкам сосуда.

Поливные сосуды изготавливались преимущественно на этапе РФК-7 или 6 (РФК — Развитие Функций Круга) (Бобринский 1978: 7, 55—64). При анализе технологии изготовления поливной керамики особое внимание следует уделять особенностям создания поддонов. Переход гончаров к вытягиванию сосудов из комка глины приводил к унификации технологии, и только конструирование поддонов сохраняло свою региональную специфику. Эти навыки передавались от мастера к ученику и не воспроизводились при копировании форм в других гончарных центрах. Следовательно, этот технологический этап можно признать субстратным (Волков 2005: 135; 2007а: 33—34). Рассматривая по этому критерию готовые изделия, можно прийти к выводу, что группа гончаров, работавших в городах Юго-Восточного Крыма, генетически не однородна. Представлены оба основных варианта изготовления поддонов. Первый — вырезание полости поддона в монолитной заготовке, изготовленной в процессе формовки самой чаши. Второй — наклеивание кольца или более сложной заготовки поддона, изготовленного отдельно от чаши, формовавшейся на тонком плоском дне. Первый способ характерен для сосудов производства Солхата. Второй способ чаще отмечен на сосудах Каффы и Судака. В частности, для Солхата характерны поддоны с внутренней полостью, выбранной таким образом, что толщина дна внутри поддона заметно тоньше (на несколько миллиметров) толщины стенок придонной части тулова. На стенках полости, как правило, остаются только слабозаметные ротационные следы заглаживания. Если же мы рассмотрим варианты профилировки поддонов, и соответственно, детали их изготовления, неоднородность рассматриваемой группы станет ещё более заметной и в отношении каждого отдельного центра.

При обжиге применялся высокотемпературный режим обжига (более 900°С, иногда до 1100°С). Для продукции Солхата чаще использовались более высокие температуры. Черепок преимущественно имеет кирпично-красную, розово-коричневую окраску. Достаточно характерно наличие бо-

лее светлого по окраске (бежевого, светло-коричневого) поверхностного, не покрытого глазурью слоя, толщина которого составляет от долей миллиметра до половины толщины черепка. Достаточно устойчив выбор цвета глазурей. Для сосудов открытых форм чаше встречается светло-желтая окраска. На сосудах закрытых форм чаще встречается ярко-зеленый цвет. На изделиях Каффы — глазури заметно светлее. При всех заметных различиях между изделиями отдельных подгрупп определить происхождение каждого конкретного черепка бывает возможно далеко не всегда. Помимо трех вышеуказанных центров, работал ряд других, более мелких, но их продукция, по-видимому, практически не выходила за пределы Крыма.

Ассортимент поливных сосудов группы в целом включал более 20 видов (Масловский 2006: 359—371, рис. 19—25). Естественно, в каждом из центров он немного отличался. Его основу составляли чаши среднего размера (диаметр венчика 14—20 см), с прямым или несколько загнутым внутрь бортиком. Среди них можно выделить несколько типов, а также тарелки с диаметром венчика 17—21 см. Гораздо реже встречены чаши с сегментовидным туловом без выделенного бортика, не характерные для подгруппы Каффы. Всего число типов чаш превышает десять. Крупные поливные чаши (с диаметром венчика до 35—40 см) и блюда с диаметром венчика до 28—31 см, выполнявшие функции парадной посуды, встречаются гораздо реже. Из сосудов закрытых форм наиболее многочисленны аптечные амфоры, штампованные кувшины и кувшины с удлиненным корпусом и сливом на венчике (Бочаров, Масловский 2015). Значительно реже встречаются афтобы, кувшины с биконическим туловом на кольцевом поддоне, плоскодонные кувшины с туловом, близким к шаровидному, и сливом на венчике. Остальные формы изделий единичны.

Для создания классификации, которая бы позволила, на основании изучения находок поливной керамики, производить датирование, необходимо учитывать не только морфологию изделий, но и их орнаментацию. И она не должна строиться по самым общим признакам (растительный, геометрический или центрический, радиальный). Такие классификации пригодны для искусствоведческого исследования (Лисова 2012), но не достаточны для детального анализа продукции конкретного гончарного центра. В самом деле, даже умозрительно можно предполагать, что массовое производство на рынок заставляет мастера ограничивать число используемых им орнаментов и многократно повторять одни и те же композиции с небольшими вариациями. И действительно, при просмотре находок восточнокрымской поливной керамики с различных памятников нетрудно заметить повторяемость орнаментов на одних и тех же формах сосудов. Для таких изделий автор вводит дополнительный уровень классификации — серия. В серию объединяются сосуды, близкие по форме и назначению (например, чаши и блюда), с устойчивым идентичным оформлением декоративных композиций или их частей.

Конечно, ситуацию усложняет то, что одновременно в нескольких центрах работало значительное число гончаров, и с течением времени орнаментальные композиции появлялись и исчезали. К тому же могли, конечно, выпускаться серии, ограниченные количественно. Не исключалась и работа на заказ. Однако, при всем при этом, число серий поливных сосудов всё-таки конечно, и при большом объеме находок работу по их выделению выполнить реально. Для поливных сосудов, произведенных в Азаке, это уже было выполнено (Масловский 2012в), хотя работу и нельзя считать завершенной. Частично это было сделано для продукции одного из византийских центров (Масловский 2010). Но разнообразие орнаментов на продукции Юго-Восточного Крыма неизмеримо больше, чем на поливной керамике Азака. Следует также сказать, что датировки, предложенные для серий сосудов, будут справедливы только для продукции этого конкретного центра. Сосуды с идентичным декором, произведенные в других центрах, могут быть синхронными, а могут и не совпадать по времени (Масловский 2012в: 25).

К сожалению, для построения хронологической шкалы поливной керамики материалы из раскопок самих городов Юго-Восточного Крыма, где она производилась, и других крымских центров (Херсонеса, Чембало, Мангупа) практически не пригодны. Материалы из культурных слоев, накапливавшихся несколько столетий, неизбежно смешаны и фрагментированы. Немногочисленные комплексы часто датированы исходя из строительных периодов и стратиграфических наблюдений (Баранов, Майко 1998: 28). Достоверность таких наблюдений часто вызывает сомнения. Например, представленный в публикации И. А. Баранова и В. В. Майко комплекс датирован ими концом XIV — первой половиной XV в. Между тем, находки из комплек-

са, исследованного в Судаке в храме Девы Марии в 1985 г., судя по аналогиям из закрытых комплексов Азака, датируется примерно серединой XIV в.

Столь же сомнительны датировки, предлагаемые исследователями Херсонеса. Поскольку «Датировка глазурованных сосудов Херсонеса основывается на стратиграфических наблюдениях и монетах, но большое значение имеет также изучение технологии производства» (Романчук 2000: 195), т. е. во многом зависит от того, как, по мнению автора, следует датировать тот или иной горизонт разрушения. Между тем стратиграфия этого памятника золотоордынского периода весьма туманна (Мыц 2015: 101—105). Но даже если согласиться с предлагаемой интерпретацией стратиграфических данных, датировки типа «XIII—XIV или XIV в.» в настоящее время не могут считаться достаточно точными.

Наилучшие возможности для создания классификации восточнокрымской поливной керамики конца XIII — конца XIV вв. с точными датировками предоставляют материалы из раскопок Азака, которые можно считать эталонными. И этому есть ряд причин.

1. Азак — наиболее крупный из городских центров на территории сопредельных с Крымом регионов, а следовательно, весьма емкий рынок сбыта, расположенный на минимальном расстоянии.

2. Он расположен на торговых путях, шедших из Крыма в центральную часть Золотой Орды — Поволжье, что также должно было облегчать перемещение керамики. К тому же, через него должен был частично осуществляться экспорт части крымской поливной керамики в другие регионы Золотой Орды.

3. Наличие в материалах из раскопок большого числа фрагментов от сосудов, идентичных по форме и орнаментации, указывает на существование целенаправленного ввоза керамики как отдельного предмета торговли.

4. Большая часть целых и крупно фрагментированных находок происходит из закрытых комплексов, которые представляют собой хозяйственные ямы различного предназначения; после прекращения их функционирования они засыпались грунтом за короткий отрезок времени. В большинстве случаев это происходило за 1—2 года, реже за сезон, значительно реже за 3—5 лет. Разумеется, при быстрой засыпке в ямы из старых мусорных куч мог попасть асинхронный материал, но всё же для развалов или крупных фрагментов такое запаздывание маловероятно.

5. Большая часть ям с выразительными керамическими находками датируется находками медных монет, число которых может достигать нескольких десятков. Но даже если в яме обнаружена только одна монета, она может выступать надежным основанием для датировки комплекса. Анализ кладов медных монет (Фомичев 2006) и состава монетных находок из ям показывает, что в кошельках горожан в любой хронологический отрезок лежали в основном монеты, синхронные или близкие по времени чеканки. Заметно запаздывающие, сильно стертые медяки составляют небольшой процент. Так что, если единственной монетой окажется пул хорошей сохранности, с очень высокой долей вероятности он будет синхронен керамическому материалу. Конечно, возможна ситуация, что единственный пул в яме окажется на 10—15 лет старше, или даже, что он попал в яму через нору грызуна или трещину из вышележащих напластований, и он будет существенно моложе. Но для того, чтобы избежать ошибок, связанных с такими случайностями, нужно просто делать наблюдения не по отдельным комплексам, а по значительному их числу, и перепроверять выводы по новым находкам.

6. Собственно, одним из преимуществ Азова с его непрекращающимися широкомасштабными спасательными раскопками, является возможность проверки и корректировки наблюдений при анализе новых материалов. Например, при разборке материалов ещё до реставрации монет возможна датировка комплекса по керамике и проверка этих датировок после получения нумизматических определений. Большое число проанализированных комплексов позволяет минимизировать влияние случайных факторов при формулировке наших выводов.

Вместе с тем, ради объективности, следует отметить и негативные факторы, снижающие научное значение материалов Азака для создания классификации крымской поливной керамики.

1. Комплексы первого периода существования города (примерно 1261—1320 гг.) не столь многочисленны (всего несколько десятков). Это не значит, что их мало вообще. Просто наиболее ранняя часть Азака подвергалась раскопкам в незначительной степени, и именно эта часть наиболее пострадала от перекопов конца XVII — XVIII вв., связанных с русско-турецкими войнами. В комплексах этого периода значительно реже встречаются монеты. И в большинстве из них немного поливной керамики. В немногих встреченных ярких комплексах (Дмитриенко, Масловский 2006; Белинский, Масловский 2007) восточ-

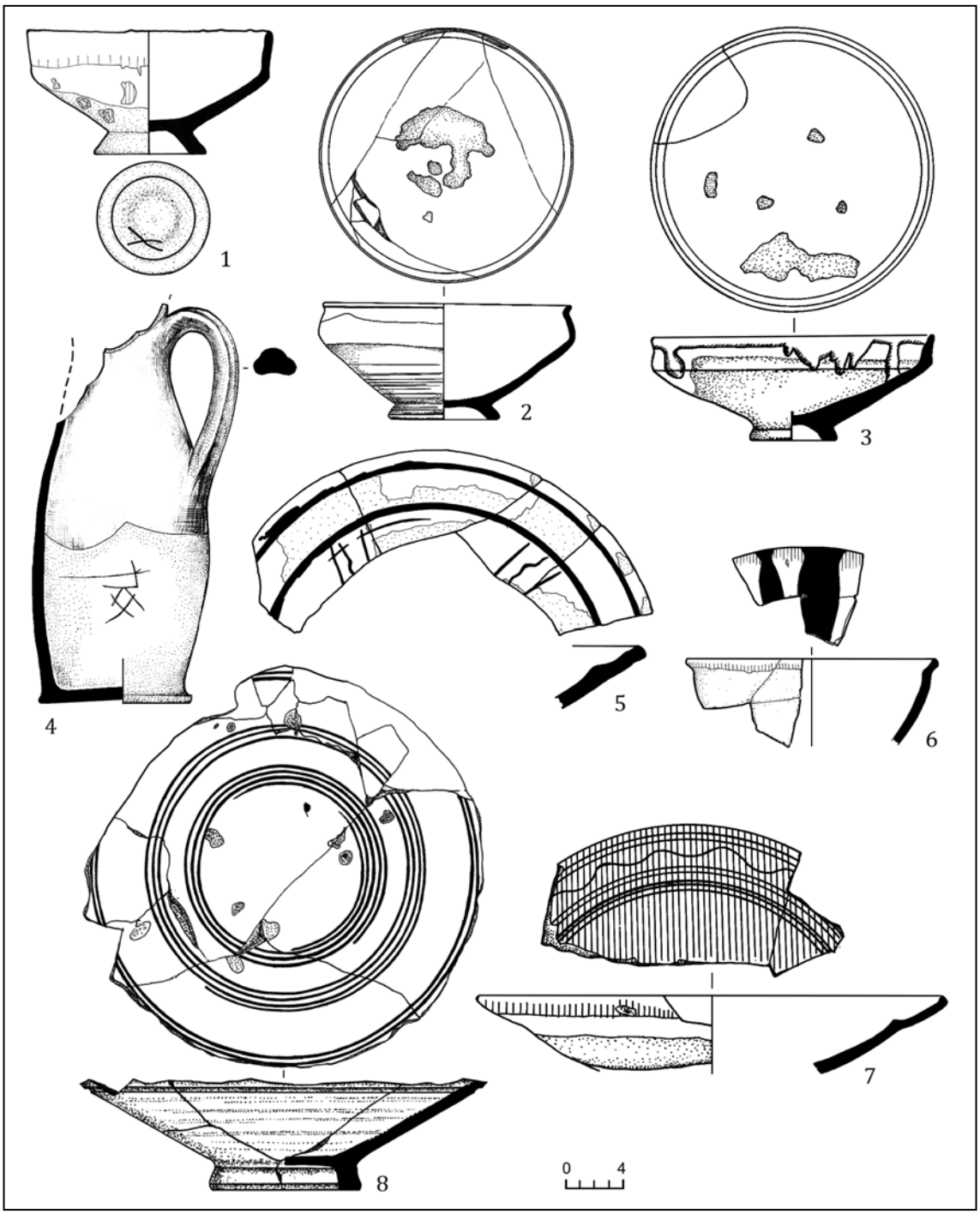

Рис. 1. Керамика Юго-Восточного Крыма из Азова: 1—3, 6 — чаши; 4 — кувшин; 5, 7, 8 — блюда (1, 4, 5 — ул. Р. Люксембург, Р-I. Я-6, 1992 г.; 2, 3 — ул. Р. Люксембург, Р-II, Я-5, 2001 г.; 6, 7 — ул. К. Либкнехта 12, Р-II, Я-2, 2003 г.; 8 — ул. Толстого 41, Я-87, 2003 г.).

Fig. 1. Ceramics of South-Eastern Crimea from Azov: 1—3, 6 — bowls; 4 — jug; 5, 7, 8 — dishes (1, 4, 5 — Rosa Luxemburg St., dig I, pit 6, 1992; 2, 3 — Rosa Luxemburg St., dig II, pit 5, 2001; 6, 7 — Karl Liebknecht St., 12, dig II, pit 2, 2003; 8 — Tolstoy St., 41, pit 87, 2003).

нокрымская полива составляет небольшую долю. В силу этого приходится обращаться к материалам из аналогичных по составу находок комплексов, в которых монеты найдены не были, что, конечно, нарушает чистоту исследования.

2. До настоящего времени не выделены комплексы 1370-х гг., что, с одной стороны, можно объяснить упадком мелкого монетного обращения. В это время не было выпущено новых монетных типов, и население, вероятно, продолжало пользоваться монетами,

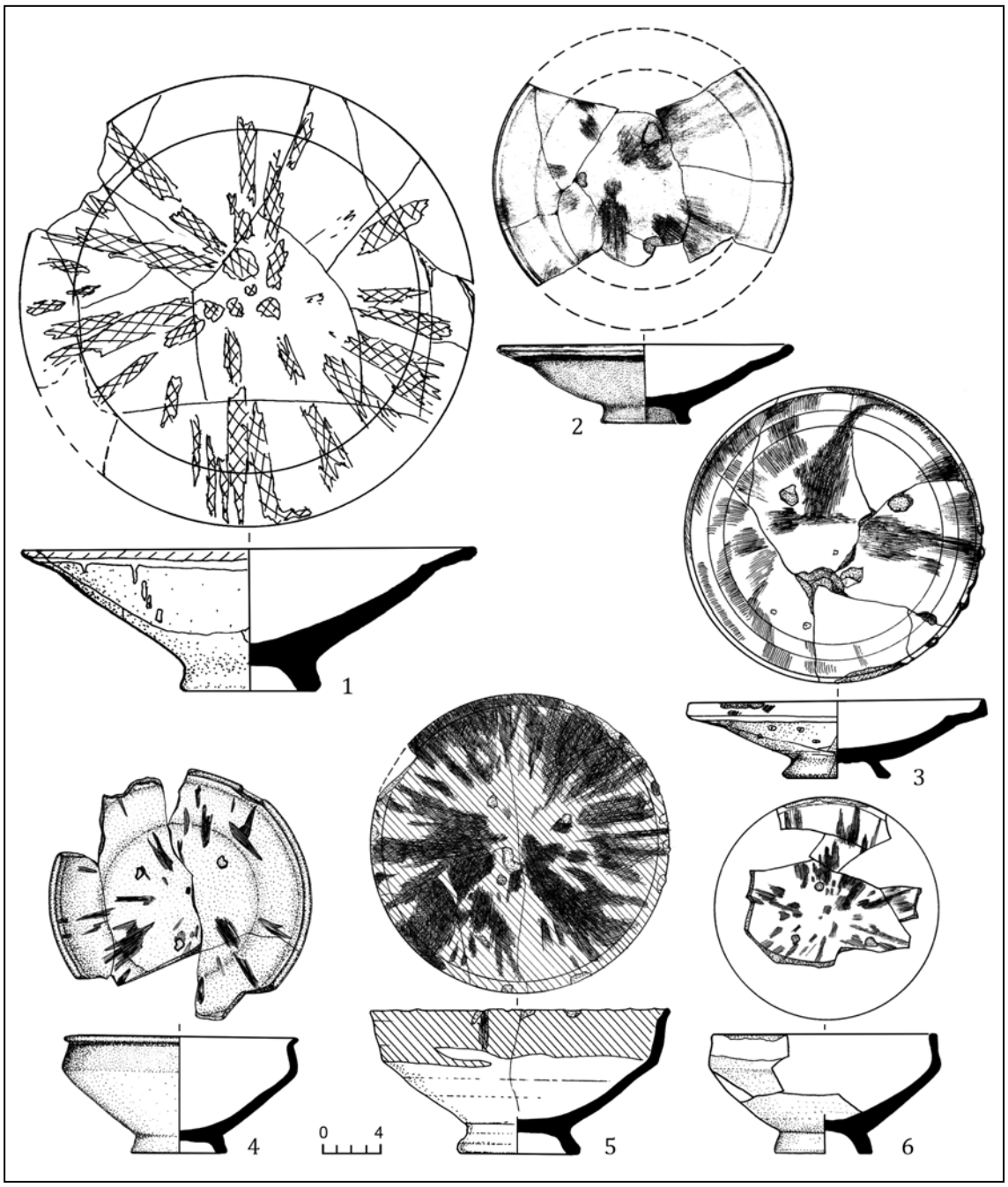

Рис. 2. Керамика Юго-Восточного Крыма из Азова: 1 — блюдо; 2, 3 — тарелки; 4—6 — чаши (1 — ул. К. Либкнехта, 12, Р-I, кв. 4А, 1985 г.; 2 — ул. Р. Люксембург, Р-I, Я-17, 1992 г.; 3 — ул. Толстого, 41—43, Я-25, 2000 г.; 4 — Музыкальная школа, Я-2, 1987 г.; 5 — ул. Измайлова, 49, Ж-2, 2002 г.; 6 — ул. Московская 38/40, Р-V, Я-1, 1999 г.).

Fig. 2. Ceramics of South-Eastern Crimea from Azov: 1— dish; 2, 3 — plates; 4—6 — bowls (1 — Karl Liebknecht St., 12, dig I, sq. 4A, 1985; 2 — Rosa Luxemburg St., dig I, pit 17, 1992; 3 — Tolstoy St., 41—43, pit 25, 2000; 4 — School of Music, pit 2, 1987; 5 — Izmaylov St., 49, house 2, 2002; 6 — Moskovskaya St., 38/40, dig V, pit 1, 1999).

выпущенными в период правления Абдаллы (1363—1369 гг.). С другой стороны, это свидетельствует об упадке экономики города в этот период, что не могло не сказаться на спросе населения на импортную поливную керамику.

3. Другие хронологические отрезки представлены в материалах Азака весьма неравномерно. Максимальное число комплексов приходится на 1330-е гг. (более 50%). На втором месте комплексы 1360-х гг. Значительно отстают от них количественно комплексы 1350-х и 1320-х гг. Комплексы с монетами 1381—1395 гг. очень немногочисленны. При этом в них преобладает поливная керамика местного производства или кашина. По непо-

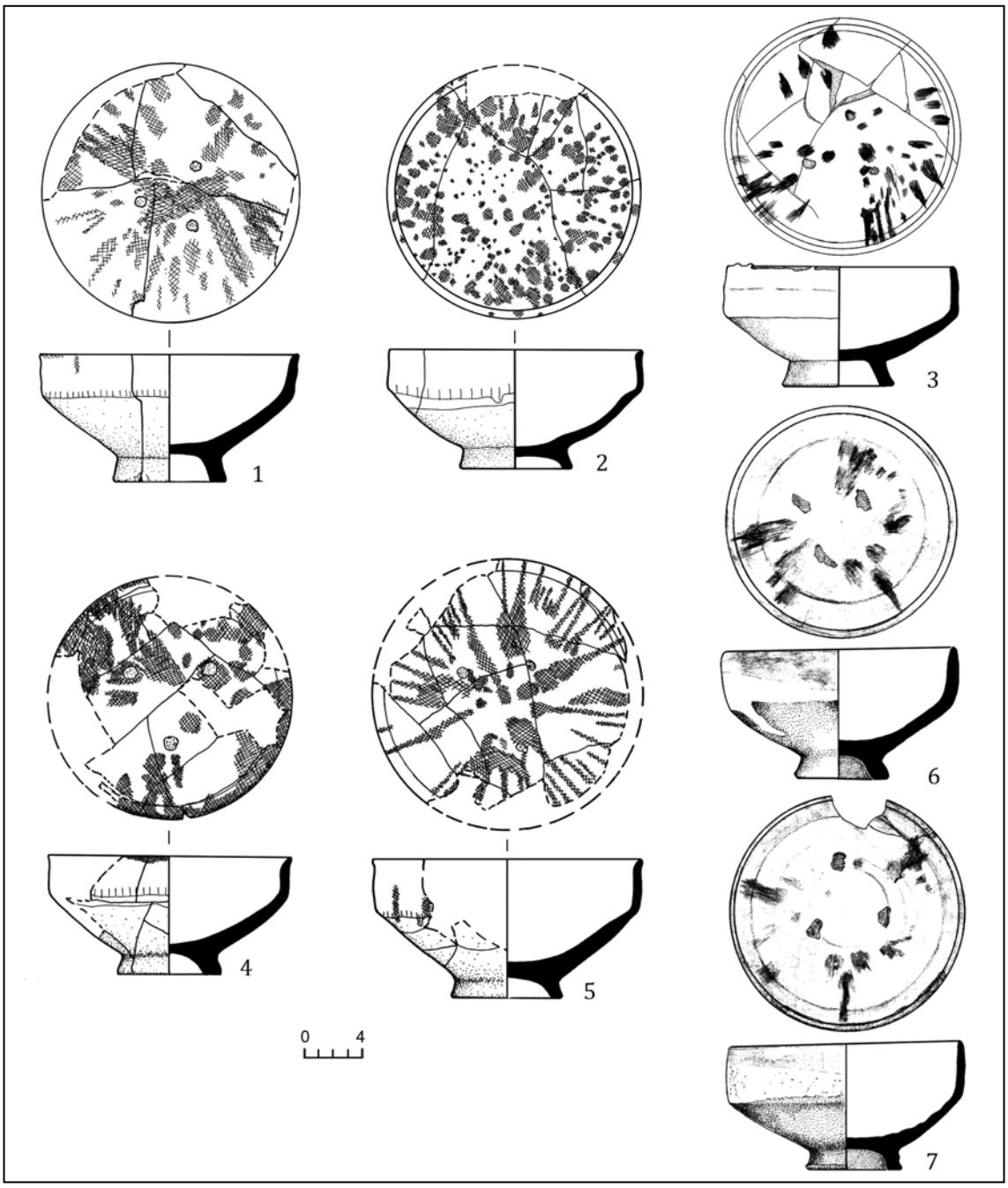

Рис. 3. Керамика Юго-Восточного Крыма из Азова: 1—7 — чаши. 1 — ул. Ленина 46, Я-8 (2003 г.); 2 — ул. Толстого 2, Я-1 (1984 г.); 3 — ул. Толстого 41, Р-II, Ж-26 (2001 г.); 4, 5 — ул. Московская 38/40, Р-V, Я-21, Я-3 (1999 г.); 6, 7 — ул. Р. Люксембург, Р-I, Я-17 (1992 г.).

Fig. 3. Ceramics of South-Eastern Crimea from Azov: 1—7 — bowls (1 — Lenin St., 46, pit 8, 2003; 2 — Tolstoy St., 2, pit 1, 1984; 3 — Tolstoy St., 41, dig II, house 26, 2001; 4, 5 — Moskovskaya St., 38/40, dig V, pit 21, pit 3, 1999; 6, 7 — Rosa Luxemburg St., dig I, pit 17, 1992).

нятным причинам, почти полностью отсутствуют комплексы, в которых бы младшая монета датировалась 1340-ми гг., хотя самих этих монет обнаружено много.

4. К сожалению, безвозвратно уничтожены в период бурной строительной деятельности XVIII—XX вв. многие участки средневекового города. Во время аварийных раскопок на многих раскопах объекты исследуются в сильно поврежденном строителями виде, что не может не сказываться на полноте картины о составе керамического комплекса.

5. Как ни удивительно, недостатком можно считать само обилие керамических материалов из раскопок Азака. Хотя потенциально в проведении такой работы нет ничего слож-

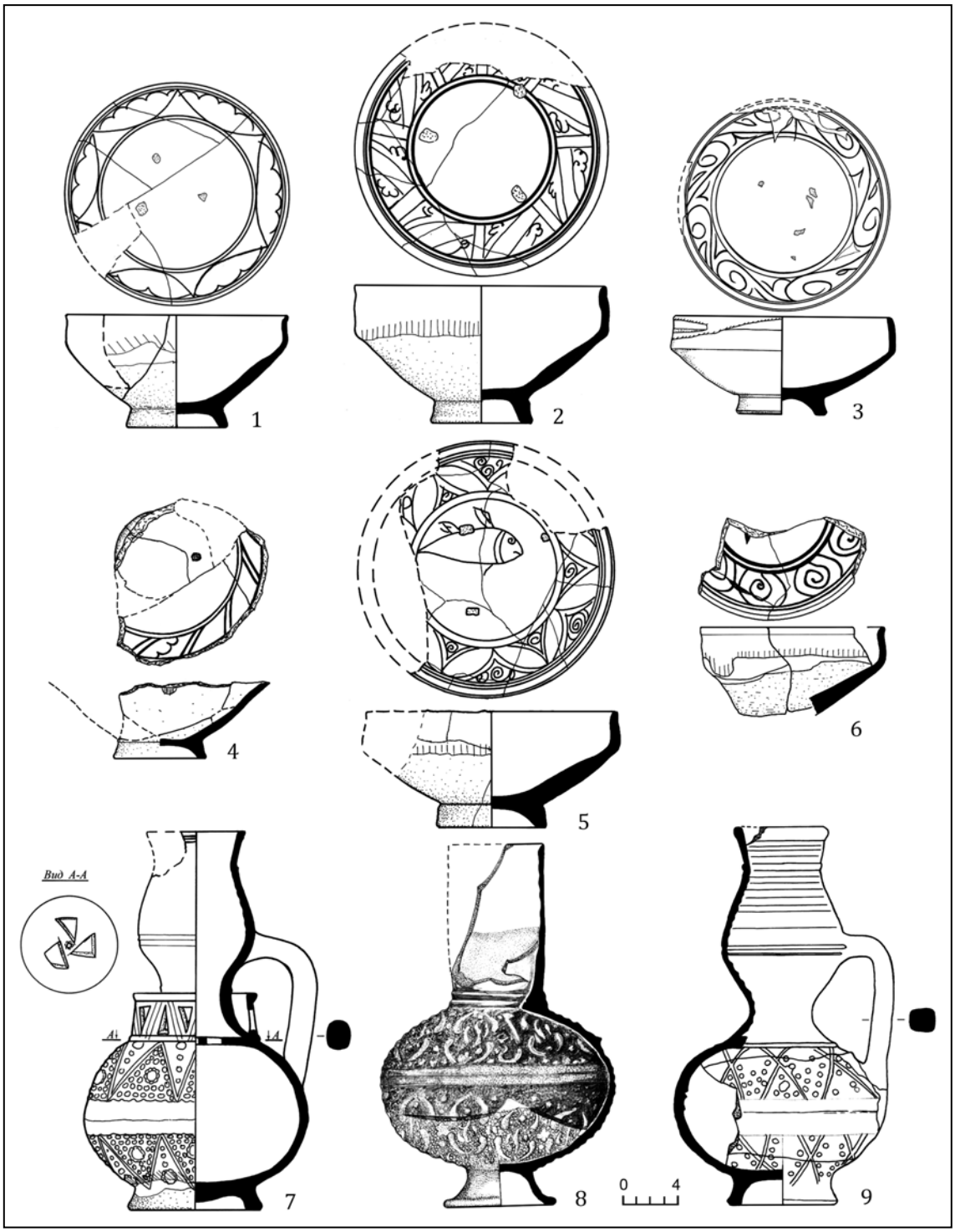

Рис. 4. Керамика Юго-Восточного Крыма из Азова: 1—6 — чаши; 7—9 — штампованные кувшины (1 — ул. Толстого 2, Я-1, 1984 г.; 2 — ул. Чехова, Я-13, 1988 г.; 3 — ул. Московская 38/40, Р-IV, Я-3, 1998 г.; 4, 6 — ул. Московская 4, Ж-2, 2005 г.; 5 — ул. Чехова, Я-11, 1988 г.; 7 — ул. Толстого 2, Я-1, 1984 г.; 8 — ул. Московская 7, Я-18, 1995 г.; 9 — ул. Толстого 41, Р-II, Я-35, 2001 г.).

Fig. 4. Ceramics of South-Eastern Crimea from Azov: 1—6 — bowls; 7—9 — stamped jugs (1 — Tolstoy St., pit 1, 1984; 2 — Chekhov St., pit 13, 1988; 3 — Moskovskaya St., 38/40, dig IV, pit 3, 1998; 4, 6 — Moskovskaya St., 4, house 2, 2005; 5 — Chekhov St., pit 11, 1988; 7 — Tolstoy St., 2, pit 1, 1984; 8 — Moskovskaya St., 7, pit 18, 1995; 9 — Tolstoy St., 41, dig II, pit 35, 2001).

ного, в силу больших объемов полная их обработка очень далека от завершения. Именно в силу этого предлагаемые ниже наблюдения носят только промежуточный, предварительный характер. Они затронут наиболее типические явления. Отдельно будут описаны толь-

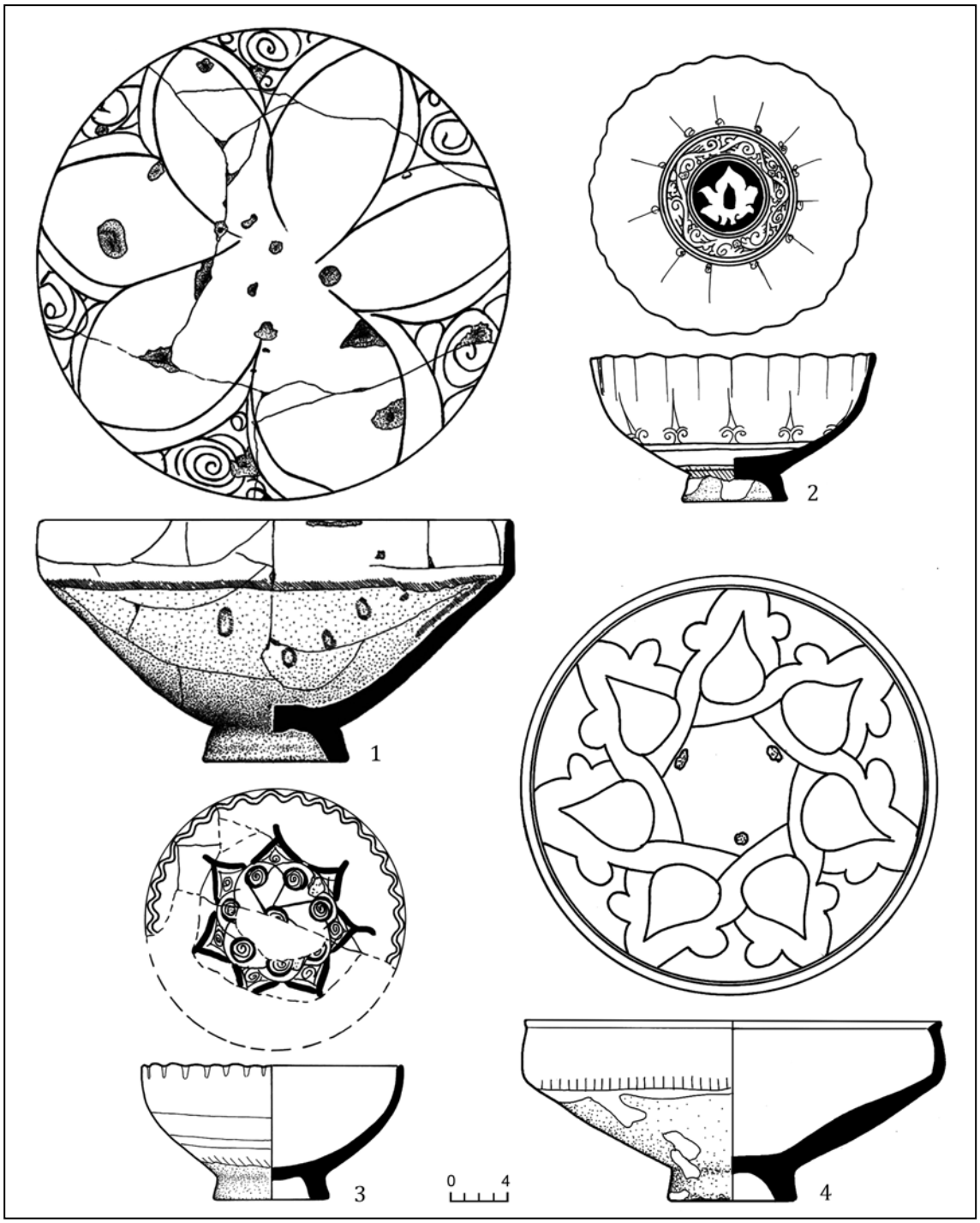

Рис. 5. Керамика Юго-Восточного Крыма из Азова: 1, 4 — большие чаши 2, 3 — чаши (1 — ул. Толстого 41, Ж-40, 2002 г.; 2 — ул. К. Либкнехта 12, Р-I, Я-8, 1985 г.; 3 — ул. Чехова 8, Я-8, 1991 г.; 4 — ул. Ленина 46, Я-6, 2003 г.).

Fig. 5. Ceramics of South-Eastern Crimea from Azov: 1, 4 — big bowls; 2, 3 — bowls (1 — Tolstoy St., 41, house 40, 2002; 2 — Karl Liebknecht St., 12, dig I, pit 8, 1985; 3 — Chekhov St., 8, pit 8, 1991; 4 — Lenin St., 46, pit 6, 2003).

ко некоторые наиболее многочисленные и характерные серии сосудов.

Первыми по времени комплексами, в которых сохранилось значительное количество находок восточнокрымской поливной керамики, являются комплексы с монетами, определение которых вызывает значительные трудности в силу отсутствия на них дат и общей небрежности их изготовления. Среди них типы с надписями, не прочитанными до сих пор, анэпиграфные монеты и монеты с легендой «В добрый час новый пул». В целом эта группа комплексов может быть датирована в пределах 4-й четв. XIII — нач. XIV вв.

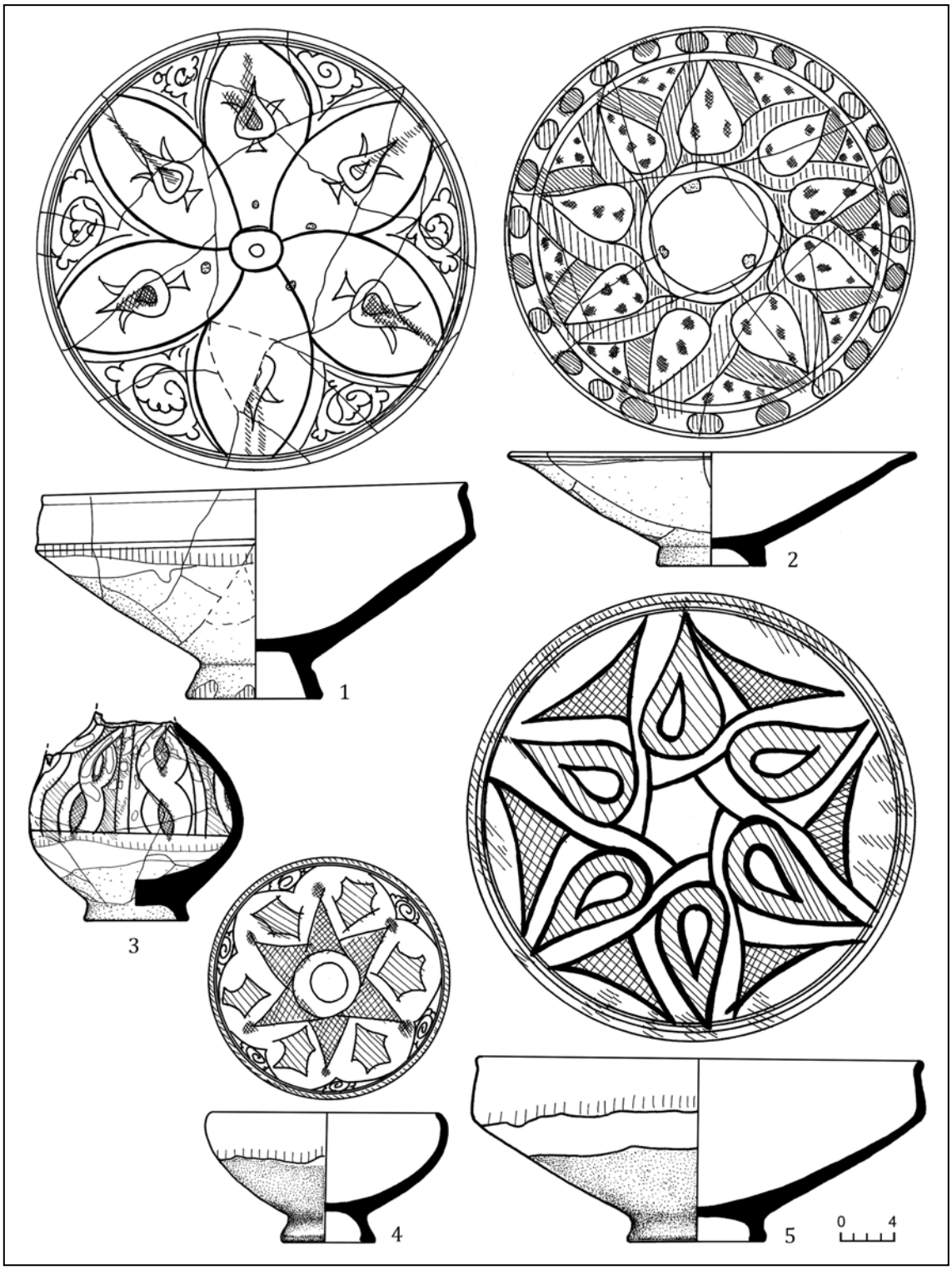

Рис. 6. Керамика Юго-Восточного Крыма из Азова: 1, 5 — большие чаши; 2 — блюдо; 3 — кувшин; 4 — чаша (1, 2 — ул. Чехова, Я-13, Я-12, 1988 г.; 3 — ул. Московская 38/40, Р-V, Я-21, 1999 г.; 4, 5 — ул. Чехова 8, Я-14, 1991 г.).

Fig. 6. Ceramics of South-Eastern Crimea from Azov: 1, 5 — big bowls; 2 — dish; 4 — bowl (1, 2 — Chekhov St., pit 13, pit 12, 1988; 3 — Moskovskaya St., 38/40, dig V, pit 21, 1999 г.; 4, 5 — Chekhov St., 8, pit 14, 1991).

(Масловский 2001). В это время доля группы Юго-Восточного Крыма среди поливной керамики Азака составляет 20—30%. Наиболее многочисленны монохромные неорнаментированные чаши, миниатюрные чашечки, тарелки и блюда зеленого, реже желтого цвета (рис. 1: 1—3; 14: 1—3). Однако отмечены и чаши со скудным орнаментом, выполнен-

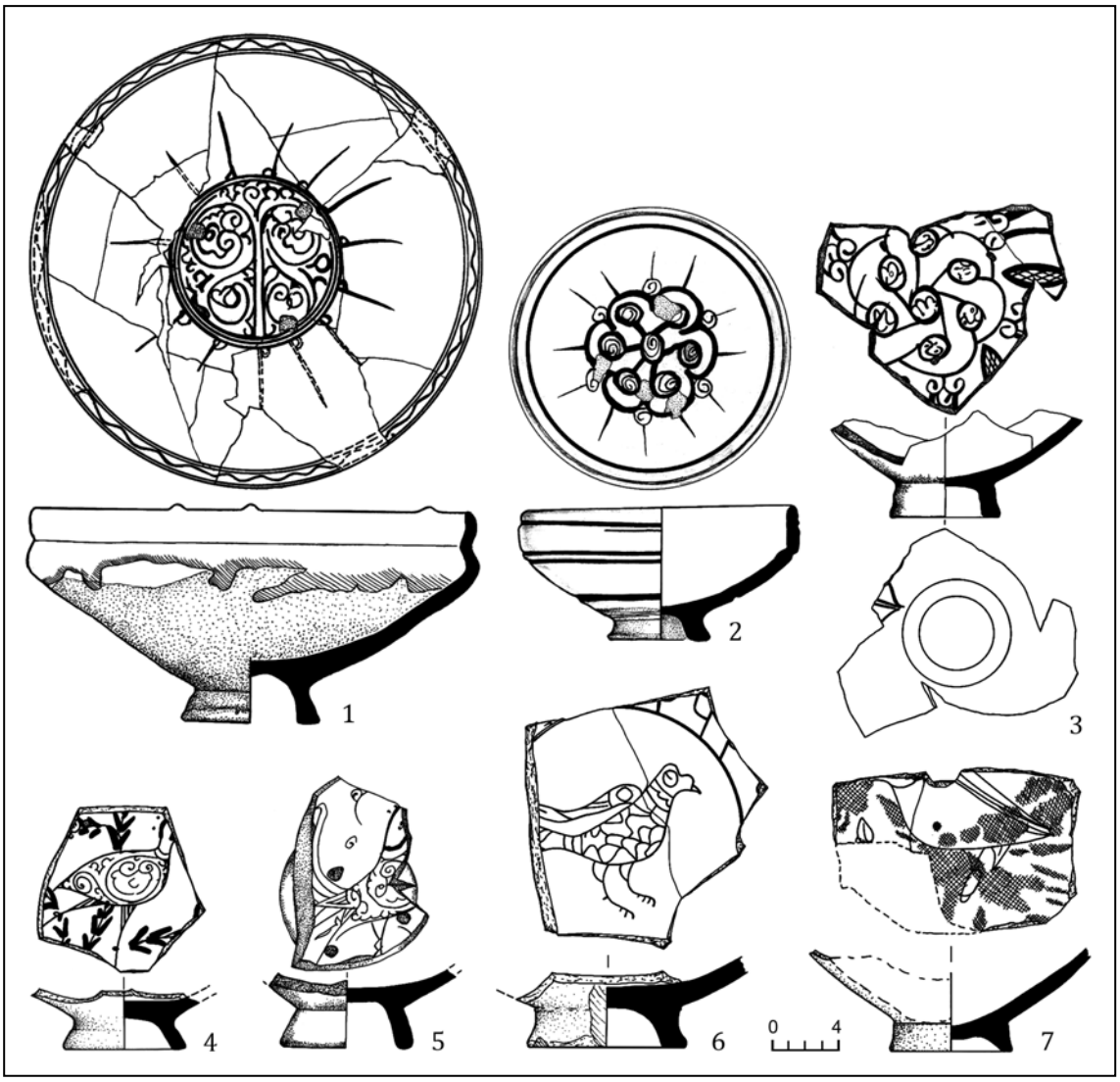

Рис. 7. Керамика Юго-Восточного Крыма из Азова: 1 — большая чаша; 2—7 — чаши (1 — ул. Толстого 41, Р-I, Я-13, 2000 г.; 2 — ул.Р. Люксембург, Р-II, Я-17, 2001 г.; 3 — ул. Толстого 28, Я-2, 1994 г.; 4, 6 — ул. Ленина 53, Я-32, 2007 г.; 5 — ул. Толстого 41—43, Р-II, кв. 6Д, 2000 г.; 7 — ул. Московская 4, Ж-2, 2005 г.).

Fig. 7. Ceramics of South-Eastern Crimea from Azov: 1 — big bowl; 2—7 — bowls (1 — Tolstoy St., 41, dig I, pit 13, 2000; 2 — Rosa Luxemburg St., dig II, pit 17, 2001; 3 — Tolstoy St., 28, pit 2, 1994; 4, 6 — Lenin St., 53, pit 32, 2007; 5 — Tolstoy St., 41—43, dig II, sq. 6D, 2000; 7 — Moskovskaya St., 4, house 2, 2005).

ным в технике сграффито. Среди орнаментальных композиций — концентрические окружности в центре, стилизованное изображение растительного побега на бортике, ленты, расходящиеся от центра с вписанными в них одиночными волнистыми линиями (рис. 1: 5; 14: 5). Единичны образцы с более сложной композицией, с расцветкой орнамента в технике сграффито цветными пятнами, с орнаментацией брызгами марганца. В этот период мастера Юго-Восточного Крыма, вероятно, копировали орнамент, наиболее широко распространенный на массовой византийской поливной керамике. В силу своей единичности, орнаментированные сосуды открытых форм не могут выступать как датирующие материалы.

Встречены также кувшины двух форм — со штампованным орнаментом и винные кувшины с удлиненным слабопрофилированным корпусом, с широким горлом и сливом на венчике (рис. 1: 4; 14: 4). Последний тип, по всей вероятности, появился в результате копирования итальянских протомайоликовых кувшинов, поступавших в это время в Северное Причерноморье (Масловский 2006: 437, 439, рис. 52: 1). Но в отличие от своих прототипов, восточнокрымские кувшины не имели полихромной росписи. Они либо были монохромными, либо орнаментировались пят-

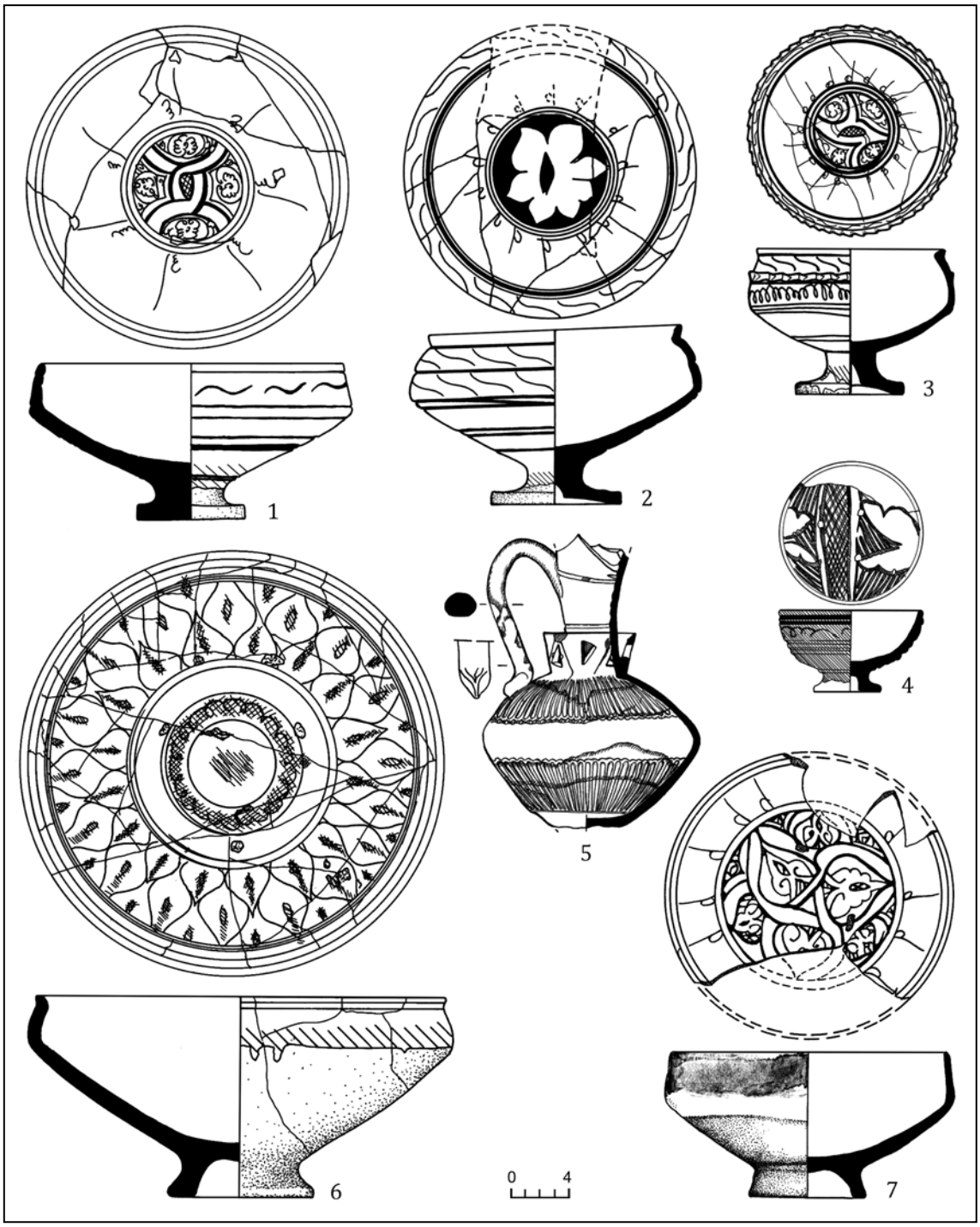

Рис. 8. Керамика Юго-Восточного Крыма из Азова: 1—3, 7 — чаши; 4 — чашечка; 5 — штампованный кувшин; 6 — большая чаша (1—3 — ул. Ленина 46, Я-66, 8, 5, 2004 г.; 4 — случайная находка; 5 — ул. Московская 38/40, Р-III, Я-3, 1996 г.; 6 — ул. Ленинградская 55, Я-2, 2004 г.; 7 — ул. Московская 7, Я-20, 1995 г.).

Fig. 8. Ceramics of South-Eastern Crimea from Azov: 1—3, 7 — bowls; 4 — cup; 5 — stamped jug; 6 — big bowl (1—3 — Lenin St., 46, pit 66, 8, 5, 2004; 4 — stray find; 5 — Moskovskaya St., 38/40, dig III, pit 3, 1996; 6 — Leningradskaya St., 55, pit 2, 2004; 7 — Moskovskaya St., 7, pit 20, 1995).

нами марганца. Забегая вперед, следует отметить, что и сами формы и в особенности орнаменты на сосудах закрытых форм значительно более консервативны по сравнению с чашами и блюдами, и в большинстве своем эти сосуды для датировки не могут быть использованы.

Таким образом, приходится констатировать, что почти единственным надежным датирующим признаком для наиболее ранней

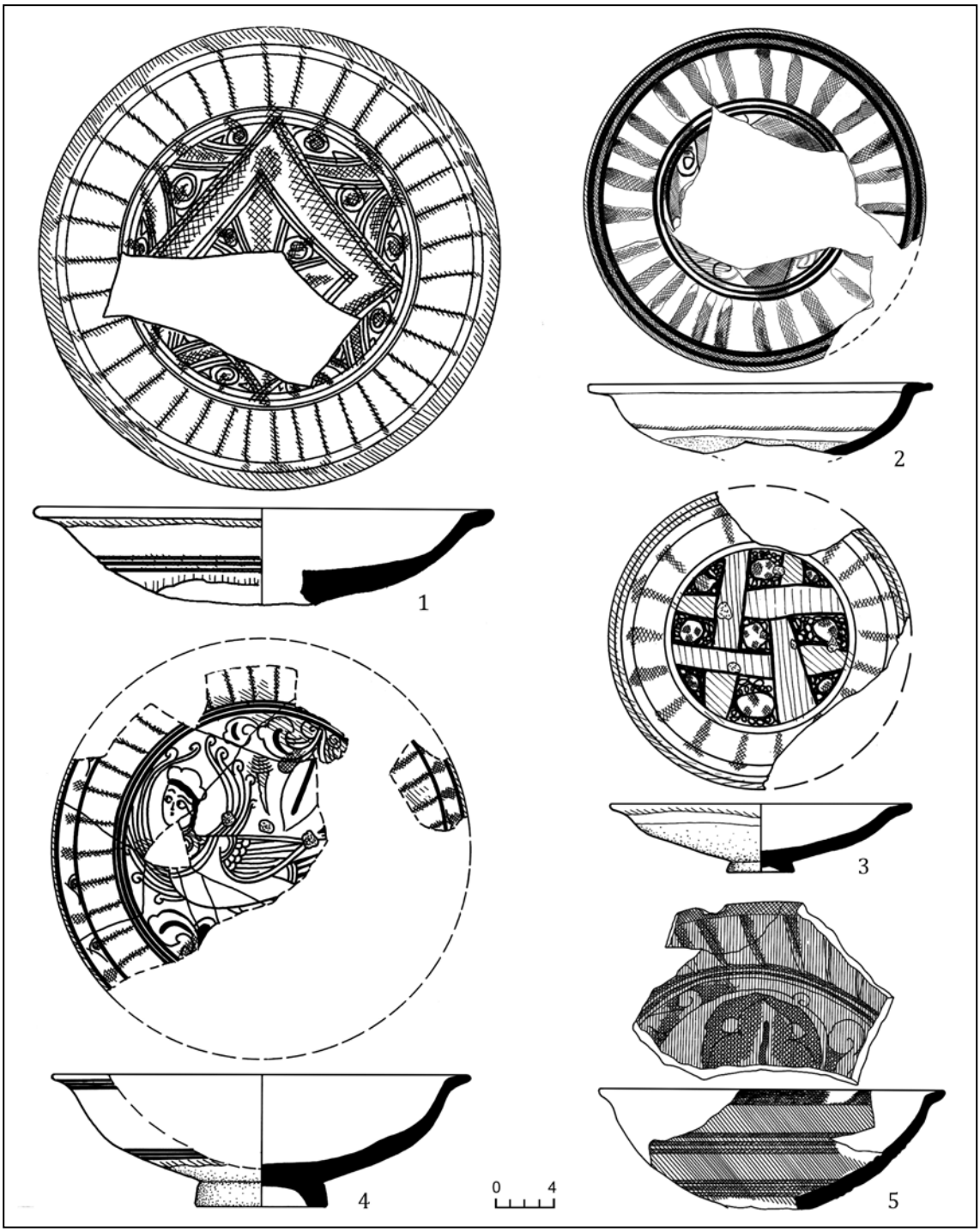

Рис. 9. Керамика Юго-Восточного Крыма из Азова: 1, 2, 4, 5 — блюда; 3 — тарелка (1 — ул. Московская 7, Я-6, 1995 г.; 2 — ул. Чехова 3, Я-5, 1990 г.; 3 — Парк (Мира 4), Я-2, 1989 г.; 4 — ул. Толстого 28, случайная находка, 1972 г.; 5 — ул. Чехова, Дом быта, Я-7, 1975 г.).

Fig. 9. Ceramics of South-Eastern Crimea from Azov: 1, 2, 4, 5 — dishes; 3 — plate (1 — Moskovskaya St., pit 6, 1995; 2 — Chekhov St., 3, pit 5, 1990; 3 — Park (Mira St., 4), pit 2, 1989; 4 — Tolstoy St., 28, stray find, 1972; 5 — Chekhov St., consumer services centre, pit 7, 1975).

поливной керамики Юго-Восточного Крыма XIII в. является преобладание среди сосудов открытых форм неорнаментированных изделий. Это предполагает наличие в распоряжении исследователя более или менее значительной выборки черепков из заполнения закрытого комплекса или из слоя памятника, существовавшего непродолжительное время. Но даже эти, скудные данные оказываются небесполезными. Например, они позволяют

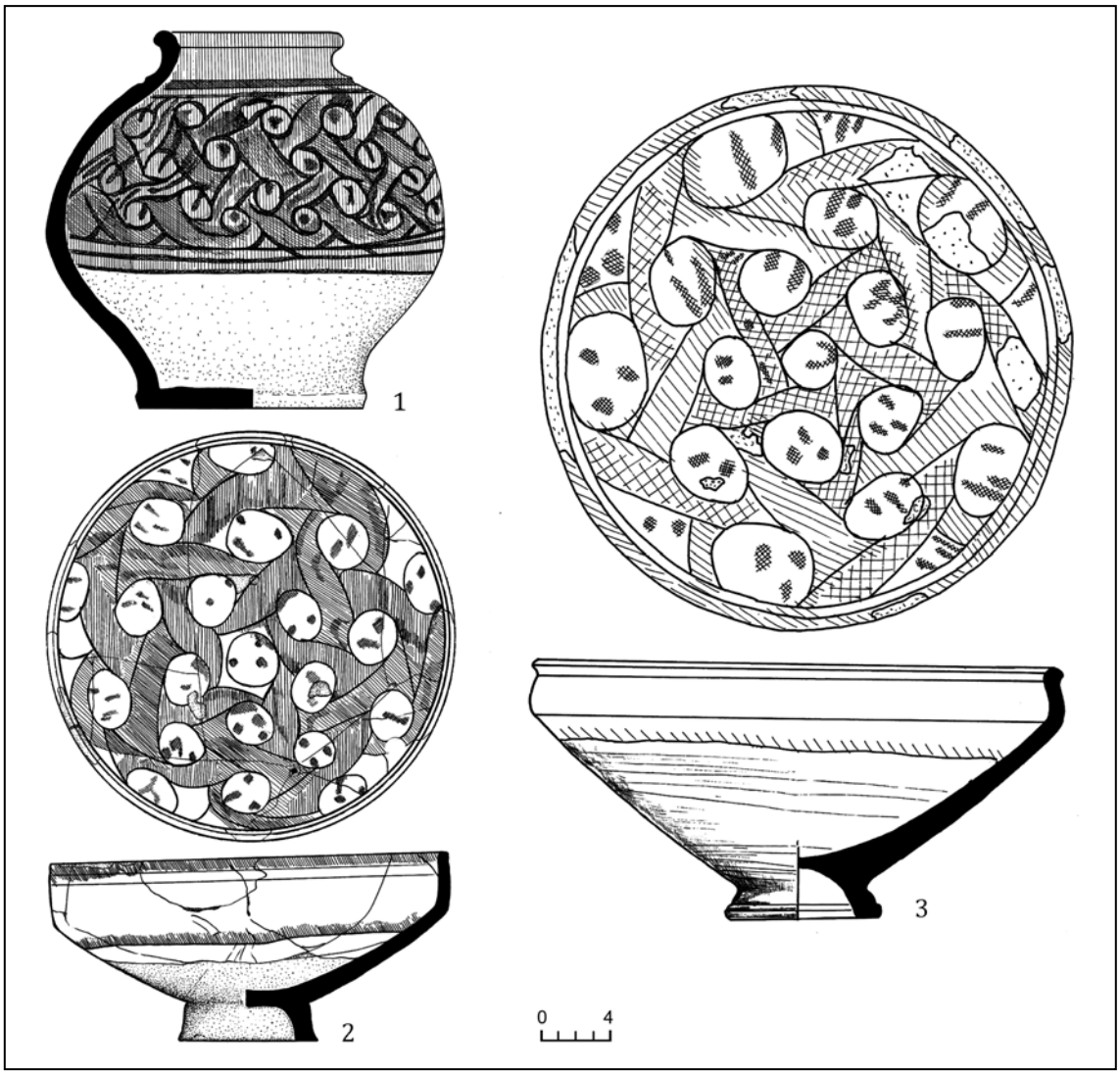

Рис. 10. Керамика Юго-Восточного Крыма из Азова: 1 — ваза; 2, 3 — большие чаши (1 — ул. Чехова 3, Я-24, 1990 г.; 2 — ул. Толстого 41, кв. 4И, 2001 г.; 3 — ул. Чехова 8, Я-9, 1991 г.).

Fig. 10. Ceramics of South-Eastern Crimea from Azov: 1 — vase; 2, 3 — big bowls (1 — Chekhov St., 3, pit 24, 1990; 2 — Tolstoy St., 41, sq. 4 I, 2001; 3 — Chekhov St., 8, pit 9, 1991).

датировать поселение Посидима (Коктебель) (Бочаров 2007: 17, рис. 3) 4-й четвертью XIII в.

Материалы из комплексов с монетами 1310—1320-х в настоящее время могут быть рассмотрены лишь очень бегло. Причина этого не только в малочисленности комплексов этих временных отрезков, но и в немногочисленности и фрагментарности в них сосудов производства Юго-Восточного Крыма. В настоящий момент проблематично выделить серии изделий, специфичных только для этих десятилетий. Одним из редких исключений является немногочисленная серия блюд с несколькими узкими поясками линейного орнамента (рис. 1: 8; 14: 6), отмеченная в комплексах 1320-х гг. По-прежнему распространены сосуды открытых форм, с простейшими орнаментами, копирующими византийские образцы (одиночная волна между прямых) (рис. 1: 7; 14: 8). Находка тарелки с такой орнаментацией на поселении у р. Байбуги (Айбабина 2005: 233, рис. 7: 1) позволяет отнести время возникновения этого памятника к 1-й четверти XIV в. Такой дате не противоречат и другие находки поливной керамики и монет с этого поселения. Это существенно корректирует дату, предложенную Е. А. Айбабиной для данного памятника: 2-я половина — конец XIV в. (Айбабина 2005: 235). В это время появляются серии, более характерные для последующего периода: большие чаши с крупными розетками во все орнаментальное поле (Дмитриенко, Масловский

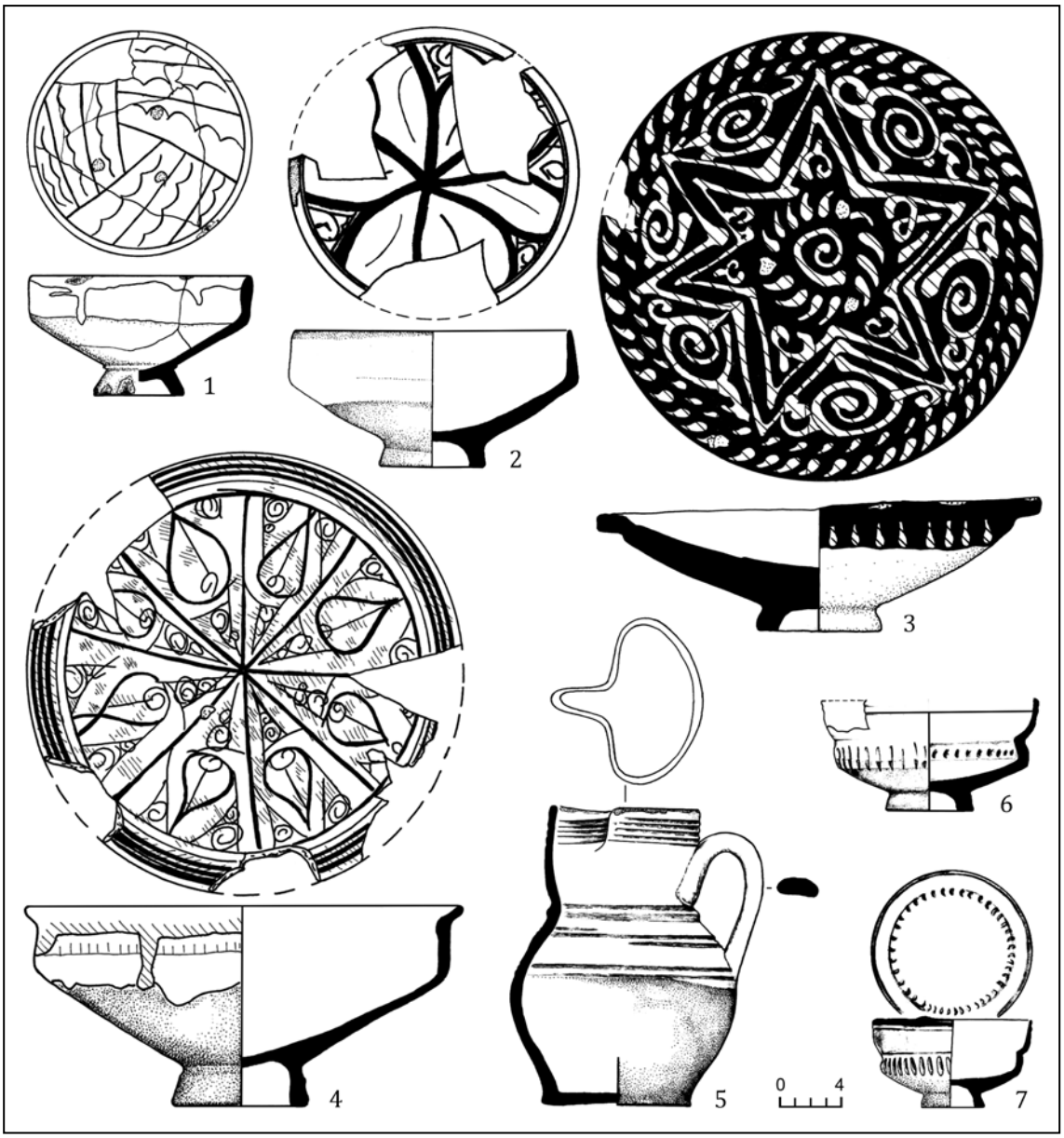

Рис. 11. Керамика Юго-Восточного Крыма из Азова: 1, 2, 6, 7 — чаши; 3 — блюдо; 4 — большая чаша; 5 — кувшин (1 — ул. Мира 35А, Я-9, 2002 г.; 2, 4—7 — ул. Московская 7, Я-6 (2, 5—7), Я-20 (4), 1995 г.; 3 — ул. Калинина 73, Я-1А, 2004 г.).

Fig. 11. Ceramics of South-Eastern Crimea from Azov: 1, 2, 6, 7 — bowls; 3 — dish; 4 — big bowl; 5 — jug (1 — Mira St., 35A, pit 9, 2002; 2, 4—7 — Moskovskaya St., pit 6 (2, 5—7), pit 20 (4), 1995; 3 — Kalinin St., 73, pit 1A, 2004).

2006: рис. 3: 1, 14), кувшины с биконическим туловом, расписанные вертикальными полосами двух цветов. Появляются чаши с росписью ангобом (рис. 1: 6; 14: 7). Уменьшается доля неорнаментированных сосудов открытых форм (менее 40%).

Наибольшее число выделенных на настоящее время узко датированных серий относится к 1330-м годам. Причиной этого является то, что комплексы этого периода составляют более 1/2 всех закрытых комплексов, исследованных в Азаке. Кроме этого, складывается впечатление, что происходит некая стандартизация производства в гончарных центрах Юго-Восточного Крыма. Как следствие, велико сходство состава поливной керамики между комплексами с достаточно большим числом находок. Это позволяет исправить некоторые ошибки исследователей. Так, один из наиболее своеобразных комплексов Азака был датирован на основании определения одной из трех монет плохой сохранности 1352—1353 гг. (Ларенок 2000: 55; Романчук, Перевозчиков 1990: 101). Между тем, по боль-

Рис. 12. Керамика Юго-Восточного Крыма из Азова. Чаши (1—5, 7 — ул. Московская 7, Я-6 (1, 2, 5, 7), Я-21 (3, 4), 1995 г.; 6 — ул. Ленина, случайная находка, 1983 г.; 8 — ул. Толстого 41—43, кв. 3Ж, 2000 г.; 9 — ул. Измайлова 49, Я-7, 1990 г.).

Fig. 12. Ceramics of South-Eastern Crimea from Azov: Bowls (1—5, 7 — Moskovskaya St., pit 6 (1, 2, 5, 7), pit 21 (3, 4), 1995; 6 — Lenin St., stray find, 1983; 8 — Tolstoy St., 41—43, sq. 3Ж, 2000; 9 — Izmailov St., 49, pit 7, 1990).

шинству признаков эта яма может с вероятностью немногим менее 100%, датироваться 1330-ми гг.

Самой многочисленной серией являются сосуды открытых форм, орнаментированные брызгами «марганца» (рис. 2; 3; 15). В некоторых комплексах её доля достигает 40% (Масловский 2008: 96, рис. 6: 1, 4; 7: 2—7; 23: 2). Можно заметить некоторые стилистические различия в том, как именно на-

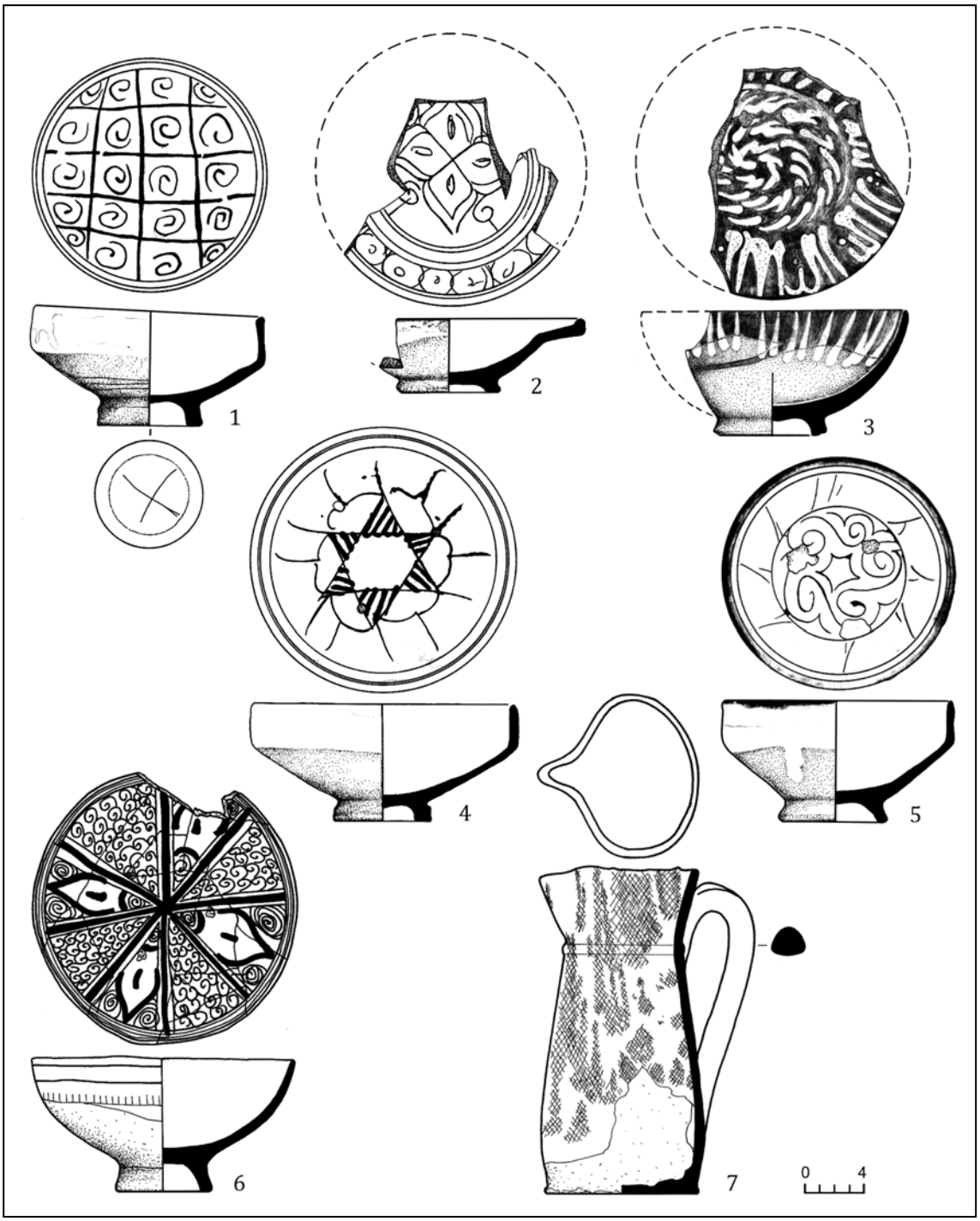

Рис. 13. Керамика Юго-Восточного Крыма из Азова: 1—6 — чаши; 7 — кувшин (1—5 — ул. Московская 7, Я-6 (1), Я-25 (2—5), 1995 г.; 6, 7 — ул. Чехова, Я-11, Я-13, 1988 г.).

Fig. 13. Ceramics of South-Eastern Crimea from Azov: 1—6 — bowls; 7 — jug (1—5 — Moskovskaya St., 7, pit 6 (1), pit 25 (2—5), 1995; 6, 7 — Chekhov St., pit 11, pit 13, 1988).

несены пятна красителя на чашу. Нужно подчеркнуть, что, в отличие от чаш, винные кувшины с удлиненным корпусом, орнаментированные пятнами «марганца», бытовали весь период существования Азака (рис. 13: 7; 25: 7). Эта серия представлена на территории Восточной Европы очень широко. Она встречена, в частности, на территории Руси (Коваль 2010: 115—116, рис. 39: 5—6; цв. ил. 42: 2, 3), в Болгаре (Полубояринова 2008: 63, вкл., ил. VI, 4), Укеке, Водянском городище.

На втором месте по численности чаши с узким орнаментальным поясом, стилизованным растительным декором, вокруг крупного

Рис. 14. Керамика Юго-Восточного Крыма из Азова: 1—3, 7 — чаши; 4 — кувшин; 5, 6, 8 — блюда (1, 4, 5 — ул. Р. Люксембург, Р-I, Я-6, 1992 г.; 2, 3 — ул. Р. Люксембург, Р-II, Я-5, 2001 г.; 6 — ул. Толстого 41, Я-87, 2003 г.; 7, 8 — ул. К. Либкнехта 12, Р-II, Я-2, 2003г.).

Fig. 14. Ceramics of South-Eastern Crimea from Azov: 1—3, 7 — bowls; 4 — jug; 5, 6, 8 — dishes (1, 4, 5 — Rosa Luxemburg St., dig I. pit 6, 1992; 2, 3 — Rosa Luxemburg St., P-II, pit 5, 2001; 6 — Tolstoy St., 41, pit 87, 2003; 7, 8 — Karl Liebknecht St., 12, dig II, pit 2, 2003).

центрального неорнаментированного медальона (рис. 4: 1—6; 19: 1—4). Растительный декор на этих чашах стилизован до предела, до отдельных лепестков и спиралей, за которыми можно только угадывать растительный побег. В редких случаях в медальон помещались иные фигуры (рис. 4: 5; 19: 4).

На данный хронологический отрезок приходится максимальное распространение

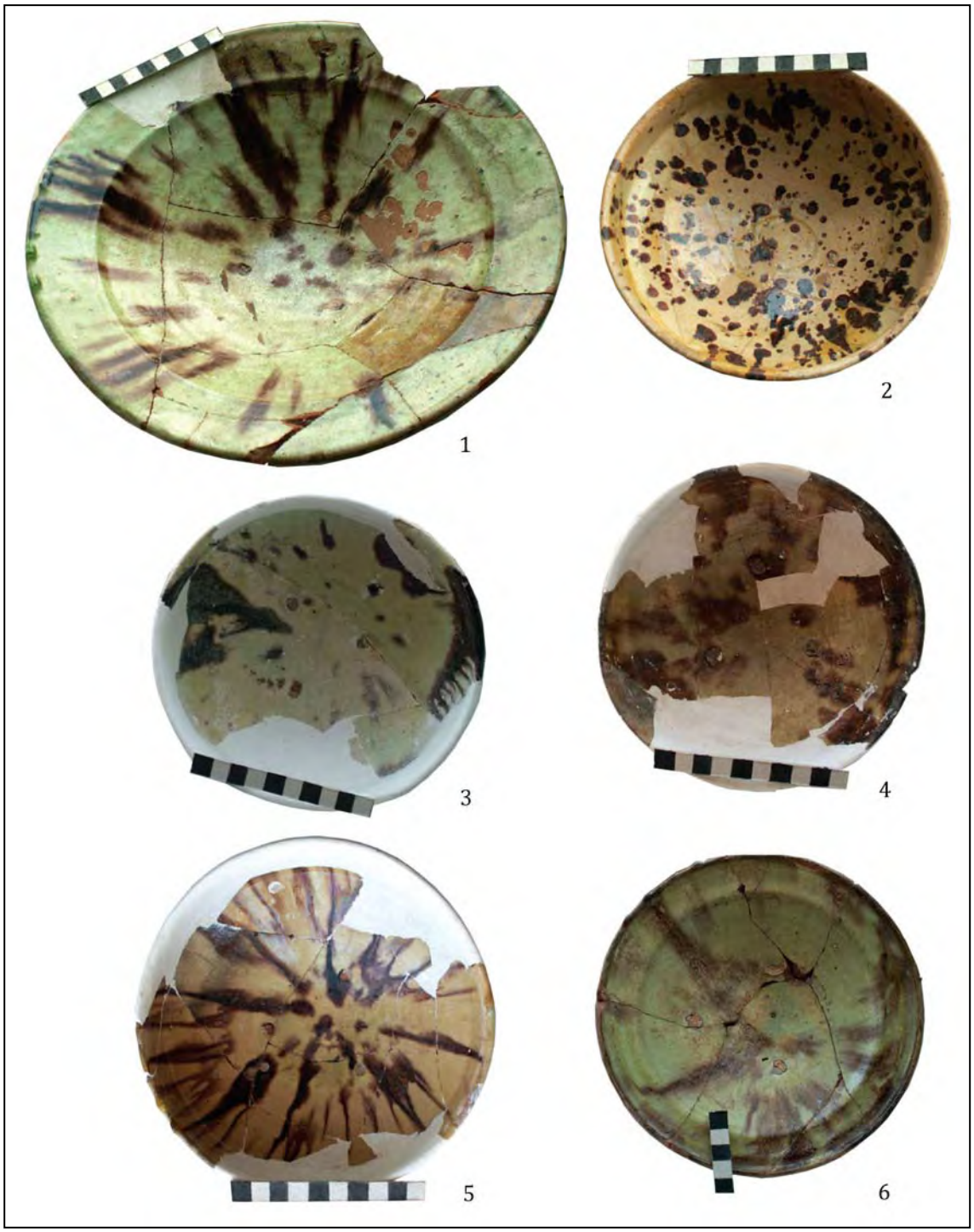

Рис. 15. Керамика Юго-Восточного Крыма из Азова: 1 — блюдо; 2—5 — чаши; 6 — тарелка (1 — ул. К. Либкнехта 12, Р-I, кв. 4А, 1985 г.; 2 — ул. Толстого 2, Я-12, 1984 г.; 3—5 — ул. Московская 38/40, Р-V, Я-21, Я-3, 1999 г.; 6 — ул. Толстого 41—43, Я-25, 2000 г.).

Fig. 15. Ceramics of South-Eastern Crimea from Azov: 1 — dish; 2—5 — bowls; 6 — plate (1 — K. Liebknecht St., 12, dig I, sq. 4A, 1985; 2 — Tolstoy St., 2, pit 12, 1984; 3—5 — Moskovskaya St., 38/40, dig V, pit 21, pit 3, 1999; 6 — Tolstoy St., 41—43, pit 25, 2000).

штампованных кувшинов с раздутой нижней частью горла (рис. 4: 7, 9; 19: 5, 7). Хотя нужно ещё раз отметить, что штампованная поливная керамика является весьма консервативной, и фрагментированный материал не может быть использован для уточнения датировок.

К этому же хронологическому отрезку относится большинство крупных чаш и блюд, орнаментированных розетками, занимаю-

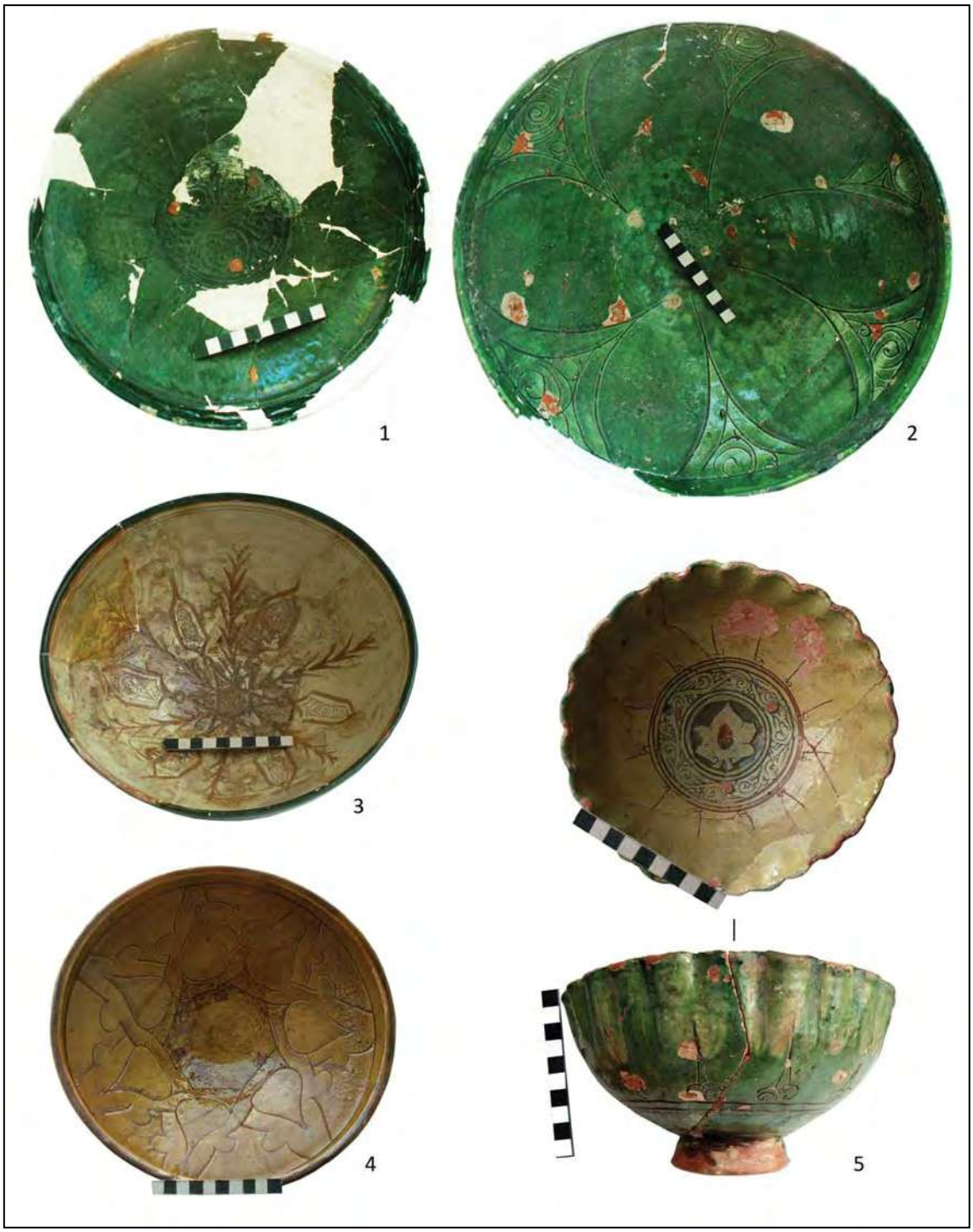

Рис. 16. Керамика Юго-Восточного Крыма из Азова: 1—4 — большие чаши; 5 — чаша (1—2 — ул. Толстого 41, Я-13, 2000 г., Ж-40, 2002 г.; 3 — ул. Чехова, Я-14, 1988 г.; 4 — ул. Ленина 46, Я-6, 2003 г.; 5 — ул. К. Либкнехта 12, Р-I, Я-8, 1985 г.).

Fig. 16. Ceramics of South-Eastern Crimea from Azov: 1—4 — big bowls; 5 — bowl (1—2 — Tolstoy St., 41, pit 13, 2000, house 40, 2002; 3 — Chekhov St., pit 14, 1988; 4 — Lenin St., 46, pit 6, 2003; 5 — Karl Liebknecht St., 12, dig I, pit 8, 1985).

щими всё орнаментальное поле с крупными лепестками (рис. 5: 1, 4; 6: 1, 2, 5; 16: 2, 4; 17: 1, 2, 4), хотя, как уже было сказано, они отмечены ещё в 1-й четверти XIV века. Собственно, они в деталях существенно различаются, и в дальнейшем среди них можно выделить несколько серий. Например, одной из серий, более характерной для чаш среднего размера, является розетка из крупных каплевидных лепестков, размещенных во-

Рис. 17. Керамика Юго-Восточного Крыма из Азова: 1, 3, 4 — большие чаши; 2 — блюдо; 5 — кувшин; 6 — чаша (1—3 — ул. Чехова, Я-13, Я-12, 1988 г.; 4, 6 — ул. Чехова 8, Я-14, 1991 г.; 5 — ул. Московская 38/40, Р-V, Я-21, 1999 г.).

Fig. 17. Ceramics of South-Eastern Crimea from Azov: 1, 3, 4 — big bowls; 2 — dish; 5 — jug; 6 — bowl (1—3 — Chekhov St., pit 13, pit 12, 1988; 4, 6 — Chekhov St., 8, pit 14, 1991; 5 — Moskovskaya St., 38/40, dig V, pit 21, 1999).

круг пяти- шестиугольной фигуры, расположенной в центре (рис. 6: 5; 17: 4). Некоторые из чаш и блюд, с крупными розетками, сочетают орнамент в технике сграффито с полихромной расцветкой (рис. 6: 1, 2, 5; 17: 1, 2, 4). Вообще в 1-й половине XIV века для поливной керамики производства Юго-Восточного Крыма подобная техника орнаментации была редкостью (1—5%) (Масловский 2008: 96), что само по себе является датирующим признаком. Для полихромной керамики этого периода характерно, что цветные пятна имеют четкие границы, и они согласованы с контурами гравированного орнамента (рис. 6:

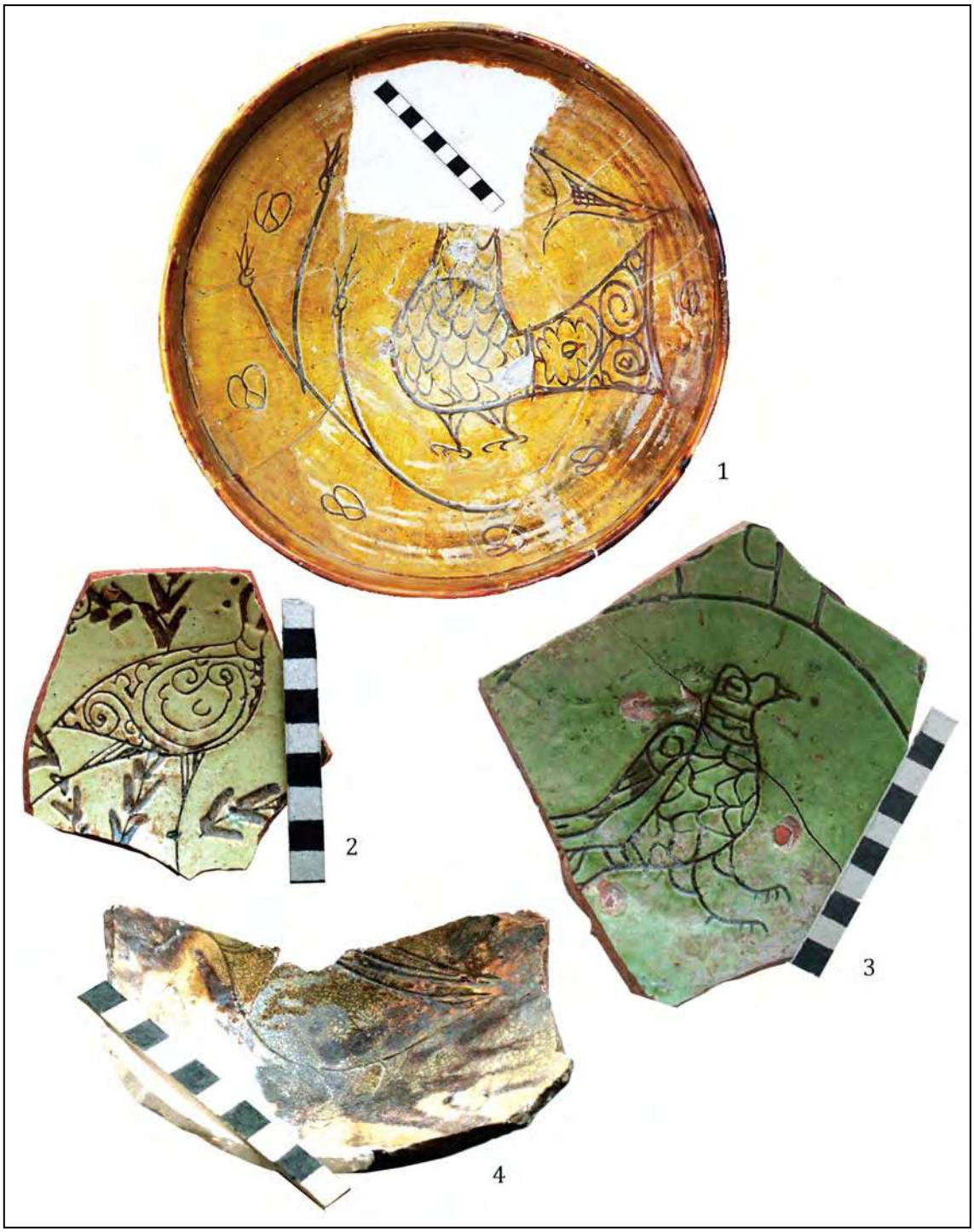

Рис. 18. Керамика Юго-Восточного Крыма из Азова: 1 — большая чаша; 2—4 — чаши (1 — пер. Социалистический, Я-8, 1978 г.; 2, 3 — ул. Ленина 53, Я-32, 2007 г.; 4 — ул. Московская 4, Ж-2, 2005 г.).

Fig. 18. Ceramics of South-Eastern Crimea from Azov: 1 — big bowl; 2—4 — bowls (1 — Sotsialistichesky Line, pit 8, 1978; 2, 3 — Lenin St., 53, pit 32, 2007; 4 — Moskovskaya St., 4, house 2, 2005).

2—5; 17: 2, 4), исключения редки (рис. 6: 1; 17: 1). Одной из редких, но характерных только для 1330-х гг. серий, являются кувшины, орнаментированные вертикальными восьмерковидными фигурами (рис. 6: 3; 17: 5). Подобные кувшины, кажется, были обнаружены в Херсонесе в слое пожара XIV в. (Романчук 2000: 197, рис. 110; 111: 4). Таким образом, слой пожара XIV в. в Херсонесе может быть датирован не позже конца 1-й половины XIV в. Это подтверждают и другие находки из этого слоя пожара, которые име-

Рис. 19. Керамика Юго-Восточного Крыма из Азова: 1—4 — чаши; 5, 7 — штампованные кувшины; 6 — большая чаша (1, 5 — ул. Толстого 2, Я-1, 1984 г.; 2 — ул. Чехова, Я-13, 1988 г.; 3 — ул. Московская 38/40, Р-IV, Я-3, 1998 г.; 4 — ул. Чехова, Я-11, 1988 г.; 6 — ул. Московская 38/40, Р-V, Я-12, 1999 г.; 7 — ул. Толстого 41, Р-II, Я-35, 2001 г.).

Fig. 19. Ceramics of South-Eastern Crimea from Azov: 1—4 — bowls; 5, 7 — stamped jugs; 6 — big bowl (1, 5 — Tolstoy St., 2, pit 1, 1984; 2 — Chekhov St., pit 13, 1988; 3 — Moskovskaya St., 38/40, dig IV, pit 3, 1998; 4 — Chekhov St., pit 11, 1988; 6 — Moskovskaya St., 38/40, dig V, pit 12, 1999; 7 — Tolstoy St., 41, dig II, pit 35, 2001).

ют четкие аналогии в закрытых комплексах Азака (Романчук 2000: рис. 116: 6; 118; 120: 4). Непонятно и то, в какой мере представленный набор посуды вообще можно считать единовременным. Совершенно исключена датировка слоя пожара, предлагаемая А. И. Романчук, — 1395—1396 гг. (Романчук 2000: 185).

Также характерны для этого периода чаши среднего размера, с сегментовидным туловом, с полихромной расцветкой орнамента, выполненного в технике сграффито (рис. 17: 6). Орнамент, как правило, ограничен стилизованными цветочными розетками.

Своеобразной формой, характерной для 1330-х гг., но встречающейся и в 1350-е гг., яв-

Рис. 20. Керамика Юго-Восточного Крыма из Азова: 1, 2, 5 — чаши; 3 — штампованный кувшин; 4 — большая чаша; 6 — блюдо (1 — ул. Ленина 46, Я-66, 2004 г.; 2 — ул. Ленина 46, Я-8, 2003 г.; 3 — ул. Московская 38/40, Р-III, Я-4, 1996 г.; 4 — ул. Ленинградская 55, Я-2, 2004 г.; 5 — ул. Московская 7, Я-20, 1995 г., 6 — ул. Дзержинского 49, Я-46, 2009 г.).

Fig. 20. Ceramics of South-Eastern Crimea from Azov: 1, 2, 5 — bowls; 3 — stamped jug; 4 — big bowl; 6 — dish (1 — Lenin St., 46, pit 66, 2004; 2 — Lenin St., 46, pit 8, 2003; 3 — Moskovskaya St., 38/40, dig III, pit 4, 1996; 4 — Leningradskaya St., 55, pit 2, 2004; 5 — Moskovskaya St., 7, pit 20, 1995, 6 — Dzerzhinsky St., 49, pit 46, 2009).

Рис. 21. Керамика Юго-Восточного Крыма из Азова: 1, 3 — тарелки; 2, 4, 5 — блюда (1—2 — ул. Привокзальная 12, Ж-7, 2, 2008 г.; 3 — Парк (Мира 4), Я-2, 1989 г.; 4 — ул. Чехова 3, Я-5, 1997 г.; 5 — ул. Толстого 28, случайная находка, 1972 г.).

Fig. 21. Ceramics of South-Eastern Crimea from Azov: 1, 3 — plates; 2, 4, 5 — dishes (1—2 — Privokzalnaya St., 12, house 7, 2, 2008; 3 — Park (Mira St., 4), pit 2, 1989; 4 — Chekhov St., 3, pit 5, 1997; 5 — Tolstoy St., 28, stray find, 1972).

ляются чаши с венчиком, оформленным мелкими фестонами (рис. 5: 2, 3; 16: 5). В центре чаши размещена некрупная розетка, с незаполненным вокруг неё полем. Сами розетки различаются по форме. Сами чаши также различаются степенью стилизации формы под чашечку цветка. В одних случаях гофрировано всё тулово, и снаружи проходит ряд стилизованных листочков (рис. 5: 2). У более поздних, по-видимому, образцов гофрирован только венчик (рис. 5: 3). Подобные чаши раннего варианта встречены в Болгаре (Полубояринова 2008: 61, рис. 6).

Отметим ещё несколько серий, орнаментация которых наиболее стандартизирована.

Первая. В центре чаши двойной или тройной линией выделен крупный округлый медальон (рис. 6: 1; 16: 1). От него расходят-

Рис. 22. Керамика Юго-Восточного Крыма из Азова: 1 — ваза; 2 — большая чаша; 3—6 — чаши (1 — ул. Чехова 3, Я-24, 1990 г.; 2 — ул. Толстого 41, кв. 4И, 2001 г.; 3, 4, 6 — ул. Московская 7, Я-21 (3), Я-21 (4, 6), 1995 г.; 5 — ул. Ленина, случайная находка, 1983 г.).

Fig. 22. Ceramics of South-Eastern Crimea from Azov: 1 — vase; 2 — big bowl; 3—6 — bowls (1 — Chekhov St., pit 24, 1990; 2 — Tolstoy St., 41, square 4 И,, 2001; 3, 4, 6 — Moskovskaya St., pit 21 (3), pit 21 (4, 6), 1995; 5 — Lenin St., stray find, 1983).

Рис. 23. Керамика Юго-Восточного Крыма из Азова: 1, 2, 4—6: — чаши; 3 — блюдо; 7 — кувшин (1, 5—7 — ул. Московская 7, Я-6, 1995 г.; 2 — ул. Мира 35А, Я-9, 2002 г.; 3 — ул. Калинина 73, Я-1А, 2004 г.; 4 — ул. К. Либкнехта Р-I, Я-18, 1985 г.).

Fig. 23. Ceramics of South-Eastern Crimea from Azov: 1, 2, 4—6 — bowls; 3 — dish; — jug (1, 5—7 — Moskovskaya St., 7, pit 6, 1995; 2 — Mira St., 35A, pit 9, 2002; 3 — Kalinin St., 73, pit 1A, 2004; 4 — Karl Liebknecht St., dig I, pit 18, 1985).

ся лучи с маленькими завитками у основания. Медальон заполнен мелким рисунком, со стилизованными растительными мотивами (мелкие спиралевидные побеги, оканчивающиеся цветками?). Таким же растительным элементом являются и «лучи», расходящиеся от медальона. Они, вероятно, изображали засыхающие листья, окружающие цветок, или тычинки цветка, а возможно, новые ростки. Чаши этой серии встречены в Болгаре (Полубояринова 2008: ил. VI: 3).

Вторая. В центре композиции крупная шестилепестковая розетка, образованная переплетением лент (рис. 6: 2, 3). В округлые сердцевины розетки и каждого ее лепестка вписан спиралевидный завиток. От розет-

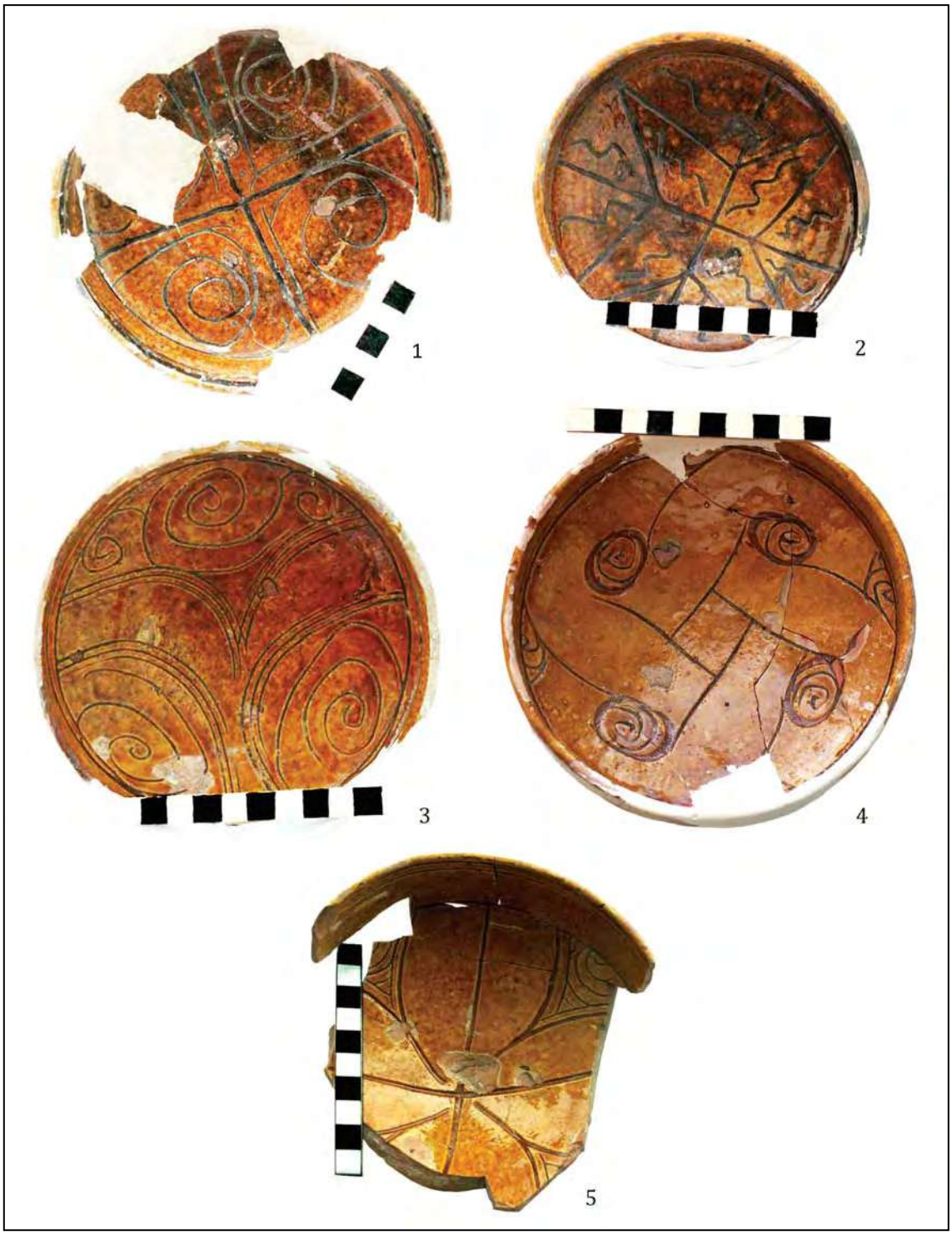

Рис. 24. Керамика Юго-Восточного Крыма из Азова. Чаши (1—3 — ул. Московская 7, Я-6 (1—2), Я-21 (3), 1995 г.; 4 — ул. Щорса 7, Я-6, 2007 г.; 5 — ул. Толстого 67, Я-16, 2008 г.).

Fig. 24. Ceramics of South-Eastern Crimea from Azov. Bowls (1—3 — Moskovskaya St., 7 pit 6 (1—2), pit 21 (3), 1995; 4 — Shchors St., 7, pit 6, 2007; 5 — Tolstoy St., 67, pit 16, 2008).

ки расходятся лучи с маленькими завитками у основания. Иногда композиция усложнена дополнительными элементами, например, узкими листьями (рис. 6: 3). Исходя из наличия дополнительных элементов, серия в будущем должна быть разделена. Подобные сосуды представлены среди опубликованных находок из Судака (Баранов, Майко 1998:

Рис. 25. Керамика Юго-Восточного Крыма из Азова: 1, 3, 4—6, 8 — чаши; 2 — тарелка; 7, 9 — кувшины (1—5 — ул. Московская 7, Я-6 (1), Я-25 (2—5), 1995 г.; 6, 7 — ул. Чехова, Я-11, Я-13, 1988 г.).

Fig. 25. Ceramics of South-Eastern Crimea from Azov: 1, 3, 4—6, 8 — bowls; 2 — plate; 7, 9 — jugs (1—5 — Moskovskaya St., 7, pit 6 (1), pit 25 (2—5), 1995; 6, 7 — Chekhov St., pit 11, pit 13, 1988).

рис. 1: 4), Херсонеса (Романчук 2003: 72, табл. 56: 185), Болгара (Полубояринова 2008: ил. V: 5).

Третья. Чаши с изображением стоящей птицы (рис. 7: 4—7; 18). Единственной находкой представлена композиция с птицами, идущими по кругу (рис. 17: 3). Конечно, птицы продолжали изображаться и позже, но именно на 1330-е гг. приходится большая часть найденных сосудов с ними. Тулово птицы часто заполнено мелкими спиралевидными побегами-завитками, оканчивающимися плодами (?), но в целом следует отметить, что стилистика изображения птиц не стандартизирована. Иногда длинноногая птица изображена среди длинных побегов с попарно расположенными листьями (рис. 7: 4; 18: 2). Листья изображены путем выскабливания ангоба. Такие чаши встречены также при раскопках Судака (Баранов, Майко 1998: рис. 3: 3). В редких случаях гравированное изображение птицы дополнено полихромной расцветкой (рис. 17: 3; 18: 4). Изображения птиц не исчерпывают зооморфных сюже-

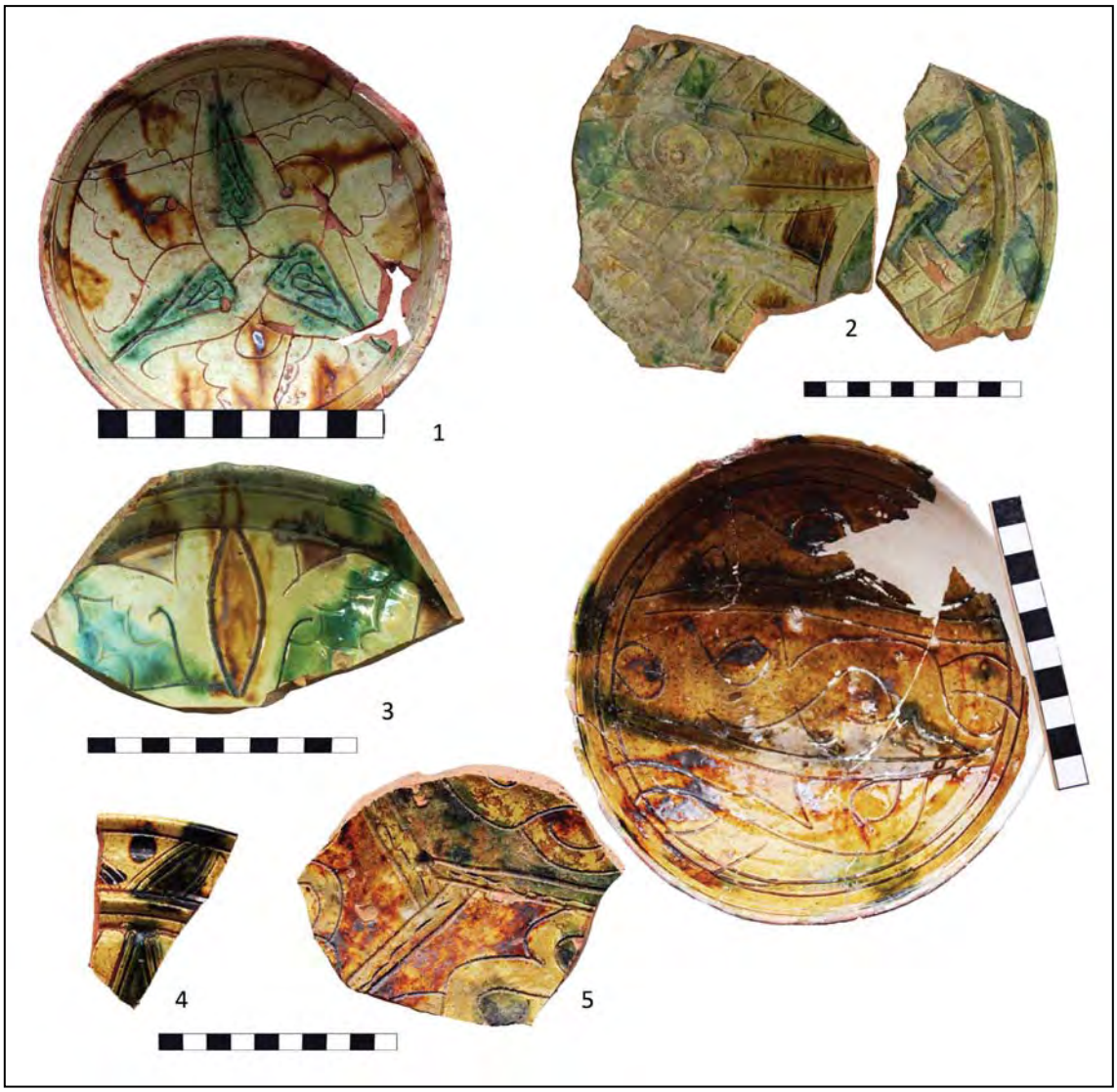

Рис. 26. Керамика Юго-Восточного Крыма из Азова: 1, 3, 5, 6 — чаши; 2, 4 — блюда (1, 4—6 — ул. Мира 35А, Р-II, Ж-1, Я-Г (1), Я-1 (4—6), 2009 г.; 2 — ул. Ленина 53, Я-24В, 2007 г.; 3 — ул. Толстого 67, Я-17А, 2008 г.).

Fig. 26. Ceramics of South-Eastern Crimea from Azov: 1, 3, 5, 6 — bowls; 2, 4 — dishes (1, 4—6 — Mira St., 35A, dig II, house 1, pit Г (1), pit 1 (4—6), 2009; 2 — Lenin St., 53, pit 24V, 2007; 3 — Tolstoy St., 67, pit 17A, 2008).

тов на восточнокрымской керамике 1330-х гг. Встречаются, хотя и достаточно редко, изображения кошачьих хищников в геральдических позах (рис. 19: 6) (Дмитриенко 2010: рис. 3, 5).

К более редким сериям относятся сосуды, на которых сочетается изображение крупных шестиугольных цветочных бутонов и побегов с попарно расположенными листьями, изображенными путем выскабливания (рис. 16: 3). Внутри бутонов в рамке помещены сильно стилизованные растительные побеги. Размещение элементов на орнаментальном поле может различаться.

В 1330—1350-е гг. некоторое распространение получают сложнопрофилированные чаши-кубки на ножке с широким дисковидным поддоном (рис. 8: 1—4; 20: 1, 2). При всей вариабельности орнаментов на них, следует отметить преобладание композиций в крупных округлых медальонах с расходящимися от них лучами с завитками у основания.

Около середины XIV века в составе поливной керамики происходят заметные изменения. Широкое распространение получает продукция Каффы, которая несколько оттесняет преобладавшие до этого изделия Солхата. Изменение многих форм керамики, например, крупных чаш, блюд, некоторое изменение ассортимента, возможно, отчасти связано именно с этой сменой поставщиков. Резко увеличивается доля сосудов

открытых форм, с полихромной расцветкой орнамента в технике сграффито. При этом, цветные пятна часто имеют размытые границы и не согласуются по контурам с гравированными линиями. Причина этого, вероятно, в изменении техники окраски. Если ранее роспись выполнялась пигментами, то теперь для расцветки стали использовать окрашенные глазури, что приводило к большой диффузии красителя. Для гравировки начинает использоваться двух-трехзубый резец, хотя на протяжении 2-й половины XIV в. сосуды с такой орнаментацией составляют меньшинство.

К редким случаям, когда штампованные сосуды бытовали недолго, относятся кувшины, все тулово которых покрыто мелкими вертикальными валиками (рис. 8: 5; 20: 3). На больших чашах орнаменты мельчают, занимая все поле (рис. 8: 6; 20: 4). Хотя ещё в 1350-е встречаются крупные сосуды с очень скудной орнаментацией, характерной для предшествующего периода (рис. 20: 6). Уменьшается число самих больших чаш, хотя, здесь дело возможно в изменении неких бытовых привычек горожан Азака, что привело к более редкому попаданию в закрытые комплексы крупно фрагментированного материала. Измельчание орнамента, при том, что он стал занимать большую площадь, чем ранее, распространилось и на чаши среднего размера (рис. 8: 7; 20: 5). Крупные розетки, исчезнувшие с больших чаш, продолжали бытовать на чашах среднего размера (рис. 11: 2; 23: 1).

На середину XIV в. приходится распространение чаш разного размера, чье орнаментальное поле разделено на сектора, заполненные стилизованным растительным орнаментом, центр которого занимает крупный бутон (рис. 11: 4). Эта серия также широко представлена среди местной продукции Азака (Масловский 2012в: 22, рис. 12: 3—6, 8; 34: 2; 35: 1).

На середину 3-й четверти XIV в. приходится распространение кувшинов с высоким биконическим туловом на кольцевом поддоне, с орнаментом сграффито (рис. 25: 9). При этом количество сосудов закрытых форм с орнаментом в технике сграффито среди продукции Юго-Восточного Крыма в целом очень мало.

Хотя роспись ангобом использовалась на поливных сосудах Юго-Восточного Крыма с начала XIV в., сколь-нибудь заметное распространение она получила только во 2-й половине XIV в. На абсолютном большинстве сосудов, орнамент ограничен многоярусной вихревой розеткой, образованной мелкими лепестками в форме запятых, которые являются до предела стилизованными изображениями ныряющих рыбок. Эти сосуды для уточнения датировок использоваться не могут. Но небольшое число сосудов, во 2-й половине XIV в., покрыто сложными композициями (рис. 11: 3; 23: 3, 4). К сожалению, немногочисленность таких находок заставляет датировать их с точностью до половины столетия.

Также, с точностью до полустолетия, на настоящий момент можно датировать сосуды с рельефным орнаментом, выполненным на круге, появляющиеся во 2-й пол. XIV в. (рис. 11: 5—7; 23: 5—7), произведенные, судя по всему, в Каффе. Среди них — кувшины с туловом, близким к шаровидному и крупным сливом (рис. 11: 5; 23: 7), которые могут быть покрыты глазурью как снаружи, так и изнутри. Они продолжали бытовать и в XV в. (Пьянков 2007; Волков 2007б: 27, рис. 2: 3). Однако, во-первых, материалы Азака не дают возможности проверки этого, во-вторых, кувшины из погребений на Тамани и в Закубанье не являются стопроцентной аналогией по ряду признаков. Некоторые визуальные отличия достаточно характерны (Волков 2007: 27). Достаточно заметны в 3-й четверти XIV в. чаши специфической профилировки, орнаментированные в нижней части тулова короткими вертикальными гофрированными вдавлениями (рис. 11: 6, 7; 23: 5, 6).

Во 2-й половине XIV в. широко распространены чаши с темно-желтой глазурью без орнаментации на внешней стороне бортика (рис. 12: 1—3; 13: 4, 5; 24; 25: 3, 4). Число серий таких чаш значительно, что не позволяет в настоящий момент уточнить датировку отдельных из них. Орнаментацию всех их объединяет крупный небрежный рисунок с преобладанием закрученных спиралей, звезд.

Для комплексов с монетами 1350—1360-х гг. весьма примечательны блюда и тарелки. У них имеется внешний орнаментальный пояс, размещенный вокруг выделенного крупного центрального медальона, он расцвечен вертикальными полосами зеленого или коричневого цвета, нанесенными по неглубоким желобкам (рис. 9: 21). При этом орнаменты в центральном медальоне весьма вариабельны — от изображения сирина (рис. 9: 4; 21: 5) и пары рыб до абстрактного орнамента из вписанных друг в друга геометрических фигур (рис. 9: 1; 21: 4). Серия таких блюд происходит из раскопок в Судаке (Баранов, Майко 1998: рис. 2: 1, 2, 4). Такое блюдо встрече-

но также во Владимире-Волынском (Коваль 2010: ил. 52: 2).

Недолго, в 1360-е гг., бытовала серия сосудов с изображением сложных розеток, образованных переплетением лент, занимающих всё орнаментальное поле (рис. 10; 22: 2). Ленты расцвечены зеленым и желтокоричневым. В каждый из лепестков вписан округлый медальон, расцвеченный точками марганцево-коричневого цвета. Встречены и сосуды закрытой формы с таким же орнаментом (рис. 10: 1; 22: 1). Известны чаши этой серии без полихромной расцветки. Фрагменты чаш этой серии встречены в Херсонесе (Романчук, Перевозчиков 1990: 119, рис. 30—96; Романчук 2003: 110, табл. 105) и, возможно, здесь являются одними из наиболее поздних образцов поливной керамики. Вопреки мнению А.И. Романчук и В.И. Перевозчикова, параллели между поливной керамикой Азака и Херсонеса немногочисленны и объясняются тем, что в оба центра поступали импорты из одних и тех же центров Юго-Восточного Крыма и Византии. Каким образом на примере керамических импортов можно «показать единство в распространении сюжетно-орнаментальных мотивов в керамике поздневизантийского периода городов Северного Причерноморья, а следовательно, наличие у них прямых или опосредованных связей» (Романчук, Перевозчиков 1990: 97), лично мне непонятно.

С 3-й четверти XIV в. распространение получают среднего размера чаши, которые объединяет орнаментация внешней стороны бортика. Он разделен на треугольники, реже овалы или другие фигуры, попеременно расцвеченные зеленым и коричневым (рис. 12: 4—9; 22: 3—6; 26: 1, 3). Орнаментация внутренней поверхности весьма разнообразна. В целом композиции схематичны и небрежны. Сосуды с растительным орнаментом, хотя бы и схематичным, редки (рис. 12: 6; 22: 5; 26: 1). Рядом серий представлены композиции, где поле разделено на три сектора, в которых орнамент размещен под углом, близким к перпендикуляру к радиусу. Элементы орнамента ограничены прямыми и мелкими фестонами, отрезками цепи, образованной переплетением лент (рис. 12: 4; 22: 3). Встречены и чаши с подобным орнаментом в технике сграффито без полихромной расцветки (рис. 11: 1; 23: 2) (Белинский, Масловский 2007: рис. 11: 2).

Существует также немалое число сосудов, которые в настоящее время для датировки по аналогии использованы быть не могут (рис. 13: 1—3, 6, 7; 25: 1, 2, 5—8). В одних случаях, использованные орнаменты, бытовали на протяжении длительного времени (рис. 13: 1, 3, 7; 25: 1, 5, 7). В других случаях, этому препятствует единичность таких находок (рис. 13: 6; 25: 6) или, по крайней мере, отсутствие полных аналогий, хотя сами изделия имеют хорошую датировку (рис. 13: 2; 25: 2, 8).

Таким образом, продолжительность бытования различных форм или серий сосудов могла быть различной. В некоторых случаях речь идет об отрезке порядка десятилетия (чаши с расцветкой пятнами). В других случаях серия бытовала 2—3 десятилетия, как, например, блюда с бортиком, расцвеченным вертикальными полосами, чаши-цветки, или порядка полустолетия — все серии темно-желтых чаш. Наконец, некоторые серии бытовали, похоже, на протяжении всего XIV в., как, например, винные кувшины с орнаментацией пятнами глазури.

Появление и широкое распространение поливной керамики местного производства в 1330-х гг. не привело к сокращению импорта из городов Восточного Крыма. При этом крымские импорты оказали определенное стилистическое влияние на местное производство, но в целом орнаментика керамики азакского производства существенно отличается. В тех случаях, когда можно говорить о местных подражаниях продукции Юго-Восточного Крыма, наблюдается некоторое запаздывание во времени их появления, что хорошо прослеживается, например, в случае с чашами, орнаментированными пятнами «марганца».

В XV в., после исчезновения местного производства поливной керамики, продукция Восточного Крыма абсолютно доминирует. Все прочие группы поливной керамики составляют менее 10%. Стилистика орнаментации её резко отличается от изделий предшествующего столетия, хотя отдельные образцы такого стиля появляются ближе к концу XIV в. К сожалению, создание классификации крымской поливной керамики XV в. на материалах Азака невозможно, в силу малочисленности закрытых комплексов этого времени, и почти полного отсутствия в них монет.

Подытоживая вышесказанное, следует сказать, что работа по классификации крымской поливной керамики весьма далека от завершения. Несмотря на это уже сейчас наблюдения, сделанные на материалах Азака, позволяет уточнить, датировку многих находок с территории Восточной Европы.

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Кашинные чаши из раскопок в центре золотоордынского Азака

Keywords: Golden Horde, Azak, 14th century, Iran, Qashan pottery, lustre-ware, cobalt blue painting, floral and geometrical ornament, rice-grain-like decoration

Ключевые слова: Золотая Орда, Азак, XIV век, Иран, кашинные сосуды, люстровая керамика, роспись кобальтом, растительный и геометрический орнамент, декор в технике «рисовое зерно»

N. I. Iudin

Qashan Bowls from Excavations in the Centre of the Golden Horde City of Azak

The article contains data about three Qashan bowls excavated in Golden Horde city of Azak. These bowls are characterized by good preservation and are dated by the second half of the fourteenth century. Among them: luster painted bowl, cobalt-blue painted bowl, bowl with a rice-grain-like decoration and cobalt blue painting. Vessels contain ornaments created by Iranian potters, with the influence of Chinese textile and toreutics. Pottery, produced in Iran with the same technology of decoration is known among the materials of several Golden Horde and foreign cities. Luster painted bowls are the first example of such a kind of pottery that originates from a complex dated by the 2nd half of the 14th century. Cobalt-blue painted bowl, bowl with rice-grain-like decoration and cobalt blue painting is the most well-preserved sample of such bowls, ever excavated in Azak.

Н. И. Юдин

Кашинные чаши из раскопок в центре золотоордынского Азака

Публикуются три кашинные чаши с росписью, найденные при раскопках в Азове в 2015 г. Изделия отличаются хорошей сохранностью и датируются второй половиной XIV века. Среди них — чаша с росписью люстром, чаша с росписью кобальтом, чаша с декором в технике «рисовое зерно» и росписью кобальтом. Чаши определены как импортные, произведенные в Иране. Орнамент чаш с кобальтовой росписью демонстрирует явное влияние китайских традиций орнаментации фарфора, тканей и торевтики. Керамика иранского производства с аналогичной техникой орнаментации встречается во многих городах Золотой Орды и за ее пределами. Чаша с росписью люстром впервые обнаружена в азакском комплексе второй половины XIV в. и является самым поздним образцом люстровой керамики среди известных на территории Золотой Орды. Чаша с декором в технике «рисовое зерно» — самая хорошо сохранившаяся из всех подобных изделий, встреченных при раскопках Азака.

В 2015 гг. во время раскопок в г. Азове по адресу переулок Социалистический, 53 была сделана примечательная находка. Участок расположен в пределах центра, как современного Азова, так и золотоордынского Азака. Здесь, на Раскопе II, в заполнении хозяйственной ямы №20 обнаружены десятки фрагментов керамики, принадлежащих трем кашинным сосудам. Согласно нумизматическим данным, яма №20 датируется 2-й половиной XIV века.

После реставрации в распоряжение исследователей попали следующие изделия.

1. Чаша полусферической формы, на низком кольцевом поддоне, с отогнутым наружу и слегка приостренным венчиком (рис. 1). Общая высота 11 см, диаметр венчика 21 см, высота поддона 1,5 см, диаметр поддона 6 см. Изготовлена из мягкого белого кашина. Изделие декорировано сложной росписью люстром, выполненной с оставлением белого фона. На внутренней стороне чаши на-

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Рис. 1. Азов-2015. Пер. Социалистический, 53. Раскоп II, яма 20. Кашинная чаша с росписью люстром (Иран, 2-я половина XIV в.) (фото Н.И. Юдина).

Fig. 1. Azov-2015. Sotsyalistichesky St., 53. Dig II, pit 20. Qashan luster painted bowl (Iran, 2nd half of the 14th century) (photo by N.I. Iudin).

Рис. 2. Азов-2015. Пер. Социалистический, 53. Раскоп II, яма 20. Кашинная чаша с росписью кобальтом (Иран, 2-я половина XIV в.) (фото Н.И. Юдина).

Fig. 2. Azov-2015. Sotsyalistichesky St., 53. Dig II, pit 20. Qashan cobalt blue painted bowl (Iran, 2nd half of the 14th century) (photo by N.I. Iudin).

несен рисунок в виде цветков пиона и хризантемы, симметрично распределенных по орнаментальному полю, и обрамленных многочисленными побегами с листьями. Между ними помещен распустившийся цветок лотоса. Верхняя кромка стенок украшена поясом из каплевидных фигур, расположенных острыми концами вверх. Внутри каждой из этих фигур заключен миниатюрный трилистник. Орнамент на внешней стороне чаши

Рис. 3. Азов-2015. Пер. Социалистический, 53. Раскоп II, яма 20. Кашинная чаша с декором в технике «рисовое зерно» и росписью кобальтом (Иран, 2-я половина XIV в.) (фото Н.И. Юдина).

Fig. 3. Azov-2015. Sotsyalistichesky St., 53. Dig II, pit 20. Qashan bowl with rice-grain-like decoration and cobalt blue painting (Iran, 2nd half of the 14th century) (photo by N.I. Iudin).

является стилизацией лепестков лотоса — вытянутые арки с треугольным навершием, между вершинами которых нанесены концентрические окружности и вертикальные линии. Во внутреннюю область арок помещены косо расположенные короткие отрезки, составляющие вертикальные полосы.

2. Чашечка полусферической формы, на низком кольцевом поддоне, с отогнутым наружу скругленным венчиком (рис. 2). Общая высота 6,5 см, диаметр венчика 12,5 см, высота поддона 1,1 см, диаметр поддона 5,2 см. Изготовлена из плотного белого кашина с легким светло-серым оттенком. Сосуд украшен кобальтовой росписью. На внутренней стороне, в центре помещен цветок с изящно изгибающимися побегами и множеством листьев. В свою очередь, он окружен поясом из подовальных фигур с заштрихованными внутри зонами. Верхняя кромка стенок украшена поясом из фигурных завитков. Кроме того, на внутренней стороне фиксируется рельеф в виде равноудаленных вертикальных валиков, нисходящих от венчика к центральному медальону. Орнамент на внешней стороне разделен на подтрапециевидные зоны, разделенные двойными вертикальными линиями. Внутри каждой вписано по три окружности с отходящими от них изогнутыми линиями.

3. Миниатюрная чашечка цилиндрическая в плане, с вертикальными стенками и закругленным венчиком (рис. 3). Поддон не сохранился. Общая сохранившаяся высота 7,5 см, диаметр венчика 10,5 см. Изготовлена из плотного светло-бежевого кашина. Орнамент, представляющий собой роспись кобальтом, на внутренней стороне сохранился фрагментарно. Тем не менее, хорошо видны треугольные арки с вписанными в них завитками. Арки соединены между собой таким образом, что образуют фигуру звезды. Верхняя кромка стенок с внутренней стороны украшена поясом из фигурных завитков. С внешней стороны орнамент представлен цепью из треугольников, расположенных вершинами вниз. Внутренняя область треугольников заполнена симметрично расположенными сквозными округлыми отверстиями, покрытыми сверху слоем прозрачной глазури. Подобная техника декора носит название «рисовое зерно». В пространства между треугольниками вписаны фигурные листы. Несколько ниже этого пояса также нанесен орнамент из фигур, контуры которых размыты и сохранились частично.

Перейдем к анализу и интерпретации сделанных находок.

Находки люстровой керамики с росписью по белому фону были встречены в ходе раскопок в Азове неоднократно. Однако большая их часть на настоящий момент не опу-

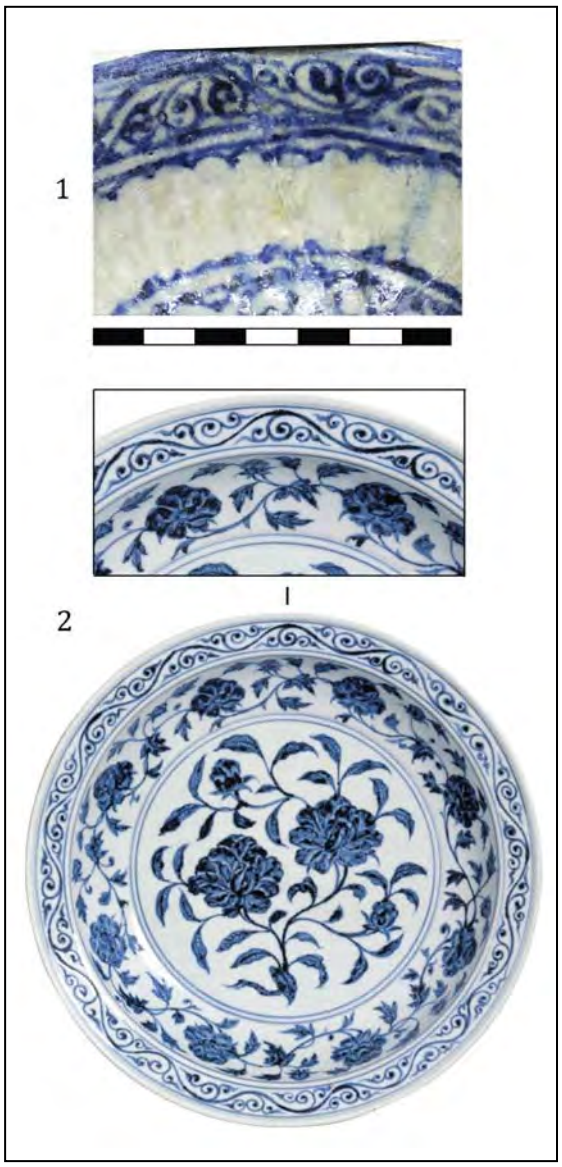

Рис. 4. 1 — Азов-2015. Пер. Социалистический, 53. Раскоп II, яма 20. Кашинная чаша с росписью кобальтом (Иран, 2-я половина XIV в.) (фрагмент); 2 — фарфоровая чаша (Китай, династия Мин, 1368—1424 гг.) (по Krahl 1994—2010: no. 660).

Fig. 4. 1 — Azov-2015. Sotsyalistichesky St., 53. Dig II, pit 20. Qashan cobalt blue painted bowl (Iran, 2nd half of the 14th century). (a fragment); 2 — porcelain bowl (China, Ming dynasty, 1368—1424) (after Krahl 1994—2010: no. 660).

бликована. Кроме Азака, люстровые сосуды также происходят из ряда городов средневековой Руси (Коваль 2010: 44—45, рис. 11: 9, илл. 7: 5), таких как Тверь, Нижний Новгород, Ростов, Белоозеро, из золотоордынских городищ Нижнего Поволжья — Царевского, Селитренного (Федоров-Давыдов 2001: 214), Водянского, из Увека (Матюхина, Моржерин 2005: 113, 121, рис. 7: 1—2), Сарайчика (Самашев и др. 2008: 226—227), Болгара (Полубояринова 2008: 72—75)[1]. На этих памятниках подобная керамика датируется не позднее 1330—40-х гг. Таким образом, описываемая находка из Азака является самой поздней из всех образцов люстра, известных на территории Золотой Орды.

Об иранском производстве подобной посуды, наряду с керамикой «минаи» и «ладжвардина», уже неоднократно говорилось ранее (Булатов 1979: 264; Масловский 2006: 423; 2012: 143; Коваль 2013: 177—178). Оппозиционным этому утверждению является мнение английского ученого Оливера Уотсона о египетских корнях люстровой росписи (Watson 1999: 299—310), распространившейся затем в Иран и оттуда на территорию Золотой Орды.

Любопытен также и орнамент на исследуемой чаше, явно созданный под влиянием изделий из Китая. Китайские мотивы являются характерной чертой как всего искусства ильханского Ирана, так и керамики в частности (Масленицына 1976: 175—176; Стародуб 1983: 12; Лисова 2012: 117—118). К примеру, в Дворцовом музее (Palace museum) в Пекине выставлена фарфоровая чаша, орнаментированная несколькими изображениями цветков хризантемы (The Complete collection… 2000: Pl. 55). В качестве ориентира для декорирования могла выступать не только китайская керамика. Образцом для иранского мастера, изготовившего чашу, вполне могли являться предметы торевтики или текстиля. Например, изображения цветов, весьма сходные с нанесенными на чашу, встречены на фрагментах китайского шелка XIII века (Шелковый путь… 2007: 110) и на китайском халате из погребения монгольской женщины в Новопавловском могильнике (Доде 2012: 262, рис. 4), а также на средневековом китайском зеркале, найденном на Увекском городище (Недашковский 2000: 55, 57, рис. 10; Кубанкин, Масловский 2015: 131—132, рис. 1: 1).

Образцом для создания данного сосуда также являлась китайская керамика — фарфор с росписью синего цвета по внутренней стороне. Это самый распространенный тип фарфора на территории Золотой Орды (Масловский 2012: 149). Находки такой керамики достаточно хорошо известны в материалах многих памятников — Каракорума (Евтюхова 1965: табл. XXVIII: 4—5), Болгара,

[1] Автор статьи любезно благодарит Д. Ю. Бадеева за предоставленные материалы из CLXXIX раскопа 2014 г. на территории Болгара (авторы работ — Д. Ю. Бадеев, В. Ю. Коваль).

Царевского городища (Булатов 1976: 252, табл.), Азака (Булатов 1988: 53), городища Большие Кучугуры (Тихомолова 2002: 247). Значит, они вполне могли оказаться перед глазами и иранских гончаров, изготовивших их кашинный аналог. Кроме того, известны образцы фарфора эпохи Мин периода 1368—1424 гг., орнамент на которых в точности повторяет узоры на чаше из Ирана (Krahl 1994—2010: no. 660) (рис. 4). Косвенным подтверждением наличию китайского прототипа, использовавшегося при создании данной чаши, служит рифление на внутренней поверхности. Наиболее часто этот прием декорирования встречается на «псевдоселадоне», который, в свою очередь, также создавался под влиянием керамики из Поднебесной.

Схожие иранские имитации китайской посуды из фарфора с характерными орнаментами известны также в Ани (Кверфельдт 1938: 191). Глиняная чаша со сходным орнаментом происходит из материалов раскопа NXIII.36 в Султанийе (Haddon 2011: 35, 107, 1.14.1a, 1.14.1b).

В материалах Азака данная разновидность иранской керамики встречается очень редко. Автору статьи известен единственный фрагмент со схожим орнаментом, происходящий из раскопок 1998 г. [2] Образцы кашинных сосудов с декором в технике «рисовое зерно» также известны среди находок с Селитренного городища, причем в довольно большом количестве (Булатов 1976: 252, табл.). Утверждение Н. М. Булатова об обнаружении производственного брака среди сосудов с аналогичным декором следует считать спорным. Зачастую ряд внешних признаков на поверхности сосудов (потрескавшаяся глазурь, размытые контуры росписи, трещины и сколы на тулове и т. п.), принимаемых за бракованные, на самом деле являются «вторичными». То есть, они образовались, скажем, в результате попадания керамики в огонь пожара, или даже просто длительной ее эксплуатации. Кроме того, утверждение о местном производстве посуды с декором «рисовое зерно» идет вразрез с весьма небольшим ее количеством, встречаемым при раскопках других золотоордынских городов. Данное обстоятельство лишний раз свидетельствует об импортном характере данной керамики.

Рис. 5. 1 — Азов-2015. Пер. Социалистический, 53. Раскоп II, яма 20. Кашинная чаша с декором в технике «рисовое зерно» и росписью кобальтом (Иран, 2-я половина XIV в.); 2 — фарфоровая фляга (Китай, династия Мин, 1368—1424 гг.) (по Krahl 1994—2010: no. 661).

Fig. 5. 1 — Azov-2015. Sotsyalisticheskiy St., 53. Dig II, pit 20. Qashan bowl with rice-grain-like decoration and cobalt blue painting (Iran, 2nd half of the 14th century); 2 — porcelain water bottle (China, Ming dynasty, 1368—1424) (after Krahl 1994—2010: no. 661).

[2] Автор выражает благодарность зав. Отделом археологии Азовского музея-заповедника А. Н. Масловскому за информации о находке 1998 г. и помощь в поиске аналогий сосудам, раскопанным в 2015 г.

Для орнамента, нанесенного по внутренней стороне у венчика, также встречены близкие аналогии среди образцов китайского фарфора (рис. 5).

Ситуацию с поиском аналогий для азакской находки существенно затрудняет отсутствие публикаций материалов раскопок большинства золотоордынских памятников. Поэтому одними из немногих образцов для сравнения являются великолепные экземпляры иранских чаш XII—XIII вв. с «рисовым зерном», которые хранятся в фондах Музея истории керамики в городе Фаэнца (Италия).

Суммируя приведенные выше факты, можно заключить, что благодаря работе азовских археологов в распоряжение ученых попали уникальные по своей сохранности кашинные сосуды, иранское происхождение которых не вызывает сомнений.

Самым важным является факт обнаружения чаши с росписью люстром. Он дает основание расширить перечень разновидностей иранской керамики из азакских комплексов 2-й половины XIV в., до этого включавший только сосуды с росписью «минаи». Ввиду единичности этой находки говорить о массовом экспорте иранского люстра в Азак после 1350—60-х гг. пока рано. Возможно, находки грядущих полевых сезонов позволят прояснить эту ситуацию.

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Поливная посуда XIII—XIV веков из Северо-Восточного Причерноморья

Keywords: North-Eastern Black Sea region, Golden Horde period, burials, glazed bowls, glazed jugs

Ключевые слова: Северо-Восточное Причерноморье, золотоордынское время, погребения, глазурованные чаши, поливные кувшины

E. A. Armarchuk, A. V. Dmitriev

Glazed Ware of the 13th — 14th Centuries from the North-Eastern Black Sea Region

The article presents finds of Golden Horde glazed ceramics from barrow cemeteries near Yuzhnaya Ozereika village and from Barbarasheva Shchel in North-Eastern Black Sea region (near Novorossiysk). These are red-clay bowls with different styles of ornamentation: sgraffito with additional painting, or without ornamentation. They are all products of Crimean production centers of glazed vessels. The authors also publish two bowls from the old collection of the Novorossiysk Historical Museum, ornamented by reserved technique with fine engraving and belonging to the Byzantine import.

Е. А. Армарчук, А. В. Дмитриев

Поливная посуда XIII—XIV веков из Северо-Восточного Причерноморья

Статья посвящена находкам поливной керамики золотоордынского времени из курганных могильников у пос. Южная Озерейка и в Барбарашевой щели в Северо-Восточном Причерноморье, недалеко от Новороссийска. Это красноглиняные чаши, орнаментированные различными способами: в технике сграффито с дополнительной росписью, либо без орнамента. Все они являются продукцией крымских центров производства поливной посуды. Публикуются также две чаши из старых фондов Новороссийского исторического музея, орнаментированные в технике «резерва» в сочетании с тонкой гравировкой и относящиеся к византийскому импорту.

При раскопках средневековых археологических памятников Северо-Восточного Причерноморья, на территории от Анапы до Адлера, поливная посуда встречается редко. Пока она обнаружена преимущественно в курганных могильниках XIII—XIV веков, исследованных больше и лучше, чем средневековые поселения этого региона. Правда, такую неравномерность изучения сглаживает тот факт, что даже наиболее масштабно раскопанное поселение Глебовское конца XII — начала XIV в. под Новороссийском дало лишь единичные поливные черепки, не все поддающиеся уверенной датировке и атрибуции.

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До сих пор поливная керамика Северо-Восточного Причерноморья не попадала в поле зрения исследователей. Ввиду этого заслуживают внимания небольшая серия чаш из двух курганных могильников, находящихся у пос. Южная Озерейка (к западу от Новороссийска) и в Барбарашевой щели у станицы Нижне-Баканской (к северо-востоку от него), а также несколько единичных кувшинов из других курганов. В совокупности эти находки составляют самую презентативную часть коллекции поливной посуды Новороссийского исторического музея, куда кроме них входит сильно фрагментированный материал с поселения Глебовское. Предлагаемый ниже её анализ является первым опытом обращения к названной теме [1].

Обстоятельства находок

Оба указанных могильника доследовались А. В. Дмитриевым в начале 1970-х годов после того, как поступили сигналы о разрушении этих памятников хозяйственной деятельностью и самовольными раскопками (Дмитриев 1971; 1973; 1974). Осмотр 1971 г. показал, что южноозереевский могильник состоял из курганов высотой не более одного метра, многие из которых имели круговую обкладку каменными плитами и содержали захоронения в каменных ящиках XIV — начала XV в. Тогда же А. В. Дмитриев раскопал два таких разграбленных кургана. К 1974 г. могильник был полностью уничтожен, но у местных жителей и рабочих удалось изъять часть находок, в том числе пять глазурованных чаш. Могильник у станицы Нижне-Баканской оказался аналогичен южноозереевскому. Вещи из погребений этого могильника вместе с одной глазурованной чашей были переданы находчиками-дилетантами в Новороссийский государственный исторический музей.

Кроме того, в музейной экспозиции выставлены две поливные чаши из старых фондов, происхождение которых теперь не известно. Они тоже могли сопровождать погребения в каменных ящиках, судя по их полной сохранности, какая редко выпадает на долю керамики из поселений. В итоге, рассматриваемая серия состоит из восьми целых чаш, а также включает три кувшина, о месте находки которых скажем ниже. Все сосуды разнообразны с точки зрения технологии изготовления и орнаментации; чаши имеют на зеркале дна след треножника-сипая, оставшийся после обжига. Коротко проинформируем о погребениях того типа, в которых они, по большинству, и находились.

Подкурганные ингумационные захоронения в каменных ящиках как устоявшийся тип погребений начинают широко распространяться в Северо-Восточном Причерноморье в XIII в. На начальном этапе они были впускными в курганы с кремационными захоронениями предшествующего времени. Став основными, эти погребения примерно с конца XIII в. образуют самостоятельные, моноритуальные могильники, характерные для XIV—XV вв. Их насыпи диаметром от 6—8 до 10—12 м, высотой от 0,2 до 1—2,5 м были земляными (чернозёмно-суглинистыми) или щебнисто-земляными и больше, чем у курганов с кремационными погребениями. Они часто имели круглые обкладки из вертикально или горизонтально расположенных плит рваного камня. Ящик размещали на древнем горизонте, вкапывали в материк до уровня перекрытия или впускали в старую насыпь. Он обычно сооружался из шести аналогичных крупных плит,— по две в боковых и по одной в торцевых стенках,— и перекрывался сверху ещё двумя-тремя плитами. В кургане могло находится до трёх ящиков, а в ящике, как правило, несколько погребений, большей частью вторичных, при которых нарушалось положение предыдущих захоронений. Изредка дно ящика мостилось плитами, посыпалось угольками или мелом или выстилалось деревом. Ящики имели ширину от 40—50 до 85 см, длину от метра с небольшим до 220 см, глубину до полуметра и «плавающую» ориентировку с тяготением к широтной. Покойников укладывали в положении вытянуто на спине, руки вдоль туловища или на тазовых костях, чаще головой на запад с отклонениями к северу и югу, иногда на юг или юго-восток и редко на север с отклонениями. Как и прежде, мужчин снабжали оружием и бытовыми вещами, женщин — украшениями, туалетными принадлежностями и предметами обихода, а детей — ножичком. В погребениях отсутствует конская упряжь, но почти все они содержат керамические сосуды, а нередко и стеклянные стаканы. В них встречаются находки золотоордынских серебряных монет чекана Токты, Узбека, Джанибека, Абдаллахана и др. (Армарчук, Дмитриев 2003: 220—224).

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Чаши из Южноозереевского могильника

1. Красноглиняная чашечка диаметром 11, высотой 6 см, с плавно изогнутыми стенками сегментовидного профиля (рис. 1)[2]. Имеет светлый подглазурный ангоб, гравировку, прозрачную глазурь с обеих сторон: внутри бледная желтая с мелкими расплывающимися комочками красителя, снаружи зелёная. Внутри на дне сосуда гравировкой до черепка контурно изображены два мелких диаметрально развёрнутых трилистника-крина, смыкающихся основаниями. В комплекс погребения, восстановленный по опросам находчиков, входил также одноручный коричневоглиняный неполивной горшок высотой 12 см с шаровидным туловом и низким горлом с прямыми, слегка отлогими стенками. Он украшен полосчатой росписью белым ангобом: широкая и плоская в сечении ручка покрыта пятью поперечными мазками, а тулово от шейки до дна — строенными вертикальными линиями, нанесёнными с интервалом. Такая посуда производилась в Крыму в XIV—XV вв. (Мыц 2002: 170, рис. 41).

Остальные четыре чаши из этого могильника относятся к разрозненным предметам из погребений, комплексы которых невосстановимы.

2. Красноглиняная чаша диаметром 16, высотой 7,8 см с резким перегибом стенок, конических внизу и прямых вертикальных вверху, и относительно высоким кольцевидным коническим поддоном диаметром 6,5 см (рис. 2)[3]. Основной рисунок выполнен в технике «сграффито»-гравировки тонким резцом по белому ангобу, после чего чаша дополнительно расцвечена красками и покрыта прозрачной, почти бесцветной глазурью с лёгким жёлтоватым оттенком. Гравировка и полихромия немного не согласуются. Внутри перегиб стенок обозначен одинарной врезной линией-пояском. В ограниченном ею поле в утрированной манере выгравирована крупная, обращенная влево птица в спокойной позе с преувеличенно большим изогнутым клювом и «ошейником» на шее, отделанном косой штриховкой. Рисунок дополнен зелёными, жёлтыми и коричневыми расплывчатыми мазками. Снаружи ангоб и глазурь покрывают только верхнюю, вертикальную часть бортов, расчерченных двойными косыми линиями на треугольники. Узкое пространство между линиями поочерёдно занимают мазки зеленой и желтой красок, а в треугольники помещены коричневые пятна. Край чаши с обеих сторон подчеркнут одинарной врезной линией; в нём просверлено небольшое отверстие. По трактовке И. В. Волкова, касающейся некоторых поливных чаш XIV в. из памятников Прикубанья, отверстие предназначалось для их подвешивания к поясу наподобие металлических чаш.

Рис. 1. Чаша с двуцветной поливой из Южноозереевского могильника (фото А. В. Колпаковой).

Fig. 1. Bowl with two-color glaze from the Yuzhnaya Ozereika cemetery (photo by A. V. Kolpakova).

Похожую иконографию имеет чаша с птицей, найденная в 1992 г. в Азове-Азаке. А. Н. Масловский склонен относить её к группе византийской посуды XIV в., происходящей из провинциальных производствен-

[2] Музейный номер НМ-2755/4, коллекционный шифр Юж. Оз-74.

[3] Музейный номер НМ-2755/2, коллекционный шифр Юж. Оз-74.

Рис. 2. Чаша с декором «сграффито» из Южноозереевского могильника и его прорисовка (фото А.В. Колпаковой)..

Fig. 2. Bowl with sgraffito from the Yuzhnaya Ozereika cemetery and its drawing (photo by A.V. Kolpakova).

ных центров,— возможно, из Трапезунда (Масловский 2006: 392, 395, рис. 33: 5). По иной трактовке, посуда этой группы могла производиться в пределах бассейна Чёрного моря с XII в., а в Азак поступала не позднее середины XIV в. (Белинский, Масловский 2005: 161—162, рис. 6—3). Вместе с тем, аналогичную наружную отделку можно видеть на чашах середины — третьей четверти XIV в. из Азова, включённых теми же исследователями в группу импорта из городов Юго-Восточного Крыма (Белинский, Масловский 1998: рис. 11: 2, 3; 12: 1; 2005: 161, рис. 4: 1).

В целом, южноозереевская чаша вписывается в богатый иконографический ряд развития сюжета «обращённая вправо или влево птица в спокойной позе», который был распространен в декоре поливной керамики черноморского региона в XII—XIV вв. Например, чаши и блюда с такими врезными изображениями птиц хорошо известны по херсонесским материалам и входят в шестую, местную группу классификации керамики Таврики, выделенную и датированную А.Л. Якобсоном XIII веком (Якобсон 1979: 133—140; Рыжов, Голофаст 2000: 258, рис. 5: 1, 2). Наблюдается также иконографическое сходство птицы южноозереевской чаши с пернатым на поливной чаше из курганного могильника Кепше XIII—XIV вв. под Сочи, хотя тождества рисунка нет (Воронов 1979: 105—106, рис. 62: 17).

В пользу датировки описанного изделия второй половиной XIV в. дополнительно свидетельствует несовпадение гравировки и цветной росписи,— аналогичный признак имеет болгарская поливная керамика этого периода.

3. Красноглиняная чаша диаметром 17, высотой 8,7 см. Её профиль характеризуется коническими внизу и прямыми вверху стенками, перегиб которых подчёркнут вну-

Рис. 3. Чаша с декором «сграффито» из Южноозереевского могильника (фото А. В. Колпаковой).

Fig. 3. Bowl with sgraffito decoration from the Yuzhnaya Ozereika cemetery (photo by A. V. Kolpakova).

три врезной линией по окружности (рис. 3)[4]. Имеет белый ангоб, подглазурную гравировку и кроющую прозрачную коричневую глазурь. Гравировка занимает всё внутреннее поле сосуда кроме вертикальных бортов. Двойной, а местами тройной линией нарисована крупная 7-лепестковая розетка; в промежутках между её лепестками размещены спиральные завитки, нанесённые одинарной линией.

Аналогичную композицию, элементы узора и форму демонстрируют импортная азовская чаша с зеленовато-жёлтой глазурью из слоя XIV в. раскопа на ул. Московской, 7, а также чаша из золотоордынского поселения у Феодосии с жёлтой внутри и зелёной снаружи глазурью ((Белинский, Масловский 1998: 218, рис. 15: 1; Айбабина 2005: 234, рис. 7: 2). Отличия их от южноозереевской незначительны. Они состоят в том, что их лепестки изображены толстой врезной линией и каждый украшен внутри такой же осевой линией, а промежутки между лепестками иногда заполняются сетчатой штриховкой. Эти чаши соотносятся с серией херсонесских красноглиняных глазурованных чаш с 7-и 8-лепестковой розеткой, декорированных техникой «сграффито» с подцветкой зелёным и коричневым, найденных при раскопках квартала ХА Северного района и усадьбы в Портовой части города. В первом случае они датируются второй половиной XIII в. (Рыжов, Голофаст 2000: 258, рис. 4: 3), во втором случае А. И. Романчук относит их к XIV веку (Романчук 1982: 109, рис. 22). Все они считаются крымской продукцией, что косвенно подтверждают материалы XII—XV вв. из древнего Партенита (Паршина 2002: 101, 106, рис. 12). Орнаментация многолепестковой розеткой была распространена в поливном декоре крымских сосудов и позднее, — например, подобные чаши извлечены из слоя пожара заполнения башни Орта-Куле крепости Алустон (Алушта), являющегося закрытым комплексом третьей четверти XV в. (Мыц 2002: 157, рис. 26: 2, 3).

4. Красноглиняная чаша с коническими внизу и вертикальными вверху, чуть загнутыми внутрь стенками со слегка отогнутым наружу краем (рис. 4)[5]. Диаметр 17,3 см, высота 7,8 см, диаметр кольцевидного конического поддона 6,5 см. Внутри и на вертикальных бортах снаружи покрыта прозрачной жёлто-коричневой глазурью по белому ангобу. Глазурь неоднородная, с множественными мелкими комочками красителя. Декор отсутствует. Чуть ниже венчика просверлено небольшое отверстие.

Однотипные красноглиняные монохромные чаши без декора под жёлтой или зелёной глазурью («с вогнуто-выпуклым венчиком», по терминологии публикаторов), встречены в цитадели Мангупа. Исследователи Крыма считают их одной из типичных форм местной поливной керамики XIV—XV вв. По их наблюдениям, в Мангупе монохромные чаши такой формы доживают до турецкого периода, причём, поздние экземпляры под жёлто-коричневой поливой отличаются плотным белым ангобом и глазурью с хорошо заметными мелкими крупицами красителя (Герцен, Науменко 2005: 261, 263—264, рис. 5: 3). Они известны также по раскопкам в Алуште, где залегали в слоях XV в. башни Орта-Куле (Мыц 2002: 157, рис. 14).

5. Красноглиняная чашечка аналогичной формы диаметром 10, высотой 5,4 см с коническими внизу и прямыми вверху стенками и чуть отогнутым наружу краем (рис. 5)[6]. Поддон кольцевидный конический диаметром 4 см. Характеризуется светлым ангобом

[4] Музейный номер НМ-2755/5, коллекционный шифр Юж. Оз-74.

[5] Музейный номер НМ-2755/3, коллекционный шифр Юж. Оз-74.

[6] Музейный номер НМ-2755/1, коллекционный шифр Юж. Оз-74.

Рис. 4. Монохромная чаша с просверленным отверстием из Южноозереевского могильника (фото А.В. Колпаковой)..

Fig. 4. Monochrome bowl with a perforation from the Yuzhnaya Ozereika cemetery (photo by A.V. Kolpakova).

Рис. 5. Чаша с наружным декором «сграффито» из Южноозереевского могильника (фото А.В. Колпаковой)..

Fig. 5. Bowl with external sgraffito from the Yuzhnaya Ozereika cemetery (photo by A.V. Kolpakova).

и наружной подглазурной гравировкой с подцветкой зеленым и коричневым. Прозрачная глазурь внутри жёлто-коричневая, снаружи светло-жёлтая. Край сосуда с обеих сторон подчеркнут врезной линией по окружности. Декор нанесён только на прямые борта снаружи и представляет собой сдвоенные вертикальные врезные линии, прочерченные с интервалом в 1,5 см и чередующиеся с расплывчатыми пятнами зелёной, тёмно-коричневой и лимонно-жёлтой глазурных красок. Вверху у края просверлено небольшое отверстие.

Аналогичная отделка бортов характерна для крымских чаш второй половины XIV в.

Чаши из могильника у Барбарашевой щели

6. Красноглиняная чаша диаметром 17,3 см сегментовидного профиля, с плавно изогнутыми бортами и росписью крупными мазками густым белым ангобом под прозрачной коричневой глазурью (рис. 6). Декор в результате слегка выделяется рельефом. Внутри он занимает всё поле: на дне в центре нарисована вихревая спираль в один и три четверти оборота из коротких толстых дуговидных мазков, выше на борта нанесена шесть раз повторённая арабская псевдонадпись, состоящая из 4-х вертикальных и 2-х криволинейных мазков с крапинами. Снаружи глазурован только верх бортов, украшенный вертикальными параллельными мазками ангоба. Вещи из кургана 1 этого могильника, содержавшего два каменных ящика с погребениями, были объединены в «комплекс 3», куда входит данная чаша (Дмитриев 1973: 41—42, фото 143—147).

В группе кашинных чаш с подглазурной полихромной росписью и рельефным рисунком из Селитренного городища есть прямые прототипы такой композиции из концентрических колец аналогичных элементов и надписи-раппорта по краю. Характеризуя

Рис. 6. Чаша с ангобным декором из могильника в Барбарашевой щели (фото А. В. Колпаковой).

Fig. 6. Bowl with engobe from the cemetery in Barbarasheva Shchel (photo by A. V. Kolpakova).

их, Г. А. Фёдоров-Давыдов толстые дуговидные мазки описывает как «каплевидные фигуры» (Фёдоров-Давыдов 1994: 79, 80, 88, рис. 5: 3, 6: 1).

Вероятнее всего, псевдонадпись на причерноморской чаше является зеркально отраженным подражанием арабскому слову-благопожеланию «икбаль» (успех). Именно оно рельефом наносилось на кашинную и неполивную глиняную штампованную посуду золотоордынского времени, которая производилась в Хорезме и Поволжье в XIV веке и импортировалась на дальние расстояния (Вактурская 1959: 306—308, 323, рис. 35: 4, 5; Фёдоров-Давыдов 1976: Илл. 104, 107, 111; 1994: 142—146, рис. 28; Крамаровский 2005: 140, кат. 625). Неудивительно, что кашинная посуда стимулировала как своеобразные подражания элементам и композиции её декора, так и прямые их заимствования разными производственными центрами Золотой Орды. Г. А. Фёдоров-Давыдов обратил на это внимание, в первую очередь, применительно к ремеслу золотоордынских поволжских городов. Например, группа красноглиняной поливной керамики с росписью ангобом из Селитренного содержит образцы чаш с эпиграфическим пояском из слова «успех» по краю, выполненным в том же стиле, что на кашине (Фёдоров-Давыдов 1994: 124—125).

Аналогичная описанной чаша найдена в Азаке в слое XIV века раскопа по ул. Московской, 7. Её публикаторы отмечают, что общепризнано крымское происхождение чаш этой группы с производственной локализацией в городах Юго-Восточного Крыма — Солхате, Судаке, Кафе, хотя А. А. Кравченко связывает эту группу посуды с Нижним Поволжьем (Белинский, Масловский 1998: 209—210, 218, рис. 15: 2; Кравченко 1991: 118—119, рис. 1: 5, 6)[7]. Идентичная чаша с жёлтой глазурью входит в керамический комплекс третьей четверти XIV в. из ремесленной мастерской в Судаке, раскопанной И. А. Барановым на XIV куртине генуэзской крепости Баранов 2004: 534, рис. 4: 6). Другие родственные экземпляры, отнесённые к импорту, тоже происходят из Азова (раскопы 2005 г. по ул. Толстого, 70 и 1985 г. по ул. К. Либкнехта, яма 5), но здесь надпись превратилась в бордюр из коротких вертикальных штрихов, а на дне мазками нарисованы концентрические круги (Дмитриенко 2006: 131, рис. 3—2; Белинский, Масловский 2007: рис. 9: 1—3). В местной азакской продукции есть подражания таким чашам с вариациями деталей ангобного орнамента (Масловский 2006: 348, 351, рис. 16: 2, 3). Фрагмент блюда с псевдописьменами белым ангобом под коричневой глазурью найден на Таманском городище в слое золотоордынского времени, а глиняные чаши с жёлтой и зелёной глазурью и рельефами ангобом — в золотоордынских городах Нижнего Поволжья (Булатов 1976; Финогенова 1987: 206, рис. 9: 2).

В Херсоне посуда с подглазурной росписью ангобом есть во всех слоях, связанных с пожарами и разрушениями поздневизантийского времени, и отличается разнообразием форм чаш и их орнаментов. Среди неё есть тарелка с декором, который определённо подражает эпиграфическому орнаменту восточных, иранских и сирийских кашинных чаш

[7] Образцы чаш с желто-коричневой глазурью из Солхата выставлены в зале Государственного Эрмитажа, посвящённом культуре Золотой Орды.

(Якобсон 1950: табл. 24—25; Романчук 2003: 31, табл. 6: 17).

В целом, посуда с подглазурной росписью ангобом (чётко выделяемая по технологии декора группа «slip-painted», по западной терминологии) стабильно присутствует в XIII—XIV вв. не только в Херсонесе и Таврике, но широко в византийском мире — на территории материковой и островной Греции, Турции, Сирии и Палестины, Балкан и Италии, а в Сарачанах она найдена и в слоях XV—XVI веков (Nicos D. Kontogiannis, Smaragdi Arvaniti 2007: 356, fig. 7a). В Турции приём росписи ангобом начинают применять в сельджукское время, судя по находкам керамики из Малого дворца в Кубадабаде и с поселения Османпаша в Анатолии, и продолжают использовать в раннеосманский период (Nurşen Özkul Findik 2007: 534). Для золотоордынской посуды этой группы характерен *рельефный* ангобный декор, в котором наряду с другими постоянно используются эпиграфические и псевдоэпиграфические мотивы.

Находки из старых фондов представлены двумя чашами, декор которых выполнен «резервом» или выемчатой техникой («champlévé») в сочетании с тонкой гравировкой.

7. Красноглиняная чаша с черепком густого, насыщенного цвета, белым ангобом, прозрачной и почти бесцветной глазурью с лёгким желтоватым оттенком (рис. 7)[8]. Основную часть внутреннего поля чаши занимает изображение идущего влево кошачьего хищника с повёрнутой к зрителю головой с человеческим ликом. Оно получено путём выскабливания, снятия ангобного фона вокруг изображения до самого черепка; детали изображения (морда, показанная завитками шерсть, пальцы лап, крупная кисть хвоста) тонко проработаны гравировкой. Снаружи вверху борт украшен гравировкой в виде волнистой линии между двумя концентрическими окружностями.

Плотным и ярким тестом, выемчатой техникой, отделкой борта снаружи и тщательностью исполнения эта чаша резко отличается от предыдущих. Данный сюжет, трактуемый специалистами как «изображение леопарда», очень характерен для декора группы поливных чаш и кубков, производившихся во второй половине XIV века в Византии. Они обладают устойчивыми признаками и из Византии вывозились в причерноморские страны, где впоследствии появились подражания на эту тему. С. Г. Бочаров посвятил специальную статью этому и другим типам импортных византийских поливных чаш группы «champlévé» (Бочаров 2005: 306—307, рис. 1: 6). Как наиболее близкую назову византийскую чашу-кубок из Азова, найденную в слое второй половины XIV века раскопа по ул. Толстого, 74 (Масловский 2006: 397, рис. 35: 3). Особенностью чаши из Новороссийского музея является зеркально повёрнутое изображение, ибо обычно зверя рисовали идущим вправо.

8. Красноглиняная чашечка диаметром 12 см, сегментовидного профиля (рис. 8)[9]. Всё её внутреннее поле декорировано по светлому, белому ангобу; глазурь прозрачная светло-жёлтая. Основной рисунок геометрического характера выполнен широким резцом до черепка, а второстепенный узор в виде тонких линий процарапан остриём с отступом от основного. Центром композиции является круг на дне сосуда, расчерченный четырьмя диаметральными линиями, в который вписан квадрат. Выше него на стенках в двух концентрических зонах-бордюрах изображены зигзаги, образующие многолучевые звезды. Свободные фоновые промежутки занимают мелкие спиральные завитки. Снаружи поверху борт украшен вертикальными тонкими строенными линиями. Как у предыдущего экземпляра, цвет черепка густой, тёмно-красный. Показательно, что в отличие от большинства изделий с резервом-«champlévé» здесь выскоблен не ангобный фон, а узорообразующий рисунок.

Те же элементы орнамента (квадраты в центре, бордюр с зигзагом, спиральные завитки фона, обвод линии зигзага), композиция и способ росписи толстой и тонкой кистями наблюдаются у небольшой люстровой чаши из Азова, приписываемой испанскому импорту второй половины XIV века (Белинский, Масловский 1998: 239—241, рис. 23: 1). Другим изделием является импортная византийская чаша группы «champlévé» из Алушты, датирующаяся XIII—XIV вв., которая близка по характеру и элементам рисунка (Бочаров 2005: 308, рис. 10)[10].

[8] Музейный номер НМ-1698/66.

[9] Музейный номер НМ-1698/65.

[10] Любезно консультировавшие нас крымские коллеги И. Б. Тесленко и В. Л. Мыц заочно, по фотографии и аналогиям, определили орнамент чаши как выемчатый, а не рисованный. Невозможность снять её с витрины пока лишает нас точной технологической характеристики, ибо не исключён вариант росписи, а не выскабливания ангоба. В лю-

Рис. 7. Чаша с декором «резервом» из старых фондов Новороссийского музея (фото А. В. Колпаковой).

Fig. 7. Bowl with reserved decoration from the old collections of Novorossiysk Museum (photo by A. V. Kolpakova).

Рис. 8. Чаша с декором «сграффито» из старых фондов Новороссийского музея (фото А. В. Колпаковой).

Fig. 8. Bowl with sgraffito decoration from the old collections of Novorossiysk Museum (photo by A. V. Kolpakova).

Вероятно, чашечка из новороссийского музея тоже относится к византийскому импорту.

Кувшины представлены тремя экземплярами.

1. Белоглиняный одноручный кувшин под зелёной поливой высотой 15,7 см найден в ингумационном погребении 2 кургана 4 могильника на г. Сапун[11]. Форма его характеризуется плавным переходом плечиков в узкое горло; корпус грушевидный с перегибом стенок в нижней четверти высоты, чуть выше поддона (рис. 9: 2). На перегиб приходится максимальный диаметр, равный 8 см. Венчик диаметром 4,3 см слегка отогнут наружу. Кувшин имеет ярко выраженный конический поддон до 2 см высотой и 5,5 см в диаметре. Ручка шириной 2,3 см и уплощённого сечения верхним концом крепится под самым венчиком, не поднимаясь выше него, а нижним концом — к тулову над перегибом его стенок. Снаружи глазурь покрывает кувшин, немного не доходя до перегиба.

Важно отметить, что данное погребение, ориентированное на юго-запад, не имело каменного ящика (плитняковой гробницы). Кувшинчик был в нём единственным сопроводительным предметом. Аналогии ему по форме и тесту есть в крымской керамике XIII в.: это кувшин с зелёной поливой из хозяйственного помещения в укреплении Исар-Кая и такой же сосуд под жёлтой поливой из ком-

бом случае, способ нанесения не мешает говорить о родстве рисунка новороссийской чаши и названных экземпляров из Испании и Византии.

[11] Музейный номер НМ-6610/458. См.: Дмитриев 1985: 13, рис. 101.

Рис. 9. Поливные кувшины: 1 — из Владимировки (фотосъёмка А.В. Колпаковой), 2 — из могильника Сапун (пунктиром показана граница глазури), 3 — из могильника в Барбарашевой щели (фото А.В. Дмитриева).

Рис. 9. Glazed jars: 1 — from Vladimirovka (photos by A.V. Kolpakova), 2 — from Sapun cemetery (the border of glaze is shown by dotted line), 3 — from the cemetery in Barbarasheva Shchel (photo by A.V. Dmitriev).

плекса XIII в. помещения 1 в квартале XCVII Херсонеса, раскопки 1991 г. (Мыц 1987: 239, рис. 10: 14; Ушаков 2005: 71, рис. 14: 3, 18: 3). Подобные белоглиняные монохромные поливные кувшины были относительно распространенными в Крыму, куда они поступали из Византии.

2. Красноглиняный одноручный кувшин под зелёной поливой найден на могильнике у Барбарашевой щели, происходит из разрушенного погребения в каменном ящике[12]. Кувшин имеет почти шаровидный корпус, широкое и высокое прямое горло и венчик с простым краем без утолщения (рис. 9: 3). Характерным его признаком является расположенный против ручки специфический узкий слив наподобие ойнохоевидного, но в отличие от него прищипленный почти на половину высоты горла (в силу чего А.Н. Масловский употребляет термин «фигурное» горло по отношению к таким сосудам). Под венчиком параллельно ему проведены пять глубоких и широких горизонтальных бороздок по окружности. Ещё три бороздки сделаны в основании горла, и, наконец, три другие — на плечиках. Широкая плоская ручка профилированного сечения (с продольными ложбинками) крепится верхним концом к середине горла, нижним — к плечикам на уровне бороздок. В основании горла имеется уступ; дно плоское с закраиной, то есть придонная часть слегка расширяется к срезу. Снаружи кувшин облит глазурью только до плечевых бороздок, включая ручку. Внутри глазурь сохранилась полосой под венчиком. Внешняя поверхность имеет редкие крупные каверны от сгоревших органических примесей, глазурь местами откололась.

Сосуд относится к распространённому типу поливных кувшинов со сливом, которые производились в Юго-Восточном Крыму с конца XIII по XV в. и оттуда импортировались в другие районы. В средневековой ремесленной мастерской в Судаке на полу у порога найдены три кувшина, один из которых по форме аналогичен описанному и покрыт снаружи вверху жёлтой поливой по розовому ангобу. Его черепок характерен для местной посуды. Автор раскопок И.А. Баранов пишет о распространённости кувшинов этого типа в Таврике в XII—XIV вв., а сам комплекс датирует золотоордынскими монетами из слоя перекрывающего пожара — гибели дома не ранее 1360-х гг. (Баранов 2004: 530, рис. 2: 3).

Диаметр тулова этих кувшинов 13—14 см, высота около 20 см. Вне Крыма они *сериями* найдены в Азове-Азаке в слоях XIV в. и на могильнике Чёрный Ерик-1 в устье Кубани, а *единично* — в кургане у х. Суповского в Адыгее и в Цибилиуме-Цебельде (Белинский, Мас-

[12] Музейный номер НМ-4301/8. Его промеры, к сожалению, не удалось сделать.

ловский 1998: 210, 218—219, рис. 16: 7—9; Воронов 2002: рис. 12: 38; Волков 2007: 27, рис. 2: 3; Пьянков 2007: 95, рис. 1). Судя по последней находке, такие кувшины достигали территории Абхазии, куда они могли попадать не только морем, но и через горы средневековой Черкесии.

3. Красноглиняный одноручный кувшин с пятнистым декором под бесцветной поливой, найденный во Владимировке[13]. Характеризуется коротким широким горлом со сливом, на которое приходится примерно четверть высоты сосуда (рис. 9: 1). Горло отделено от тулова перегибом стенок с небольшим валиком. Корпус удлинённый, с небольшим расширением в нижней трети высоты кувшина. Плоский поддон имеет закраину. Венчик не выражен, под ним крепится верхним концом уплощённая ручка, нижний конец которой приходится на максимальный диаметр. На три четверти высоты сосуд покрыт светлым ангобом, затем по нему косыми брызгами и потёками марганцевой краски и сверху прозрачной глазурью желтоватого оттенка.

Это весьма распространённый в Крыму в XIV в. тип кувшинов-молочников. Они изготавливались там с конца XIII в. на протяжении XIV в. и импортировались, в частности, в Азак (Масловский 2006: 366, рис. 22: 4—5; 2007: 87; Белинский, Масловский 2007: 327, рис. 3: 13—14). А. Н. Масловский атрибутирует один такой молочник из Азовского музея как происходящий из «итальянских колоний Крыма», без уточнения конкретного места производства (Пиотровский 2005: 124, кат. 619). Аналогичный, более высокий кувшин обнаружен в погребении 23 XIV в. возле храма Крион Нерон под Адлером, в бассейне р. Мзымта. У этого и музейного новороссийского экземпляров снаружи глазурь не выходит за пределы ангоба.

Кувшины подобной формы, покрытые бледно-жёлтой глазурью и декорированные в технике «сграффито» в сочетании с пятнами коричневой и зелёной глазурей, в XIV—XV вв. были широко распространены в Болгарии, Румынии, Молдове, Сербии. В материалах из Варны В. Плетнёв выделяет их в тип XI, для которого характерны прищипленный слив, перехват шейки, закраина донца, плоская ручка и близкие пропорции (на горло приходится 1/3 высоты сосуда) (Плетньов 2004: 80—81, табл. 31: 227; 33: 234; 35: 243, 246). Это те же морфологические признаки, которыми обладают крымские кувшины-молочники с марганцевыми брызгами. Правда, в Болгарии со временем горло таких кувшинов приобретает ярко выраженную асимметрию (наклон в сторону ручки), но они сохраняют такую черту, как покрытие глазурью не до дна.

О производстве и поступлении поливной посуды новороссийской коллекции

Описанные выше её особенности и найденные конкретные соответствия чашам и кувшинам (благодаря, не в последнюю очередь, хорошей изученности и оперативным публикациям средневековой крымской и азовской керамики), а также полное отсутствие следов местного производства поливных сосудов определяют её ремесленное происхождение из Крыма. Исключением являются белоглиняный кувшин и чаши с выемчатым декором, привезённые из Византии либо византийских провинций, что говорит о контактах населения Северо-Восточного Причерноморья с византийским миром как в XIII, так и в XIV веках.

Глазурованная посуда могла поступать из Крыма в Северо-Восточное Причерноморье как непосредственно, так и опосредованно, через Тмутаракань-Матрику-Матрегу на Тамани. В её слоях XII—XIV вв. встречены изделия тех же технологических типов, к которым относятся чаши новороссийской серии: во-первых, с орнаментом сграффито под желтой глазурью с зелёной и марганцевой подцветкой (тип 7, по Т. И. Макаровой, и вид 5 типа I группы II, по С. И. Финогеновой); во-вторых, с таким же орнаментом под однотонной глазурью (тип 6, по Т. И. Макаровой); в-третьих, с рельефной росписью ангобом под бесцветной или однотонной глазурью (тип 8 из слоёв XIV—XV вв., по Т. И. Макаровой, и вид 2 типа II группы II, по С. И. Финогеновой).

По наблюдениям Т. И. Макаровой, в тмутараканских слоях XIII—XIV вв. увеличивается количество поливной керамики за счёт роста и импорта именно крымского производства, есть в них и немногочисленная византийская продукция техники «champlévé» (Макарова 1963: 86—92). С. И. Финогенова несколько конкретизировала это наблюдение, отнеся увеличение импорта к XIII в. и в большей степени к Херсонесу как его источнику (Финогенова 1987: 209). Однако раскопки в Крыму в последней четверти XX века показывают большую роль Юго-Восточного

[13] Музейный номер НМ-9643/15, коллекционный шифр Вл-81. Его промеры не удалось сделать из-за невозможности снять с витрины.

Крыма в ремесленном производстве и торговле керамикой в золотоордынской ойкумене. Это доказывают приведённые выше соответствия глазурованной посуде из восточно-причерноморских курганов. Главное, что в Северо-Восточном Причерноморье этот импорт падает на золотоордынское время, в основном, на XIV век.

В заключение кратко коснёмся ***сходства материальной культуры Крыма и Северо-Восточного Причерноморья в золотоордынскую эпоху***. В Крыму встречаются многие из тех предметов погребального инвентаря и деталей костюма XIV в., которые создают широкий вещевой контекст описанным новороссийским чашам. Каков этот контекст в нашем случае? Погребальный набор из кургана 1 в Барбарашевой щели включал два ножа, два наконечника стрел, два калачевидных кресала, костяные иглу-проколку и трубку, несколько сердоликовых и стеклянных бус, два бронзовых напёрстка, пару спиральных височных колец, крупную пустотелую серебряную пуговицу из спаянных половинок, туалетный набор из копоушки и ложечки с отверстиями, фрагмент бронзового зеркала и дужку серьги с характерно загнутым в петлю концом. Для здешних мест он достаточно стандартный и дополняется следующими южноозереевскими находками: оселками, шарнирными ножницами, пряслицами, плетёными шнуровыми украшениями в виде сложного узла, серьгами с напускными асимметричными биконическими бусами и стеклянными стаканами. Но следует подчеркнуть, что в крымских могильниках встречаются преимущественно украшения и принадлежности костюма, что обусловлено христианским обрядом; другие же родственные вещи происходят из слоёв поселений Южного Крыма.

Общность элементов материальной культуры населения Крыма и Северо-Восточного Причерноморья в XIV—XV вв. объясняется включением этих областей в сферу влияния государства Золотая Орда, стимулировавшего активную торговлю, деловые и прочие контакты в Причерноморье и Средиземноморье. Пожалуй, в археологическом отношении это единство нагляднее всего иллюстрируется распространением дорогой поясной гарнитуры, престижной посуды и определённой моды на украшения. Ярким примером концентрации предметов этого рода служат белореченские курганы, в меньшей степени их аккумулировали скромные курганные могильники XIV—XV вв. в Северо-Восточном Причерноморье. На Северном Кавказе и в Северо-Восточном Причерноморье к престижным металлическим и стеклянным сосудам добавляются поливные чаши и кубки, которые в самом Крыму, в отличие от Кавказа, были рядовыми и широко распространёнными.

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О находках поливной керамики XIII—XIV вв. на территории Северного Кавказа

Keywords: Northern Caucasus, Golden Horde, Iran, Azerbaijan, glazed pottery, architectural décor

Ключевые слова: Северный Кавказ, Золотая Орда, Иран, Азербайджан, поливная керамика, архитектурный декор

E. I. Narozhny

About the Finds of Glazed Pottery of 13th —14th Centuries on the Territory of the Northern Caucasus

The author has collected all available (at the time of writing) finds of glazed pottery and elements of architectural decor, as well as information about them, from the territory of understudied archaeological sites in the Northern Caucasus. Generally, these are Golden Horde artefacts, which can complement our knowledge about the diversity of glazed pottery in the region, which is compared here with the analogies from the Golden Horde Volga region. Besides, the author refers to the finds supporting diversified connections between the Northern Caucasus and the environs of Derbent and North-Eastern Azerbaijan: the author maintains that these were the sources of ceramics within 1222—1230.

Е. И. Нарожный

О находках поливной керамики XIII—XIV вв. на территории Северного Кавказа

В статье собраны доступные (на момент ее написания) находки поливной керамики — посуды и деталей архитектурного декора и сведения о них с территории плохо изученных археологических объектов Северного Кавказа. В основном это предметы эпохи Золотой Орды, дополняющие представления о разнообразии поливного материала в регионе, сравниваемого с аналогиями из золотоордынского Поволжья. Кроме них, приводятся и находки, свидетельствующие о разнообразных связях Северного Кавказа с округой Дербента и Северо-Восточным Азербайджаном — регионами, из которых керамика, по мнению автора, поступала в период между 1222 и 1230-ми годами.

Чуть более тридцати лет тому назад (1985 г.), на «Первом Симпозиуме по поливной керамике Закавказья» (Джорбенадзе 1988: 284—286), пытаясь представить исчерпывающую на то время сводку находок поливной керамики XIII—XIV вв. с территории Северокавказского региона (Виноградов, Нарожный 1985: 40—44), мы констатировали тот факт, что, несмотря на наличие уже значительного количества бытовых памятников Золотой Орды на Северном Кавказе, их слабая археологическая изученность позволила тогда собрать довольно ограниченные данные о находках поливной керамики в регионе. Наиболее репрезентативной выборкой таких предметов тогда являлась коллекция поливной керамики с территории золотоордынского города Маджара. С того времени ситуация сильно не изменилась за исключением, пожалуй, того, что ныне заметно расширилась не только география известных бытовых памятников эпохи Золотой Орды (Нарожный 2013: 149—165). Изменилось количество и видотипологическое разнообразие таковых находок, их статистика, хотя, как и прежде, вся основная масса известных нам находок поливной керамики, в основном — подъемный материал. Раскопочные материалы существуют, но и их не очень много из-за того, что далеко не все ныне известные материалы полностью введены в научный оборот.

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Предлагаемая статья посвящена обзору доступных автору (на момент подготовки данной работы) интересующих нас артефактов.

I. География находок

Помимо золотоордынского Маджара, достаточно представительной является и коллекция поливной керамики, происходящая из средневековых слоев города Дербента, не только расположенного на географическом стыке Европы и Азии (рис. 1: 1) (Гаджиев 2004: 3—12), но и длительное время являвшегося пограничным форпостом между владениями Золотой Орды и государства Хулагуидов. Дербент был важным и промежуточным пунктом на пути одной из трех, как утверждал армянский историк XIII в. Гайтон (Мирный 1965: 76), больше известный как Гетум Патмич (Тер-Мкртчян 1985: 75—76), наиболее важных, международных торговых трасс периода Золотой Орды. Поливная керамика отсюда, судя по ее исследованиям А. А. Кудрявцевым, была отнесена им к нескольким хронологическим периодам эпохи средневековья: с «VIII — начала IX» по «IX—X вв.» (Кудрявцев 1985: 119), «XI — начала XII» и «XII — середины XIII вв.» (Кудрявцев 1981: 109). Сегодня все известные здесь находки раннесредневековой поливной керамики уверенно связываются с местной ремесленной продукцией, как минимум, из двух специализированных керамических мастерских этого города (Кудрявцев 1981: 108—109).

Поливная керамика *Дербента* XIII—XIV вв. отчасти изучалась и Г. Г. Гамзатовым (Гамзатов 1981: 110—120), считавшим, что «период с середины XIII в. до второй половины XIV в. характеризуется упадком в развитии художественной керамики города» Дербента (Гамзатов 1981: 118). Исследователь вполне справедливо увязывает это с вторжениями Чингизидов и разрушением ими многих керамических центров на сопредельных с Дербентом территориях Закавказья. Тем не менее, автор полагает: Дербент тогда, «фактически, по существу не пострадал» (Гамзатов 1981: 119). Вместе с тем, приводимые им образцы поливной керамики XIII—XIV вв. из Дербента рассматриваются им как ремесленные изделия, которые находят многочисленные и полные аналогии среди поливной керамики, производившейся на территории золотоордынских городов Поволжья (Гамзатов 1981: 110—118). Он считает: лишь «со второй половины XIV в. и до середины XV в.» можно вести речь об определенной «стабилизации керамического производства, не характеризующегося, однако, появлением каких-либо новых форм и методов украшения». Со «второй половины XV—XVI вв.» в Дербенте ощущается новый упадок «производства художественной керамики города» (Гамзатов 1981: 119).

Помимо Дербента, небольшая коллекция поливной керамики происходит и с территории нескольких бытовых памятников эпохи Золотой Орды, в разное время выявленных и обследованных разведками, в границах Терско-Сулакского междуречья. Несколько таких фрагментов было поднято на территории Сигитминского поселения (рис. 1: 2) XIII—XIV вв. (Гамзатов 1982: 223, рис. 3, 22—24), на городище Исти-Су (рис. 1: 3) (Гамзатов 1982: 223, рис. 4, 29), Акташском поселении (рис. 1: 4) (Гамзатов 1982: 224, рис. 5: 16, 26, 29) и Барагачинском поселении (рис. 1: 5) (Гамзатов 1982: 224, рис. 6: 2—4). Специфичной чертой поливной керамики отсюда является то, что и она находит полные аналоги все-таки не в Дербенте, а в золотоордынском Поволжье (Гамзатов 1982: 225).

Старогладовское поселение (рис. 1: 6) в Шелковском районе современной Чечни, открытое на левобережье р. Терек, археологически почти не изучалось, за исключением закладки здесь двух небольших по площади разведочных раскопов 1978 и 1979 годов (Даутова 1981: 41—42). Полученные тогда археологические материалы, включая и находки поливной керамики и архитектурного декора, пока не опубликованы. Публикуемые нами (рис. 2: 5) фрагменты керамики с поливой и архитектурного декора отсюда связаны с обнажениями культурного слоя (Березин, Нарожный 2004: 314—317), находившимися на территории виноградников в нескольких километрах от раскопов Р. А. Даутовой. Исследовательница предположила о возможной увязке этих находок с нахождением в этом микрорайоне памятника мавзолея (Даутова 2010: 101). К сожалению, никаких признаков наличия здесь каких-либо архитектурных объектов не отмечено, а все интересующие нас материалы связаны с хозяйственной ямой.

Еще одно поселение, подстилающее т. н. «Трехстенный городок» — русский укрепленный город Терки 1588 года (рис. 1: 7), выявлено случайно и археологически не изучалось. Территория этого поселения, ныне отождествляется с возможным центром обширной историко-культурной «области Джулат», упоминаемой персидскими автора-

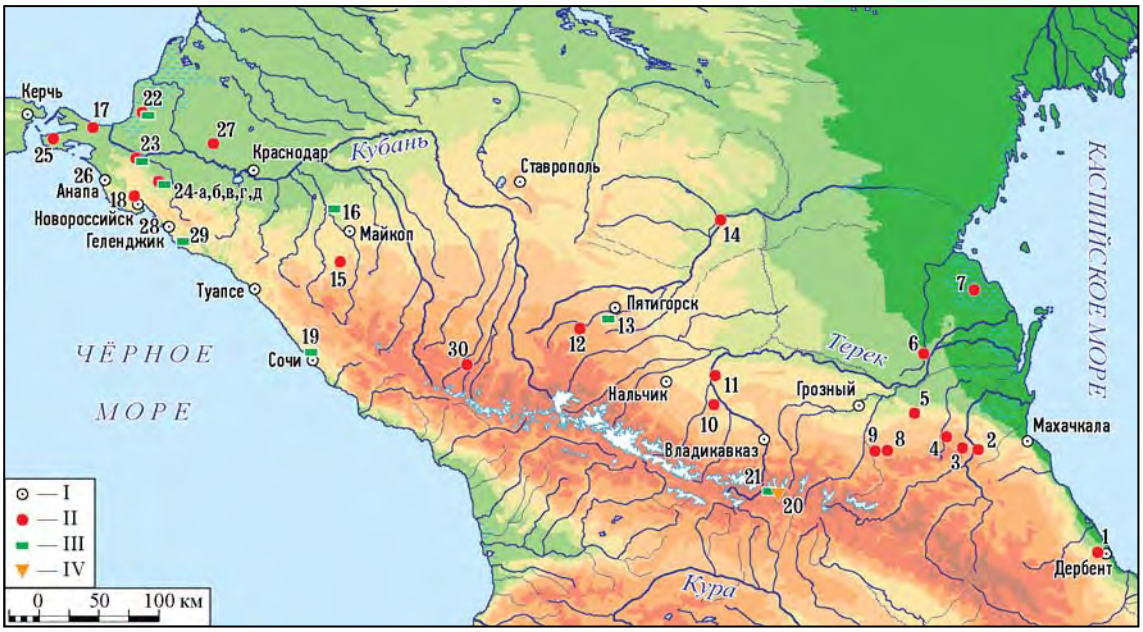

Рис. 1. Карта-схема расположения бытовых памятников (1—12, 14—15, 17—19), святилища (20) и погребальных объектов (13, 16; 21) Северного Кавказа, с территории которых происходят находки поливной керамики. Условные обозначения: I — современные населенные пункты; II — средневековые бытовые памятники; III — средневековые погребальные памятники; IV — культовые сооружения. 1 — город Дербент; 2 — Сигитминское поселение XIII—XIV вв.; 3 — городище Исти-Су; 4 — Акташское поселение; 5 — Барагачинское поселение; 6 — Старогладовское поселение; 7 — поселение, подстилающее «Трехстенный городок» — русские Терки 1588 года; 8 — селище Майртуп; 9 — селище Курчалой; 10 — городище Верхний Джулат; 11 — городище Нижний Джулат; 12 — город Кисловодск; 13 — город Ессентуки; 14 — городище Маджары; 15 — Курджипское поселение; 16 — Белореченские курганы; 17 — Большеголубицкое городище; 18 — город Новороссийск; 19 — город Сочи; 20 — святилище Итаз-Ерда; 21 — Келийский могильник; 22 — Поселение и курганный могильник у хут. Черный Ерик; 23 — хут. Кубанская колонка, поселение и могильник «Жукова»; 24: а — поселение «Железнодорожное»; б — грунтовый могильник; в — поселение «Железнодорожное-1»; в — поселение «Железнодорожное-2»; г — поселение «Железнодорожное-3»; 25 — станица Тамань, Таманское городище; 26 — город Анапа: 27 — «поселение» или «городище» Ангелинский Ерик (по И.В. Волкову и О.В. Лопан — золотоордынский «город Шахрак»); 28 — город Геленджик; 29 — селище Прасковеевка; 30 — городище Нижний Архыз. (1—5, 7 — Дагестан; 6, 8—9 — Чечня; 10 — Северная Осетия; 11 — Кабардино-Балкария; 12—14 — Ставропольский край; 15—16 — Адыгея; 17—19; 22—29 — Краснодарский край; 30 — Карачаево-Черкессия; 20—21 — Республика Ингушетия.)

Fig. 1. Schematic map of domestic sites (1—12, 14—5, 17—19), sanctuaries (20) and funerary objects (13, 16, 21) of the Northern Caucasus, which yielded finds of glazed pottery. Legend: I — modern settlements; II — medieval domestic sites; III — medieval funerary sites; IV — cult structures. 1 — Derbent; 2 — Sigitminskoe settlement of 13th—14th centuries; Isti-Su fortified site; 4 — Aktashskoe settlement; 5 — Bargachinskoe settlement; 6 — Starogladovskoe settlement; 7 — settlement underlying "Trehstenniy gorodok" — Russian Terki 1588; 8 — Mayrtup unfortified settlement; 9 — Kurchaloy unfortified settlement; 10 — Verhniy Dzhulat hillfort; 11 — Nizhniy Dzhulat hillfort; 12 — Kislovodsk; 13 — Yessentuki; 14 — Madzhary hillfort; 15 — Kurdzhipskoe settlement; 16 — Belorechensk barrows; 17 — Bolshegolubitskoe hillfort; Novorossiysk; 19 — Sochi; 20 — sanctuary Itaz-Erda; 21 — Keliyskiy burial ground; 22 — settlement and a barrow cemetery near Cherny Erik farmstead, 23 — Kubanskaya Kolonka farmstead, "Zhukov" settlement and burial ground; 24: a — settlement "Zheleznodorozhnoe", b — burial ground; v — settlement "Zheleznodorozhnoe-1"; v — settlement "Zheleznodorozhnoe-2"; g — settlement "Zheleznodorozhnoe-3"; 25 — stanitsa Taman, the Taman hillfort; 26 — Anapa; 27 — "the settlement" or "hillfort" Angelinskiy Erik (according to opinion of I.V. Volkov and O.V. Lopan — the Golden Horde "city Shahrak"); 28 — Gelendzhik. (1—5, 7 — Dagestan; 6, 8—9 — Chechnya; 10 — Northern Ossetia; 11 — Kabardino-Balkaria; 12—14 — Stavropol region; 15—16 — Adygeya; 17—19, 22—29 — Krasnodar region; 30 — Karachay-Cherkessia; 20—21 — Republic of Ingushetia.)

ми Шами и Йезди, описывавшими передвижения войск среднеазиатского эмира Тимура через Северный Кавказ (1395 г.). В 1588 году здесь был отстроен первый в регионе русский город — Терки, с высокими деревянными стенами на земляных валах. Отстроен он был, в виде трапеции, что не помешало, тем не менее, Е.И. Крупнову ошибочно соотнести его с остатками «Трехстенного городка», упоминавшегося в нескольких документальных источниках XVIII—XIX вв. (Крупнов 1935: 123—130). Е.И. Крупнов в своем отождествлении опирался на тот факт, что к моменту выявления памятника у него отсутствовала четвертая, самая длинная стена, отчего и напрашивалась ассоциация с «Трехстенным городком». На ошибочность отождествления трапециевидного в плане укреп-

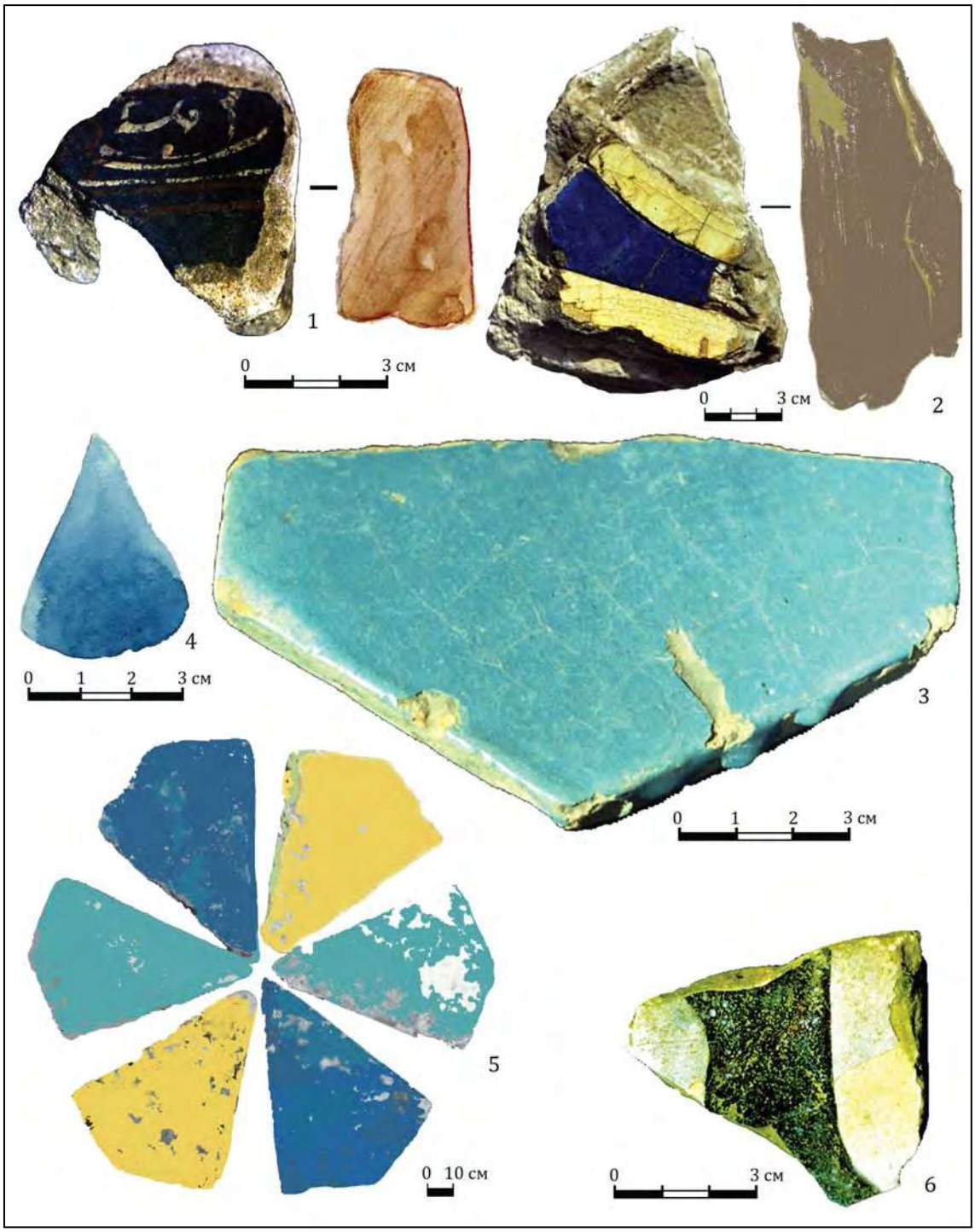

Рис. 2. Детали архитектурного декора с золотоордынского города Маджара (1—4, 6) и со Старогладовского поселения (5)..

Fig. 2. Elements of architectural décor from the Golden Horde city Madzhar (1—4, 6) and from the Starogladovsky settlement (5).

ления с «Трехстенным городком» указал Л.Н. Гумилев (Гумилев 2004: 19—20), хотя исследователь еще и сам не знал о реальном существовании другого «Трехстенного городка», в действительности имевшего треугольную планировку. Этот казачий городок находился в дельте Терека, что документируют другие источники, включая и картографические данные XIX в. (Нарожный 1993: 7—8). Л.Н. Гумилев, вслед за Е.И. Крупновым обследовавший этот же памятник подтрапециевидной в плане формы, отметил находки на его земляных валах золотоордынской поливной и неполивной керамики, аналогич-

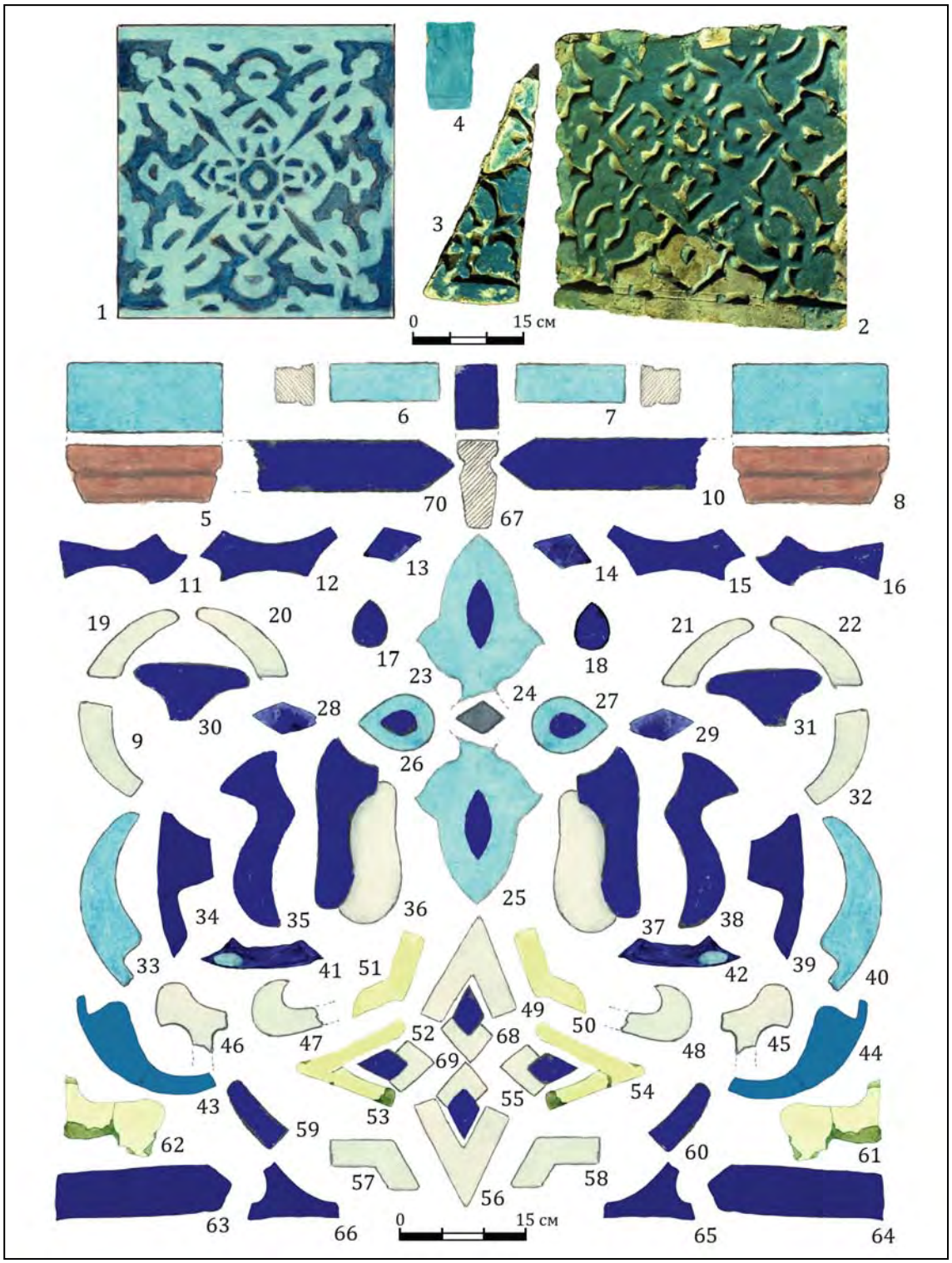

Рис. 3. Детали архитектурного декора ессентукских мавзолеев.

Fig. 3. Elements of architectural decor of the Yessentuki mausoleums.

ной керамике золотоордынского Поволжья (Гумилев 2004: 20). Предложенная позже интерпретация этой, как посчитал ученый, «недостроенной крепости» позднее также не подтвердилась. Л. Н. Гумилев отнес осмотренное им укрепление к «татарскому периоду» (Гумилев 2004: 19), с чем можно согласиться лишь частично. В 1991 г., в ходе осмотра двух свежевырытых траншей рядом с валами этого же укрепления, нами была собрана выразительная коллекция поливной (рис. 4: 1—7; 5: 1—18) и неполивной керами-

ки (Голованова, Нарожный 2005: 253—276). Подъемный материал позволил предположить возможность существования здесь крупного золотоордынского бытового памятника, впоследствии ставшего центром «Кавказской Тюмени» (Нарожный 2001: 30—32), но указанные объекты позже были застроены русским городом Терки, возведенным в низовьях Терека в 1588 году [1].

Серия поселений, как минимум — три объекта, были выявлены в окрестностях современных сел. Майртуп и Курчалой (рис. 1: 8, 9) в Шалинском районе современной Чечни, в ходе археологических разведок конца 1980-х годов. У сел. Майртуп была собрана коллекция поливной и неполивной керамики и коллекция русских энколпионов XII—XIV вв. (Виноградов, Нарожный, Голованова 1990: 5—17), найдены фрагментированные стеклянные браслеты (Нарожный 2007б: 104—114), монета грузинской царицы Русудан (Нарожный 2007а: 78—80), золотоордынские монеты и пр. С исторической точки зрения округа указанных селений исследователями оценивается различно. По одной версии, топоним «Майртуп» переводится с чеченского языка как «стан храбрецов», что позволило подразумевать существование здесь своеобразной «буферной (на стыке равнины и Черных гор) зоны» между южной границей золотоордынских владений здесь и высокогорьем, в состав Золотой Орды, как считается, так и не вошедшим. Серия упомянутых средневековых поселений этой «буферной зоны», как предполагается, также не входила в пределы владений Золотой Орды (Ахмадов, Алатаев, Дударев 1980: 5—8), хотя ныне существует и иной вариант этимологии данного названия (Мамаев 1984: 96—97, прим. 48).

Поливная керамика с рассматриваемой территории — сел. Майртуп и из округи близко расположенного от него села Курчалой, в основной своей массе, закавказского («азербайджанского») происхождения (рис. 8: 5—8), хотя в разведочных сборах есть и фрагменты поливной керамики, которые заманчиво связывать с притоком из округи Дербента (рис. 8: 1—4). Керамики с поливой отсюда золотоордынского и, возможно, иранского (рис. 8: 9—12) производства здесь значительно меньше.

Городище Верхний Джулат (больше известное как Дедяков и Татартуп) расположено в Кировском районе Республики Северная Осетия-Алания (рис. 1: 10). В. А. Кузнецов — один из основных, после Е. И. Крупнова и О. В. Милорадович, исследователей данного городища, в свое время утверждал, что находок «поливной керамики на Верхнем Джулате почти нет» (Кузнецов, Чеченов 1998:18) [2]. Но этому утверждению противоречат сведения проф. Л. П. Семенова, задолго до этого писавшего о находках здесь нескольких фрагментов поливной керамики (Семенов 1947: 27). Еще несколько фрагментов такой керамики упомянула и О. В. Милорадович, описывая свои находки из археологических раскопок Большой мечети этого же городища. При этом она указывала и на наличие поливных изразцов-вставок в декоре верхней части Татартупского минарета, до начала 1980-х годов возвышавшегося над городищем (Милорадович 1963: 71—73, 79—86). Одна такая деталь, названная О. В. Милорадович «тарелкообразной вставкой», позднее была опубликована нами (рис. 6: 9). Некоторое время спустя довольно интересные сведения опубликовал и сам В. А. Кузнецов. В частности, описывая кладку фундамента «северной стены» исследовавшейся им церкви №2 Верхнего Джулата, исследователь упоминает об обнаружении в фундаменте «двух валунов с пятнами светло-зеленой глазури», очевидно, — полагает В. А. Кузнецов, — связанными с местным производством глазури (хотя поливная посуда на Верхнем Джулате не производилась». (Кузнецов 2003: 138). Описывая участок под т. н. «городской площадью» с захоронениями под ней [3], В. А. Кузнецов указывает на находку здесь одного фрагмента керамики «со светло-желтой поливой (кв. 75) и другой — с белым фоном, на котором изображен остролистый стебель зеленого цвета (кв.79). Это все. Судить о месте производства этих фрагментов не берусь, может быть, они и грузинские или азербайджанские» (Кузнецов 2003: 163). И еще: статистика, — подчеркивает исследователь, — говорит сама

[1] Несмотря на существование выше указанного списка публикаций по истории изучения «Трехстенного городка» и высказанные уточнения о его локализации, в литературе по-прежнему появляются работы (Garunova 2015: 48—54), эти изменения не учитывающие.

[2] Ситуацию с поливной керамикой не изменила и недавно вышедшая книга этого же автора, прямо посвященная истории и археологии данного золотоордынского городища (Кузнецов 2014).

[3] На самом деле — это развалы булыжника от невысоких, малого диаметра каменных набросок над курганами (Нарожный 2005: 43—46), что, кстати говоря, повторяет ситуацию и на другом таком же могильнике близ Верхнего Джулата — могильнике «Сухая Балка» (Нарожный 2005: 21—42).

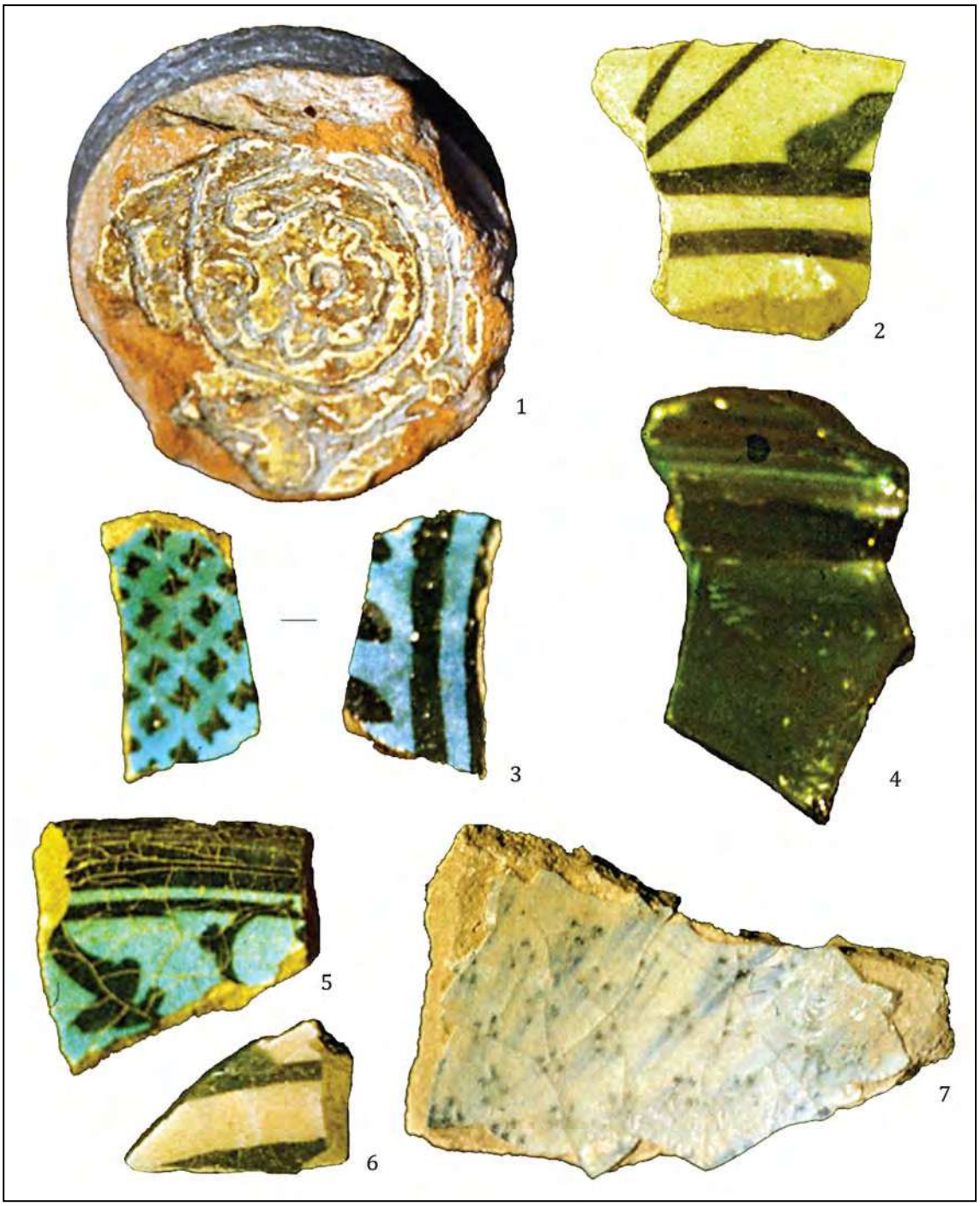

Рис. 4. Фрагменты поливной керамики XIII—XIV вв. с территории поселения, подстилающего русские Терки 1588 года.

Fig. 4. Fragments of glazed ceramics of 13th—14th centuries from the territory of settlement underlying Russian Terki 1588.

за себя: «поливная посуда золотоордынского времени на Верхнем Джулате — большая редкость» (Кузнецов 2003: 163). По всей видимости, следует признать: несмотря на отмеченную эпизодичность находок поливной керамики на городище, она, все же, там есть. А ее эпизодичность обусловлена лишь степенью археологической изученности и незначительной раскопанной площадью данного памятника. Сегодня же к указанным выше находкам поливной керамики Верхнего Джулата, следует добавить еще несколько фрагментов такой же керамики, которая хранятся в фондах Северо-Осетинского краеведческого музея (рис. 6: 5—7). Известен и подъемный материал — коллекция находок с Верхнего

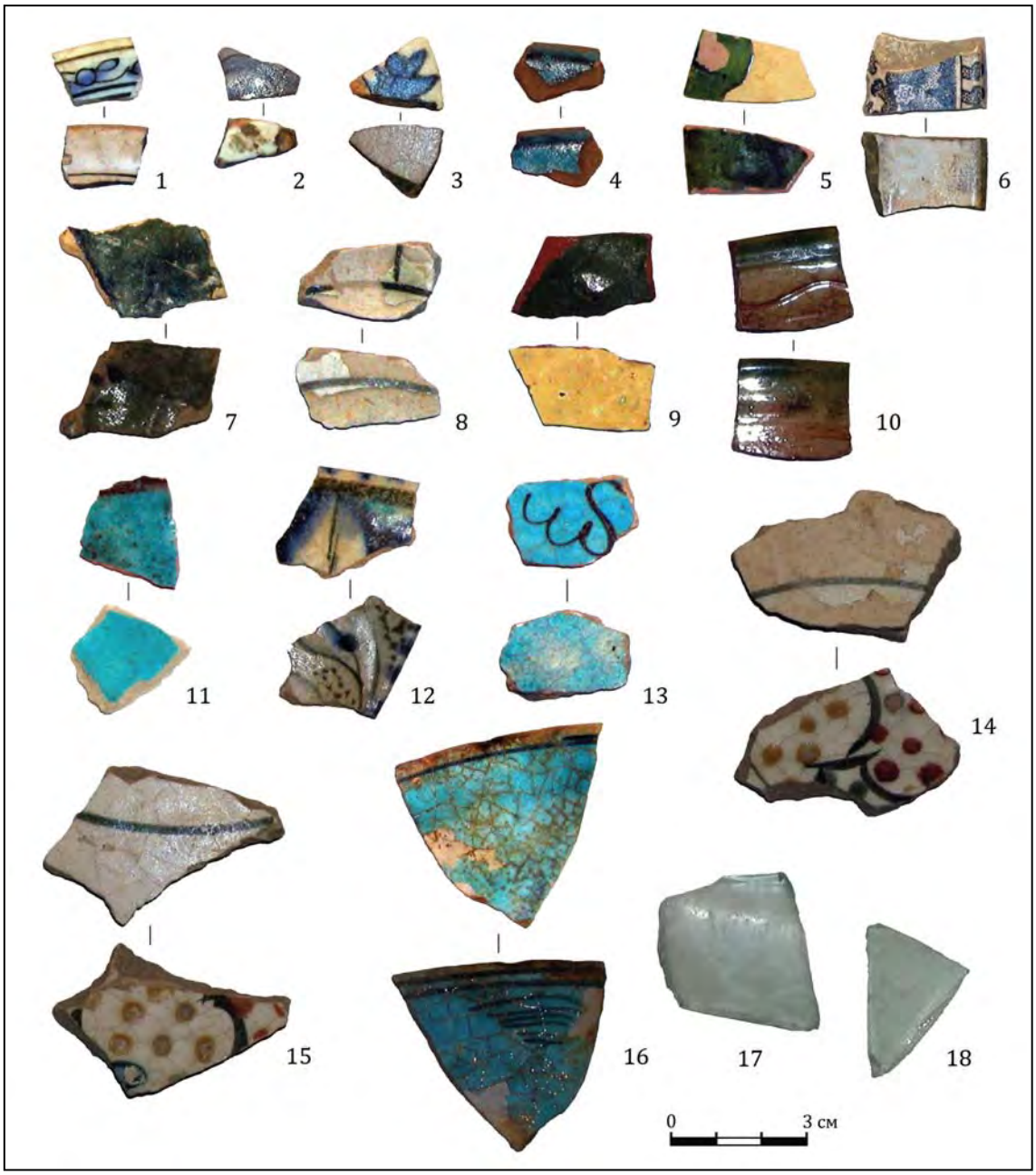

Рис. 5. Фрагменты поливной керамики XIV—XV вв. с территории поселения, подстилающего русские Терки 1588 года.

Fig. 5. Fragments of glazed ceramics of 13th—14th centuries from the territory of settlement underlying Russian Terki 1588.

Джулата (рис. 6) (Нарожный 2004: 266—269, 273, рис. 1).

Городище Нижний Джулат (рис. 1: 11) находится в Кабардино-Балкарии. Еще в 1964 году первые описания поливных кирпичей, нескольких фрагментов керамики и двух миниатюрных сосудиков с поливой (рис. 7: 16, 17), поднятых на этом памятнике местным краеведом-исследователем — М. И. Ермоленко, упомянул Л. И. Лавров (Лавров 1982: 161). Позднее эти же находки вместе с фрагментом глазурованной керамики, найденным при разрезе сырцовой стены вокруг цитадели Нижнего Джулата, упомянул И. М. Чеченов (Чеченов 1967: 212—225). Из этих находок в фондах Кабардино-Балкарского государственного объединенного музея удалось отыскать лишь отдельные образцы (рис. 7) (Нарожный 2004: 269—271, 274, рис. 2) [4].

[4] Укажу на недавний выход новой книги, посвященной истории и археологии золотоордынского Маджара и Нижнего Джулата. Нижне-джулатские материалы в ней опубликованы Э. Д. Зиливинской

Территория современных городов Кисловодск (рис. 1: 12) *и Ессентуки* Ставропольского края (рис. 1: 13). В окрестностях г. Ессентуки в свое время было исследовано несколько мавзолеев золотоордынского времени, с которыми связаны отдельные находки архитектурного декора (рис. 3) (Ртвеладзе 1969: 262—266; 1975; Палимпсестова, Рунич 1974, 229—239, рис. 4; Березин, Нарожный 2004: 314—317, рис. 2; Полковский 2012: 240—250).

В архивных материалах пятигорского краеведа-исследователя А. П. Рунича сохранились рисунки нескольких фрагментов поливной керамики золотоордынского времени. Согласно его записям, они были подняты им в двух точках Кисловодска и в его окрестностях (Нарожный 1992: 47—51, рис. 1).

Городище Маджары (рис. 1: 14) в Ставропольском крае. И. В. Волков считает, что в городе работали две керамические мастерские, одна из которых специализировалась исключительно на производстве поливной посуды. Основные типы поливной керамики городища, включая и архитектурный декор, неоднократно привлекали внимание нескольких исследователей. Изучению материалов этого городища посвящена специальная литература (Булатов 1969; Волкова 1972: 41—66; Гражданкина, Ртвеладзе 1971: 127—139; Ртвеладзе 1975; Волков 2007а: 26—33; 2007б: 33—42; Волков, Ярош 2007: 18—20; Обухов, Волков 2007: 20—26 и др.) [5].

Поселение близ сел. Курджипсское (рис. 1: 15) в Адыгее. Отдельные находки фрагментов поливной посуды отсюда упоминает Н. Г. Ловпаче (Ловпаче 1997: 264—266).

Белореченские курганы (рис. 1: 16). При их исследовании Н. И. Веселовским в погребальном инвентаре нескольких курганов было обнаружено несколько поливных сосудов, среди которых была и кашинная чаша (Волков 2006: 294). При наличии нескольких различных точек зрения и подходов к датировке основной массы этих курганов (Левашова 1953: 165—213; Виноградов, Нарожный, Нарожная 2001: 124—137; Березин, Березин, Нарожный 2007: 177—244), упомянутая выше чаша вряд ли может рассматриваться в качестве одного из основных и наиболее надежных хронологических маркеров в датировке основной массы Белореченских курганов только периодом, предшествовавшим «походам Тимура» (Волков 2006: 294) [6]. Находки

совместно с И. М. Чеченовым (Зиливинская, Чеченов 2015). Представляется удивительным, что при всей скудости имеющегося археологического материала с этого городища, указанные авторы не используют публикации иных авторов последних лет, включая и работы по поливной керамике Нижнего Джулата, и по нумизматике городища, а также наблюдения о фортификации этого памятника. Невостребованными оказались, к сожалению, и некоторые археологические материал, хранящиеся в фондах Национального музея КБР.

[5] В упоминавшейся выше книге первая ее часть, написанная Э. Д. Зиливинской, посвящена Маджарам. Опять-таки, недоумение вызывают не только некоторые историографические «провалы»: среди исследователей этого городища, например, «пропущены» Е. И. Крупнов, Н. М. Булатов, краевед А. П. Рунич, не говоря, к примеру, о вкладе в изучение памятника, сделанном Г. А. Федоровым-Давыдовым, В. П. Алексеевым и др. Между тем вне поля зрения Э. Д. Зиливинской остались и две кандидатские диссертации: если диссертация Э. В. Ртвеладзе только упоминается, и не более, то диссертация Н. М. Булатова «пропущена». Впрочем, невостребованным остался и раскопочный материал Н. М. Булатова, в свое время, после раскопок на Маджарах, сданный им в фонды Пятигорского краеведческого музея и с тех пор находящийся там. При подготовке монографии про Маджары он мог оказаться весьма полезным. Подобные историографические «пропуски», на что нами уже указывалось в литературе неоднократно (Нарожный 2011: 160—175; 2014: 147—153), не могут не тревожить, указывая на тенденциозный характер подобных ситуаций.

[6] В основе небольшой дискуссии лежит атрибуция одной из трех монет, обнаруженных Н. И. Веселовским в «шкатулке погребения» кургана №12. Предварительно монеты были определены А. К. Марковым, хранителем Императорского Эрмитажа. Информация затем неоднократно приводилась в работах В. П. Левашевой и Е. А. Пахомова (Левашева 1953: 105, 184; Пахомов 1957: 36). Ими обращалось внимание на находку сразу трех «серебряных золотоордынских монет». Одна монета «Узбек-хана 1320 г.», вторая «Шадибека 1401 г.»; третья монета — от имени «Сеид-Ахмета, царствовавшего в 1402—1419 гг.». Впоследствии была предпринята попытка увязать данного Сеид-Ахмета с одним из последних «Ахматовых детей», активно действовавшим не только в Прикубанье, но и в Крыму (Виноградов, Нарожный, Нарожная 2001: 124—137). Подобная атрибуция предусматривала значительное «омоложение» даты части Белореченских курганов, со временем вызвав к себе критическое отношение (Волков 2006: 278—328). Сегодня, когда появились новые типы монет с именами других тезок Сейид-Ахмета, в решение проблемы внесена некоторая ясность (Крамаровский 2009: 464—465, прим. 11; 2012: 443—465). По мнению П. Н. Петрова, такое «омоложение монеты» было «изначально ошибочным», т. к. предусматривало ее отнесение к чекану Саид-Ахмада «II-го» 886 г. х. (1481 г.). К тому же, во всех статьях разных авторов с нумерацией ханов с именем Саид-Ахмад наблюдаются неточности, в основном из-за того, что в 2005 г. был обнаружен еще один такой эмитент, и он имеет «порядковый номер 1», что не учитывается публикаторами. Поэтому Саид-Ахмад, правивший в 886 г. х., — это Саид-Ахмад III-й. Монета же из Белореченского погребения принадле-

поливной керамики из этих курганов, как посуды «XIV—XV вв.», ныне в научный оборот ввела Е. А. Армарчук (Армарчук 2015: 120—135).

Большеголубицкое поселение (Чхаидзе 2004: 234—244) на Нижней Кубани (рис. 1: 17). Памятник в разное время отождествлялся с «г. Росия» = «г. Руссия» из упоминаний ал-Идриси [7], или же фигурировал в числе возможных «претендентов» на роль итальянской Копы (Волков 1998: 14—38; 2003: 108). С территории городища опубликован единственный фрагмент поливной керамики интересующего нас времени (Волков 1998: 38, рис. 4).

Поселение с «укрепленной частью» и с одним (из трех) исследованным курганным могильником находится близ хут. *Черный Ерик* в Славянском районе Краснодарского края (рис. 1: 22), отождествляется с периферийной границей «Ло Копо», или «области Копарио». Дата памятников «определяется монетами XV в. — генуэзско-татарскими и Крымского ханства». Раскопки дали выразительную коллекцию поливной посуды, «в основном, импортной», связываемой с различными городами Крыма (Волков 2007а: 26, рис. 1: 1), а также «испано-мавританскую люстровую чашу» и др. (Волков 2007а: 26—27).

Поселение «Жукова» и могильник, впущенный в него, были открыты в окрестностях хут. «Кубанская колонка» в Крымском районе Краснодарского края (рис. 1: 23). В ходе охранных археологических исследований на территории средневекового поселения (Ларенок, Нечипорук 2012: 327—328), собрана выразительная коллекция поливной керамики (Нечипорук, Ларенок 2013: 167—181) как золотоордынского, так и крымского происхождения. Судя по монетным находкам, «монеты датируют памятник началом — 90-ми годами XIV века» (Нечипорук, Ларенок 2013: 172). К этому хронологическому периоду, вероятно, относится и преобладающая часть этой коллекции поливной посуды отсюда, находящей аналогии на золотоордынских поселениях Поволжья и Крыма (Нечипорук, Ларенок 2013: 172); некоторая часть этой керамики — полумайолика (Чхаидзе 2013: 140, рис. 5: 25). Вместе с тем, несколько фрагментов поливной керамики этого поселения было отнесено и к более позднему периоду времени — ко времени основания села «Кубанская колонка» во второй половине XIX века. (Нечипорук, Ларенок 2013: 172).

«Куст» расположенных неподалеку друг от друга поселений, как минимум, четырех — *«Железнодорожное», «Железнодорожное-1, 2 и 3»* и *грунтовый могильник* между поселениями «Железнодорожное-1» и «Железнодорожное-2» в Крымском районе Краснодарского края (рис. 1: 24, а-г). Если поселение «Железнодорожное» предварительно (в 1980-е годы) было отнесено к «XIII—XVIII вв.», то охранно-спасательные работы 2012 г. сузили его дату до «XII—XIV вв.» (Соловьев, Городилов, Садыков 2013: 223—232). Остальные из вышеназванных археологических объектов отнесены к XIV — нач. XV вв. (Василиненко, Нарожный, Соков 2014: 326—328; Василиненко, Жеребилов, Тищенко 2014: 329—330; Нарожный, Соков, Тищенко 2014: 374—376; Нарожный, Соков 2014а: 138—177; 2014б: 407—410). Отсюда происходит не только выразительная коллекция красноглиняной керамики, включая фрагменты клейменых амфор золотоордынского времени (Майко и др. 2014: 329—343), но и небольшая, к сожалению, пока не опубликованная коллекция поливной керамики, также золотоордынского и крымского происхождения.

Тамань — станица в Краснодарском крае (рис. 1: 25). Исследователи Таманского городища полагают: несмотря на существование целого ряда специальных работ об археологическом изучении этого городища, отождествляемого в т. ч. со средневековой Матрикой-Матрегой, находки поливной керамики отсюда, по мере активизации и расширения раскопочных работ, все увеличиваются и «изучение поливной керамики Таманского городища… в полной мере еще предстоит» (Чхаидзе 2013: 134, 135, рис. 1: 1). Тем не менее, уже сегодня в научный оборот введены фрагменты поливной тарелки, находящей аналогии «в пределах византийской ойкумены… XIII—XIV вв.» (Чхаидзе 2013: 134), фрагментированный кувшин (Чхаидзе 2013:

жит Саид-Ахмаду II (около 838 г.х.) (Крамаровский 2009: 464—465, прим. 11; Петров 2013: 196, прим.1), «а Саид-Ахмад I краткосрочно правил в 819 г.х.» (Рева 2005: 57—59; Петров 2013: 196, прим. 1).

[7] Обзор точек зрения Ю. М. Десятчикова и В. А. Захарова на этот счет см.: Волков 2003: 108. Помимо используемых указанными исследователями источников, «город Русийа» упоминают и другие средневековые арабские авторы второй пол. XI — первой трети XIV вв. — ал-Бакри, Ибн-Са'ид, абу-л-Фида', ал-Дамашки (Коновалова 2009: 60, прим. 10). Задолго до отождествления: «г. Руссия» — «Большеголубицкое городище», одни сопоставляли его с г. Азовом, другие считали, что это «Олешье в устье Днепра». Однако контекст известных источников и последовательность их заимствований арабскими авторами не дает оснований для любой конкретной локализации данного города (Коновалова 2009: 60—64, прим. 13 и 14).

Рис. 6. Поливная керамика с городища Верхний Джулат: 1—8, 10—13 — фрагменты посуды; 9, 14—16 — фрагменты архитектурного декора.

Fig. 6. Glazed pottery from the Verhniy Dzhulat hillfort: 1—8, 10—13 — fragments of vessel; 9, 14—16 — fragments of architectural décor .

134, 136, рис. 2: 1), относящийся к типу, датируемому различно, во временном размахе с «XIII в. по третью четверть XIV», или даже «конец XIV в.» (Чхаидзе 2013: 138). Приток на территорию азово-причерноморских бытовых памятников такой керамики ныне связывают напрямую с генуэзско-венецианской торговлей. Центрами же их производства, как предполагают, могли быть мастерские, как предполагалось, «где-то на Балканах» или же в ближайшей округе Константинополя (Крамаровский 2001: 202; Чхаидзе 2013: 138).

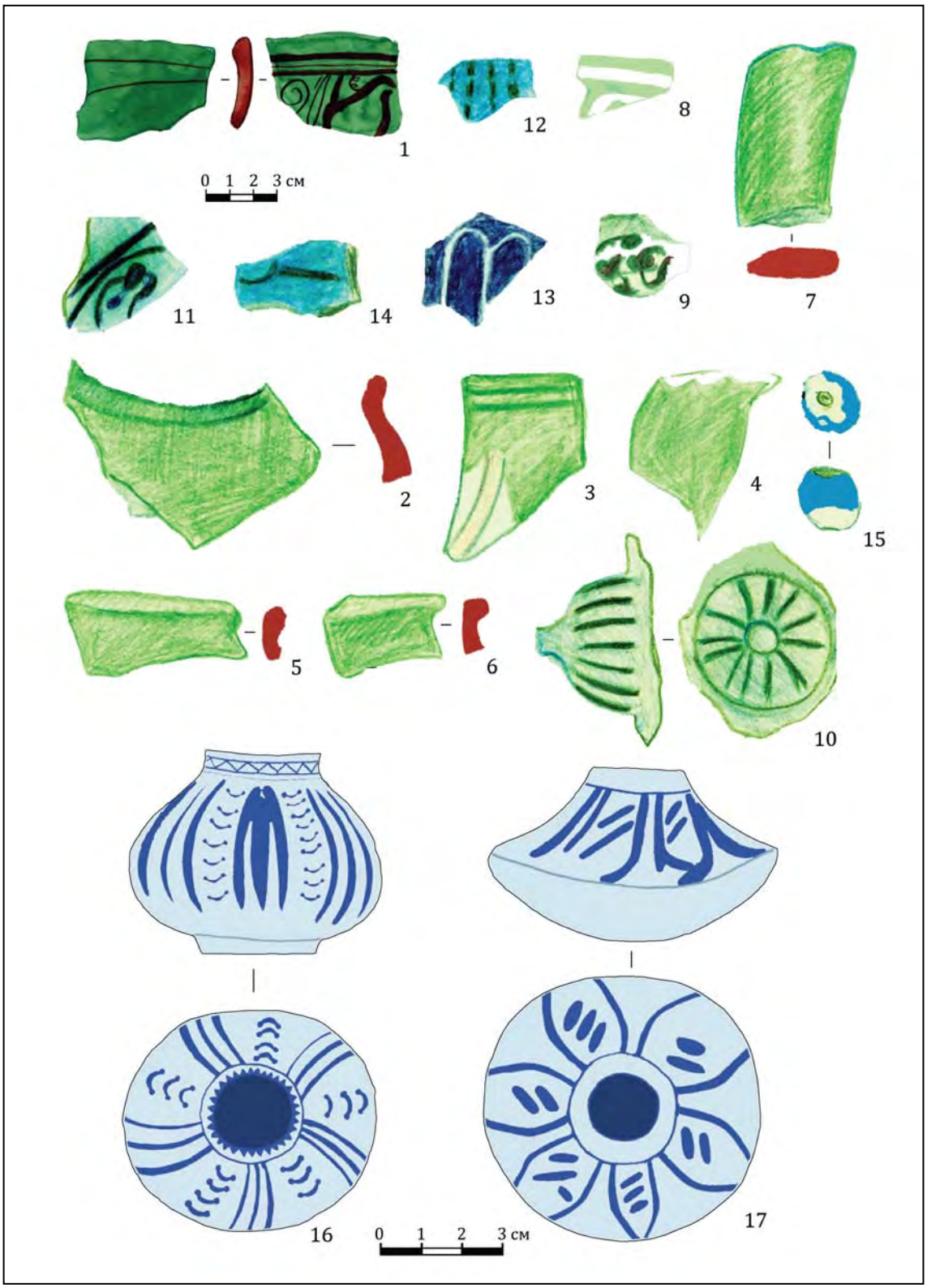

Рис. 7. Находки поливной керамики с Нижниего Джулата.

Fig. 7. Finds of glazed ceramics from the Nizhiy Dzhulat hillfort.

Из грабительских раскопок в степном Прикубанье (точнее неизвестно) происходит фрагмент поливного сосуда с налепом в виде фигурки птицы (Маслов, Чхаидзе 2008: 100—101; Чхаидзе 2013: 142). Аналогии ему известны среди других сосудов, напри-

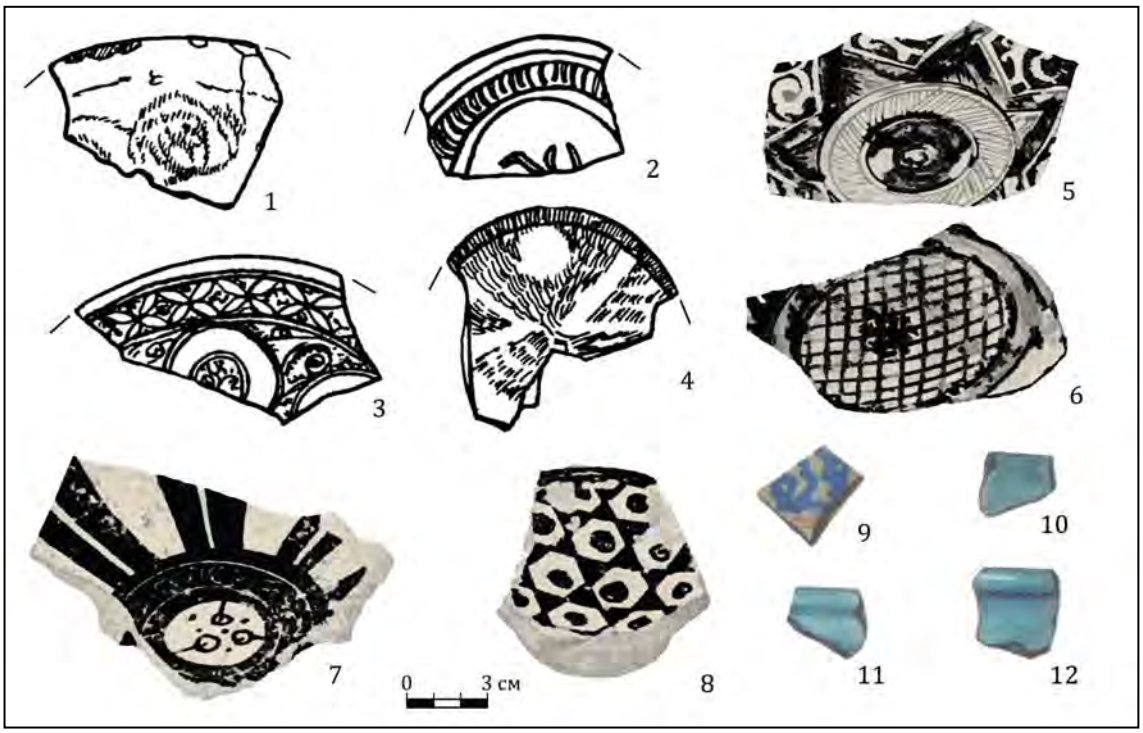

Рис. 8. Фрагменты поливной керамики XII—XIII вв.: 1—4 — «дербентской»; 5—8 — «азербайджанской» (5—8); 9—12 — иранской из сел. Майртуп и Курчалой.

Fig. 8. Fragments of glazed ceramics of 12th—13th centuries: 1—4 — «Derbent»; 5—8 — «Azerbaijani»; 9—12 — Iranian from Mayrtup and Kurchaloy unfortified sites.

мер, из Варны, Херсонеса, Азака и Хаджи-Тархана (Маслов, Чхаидзе 2008: 100—101; Чхаидзе 2013: 142).

Помимо уже указанных пунктов, на территории региона находки поливной керамики известны и с других территории Азово-Черноморского побережья. Например, небольшая коллекция поливной керамики (рис. 9: 1—4) происходит из окрестностей *г. Анапа* (рис. 1: 26). Исследователи подчеркивают крайне редкий характер обнаружения поливной керамики при археологическом изучении средневековых памятников округи данного города. Наиболее репрезентативной является коллекция таковых находок, происходящая «со дна малой Анапской бухты», поднятых в 1989—1990 гг. Это донные части четырех чаш и «фрагмент стенки открытого сосуда» (рис. 9). Аналогии им приводятся среди аналогичных материалов с Тамани, из Азака и Белгорода-Днестровского золотоордынского времени, хотя находки из бухты связываются с возможным «кораблекрушением» (Новичихина, Новичихин 2000: 76—80).

Отдельные экземпляры поливной посуды золотоордынского времени есть в фондах и экспозиции *Новороссийского краеведческого музея* (рис. 1: 18). Известны находки как минимум еще трех чаш, находящихся в частной коллекции, связанной своим происхождением с курганными древностями золотоордынского времени широкой округи Новороссийска. Одна из чаш, из кашина, находит полные аналогии среди материалов XIV в. золотоордынского Поволжья (Лисова 2012: цветная вклейка, рис. 12). Вторая чаша расколота на четыре части (четвертая, отсутствующая ее часть, загипсована) и также имеет полные аналогии в материалах золотоордынского Поволжья (Федоров-Давыдов, Вайнер, Гусева 1974: 122, табл. VII: 12). Третья чаша, красноглиняная, с потрескавшейся и облупившейся поливой, также находит точные аналогии среди красноглиняной поливной керамики золотоордынского Поволжья (Булатов 1976: 101, табл. II: 3). Кроме того, в той же коллекции находится и небольшая выборка фрагментов поливной керамики, связанная с двумя разрушенными курганными могильниками — Широкая балка и Мокрая балка (точнее неизвестно). В ней есть фрагменты красноглиняных чаш, хорошо известным по аналогиям из золотоордынского Поволжья (Булатов 1976: 102, табл. VII: 1, 8; табл. VIII: 1; Глухов 2014а: рис. 10: 1, 10; Коваль, Бадеев 2015: 329, рис. 2: 4 и др.).

Единичные находки известны из-под *г. Геленджика* (рис. 1: 28) (Чхаидзе 2013: 137, рис. 3: 5). Несколько поливных сосу-

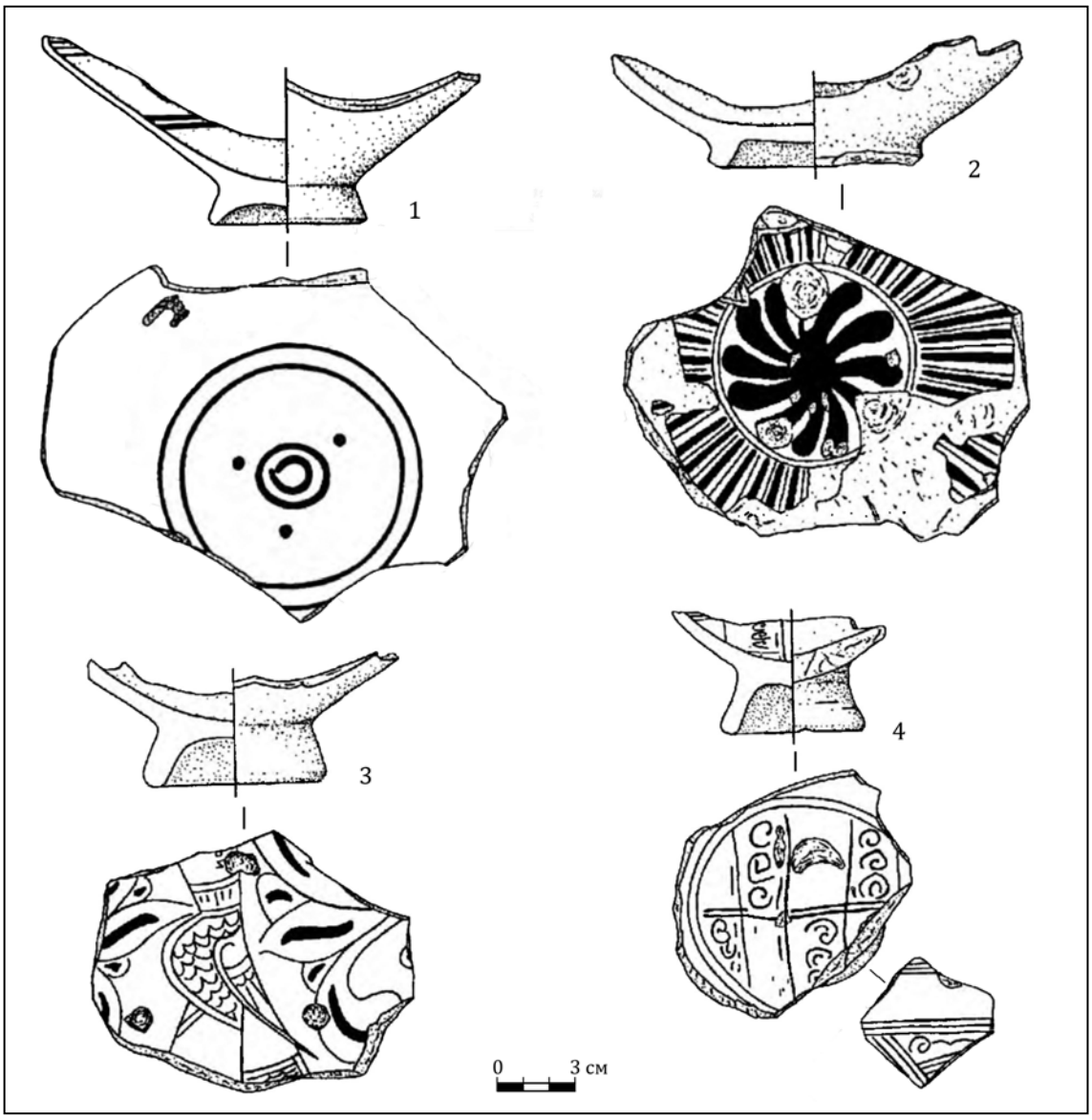

Рис. 9. Поливная керамика из Малой Анапской бухты, окрестности г. Анапа (по Новичихина, Новичихин 2000: 78, рис. 1—4).

Fig. 9. Glazed ceramics from the bottom of the Small Anapa Bay, neighborhoods of Anapa (after Новичихина, Новичихин 2000: 78, рис. 1—4).

дов, разной степени сохранности, происходят из разрушенной части курганного могильника Молоканова щель, находившегося на берегу Черного моря, в окрестностях г. Геленджика — сел. Прасковеевское (рис. 1: 28, 29). Среди них особо выделим кашинный сосуд с полихромной росписью, практически тождественный кувшину из Сарай-Бату (Лисова 2012: табл. 32, рис. 2). Второй сосуд тождественен такой же находке, как уже упоминавшийся сосуд из-под Геленджика (Чхаидзе 2013: 137, рис. 3: 5). В тех же курганах были отмечены две, практически целые красноглиняные чаши, крымского производства, аналогии которым, к примеру, есть в погребальном инвентаре курганов из-под Сочи (Василиненко 2008: 279, рис. 14). Оттуда же происходит и несколько крупных фрагментов поливной керамики, один из которых аналогичен керамике из находок в Старом Крыму (Крамаровский, Гукин 2004: 156, табл. 38: 1). Второй тождественен фрагменту кашинной керамики с Царевского городища (Глухов 2014б: рис. 58: 4); другие фрагменты красноглиняной посуды (чаш) находят полные аналогии в Старом Крыму (Солхате) (Гаврилов, Майко 2014: 66, 68).

Единичные находки поливных чаш связаны и с подкурганными погребальными комплексами из окрестностей *г. Сочи* (рис. 1:

19). Чаши отсюда связываются с импортами из Крыма (Василиненко 2008: 279, рис. 14).

Находки поливной керамики известны и с территории высокогорной зоны Северо-Восточного Кавказа, как считается, так и не вошедшей в систему прямого и непосредственного политико-экономического диктата Золотой Орды. Среди них выделяются фрагменты поливных чаш с территории средневекового святилища Итаз-Ерда (рис. 1: 20) в высокогорной Ингушетии, хранившиеся в фондах Чечено-Ингушского государственного краеведческого музея. Автор раскопок не указан; заманчиво сопоставить предметы с материалами раскопок 1970-х годов, проводившихся здесь М. Б. Мужухоевым.

В ходе охранно-спасательных археологических раскопок обширного *Келийского могильника* (рис. 1: 21) в высокогорной Ингушетии, в погребальных комплексах достаточно частыми были находки глиняных и кашинных бус, покрытых разноцветными поливами, а также находки округлых (линзовидных и уплощенно-овальной форм в сечении) пуговиц с двумя отверстиями. Все они из кашина с бирюзовой и темно-синей поливами (Жилина 2007: 97—103). В погребениях могильника были выявлены и два целых сосуда — т. н. «умывальник» с глухой поливой зеленого цвета и небольшой двуручный сосудик со следами поливы по внешней поверхности (материалы не опубликованы).

Отмеченная география известных нам находок вряд ли исчерпывающе отражает известные реалии, поскольку мы учли лишь доступные нам материалы. Вместе с тем, несмотря на степень полноты их описаний, определения и атрибуции, материалы эти наглядно демонстрируют нам тот факт, что в западной части Северокавказского региона, помимо собственно золотоордынской керамики, достаточно часто встречается и керамика импортная, попадавшая сюда из разных уголков Европы посредством различных направлений международной торговли. Отчасти, близкую картину демонстрирует и поливная керамика золотоордынского города Маджара. Что же касается центральных и восточных районов Северного Кавказа, поливная керамика отсюда известна, главным образом, не из раскопок, а из разведочных сборов. Представлена она, как правило, мелкими и не всегда твердо определяемыми по типологической принадлежности фрагментами. Тем не менее, некоторая часть этой коллекции, в определении которой в свое время нам была оказана консультационная помощь Г. А. Федоровым-Давыдовым и Т. В. Скоробогатовой, М. Н. Мицишвили (1985 г.), И. В. Волковым (1998 г.) и другими специалистами, вполне уверенно может быть атрибутирована.

II. К типологии находок поливной керамики

Все известные нам находки поливной керамики с территории Северного Кавказа следует разделить на несколько условных выборок.

Комплекс 1. Керамика XII—XIII вв. закавказского происхождения

1.1. Керамика, имеющая аналоги в Дербенте

Это четыре фрагмента от поливных чаш на кольцевом поддоне (рис. 8: 1—4). Они происходят из окрестностей сел. Майртуп и имеют полные аналогии среди поливной керамики Дербента (Кудрявцев 1985: 227, рис. 59: 2—5), где они датированы периодом XII—XIII вв. Эти чаши характеризуются сочетанием бело-молочного фона внутренней поверхности, слабо заглубленным в тесто рисунком растительного орнамента, закрашенного светло-салатными, зеленоватыми, и желто-коричневыми красителями. В отличие от дербентских находок, тождественные образцы из Майртупа имеют следы производственного брака — растекшиеся пятна подглазурной росписи, выходящие за пределы прочерченного рисунка, другие подтеки; глазурь имеет крупные пузырьки воздуха, со временем превратившиеся в мелкие выщерблины. Заманчиво сопоставлять данные находки с керамическими импортами из Дербента и его округи.

1.2. Керамика, находящая аналогии на территории современного Северо-Восточного Азербайджана

В основном фрагменты керамики этой выборки (52 фр.) происходят из сел. Майртуп и Курчалой. К сожалению, фрагменты мелкие, хотя среди них выделяется внутренняя часть дна красноглиняной чаши (рис. 8: 6). Центр днища орнаментирован тонкой гравировкой, образующей сетку из квадратов. Врезанные линии покрыты полихромной раскраской. Аналогичным образом декорирована и небольшая окружность, в которую вписана указанная сетка. Точные аналогии известны среди поливной керамики Старой Гянджи и Шабрана, где ее датируют XI—XIII вв. (Достиев 1989: 220, 199, рис. 4: 5).

Два типологически близких фрагмента (один из Курчалоя, второй — из Майртупа) декорированы в технике «резерва»: орнамент в виде двойной, многолучевой розетки, в центр которой вписан широкий круг, заштрихованный тонкими косыми линиями (рис. 8: 5). Ближайшие аналогии этим фрагментам известны на территории современного Северо-Восточного Азербайджана (Достиев 1989: 199, рис. 4: 4). На тех же поселениях Юго-Восточной Чечни есть и другие фрагменты керамики, находящие аналогии на территории ряда средневековых поселений Северо-Восточного Азербайджана (Достиев 1989: 200, рис. 7: 2, 295, рис. 8: 1). Там же находит полные аналогии и фрагмент архитектурного декора (Достиев 1989: 199, рис. 4: 2) с городища Верхний Джулат (рис. 6: 15) (Нарожный 2004: 273, рис. 1: 15).

Любопытно, что, как и в случае с фрагментами поливной керамики «дербентского» происхождения, закавказские («азербайджанские») образцы керамики имеют следы явного производственного брака — подглазурная раскраска в виде подтеков, полива с пузырьками воздуха, нечеткие («подплывшие») контуры рисунков и пр.

В связи с находками фрагментов данной выборки, покрывающими узкое географическое пространство (Майртуп и Курчалой в Юго-Восточной Чечне), закономерно встает вопрос о времени и условиях ее распространения здесь.

Опираясь на существующие версии, можно указать на гипотезу В. А. Кузнецова, продекларировавшего тезис о притоке «пленных ремесленников из Азербайджана», якобы перемещенных Узбек-ханом в Восточное Придарьялье. Именно с ними исследователь связывает и строительство нескольких христианских храмов и двух мечетей на Верхнем Джулате (Кузнецов 1974: 56). Гипотеза, полагает В. А. Кузнецов, вполне объясняет преимущественно, не только «азербайджанские» аналоги в архитектуре указанных культовых зданий, но и их «азербайджанские истоки» (Кузнецов 1974; 56). Версия впоследствии была поддержана и другими исследователями, хотя аргументов на этот счет не добавилось (Мамедов 1979: 36—47; 1988: 60—66) [8]. На фоне подобных сопоставлений совсем не исключена и возможность постановки вопроса и о «местном (на Северном Кавказе) производстве» интересующей нас керамики. Однако, указанная гипотеза, кроме ее констатации, никак более не аргументируется, что делает ее сильно уязвимой. Скорее всего, причины распространения такой керамики на Северном Кавказе следует рассматривать вкупе с иными археологическими материалами, преимущественно, с нумизматическими находками. Последние представлены единичными экземплярами монет грузинской царицы Русудан, перечеканенных хорезмшахом Джелал ад-Дином вскоре после захвата им сначала Тбилиси, а затем и его казны (Джалагания 1979: 76; Нарожный 2010). Все находки поливной керамики с территории Северо-Восточного Кавказа следует изучать вместе с находками монет Русудан из округи Дербента и Майртупа (Нарожный 2007а: 70—80). Эти же материалы ныне рассматриваются как свидетельства того, что на отрезке времени между первым (1222 г.) и вторым (конец 1230-х гг.) появлениями монголо-татарских орд на Северном Кавказе, полной «катастрофы», констатируемой целым рядом авторитетных исследователей-кавказоведов (обзор этих точек зрений см.: Нарожный 2010), все же не произошло. Со второй пол. 1220-х гг. заметно даже некоторое возрождение экономических взаимоотношений между населением Закавказья и обитателями не только округи Дербента, но и территорий Северо-Восточного Кавказа (Нарожный 2010). Такое восприятие ситуации вполне объясняет не только наблюдаемый приток сюда отмеченных выше нумизматических материалов из Грузии. Вместе с ними происходит и заметное перемещение обильного ассортимента как «дербентской», так и «азербайджанской» [9] и, видимо, не только поливной керамики, производившейся в мастерских Дербента и Северо-Восточного Азербайджана, уже оправившихся от потрясений 1222 года (Нарожный 2007а: 70—80; 2007в: 151—155; 2010). Это вполне объясняет и отмечавшееся выше обилие признаков «производственного брака» на значительной части поливной керамики.

1.3. Керамика «грузинского» происхождения

В нашей коллекции она представлена несколькими фрагментами (тип как на рис. 6: 1—4). Прежде всего, это находки из горноингушского святилища Итаз-Ерда. По заключению Т. Н. Мицишвили, подобные

[8] Эти взгляды полностью разделяет и Э. Д. Зиливинская. (Об этом см.: Нарожный 2003: 151—160; 2011: 160—175).

[9] Следует оговорить особо, что оба названия — условны, указывая лишь на локальные географические области.

находки характерны для округи грузинского городища Живали в Восточной Картли (Нарожный 2003: 263—271; 2007в: 151—155). На Верхнем Джулате есть еще несколько фрагментов от красноглиняных чаш (рис. 6, 1—4), также сопоставимый с живальской керамикой (Нарожный 2003: 263—271; 2010). Данное сопоставление документируют полные образцы таких же изделий из погребального инвентаря Живальского могильника Накалакари (Джорбенадзе 1992: 12, рис. 1; 2). Указанные материалы вполне подтверждают мнение грузинских коллег о том, что грузинская средневековая поливная и неполивная керамика активно распространялась из окрестностей средневекового города Живали вниз по Тереку, достигая округи Восточного Придарьялья (Джорбенадзе, Челакашвили, Рчеушвили 1985: 20—26).

Комплекс 2. Керамика XIII—XIV вв.

В нее включены фрагменты поливной (кашинной и красноглиняной) керамики с территории Северного Кавказа. В основном это разновременные сборы на различных поселениях. При классификации мы опирались на опыт Г. А. Федорова-Давыдова и Н. М. Булатова (Федоров-Давыдов, Булатов 1989: 133—248).

Класс 1. Кашинная керамика

Отдел 1. С бесцветной поливой.

Подотдел 1. С прозрачной поливой.

Группа 1. С бессвинцовой поливой.

Тип 1. С подглазурной полихромной росписью и рельефом.

В основном это фрагменты пиалообразных чаш, из сборов в окрестностях Майртупа (15 фр.), Курчалоя (12 фр.), а также на Верхнем Джулате (2 фр.) и Старогладовском поселении (7 фр.). Как правило, орнамент, размещенный по внешней стороне — аркообразной формы, расцвечен синими и темно-синими красителями. Декор с внутренней стороны, насколько об этом можно судить, также синего цвета. Такой декор известен на керамических изделиях XIII—XIV вв. из Ирана и Средней Азии, Западного Казахстана (Сарайчик), Хорезм и золотоордынских городов Нижнего Поволжья (Скоробогатова 1983: 193, рис. 11; Федоров-Давыдов, Булатов 1989: 94 и др.). Известны такие же керамические изделия и на Маджарах (сборы А. П. Рунича), в золотоордынском Азаке, а также среди керамической посуды средневекового Дербента (Кудрявцев 1981: 83, рис. 3: 1), датированный там периодом с «XI по середину XIII века» (Кудрявцев 1981: 83).

Тип 2. То же, но без рельефа.

Это фрагменты керамики со Старогладовского поселения (8 фр.) и Майртупа (5 фр.). Аналогии хорошо известны с территории золотоордынского Поволжья (Федоров-Давыдов, Булатов 1989: 94, рис. 1: 3; 97, рис. 3: 1—2).

Тип 3. С подглазурной полихромной росписью синим и черным цветом.

Находки фрагментов керамики этого типа представлены на Старогладовском поселении (7 фр.), в Майртупе (7 фр.) и в Курчалое (1 фр.). Аналогичные фрагменты известны на Маджарском городище (сборы А. П. Рунича) и в золотоордынском Поволжье (Федоров-Давыдов, Булатов 1989: 196, рис. 3).

Тип 4. С подглазурной монохромной росписью коричневого цвета.

Это единственный фрагмент керамики с Верхнего Джулата. Еще по два однотипных фрагмента происходят из Майртупа и Старогладовского поселения. Вероятно, они золотоордынского происхождения.

Тип 5. С подглазурной монохромной росписью голубым (небесным) цветом.

Это фрагменты керамики со Старогладовского поселения (10 фр.). Аналогии известны на Маджарах (сборы А. П. Рунича), а также в золотоордынском Поволжье.

Тип 6. «Тимуридская» керамика.

Такая керамика (о ней см.: Шляхова 1980: 75—86; 1991: 72—86) немногочисленна. Ее фрагменты известны среди сборов на Старогладовском поселении, в Майртупе, на Нижнем Джулате. Северокавказские находки имеют полные аналогии в золотоордынском Поволжье (Булатов 1969).

Группа 2. С бирюзовой поливой.

Тип 1. Без подглазурной росписи.

Сюда включены фрагменты керамики (верхняя часть) от миниатюрного сосуда со Старогладовского поселения и фрагмент от аналогичного сосуда из Майртупа.

Тип 2. С черной росписью под бирюзовой поливой.

В этот тип включены 5 фрагментов керамики со Старогладовского поселения (1 фр.), Майртупа (3 фр.) и Курчалоя (1 фр.). Аналогии им известны на городищах золотоордынского Поволжья.

Тип 3. С рельефом без росписи.

Находки этого типа керамики немногочисленны: на Старогладовском поселении их поднято 2 фр.; 6 фр. происходит из Майртупа. Еще 3 фр. из Курчалоя.

Тип 4. С ультрамариновой росписью.

Находки таких фрагментов малочисленны. На Старогладовском поселении (10 фр.) они представлены слабо выразительными экземплярами. То же самое относится к двум мелким фрагментам из Майртупа и одному из Курчалоя.

Группа 3. С двухцветной непрозрачной поливой.

Тип 1. С ультрамариновой и белой (глухой) поливой.

Известно всего два фрагмента среди сборов на Старогладовском поселении и один из Майртупа. 10 фрагментов таких же экземпляров происходят из низовий Терека (поселение, подстилающее Терки 1588 года), на Маджарах (сборы А.П. Рунича — 5 фр.). Керамика этого типа с внешней стороны ультрамаринового цвета; с внутренней стороны — молочно-белый, непрозрачный цвет.

Класс 2. Красноглиняная поливная керамика

Керамика этого класса, как правило, прекрасного качества, из отмученной глины и ровного прокала, звонкого обжига. Лишь изредка встречаются фрагменты с едва заметными примесями кварцевого песка (Старогладовское поселение).

Отдел 1.

Подотдел 1. С прозрачной поливой.

Группа 1. С бесцветной поливой.

Тип 1. С белым ангобом.

Это фрагмент центральной части чаши из Майртупа и 10 слабо выразительных фрагментов керамики из Курчалоя.

Тип 2. С гравировкой по ангобу и монохромной подглазурной росписью.

В этот тип включено донышко чаши из Майртупа и аналогичные фрагменты из сборов на Старогладовском поселении (6 фр.). Еще один фрагмент — подъемный материал с территории поселения, подстилающего русские Терки 1588 года. Чаши этого типа — на кольцевом поддоне. По составу теста весьма близки аналогичной керамике с Маджарского городища; возможно, что все они — из одного ремесленного центра.

Тип 3. То же, но с полихромной росписью.

Это мелкие фрагменты керамики, поднятые на Майртупском поселении. Среди них стенка чаши, декорированной с внутренней стороны тонкой линией гравировки, затем заполненной разными красками: коричневого, темно-зеленого и розово-красного цветов. Встречаются и фрагменты, раскрашенные черно-коричневыми тонкими линиями (сборы А.П. Рунича в г. Кисловодске) и имеющие близкие аналогии среди керамики ряда поселений XII—XIII вв. в Азербайджане (Достиев 1989: 197, 198, рис. 3; 5), возможно, не золотоордынского, а закавказского (?) происхождения.

Тип 4. Керамика с использованием техники «резерва».

Это фрагменты с изображением «плетенки», беспаспортные, до 1991 года хранились в фондах Чечено-Ингушского краеведческого музея (3 фр.). «Плетенка» выполнена по белому ангобу. Данному экземпляру известны точные аналогии с территории Северо-Восточного Азербайджана (Достиев 1989: 197—199), а также в Иране, Армении и Грузии. Декор в виде «плетенки» был широко популярен, и в золотоордынское время использовался для декора не только керамики, но и в резьбе по камню (Достиев 1989: 164—191; Ложкин 1984: 270—276). Некоторые специалисты считают возможным связывать генезис такого декора с территорией христианских государств Закавказья (Иванов 1976: 164—191).

Тип 5. С зеленой раскраской под поливой.

Представлен пряслицем из Майртупа, изготовленным из стенки сосуда (аналогии в золотоордынской керамике Азака и в Херсонесе XIII—XIV вв.) (Романчук, Перевозчиков 1990: 111, рис. 12: 36, 38; 25: X-90).

Тип 6. С раскраской марганцем по ангобу.

К этому типу относится заготовка под пряслице, выточенная из стенки сосуда из Майртупа. Черепок таких изделий покрывался белым ангобом, по которому тонкой гравировкой наносился декор, заполнявшийся марганцем. Такая керамика известна в Байлакане XII—XIII вв. (Достиев 1989: 160), Баку, Старой Гяндже и средневековой Кабале, а также в Средней Азии, Византии и Иране (Ахмедов 1981: 20—35). Приведенный фрагмент керамики обработан таким образом, что оставшаяся часть декора напоминает солярный знак, почитавшийся в регионе с древнейших времен.

Другой фрагмент керамики этого типа также из Майртупа. Судя по аналогиям (Достиев 1989: 200, рис. 8: 1), он не золотоордынского, а закавказского происхождения.

Группа 2. С бирюзовой поливой.

Тип 1. Без росписи.

В нашей коллекции данный тип керамики представлен 4 фрагментами из Майртупа. Аналогии известны среди сборов А.П. Рунича на Маджарах и в городах золотоордынского Поволжья (Федоров-Давыдов, Булатов 1989: 200). Два мелких фрагмента подняты в стен-

ке оврага у Майртупского грунтового могильника эпохи поздней бронзы.

Группа 3. С желтой поливой.

Тип 1. Гравировка с раскраской по белому ангобу.

К нему относятся два фрагмента керамики из Майртупа. Аналогии одному из них известны в Азаке, Херсоне XIII—XIV вв. и в Румынии (Кравченко 1986: 132). Второй фрагмент вырезан из центра дна чаши. Декор в виде круга с вписанными в него фигурами. Еще два фрагмента — подъемный материал (1985 г.) с территории Нижне-Архызского городища в Карачаево-Черкессии (рис. 1: 30).

Тип 2. С гравировкой и полихромной росписью.

Декор нанесен по белому ангобу в виде двойных полос, пространство между которыми заштриховано перпендикулярно расположенными насечками. Точки внутри образовавшихся квадратов — синие. Верхние декоративные сюжеты переданы горизонтальными линиями фиолетово-синего цвета. Вертикальные линии — голубые, чередующиеся со светло-коричневыми.

Тип 3. Прозрачная полива по белому ангобу.

Сюда следует включить фрагмент глиняного шара со Старогладовского поселения, аналогии которому известны, но без поливы, на Маджарах. Известны они (тоже без поливы) также и на территории других золотоордынских городов (Волков 1993: 145—160).

Подотдел 2. С непрозрачной поливой.

Группа 1. С непрозрачной бирюзовой поливой.

Тип 1. Без росписи.

Тип керамики представлен небольшим фрагментом горловины миниатюрного сосудика из Майртупа, аналогии которому известны среди уже приводившейся керамики, но из кашина (как на рис. 8: 11).

Тип 2. С гравировкой по ангобу и коричневыми линиями.

Это невыразительные фрагменты из Майртупа. Техника декорировки, насколько это можно судить по имеющимся образцам, представляла собой следующее: по ангобу белого цвета гравировкой наносились округлые завитки.

Отдел 2. Свинцовые поливы.

Подотдел 1. С зеленой поливой.

Тип 1. Без ангоба и росписи.

Это мелкий фрагмент ручки от сосуда и стенка чаши (Нижний Джулат). Сюда же входит и венчик от миниатюрного сосудика со Старогладовского поселения.

Тип 2. Зеленая полива по белому ангобу.

Пока известен один фрагмент от крупного сосуда со Старогладовского поселения.

Тип 3. С гравировкой тонкими и широкими полосами.

Это фрагменты чаш со Старогладовского поселения и схожие с ними фрагменты из Майртупа и Курчалоя. Все они находят близкие параллели в Золотой Орде (Федоров-Давыдов, Булатов 1989: табл. 9: 1), включая и золотоордынские Маджары (сборы А. П. Рунича). Два мелких фрагмента в 1985 году подняты на Верхнем Джулате.

Тип 4. То же, но с рельефом.

Тип представляет всего один фрагмент чаши на кольцевом поддоне из Майртупа. Второй, также мелкий фрагмент происходит с Нижнего Джулата.

Естественно, что приведенные типы и классы керамики Золотой Орды никоим образом не исчерпывают того многообразия поливных изделий, которые использовались обитателями золотоордынских поселений и городищ региона.

Комплекс 3. Иранская керамика

Прежде всего — это группа фрагментов с территории золотоордынского поселения, подстилающего русские Терки 1588 года. Пять фрагментов отсюда покрыты с внутренней стороны сине-черной подглазурной росписью в виде кустиков или гирлянд из ланцетовидных листьев. Еще один, точно такой же фрагмент керамики известен по сборам А. П. Рунича на Маджарах. Кроме того, еще один мелкий фрагмент есть среди сборов на Старогладовском поселении в Чечне. Еще три (как на рис. 8: 9) подняты в окрестностях Майртупа.

Подобные образцы керамики известны на территории средневекового Азербайджана, Туркестана и в Каракалпакии. На территории Восточной Европы такие фрагменты известны в Старой Ладоге и обычно датируются XIII в. (Даркевич, Стародуб 1983: 186, 188, рис. 2: 2).

Еще три фрагмента иранской керамики (как на рис. 8: 10—11) происходят с поселения, подстилающего Терки 1588 года и со Старогладовского поселения (1 фр.). Как и предыдущие образцы, они находит аналогии среди керамики Старой Рязани (Даркевич, Стародуб 1983: 190, рис. 1б; 23). К ним можно применить вывод исследователей о том, что среди приводимых аналогий «большинство изделий этого типа — изразцы, которые датируют-

ся концом XIII — XIV вв. и приписываются производству Кашана» (Даркевич, Стародуб 1983: 190).

На поселении, подстилающем Терки 1588 года, были подняты 10 фрагментов керамики, покрытых плотной матовой ультрамариновой кобальтовой глазурью (техника «ладжвардина»).

Кроме того, 12 других фрагментов такой же керамики происходят со Старогладовского поселения; еще по 3 фрагмента есть в сборах из Майртупа и Верхнего Джулата. Последний фрагмент — с Нижнего Джулата. Близкие образцы известны из раскопочного материала Старой Рязани (Даркевич, Стародуб 1983: рис. 1б; 27а-б). Вполне вероятно, что время и условия распространения таких керамических изделий следует рассматривать в контексте торгово-экономических взаимоотношений между Золотой Ордой и государством Ильханов Ирана.

Приведенный обзор демонстрирует лишь основные типы наиболее «узнаваемых» фрагментов керамики с поливой. Существует и масса еще более мелких фрагментов, которые требуют отдельного рассмотрения. К сожалению, основная масса интересующих нас материалов — случайные сборы. Отсутствие постоянного интереса к бытовым памятникам Золотой Орды на Северном Кавказе и эпизодичность раскопок на них не позволяют более полно и разносторонне представить все многообразие археологического комплекса XIII—XIV вв. этого региона, а также специфику таких комплексов с каждого отдельно взятого памятника. В совокупности, представленная коллекция дает хотя бы общее представление о керамическом разнообразии и о географических направлениях импортов поливной керамики, в силу тех или иных культурно-хронологических обстоятельств неравномерно «распределявшихся» по региону в золотоордынское время.

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Парадная керамика из раскопок Азака

Keywords: Sea of Azov Region, Golden Horde, Azak sity, ceremonial utensils, decor, typology, import

Ключевые слова: Приазовье, Золотая Орда, Азак, парадная посуда, орнамент, типология, импорт

S. A. Kravchenko

Ceremonial Ceramics from the Digs in Azak

The author examines the set of imported ceremonial ceramics from the digs in the Golden Horde Azak. She publishes 14th — 15th century materials from the collection of Azov Museum and recent digs and distinguishes fourteen groups of ceremonial vessels from Azak, depending on their origin and manufacturing techniques. Thus, by origin, there are Chinese, Iranian, Middle Asian, Azerbaijani, Syrian, Byzantine, Spanish and Italian vessels, as well as ceramics from the Golden Horde cities of the Lower Volga region, which produced imitations of some types of imported vessels. The materials are systematized by their technological, functional and morphological features and supplied with description of their ornamentation motifs. The author traces changes in the set of ceremonial vessels along the history of Azak.

С. А. Кравченко

Парадная керамика из раскопок Азака

Рассматривается набор импортной парадной керамики из раскопок Азака золотоордынского периода. Публикуются материалы из фондов Азовского музея, а также из новых раскопок последних лет, относящиеся к XIV—XV векам. Автором выделено четырнадцать групп парадных сосудов Азака, в зависимости от происхождения и техники изготовления. По происхождению выделяются китайская, иранская, среднеазиатская, азербайджанская, сирийская, византийская, испанская, итальянская посуда, а также керамика из золотоордынских городов Нижнего Поволжья, где производились подражания некоторым типам импортных сосудов. Материал систематизирован по технологическим, функциональным и морфологическим признакам, дано описание орнаментальных мотивов. Прослеживается, как менялся на протяжении существования Азака набор парадной посуды.

Издревле в различных регионах мира среди предметов роскоши бытовала парадная керамика. В отличие от обычной столовой посуды, главной её функцией было выражение социального престижа и имущественных возможностей владельца. По свидетельствам письменных источников известно, что ей была отведена важная роль в политических и социальных отношениях. В сочинении ал-Муффаддаля упоминается, что среди богатых подарков хану Берке от посольства египетского султана ал-Мелик эз-Захыра (золота, серебра, шёлка, экзотических животных и т. д.) была прислана китайская посуда (Ал-Муффаддаль 2003: 91). Хулагуидский визирь Рашид-ад-Дин получил в качестве дипломатических даров от делийского султана чаши для шербета с росписью «семи цветов» и сосуды ладжвардина (Волков 2007: 411).

В мировой торговле парадная керамика пользовалась привилегиями и изготавливалась на заказ. Особенно ярко это отразилось в архивных документах XV века, упоминающих испанскую люстровую керамику. В письме королевы Марии Кастильской дону Педро Бюиль — владетелю города Манизес — был сделан заказ на большой люстровый сервиз для королевского двора (Кубе 1940: 15). В дру-

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гом документе говорится, что в 1441 году Филипп Добрый Бургундский разрешил беспошлинно провозить валенсийские изделия через Брюгге. А в 1455 году подобное освобождение от налогов было сделано в Венеции (Тесленко 2004: 469).

Парадная керамика распространялась не только в городах, находившихся на трассах мировых торговых путей, но и доходила до центров, удалённых от них на большие расстояния. Товар доставлялся в ограниченных количествах и продавался по высокой цене. По свидетельствам ал-Бируни, стоимость одного селадонового сосуда составляла 10 динаров (Ал-Бируни 1963). В каждом городе формировался свой набор парадной керамики, который определялся удалённостью от центров торговли, спросом и платежеспособностью населения. С течением времени он мог меняться. Это было характерно и для Азака.

В «азакский» набор парадных сосудов автором включены четырнадцать групп[1]: 1) китайский селадон; 2) китайский фарфор; 3) сосуды цычжоу; 4) испанская люстровая керамика; 5) иранская люстровая керамика; 6) сирийская люстровая керамика; 7) сосуды с росписью «минаи»; 8) иранские сосуды в технике «ладжвардина»; 9) азербайджанская керамика; 10) итальянская ранняя полумайолика; 11) византийская керамика, имитирующая металлическую посуду; 12) светлоглиняная полива из Средней Азии; 13) нижневолжские подражания иранской «ладжвардине»; 14) кашинные имитации селадона.

В последнее время фонды Азовского музея стали более доступны для работы и изучения археологического материала, вследствие чего было выявлено много новых, интересных, ещё не опубликованных фрагментов. Это послужило поводом для написания данной работы.

Кроме упомянутых фондовых материалов, в статье были использованы фрагменты парадной керамики из раскопок Азака, ранее известные по научным публикациям и зафиксированные в отчётах, также привлечены новые находки из раскопок последних лет.

В предлагаемой работе поставлены следующие задачи: систематизировать собранный материал по технологическим, функциональным и морфологическим признакам, провести статистический подсчёт, описать встречающиеся орнаментальные мотивы, а также выявить, как менялся на протяжении существования Азака набор парадной посуды.

Научная литература о находках парадной керамики в Азаке представлена небольшим списком работ. Основные группы были выделены азовскими археологами в публикациях, характеризующих весь керамический комплекс Азака (Волков 1992). В информационных статьях о раскопках в Азове и в работах, подготовленных к научным конференциям (Белинский 1994; Белинский, Масловский 2005; 2005а; Гудименко 2005; Крамаровский 2005), были опубликованы отдельные группы парадных сосудов и ряд единичных находок.

Самой многочисленной из названных групп в Азаке является *китайский селадон*.

К настоящему моменту собрано около 140 фрагментов сосудов этой группы. Среди них имеются 3 развала чаш (рис. 1), 3 крупных фрагмента доньев чаш с нижней частью тулова (рис. 2: 1—3), 1 фрагмент миниатюрного сосудика (рис. 2: 4). Более мелкие фрагменты представлены 21 венчиком, 11 донцами и 75 стенками.

По профилировке венчика выделяются четыре типа чаш с сегментовидным туловом на кольцевом поддоне (диаметр от 17 до 21 см): 1) с невыделенным венчиком (рис. 3: 1); 2) с отогнутым наружу венчиком (рис. 3: 2); 3) с небольшим горизонтальным бортиком (рис. 3: 3); 4) с небольшим загнутым внутрь бортиком и вертикальным венчиком (рис. 3: 4).

У всех типов чаш встречается тулово, оформленное «ложками», и фестончатый край (рис. 1: 1; 3: 3).

Блюда представлены венчиками одного типа: с горизонтальным бортиком и вертикальным краем, с широкими каннелюрами (рис. 3: 5). Возможно, к другому типу относятся блюда с утраченным венчиком, с туловом в виде мелкого сегмента на низком кольцевом поддоне (рис. 3: 6).

Среди находок селадона встречаются толстостенные фрагменты сосудов (толщина стенок достигает 1,4 см), профилировку которых определить пока не представляется возможным (рис. 3: 7).

Орнаментация на селадоновых сосудах выполнена в технике подглазурной гравировки и подрезки фона. Основные мотивы — растительный орнамент в виде побегов и листьев, цветков лотоса (рис. 2: 1), хризантемы (рис. 1: 3). Встречаются овальные фигуры (рис. 2: 1; 3: 2), многорядный линейный

[1] В данной статье под термином «группа» подразумеваются разные виды и типы керамических изделий, имеющие в совокупности одинаковые технологические признаки, присущие мастерским, работавшим внутри одного крупного производственного центра (см. Масловский 2006: 309).

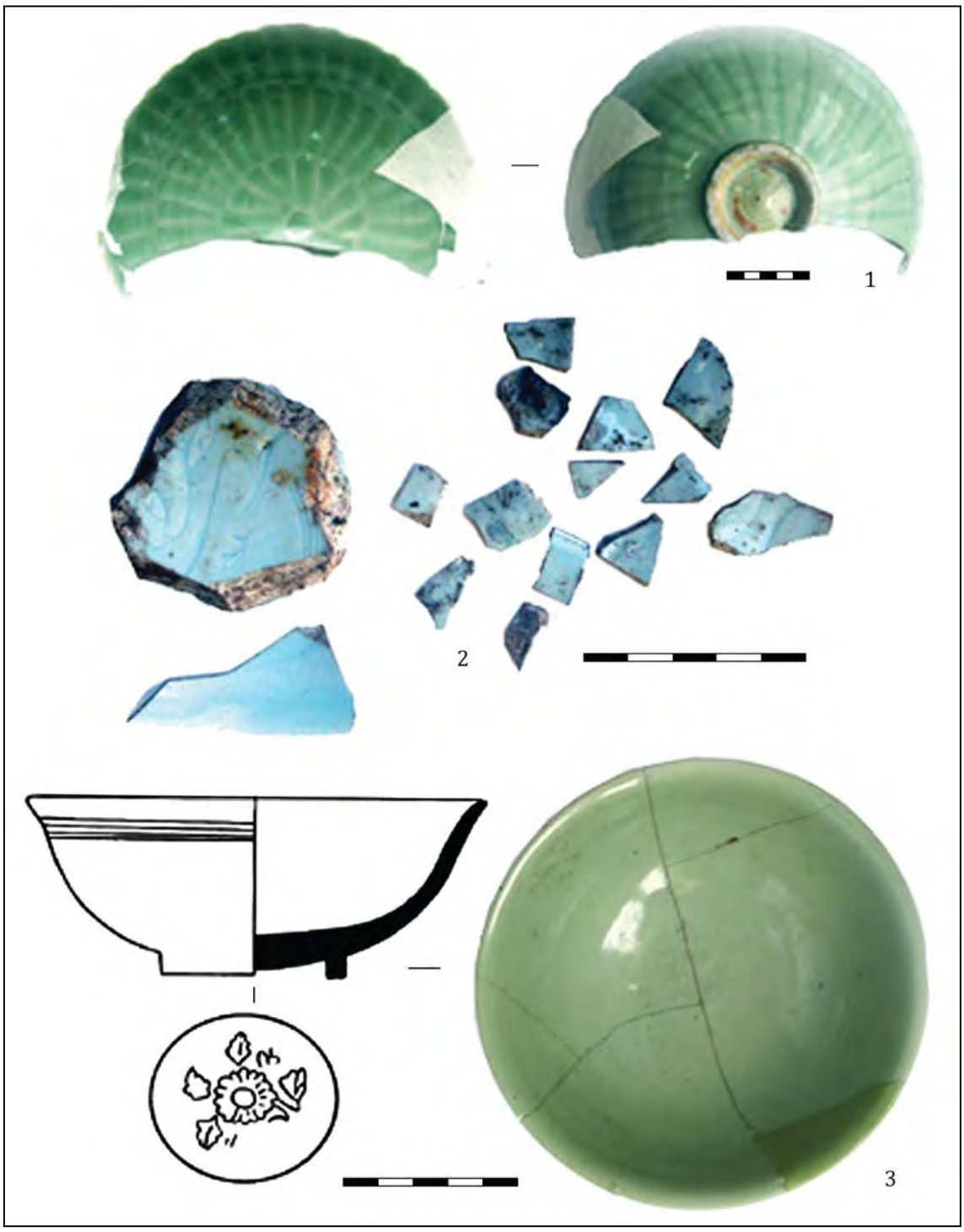

Рис. 1. Селадоновые чаши из Азака: 1 — чаша с рельефным туловом (Аз-2007, ул. Щорса 7, Я-2); 2 — фрагменты чаши (Аз-2007, ул. Мира 45, Я-3); 3 — чаша с хризантемой (Аз–1989, Городской парк, Я-2).

Fig. 1. Celadon: 1 — bowl with relieved body (Az-2007, 7, Shchors St., pit 2); 2 — debris of Celadon bowl (Az-2007, 45, Mira St., pit 3); 3 — bowl with a chrysanthemum (Az–1989, City Park, pit 2).

орнамент с тремя штампованными ямками на внешней стороне (рис. 3: 2). Единичным фрагментом представлена чаша с изображением водяного дракона (рис. 2: 3).

Аналогичные формы сосудов и орнаментальные мотивы встречены при раскопках Булгара (Полубояринова 2003: 156—162, рис. 1; 3; 4; 7; 8; 9), русских городов (Коваль 1997: 101—103, рис. 3; 5—9), Больших Кучугур (Тихомолова 2002: 243, 245, 246, рис. 3; 4), городов Нижнего Поволжья (Фёдоров-Давыдов 1994: 220), Белгорода-Днестровско-

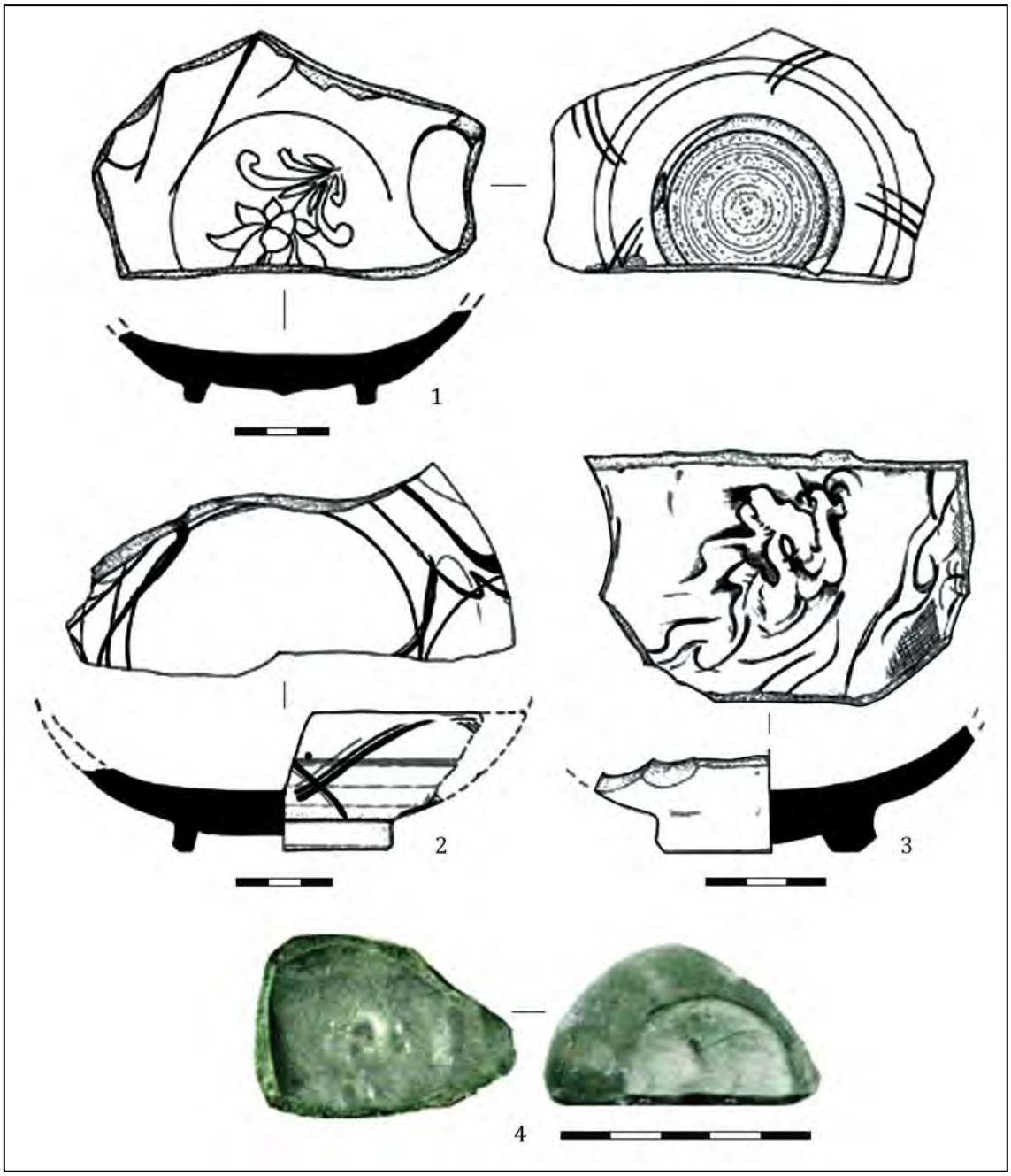

Рис. 2. Селадоновые чаши из Азака: 1 — чаша с лотосом (Аз-1984, ул. Ленинградская, Р-III, Я-37); 2 — чаша с гравированным орнаментом (Аз-2003, ул. Ленина 46, Я-3, овраг, кв. 5Б); 3 — чаша с драконом (Аз-1997, ул. Ленинградская 71, Я-1); 4 — миниатюрный сосудик (Аз-1992, ул. Ленинградская, кв. 23В, шт. 2).

Fig. 2. Celadon: 1 — bowl with a lotus (Az-1984, Leningradskaya St., dig III, pit 37); 2 — engraved bowl (Az-2003, 46, Lenin St., pit 3, ravine, square 5Б); 3 — bowl with dragon (Az-1997, 71, Leningradskaya St., pit 1); 4 — miniature vessel (Az-1992, Leningradskaya St., square 23B, layer 2).

го (Кравченко 1986: 95), Бахчисарая (Коваль, Волошинов 2005: 458, 461, рис. 2) и др.

Большинство находок селадона в Азаке происходит из закрытых комплексов: жилищ и хозяйственных ям, датируемых разными периодами на протяжении всего XIV века. Наибольшая концентрация находок приходится на 1330—1360 гг.

Кашинные имитации селадона регулярно встречаются в материалах раскопок Азака. Они повторяют формы селадоновых сосудов (рис. 3: 8—10). По плотности черепка выделяются две подгруппы, относящиеся к двум центрам производства, скорее всего, к Ирану и Нижнему Поволжью. В Азаке псевдоселадон встречается в ком-

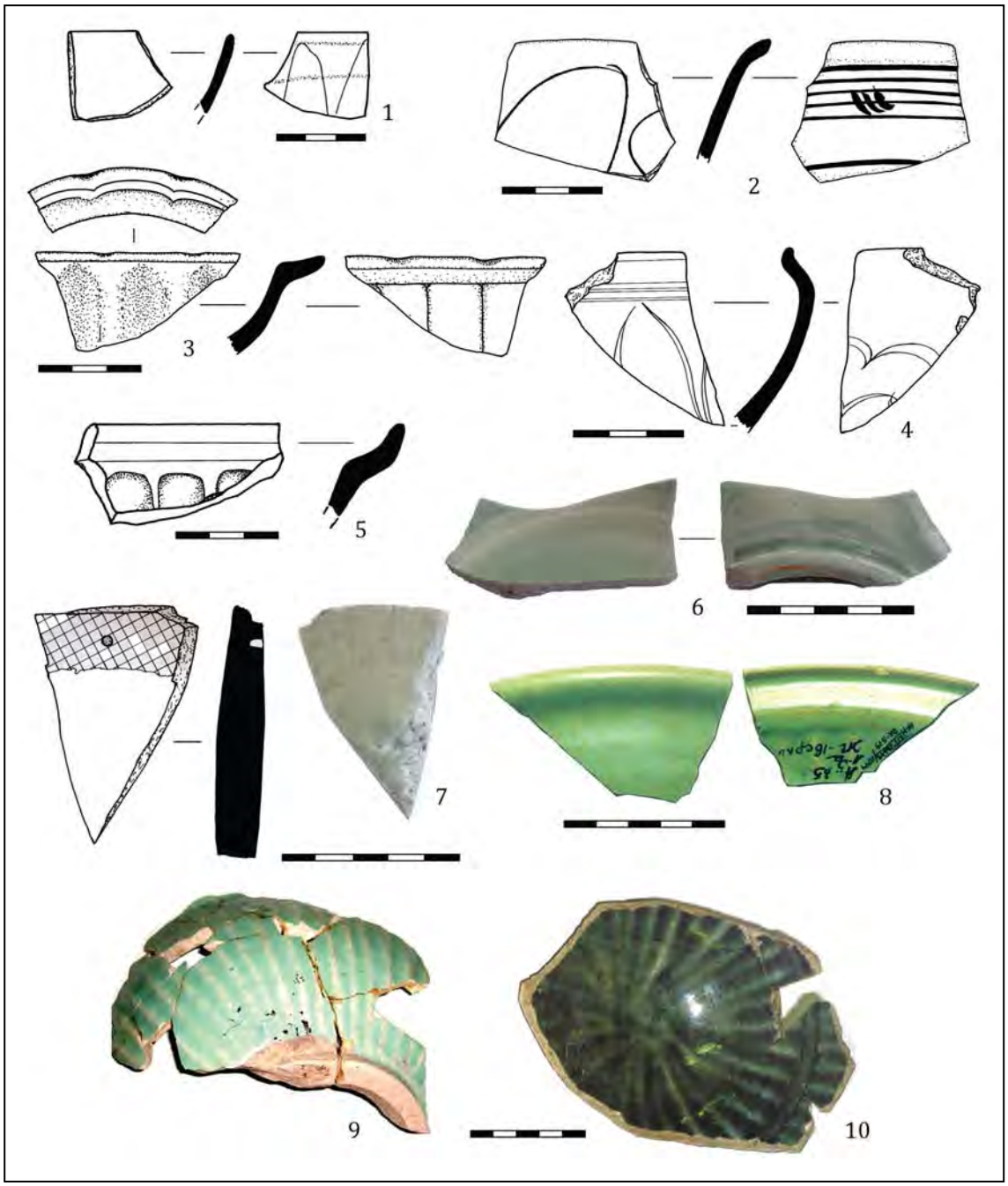

Рис. 3. Селадон и псевдоселадон: 1—4 — венчики селадоновых чаш (1 — Аз-1992, сп.Р. Люксембург, Я-6; 2 — Аз-2004, ул. Ленина 46, Я-3; 3 — Аз-2000, ул. Измайлова 38/82, Я-15; 4 — Аз-2004, ул. Ленинградская 55, кв.1А, шт. 3); 5—7 — фрагменты селадоновых блюд (5 — Аз-1985, ул. Карла Либкнехта, Я-10; 6 — Аз-2004, ул. Ленина 46; 7 — Аз-2005, Петровский бульвар 14, Ж-1); 8—10 — псевдоселадон (8 — Аз-1985, ул. Ленинградская, Ж-1; 9 — Аз-1984, ул. Ленинградская, Я-49; 10 — Аз-1995, ул. Московская 7, Я-25).

Fig. 3. Celadon and pseudo-celadon: 1—4 — rims of celadon bowls (1 — Az-1992, R. Luxembourg, pit 6; 2 — Az-2004, 46, Lenin St., pit 3; 3 — Az-2000, 38/82, Izmailova St., pit 15; 4 — Az-2004, 55, Leningradskaya St., square 1A, layer 3); 5—7 — fragments of celadon dishes (5 — Az-1985, Karl Liebknecht St., pit 10; 6 — Az-2004, 46, Lenin St.; 7 — Az-2005, 14, Petrovsky Boulevard, Ж-1); 8—10 — pseudo-celadon (8 — Az-1985, Leningradskaya St., Ж-1; 9 — Az-1984, Leningradskaya St., pit 49; 10 — Az-1995, 7, Moskovskaya St., pit 25).

плексах середины — второй половины XIV века.

Фарфоровых сосудов в Азовском музее-заповеднике обнаружено 17 фрагментов: 10 венчиков, 1 донце на кольцевом поддоне, 6 стенок.

К настоящему моменту возможно выделение двух видов изделий: чаш и сосудов за-

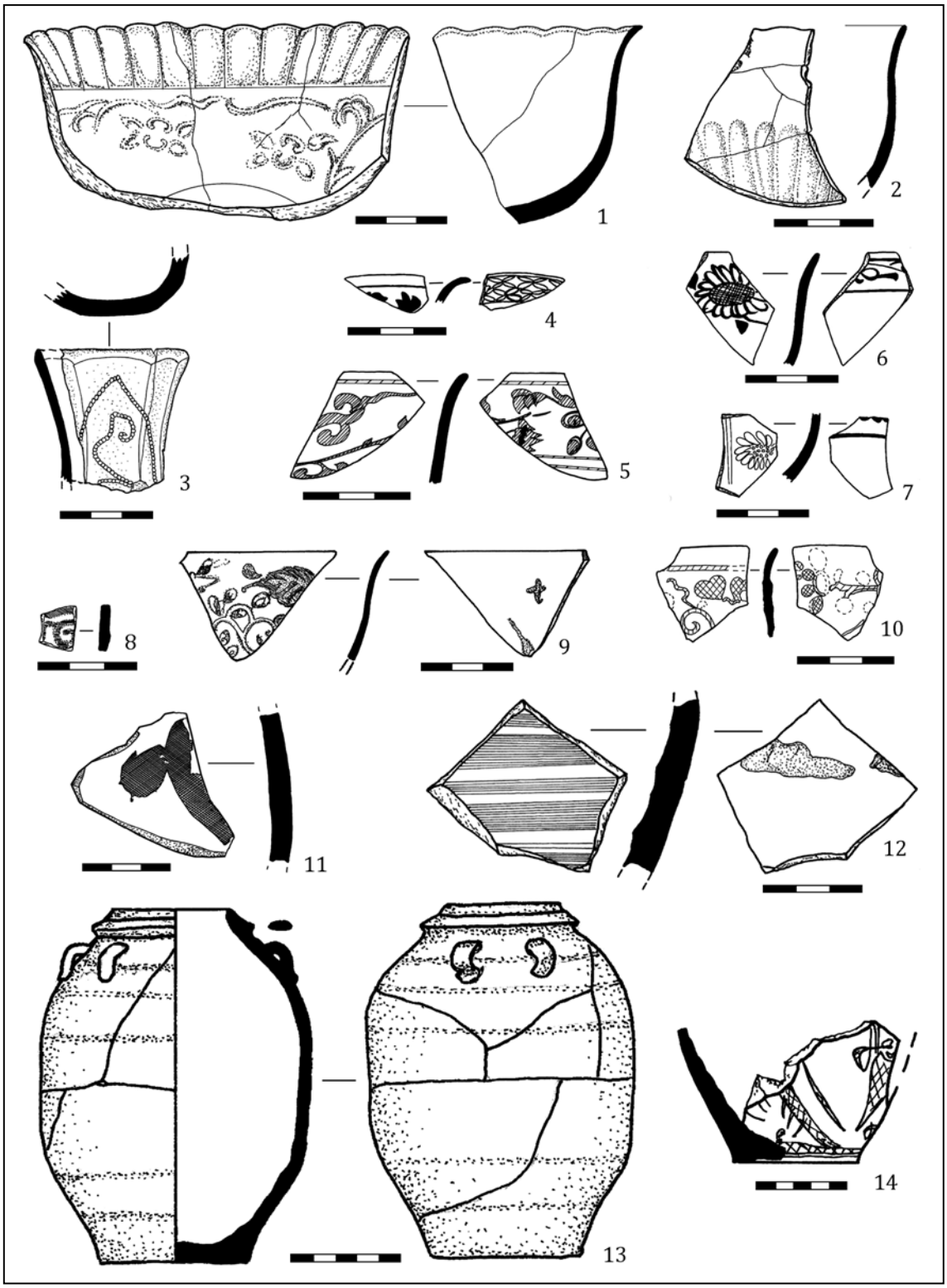

Рис. 4. Фарфор и цычжоу: 1—2 — фарфоровые чаши с рельефным орнаментом (1 — Аз-1983, ул. Ленина, Я-36; 2 — Аз-1992, сп.Р. Люксембург, Я-4); 3 — венчик фарфорового кувшинчика с налепным рельефом (Аз-2003, ул. Ленина 46, Я-3, кв.5Б); 4—7 — фарфор с росписью кобальтом (4 — Аз-1996, ул. Московская 38/40, АКМ, Р-III, Я-4; 5 — Аз-2005, М-4, Ж-2; 6 — Аз-2004, ул. Московская 4, Ж-2; 7 — Аз-2005, ул. Московская 4, Ж-2); 8—10 — фарфор с надглазурной росписью эмалями (8 — Аз-1992, сп.Р. Люксембург, Я-6; 9 — Аз-1988, ул. Чехова, Я-5; 10 — Аз-2004, ул. Московская 11А, Я-1); 11—14 — керамика цычжоу (11 — Аз-2001, ул. Толстого 41, Я-58; 12 — Аз-1983—85, ул. Ленинградская, Я-15; 13 — Аз-1994, АКМ, Я-12; 14 — Аз-2003, ул. Ленина 46, Я-2).

Fig. 4. Porcelain and Cizhou: 1—2 — porcelain bowls with relieved ornament (1 — Az-1983, Lenin St., pit 36; 2 — Az-1992, R. Luxembourg, pit 4); 3 — rim of a jug with pasted relief (Az-2003, 46, Lenin St., pit 3, square 5Б); 4—7 — porcelain with cobalt

painting (4 — Az-1996, 38/40 Moskovskaya St., Azov Museum of Local History, dig III, pit 4; 5 — Az-2005, М-4, Ж-2; 6 — Az-2004, 4, Moscovskaya St., Ж-2; 7 — Az-2005, 4, Moscovskaya St., Ж-2); 8—10 — porcelain with enamel painting over glaze (8 — Az-1992, R. Luxembourg, pit 6; 9 — Az-1988, Chekhov St., pit 5; 10 — Az-2004, 11A, Moskovskaya St., pit 1); 11—14 — Cizhou ceramics (11 — Az-2001, 41, Tolstoy St., pit 58; 12 — Az-1983—85, Leningradskaya St., pit 15; 13 — Az-1994, Azov Museum of Local History, pit 12; 14 — Az-2003, 46, Lenin St., pit 2).

крытой формы, представленных единичным фрагментом венчика кувшина (бутыли) с налепным рельефным орнаментом (рис. 4: 3). Чаши представлены одним типом, имеющим тулово, в виде глубокого сегмента, со слегка отогнутым наружу венчиком (диаметр венчика = 13,5—14 см) (рис. 4: 1, 2, 5, 6, 9, 10). Аналогичная форма чаш встречена в материалах раскопок Болгарского городища (Полубояринова 2003а: 138, рис. 2: 3).

Все имеющиеся фрагменты фарфоровых сосудов покрыты голубоватой прозрачной поливой. Они могут быть украшены врезным орнаментом (рис. 4: 1), высоким (рис. 4: 3) и низким рельефом (рис. 4: 1, 2, 7), подглазурной росписью кобальтом (рис. 4: 4—7). На отдельных фрагментах встречается сочетание рельефа с росписью кобальтом (рис. 4: 7) и рельефа с врезным орнаментом (рис. 4: 1).

На трёх обнаруженных фрагментах выполнена рельефная надглазурная роспись цветными эмалями (красной, бирюзовой, синей) (рис. 4: 8—10). Местами прослеживается желтоватое напыление, которое, возможно, является остатками позолоты. На месте отслоившейся эмали видны контуры рисунка. Аналогичный фрагмент фарфора с эмалевой росписью был найден в Маджаре (Обухов, Волков 2007: 21, 24, рис. 3: 13).

Основу декора фарфоровых сосудов составляет растительный орнамент в виде листьев, побегов, изображений цветов, чаще всего представленных хризантемами (рис. 4: 2, 6, 7). На самом крупном в Азаке фрагменте фарфоровой чаши, по краю венчика с внутренней стороны выполнено рельефное изображение пояса лепестков, отделённых от основного пространства чаши концентрической линией. В центральном поле изображены горизонтально расположенные растительные побеги и четырёхлепестковые розетки (нарциссы?), выполненные в низком рельефе. Частично сохранившийся центральный медальон оконтурен тонкой врезной линией (рис. 4: 1).

Так же, как и селадон, фарфор бытует в Азаке на протяжении всего XIV века. Фрагменты сосудов с росписью кобальтом происходят из комплексов 1320—1330-х гг.

Группа керамики *цычжоу* представлена развалом сосуда баночной формы с четырьмя петельчатыми ручками (рис. 4: 13); крупным фрагментом дна с придонной частью тулова (рис. 4: 14) и десятком стенок сосудов той же формы (рис. 4: 11, 12). По характеру черепка эти фрагменты делятся на две подгруппы: 1) с черепком белого цвета без видимых примесей; 2) с чёрно-серым черепком с примесью цветной дресвы.

Сосуды первой подгруппы покрыты матовой глазурью молочно-белого цвета с коричневой росписью (рис. 4: 11, 14), или тёмно-коричневой глазурью без росписи (рис. 4: 12). На сосудах второй подгруппы использована только тёмно-коричневая глазурь (рис. 4: 13).

Находки керамики цычжоу известны по материалам раскопок Булгара (Полубояринова 2003а: 140—142, рис. 5; 6), Маджарского городища (Обухов, Волков 2007: 20, 22), городов Нижнего Поволжья (Фёдоров-Давыдов 1994: 218; Пиотровский 2005: 88, 234, кат. 635). Фрагменты её также были обнаружены в Забайкалье и Приамурье среди находок, происходящих из дворцовых комплексов и богатых усадеб XIII—XIV вв. (Артемьев 2004: 90, 93).

В Азаке эта керамика бытует достаточно узкий период времени, так как найдена исключительно в комплексах середины XIV века.

Испанская керамика с росписью люстром занимает второе место по количеству находок парадных сосудов в Азове. На данный момент было обнаружено около 90 фрагментов, датируемых 1330-ми годами — 2-й половиной XIV и XV веками.

Фрагментов керамики с росписью люстром XIV века насчитывается около 60. Среди них выделяются два вида изделий: чаши среднего размера и массивные чаши с ручками, представленные единичным крупным фрагментом, с псевдоарабскими надписями, подражающими куфическому шрифту (рис. 5: 1).

Чаши среднего размера по профилировке делятся на три типа: 1) с туловом в виде глубокого сегмента, с плоским, слегка вогнутым дном и венчиком, отогнутым наружу. Этот тип чаш представлен единичным фрагментом, и орнаментирован в стиле «Parallels and spirals» (Ray 1999: 62—64, fig. 127—131) (рис. 5: 2); 2) с сегментовидным туловом на кольцевом поддоне и прямым венчиком (диаметр венчика = 14—15 см); 3) с сегментовидным туловом и отогнутым наружу венчиком (рис. 5: 11). Изделия 2 и 3 типа относятся к «группе Пула» (рис. 5: 3—11). Название стиля

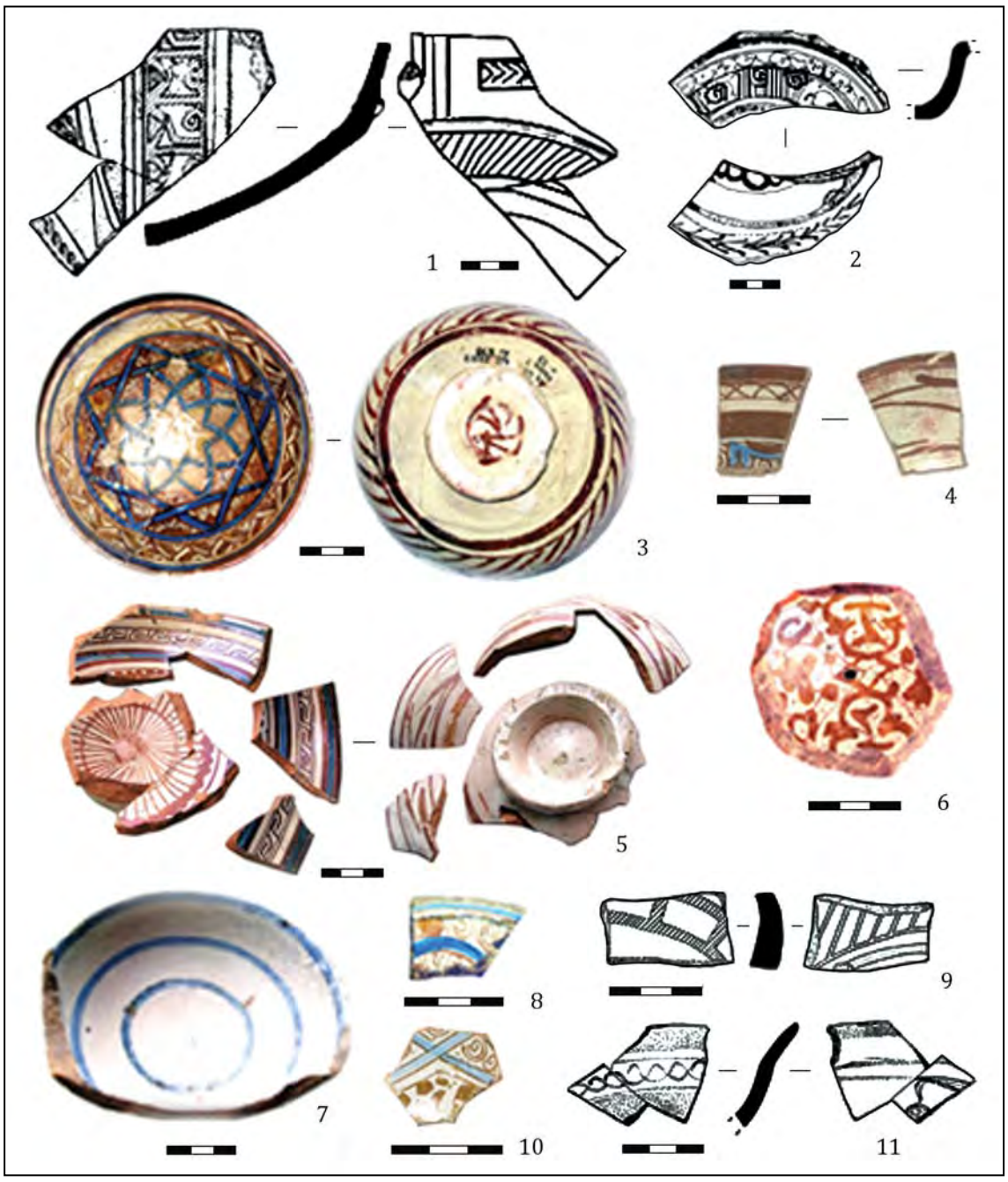

Рис. 5. Испанский люстр XIV века: 1 — большая чаша с ручками (Аз-1975, ул. Чехова у Дома Быта); 2 — чаша в стиле «Parallels and spirals» (Аз-1987, ул. Ленинградская 29, случайная находка); 3—10 — люстровые чаши группы «Пула»; 11 — люстровая чаша (3 — Аз-1995, ул. Московская 7, Я-12; 4 — Аз-1999, ул. Московская 38—40, АКМ, Я-1; 5 — Аз-2004, ул. Калинина 73, Я-1А; 6 — Аз-1985, ул. Ленинградская, Я-35; 7 — Аз-2004, ул. Московская 4, Я-4; 8 — Аз-2004, ул. Ленинградская 67, Я-18; 9 — Аз-2006, ул. Карла Либкнехта 11, кв. 2В, шт. 4; 10 — Аз-1990, ул. Чехова 3, котлован; 11 — Аз-1998, ул. Энгельса 17, кв. 1, пл. 9).

Fig. 5. Spanish luster of the 14th century: 1 — big bowl with handles (Az-1975, Chekhov St., near the Communal Services Center); 2 — bowls decorated by 'Parallels and spirals' (Az-1987, 29, Leningradskaya St., stray find); 3—10 — luster bowls of 'Pula' group; 11 — luster bowl (3 — Az-1995, 7, Moskovskaya St., pit 12; 4 — Az-1999, 38—40 Moskovskaya St., Azov Museum of Local History, Я-1; 5 — Az-2004, 73, Kalinina St., pit 1A; 6 — Az-1985, Leningradskaya St., pit 35; 7 — Az-2004, 4, Moskovskaya St., pit 4; 8 — Az-2004, 67, Leningradskaya St., pit 18; 9 — Az-2006, 11, Karl Liebknecht St., square 2B, layer 4; 10 — Az-1990, 3, Chekhov St., trench; 11 — Az-1998, Engels St., 17, square 1).

происходит от имени города Пула на острове Сардиния, где в 1897 году при строительстве автодорожной магистрали было обнаружено скопление хорошо сохранившихся фрагментов керамики с росписью люстром и кобальтом. Западные исследователи дати-

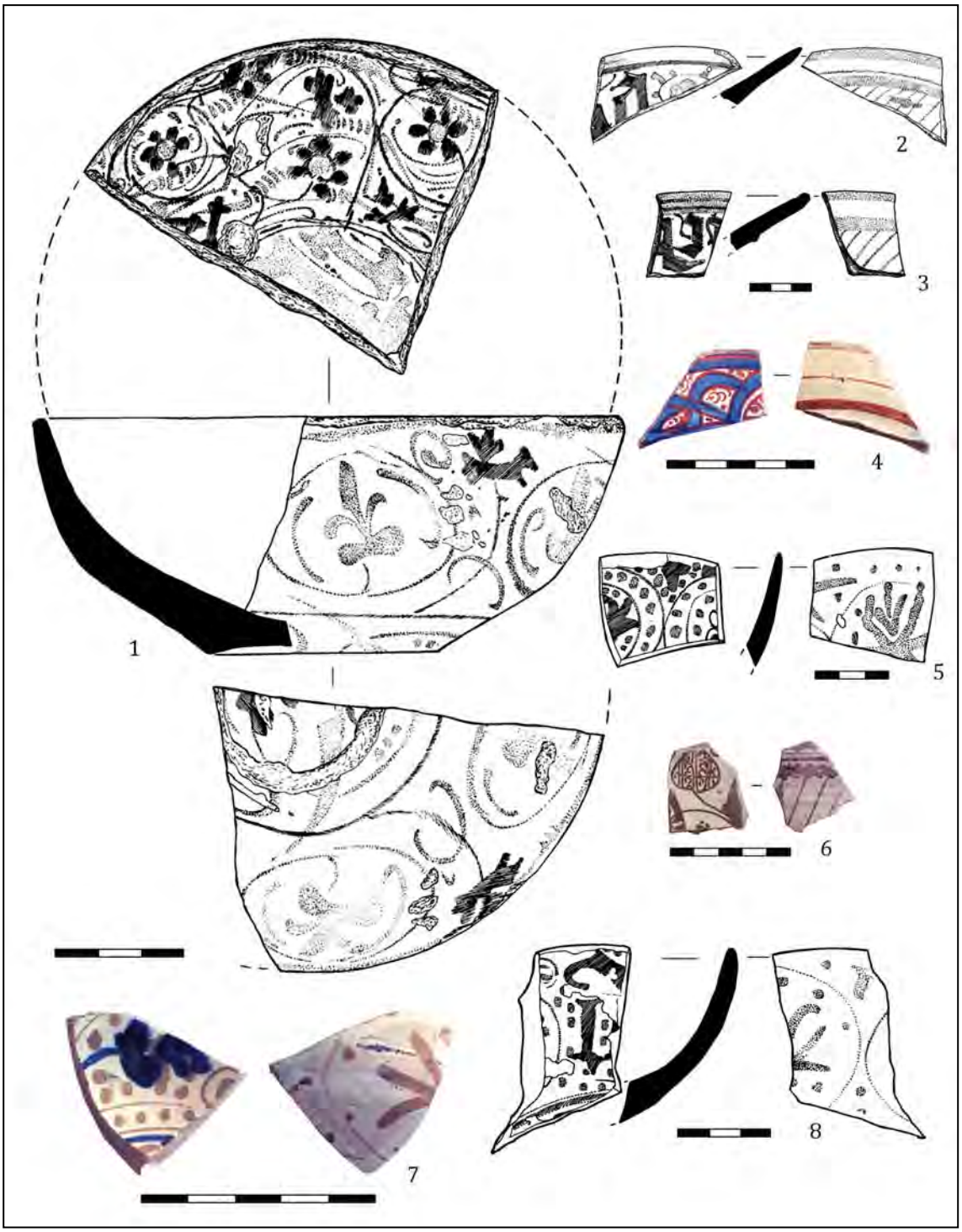

Рис. 6. Испанский люстр XV века: 1 — чаша в стиле «bryony and parsley leaf» (Аз-1998, ул. Энгельса 17, Тр.2); 2—3 — венчики блюд с готическим шрифтом (Аз-1998, ул. Энгельса 17, 2 — Я-2А; 3 — слой); 4, 6 — фрагменты блюд в персидском стиле (Аз-1998, ул. Энгельса 17, слой); 5, 7, 8 — чаши в стиле «Disc-flowers» (Аз-1998, ул. Энгельса 17, Я-10, слой).

Fig. 6. Spanish luster of the 15th century: 1 — bowl decorated by 'bryony and parsley leaf' (Az-1998, 17, Engels St., ditch 2); 2—3 — rim of dishes with Gothic letters (Az-1998, 17, Engels St., 2 — pit 2A; 3 — layer); 4, 6 — fragments of dishes in Persian style (Az-1998, 17, Engels St., layer); 5—8 — bowls decorated by 'Disc-flowers' (Az-1998, 17, Engels St., pit 10, layer).

ровали эти находки периодом 1330—1380 гг. (Ray 1999: 50, 51). Самые ранние фрагменты испанской люстровой керамики в Азаке обнаружены в комплексах, датируемых временем правления хана Узбека (1336—1337 гг.) (рис. 5: 4).

Перечень орнаментальных мотивов «группы Пула» достаточно широк. Он включает в себя геометрические элементы в виде концентрических окружностей (рис. 5: 7), пересекающихся прямых линий (рис. 5: 9), восьмиконечной звезды, образованной пересечением двух квадратов (рис. 5: 3), пояса треугольников (рис. 5: 3), цепочек (рис. 5: 5, 11). Для «группы Пула» так же характерен сочетающийся с геометрическим, растительный орнамент в виде мелких спиралевидных завитков (рис. 5: 8, 10), розеток (рис. 5: 3), крупных цветов, образованных радиально расходящимися от центра тонкими линиями, оконтуренными волнистой каймой (рис. 5: 5). На внешней стороне чаще всего изображен пояс из штрихов, расположенных диагонально (рис. 5: 3, 9) или «ёлочкой» (рис. 5: 4, 5). По мнению В.Ю. Коваля, этот орнамент имеет восточное происхождение. Он трансформировался в штрихи из широко распространённых в XII—XIV вв. на Среднем Востоке «лепестков лотоса», покрывавших внешнюю поверхность поливных чаш (Коваль 1996: 171). Внутри кольцевого поддона нередко изображена «бегущая» розетка (рис. 5: 3).

Испанского люстра XV века в Азаке насчитывается около 30 фрагментов. Ассортимент представлен блюдами с широким, горизонтально отогнутым наружу бортиком (рис. 6: 2—4), плоскодонными чашами с сегментовидным туловом и прямым венчиком (рис. 6: 1, 5—8).

Роспись венчиков блюд выполнена готическим шрифтом («Ave Maria group» — Ray 1999: 69—70, fig. 143—146) (рис. 6: 2, 3), или поясом переплетённых дуг («Persian style») (рис. 6: 4). На целых блюдах с аналогичным орнаментом, хранящихся в Британском музее, в Париже и др. в сочетании с «плетёнкой» изображён псевдо-арабский мотив «alafia» (Ray 1999: 65, fig. 11; 12). К персидскому стилю также принадлежат фрагменты с изображением бутонов, заполненных эпиграфическим орнаментом, подражающим почерку насх (рис. 6: 6) (Ray 1999: 69, fig. 141).

На фрагментах чаш также встречается роспись по венчику готическим шрифтом (рис. 6: 8). Она, как правило, изображается на сосудах, орнаментированных в стиле «Disc-flowers» (Ray 1999: 72, fig. 149—150, 161), где на «пунктированном» фоне изображены листья и мелкие цветки, вписанные в овалы, выделенные двойной линией (рис. 6: 5, 7, 8) (Кубе 1940: 18, рис. 5—7).

Самый крупный фрагмент плоскодонной люстровой чаши XV века относится к стилю «The bryony and parsley leaf» [2]. На нём изображены тонкие растительные побеги, листья и мелкие цветки брионии, растения, относящегося к роду травянистых, семейству тыквенных с лазящим стеблем [3].

Достаточно редко в материалах раскопок Азака встречаются фрагменты групп парадной керамики, имеющих ближневосточное происхождение.

Количество собранных фрагментов *иранских сосудов с росписью люстром* не превышает 25. Среди них: один развал чаши, состоящий из двух крупных обломков доньев с придонной частью тулова и мелкого фрагмента стенки (рис. 7: 1); два крупных обломка доньев на кольцевом поддоне (рис. 7: 3, 4); два венчика; больше десятка стенок.

По имеющимся фрагментам восстановим один тип чаш с усечённо-коническим туловом на кольцевом поддоне (рис. 7: 1, 3) и один тип блюд с сегментовидным туловом на кольцевом поддоне (рис. 7: 4). Все сосуды изготовлены из плотного белого кашина и покрыты росписью оливковым люстром по белой опаковой поливе. На одном из фрагментов люстровая роспись сочетается с подглазурной росписью кобальтом (рис. 7: 2).

Иранские чаши украшены богатым растительным орнаментом, расположенным в широких горизонтальных поясах. Роспись с внутренней стороны выполнена в технике «резерв»: оливковый люстр заполняет фоновое пространство, с оставлением белого рисунка (рис. 7: 1, 2, 4). На одном из фрагментов тонкой иглой по сырому люстру прорисован эпиграфический орнамент (рис. 7: 4). С внешней стороны большинство сосудов оформлено вертикальными мазками, имитирующими лепестки цветка (рис. 7: 3, 4). Встречается и другой орнамент, в котором тулово чаши разделено на сектора, заполненные косой

[2] «Бриония и листья петрушки» (см. Ray 1999: 73, fig. 152—160; 162). А.Н. Кубе считает изображённые так называемые «листья петрушки» листьями винограда (см. Кубе 1940: 19—21, табл. VI; VII; X; XI; XII).

[3] Бриония («bryonia» от греч. bryein — «быстро расти»), (русские названия — переступник, «адамов корень») — произрастает в Средиземноморье, в Северной Африке, на Кавказе, в Средней Азии, в Крыму и др. Распространена в долинах рек или на опушках среди зарослей кустарников. Как сорное растение, вблизи жилищ, оплетает беседки и балконы. Имеет двух-четырёхметровый лазящий стебель, зубчатые листья, мелкие цветки с округлыми лепестками, плоды в виде круглых чёрных ягод и неразветвлённые, очень чувствительные усики (см. Брем 2005).

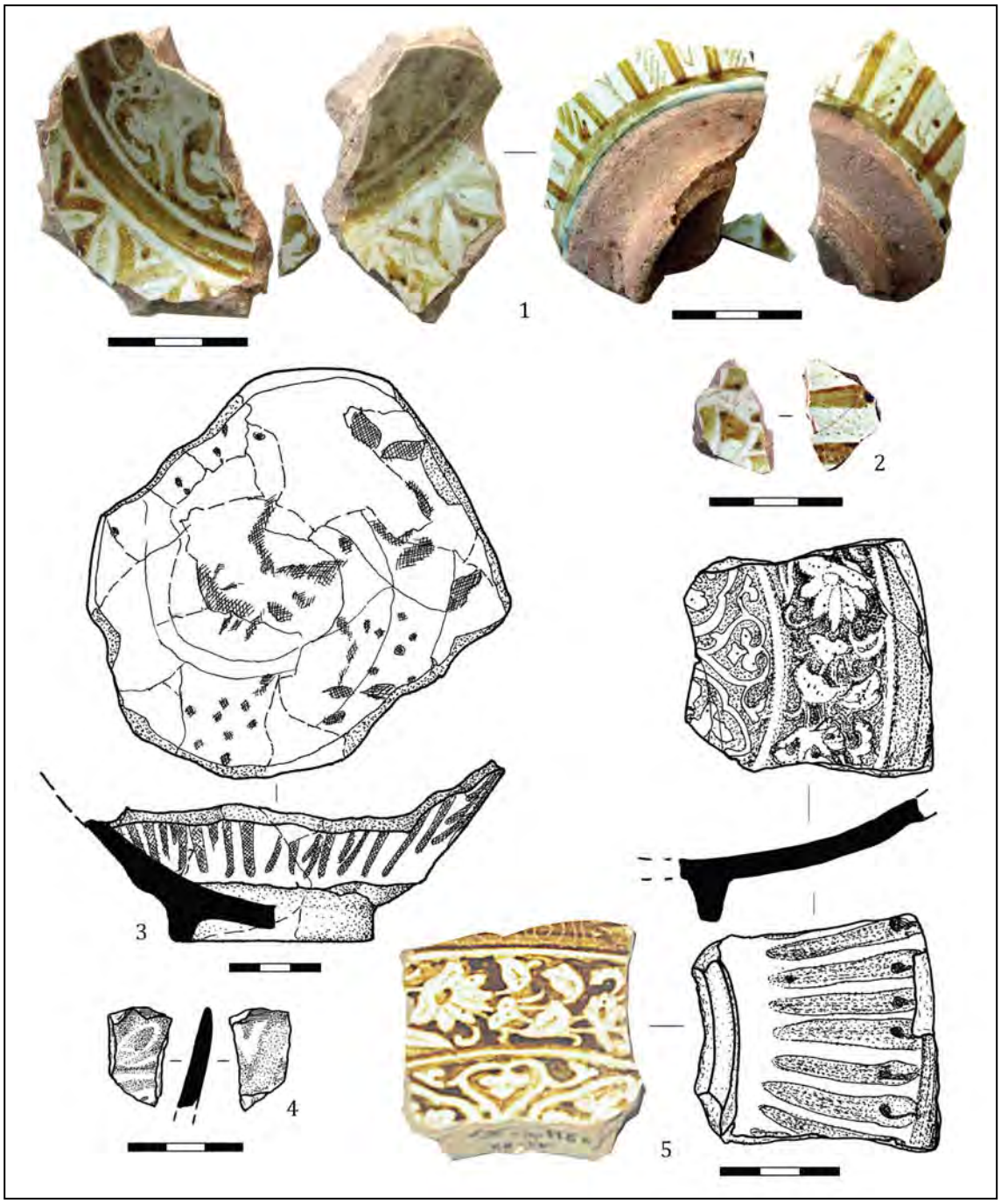

Рис. 7. Иранский люстр: 1 — развал чаши (Аз-2007, ул. Ленина 53, Я-3); 2, 3 — фрагменты чаш (2 — Аз-2007, ул. Ленина 53, Ж-1; 3 — Аз-2000, ул. Толстого 41, Р-I, кв. 5Б, шт. 6); 4 — люстровый венчик в сочетании с кобальтом (Аз-2003, ул. Карла Либкнехта 12, Я-2); 5 — фрагмент блюда (Аз-1982, ул. Ленина, случайная находка).

Fig. 7. Iranian luster: 1 — debris of a bowl (Az-2007, 53, Lenin St., pit 3); 2—3 — fragments of bowls (2 — Az-2007, 53, Lenin St., Ж-1; 3 — Az-2000, 41, Tolstoy St., dig I, square 5Б, layer 6); 4 — luster rim in combination with cobalt (Az-2003, 12, Karl Liebknecht, pit 2); 5 — fragment of dish (Az-1982, Lenin St., stray find)

штриховкой, между которыми вписаны выполненные люстром фигуры неопределимой формы (рис. 7: 1).

Керамика иранского производства найдена при раскопках городов Руси (Коваль 1997: 110), Нижнего Поволжья (Булатов 1968: 106; Фёдоров-Давыдов 1994: 214), Увекского городища (Матюхина, Моржерин 2005: 113, 121, рис. 7: 1, 2). Время бытования их в Азаке приходится на конец XIII — 1-ю половину XIV вв.

Сосудов с росписью люстром, изготовленных в Сирии, выявлено около десятка фрагментов. Среди них развал чаши с туловом

усечённо-конической формы (рис. 8: 1), развал чаши с сегментовидным туловом на низком кольцевом поддоне (рис. 8: 2), 1 донце на кольцевом поддоне (рис. 8: 4) 2 мелких венчика (рис. 8: 2), 2 стенки. Кашин имеет характерный лиловый оттенок, черепок менее плотный, чем иранский. Люстр (оливковый или серебристый) нанесён по бирюзовой или ультрамариновой глазури.

Сирийские люстровые сосуды украшены растительным орнаментом в виде крупных и мелких четырёх- и шестилепестковых розеток (рис. 8: 1, 2), побегов (рис. 8: 3). Элементы геометрического орнамента представлены зигзагообразными линиями (рис. 8: 1), сеткой, состоящей из мелких треугольников (рис. 8: 4). С внешней стороны сосуды оформлены остроконечными «лепестками» (рис. 8: 1), рядами «ныряющих рыбок» (рис. 8: 2).

Сирийская керамика с росписью люстром встречена в материалах раскопок русских городов, отдельные находки обнаружены в Причерноморье (Коваль 1997: 111; 2005: 216—217). В Азаке её находят в комплексах начала — 3-й четверти XIV века.

Количество фрагментов *керамики в технике «ладжвардина»* в коллекции Азовского музея-заповедника пока до конца не выявлено. С уверенностью к сосудам *иранского производства* относится небольшая часть. Среди них обломки четырёх чаш в восьми фрагментах, с сегментовидным туловом и прямым венчиком (рис. 8: 1—4).

Нижневолжская ладжвардина представлена чашами и сосудами закрытой формы, преимущественно бутылями с шаровидным туловом (рис. 8: 5, 8), а также кувшинами (рис. 8: 7) и миниатюрными сосудиками (рис. 8: 6).

Орнаментация иранской и нижневолжской ладжвардины также имеет существенные различия. Сосуды иранского производства украшены более мелкими, тонко прорисованными элементами. Преобладает вьющийся растительный мотив (рис. 8: 1—4), эпиграфический орнамент, имитирующий скорописный насх (рис. 8: 1—3), мелкие вызолоченные ромбики (рис. 8: 3). С внешней стороны чаши украшены узкими, скруглёнными в верхней части лепестками (рис. 8: 2—4). У нижневолжской ладжвардины фигуры более крупные, часто повторяется мотив небольшой шестилепестковой розетки (рис. 8: 7, 8), вызолоченные W-образные фигуры (рис. 8: 8).

Фрагменты обнаружены в комплексах первой половины XIV века.

Сосудов с росписью «минаи» в коллекции Азовского музея обнаружено всего около 45 фрагментов. Среди них выделяются пять видов изделий: 1) чаши с сегментовидным туловом на кольцевом поддоне (рис. 10: 4, 6, 7); 2) кубки на высокой ножке, с сегментовидным туловом и загнутым внутрь венчиком (рис. 10: 1); 3) миниатюрные сосудики (рис. 10: 5); 4) гюльабданы (рис. 10: 2); 5) узкогорлые кувшинчики (рис. 10: 3).

Чаши по размеру делятся на два типа: миниатюрные (d = 10 см) (рис. 10: 4) и среднего размера (d = 18—20 см) с отогнутым наружу краем (рис. 10: 6—7). Остальные виды представлены единичными фрагментами.

Сосуды с росписью «минаи» богато украшены с обеих сторон многоцветной росписью и позолотой по белой или слегка голубоватой опаковой поливе. Черепок изготовлен из твёрдого белого кашина.

Орнаментация сосудов включает в себя растительные, зооморфные и геометрические элементы. На сосудах из Азова изображены крупные цветы со стеблями и листьями (рис. 10: 1, 2, 4—6), вьющиеся побеги (рис. 10: 1, 6), мелкие розетки с вызолоченной сердцевиной, концентрические окружности (рис. 10: 1, 6), волнистые линии (рис. 10: 6), точки (рис. 10: 1, 5, 6, 7), птицы (рис. 10: 1), W-образные фигуры (рис. 10: 1, 5, 7) и др.

Аналогии сосудов с росписью «минаи» встречены при раскопках городов в Нижнем Поволжье (Булатов 1968: 106—107; Фёдоров-Давыдов 1976: 123, табл. 100; Крамаровский 2005: 231), на Руси (Коваль 1997: 111), в Сарайчике (Тасмагамбетов, Самашев 2001: 39, 112, 137, 247), на Увекском городище (Матюхина, Моржерин 2005: 114, 121, рис. 7: 3). Время бытования их в Азаке — третья четверть XIV века.

Группа азербайджанской керамики на данный момент в полном объёме не выделена. Она насчитывает несколько десятков фрагментов. Ассортимент представлен преимущественно массивными чашами с широким, отогнутым наружу бортиком, на кольцевом поддоне (рис. 11: 1—3). На некоторых из них прослеживаются оттиски клейм (рис. 11: 2). Редко встречаются чаши среднего размера.

Орнаментация на азербайджанских чашах выполнена в технике сграффито и «резерв» по белому ангобу, покрытому глазурью лимонного цвета, с полихромной расцветкой марганцем, коричневым и зелёным. Характерные элементы орнамента — сетка (рис. 11: 1), пятна из трёх точек (рис. 11: 1), растительные побеги (рис. 11: 1—3), фестоны (рис. 11: 3), спирали (рис. 11: 1, 2). Единичны случаи находок чаш с гравированными надписями (рис. 11: 1). Данная группа керами-

Рис. 8. Сирийский люстр: 1 — чаша с усечённо-коническим туловом (Аз-1985, ул. Карла Либкнехта, Р-I, Я-4); 2 — сегментовидная чаша с «ныряющими рыбками» (случайная находка); 3, 4 — венчик и донце чаш (3 — Аз-1984, ул. Ленинградская, Я-6; 4 — Аз1990, ул. Чехова 3, Я-23).

Fig. 8. Syrian luster: 1 — bowl with truncated conic body (Az-1985, Karl Liebknecht, dig I, pit 4); 2 — segmented cup with 'diving fish' (stray find); 3—4 — rim and bottom of bowls (3 — Az-1984, Leningradskaya St., pit 6; 4 — Az 1990, 3, Chekhov St., pit 23)

ки выделена И.В. Волковым как продукция Ширвана (Волков 2000). Время бытования азербайджанской керамики в Азаке приходится на середину XIV века.

В материалах раскопок Азака редко встречается группа *расписной поливы из Средней Азии*. Особенно яркими образцами такой керамики являются светлоглиняные чаши с сег-

Рис. 9. Керамика с росписью в технике «ладжвардина»: 1—4 — фрагменты иранских чаш (1 — Аз-2007, ул. Ленина 53, Я-34; Аз-2004, ул. Ленина 46, Я-14; Аз-1998, ул. Энгельса 17, слой); 5—8 — фрагменты нижневолжских сосудов (5 — Аз-2007, ул. Ленина 53, слой; 6 — миниатюрный сосудик, Аз-2006, ул. Ленинградская 55, Я-5; 7 — Аз-2005, Толстого 70, Я-3; 8 — Аз-1979, ул. Социалистическая 1, Я-17).

Fig. 9. Ceramics with 'lajvardina' painting: 1—4 — fragments of Iranian bowls (1 — Az-2007, 53, Lenin St., pit 34; Az-2004, 46, Lenin St., pit 14; Az-1998, 17, Engels St., layer); 6—8 — fragments of Lower Volga vessels (5 — Az-2007, 53, Lenin St., layer; 6 — miniature vessel, Az –2006, 55, Leningradskaya St., pit 5; 7 — Az-2005, 70, Tolstoy St., pit 3; 8 — Az-1979, 1, Sotsialisticheskaya St., pit 17).

ментовидным туловом и невыделенным венчиком на кольцевом поддоне, вырезанном ножом с оставлением конического выступа внутри (рис. 11: 4). Они украшены полихромной подглазурной росписью бирюзовым и чёрным (рис. 11: 7), синим и чёрным (рис. 11: 4) или зелёным и коричневым, с отдельными элементами, выполненными росписью бе-

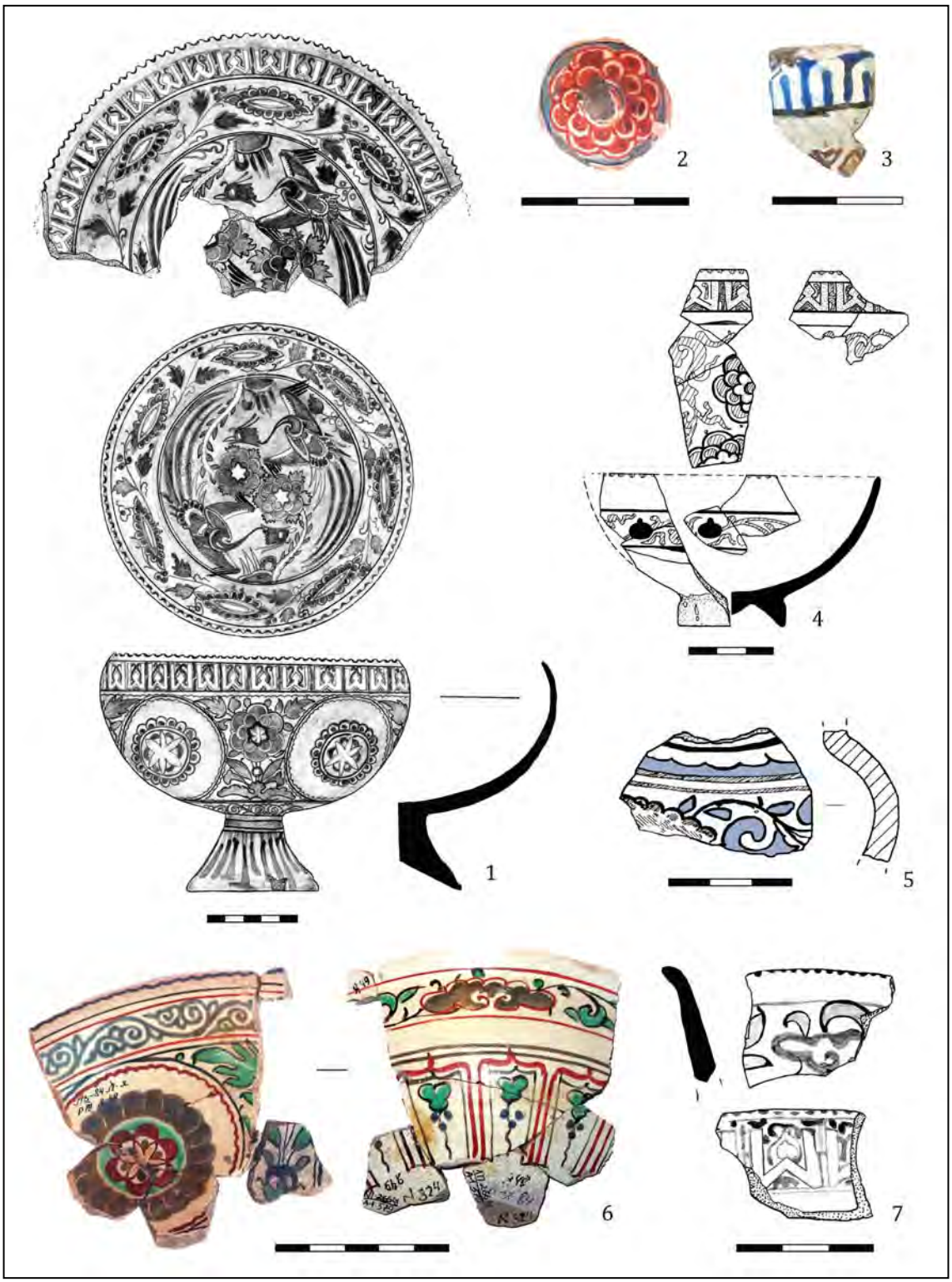

Рис. 10. Керамика с росписью в технике «минаи»: 1 — кубок (Аз-1992, сп. Р. Люксембург, Я-17); 2 — сосцевидный налеп гюльабдана (Аз-2004, ул. Ленинградская 55, Я-3); 3 — фрагмент горлышка кувшина (Аз-2007, ул. Ленина 53, Я-23); 4 — миниатюрная чашечка (Аз-2005, ул. Московская 4, Я-8); 5 — миниатюрный сосудик (Аз-2000, ул. Измайлова 38/82, Ж-1); 6, 7 — фрагменты чаш (6 — Аз-1984, ул. Ленинградская, Я-49; 7 — Аз-1995, ул. Московская 7, Я-24).

Fig. 10. Ceramics with 'minai' painting: 1 — beaker (Az-1992, R. Luxembourg, pit 17); 2 — mastoid paste-on knob on gulabdan (Az-2004, 55, Leningradskaya St., pit 3); 3 — fragment of neck of a jar (Az-2007, 53, Lenin St., pit 23); 4 — miniature cup (Az-2005, 4, Moskovskaya St., pit 8); 5 — miniature vessel (Az-2000, 38/82, Izmailova St., Ж-1); 6—7 — fragments of bowls (6 — Az-1984, Leningradskaya St., pit 49; 7 — Az-1995, 7, Moskovskaya St., pit 24).

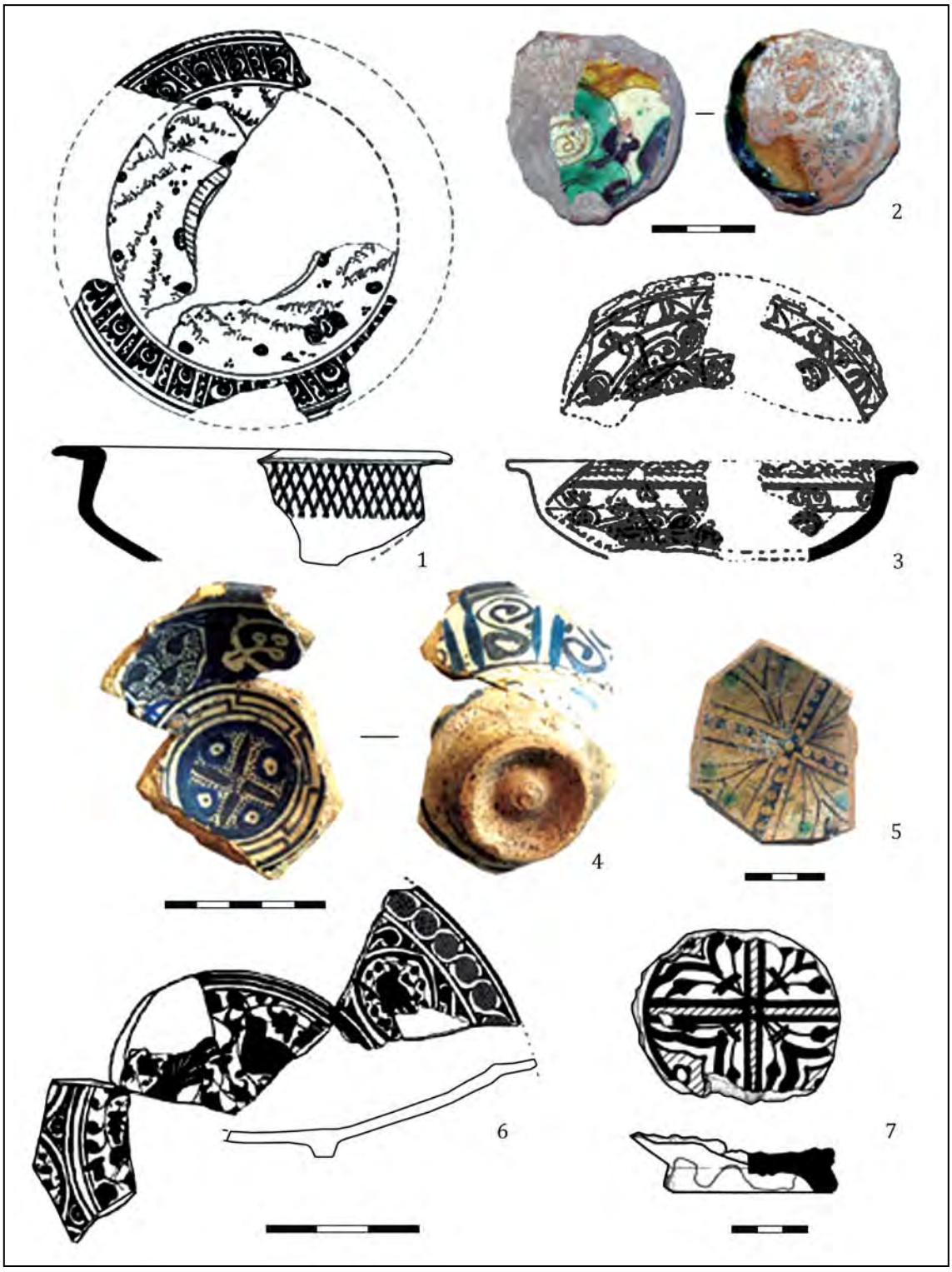

Рис. 11. Керамика Азербайджана и Средней Азии: 1—3 — азербайджанские чаши (1 — чаша с персидскими стихами, Аз-2000, ул. Толстого 41, Я-5; 2 — донце с клеймом, Аз-2001, ул. Толстого 41, кв. 7Ж, шт. 1; 3 — Аз-2005, Толстого 70, Я-5); 4—7 — керамика Средней Азии (4 — Аз-1996, ул. Московская, АКМ, Р-III, случайная находка; 5 — Аз-2007, Парк, мостовая; 6 — блюдо с павлинами и гусями в зарослях, Аз-1996, ул. Московская, АКМ, Р-III, кв. 2, шт. 2; 7 — Аз-1985, ул. Карла Либкнехта, Я-5).

Fig. 11. Ceramics of Azerbaijan and Middle Asia: 1—3 — Azerbaijani bowls (1 — bowl with Persian verses, Az-2000, 41, Tolstoy St., pit 5; 2 — bottom with a stamp, Az-2001, 41, Tolstoy St., square 7Ж, layer 1; 3 — Az-2005, 70, Tolstoy St., pit 5); 4—7 — ceramics of Middle Asia (4 — Az-1996, Moskovskaya St., Azov Museum of Local History, dig III, stray find; 5 — Az-2007, Park, paved road; 6 — dish with peacocks and geese in the brushwood, Az-1996, Moskovskaya St., Azov Museum of Local History, dig III, square 2, layer 2; 7 — Az-1985, Karl Liebknecht St., pit 5).

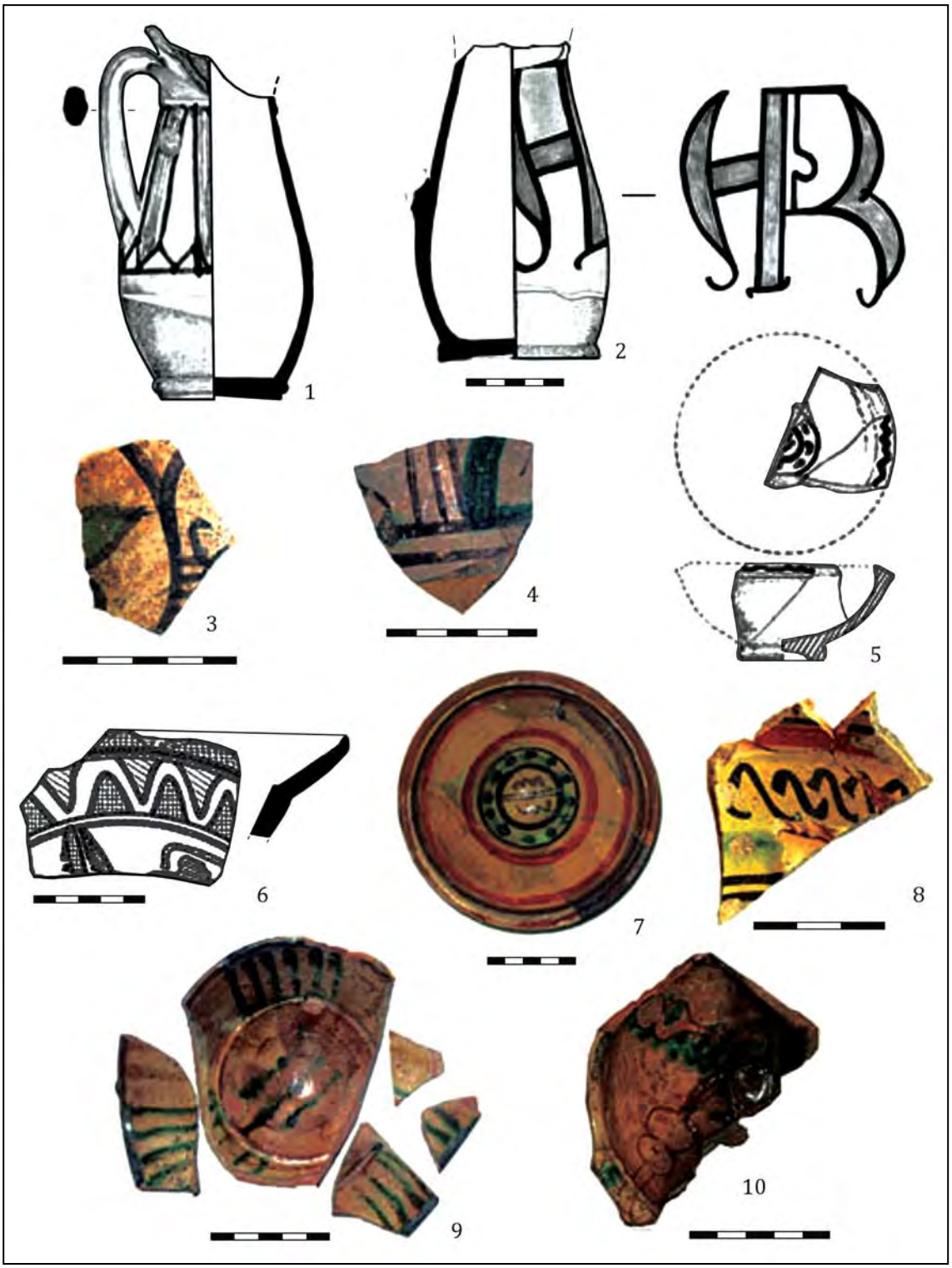

Рис. 12. Итальянская ранняя полумайолика: 1—4 — кувшины-«молочники» (1 — Аз-1992, сп. Р. Люксембург, Я-17; 2 — Аз-1992, сп. Р. Люксембург, Я-17; 3 — Аз-2005, ул. Лермонтова 37, Я-16; 4 — Аз-2001, ул. Октябрьская 7, кв.2, шт. 2); 5—8 — чаши с трёхцветной росписью «RMR» (5 — Аз-2001, ул. Толстого 41, кв. 43, шт. 4; 6 — Аз-1982, ул. Московская 7, Я-4; 7 — Аз-1989, Городской парк, Я-2; 8 — Аз-1998, ул. Энгельса 17, Я-9); 9—10 — чаши со «сграффито» и полихромной расцветкой (9 — Аз-2007, ул. Ленина 53, Я-41; 10 — Аз-1990, ул. Чехова 3).

Fig. 12. Early Italian semi-majolica: 1—4 — milk jars (1 — Az-1992, R. Luxembourg, pit 17; 2 — Az-1992, R. Luxembourg, pit 17; 3 — Az-2005, 37, Lermontov St., pit 16; 4 — Az-2001, 7, Oktyabrskaya St., square 2, layer 2); 5—8 — bowls with three-color 'RMR' painting (5 — Az-2001, 41, Tolstoy St., square 4 3, layer 4; 6 — Az-1982, 7, Moskovskaya St., pit 4; 7 — Az-1989, City Park, pit 2; 8 — Az-1998, 17, Engels St., pit 9); 9—10 — bowls with sgraffito and polychrome coloring (9 — Az-2007, 53, Lenin St., pit 41; 10 — Az-1990, 3, Chekhov St.).

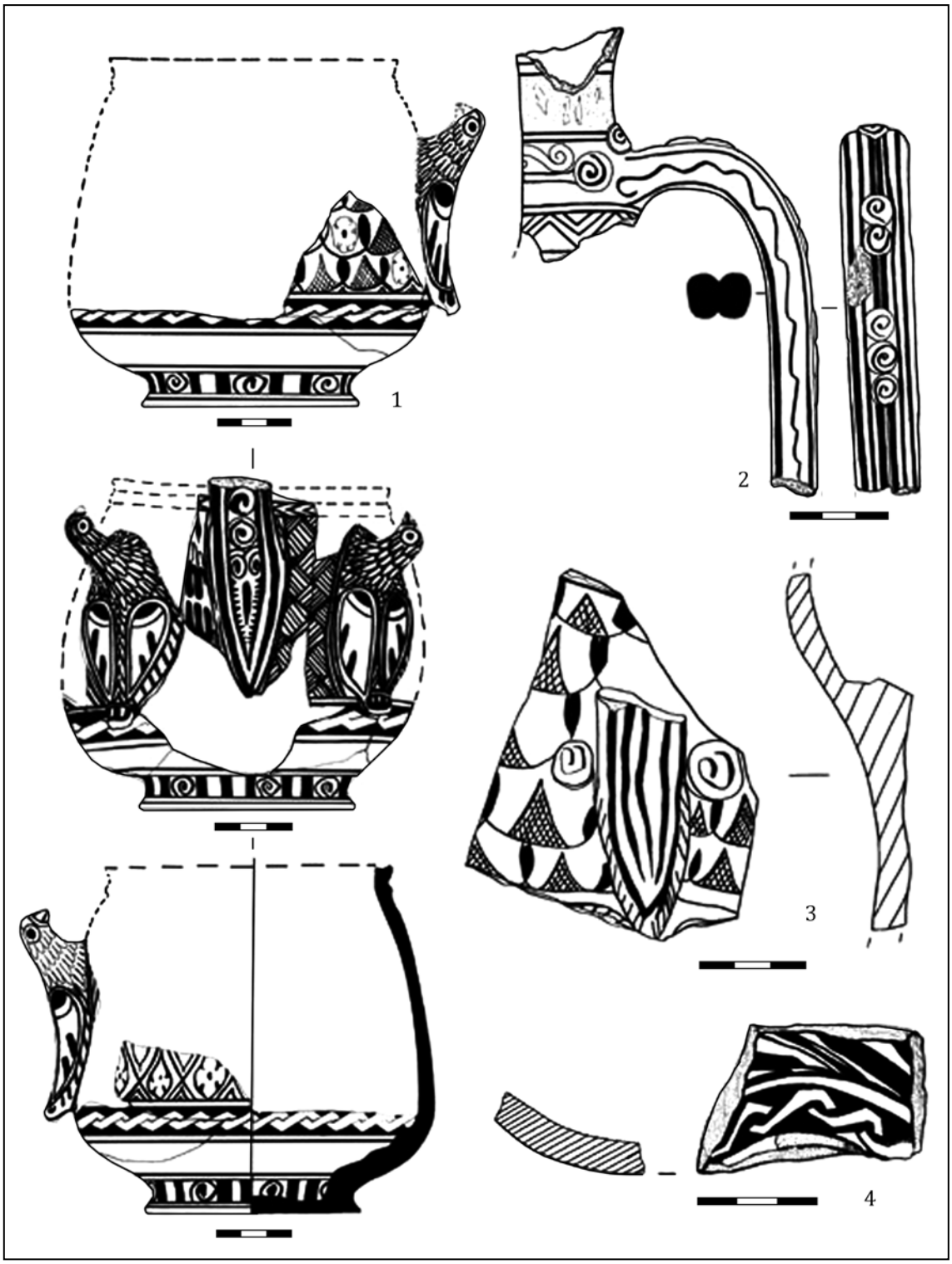

Рис. 13. Керамика Византии: 1 — сосуд с птицами (Аз-1988, ул. Чехова, Я-5); 2, 3 — фрагменты кувшинов (случайные находки); 4 — фрагмент чаши (Аз-1992, ул. Ленина, Я-1).

Fig. 13. Ceramics of Byzantium: 1 — vessel with birds (Az-1988, Chekhov St., pit 5); 2, 3 — fragments of jars (stray finds); 4 — fragment of a bowl (Az-1992, Lenin St., pit 1).

лым ангобом. (рис. 11: 5). Другой вид изделий представлен единичной находкой бежевоглиняного блюда с росписью тёмно-коричневым красителем под жёлтой глазурью, с изображением павлинов и гусей в зарослях (рис. 11: 6). Датируются находки серединой XIV века.

Итальянская полумайолика с подглазурной росписью насчитывает несколько де-

сятков фрагментов. Она представлена двумя видами изделий: небольшими кувшинами-«молочниками» (рис. 12: 1—4) и чашами (рис. 12: 5—10).

Чаши по характеру росписи делятся на две подгруппы: 1) с трёхцветной росписью («RMR») (рис. 12: 5—8); 2) со сграффито и расцветкой коричневым и зелёным (рис. 12: 9—10).

Первая подгруппа представлена двумя типами чаш: 1) с сегментовидным туловом на кольцевом поддоне с небольшим желобчатым бортиком, скошенным наружу (рис. 12: 5, 7); 2) большие, с широким бортиком, отогнутым наружу (рис. 12: 4).

Ко второй подгруппе относятся два типа чаш сегментовидной формы, с коническим выступом внутри кольцевого поддона: 1) с невыделенным венчиком (рис. 12: 6); 2) с горизонтальным бортиком (рис. 12: 7).

Основные орнаментальные сюжеты на итальянской керамике — это монограммы (рис. 12: 2), растительные элементы (рис. 12: 1, 3), фестоны (рис. 12: 3), жемчужины (рис. 12: 4—5), цепочка овалов (рис. 12: 7), концентрические окружности (рис. 12: 3—5), волнистые линии (рис. 12: 6—8), длинные мазки (рис. 12: 6). В Азаке итальянская полумайолика происходит из комплексов конца XIII — 1-й половины XIV вв.

К концу XIII — 1-й половине XIV вв. относится группа *византийских кувшинов, подражающих металлическим сосудам*. Кроме Азака, они обнаружены в материалах раскопок Херсонеса (Романчук 2003: рис. 73—78), Кафы, Солдайи, Варны (Крамаровский 1996: 102, рис. 2; 3; 4), Белгорода-Днестровского (Кравченко 1986: рис. 41: 9, 10). Помимо кувшинов, единичные фрагменты принадлежат чашам той же группы (рис. 13: 4).

Данная керамика орнаментирована в технике «резерв» и сграффито по белому ангобу под ярко-жёлтой поливой, имитирующих технику обработки металлических (бронзовых) сосудов, высоко ценившихся в средневековом мире. По мнению М. Г. Крамаровского, за неимением средств на покупку бронзовых кувшинов, византийский двор довольствовался заменой их на глиняные. «На пиру в честь коронации Иоанна VI Кантакузина в 1347 году пиршественный стол императорского дворца был сервирован оловянной и глиняной посудой» (Крамаровский 1996: 103).

Элементы декора представлены в виде косой сетки (рис. 13: 1, 3), шахматного поля, сельджукской цепи (рис. 13: 1, 4), розеток (рис. 13: 1), спиралевидных завитков

Рис. 14. График распределения парадной керамики в Азаке по хронологическим периодам.

Fig. 14. Distribution of ceremonial ceramics from Azak, by chronological periods.

(рис. 13: 1—3) и широких вертикальных полос (рис. 13: 1—3), волнистых и ломаных линий (рис. 13: 2). В местах крепления ручек к тулову сосуда имеются шаровидные налепы, имитирующие металлические заклёпки (рис. 13: 2, 3). Единичным фрагментом представлен сосуд с налепными фигурками птиц (рис. 13: 1).

На протяжении XIV века в наборе парадной керамики Азака непрерывно происходят изменения (рис. 14). В начале века он достаточно разнообразен, в него входят итальянская ранняя полумайолика, иранский и сирийский люстр, ладжвардина, византийская керамика, подражающая металлическим сосудам, селадон и фарфор. К середине века из этого набора выпадают: группа иранской люстровой керамики, ладжвардина, итальянская полумайолика и византийские сосуды. В то же время появляются азербайджанские чаши, среднеазиатская полива, цычжоу, керамика с росписью «минаи» и испанский люстр. К концу третьей четверти XIV века азербайджанская, среднеазиатская керамика и цычжоу постепенно исчезают, а количество сирийского люстра и «минаи» достигает максимума. К концу XIV века в наборе парадной керамики Азака остаются только три группы: фарфор, селадон и испанский люстр.

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Керамика Изника конца XV — XVI вв. из раскопок Нижнего двора Аккерманской крепости

Keywords: North-Pontic region, Middle Ages, Akkerman fortress, Low Yard, ceramic of Iznik, classification, interpretation

Ключевые слова: Северное Причерноморье, средневековье, Аккерманская крепость, Нижний двор, керамика Изника, классификация, интерпретация

S. A. Belyaeva, E. E. Fialko

Iznik Pottery of the End of 15th — 16th Centuries from the Excavation of the Lower Yard of the Akkerman Fortress

The article deals with painted faience produced in the Turkish centre of artistic ceramics in İznik and dated by the end of 15th — 16th centuries. This collection comes from the excavations of 1999—2010 in the Lower Yard of Akkerman fortress in Belgorod-Dniestrovsk, Odessa Oblast, Ukraine. Statistical characteristic of the distribution of finds on architectural objects, as well as typological and chronological classification of materials, has been represented. The authors offer a comparative analysis by functional structure and main periods of development revealed in the Iznik artistic ceramics from Akkerman with collections from a number of the Ottoman provinces' sites. They also propose a historical interpretation of possible ways how Iznik pottery could appear in Akkerman.

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Керамика Изника конца XV — XVI вв. из раскопок Нижнего двора Аккерманской крепости

В статье рассматриваются расписные полуфаянсы конца XV — XVI в. производства турецкого центра художественной керамики в Изнике. Коллекция сформирована в результате раскопок 1999—2010 гг. Нижнего двора Аккерманской крепости в г. Белгород-Днестровский Одесской области Украины. Представлена статистическая характеристика распределения находок по отдельным архитектурным объектам и в культурном слое участка, а также типологическая и хронологическая классификации материалов. Дается сравнительный анализ аккерманских находок с коллекциями ряда памятников османских провинций по функциональному составу и основным этапам развития художественной керамики Изника. Предложена историческая интерпретация возможных путей поступления в Аккерман керамических изделий Изника.

Художественная керамика Изника является элементом османского культурного горизонта археологических памятников обширного пространства Османской империи. Распространение этой продукции (с учетом её элитного назначения) в определенной мере отражает объективные процессы формирования провинций и их управления на территориях Европы и Азии, их место и значение в системе государственного устройства. В ходе становления археологии Османской империи, получившей свое развитие только в последние десятилетия XX в., встал вопрос об отображении социально-экономических процессов в материальной культуре, элитном или массовом назначении соответству-

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ющих видов артефактов (Baram, Carroll 2000). Для продукции Изника важным показателем в этом плане является функциональное назначение изделий, и прежде всего наличие или отсутствие облицовочной плитки, ее количественные показатели. Такой подход связан с тем, что становление и развитие крупного керамического центра в Изнике отвечало, прежде всего, потребностям монументального зодчества — оформления интерьеров мечетей и дворцов быстро растущих городов Османского государства, и в первую очередь Стамбула. В период наивысшего подъема и расцвета Османской державы, ее быстрого территориального расширения и соответствующего роста богатства ее элиты, немногочисленные керамические мастерские Малой Азии уже не могли обеспечить увеличившийся спрос на изразцы (Миллер 1972: 23). Объективными факторами развития крупного производства керамики, прежде всего строительной, в Изнике являлись: 1) наличие мощной сырьевой базы (высококачественной белой глины); 2) постоянно возрастающий спрос на подобные изделия; 3) относительная близость к столице — главному заказчику и потребителю продукции. В результате в мастерских Изника была разработана технология изготовления керамической продукции из мягкой силикатной формовочной массы белого или розового цвета, покрытой прозрачной бесцветной свинцово-щелочной глазурью.

Отличительной чертой этой области ремесла стало формирование и развитие искусства миниатюрной живописи на керамических изделиях, позволивших перейти к созданию панно и сюжетных произведений, украсивших многочисленные мечети и дворцы. Классическим примером дворцового интерьера является комплекс Топкапи в Стамбуле, воплотивший лучшие традиции и стили художественной керамики Изника. Высочайшее качество изникской керамики демонстрирует состояние изразцов в облицовке интерьеров, сохранивших удивительную свежесть красок по сей день. В памятниках архитектуры Турции ныне известно более 100 тыс. высококачественных изразцов, сохраняющих свой неизменный внешний вид, по крайней мере, с конца XV — XVI вв. (Akar 1988: VIII). Здесь следует отметить, что строительная керамика быстро завоевала господствующее положение в керамическом производстве — по отношению к ней на государственном уровне проводилась политика протекционизма. Посуда, таким образом, рассматривалась как побочный, дополнительный вид изделий. Тем не менее, она предназначалась для употребления в высших кругах османского общества и носила элитарный характер. Изысканная бытовая посуда получила распространение на огромных территориях Османской державы и за ее пределами, в том числе среди европейской элиты (Carroll 2000: 171). В целом же и строительные изразцы, и посуда составили целостное направление в прикладном искусстве миниатюрной живописи. По мнению известного исследователя художественной керамики Турции Ю. А. Миллера, «именно в ней особенно отчетливо выражены постепенно формировавшиеся декоративно-образный строй и определенные эстетические принципы» (Миллер 1972: 5).

Еще одной важной особенностью изникской керамики является возможность достаточно точной хронологической классификации археологических комплексов. Это обусловлено, с одной стороны, относительно узкими рамками бытования определенного декоративного стиля и встречающимися отметками дат на изделиях. И, с другой стороны, точной датировкой зданий, упомянутых в различных документах, интерьер которых украшали изразцы. Эти реперы успешно используются при публикациях находок изникской керамики в памятниках, зафиксированных в различных районах Османской империи. А это, в свою очередь, позволяет представить сравнительную характеристику комплексов, соотношение в них более ранних и поздних изделий, их типологию, с учетом определенных погрешностей из-за неполноты источника и других объективных и субъективных особенностей каждого конкретного пункта или региона в целом.

В специальном исследовании, посвященном художественной керамике Турции, Ю. Миллер показал распространение изникской керамики по отдельным регионам, дав ее соответствующую характеристику. По наблюдениям автора, распространение турецкой керамики в Египте и Северной Африке было весьма ограниченным и касалось лишь изразцов (Миллер 1972: 129). Что же касается Европы в целом, «основным пунктом ввоза изникских изделий в Италию была Венеция, где оседала значительная доля импорта. Кроме того, турецкие и итальянские купцы завозили посуду в Англию, Голландию, Германию» (Миллер 1972: 148—152). Значительно большее распространение керамики, причем именно посуды, затронуло османские провинции на территории современной Румынии, Болгарии, Венгрии, что отчетливо

засвидетельствовали археологические раскопки (Миллер 1972: 130).

На территории Восточной Европы автор обратил внимание на Крым и Приазовье, входившие в составе Османской империи. Кроме того, Ю. Миллер подробно проанализировал кавказское направление распространения изникской керамики. Несмотря на то, что Кавказ лишь частично находился в зависимости от Османской империи, именно здесь, преимущественно в материалах могильников, были найдены прекрасные образцы прикладного искусства Изника (Миллер 1972: 138—148). Упомянуто и о находках изникской посуды в Москве (Миллер 1972: 152—153). Однако, памятники Северного Причерноморья, такие как Аккерман и Очаков, и менее изученные Килия, Измаил и другие, не были включены в круг исследования восточноевропейских провинций Османской державы.

Что касается формально-типологического и хронологического изучения изникской керамики, предлагаемые исследователями (Otto-Dorn 1941; Кверфельдт 1947; Lane 1957; Гарбузова 1958; Миллер 1972 и др.) и используемые ими принципы типологии и классификации материала позволяют говорить о целесообразности применения подходов А. Лейна (Lane 1957) к керамическим комплексам изникского производства из различных археологических памятников. Так, в качестве положительного примера применения подходов А. Лейна можно привести результаты исследования И.Р. Гусач на типологически близком Аккерманской крепости памятнике — крепости Азов (Гусач 2005: 137—144; 2011: 24, 34, 35). Вместе с тем, необходимо отметить некоторые дополнения и уточнения к разработкам А. Лейна, внесенные в работах других, прежде всего турецких исследователей (Aslanapa 1965; Kuban 1986: 73—76; Akar 1988; Aslanapa, Yetkin, Altun 1989; Atasoy, Raby 1989; Altun 1991: 8—48; Öney 1993: 292—303 и др.). Их разработки практически стали опорной базой для исследования изникской керамики, как в метрополии, так и на территории провинций. Вместе с тем, сравнительное изучение керамических комплексов позволило поставить вопрос о времени и объеме поступления изникской керамики в различные османские крепости, расположенные от западных границ Северного Причерноморья до Приазовья. Следующей составляющей исследований является сравнительный анализ соотношения различных типологических групп на каждом памятнике и по отдельным регионам Северного Причерноморья. Возможен и выход на сравнительные характеристики с памятниками других провинций Османской империи, в том числе в Центральной и Южной Европе.

Обращаясь к исходным позициям типологической и хронологической классификации, отметим, что А. Лейн поделил изникскую керамику на ***три группы***. К ***первой группе (Изник I)*** автор отнес изделия в стиле *«Авраам из Кютахьи»* и датировал их 1490—1525 гг.; ко ***второй группе (Изник II)*** — изделия в стиле *«Дамаск»*, датированные 1525—1555 гг.; к ***третьей группе (Изник III)*** — керамику в стиле *«Родос»*, датированную 1555—1700 гг. (Lane 1957). При этом керамику в стиле *«Золотой Рог»* А. Лейн включил во вторую группу — «Дамаск», датировав ее 1530 г., хотя по цветовой гамме она была близка первой группе. Позднее ряд исследователей выделят «Золотой Рог» в отдельную группу, однако датируют ее в целом XVI—XVII в. (Станчева 1960; Sozen 1987 и др.). Со времени классификации А. Лейна накоплен значительный корпус керамических изделий, найденных в точно датированных монументальных постройках и оформленных надписями, как на территории Турции, так и на землях бывших провинций Османской империи, что позволило внести уточнения в классификацию керамики и хронологические построения. Так, первая группа изделий (Изник I) — «Авраам из Кютахьи», названная по надписи на сосуде с точной датой — 1510 г., вошла в более широкую хронологическую группу (1475—1510 гг.). Она получила название по цветовой гамме: *«синий и белый»*, используемой при описании изникской керамики многими исследователями (Akar 1988: VIII; Altun 1991: 11; Öney 1993: 293 и др). Подвижка в датировке связана с находками посуды в наиболее ранней по облицовке изникскими плитками мечети Чинили (изразцовой) Кёшк в Стамбуле, откуда происходит тарелка с классическими для «голубого и белого» периода декоративными особенностями, в которых прослеживается сильное китайское и среднеазиатское влияние. Тарелка датируется 1480 г. (Öney 1993: 293). Следует отметить, что сине-белая посуда, особенно изображения пиал и бутылей на пирах турецкой знати, широко известна по миниатюрам XV—XVI вв.

В связи с изменениями в цветовой гамме и внесением сначала светлого, а затем яркобирюзового цвета, а также отдельных изменений в дизайне, некоторые исследователи выделили еще один период в развитии изникской керамики: *«синий-бирюзовый-белый»*, с датировкой 1500—1520 гг. (Akar 1988: VIII).

Характерно для изделий этого периода появление черной линии, окружающей бирюзовые композиции. Кроме того, рисунок становится крупнее, добавляются растительно-цветочные мотивы, иногда имеют место анималистические мотивы (Akar 1988: VIII).

Что касается *дамасской группы* керамики, она характеризуется добавлением новых цветов в колористическую гамму изделий и полунатуралистической орнаментацией. Изображения становятся крупными и мощными, включают розы, тюльпаны, гвоздики, гранаты, перистые листья и деревья. Среди чисто декоративных элементов — завитки облаков, сильно стилизованные мотивы *батайи* (растительный мотив пальметт, завитков листьев, розеток в дизайне в целом) и *руми* (в высшей степени стилизованный мотив, в основе которого формы животных и птиц). В западном мире эти мотивы известны как «*арабески*». Они происходят из Центральной Азии и использовались как излюбленный орнаментальный стиль по всему исламскому миру. В цветовую гамму этого периода, помимо синего, белого и бирюзового, входят оливково-зеленый, светло-розовый, пурпурный, коричневый и серый цвета. Кроме того, в дамасском периоде характерным был дизайн спирали среди наполовину натуралистических изображений цветов (Akar 1988: VIII). Эти образцы иногда называют тип «Золотой Рог», относившийся, таким образом, к периоду до 1555 года. Именно к дамасскому периоду относится бутыль с точной датировкой 1529 г. (Миллер 1972: 31).

Родосская группа керамики (по А. Лейну) отличалась очень высоким качеством продукции, с использованием поливы и подглазурной росписи по белой глине. Здесь интенсивно используется черный контур изображений, в то же время вводятся яркие медно-зеленый, ультрамариново-голубой и томатно-красный цвета. Дизайн наследует традицию дамасского периода, но в это время появляются новые особые мотивы. Часто используются изображения всех видов анималистических мотивов, фантастических существ, таких как гарпии и драконы, корабли и другие плавательные средства, а также геометрические мотивы (Akar 1988: IX). Вместе с тем, хотя А. Лейн относит к родосскому периоду продукцию, выпускавшуюся до 1700 г., в литературе встречается и другая периодизация. Конец родосского периода относится к 1600 г. Некоторые исследователи склонны считать, что для изникской мануфактуры еще один период работы продолжался с 1600 по 1660 г., когда наряду со старыми традиционными мотивами появились совершенно новые группы изображений. Это человеческие фигуры, дома и карикатурные животные. Окончательно мануфактура прекратила существование в конце XVIII в. (Akar 1988: IX; Kuban 1986: 76). В современной Турции керамический центр Изника и его мастерские работают по тем же технологиям, что и средневековые мастера, в значительной мере насыщая туристическую отрасль турецкой экономики.

Перечисленные выше разработки в области типологической и хронологической классификации продукции Изника, несомненно, являются добротной методической основой подхода к анализу коллекций керамики, полученных при исследовании османских памятников различных территорий Османской державы. Это позволяет применить их и по отношению к одному из наиболее представительных памятников османского периода в Северном Причерноморье — в Белгороде-Днестровском Одесской области, вошедшем в историю османских провинций Восточной Европы под именем Аккермана, центральное положение в котором принадлежит крепости на берегу Днестровского лимана.

С захватом Аккермана войсками султана Баязида II 5 августа 1484 г. он становится важным форпостом на западном побережье восточноевропейской полосы Причерноморья. Контроль над портом составлял экономическую и политическую необходимость для османской власти (Іналджик 1998: 141). Крепость, в постройку которой было вложено много усилий молдавских господарей, и городская часть Аккермана начали приобретать характерные черты инфраструктуры мусульманского центра, что прослеживается как по письменным, так и по археологическим источникам. Насколько быстро шел процесс создания среды обитания, близкой к центрам метрополии и других провинций Османской империи, в каких сферах бытовой культуры могли присутствовать вещи анатолийского происхождения, могут подсказать артефакты, которые имеют точную датировку производства данного типа изделий. Одним из таких атрибутов является художественная керамика Изника, находки которой зафиксированы в разных частях крепости. Как известно, Аккерманская крепость включала такие части, как Цитадель — внутренний форт или комендантский двор, и внешний пояс каменных укреплений (Шлапак 2001: 46). В него входили: Гарнизонный двор, Гражданский двор и Нижний двор, имеющий также и другое название — Портовый двор, что говорит о его

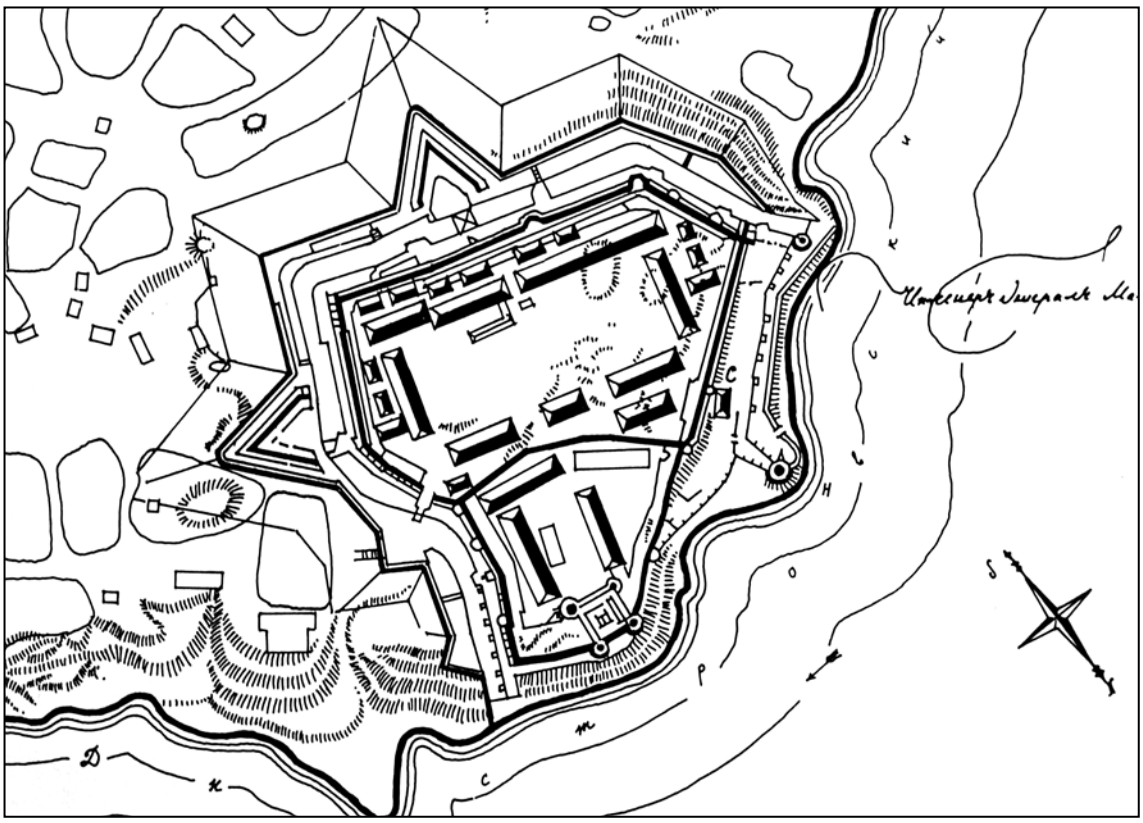

Рис. 1. Аккерманская крепость. Генеральный план 1807 года. (РГВИА 1. Ф. 349. Оп. 3. Т. 3. №264).

Fig. 1. Akkerman fortress. General plan of 1807. (Russian State Military and Historical Archive 1. Fund 349. Inventory 3. Volume 3, no. 264).

функциональном назначении и засвидетельствовано на картах и планах XVIII в. (рис. 1). Об использовании Нижнего двора вскоре после прихода османов свидетельствует строительство здесь бани, упомянутой в письменных источниках (Челеби 1961: 35—37; Ostapchuk, Biliaieva 2009: 148—149; Беляева, Фиалко 2010: 413—418). Баня была занесена в вакф султана Селима I (время правления 1512—1520 гг.) (Іналджик 1998: 225).

Первые исследования в Нижнем дворе были проведены в 1912 г. Э. Штерном. Им были заложены две траншеи между водяными воротами и берегом лимана. Первая траншея была заложена направо от Водяных ворот на расстоянии около 20 саженей (42,6 м) «от разрушенной большой турецкой печи» (Штерн 1913: 94). Вероятно, речь идет о печи (кюльхане) для подогрева воды турецкой бани, нижняя часть которой была открыта нами в процессе раскопок 2002 года, а местоположение соответствует описаниям Э. Штерна. Описывая материал траншеи, исследователь упоминает о находках мелких осколков «прекрасной персидской посуды (голубой рисунок по белому фону)» (Штерн 1913: 95). Там же были найдены и турецкие монеты XVI века. Возможно, речь идет о бело-голубой посуде раннего периода изникской керамики, относящейся к концу XV — началу XVI вв., когда была построена и начала функционировать баня.

Культурный слой турецкого периода в Нижнем дворе был зафиксирован и во время полевых работ 1969—1973 гг. экспедиции Института археологии АН Украины под руководством С.Д. Крыжицкого (1969—1971 гг.) и И.Б. Клеймана (1972—1973 гг.), но целевые раскопки объектов османского периода не проводились (Крыжицкий, Клейман 1979: 19—54).

Целенаправленные исследования памятников Нижнего двора начались в 1999 г. Международной Южной Средневековой экспедицией Института археологии Национальной Академии наук Украины под руководством С.А. Беляевой, на основе ряда международных проектов: Турецкой исторической ассоциации (1999—2002 гг.), Турецкого управления сотрудничества и развития (2004—2006 гг.), Фонда Макса Ван Берчема (2005—2009 гг.) и Британского института в Анкаре Британской Академии наук (2006—2010 гг.). Основными объектами ис-

Рис. 2. Турецкая баня на территории Нижнего двора Аккерманской крепости.

Fig. 2. Turkish bathhouse on the territory of the Low Yard of the Akkerman fortress.

Рис. 3. Барбакан на территории Нижнего двора Аккерманской крепости.

Fig. 3. Barbican on the territory of the Low Yard of the Akkerman fortress.

* Рис. 2—19 — снимки из материалов экспедиции Института археологии НАНУ (1999—2010) под руководством С. А. Беляевой и при участии Е. Е. Фиалко. Рис. 20—24 — фотографии из экспозиции Белгород-Днестровского краеведческого музея (автор Е. Е. Фиалко).

следований были: остатки постройки, которая изначально представляла турецкую баню (рис. 2), и барбакан (рис. 3), встроенный в стену нижней оборонительной линии вдоль Днестровского лимана. Раскопки турецкой бани продолжались в 1999—2005 гг., и частично были продолжены в 2006 г. с целью уточнения некоторых архитектурных деталей и проведения консервационных мероприятий. Исследования барбакана проводились в 2004—2007 гг.

Результаты исследований были представлены в ежегодных информационных сообщениях, статьях и монографиях. Наряду с другими категориями материальной культуры, были рассмотрены отдельные группы многотысячной коллекции керамики, в том числе и изникской, что положило начало специального изучения этих находок (Біляєва, Фіалко 2008: 364—370).

Следует отметить, что к настоящему времени полное представление о керамическом комплексе, и тем более о количественной и качественной характеристике изникской группы по Аккерманской крепости отсутствует. Это связано с тем, что полевые исследования крепости продолжаются. Материалы раскопок, и в частности, изникские, еще не введены в научный оборот. Первый обзор изникских собраний из коллекций Одесского и Белгород-Днестровского музеев относится к началу 80-х гг. XX в. Речь идет о публикации Е. А. Столярик, в которой проанализированы изникские материалы из Белгорода-Днестровского в количестве 105 единиц (Столярик 1982: 173—183). В данном контексте эта публикация очень важна, так как автор обращает внимание на типологические особенности материала и представляет их хронологическую характеристику. Автор отмечает, что в собрании насчитывается 60 фрагментов первой половины XVI в. и 45 фрагментов второй половины XVI в. (Столярик 1982: 175). Таким образом, керамика первой половины XVI столетия преобладает. Большая часть этой керамики происходит из раскопок румынских археологов 20—30-х годов XX века, однако полевая документация не сохранилась (Столярик 1972: 176). Начиная с 1963 г., в результате исследования Аккерманской крепости экспедициями Одесского археологического музея и Института археологии НАН Украины, коллекция пополняется паспортизированными материалами.

Оценка полного комплекса керамики Изника в Аккермане пока не проведена ввиду того, что материалы пока не введены полностью в научный оборот. Поэтому остается неясным их объем и характеристика как по крепости в целом, так и по ее отдельным частям: Цитадели, Гарнизонному и Гражданскому дворам, то есть, по основным структурным подразделениям крепости. Наши исследования затрагивают лишь центральную часть Нижнего двора. Сложность состоит и в том, что в ходе раскопок других частей крепости и античной Тиры на территорию Нижнего двора складировались отвалы раскопов, в которых могли быть и фрагменты керамики. Вместе с тем, при общих подсчетах численности фрагментов изникской керамики, мы учитывали все находки, так как они в целом относятся к одному и тому же памятнику — Аккерманской крепости. В некоторой степени они отражают общие тенденции поступления и использования керамического материала, долю керамики относительно изделий других центров производства XV—XVI вв., соотношение ранних образцов и посуды XVII—XVIII вв. в целом. С учетом серии находок 2008—2010 гг., когда основные исследования проводились на участках оборонительных стен, вала и рва, в ходе наших работ на территории Нижнего двора зафиксировано более 500 фрагментов керамики Изника, что составляет 3,4% всего керамического комплекса.

Вместе с тем, участок наших исследований представляет исключительный интерес для изучения материальной культуры раннего периода Османского правления в силу ряда объективных обстоятельств. Прежде всего, уже в самом начале организации управления, при создании условий для пребывания гарнизона, османам пришлось столкнуться с отсутствием бани, что невозможно представить в условиях отправления мусульманских обрядов, необходимости омовения перед каждым намазом и т. д. Во-вторых, была необходима мечеть, без которой было невозможно проведение намазов. Поэтому первыми объектами строительства в крепости становятся Большая мечеть в Гражданском дворе и баня возле Водяных ворот, которые обеспечивали проход во внутреннюю часть крепости, к мечети, в Нижнем дворе. Баня была занесена в вакф Селима I, следовательно, ко времени его правления она уже была построена и функционировала. На полу бани, относящемуся к периоду ее постройки, в процессе раскопок найдены три бронзовые монеты Баязида II 1484—1512 гг. (Beljaeva, Dergaciova 2009: 21—22). К этому же периоду относится и постройка Большой мечети.

Как известно, баня была местом не только омовения, но и отдыха, что хорошо представ-

лено в книжной миниатюре. На некоторых рисунках, наряду с банными принадлежностями, отмечена и посуда. Поэтому для характеристики начального этапа поступления изникской керамики в Аккерман важно наличие ее фрагментов на оригинальном полу бани первого периода ее функционирования. Вместе с тем, необходимо учитывать неоднократные ремонты бани, замену пола, а затем и переориентацию ее назначения, повлекшие значительные строительные работы, нарушившие стратиграфию культурного слоя. Типология, орнамент и цветовая гамма дают возможность сопоставить наши находки с классическими образцами каждой фазы развития изникской керамики.

Как известно, в состав выпускавшейся в Изнике продукции входили разные формы керамической посуды: блюда, тарелки, миски, миски-чаши, кувшины, вазы, фляги, подсвечники, пеналы (калемданы), а также крышки кувшинов. Анализ коллекции изникской керамики из Нижнего двора Аккерманской крепости свидетельствует, что, за исключением пеналов, здесь представлены все формы посуды, хотя с разным количественным соотношением видов изделий. Отметим, что из вышеуказанного общего количества фрагментов для подсчетов соотношения видов отобраны только те фрагменты, которые могут быть соотнесены с определенными видами посуды. В связи с тем, что речь идет о фрагментах, а не о целых формах изделий, нам представляется более целесообразным проследить следующие основные тенденции коллекции:

1) процентное соотношение различных видов посуды;

2) соотношение по группам и отдельным хронологическим периодам;

3) соотношение по видам посуды в каждой из типологических групп;

4) соотношение коллекции Нижнего двора с приведенными в публикации Е. А. Столярик данными по крепости в целом.

Результаты исследования возможно использовать в типологической и хронологической корреляции изникской керамики Аккермана, и в первую очередь Нижнего двора, с некоторыми комплексами коллекций восточноевропейских провинций и других европейских территорий Османской державы.

1. Соотношение различных видов посуды в коллекции выглядит следующим образом. В связи с тем, что не всегда можно точно определить, какие фрагменты относятся к одному экземпляру, исходя из численности фрагментов с более четкими формальными признаками, представляется возможным отметить общую тенденцию в соотношении видов изникского полуфаянса в коллекции Нижнего двора. Для статистической обработки было отобрано 260 фрагментов, которые позволяют с определенной степенью уверенности говорить о формальной принадлежности керамики и иногда включают несколько фрагментов от одного изделия.

Самую многочисленную группу составляют фрагменты тарелок и блюд — 69% находок. Следующими по численности идут фрагменты кувшинов, включая ручки — до 12,7%, а вместе с крышками от кувшинов (5%) — до 17,7% находок; миски и пиалы — 7%; кружки вместе с фрагментами ручек от кружек — до 5%; чашки — 0,9% и фрагмент подсвечника (бутыли?) — 0,4%.

2. По группам, представляющим периоды выпуска данной продукции и стиль росписи, коллекция распределяется следующим образом.

Среди материалов четко выделяется ***группа Изник I («Авраам из Кютахьи»).*** В свою очередь, она подразделяется на следующие подгруппы (этапы) по цветовой гамме и стилю росписи:

I.1. Группа материалов (47 ед.), относящаяся к *«сине-белому»* периоду (1475—1510 гг.), составляет более 18% выборки. К ней относятся фрагменты мисок-пиал (рис. 4: 1), кувшинов (рис. 4: 3), крышки кувшинов (рис. 4: 2), тарелки (рис. 4: 4). Наибольшее количество в керамике сине-белого периода Нижнего двора составляют кувшины и крышки — до 60% группы, а фрагменты мисок и тарелок составляют по 21% соответственно из общей численности керамики этой группы. Статистический анализ всей выборки свидетельствует, что среди мисок-пиал более половины экземпляров относятся к этому периоду, почти все крышки выполнены в сине-белом варианте росписи. Толщина стенок мисок-пиал в среднем составляет 0,3—0,5 см, диаметр до 20 см. По некоторым фрагментам и почти целым формам можно установить диаметр крышек кувшинов. Он колеблется в пределах 9,0—10,0 см. При этом тарелки сине-белой группы материалов занимают более скромное место — до 5,5% выборки. Вся посуда имеет кольцевой поддон, что сохраняется и в дальнейшем во все периоды развития изникской керамики.

Что касается хронологии материалов группы «синий и белый» из Нижнего двора, близкие аналогии декора дают возможность говорить о возможном появлении посуды сразу же после завоевания Аккермана

Рис. 4. Фрагменты керамики сине-белого периода: 1 — миска; 2 — крышка; 3 — кувшин; 4 — тарелка.

Fig. 4. Fragments of ceramic of blue-and-white period: 1 — bowl; 2 — lid; 3 — jug; 4 — plate.

османами — в конце XV — начале XVI в. К числу наиболее ранних находок относятся фрагменты кувшина (рис. 4: 3), роспись которого выполнена в технике резерва. Близкие аналогии дизайна дает точно датированный кувшин 1510 г. из коллекции Гудмен в Британском музее (Öney 1993: 292). К первому этапу сине-белого периода относятся и фрагменты миски-пиалы с китайскими мотивами, характерными в раннем периоде Изника (рис. 4: 1).

I.2. Параллельно с группой «синий-белый» бытует керамика второго этапа Изник I — «*синий-бирюзовый-белый*», когда в декоре появляется бирюзовый цвет, обогащая колористику группы. В представленной коллекции (29 ед., или 11,1%) основными формами являются кувшины (около 40% выборки) (рис. 5: 1). Остальные формы представлены единичными экземплярами (рис. 5: 2). Вместе с тем, обращает на себя внимание анималистическое изображение зайца (?) (рис. 5: 3). К первой половине XVI в. принадлежат изделия, выполненные в сине-белой цветовой гамме (рис. 5: 4—6), в технике резерва, которые имеют полные аналогии среди четко датированных изделий Изника I. Это фрагменты мисок, кувшинов 1530—1535 гг., имеющихся в различных коллекциях (рис. 6—8) (Kovacs 2005: 81). Тарелки представляют около 45% выборки.

I.3. Следующий этап Изника I представлен фрагментами тарелок и кувшинов со спиральными мотивами, так называемым стилем «*Золотой Рог*» (15 ед.), большинство из которых (12 ед.) — фрагменты тарелок, и три фрагмента кувшинов (рис. 9; 10).

В целом, группа Изник I насчитывает 88 ед. изделий, что составляет около 34% коллекции. Кроме того, 28 мелких фрагментов также можно отнести к группе Изник I, но так как соотнесение их с определенными формами по большей части проблематично, они могут рассматриваться только как дополнительное свидетельство достаточно представительного присутствия ранних материалов Изника в пределах небольшого промежутка времени: конца XV — первых десятилетий XVI века. В таком случае общее соотношение в выборке первой группы составляет более 40%.

Группа ***Изник II***, или ***дамасская группа*** включает 56 ед., что составляет 21,6% выборки. Основную ее часть составляют фрагменты тарелок (до 85%), есть также обломки мисок, кувшинов, чашки и фрагмент, который принадлежал верхней части бутыли с длинной шейкой (рис. 11). Для росписи этой части коллекции характерны сиреневые, зеленые, бежево-коричневые тона, мотивы листьев и граната (рис. 12), встречено также изображение полуфантастического животного, скорее всего, морского, возможно, кита

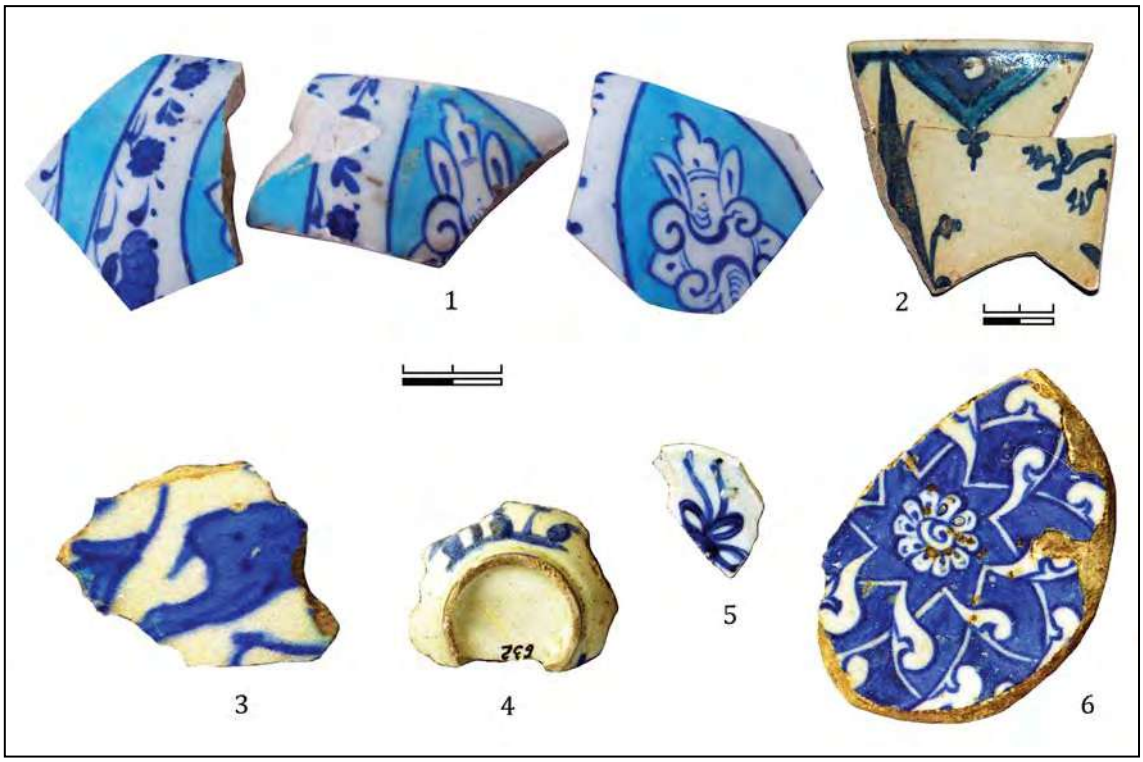

Рис. 5. Фрагменты керамики сине-бирюзово-белого периода: 1 — кувшин; 2, 4, 6 — миски; 3 — кружка (?) с анималистическим изображением; 5 — фрагмент сосуда неопределённого типа.

Fig. 5. Fragments of blue-turquoise-white period: 1 — jug; 2, 4, 6 — bowls; 3 — cup (?) with an animal image; 5 — fragment of the vessel of unknown type.

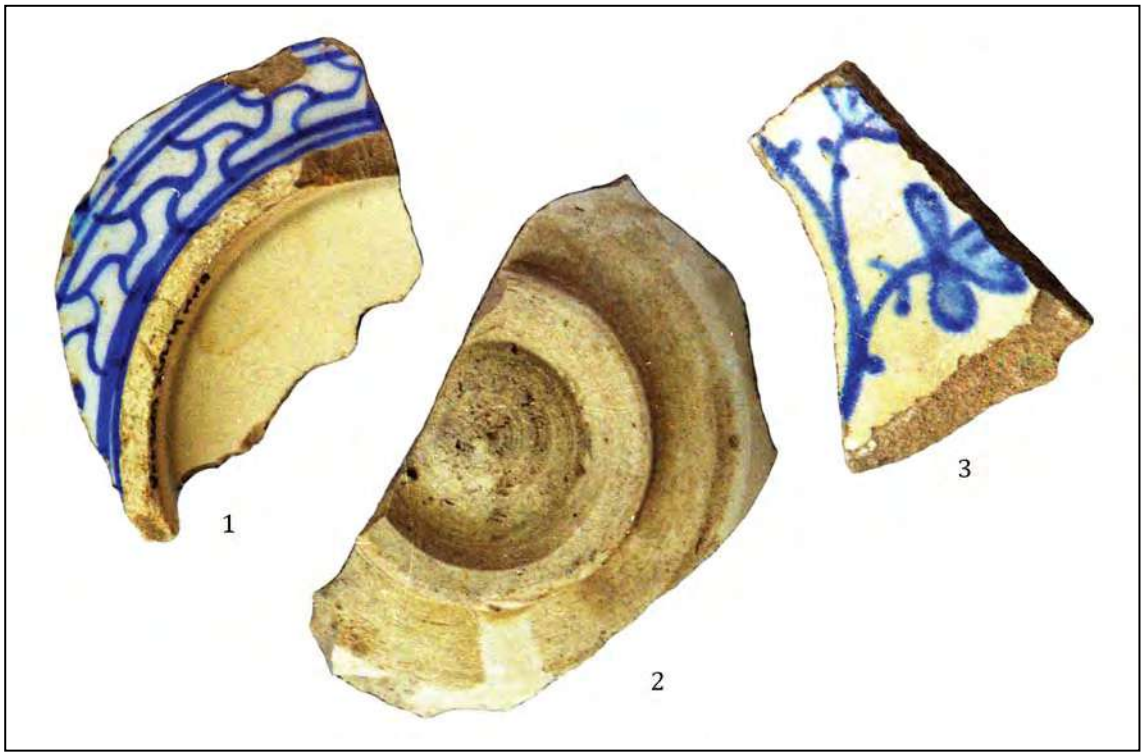

Рис. 6. Фрагменты керамики первой половины XVI в.

Fig. 6. Fragments of ceramics of the first half of the 16th century.

Рис. 7. Фрагменты керамики первой половины XVI в.

Fig. 7. Fragments of ceramics of the first half of the 16th century.

Рис. 8. Фрагменты керамики первой половины XVI в.

Fig. 8. Fragments of ceramics of the first half of the 16th century.

или акулы (рис. 13). Края тарелок заполнены волютами, выполненными черными линиями на белом фоне. Следует отметить также, что зеркала тарелок часто отличаются светло-зелеными тонами.

Аналогии тарелкам нашей коллекции, в том числе с изображением граната, представляют экземпляры дамасской группы из собрания Британского музея, один из которых датируется 1545 г. (Öney 1993: 295), а второй — 1550—1560 гг. (Aslanapa 1989: 7). Вероятно, к этому же периоду (первой половине XVI в.) относится и крышка из раскопок в Нижнем дворе Аккерманской крепости, расписанная

Рис. 9. Фрагменты керамики подгруппы «Золотой Рог» и бело-синей группы.

Fig. 9. Fragments of ceramics of "Golden Horn" subgroup and blue and white group.

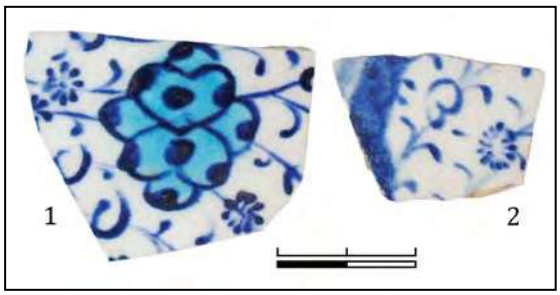

Рис. 10. Фрагменты керамики подгруппы «Золотой Рог».

Fig. 10. Fragments of ceramic of "Golden Horn" subgroup.

Рис. 11. Фрагмент бутыли с длинной шейкой.

Fig. 11. Fragment of long-necked bottle.

синими тюльпанами на белом фоне (рис. 14), так как появление тюльпанов в турецком дизайне относится именно к периоду Дамаска (Akar 1988: VIII).

Группа керамики стиля «*Родос*» в нашей коллекции представлена 68 единицами изделий, форма которых четко определена, и 30 фрагментами, которые по росписи четко относятся к родосскому периоду и, скорее всего, соотносятся с тарелками. Таким образом, на долю родосской керамики приходится около 38% всей выборки. Что касается видов керамики в родосской группе коллекции, 70% ее составляют тарелки, есть миски, кувшины, кружки и один фрагмент крышки. Толщина стенок тарелок составляет 0,4—0,9 см. Диаметр тарелок в среднем колеблется от 26 до 33 см, но встречаются и меньшие экземпляры диаметром 18—20 см. Роспись тарелок отражает классический стиль Родосской керамики с пышным флористическим набором и яркими красками, крупными стилизованными цветами, ярко представлены зеленый и красный цвета в соцветиях гвоздик, тюльпанов, зеленых зубчатых листьях на белом фоне зеркала тарелок (рис. 15). Кроме того, характерными являются мотивы рыбьей чешуи, иногда в сочетании с изображениями тюльпанов и других цветов. Борта тарелок расписаны волютами и гирляндами цветов и листьев (рис. 16).

Следует также отметить находки прямоугольных ручек кружек, которые, судя по орнаментации, могут принадлежать кружкам,

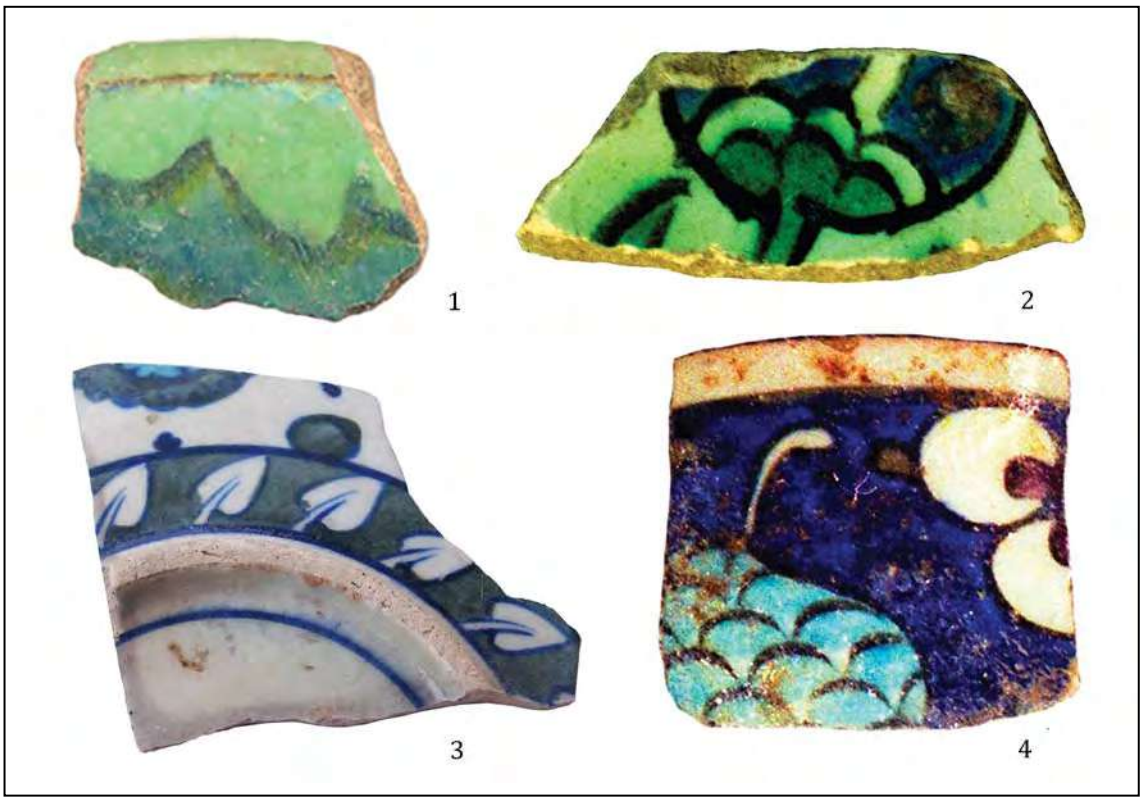

Рис. 12. Фрагменты сосудов: 1, 2 — венчик и стенка тарелок; 3 — дно сосуда; 4 — венчик сосуда с изображением граната.

Fig. 12. Fragments of vessels: 1, 2 — rim and wall of a plate; 3 — bottom of a vessel; 4 — rim of a vessel with the image of pomegranate.

как первой, так и второй половины XVI в. Аналогии им известны в собраниях посуды турецких музеев, например, в Садберк Ханим Музее в Стамбуле (Altun 1991: 34). Кружка с прямоугольной ручкой есть и в экспозиции Белгород-Днестровского музея (Столярик 1972: 179, рис. 2: 4; Біляєва 2012: 295, рис. 109). Декор этих ручек позволяет уточнить хронологическую позицию сосудов, частями которых они являются (рис. 17: 4, 5, 9; 18). Ручки кувшинов, округлые в сечении, плавных изогнутых форм, с сине-белой орнаментацией характерны для разных хронологических групп (рис. 17: 1, 2, 6, 7) и также находят аналогии в музейных собраниях Турции и других стран.

Следует также отметить и изображения парусников, выполненные и в сине-белом, и в зелено-красном вариантах (рис. 19).

В коллекцию керамики из раскопок Нижнего двора входят и поздние образцы — конца XVI—XVII вв., периода упадка Изникского центра производства. Они представлены фрагментами тарелок, кувшинов, крышек. Часто фон такого изделия светло-коричневого или оранжевого тона. Таким образом, оформленная посуда известна и по находкам в других османских памятниках.

Рис. 13. Изображение морского животного на тарелке.

Fig. 13. Image of a sea animal on a plate.

В целом, для коллекции Нижнего двора Аккерманской крепости характерно более широкое представительство керамики первой половины XVI в., которая составляет более 60% выборки. Как известно из Аккерманского таможенного реестра 1505 г., в Аккерман поставлялась и глиняная посуда, прежде всего, миски и чашки, что не исключает и по-

Рис. 14. Крышка сосуда с росписью тюльпанами.

Fig. 14. Lid of a vessel painted with tulips.

ставки посуды из Изника (Bulunur 2007: 569—570). Подобная тенденция отмечалась и Е. А. Столярик для изникской керамики по находкам из разных частей Аккерманской крепости (Столярик 1972: 180). Следует подчеркнуть, что в собрании, опубликованном Е. А. Столярик и непосредственно в экспозиции Белгород-Днестровского музея представлено намного больше целых или незначительно поврежденных изделий, чем в коллекции Нижнего двора (рис. 20—24). Это связано с обстоятельствами формирования коллекции Изника в этой части крепости, о которых мы упоминали выше. С другой стороны, это единая коллекция памятника, и ее характерной чертой является наличие значительного числа фрагментов сосудов определенных форм, схожих по стилю росписи.

Археологические раскопки османских памятников Европы и бывших провинций империи, проводившиеся в последние десятилетия, существенно обогатили фонд находок изникской керамики. Это позволило уловить особенности распространения керамики в каждом регионе и микрорегионе, открыть целые области изникского импорта, неизвестные ранее. Примером этого могут служить подобные находки на территории Украины. Так, образцы изникской посуды были найдены в Киеве на территории Михайловского Златоверхого монастыря и других монастырских построек вблизи Печерской лавры (Чміль 2005: 60, рис. 2), где она была в употреблении представителей высших слоев духовенства. Вместе с тем, эта керамика представлена лишь единичными находками в массе украинской посуды Среднего Поднепровья.

Что касается причерноморских памятников, многочисленность находок изникской посуды позволяет подойти к характеристике их собраний. Сравнительный анализ материалов Нижнего двора Аккерманской крепости с коллекцией Очакова, центра Очаковского

Рис. 15. Керамика родосского периода с флористическим и фаунистическим орнаментом.

Fig. 15. Ceramic of "Rhodes" period with floristic and animalistic decoration.

Рис. 16. Борта тарелок: 1, 2 — с волютами; 3, 4 — с флористическим орнаментом.

Fig. 16. Edges of plates: 1, 2 — with volutes; 3, 4 — with floristic decoration.

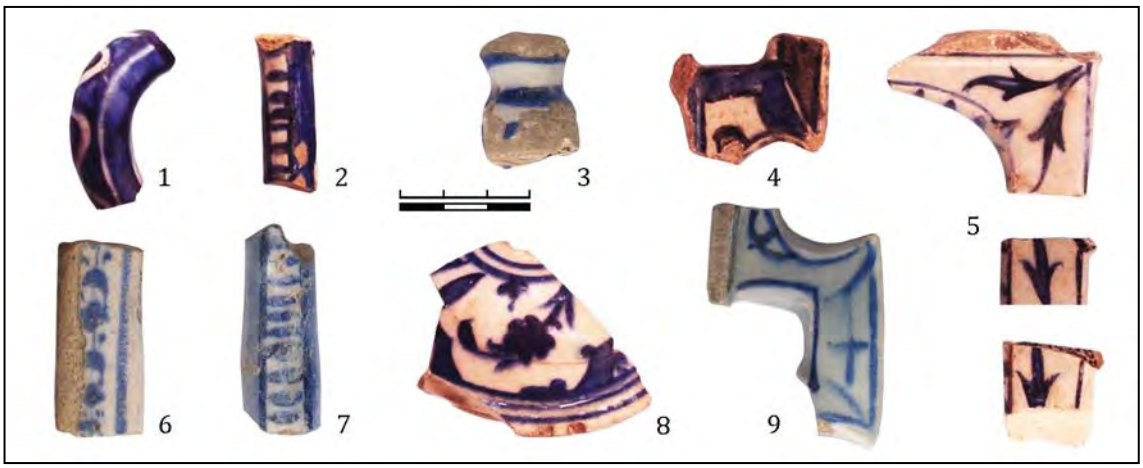

Рис. 17. Ручки сосудов: 1, 2, 6, 7 — кувшинов; 4, 5, 9 — кружек; 3, 8 — фрагменты крышек.

Fig. 17. Handles of vessels: 1, 2, 6, 7 — jugs; 4, 5, 9 — cups; 3, 8 — fragments of lids.

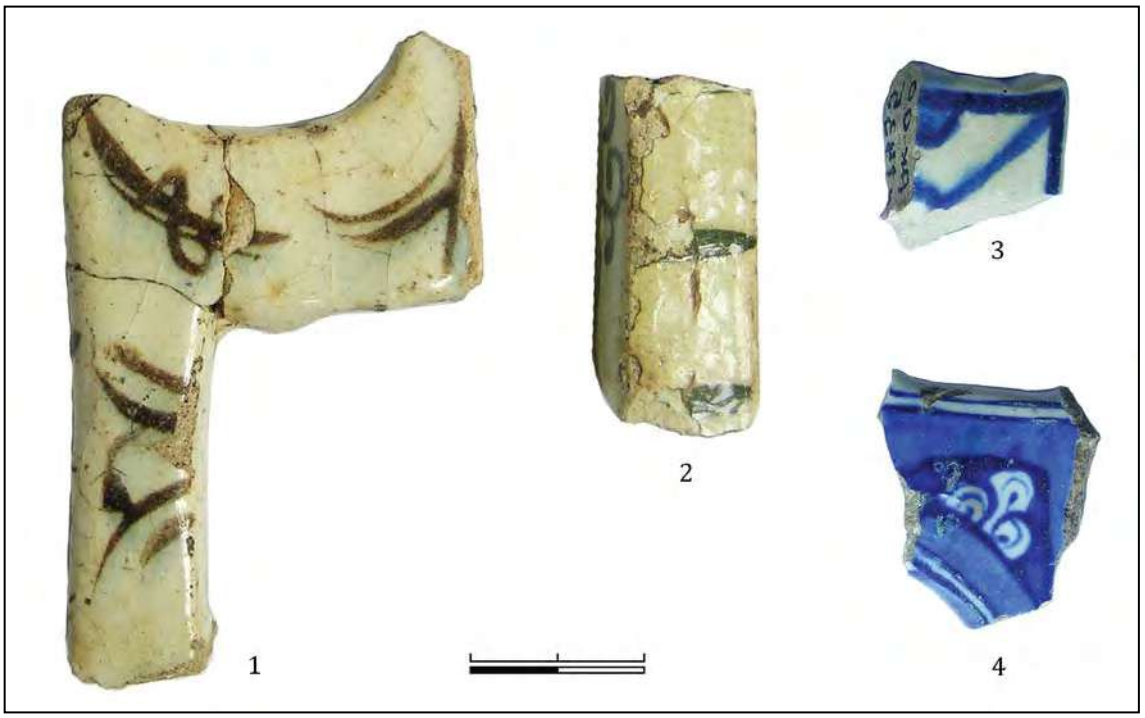

Рис. 18. Ручки кружек фрагментированные.

Fig. 18. Handles of cups in fragments.

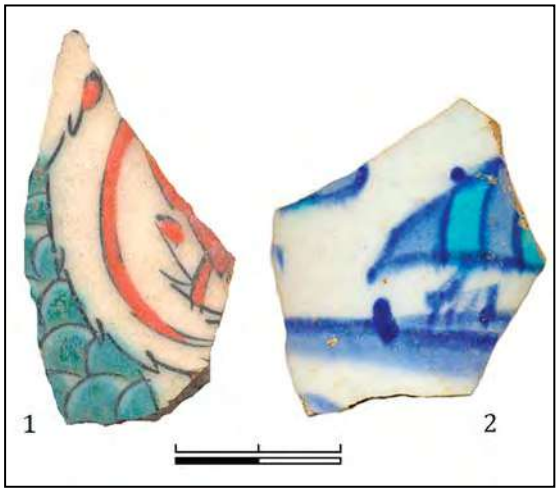

Рис. 19. Фрагменты сосудов с изображениями парусников.

Fig. 19. Fragments of vessels with image of sailing ships.

Рис. 20. Фрагментированный кувшин из раскопок Аккерманской крепости. Экспозиция Белгород-Днестровского краеведческого музея.

Fig. 20. A jug in fragments from the excavation of the Akkerman fortress. Exhibition of the Belgorod-Dnestrovsk Museum.

еялета, присоединенного к Османской империи в начале XVI в., значение которого существенно возросло в начале XVII в., позволяет говорить о наличии всех групп материалов Изника на территории крепости Ози и городских кварталов города. Вместе с тем, выводы о преобладании той или иной группы посуды Изника в Очакове еще не представляются возможными ввиду отсутствия полной публикации материалов.

Раскопки многочисленных памятников Крыма, проводившиеся в последние десятилетия, многократно пополнили источниковую базу, в том числе и материалами Изника конца XV—XVI вв. Предварительный анализ керамического материала из Крымского региона, как и Северного Причерноморья в целом, заслуживает, на наш взгляд, отдельного исследования.

Что касается Приазовья, по результатам исследования И. Р. Гусач, во времена существования крепости Азак (1475—1774 гг.) изникская керамика использовалась там в быту довольно широко (Гусач 2005: 137—144; 2011: 24, 34, 35). Как отмечает автор, «Судя по находкам археологов, в Азовскую крепость по торговым путям в турецкий период доставлялась полуфаянсовая посуда со всеми встречавшимися тогда видами росписи изникских мастеров: в конце XV — 1-й половине XVI вв. — с росписью в стиле “Авраам из Кютахьи” или “Синее и белое”; в XVI—XVII вв. — с росписью в стиле “Золотой Рог”, “Дамаск” и “Родос”». Изучение коллекции Азова показало, что «самой популярной в турецкой крепости Азов была четвертая группа изникских полуфаянсов с росписью в стиле “Родос” (более 70% от общего числа найденных фрагментов изникских полуфаянсов). На втором месте — керамика первой группы с росписью в стиле “Авраам из Кютахьи” или “Синее и белое” (около 20%). Незначительное количество фрагментов изникских полуфаянсов принадлежит к третьей группе с росписью в стиле “Дамаск” (около 3%). Единичны находки керамики второй группы с росписью в стиле “Золотой Рог” (0,7%)».

Сравнительный анализ аккерманского и азовского (азакского) комплексов показывает: несмотря на то, что и в Азове, и в Аккермане представлены все группы керамики Изника, их соотношение заметно отличается. В аккерманской коллекции большую численность имеет группа керамики первой половины XVI века, особенно «Авраам из Кютахьи». По процентному соотношению различных групп Изника на вышеуказанных памятниках наблюдается следующая картина:

№ п/п	Группы керамики Изника	Памятники	
		Аккерман	Азак
1	«Синее и белое»	34%	20%
2	«Дамаск»	21,6%	3%
3	«Золотой Рог»	около 6%	0,7%
4	«Родос»	38%	70%

Рис. 21. Крышка сосуда из раскопок Аккерманской крепости. Экспозиция Белгород-Днестровского краеведческого музея.

Fig. 21. Lid of a vessel from the excavation of the Akkerman fortress. Exhibition of the Belgorod-Dnestrovsk Museum.

Рис. 22. Тарелка из раскопок Аккерманской крепости. Экспозиция Белгород-Днестровского краеведческого музея.

Fig. 22. A plate from the excavation of the Akkerman fortress. Exhibition of the Belgorod-Dnestrovsk Museum.

Рис. 23. Фрагментированная тарелка из раскопок Аккерманской крепости. Экспозиция Белгород-Днестровского краеведческого музея.

Fig. 23. A plate in fragments from the excavation of the Akkerman fortress. Exhibition of the Belgorod-Dnestrovsk Museum.

Рис. 24. Кружка с изображением зайцев из раскопок Аккерманской крепости. Экспозиция Белгород-Днестровского краеведческого музея.

Fig. 24. A cup with images of hares from the excavation of the Akkerman fortress. Exhibition of the Belgorod-Dnestrovsk Museum.

Огромная информативная база накоплена по памятникам османского времени Румынии, Болгарии, Венгрии, которые также достаточно интенсивно исследуются в последние десятилетия. Это нашло свое отражение в публикациях, материалах конференций, выставках. Весьма важно, что эти материалы опираются как на конкретные даты исследуемых памятников, так и на общепринятую типологически-хронологическую классификацию. Это дает дополнительные возможности для составления шкалы точных датировок для материалов Аккермана. Вместе с тем, сравнительная характеристика пока-

зывает и определенные отличия памятников Причерноморья и Приазовья, в частности, Аккерманской крепости, от памятников других территорий. Так, например, в материалах столицы средневековой Венгрии — Буды, завоеванной османами в 1541 г., присутствуют находки изникской керамики следующих групп: «Золотой Рог», «Дамаск» и «Родос», близкие нашим находкам (Kovacs 2005: 69). В Эстергоме найдены фрагменты тарелок, датируемых 1530—1560 гг., которые относятся к периоду «синий-бирюзовый-белый» и «Дамаск» (Kovacs 2005: 73) и полностью соответствуют некоторым фрагментам из Аккермана. Весьма близкие аналогии в бело-голубой тональности, начиная с 1520 г., найдены в Барче, Ваче, Озоре, Пече. Почти полные аналогии блюду из Озора, датирующемуся 1570—1580 гг., а также миске из Вышеграда (1530—1535 гг.) (Kovacs 2005: 76, 81) есть и в коллекции Аккермана.

Изникские изделия с точными датами не так давно были представлены на выставке османского искусства из собрания Будапештского исторического музея (Exibition 2010: 172—178). Представленные там материалы также вполне согласуются с находками из Аккермана.

Изникская керамика из Нижнего двора Аккерманской крепости представляет собой информативную группу источников, которая, несмотря на фрагментарность посуды, позволяет судить о типологии и хронологии комплекса, опираясь на разработанную классификацию этой керамики и аналоги из раскопок других памятников. Рассмотренная серия свидетельствует о том, что задача быстрого создания инфраструктуры крепости потребовала насыщения всеми необходимыми артефактами, присущими османской культуре, включая элитарную посуду. Процесс создания и поддержания соответствующей среды обитания мусульманских общин и воинских гарнизонов продолжался в течение всего периода существования османских восточноевропейских провинций, даже принимая во внимание положение Аккермана, бывшего отнюдь не центром еялета, а напротив, подчинявшегося Очакову. При этом следует отметить, что расцвет империи, особенно проявившийся в XVI в., во времена Сулеймана Великолепного и его супруги Роксоланы, отразившийся, в том числе, и в великолепии родосского периода изникской керамики, очевиден и в культуре восточноевропейского Аккермана.

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Малоазийская поливная керамика XV—XVIII вв. из раскопок в турецкой крепости Азак

Keywords: Azov, Turkish fortress Azak, glazed painting ceramics from Minor Asia, "Miletus ware", faience vessels from Iznik and Kütahya, paintings in the style of "Abraham from Kütahya", "Golden Horn" style, "Rhodes" style, "Damascus"style

Ключевые слова: Азов, турецкая крепость Азак, малоазийская поливная расписная керамика, «милетская» посуда, фаянсовые сосуды Изника и Кютахьи, роспись в стиле «Авраам из Кютахьи», стиль «Золотой Рог», стиль «Родос», стиль «Дамаск»

I. R. Gusach

Asia Minor Glazed Ceramics of the 15th—18th Century found on the Excavated Turkish Fortress of Azak

In autumn 2004, archaeological expedition of Azov Museum-Reserve carried out excavations on the territory of the former Turkish fortress Azak in Azov (Rostov region). According to the maps, the borders of the excavations in the street Genuezskaya 3 went along the North-Western outskirts of Venetian Tana and the Turkish part that was called ("Frank fortress") by Evliya Çelebi in his famous "Travelogue". It was the first time when archaeologists had an opportunity to research this old but unknown district of the town. During the archaeological works, which were stopped due to high level of underground waters, only three upper cultural layers of the late 17th—20th c. were studied. Special interest presents the so-called "Turkish" layer of the late 17th — beginning of 18th c., connected with the existence of the Turkish fortress of Azak. A great amount of glazed and unglazed ceramics, brought to the fortress from different corners of the Ottoman Empire, were found there. It is necessary to highlight glazed painted ware, produced in big ceramic centers of Asia Minor — Iznik and Kütahya. Among the earliest finds, there are fragments of red-clay glazed Iznik ceramics decorated with paintings in the style of "Milet", dated back to the end of 15th — beginning of 16th c. Later objects from Iznik are represented by fragments of faience vessels of 16th—17th c. decorated with blue-and-white and polychrome underglazed painting. Faience coffee cups from Kütahya decorated with cobalt and polychrome underglazed painting date back to the 17th — beginning of 18th c.

И. Р. Гусач

Малоазийская поливная керамика XV—XVIII вв. из раскопок в турецкой крепости Азак

Осенью 2004 г. археологической экспедицией Азовского музея-заповедника проводились раскопки на территории бывшей турецкой крепости Азак в г. Азове (Ростовская область). Судя по картам, границы раскопа по ул. Генуэзской, 3 проходили по северо-западной окраине венецианской Таны и той части османской крепости, которую Э. Челеби в своей знаменитой «Книге путешествий» именует «Франкской крепостью». Впервые за много лет археологам выпала удачная возможность провести исследования этого старейшего, но малоизученного района города. В ходе археологических работ, которые были прерваны по причине затопления раскопа подземными водами, удалось исследовать лишь три верхних культурных слоя конца XVII — XX вв. Особый интерес представляет так называемый «турецкий» слой конца XVII — начала XVIII вв., связанный с существованием турецкой крепости Азак. В нём встречено большое количество поливной и неполивной керамики, привезённой в крепость из разных уголков Османской империи. Особо следует выделить поливную расписную посуду, изготовленную в крупных керамических центрах Малой Азии — Изнике и Кютахье. Среди самых ранних находок — фрагменты красноглиняной поливной изникской керамики с росписью в стиле «Милет», датирующейся концом XV — началом XVI вв. Более поздние изделия из Изника представлены фрагментами фаянсовых сосудов XVI—XVII вв. с сине-белой и полихромной подглазурной росписью. Кютахийские фаянсовые кофейные чашечки с росписью кобальтом и полихромной подглазурной росписью датируются XVII — началом XVIII вв.

Осенью 2004 г. силами Археологической экспедиции ГБУК РО «Азовский историко-археологический и палеонтологический музей-заповедник» проводились спасательные раскопки на территории бывшей турецкой крепости Азак в г. Азове Ростовской области на участке, отведенном под строительство частного кафе рядом с проходной Азовского морского порта на пересечении улиц Генуэзской и Р. Люксембург (с 2004 г. —

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ул. А. Невского). Судя по сохранившимся до наших дней картам Азовской крепости XVII—XVIII вв. (РГАДА. Ф. 192. Оп. 1. Д. 2; РГВИА: Ф. 846. Оп. 16. Д. 21602), границы раскопа по ул. Генуэзской, 3 проходили по северо-западной окраине венецианской Таны и по той части крепости османов Азак, которую турецкий путешественник XVII в. Эвлия Челеби в своей знаменитой «Книге путешествий» («Seyâhatnâme») именует «Френк-хисар» — «франкская крепость» (Челеби 1979: 199—200). Впервые за много десятилетий археологам выпала удачная возможность провести исследования этого старейшего, но малоизученного района города (рис. 1).

В ходе археологических работ, которые были прерваны по причине затопления раскопа подземными водами (сказалась близость р. Дон), удалось обследовать лишь три верхних культурных слоя конца XVII — XX вв. Наибольший интерес из всех изученных слоев представляет так называемый «турецкий» слой конца XVII — 1-й пол. XVIII вв., датируемый константинопольскими медными монетами (номинал акче) Сулеймана II (1690—1691 гг.), константинопольской серебряной монетой (номинал акче) Ахмеда III (1703—1730 гг.) и бахчисарайскими серебряными монетами (номинал бешлык) Селямет Гирея II (1740—1743 гг.) (определение монет И. В. Волкова и М. М. Чорефа).

Глубина залегания данного слоя составила чуть более 2,0 м, прослеженная мощность — 0,7—1,1 м. На этом уровне были обнаружены: каменные и сырцовые кладки (остатки построек турецкого времени), две каменные мостовые, два кана из сырцовых кирпичей с каменной вымосткой возле одного из них. В слое встречены чугунные и каменные ядра, свинцовые пули, слитки и бронзовые формочки для изготовления пуль, костяные и стеклянные изделия, а также большое количество керамики, привезенной в крепость из разных уголков Османской империи. Среди керамических находок: фрагменты поливных и неполивных сосудов крымского производства (чаш, тарелок, кувшинов, водолеев, подсвечников и др.); красноглиняных тазиков на трех ножках со штампованным орнаментом на бортике, урн с горизонтальными ручками и кувшинов с рельсовидным венчиком, произведенных в пока неизвестных нам керамических центрах; курительные «турецкие»

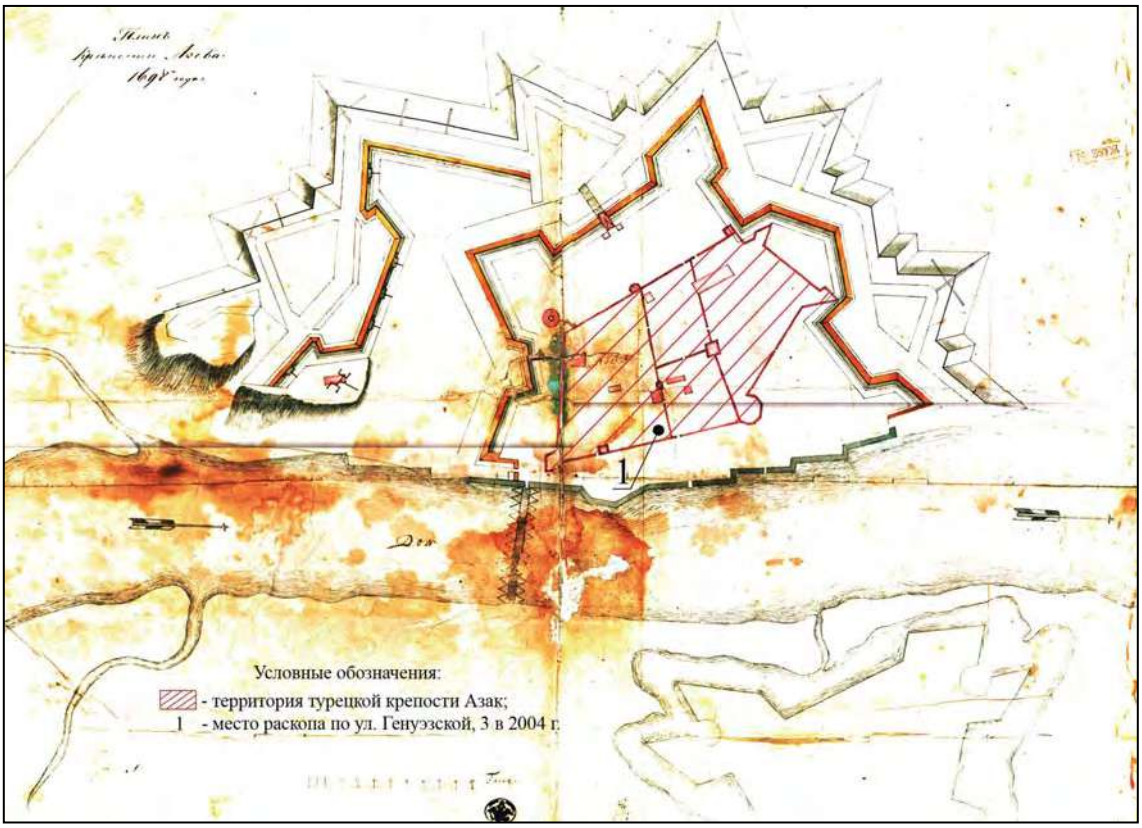

Рис. 1. План крепости Азова 1698 года (РГВИА. Ф. 846. Оп. 16. Д. 21602) с указанием на нем территории турецкой крепости Азак и места раскопок в 2004 г..

Fig. 1. Plan of the Azov fortress, 1698. (Russian State Archive of Military History, Fund 846. Inv. 16, dossier 21602). It shows the territory of Azak fortress and the place of excavations in 2004.

Рис. 2. Малоазийская поливная керамика конца XV—XVII вв. из турецкой крепости Азак: 1, 2 — фрагменты красноглиняных чаш с росписью в стиле «Милет» (по Гусач 2006: рис. 5: 1—2; 2006а: рис. 3: 10—11; 5: 9—10); 3—10 — фрагменты фаянсовых сосудов с росписью в стиле «Синее и белое» (по Гусач 2006: рис. 5: 3, 4, 8); 11 — стиль «Золотой Рог» (по Гусач 2006: рис. 5: 5); 12—19 — стиль «Родос» (и «Дамаск»?) (по Гусач 2006: рис. 5: 6, 9).

Fig. 2. Asia Minor glazed ceramics of late 15th — 17th centuries from the Turkish fortress of Azak: 1, 2 — fragments of red-clay bowls with painting in "Milet" style (after Гусач 2006: рис. 5: 1—2; 2006а: рис. 3: 10—11; 5: 9—10); 3—10 — fragments of faience vessels with painting in "Blue-and-White" style (after Гусач 2006: рис. 5: 3, 4, 8); 11 — "The Golden Horn" (after Гусач 2006: рис. 5: 5); 12—19 — "Rhodes" (and "Damascus"?) (after Гусач 2006: рис. 5: 6, 9).

трубки самых разнообразных «фасонов», изготовленные из белой, серой и «красной» глины; фрагменты китайских фарфоровых чашечек с росписью кобальтом под прозрачной бесцветной свинцовой глазурью (Гусач 2006: 130—141).

Особо следует выделить группу поливной расписной керамики, изготовленной в крупных керамических центрах Малой Азии — г. Изник, г. Кютахья и др. Самыми ранними находками малоазийской посуды на раскопе по ул. Генуэзской, 3 являются два фрагмента

стенок глубоких красноглиняных чаш с подглазурной росписью в стиле «Милет» («Miletus ware»), происходящих, предположительно, из Изника (Lane 1957: 40—41; Aslanapa 1965: 35—43; Hayes 1992: 238; Тесленко 2005: 386; Гусач 2006а: 302), но ошибочно называемых «милетскими» по месту первой находки такой керамики Ф. Зарре в г. Милет в 30-е гг. XX в. (Sarre 1935). Обе чаши изготовлены из грубой глины красно-коричневого цвета с многочисленными мельчайшими блестками слюды и единичными мелкими известковыми включениями. Обжиг — сквозной, равномерный. Черепок — плотный. Толщина черепка — 0,4 и 0,8 см. Керамика типа «Милет» (или «милетская керамика», «Miletus ware») поверх тонкого слоя белого либо светло-кремового ангоба покрывалась росписью, выполненной темными (мрачными) красками: темно-синей, пурпурной (коричнево-фиолетовой), черной, черно-зеленой, реже зеленой, светло-синей и красной, — по одной из общеизвестных схем (Hayes 1992: 239), где преобладают растительный и геометрический мотивы, заимствованные из китайской и сельджукской орнаментики. Оба фрагмента «милетских» чаш из раскопа по ул. Генуэзской, 3 имеют следы росписи кобальтом на внутренней поверхности в виде 3-х горизонтальных тонких линий (рис. 2: 2; 6: 2) и стилизованного цветочно-растительного орнамента (рис. 2: 1; 6: 1). Поверх росписи нанесена прозрачная бесцветная свинцовая глазурь. Внешняя поверхность одного из фрагментов покрыта слоем прозрачной глазури салатного цвета по белому ангобу (рис. 2: 2), другого — тонким слоем бело-бежевого ангоба. В Азаке, благодаря наличию закрытых комплексов, керамика с росписью в стиле «Милет» имеет свою датировку: 2-я пол. XV — нач. XVI вв. (Масловский 1999: 36, 78; Гусач 2006а: 313—314). Находки этой посуды на территории крепости весьма редки, несмотря на массовость ее производства в XV — нач. XVI вв. в керамических центрах Анатолии, в том числе и в Изнике.

В кон. XV — нач. XVI вв. на смену керамике типа «Милет» пришла более качественная (по составу формовочной массы) и высокохудожественная (по стилю и технике росписи) керамика, которая не сразу вытеснила с рынка примитивную красноглиняную посуду, а первое время, что называется, сосуществовала с ней. Малоазийские сосуды изготавливались мастерами-керамистами из мягкой силикатной формовочной массы белого или розоватого цвета, обычно называемой кварц-фриттой или одной из разновидностей кашина (Mason, Keall 1991: 52; Коваль 1997: 111). В отличие от фаянсовой посуды, покрываемой сверху непрозрачной бесцветной или полупрозрачной глазурью (Кубе 1923: 9—10), эта посуда после ручной росписи покрывалась прозрачной бесцветной свинцовой глазурью, по причине чего некоторые исследователи называют ее полуфаянсовой (Кверфельдт 1947: 8; Коваль 1997: 105, 114—115; Гарбузова 1958: 21, 28, 33), что, на наш взгляд, вполне справедливо. Однако традиционно в научной литературе данную керамику принято называть «фаянсами», поэтому многие авторы, не вдаваясь в детали, предпочитают в своих работах использовать именно этот, привычный для всех, термин. Учитывая спорность вопроса, мы решили придерживаться в своей статье общей схемы, применяя к описываемой нами посуде термин — «фаянсовая».

В российской и зарубежной литературе существует несколько классификаций малоазийских фаянсов, которые обычно считаются продукцией самого крупного керамического центра Османской империи — Изника. В основе этих классификаций лежит принцип хронологии развития производства и изучение стилей росписи керамики, эволюции в использовании красок (Миллер 1972; Lane 1957: 43—65; Станчева 1960: 114—126; Öz 1960: 43—45; Andronic 1968: 159—168; Sözen 1987: 246—248). Самой популярной на сегодняшний день является классификация изникских фаянсов, разработанная в 50-е гг. XX в. А. Лейном (Lane 1957: 43—65). Именно на нее ссылаются в своих работах многие наши современные исследователи (Столярик 1982: 176—178; Коваль 1997: 114—117; Волков 2006: 481—483).

Согласно данной классификации, в зависимости от стиля подглазурной росписи они делятся на три группы: «Изник I», «Изник II», «Изник III». К группе «Изник I» относятся изделия с бело-синей росписью в стиле «Abraham of Kütahya» («Авраам из Кютахьи»), датируемые А. Лейном 1490—1525 гг. К группе «Изник II» — изделия с полихромной росписью в стиле «Damascus» («Дамаск»), датируемые 1525—1555 гг., и бело-синей росписью в стиле «Golden Horn» («Золотой Рог»), датируемые 1530 г. К группе «Изник III» — изделия с полихромной подглазурной росписью в стиле «Rhodian» («Родос»), датируемые 1555—1700 гг. (Lane 1957: 43—60). Некоторые авторы публикаций выделяют изделия с росписью в стиле «Золотой Рог» в отдельную группу, датируя ее более широким интервалом времени: XVI—XVII вв. (Станчева 1960: 121, 125; Sözen 1987: 246).

Однако в последнее время все категоричнее, особенно со стороны турецких исследователей, ведущих археологические раскопки на территории Малой Азии, звучит мнение о том, что нельзя лучшие образцы османского художественного керамического искусства приписывать исключительно изникскому производству (Aslanapa 1965: 26—29; Öney 2003: 708—713). На самом деле, как считают ученые, отличить продукцию классического периода (кон. XVI — нач. XVII вв.) изникского производства от продукции, к примеру, Кютахьи, практически невозможно (Yenişehirlioğlu 1990: 38—39; Öney 2003: 708—709). В Бургасе, Сивасе, Стамбуле и других городах Османской империи существовали керамические мастерские, которые, подражая Изнику, тоже изготавливали художественные изделия, высоко ценившиеся на внутреннем и внешнем рынках. О проблематичности определения центра производства османской керамики еще в 1958 г. писала В. С. Гарбузова: «если турецкие фаянсы не имеют надписи или марки керамической мастерской, то в настоящее время нельзя сказать с уверенностью, в каком именно городе изготовлено то или иное изделие… Только после тщательного изучения глиняной массы можно более точно установить происхождение какого-либо турецкого фаянса…» (Гарбузова 1958: 23). По-видимому, определение центров производства малоазийских фаянсов — дело будущего, и предстоит еще большая работа в этом направлении.

Таким образом, учитывая данное мнение, мы не будем называть образцы, найденные нами в турецкой крепости Азак, «изникскими», а воспользуемся более подходящим в таком случае термином — «малоазийские» (т. к. не берем на себя смелость определить центр их производства). Для классификации малоазийской керамики из Азака мы использовали универсальную схему А. Лейна (Lane 1957: 43—65), внеся в нее лишь некоторые коррективы.

Всего на раскопе по ул. Генуэзской, 3 было обнаружено 38 фрагментов расписных малоазийских фаянсовых сосудов (чаш, ваз, кувшинов, бутылей, тарелок, блюд). Из них восемь фрагментов относятся к группе изделий, расписанных в стиле «Синее и белое» («Blue-and-White») или «Авраам из Кютахьи» («Abraham of Kütahya»). Эту группу принято считать самой ранней, пришедшей на смену в кон. XV — нач. XVI вв. (Дж. Хейс в своей работе дает более узкую датировку этой смене — 1520 г. (Hayes 1992: 238)) группе красноглиняной керамики с росписью в стиле «Милет», а в XVI веке уступившей место фаянсам с росписью в стиле «Дамаск» и «Родос» (Lane 1957: 43—60). Но, как показывают результаты археологических исследований, сосуды с сине-белой подглазурной росписью находились в обиходе вплоть до XVIII в. (Гусач 2005: 141; 2006: 134).

Одно из названий стиля росписи — «Авраам из Кютахьи» — собирательное, происходит от имени мастера, оставившего на своей чаше надпись: «Это сосуд раба божьего Авраама из Кютахьи. В год 959 (1510). 11 марта» (Lane 1957: 44; Carswell 1998: 46). Керамика расписывалась вручную синей (кобальтовой) краской по белому фону (ангобу), в результате чего стиль росписи получил второе название: «Синее и белое». Ранние сосуды расписывались темно-синей (черноватой), мрачной краской, позднее — светлыми теплыми тонами синего цвета. Иногда в росписи одновременно использовались два оттенка синего цвета: светлый — для основного рисунка, темный — для контура. Среди находок из турецкой крепости Азак — два фрагмента чаш и один обломок ручки кувшина, расписанных темно-синей краской (рис. 2: 3, 5, 9; рис. 6: 3, 5, 9), два фрагмента сосудов закрытой формы (кувшинов, графинов или ваз) с росписью светло-синей (голубой) краской (рис. 2: 7, 8; рис. 6: 6, 7), два обломка, очевидно, блюд с сочетанием светло-синего и темно-синего цвета в росписи (рис. 2: 4, 10; рис. 6, 4, 10) и один фрагмент стенки глубокой чаши с отогнутым бортиком, имеющей сильно размытую роспись голубым и серо- (черно?)-зеленым (по-видимому, контур) (рис. 2: 6; рис. 6: 8). Мотивы росписи сосудов частично заимствованы в Китае (подражание фарфору династий Юань и Мин): «китайские облачка» (рис. 2: 4, 10; рис. 6: 4, 10), стилизованные изображения лотосов (рис. 2: 10; рис. 6: 10), волнистые линии (рис. 2: 3, 7; рис. 6: 3, 7); частично воспроизводят сельджукские «арабески» (рис. 2: 8; рис. 6: 6) и османские мотивы — тюльпаны (рис. 2: 5; рис. 6: 5), гвоздики (или лютики?) и узкие листья (рис. 2: 9; рис. 6: 9). Состав и цвет формовочной массы образцов несколько отличается: четыре фрагмента имеют тонкий, довольно плотный черепок белого цвета без видимых примесей, четыре других — толстый, несколько рыхлый, пористый черепок кремового оттенка с редкими включениями мелких окатанных зерен белого кварца. Возможно, это свидетельствует о том, что сосуды были изготовлены в разных керамических центрах. О. Асланапа, к примеру, считает, что сине-белая посуда сначала производилась в Изнике, затем центр ее про-

изводства переместился в Кютахью (Aslanapa 1965: 26). По мнению Г. Оней, в Кютахье сине-белую керамику изготавливали с XV в. на заказ, используя в ее росписи дальневосточные и османские мотивы (Öney 2003: 709). Глазурь, покрывающая сосуды, — прозрачная, бесцветная, свинцовая, хорошего качества, нанесена тонким слоем на обе поверхности, за исключением дна кольцевого поддона блюд.

XVI веком исследователи датируют турецкие фаянсы с росписью в стиле «Золотой Рог» («Golden Horn»), выделяемые нами, а также М. Станчевой и О. Асланапа (Станчева 1960: 125; Aslanapa 1965: 26) в отдельную группу (в отличие от А. Лейна, который относит их к керамике с росписью в стиле «Дамаск» группы «Изник II» (Lane 1957: 49—51)). По составу и цвету формовочной массы изделия с росписью «Золотой Рог» ничем не отличаются от группы «Синее и белое» — имеют плотный, сравнительно тонкий черепок белого или кремового цвета без видимых примесей. Особым является лишь стиль росписи со своеобразным узором в виде закрученных в спирали тонких стеблей (веток плюща — Öney 2003: 710) с мелкими листьями, завитками и цветочными розетками в виде звезд. Иногда спирали прерываются стилизованным изображением тюльпанов либо китайских лотосов. Рисунок, нанесенный на поверхность по слою белого ангоба темно-синей, светло-синей, сине-зеленой либо даже черной краской, всегда тонкий, изящный, без контурных линий, зачастую имеет следы золочения. Корни упомянутого узора тянутся из сельджукских времен. Так как похожие мотивы использовались в туграх на османских фирманах, Н. Атасой и Дж. Рэби определили этот вид украшения как стиль «тугракеш» («тугровый») (Atasoy, Raby 1989: 108—114).

Происхождение названия стиля росписи и группы керамики «Золотой Рог» («Golden Horn») связано с ошибочным представлением о месте производства этой посуды, приписываемом Эвлия Челеби керамическим мастерским Стамбула, расположенным на берегу залива Золотой Рог. Турецкий путешественник сообщал, что в Золотом Роге имеется целое селение горшечников (чёмлекчилер), «по обеим сторонам большой дороги этого селения имеется 250 “мастерских ваз” (кярханеи сифаль), т. е. изготовляющих глиняные сосуды (чанак), мастерских горшечников, стаканщиков и в них (мастерских) изготовляют из массы, привозимой из Высокого Босфора (Сари яр) и Кягытхане, — кубки, кувшины и бутыли такие, что подобные можно найти только в Китае или “фаянсовом Изнике”…» (Гарбузова 1958: 31—32). Кроме того, первые образцы керамики со спиралевидными узорами были найдены именно в Золотом Роге.

Археологические раскопки в Стамбуле, однако, свидетельствуют о том, что его мастерские ни в какую эпоху не имели большого производства. Более того, по мнению О. Асланапа, между керамическими изделиями с росписью в стиле «Золотой Рог» и мастерскими Золотого Рога нет никакой связи (Aslanapa 1965: 26). Г. Оней, ссылаясь на результаты археологических исследований в Изнике, считает, что подобная посуда изготавливалась в Изнике и, по всей видимости, в Кютахье (Öney 2003: 710). На дне одного из графинов, украшенного росписью в виде «нежных спиральных усиков», имеется надпись, датируемая 1529 годом. Место производства сосуда — Кютахья (Aslanapa 1965: 26). Дж. Хейс при описании керамики с росписью в стиле «Золотой Рог» из раскопок в Сарачане (Стамбул), отнес эти изделия к переходному этапу от «Сине-белой» керамики к керамике с росписью в стиле «Дамаск» («Изник I B — II A»), датируя их 1510—1540 гг. (Hayes 1992: 245). Фаянсы типа «Золотой Рог» из Болгарии М. Станчева отнесла к XVI—XVII вв. (Станчева 1960: 125).

Единственный фрагмент дна кувшина (бутыли?) на кольцевом поддоне с росписью в стиле «Золотой Рог», найденный на территории турецкой крепости Азак в 2004 г., происходит из слоя конца XVII — начала XVIII вв. Роспись выполнена темно-синей краской (кобальтом) по белому ангобу. Глазурь — бесцветная, прозрачная, свинцовая, нанесена тонким слоем на обе поверхности сосуда, за исключением дна поддона (рис. 2: 11; 6: 12). Следует отметить, что находки малоазийской керамики с росписью в стиле «Золотой Рог» в Азакской крепости весьма редки. В фондах Азовского музея-заповедника, кроме упомянутого фрагмента, хранится еще два фрагмента: сосуда закрытой формы (кувшина или вазы) и глубокой тарелки, расписанных в данном стиле (из раскопок 1960—1970-х гг.). Причем на фрагменте кувшина (или вазы) сохранились остатки позолоты (Гусач 2005: 141, табл. 2, рис. 7).

Для третьей группы малоазийских фаянсов с росписью в стиле «Дамаск» («Damascus») характерно наличие полихромного рисунка с использованием бирюзового, синего, зеленовато-оливкового, пурпурного (коричневато-фиолетового), сиреневого и серовато-черного, иногда черно-зеленого (для контура) цвета. Это новое направле-

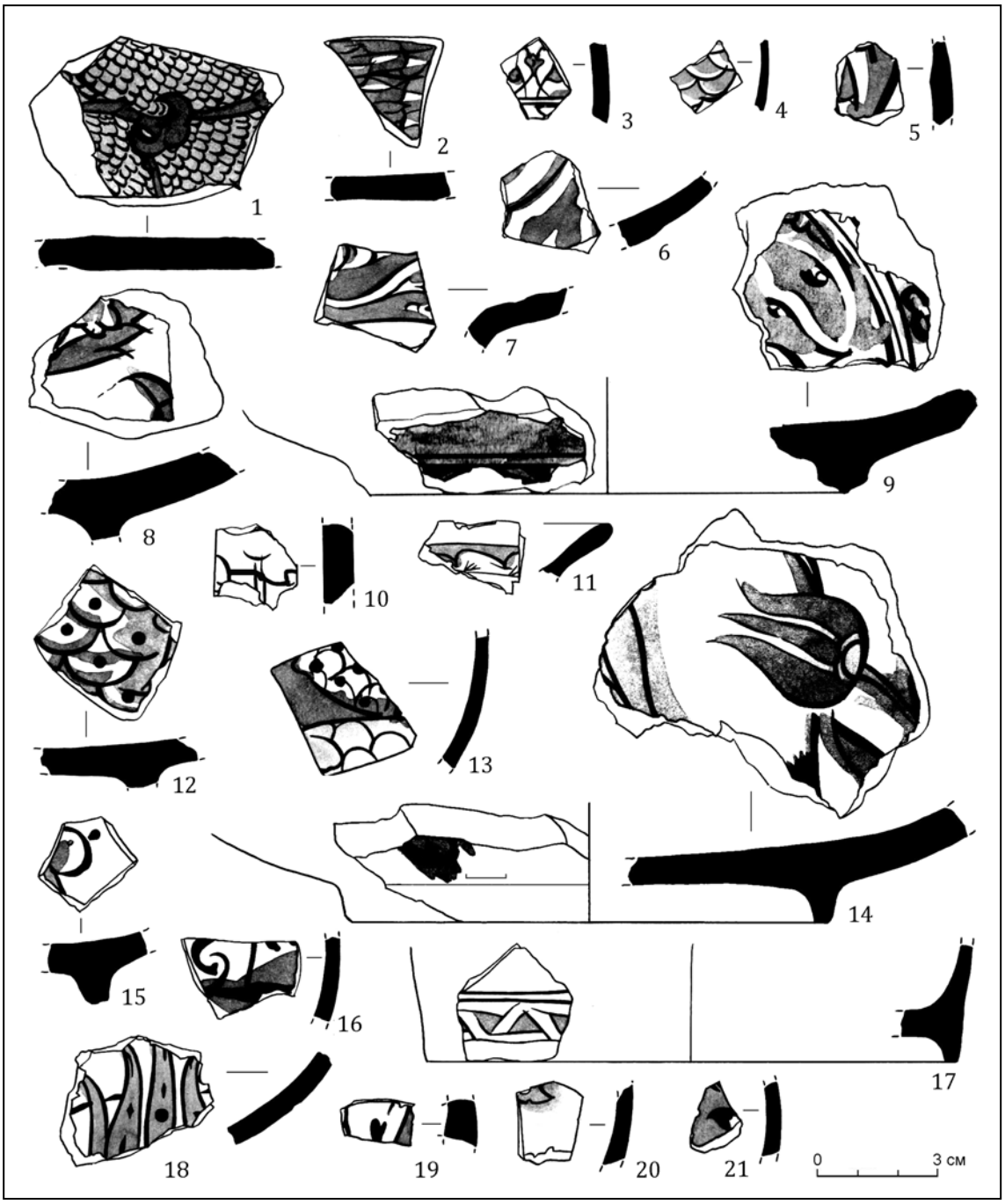

Рис. 3. Малоазийская поливная керамика XVI—XVII вв. из турецкой крепости Азак: 1—5 — фрагменты фаянсовых сосудов с росписью в стиле «Дамаск» (рисунок Н.В. Андрусенко); 6—21 — стиль «Родос» (по Гусач 2006: рис. 5: 7, 10—13).

Fig. 3. Asia Minor glazed ceramics of 16th — 17th centuries from the Turkish fortress of Azak: 1—5 — fragments of faience vessels with painting in "Damascus" style (drawing by N.V. Andrusenko); 6—21 — "Rhodes" (after Гусач 2006: рис. 5: 7, 10—13).

ние в росписи столовой посуды появляется, приблизительно, с середины XVI века. Основными мотивами в росписи, помимо «китайских облачков», лотосов и виноградных лоз, теперь становятся цветочные композиции из тюльпанов, гвоздик, гиацинтов, роз (бутонов), артишоков, а также изображения кустов, деревьев (кипарисов), длинных узких зубчатых листьев «саз» или листьев репейника (Орбели 1923: 27). Изменяется схема композиции рисунка (в первую очередь, на сосудах открытой формы): стебли растений «произрастают» из одной точки, расходясь затем в разные стороны и заполняя собой все свободное пространство вокруг. В орнаментации сосудов закрытой формы используют-

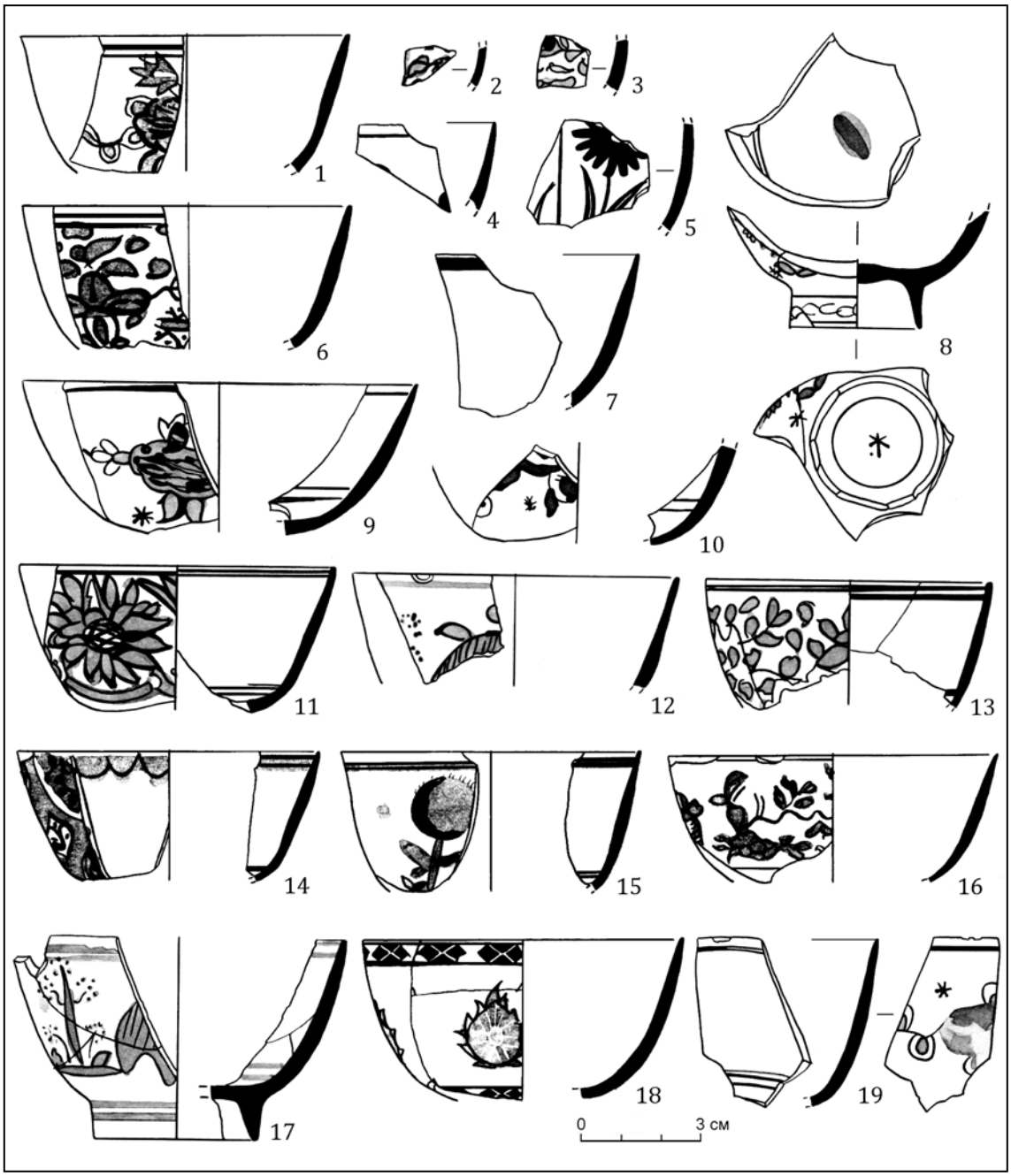

Рис. 4. Малоазийская поливная керамика XVII — 1-й пол. XVIII вв. из турецкой крепости Азак: 1—19 — фрагменты фаянсовых кофейных чашечек с сине-белой росписью (г. Кютахья) (по Гусач 2006: рис. 6: 1—6).

Fig. 4. Asia Minor glazed ceramics of 17th — 1st half of 18th century from the Turkish fortress of Azak: 1—19 — fragments of faience coffee cups with blue-and-white painting (Kütahya) (after Гусач 2006: рис. 6: 1—6).

ся пальметты, шнуровидные, фестончатые и S-видные пояски, а также пояски «рыбья кость». Впервые появляется так называемый «чешуйчатый» или «гранатовый» орнамент (Lane 1957: 49—50; Станчева 1960: 114—119; Aslanapa 1965: 27—28; Миллер 1972: 34—37; Öney 2003: 711—712). Формы сосудов, расписанных орнаментальными композициями в стиле «Дамаск», принципиально не отличаются от предыдущих: тарелки, чаши, блюда, вазы, кувшины, графины и т. д. По черепку и качеству глазури керамика «Дамасского типа» очень похожа на образцы с сине-белой росписью. По мнению О. Асланапа, эта керамика является переходной от сине-белой керамики к полихромной керамике с кораллово-красным цветом (так называемой «Родосской») (Aslanapa 1965: 27).

Долгое время ошибочно считалось, что сосуды «Дамасского типа» производи-

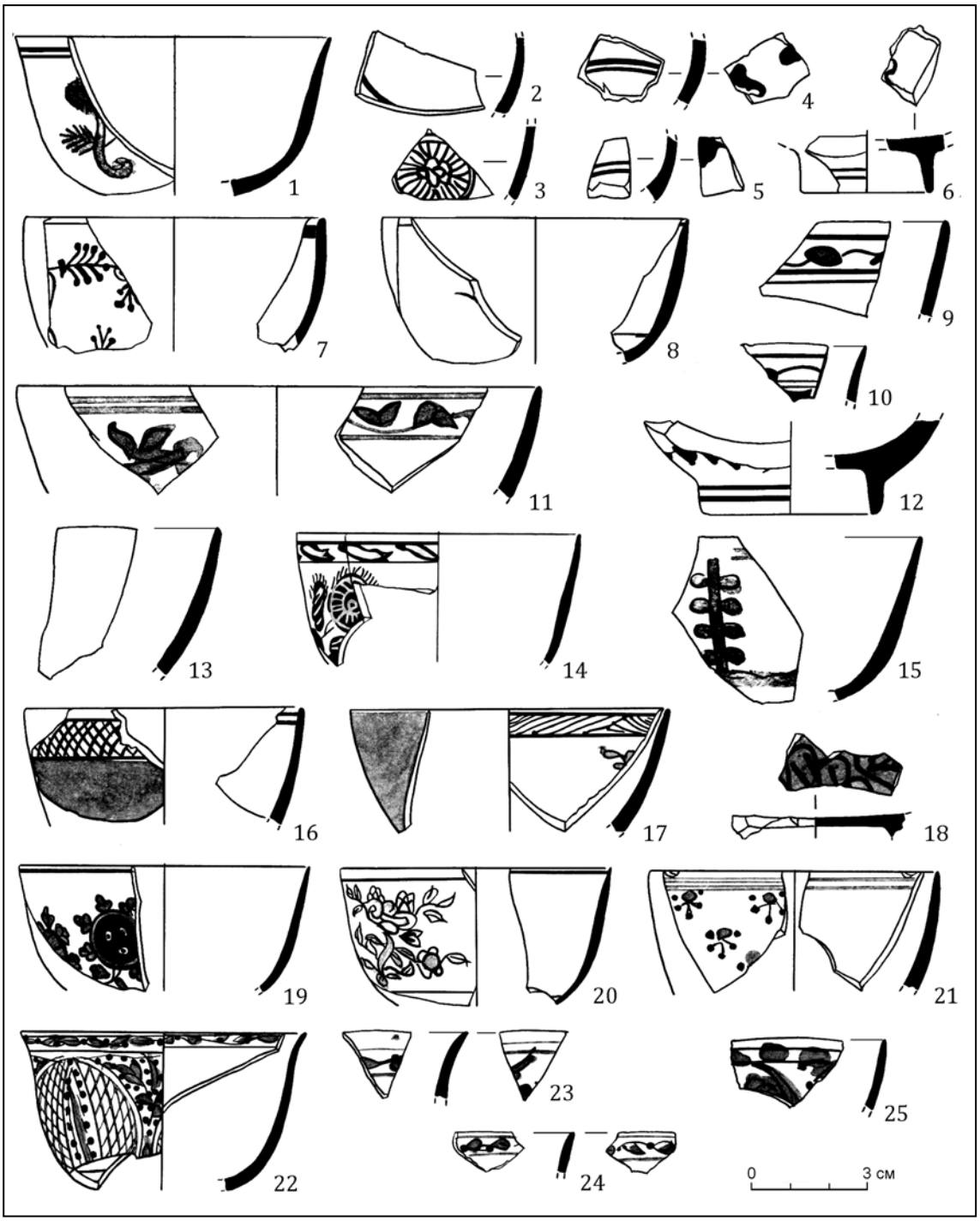

Рис. 5. Малоазийская поливная керамика XVII — 1-й пол. XVIII вв. из турецкой крепости Азак: 1—25 — фрагменты фаянсовых кофейных чашечек и чаш; 1—12 — с сине-белой росписью (рисунок Н.В. Андрусенко); 13 — без росписи (рисунок Н.В. Андрусенко); 14, 15, 19—25 — с полихромной росписью (по Гусач 2006: рис. 6: 14—16); 16—18 — имитация китайских фарфоровых чашечек (по Гусач 2006: рис. 6: 7—8).

Fig. 5. Asia Minor glazed ceramics of 17th — first half of 18th century from the Turkish fortress of Azak: 1—25 — fragments of faience coffee cups and bowls; 1—12 — with blue-and-white painting (drawing by N.V. Andrusenko); 13 — without painting (drawing by N.V. Andrusenko); 14, 15, 19—25 — with polychrome painting (after Гусач 2006: рис. 6: 14—16); 16—18 — imitation of Chinese porcelain cups (after Гусач 2006: рис. 6: 7—8).

лись в г. Дамаск (Сирия), т.к. они поступали на европейские рынки через этот крупнейший торговый центр. Отсюда произошло и название стиля росписи — «Дамаск» (Миллер 1972: 115—117; Гарбузова 1958: 22). Г. Мижон и А. Сакисьян даже предполагали, что этот тип керамики изготавливался на всей территории Сирии, и предлагали

Рис. 6. Малоазийская поливная керамика конца XV — XVII вв. из турецкой крепости Азак: 1, 2 — фрагменты красноглиняных чаш с росписью в стиле «Милет» (по Гусач 2006: рис. 5: 1—2; 2006а: рис. 3: 10—11; 5: 9—10); 3—10 — фрагменты фаянсовых сосудов с росписью в стиле «Синее и белое» (по Гусач 2006: рис. 5: 3, 4, 8); 12 — стиль «Золотой Рог» (по Гусач 2006: рис. 5: 5); 11, 13—19 — стиль «Родос» (и «Дамаск»?) (по Гусач 2006: рис. 5: 6, 9).

Fig. 6. Asia Minor glazed ceramics of late 15th — 17th century from the Turkish fortress of Azak: 1, 2 — fragments of red-clay bowls with painting in "Milet" style (after Гусач 2006: рис. 5: 1—2; 2006a: рис. 3: 10—11; 5: 9—10); 3—10 — fragments of faience vessels with painting in "Blue-and-White" style (after Гусач 2006: рис. 5: 3, 4, 8); 12 — "the Golden Horn" (after Гусач 2006: рис. 5: 5); 13—19 — "Rhodes" (and "Damascus"?) (after Гусач 2006: рис. 5: 6, 9).

назвать его «сирийским» (Migeon, Sakisian 1923: 305). Позже, благодаря археологическим раскопкам в Малой Азии, было установлено, что основным центром производства фаянсов с росписью в стиле «Дамаск» и местом их «рождения» является Изник (Aslanapa 1965: 27; Lane 1957: 44, 49—50). Однако изучение изникской керамики с надписями XVI в. навело турецкую исследовательницу Гёнуль Оней на мысль о том, что

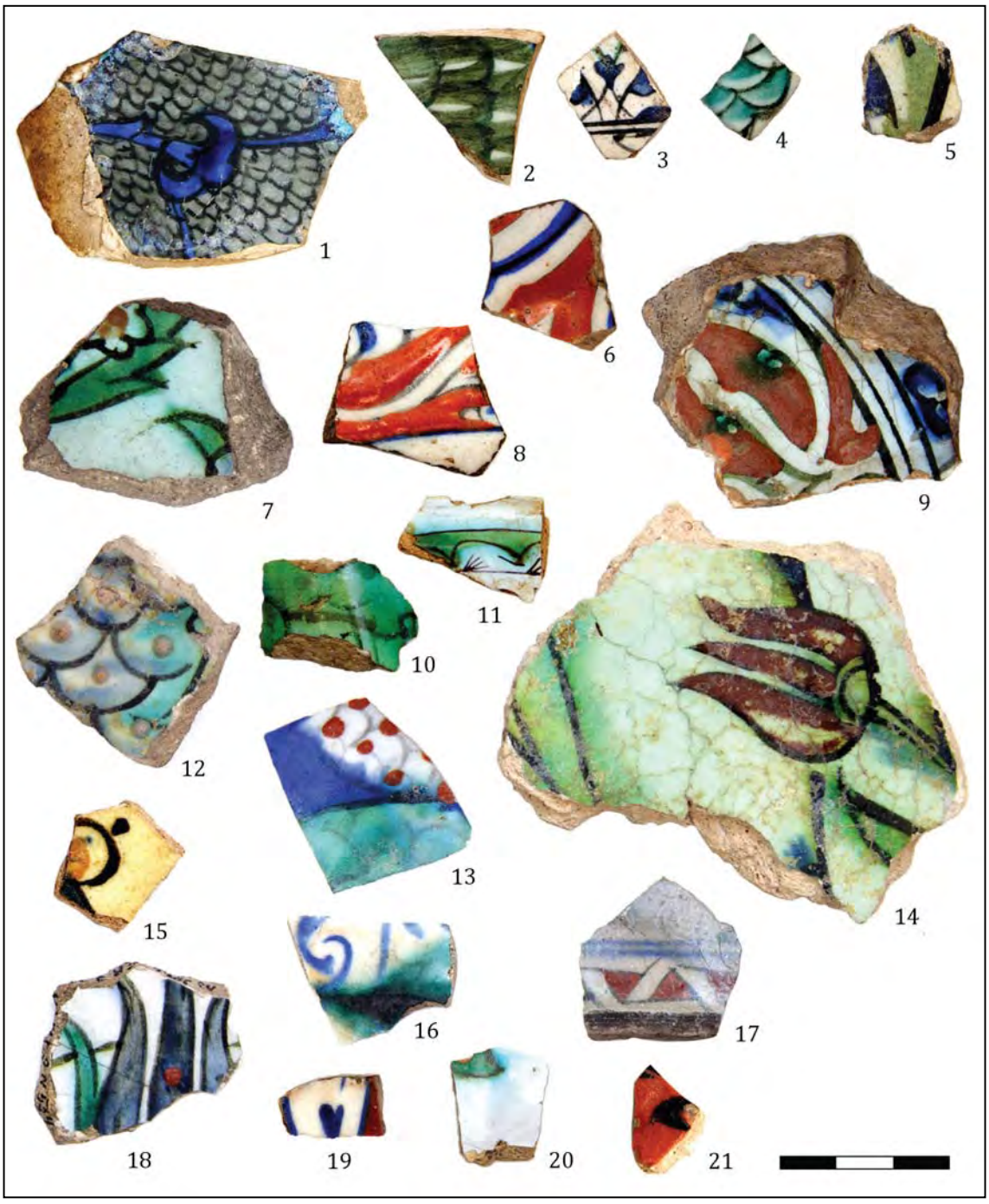

Рис. 7. Малоазийская поливная керамика XVI—XVII вв. из турецкой крепости Азак: 1—5 — фрагменты фаянсовых сосудов с росписью в стиле «Дамаск» (фото И. Р. Гусач); 6—21 — стиль «Родос» (по Гусач 2006: рис. 5: 7, 10-13).

Fig. 7. Asia Minor glazed ceramics of 16th — 17th centuries from the Turkish fortress of Azak: 1—5 — fragments of faience vessels with painting in "Damascus" style (photo by I.R. Gusach); 6—21 — "Rhodes" (after Гусач 2006: рис. 5: 7, 10—13).

производство, начатое в Изнике, могло во второй половине XVI в. развиваться и в Дамаске. Исследования, проведенные в лабораториях Оксфордского университета, показали, что по сравнению с изникскими, сирийские образцы керамики содержат меньше магния и хрома. Но, вместе с тем, в Дамаске пока не найдены керамические печи, в которых изготавливались подобные изделия (Öney 2003: 712—713).

А. Лейн датировал посуду «Дамасского типа» (группа «Изник II») 1525—1555 гг. Основанием для датировки послужила подписная лампа из Куббат ас-Сахра в Иерусалиме с упоминанием имени мастера Наккаша Муслу и датой 956 г. х. (1549 г.

Рис. 8. Малоазийская поливная керамика XVII — 1-й пол. XVIII вв. из турецкой крепости Азак: 1—19 — фрагменты фаянсовых кофейных чашечек с сине-белой росписью (г. Кютахья) (по Гусач 2006: рис. 6: 1—6).

Fig. 8. Asia Minor glazed ceramics of 17th — first half of 18th centuries from the Turkish fortress of Azak: 1—19 — fragments of faience coffee cups with blue-and-white painting (Kütahya) (after Гусач 2006: рис. 6: 1—6).

Р. Х.), а также грушевидная бутыль из коллекции Гудмэн с датой 978 г. х. (1529 г. Р. Х.) (Lane 1957: 49—54). Многие ученые до сих пор придерживаются этой датировки. Однако Ю. Миллер и М. Станчева считают, что керамика с росписью в стиле «Дамаск» производилась в XVI и XVII вв. (Миллер 1972: 116—125; Станчева 1960: 114). В XVII в. производство посуды «Дамасского типа» пошло на убыль в связи с возросшей потребностью

Рис. 9. Малоазийская поливная керамика XVII — 1-й пол. XVIII вв. из турецкой крепости Азак: 1—25 — фрагменты фаянсовых кофейных чашечек и чаш; 1—12 — с сине-белой росписью (фото И.Р. Гусач); 14 — без росписи (фото И.Р. Гусач); 13, 18—25 — с полихромной росписью (по Гусач 2006: рис. 6: 14—16); 15—17 — имитация китайских фарфоровых чашечек (по Гусач 2006: рис. 6: 7—8).

Fig. 9. Asia Minor glazed ceramics of 17th — first half of 18th centuries from the Turkish Fortress of Azak: 1—25 — fragments of faience coffee cups and bowls; 1—12 — with blue-and-white painting (photo by I.R. Gusach); 14 — without painting (photo by I.R. Gusach); 13, 18—25 — with polychrome painting (after Гусач 2006: рис. 6: 14—16); 15—17 — imitation of Chinese porcelain cups (after Гусач 2006: рис. 6: 7—8).

в изразцах. Образцам этой керамики во 2 пол. XVII в. свойственна тенденция к ухудшению качества черепка, росписи и глазури (Миллер 1972: 116).

На раскопе по ул. Генуэзской, 3 нами было обнаружено пять фрагментов сосудов с росписью в стиле «Дамаск». Из них три принадлежали сосудам закрытой формы (вазам, кувшинам или бутылям) (рис. 3: 3, 4, 5; 7: 3, 4, 5), два — днищам блюд (рис. 3: 1, 2; 7: 1, 2). Сосуды закрытой формы — с тонкими стенками (толщина стенок 0,2—0,5 см); блюда,

как правило, толстостенные (толщина дна — 0,7—0,8 см). Формовочная масса сосудов идентична — все они имеют плотный черепок бело-кремового цвета, без видимых примесей. Роспись выполнена характерными для посуды «Дамасского типа» красками: синей, оливково-зеленой, серовато-оливковой, бирюзовой и черной (контуры) по белому ангобу под прозрачной бесцветной свинцовой глазурью. Мотивы росписи традиционны — цветочный (рис. 3: 1, 3; рис. 7: 1, 3), «чешуйчатый» или «гранатовый» (рис. 3: 1, 2, 4; рис. 7: 1, 2, 4), растительный (рис. 3: 5; рис. 7: 5).

Фрагменты сосудов с росписью в «Дамасском» стиле легко спутать с фрагментами сосудов, расписанных в стиле «Родос» — «The Rhodian» (4 группа нашей классификации). Они очень близки по составу и цвету формовочной массы, глазури и технике, а также по мотивам и стилю росписи. Единственной отличительной особенностью керамики «Родосского типа» является наличие в ее росписи ярко-красного (кораллово-красного или томатно-красного) и ярко-зеленого цвета, помимо более ярких, чем в изделиях «Дамасского типа», синего, голубого, бирюзового, пурпурного и черного цветов. Красный тон получался путем нанесения на ангобированную поверхность изделия особой силикатной глины, богатой окислами железа и замешанной на густой клейкой основе — «пекмезе» (виноградном соке, вываренном до густоты меда и играющим роль растительного клея) (Гарбузова 1958: 33). Этот вид красного ангоба был известен в Европе под названием «армянский болюс». Благодаря его вязкости и густоте, узоры на сосудах получались рельефными. Техника росписи посуды красным ангобом, по-видимому, пришла в Малую Азию с Кавказа и получила широкое распространение в османском керамическом производстве во второй половине XVI — XVII вв.

Название стиля росписи «Родосский» ошибочно. В конце XIX в. Парижский музей Клуни при содействии французского консула на острове Родос закупил там 532 малоазийских сосуда с красной росписью и демонстрировал их как «Родосскую» или «Линдосскую» керамику. После этого за образцами посуды данного типа надолго закрепилось название «Изделия Родоса» (Aslanapa 1965: 29; Öney 2003: 725). А. Лейн был убежден, что родиной фаянсов с росписью в стиле «Родос» был Изник (группа «Изник III» по его классификации, 1555—1700 гг.) (Lane 1957: 54). Большая часть исследователей согласилась с ним. Однако О. Асланапа и Г. Оней считают, что хотя в большом объеме «изделия Родоса» производились в Изнике, но, вероятно, какая-то их часть делалась и в Кютахье (Aslanapa 1965: 29; Öney 2003: 712—716).

XVI век был временем расцвета производства малоазийских фаянсов с росписью в стиле «Родос». Эта керамика была в моде в странах Средиземноморья и Ближнего Востока, на Балканах и в Европе, куда вывозилась в больших количествах. Но с середины XVII века высокое качество «Родосской» керамики снижается: цвета бледнеют, краски местами растекаются, красный цвет приобретает коричневый тон, синий становится сероватым, глазурь теряет блеск, на ней видны пятна и трещины, черепок становится пористым. Одновременно со снижением качества продукции уменьшается и объем ее производства. Эвлия Челеби в своей «Сеяхатнаме» («Книге путешествий») писал о том, что в его время (середина XVII в.) в Изнике художественную посуду изготавливали только девять мастерских, тогда как в период Сулеймана Кануни (1520—1566 гг.) таких мастерских в Изнике было 300 (Гарбузова 1958: 37—38). В XVIII веке изникские мастерские перестали существовать. Центр производства переместился в Кютахью, где изготовление керамики продолжилось и в XIX веке.

Популярность изделий с росписью в стиле «Родос» в былые времена обусловила относительно большое их количество на раскопе по ул. Генуэзской, 3 в г. Азове, по сравнению с сине-белой керамикой и керамикой «Дамасского типа». Археологами были найдены 16 фрагментов сосудов «Родосского типа», из которых: семь принадлежат большим толстостенным плоским блюдам на кольцевом поддоне (рис. 3: 6—9, 12, 14, 15; 7: 6—9, 12, 14, 15), два — тарелкам (рис. 3: 11, 18; 7: 11, 18), шесть — сосудам закрытой формы (вазам, кувшинам, бутылям) (рис. 3: 10, 13, 16, 17, 20, 21; 7: 10, 13, 16, 17, 20, 21), определение формы еще одного фрагмента по причине большого скола на нем — затруднительно (рис. 3: 19; 7: 19). Мотивы росписи все те же: «китайские облачка» (рис. 3: 16; 7: 16), зубчатые листья репейника («саз») (рис. 3: 8; 7: 7), «чешуйчатый» или «гранатовый» орнамент (рис. 3: 12, 13; 7: 12, 13), а также стилизованные «сельджукские цепи» (рис. 3: 17; 7: 17) и излюбленные османами цветы — тюльпаны, гиацинты, жимолость и др. (рис. 3: 8, 9, 14, 18, 19; 7: 7, 9, 14, 18, 19). Используемые в росписи, помимо «красного ангоба», краски — синяя, зеленая и черная (контур). По известному набору признаков легко отделить более ранние изделия (конец XVI — начало XVII вв.) от более

поздних (конец XVII в.). Первые имеют чистый белый фон, четкий яркий рисунок с тонким непрерывным контуром, плотный белый или розово-кремовый черепок без видимых примесей, гладкую блестящую бесцветную глазурь, нанесенную на поверхность тонким слоем, цвет «красного ангоба» — насыщенный, «коралловый» или «томатный» (рис. 3: 6, 7, 13, 17, 18; 7: 6, 8, 13, 17, 18). Для вторых характерно наличие мутного, серо-белого фона, размытого, небрежно выполненного рисунка с толстым прерывистым контуром, пористого рыхлого черепка серо-кремового цвета с примесью окатанных зерен белого кварца, зеленоватой или бесцветной прозрачной глазури, зачастую нанесенной толстым слоем на поверхности сосуда, красного ангоба, который приобрел коричневый тон (рис. 3: 8—12, 14—16, 19—21; 7: 7, 9—12, 14—16, 19—21).

Восемь фрагментов сосудов: три — от больших плоских блюд (рис. 2: 13, 15, 19; 6: 14, 15, 19), три — от чаш (рис. 2: 12, 16, 17; 6: 13, 16, 17), два — от сосудов закрытой формы (рис. 2: 14, 18; 6: 11, 18), вызвали некоторые сомнения при соотнесении их с той или иной группой малоазийских фаянсов. Сохранившиеся на них обрывки росписи дают нам право с одинаковой долей вероятности отнести их как к группе «Дамасской керамики», так и к группе «Родосской керамики». Отсутствие же в росписи сосудов красного цвета еще не свидетельствует о том, что на остальную часть сосуда он не был нанесен (ведь сохранившиеся фрагменты так малы!). Мотивы росписи знакомы: «китайские облачка» (рис. 2: 15, 19; 6: 15, 19), лотосы («хитаи») (рис. 2: 13; 6: 14), османские цветы (рис. 2: 12, 14; 6: 11, 13), листочки (рис. 2: 16, 17; 6: 16, 17).

Общепризнанно, что в XVIII веке Кютахья, в связи с упадком производства в Изнике, стала ведущим центром по изготовлению расписной посуды массового спроса (Lane 1957: 63—65; Гарбузова 1958: 36—39; Миллер 1972: 157—160; Станчева 1960: 123; Aslanapa 1965: 31; Hayes 1992: 266—267; Öney 2003: 732—733). В 1-й пол. XVIII в. кютахийскими мастерами была создана своеобразная группа керамической утвари, включающая такие вещи ежедневного употребления, как кофейные чашечки, калемданы, кувшины, бутыли, рюмки, чаши, графины, вазы, сахарницы, флаконы для розовой воды, чернильницы, подсвечники, тарелки, соковыжималки для лимонов (Öney 2003: 732). Возникновение новых форм — интересная особенность этой группы керамики. Кютахийские фаянсы привлекали внимание своей изящностью, легкостью, яркостью цветов и оригинальностью подглазурной росписи. Формовочная масса, из которой изготавливались эти изделия, отличается очень светлым, почти белым цветом, без видимых примесей. Черепок обычно плотный, мелкопористый, тонкий. Из-за светлого цвета черепка покрытие его белым ангобом перед росписью было не обязательным. Глазурь всегда прозрачная, бесцветная, хорошего качества, нанесена тонким слоем на обе поверхности сосуда, за исключением нижней части кольцевого поддона. Роспись выполнена синей (голубой), зеленой, бирюзовой, черной (контур) и желтой (новый для османской керамики цвет) красками.

Несмотря на всю широту кютахийского ассортимента изделий, обитатели турецкой крепости Азак, судя по находкам, пользовались в быту, как это ни странно, только кофейными чашечками и чашами. За все годы археологических исследований на этом памятнике (1960—2000-е гг.) не было обнаружено пока ни одного фрагмента сосуда закрытой формы из Кютахьи. Не стал исключением в этом плане и раскоп по ул. Генуэзской, 3. В так называемом «турецком» слое конца XVII — начала XVIII вв. в 2004 г. было обнаружено 44 фрагмента кютахийских кофейных чашечек и чаш и ни одного — от какой-нибудь другой посуды кютахийского производства.

Почти все кютахийские кофейные чашечки и чаши с Генуэзской, 3 (за исключением трех фрагментов, о которых речь пойдет ниже) укладываются в определенную классификационную схему (Гусач 2005: 477—478; 2012: 116—143). Кофейные чашечки высотой 5,0 см, с диаметром венчика 7,0 см, толщиной стенок 0,2—0,4 см, на кольцевом поддоне высотой 1,0 см и диаметром 3,0—4,5 см по своей форме делятся на колоколовидные (со слегка отогнутым наружу венчиком) (рис. 5: 1, 22—24; 9: 1, 21, 22, 24) и полусферические (с прямым, сливающимся с туловом венчиком) (рис. 4: 1, 4, 6, 7, 9, 11—19; 5: 7, 8, 13—17, 19—21, 25; 8: 1, 4, 6, 7, 9, 11—19; 9: 5—7, 13, 14, 16—20, 23, 25). Как свидетельствуют археологические находки, полусферическая форма чашечек, заимствованная из китайского фарфора (Миллер 1972: 157), была более распространенной, чем колоколовидная (или куполовидная). Формовочная масса, черепок и глазурь кофейных чашечек соответствует приведенному выше описанию.

Основными видами подглазурной росписи кютахийских чашечек из Азака являются: монохромная роспись синим кобальтом — 28 экз. (рис. 4: 1—19; 5: 1—8, 16, 17; 8: 1—19; 9: 1—8, 16, 17) и полихромная роспись —

9 фрагментов (рис. 5: 14, 15, 19—25; 9: 13, 18—25). 70% кофейных чашечек расписаны синей краской двух оттенков — светло-синей (сам рисунок) и темно-синей (контур изображений). Роспись зачастую нанесена небрежно и представляет собой подражание китайскому фарфору эпохи Мин (1368—1644 гг.) (Арапова 1977: 7, 17—20, 35—56): переплетающиеся стебли, листья и цветы лотоса (рис. 4: 1, 6, 9; 8: 1, 6, 11), хризантемы (рис. 4: 5, 11; 8: 5, 14), карликовые деревья (или кустарники) с длинными тонкими волнистыми ветвями и мелкими овальными листочками (рис. 4: 2, 3, 13, 16; 8: 2, 3, 12, 13), пояски из завитков, имитирующих «китайские облачка» (рис. 4: 8) и др. Некоторые мотивы росписи корнями уходят в сельджукские времена с их геометрическими орнаментами (рис. 4: 14; 8: 15). Турецкие мотивы представлены растительно-цветочными композициями (иногда в сочетании с геометрическими) в виде: «перевернутых» тюльпанов и деревьев (рис. 4: 17; 8: 19), больших зубчатых листьев с процарапанными в них изображениями цветочных розеток, сочетающихся с узкими поясками из повторяющихся шестиугольников с «крестиками» внутри (рис. 4: 18; рис. 8: 18), отдельно стоящих цветов и «букетов» (рис. 4: 15; 5: 1; 8: 16; 9: 1) и т. д. Подобно китайской керамике, верхняя часть тулова, дно и кольцевой поддон кютахийских кофейных чашечек украшены одной или двумя тонкими (либо толстыми) линиями синего цвета. На внутренней поверхности дна часто изображена цветочная розетка, либо весь цветок. В нашем случае мастер ограничился нанесением на дно чашечки геометрической фигуры удлиненно-овальной формы (рис. 4: 8; 8: 10).

Из общей массы фрагментов кофейных чашечек выделяются два, на одном из которых роспись совсем отсутствует (нет даже традиционных концентрических линий на тулове) (рис. 5: 13; 9: 14), а на другом кобальтовая роспись в виде стилизованного изображения дерева или ветки дерева (?) имеет тонкий черный контур, что не характерно для данного стиля росписи (рис. 5: 15; 9: 13).

Что касается клейм (марок), то на единственном полностью сохранившемся фрагменте нижней части кофейной чашечки с сине-белой росписью имеется клеймо в виде шестилучевой «звездочки», небрежно нанесенной синей краской на внешнюю поверхность дна чашечки (рис. 4: 8; 8: 10). Обычно «звездочка» считается наиболее распространенной маркой кютахийских изделий, возникшей в результате подражания клеймам европейских фарфоров начала XVIII в. (и прежде всего, мейсенским клеймам в виде скрещенных мечей) (Миллер 1972: 168—169). Но примечательно то, что подобное изображение «звездочки» имеется не только на дне, но и на внешней поверхности тулова этой чашечки (рис. 4: 8; 8: 10). Шестилучевая и восьмилучевая «звездочки» присутствуют и в орнаментальной композиции на внешней поверхности тулова еще трех чашечек с сине-белой росписью (рис. 4: 9, 10, 19; 8: 8, 11, 17).

Помимо фрагментов кофейных чашечек, описанных выше, на раскопе по ул. Генуэзской, 3 были найдены еще четыре обломка полусферических кютахийских чаш с сине-белой росписью, размеры которых несколько больше предыдущих: диаметр венчика 12,0—14,0 см, толщина стенок 0,4—0,6 см, диаметр поддона 5,0 см, высота поддона 1,0 см. Формовочная масса аналогична массе кофейных чашечек. Техника изготовления чаш и нанесения на них росписи — та же. Мотивы росписи неизменны — растительно-цветочные. Глазурь прозрачная, бесцветная, свинцовая, иногда с голубоватым оттенком, нанесена на обе поверхности, за исключением кольцевого поддона (рис. 5: 9—12; 9: 9—12).

Форма, размеры и формовочная масса кютахийских кофейных чашечек с полихромной росписью (9 фрагментов), пожалуй, ничем не отличается от чашечек с сине-белой росписью. Оригинальной является лишь орнаментация этих чашечек, в которой используются синий, зеленый, красный, черный и желтый цвета (рис. 5: 14, 15, 19—25; 9: 13, 18—25). Мелкие растительно-геометрические узоры, нанесенные на сосуды будто бы неумелыми мазками кисти, на первый взгляд, несколько грубы и примитивны, но вместе с тем они придают какой-то особенный живой колорит и стильность османским керамическим изделиям. Небрежность выполнения рисунка (размытость красок) удачно скрывается тонкими черными контурными линиями. Разнообразие красок порой создает впечатление излишней пестроты, однако благодаря этой пестроте рисунки выглядят ярко, празднично и нарядно. В полихромной росписи кофейных чашечек все еще иногда «проскакивает» стилизация под китайские мотивы (рис. 5: 20; 9: 19), но основная масса посуды все же украшена «турецкими» орнаментальными композициями из разнообразных цветов, зачастую густо «приправленных» красными точками (рис. 5: 14, 19, 21—25; 9: 18, 20—25). По-прежнему на чашечках вдоль края сохраняются синие или черные линии (рис. 5: 19—21; 9: 18—20),

но все чаще на их месте оказываются узкие орнаментальные пояски с узорами из мелких черных, зеленых либо желтых листочков и красных точек (рис. 5: 22—25; 9: 21—25). Такой стиль росписи керамических изделий, по мнению Г. Оней, напоминает «импрессионистский» (Öney 2003: 733). Глазурь остается прозрачной, бесцветной и неплохого качества, нанесена на поверхности очень тонким слоем.

Ю. Миллер обратил внимание на то, что кютахийские фаянсовые сосуды часто украшались рельефной резьбой в виде мелкой ромбовидной сетки, отчетливо выделяющейся на внешней поверхности. Этот прием, как он считает, не был знаком мастерам Изника (Миллер 1972: 164). В фондах Азовского музея-заповедника имеется два фрагмента кютахийских кофейных чашечек с такой «сеткой». Один из них происходит из раскопок 2004 г. по ул. Генуэзской, 3 (рис. 5: 22; 9: 21) (Гусач 2005: 478). Очевидно, изделия с подобным украшением были большой редкостью в турецкой крепости Азак.

И, наконец, о трех фрагментах кютахийских кофейных чашечек, чья орнаментация «выбивается» из общепринятой схемы. Два из них являются имитацией поздних китайских фарфоровых чашечек династии Цин времен императора Канси (1662—1722 гг.) (Гусач 2011: 453, рис. 12: 4, 5) (рис. 5: 16, 17; 9: 16, 17), третий — по-видимому, имитацией ранних китайских фарфоровых чашечек династии Юань (1279—1368 гг.) (Кречетова, Вестфален 1947: 7, 15—16; Арапова 1977: 7, 22—24) (рис. 5: 18; 9: 15). На раскопе по ул. Генуэзской, 3 в 2004 г. были найдены фрагменты китайских полусферических фарфоровых чашечек с сине-белой росписью под бесцветной прозрачной глазурью на внутренней стороне и коричневой или бежевой глазурью на внешней стороне (Гусач 2006: 134, рис. 6: 9—13; 2011: 408—410, 415, рис. 1: 9—11; 4: 1—7). Такие чашечки производились в конце XVII — начале XVIII вв. в китайских провинциях, а затем широко экспортировались в разные страны, в том числе и в Османскую империю (Кречетова, Вестфален 1947: 16; Tomka 2003: 311).

При сравнении подлинных китайских изделий с их османскими имитациями видно, как умело скопировали кютахийские мастера китайские мотивы сине-белой (кобальтовой) росписи фарфоровых чашечек: тонкая ветвь с длинными узкими листочками, узкие пояски, заштрихованные диагональными полосками, две линии на верхней части тулова, а также цвет глазури: коричневый — на внешней стороне, бесцветный — на внутренней (рис. 5: 16, 17; рис. 9: 16, 17). Выдают кютахийские копии лишь цвет черепка (грязно-белый) и состав формовочной массы, больше похожей на кварц-фритту, чем на фарфор. Но это можно обнаружить лишь только разбив сосуд.

Во времена династии Юань (XIII—XIV вв.) в Цычжоу (провинция Хэбэй) в изготовлении фарфоровой посуды китайцы стали применять ярко-бирюзовую глазурь в сочетании с черной подглазурной росписью (Кречетова, Вестфален 1947: 7). Возможно, наш фрагмент фаянсовой кофейной чашечки с плотным кремово-белым черепком и черным растительно-цветочным орнаментом под бирюзовой глазурью — это попытка имитировать фарфор Цычжоу (рис. 5: 18; 9: 15).

В вопросе о хронологии кютахийских кофейных чашечек и чаш, а также кютахийской керамики в целом до сих пор отсутствует ясность. Большинство авторов, писавших о фаянсах Кютахьи, массовое их производство относят к XVIII в., а появление кофейных чашечек, ориентировочно, к 1-й пол. XVIII в. (Aslanapa 1965: 31; Hayes 1992: 266; Öney 2003: 732). Однако часть исследователей, ссылаясь на документальные данные, считает, что керамическое производство в довольно больших масштабах существовало в Кютахье и в XVII веке (Миллер 1972: 157; Гарбузова 1958: 37; Станчева 1960: 123; Волков 2006: 483—484).

Эвлия Челеби, побывавший в Кютахье в 1669—1670 гг., писал: «В Кютахье есть 34 квартала, среди них квартал неверных мастеров-керамистов…, их блюда и чаши, их разнообразные сосуды для питья и кувшины, их чаши и тарелки используются не только для частного употребления. Но блюда Изника более знамениты в мире» (Lane 1957: 63). Согласно письменным источникам, в 1700 г. кютахийские чаши продавались в г. Токате на северо-западе Малой Азии (Lane 1957: 63; Миллер 1972: 157). Производили их армянские мастера (в Кютахье была колония беглых армянских гончаров), первые сведения о которых появились в 1608 г., когда губернатор Кютахьи получил предписание из Стамбула о том, что «мастерам, изготавливающим чашки в Кютахье», необходимо продать по текущим ценам некоторое количество своей соды (вещества, требующегося для производства керамики) гончарам Изника, получившим срочный имперский заказ на изразцы (Lane 1957: 63). Следовательно, можно пред-

положить, что уже тогда, в XVII в., кютахийские мастера-керамисты вместе с другой посудой ежедневного пользования изготавливали и кофейные чашечки и чаши, расписанные растительно-геометрическим орнаментом. Причем чашечки с сине-белой росписью, подражавшей ранней росписи османских изделий конца XV—XVI вв., судя по всему, появились раньше (возможно, в середине-конце XVII в.) чашечек с полихромной росписью, которые в массовых масштабах производились в Кютахье в XVIII в. Вот почему на раскопе по ул. Генуэзской, 3 в слое конца XVII — начала XVIII вв. преобладают кофейные чашечки с сине-белой росписью.

Последние данные археологических исследований на территории бывших турецких крепостей подтверждают эти предположения. Кютахийские кофейные чашечки, датирующиеся серединой XVII в., найдены при раскопках крепости Измаил (Дынник 1990: 123). В Каффе кофейные чашечки из Кютахьи происходят из турецкого слоя XVII в. (Волков 2006: 485). В Очакове и Кадыкое (современное предместье Балаклавы) кютахийская керамика датируется рубежом XVII—XVIII вв. (Беляева 1998: 41—42; Иванов, Савеля, Филиппенко 1998: 111). В крепости Лютик, находившейся недалеко от крепости Азак, материалы которой относятся к концу XVII — началу XVIII вв., есть кютахийские кофейные чашечки с сине-белой и полихромной росписью (Чеснок 1988: 66—73; Гусач 2012: 116—143). Окоп по ул. Ленинградской, 27 в Азове, откуда происходят кофейные чашечки с сине-белой и полихромной росписью, автор раскопок И.В. Волков датирует 1641 годом — временем осады крепости турками (хотя есть некоторые сомнения на этот счет). Не вызывает сомнений у исследователя лишь тот факт, что в Кютахье кофейные чашечки производились уже в середине XVII века (Волков 2006: 484, 495).

Подводя итоги всему вышесказанному, можно сделать следующие выводы: население турецкой крепости Азак довольно широко пользовалось в быту привозной посудой из Малой Азии. Об этом ярко свидетельствуют археологические находки, сделанные на территории бывшей крепости: только на небольшом раскопе (общей площадью 84 м^2) по ул. Генуэзской, 3 в 2004 г. в «турецком» слое конца XVII — начала XVIII вв. было обнаружено около 90 фрагментов поливной расписной керамики малоазийского производства. Самая ранняя группа керамики представлена фрагментами красноглиняных поливных чаш с росписью в стиле «Милет», датирующихся в Азаке 2-й пол. XV — нач. XVI вв.

Группа художественных фаянсов, обычно называемых в литературе «изникскими», представлена фрагментами сосудов со всеми известными стилями подглазурной росписи: «Синее и белое» или «Авраам из Кютахьи», «Золотой Рог», «Дамаск» и «Родос», — в целом датируемых концом XV—XVII вв. Как выяснилось, высококачественная османская посуда изготавливалась не только в крупнейшем керамическом центре Анатолии — г. Изнике, но и в других, менее крупных, керамических центрах — Стамбуле, Кютахье, Сивасе, Бургасе и т.д. Поэтому ее правильнее называть «малоазийской», а не «изникской», тем более, что идентификация этой посуды с центрами производства — дело будущего. Наиболее популярными в Азакской крепости, судя по количеству находок, были изделия с росписью в стиле «Родос» (70% от общего числа керамики этой группы), самыми редкими — с росписью в стиле «Золотой Рог» (всего один фрагмент). Сине-белая схема росписи просуществовала на малоазийских сосудах вплоть до XVIII века.

Группа кютахийских изделий в Азаке представлена исключительно фрагментами кофейных чашечек и чаш с сине-белой и полихромной подглазурной росписью. Причем, количество обломков чашечек с сине-белой росписью в три раза превышает количество чашечек с полихромной росписью. Встречен редкий для крепости Азак образец чашечки с рельефной резной ромбоидальной сеткой. Выявлен факт нанесения «звездочки», считающейся клеймом (маркой) кютахийских мастеров-керамистов, не только на дно, но и на стенки нескольких чашечек с сине-белой росписью, по-видимому, в качестве элемента орнамента. Впервые среди фрагментов кютахийских кофейных чашечек обнаружены три, имитирующие поздние китайские фарфоровые чашечки династии Цин (император Канси — 1662—1722 гг.) с сине-белой росписью и двумя видами глазури: бесцветной и коричневой; а также ранние фарфоровые чашечки династии Юань (1279—1368 гг.) с черной росписью под полупрозрачной бирюзовой глазурью.

Не до конца выясненным остается вопрос о датировке кютахийских кофейных чашечек и чаш. Результаты археологических исследований на ул. Генуэзской, 3 позволяют нам делать выводы о том, что их производство в Кютахье (в первую очередь это касается чашечек с сине-белой росписью) началось не позднее 2-й пол. XVII века.

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Восточная Европа

Eastern Europe

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Восточная и византийская поливная керамика в средневековых городах Беларуси

Keywords: Belarus, mediaeval towns, Byzantine glazed pottery, Syrian glazed pottery, Iranian glazed pottery, Golden Horde glazed pottery, import, trade, noneconomic ways

Ключевые слова: Беларусь, средневековые города, византийская поливная керамика, сирийская поливная керамика, иранская поливная керамика, золотоордынская поливная керамика, импорт, торговля, внеэкономические пути

K. A. Lavysh

Oriental and Byzantine Glazed Pottery in Medieval Towns on the Territory of Belarus

In the paper the author attempts to compile a corpus of finds of the Oriental and Byzantine pottery in the territory of Belarus, which are represented by the following types: among the Iranian pottery — luster painted pottery and "minai" pottery; among the Syrian pottery — luster painted pottery and "lakabi" pottery and technologically similar types; among the Golden Horde pottery — composite white frit pottery with relief modeling of the surface and polychrome underglaze painting; composite white frit beads with turquoise glaze; among the Byzantine pottery — pottery with underglaze five-color painting; "sgraffito" pottery and simpler specimens covered with engobe and glaze, as well as single finds of other types of Middle Eastern glazed pottery. Most of the Oriental and Byzantine pottery found during excavations of the Belarusian towns belong to the luxury goods or objects of a rather high artistic level, and may be associated with the culture of the elite and wealthy townspeople. The paper also considers the appearance causes of the Oriental and Byzantine glazed pottery in the medieval towns of Belarus, routes and means of its delivery.

К. А. Лавыш

Восточная и византийская поливная керамика в средневековых городах Беларуси

В статье предпринята попытка составления свода находок восточной и византийской керамики на территории Беларуси. Они представлены следующими типами: иранская люстровая керамика и керамика «минаи»; сирийская люстровая керамика и керамика «лакаби», а также технологически близкие к ней типы; золотоордынская кашинная керамика с рельефной моделировкой поверхности и полихромной подглазурной росписью, кашинные бусы с бирюзовой поливой; византийская керамика с подглазурной пятицветной росписью, керамика с декором сграффито и более простые образцы, покрытые ангобом и поливой, а также единичные находки других типов поливной керамики Ближнего и Среднего Востока. Большинство образцов восточной и византийской керамики, найденной при раскопках средневековых городов Беларуси, относится к предметам роскоши или предметам достаточно высокого художественного уровня, и может быть связано с культурой элиты и зажиточных горожан. Рассматриваются причины появления восточной и византийской поливной керамики в средневековых городах Беларуси, пути и способы ее поступления.

Поливная керамика является одной из самых значительных категорий восточного импорта в средневековых городах Беларуси (рис. 1). В отличие от изделий из стекла, образцы восточной керамики, происходящие с территории Беларуси, не так известны. Отчасти это связано с меньшим объемом находок и, видимо, с меньшим знакомством археологов с восточной керамикой. Они реже публиковались, были нередки случаи неверной атрибуции. Подавляющее большинство находок, введенных в научный оборот, связано с Новогрудком, фрагменты керамики из других городов оказались почти незамеченными. В последнее время появляются новые находки, производится проверка атрибу-

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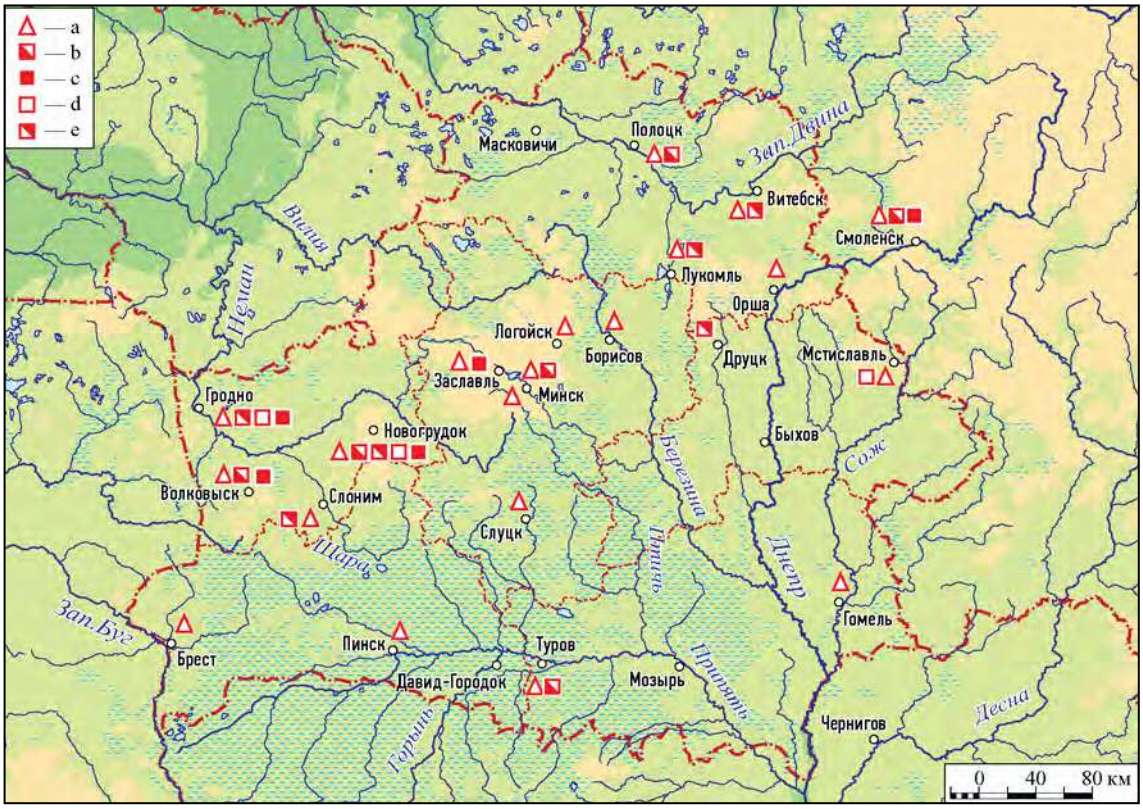

Рис. 1. Карта находок восточной и византийской керамики на территории Беларуси. Условные обозначения: a — амфоры; b — византийская поливная керамика; c — иранская поливная керамика; d — сирийская поливная керамика; e — золотоордынская поливная керамика.

Fig. 1. The map of finds of Oriental and Byzantine pottery on the territory of Belarus. Legend: a — amphorae; b — Byzantine glazed pottery; c — Iranian glazed pottery; d— Syrian glazed pottery; e — Golden Horde glazed pottery.

ций и датировок известных образцов восточной керамики (работы В. Ю. Коваля), кроме того, во время осмотра археологических коллекций музеев удается выявить фрагменты из давно проведенных раскопок, еще не введенные в научный оборот.

Считаю своим долгом выразить искреннюю благодарность археологам Т. С. Бубенько, Л. В. Колединскому, Я. Г. Зверуго, предоставившим материалы своих раскопок. Приношу глубокую благодарность В. Ю. Ковалю, который любезно разрешил воспользоваться материалами своей работы с археологическими коллекциями Национального исторического музея Республики Беларусь (Минск), Учебной лаборатории музейного дела исторического факультета БГУ (Минск) и Новогрудского историко-краеведческого музея, где он выявил ряд фрагментов керамики восточного происхождения.

Среди восточной поливной керамики, найденной на территории Беларуси, можно выделить несколько групп: иранская и сирийская люстровая керамика, керамика «минаи», керамика «лакаби», золотоордынская керамика. Особенно выделяется керамика с люстровой росписью и керамика «минаи», употреблявшаяся в быту средневековой элиты. Эти техники росписи требуют двойного обжига и дорогих ингредиентов.

Люстр представляет собой специальный красочный состав, придающий изделию характерный металлический блеск различных оттенков (золотистых, зеленоватых, красноватых, коричневатых). Важной частью этого состава, от которой зависит цвет и оттенок люстра, являются оксиды и сульфиды различных металлов, чаще всего меди и серебра, а также железа и иногда марганца. Он наносился поверх уже обожженной оловянной глазури, имевшей белый цвет. В результате повторного обжига происходило восстановление металлов, входивших в состав люстра, и поверхность изделия приобретала металлический радужный отблеск. Керамика с люстровой росписью подражала визуальному эффекту посуды из драгоценных металлов, и ее блестящая мерцающая поверхность действительно производила близкий художественный эффект. Ребристые формы и фор-

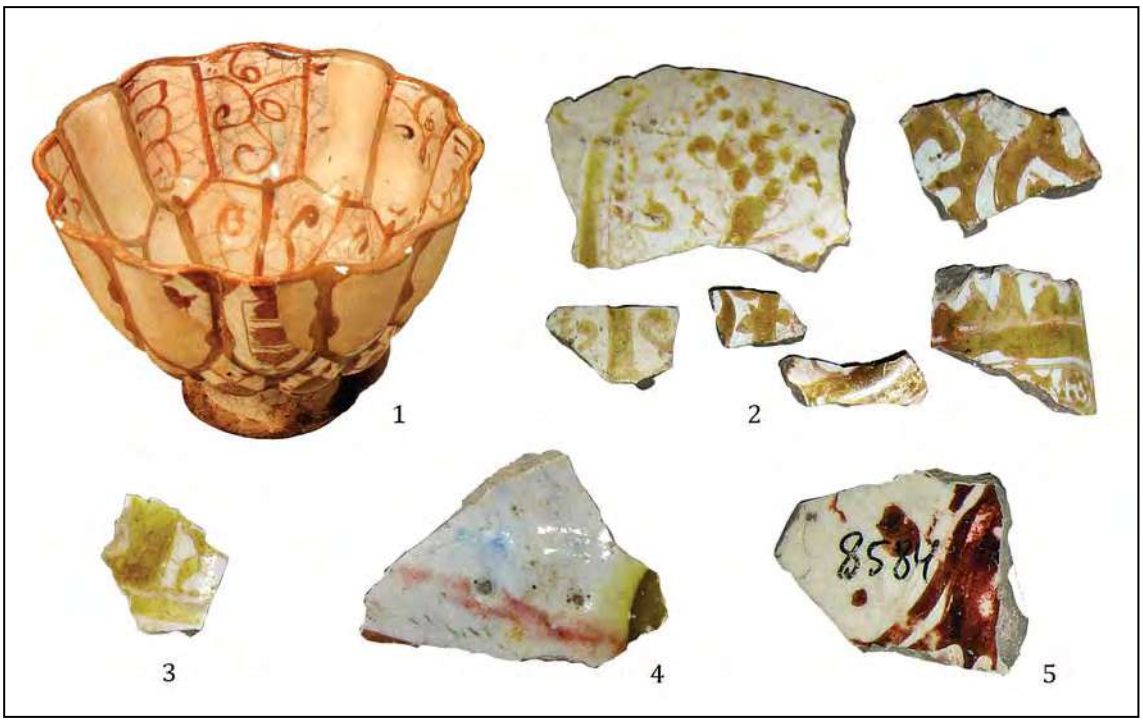

Рис. 2. 1 — фаянсовая чаша с люстровой росписью из Новогрудка. Иран, последняя треть XII в. Раскопки Ф.Д. Гуревич. Санкт-Петербург, ИИМК РАН (по Высоцкая 1984: ил. 100); 2, 5 — фрагменты фаянсовых сосудов с люстровой росписью из Волковыска. Иран, конец XII — начало XIII в. Раскопки Я.Г. Зверуго. Волковыск, Волковысский военно-исторический музей им. П.И. Багратиона. Инв. КП 2842/10766, КП 2964/3221, КП 2842/7833, КП 2842/245, КП 2429/14663, КП 2521/8586, КП 2521/8584; 3 — фрагмент фаянсового тонкостенного кувшина с желтой люстровой росписью. Иран, конец XII — начало XIII в. Найден в Волковыске. Раскопки Я.Г. Зверуго. Минск, Национальный исторический музей Республики Беларусь. Инв. 31812/586; 4 — фрагмент фаянсового толстостенного кувшина с рельефной моделировкой поверхности и с желтой люстровой росписью. С внутренней стороны покрыт синей прозрачной поливой. Иран, конец XII — начало XIII в. Найден в Волковыске. Раскопки Я.Г. Зверуго. Минск, Национальный исторический музей Республики Беларусь. Инв. КП 31812/341.

Fig. 2. 1 — Faience bowl with luster painting. Iran. Last third of the 12th c. Found in Novogrudok. Excavations by F.D. Gurevich. Saint-Petersburg, The Institute for Material Culture of Russian Academy of Sciences (after Высоцкая 1984: ил. 100); 2, 5 — fragments of faience vessels with luster painting. Iran. Late 12th — early 13th cc. Found in Volkovysk. Excavations by Ya.G. Zverugo. Military-Historical Museum in Volkovysk. Inv. no. КП 2842/10766, КП 2964/3221, КП 2842/7833, КП 2842/245, КП 2429/14663, КП 2521/8586, КП 2521/8584; 3 — fragment of faience jug with luster painting. Iran. Late 12th — early 13th cc. Found in Volkovysk. Excavations by Ya.G. Zverugo. Minsk, National Historical Museum of the Republic of Belarus. Inv. no. 31812/586; 4 — fragment of faience jug with relief modeling of the surface and luster painting; covered with blue glaze inside. Iran. Late 12th — early 13th cc. Found in Volkovysk. Excavations by Ya.G. Zverugo. Minsk, National Historical Museum of the Republic of Belarus. Inv. no. КП 31812/341.

мы с «ложками», которые часто имеют сосуды с люстровой росписью, также подражают форме металлических изделий.

На территории Беларуси фрагменты люстровых фаянсов обнаружены в Новогрудке, Волковыске и Мстиславле. Большинство иранской люстровой посуды найдено в Новогрудке при раскопках Малого замка, происходит из Ирана, относится к «миниатюрному» и «кашанскому» стилям и датируется последней третью XII в. Среди них можно выделить несколько чаш на поддоне, часть фигурного сосуда и некоторые другие формы. Роспись сосудов двусторонняя, люстровая роспись нередко дополнена синей подцветкой кобальтом (Гуревич 1968: 35, рис. 1).

Почти полностью сохранившаяся 12-лопастная чаша на поддоне с двухсторонней росписью красно-коричневым люстром была найдена в постройке №24 на Замковой горе в Новогрудке в 1971 г. Кроме нее, в постройке были найдены фрагменты нескольких амфор (Гуревич 1974: 95—96, рис. 33: 5; Гуревич и др. 1972: 30). Высота чаши — 11 см, верхний диаметр 12 см. Орнамент росписи — растительный, с имитацией арабских букв (рис. 2: 1).

Из фаянса, найденного на Малом Замке, можно выделить фрагменты нескольких блюд. Одному из них принадлежит тринадцать фрагментов. Оно покрыто двухсторонней красно-коричневой люстровой роспи-

сью. С внешней стороны орнамент росписи крупный, в виде изогнутых линий, пересекающихся в форме восьмерки (рис. 3: 1, 8). С внутренней стороны оно украшено изысканным, свободных очертаний, растительным орнаментом (Гуревич 1981: 41, рис. 29: 1, 4—5) (рис. 3: 4, 5). От другого блюда сохранился обломок донца на поддоне, украшенный золотисто-желтой люстровой росписью (Гуревич 1981: 67, рис. 53: 10) (рис. 4: 4). Интересны четыре небольших фрагмента фаянсовой чаши с двухсторонней светло-коричневой люстровой росписью, с подцветкой синим кобальтом, на одном их них — изображение женского лица (Гуревич 1981: 57, рис. 48: 1—2) (рис. 3: 2; 4: 5, 6). В культурном слое Малого замка найден довольно крупный фрагмент стенки и придонная часть лопастной фаянсовой чаши с темно-коричневой люстровой росписью, на нем сохранился бордюр с растительным орнаментом (Гуревич 1981: 110, рис. 84: 4) (рис. 3: 6).

Близкий по характеру растительный орнамент украшает фрагмент фаянсового сосуда, скорее всего, кувшина, с темно-коричневой люстровой росписью, выполненной резервом. В верхней части фрагмента — растительный орнамент, в нижней — арабская надпись (Гуревич 1981: 74, рис. 59: 24) (рис. 3: 7). Следует отметить также восемь фрагментов фаянса, расписанных с двух сторон коричневым люстром геометрическим и мелким растительным орнаментом. Из них Ф. Д. Гуревич реконструирована часть венчика миниатюрного сосуда диаметром 4 см (Гуревич 1981: 82, рис. 66: 26) (рис. 4: 8).

Говоря о находках восточной керамики в Новогрудке, как и о находках других категорий восточного и византийского импорта в этом городе, нельзя не отметить, что находки на Замковой горе, которую Ф. Д. Гуревич считала детинцем, на порядок малочисленнее аналогичных находок на Малом замке, который Ф. Д. Гуревич индентифицировала как окольный город (в несколько десятков раз, если говорить о стеклянных сосудах, на порядок, если говорить о поливных сосудах и амфорах: 2 сосуда с люстровой росписью на Замковой горе и больше десятка поливных восточных сосудов на Малом замке, около 250 фрагментов амфор на Замковой Горе и 2500 фрагментов на Малом Замке), отражают более узкую и позднюю хронологию (в основном XIII в., реже XII в.), представлены меньшим количеством категорий импортных изделий (стеклянные сосуды, керамика с люстровой росписью, две иконки, небольшое количество бус, амфоры), для них характерно преобладание художественного импорта из мусульманского Востока над византийским. Новая гипотеза Т. С. Бубенько и А. А. Метельского (Бубенько, Метельский 2014; 2014a; 2014b), согласно которой первоначально Малый замок и Замковая гора представляли собой единую возвышенность, где сформировался детинец средневекового Новогрудка, только позднее разделенную рвом, скорее всего, в середине XIV в., причем Замковая гора представляла собой периферийную и позже заселенную часть детинца, может объяснить малое количество находок византийского и восточного импорта на Замковой горе и особенности их хронологии и географии поступления, по сравнению с находками на Малом замке.

Девять фрагментов иранских люстровых сосудов происходят из Волковыска (кон. XII — нач. XIII вв., Волковысский военно-исторический музей им. П. И. Багратиона, Национальный музей истории и культуры Беларуси) (Лавыш 2008: 51—52, рис. 49—52). Шесть из них принадлежат нескольким сосудам, украшенным односторонней росписью желтым люстром с зеленоватым оттенком (рис. 2: 2). Орнамент росписи — мелкий растительный с участием геометрических элементов (зигзаг, полоски). Один из этих фрагментов является частью узкого горлышка (диаметр — 3 см) небольшого сосуда, видимо, флакона. Два фрагмента принадлежат толстостенным сосудам, декорированным с двух сторон: с внешней стороны — росписью желто-коричневым люстром, с внутренней — прозрачной синей поливой (рис. 2: 3—4). Еще один фрагмент толстостенного сосуда расписан темно-красным люстром (рис. 2: 5).

В Мстиславле (в строительном ярусе 1320-х — 1330-х гг.) найден фрагмент фаянсовой чаши с люстровой росписью, который Л. В. Алексеев отнес к производству иранских центров (Алексеев 1995: 156). Однако в последнее время появились новые данные. В. Ю. Коваль провел сплошную проверку атрибуций и датировок известных образцов керамики восточного происхождения и пришел к выводу, что значительная часть люстровой керамики, приписывавшейся ранее производству Ирана, происходит из Сирии. Сирийские люстровые сосуды отличались применением прозрачной, зачастую окрашенной, глазури (бирюзовой, пурпурной, ультрамариновой), т. е. они принадлежали к полуфаянсам, и своеобразными орнаментальными схемами (включающими гравировку по сырому люстру). К сирийским люстровым сосу-

Рис. 3. 1, 4, 8 — фрагменты фаянсовой чаши с люстровой росписью из Новогрудка и ее реконструкция. Иран, последняя треть XII в. Раскопки Ф.Д. Гуревич. Новогрудок, Новогрудский историко-краеведческий музей. Инв. НВ 5314 (фото В.Ю. Коваля, реконструкция по Гуревич 1981: 41, рис. 29: 5); 2, 3, 5—7 — фрагменты фаянсовых чаш с люстровой росписью из Новогрудка. Иран, последняя треть XII в. Раскопки Ф.Д. Гуревич. Новогрудок, Новогрудский историко-краеведческий музей. Инв. НВ 5314 (по Гуревич 1968: 34—36).

Fig. 3. 1, 4, 8 — Fragments of faience bowl with luster painting and its reconstruction. Iran. The last third of the 12th c. Found in Novogrudok. Excavations by F.D. Gurevich. Museum of History and Local lore in Novogrudok. Inv. no. HB 5314 (photo by V.Yu. Koval, reconstruction after Гуревич 1981: 41, рис. 29: 5); 2, 3, 5—7 — fragments of faience bowls with luster painting. Iran. The last third of the 12th c. Found in Novogrudok. Excavations by F.D. Gurevich. Museum of History and Local lore in Novogrudok. Inv. no. HB 5314 (after Гуревич 1968: 34—36).

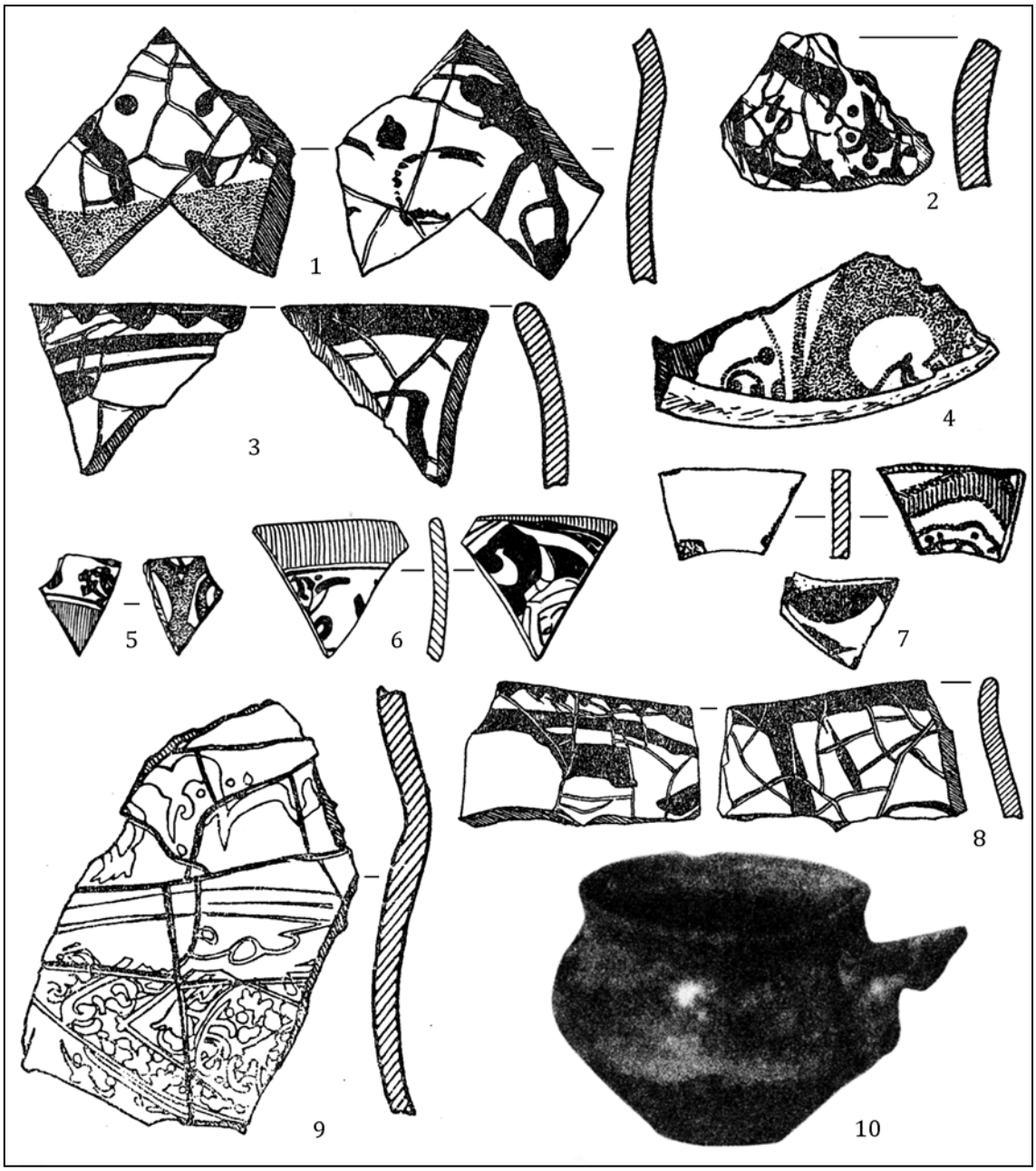

Рис. 4. 1—9 — фрагменты фаянсовых сосудов с люстровой росписью из Новогрудка. Иран, последняя треть XII в. Раскопки Ф.Д. Гуревич (по Гуревич 1981: 69, рис. 53: 2, 5, 10, 13, 16, 17; 57, рис. 48, 1—2; 87, рис. 66: 25—26); 10 — Поливная чашечка из Заславля. Иран (?) Средняя Азия (?), конец X — начало XI в. Раскопки Ю.А. Заяца. Заславль, Заславльский историко-культурный музей-заповедник (по Заяц 1995: 100, рис. 50).

Fig. 4. 1—9 — Fragments of faience vessels with luster painting. Iran. The last third of the 12th c. Found in Novogrudok. Excavations by F.D. Gurevich (after Гуревич 1981: 69, рис. 53: 2, 5, 10, 13, 16, 17; 57, рис. 48, 1—2; 87, рис. 66: 25—26); 10 — Glazed cup. Iran (?) Central Asia (?). Late 10th — early 11th cc. Found in Zaslavl. Excvations by Yu.A. Zayats. Zaslavl Museum-Reserve of History and Culture (after Заяц 1995: 100, рис. 50).

дам В.Ю. Коваль относит и мстиславльский фрагмент (Коваль 1997b: 10).

В древнерусских городах иранские люстровые фаянсы найдены в Новгороде, Ярославле, Твери, Владимире (последняя треть XII—XIV в.), сирийские — в Новгороде, Старой Рязани, Киеве, Твери (последняя треть XII—XIV в.), египетские — в Новгороде и на Рюриковом городище (X—XI вв.) (Коваль 1997b: 9—10).

Сирийское происхождение имеет группа фрагментов из Новогрудка, в том числе придонная часть чаши с рельефным изображением хищной птицы, окрашенной кобальтом и марганцем (рис. 5: 1), отнесенная ранее Ф.Д. Гуревич к производству Ирана

(Гуревич 1981: 41, рис. 29: 2). После исследования В.Ю. Коваля стало ясно, что эти фрагменты принадлежат керамике типа «лакаби». Фрагмент керамики «лакаби» с синей подцветкой кобальтом найден также в Гродно. Такого же типа керамика выявлена и в Новгороде в слоях XII в. (Макарова 1967: 34). Термин «лакаби» происходит от иранских торговцев антиквариатом и переводится как «расписная». Это полуфаянсы с плоской резьбой, гравировкой и полихромной росписью. Рисунок дополнялся синей (кобальт), бирюзово-голубой, пурпурно-коричневой (марганец), иногда зеленой, желтой и черной прозрачными подцветками с расплывчатыми контурами. Подцветка распространялась, как правило, только на гравировано-резной рисунок, и лишь в отдельных случаях покрывала все поле сосуда. Производилась керамика «лакаби» в XII — первой трети XIII вв.

Несколько фрагментов из Новогрудка принадлежат монохромному полуфаянсовому блюду с гравированным по основе орнаментом и покрытому синей глазурью (Гуревич 1981: 82). Технологические приемы изготовления подобных сосудов близки керамике типа «лакаби». По мнению В.Ю. Коваля, они производились в Сирии (или Иране?) в XI—XII вв. (Коваль 1997а: 279).

Также из Новогрудка происходит фрагмент стенки сосуда из мелкопористого белого кашина, декорированный подглазурной росписью черным (контуры), синим и ярко-бирюзовым цветами (подцветка), который относится, по-видимому, к производству Сирии или Ирана XIII в., и три фрагмента сосудов из белого рыхлого кашина с синей подглазурной росписью текучим кобальтом (рис. 5: 2).

Возможно, к сирийскому производству XII—XIII вв. относятся три фрагмента, найденные в Гродно, которые принадлежат полуфаянсовому блюду, покрытому бесцветной прозрачной поливой (рис. 5: 4).

В Гродно обнаружен фрагмент керамики типа «минаи» (Иран, кон. XII — нач. XIII вв.). Он является частью тарелки, края которой украшены серо-зеленым, с черным контуром, «чешуйчатым» орнаментом, а дно — рисунком в виде пчелиных сот с синими, зелеными и красными ячейками, также обведенными черным контуром на белом фоне (Воронин 1954: 60) (рис. 5: 3). Название «минаи» переводится с персидского как «стеклянный» или «эмалевый». Роспись выполнялась жидкими эмалями различных цветов, как правило, по белой непрозрачной поливе. Она отличалась яркостью и прозрачностью. Чтобы предотвратить слияние эмалей и придать четкость рисунку, его контур обводился так называемым мертвым краем — черной землистой бесфлюсной краской, которая разъединяла цветные эмали и не давала им слиться. Отличительной особенностью керамики «минаи» является яркая полихромия на светлом — белом или нежно-голубом — фоне.

В Новогрудке найден маленький фрагмент сосуда из рыхлого белого кашина, покрытый с двух сторон ультрамариновой глазурью, на одной из сторон сохранились следы надглазурной белой и красной росписи. Этот фрагмент можно отнести к керамике типа «ладжвардина», производившейся в Иране в конце XIII—XIV вв., или подражавшему ей золотоордынскому экземпляру (рис. 6: 3).

Особняком стоит найденная в Заславле в погребении конца X — начала XI вв. (курган №10 группы IV) миниатюрная поливная чашечка с петлеобразной ручкой, прикрытой сверху плоским щитком (рис. 4: 10). В.Ю. Коваль отмечает, что аналогии подобным чашкам, найденным также в Кемском некрополе, Тимеревском поселении и курганах в окрестностях Суздаля и Твери, а за пределами Руси — в погребениях на о.Готланд и в Латвии (Сигулда), происходят из Средней Азии и Китая, однако вопрос об их происхождении требует специального исследования (Коваль 1997а: 281). Согласно другому предположению, такие чашечки изготавливались в Иране в подражание китайским стеклянным сосудам. Кроме Заславля, подобная чашечка на территории Беларуси обнаружена в курганном могильнике у д.Избище Логойского района Минской области (Заяц 1995: 100, рис. 50).

Еще одна категория восточной импортной керамики в Западной Руси — золотоордынская керамика, которая появляется не ранее XIII в. Поливная керамика является одним из самых ярких проявлений культуры золотоордынского города. Она была самой массовой художественной продукцией и использовалась очень широко, не только в быту высших слоев общества, но также средних горожан. На формирование золотоордынской поливной керамики оказали влияние керамические традиции Ирана, Сирии, Средней Азии, Византии, крымско-кавказского региона, стран Дальнего Востока. Эти традиции переносились в основном пленными гончарами из захваченных Чингизидами культурных центров Востока. Наряду с перемещением живых носителей керамических традиций, большую роль в формировании золотоордынского керамического производства игра-

ли привозные сосуды, служившие образцами для подражания. Очень сильным было иранское влияние. Именно отсюда пришла традиция росписи сосудов жидким кашином, который служил основой для дальнейшей полихромной росписи. Керамика с таким декором получила чрезвычайно широкое распространение в Золотой Орде. Из иранской керамики была позаимствована форма «лотосовидной» (полусферической в сечении) чаши, на основе которой была выработана форма, ставшая индикатором золотоордынской керамики, — полусферическая чаша со слегка отогнутым наружу краем. Орнаментальные мотивы также обнаруживают близкое соответствие с ближневосточными и иранскими образцами (Коваль 2005b: 76).

Золотоордынская поливная керамика имеет ряд художественных особенностей. При сравнительной бедности форм она обладает многообразием орнаментации, живописной свободой и яркостью красок. Для художественного стиля золотоордынской поливной керамики характерно стремление к живописному эффекту, ради которого часто нарушалась четкость рисунка, а также смазанность линий, впечатление всеобщего движения, которое объединяет все части декора; часто это впечатление создавалось разноцветными точками бирюзового или синего цвета, разбросанными по всей поверхности сосуда. Выделяется и ряд технологических особенностей. В Золотой Орде никогда не изготавливался твердый кашин, всегда использовался рыхлый, что свидетельствует об отступлениях в технологии его изготовления (недостаточной насыщенности водой и грубом помоле песка). Подобный кашин применялся в сирийском и иранском производстве XIII—XIV вв., в предыдущий и последующий периоды там изготавливались изделия из твердого кашина, сплавленного до состояния каменной массы. Среди золотоордынской поливной керамики присутствуют образцы из красного кашина, который нигде на Востоке больше не встречается. Причина такой окраски пока достоверно не установлена, поскольку еще не были проведены химический и петрографический анализы этих изделий. В.Ю. Ковалем высказано предположение, что красный цвет кашина объясняется добавлением в формовочную массу красной глины вместо белой в связи с дефицитом белой глины, запасы которой в Поволжье отсутствуют (Коваль 2005b: 77).

На территории Беларуси найдены фрагменты самой распространенной группы золотоордынской керамики — кашинной керамики с рельефной моделировкой поверхности и полихромной подглазурной росписью. Керамика этого типа имела выпуклый подглазурный декор, который в большинстве случаев достигался росписью густым ангобом, имевшим силикатную основу, т.е. фактически жидким кашином. Рельеф мог быть получен и в калыпах (матрицах), имевших соответствующий контррельефный рисунок. Характерной особенностью этой керамики, которая отличала ее от подобной иранской и ближневосточной, является окраска поверхности серой или серовато-зеленой краской. Она служила фоном для дальнейшей росписи кашином и полихромной росписи. Зачастую не производилось окраски фона, и тогда роспись кашинным ангобом теряла свою контрастирующую яркость. В Иране фон изделий окрашивали в светло-коричневый цвет, в Египте — в серый и синий (Коваль 2005b: 81). Для полихромной росписи характерны темно-зеленый, реже темно-синий или темно-коричневый контуры рисунка и синие точки и бирюзовые пятна, разбросанные на светлой поверхности. Довольно часто свободный фон заполнялся штрихами и точками. Наружная сторона чаш почти всегда декорировалась стилизованным изображением лепестков лотоса, с включением синих точек, иногда медальонами с синими точками. Орнаментация внутренней стороны чаш разнообразна. Орнамент располагался чаще всего концентрическими кругами от центрального мотива или небольшого медальона, обозначавшего центр, или радиально. Популярными мотивами были лотос, различные растительные и геометрические розетки, стилизованные ныряющие рыбки. Зооморфные мотивы встречаются реже. Использовался и эпиграфический декор.

Фрагменты этого типа керамики выявлены в Новогрудке, Лукомле, Слониме, Друцке, Гродно (Гуревич 1981: 110, рис. 89: 2; Штыхов 1969: 321, 339, рис. 15: 6; Коваль 2005: 57—59; Лавыш 2008: 55, рис. 11, 61—66) (рис. 6: 1, 2, 5, 6, 8—10). Это мелкие фрагменты чаш с орнаментом, выполненным зеленым контуром на светло-сером фоне и дополненном синими точками. На фрагменте из Лукомля прочитывается растительный орнамент, на фрагментах из Новогрудка и Слонима — косая сетка, выполненная синим кобальтом. Наружная сторона во всех случаях декорирована стилизованным изображением лотоса.

На территории Беларуси найдено еще несколько фрагментов золотоордын-

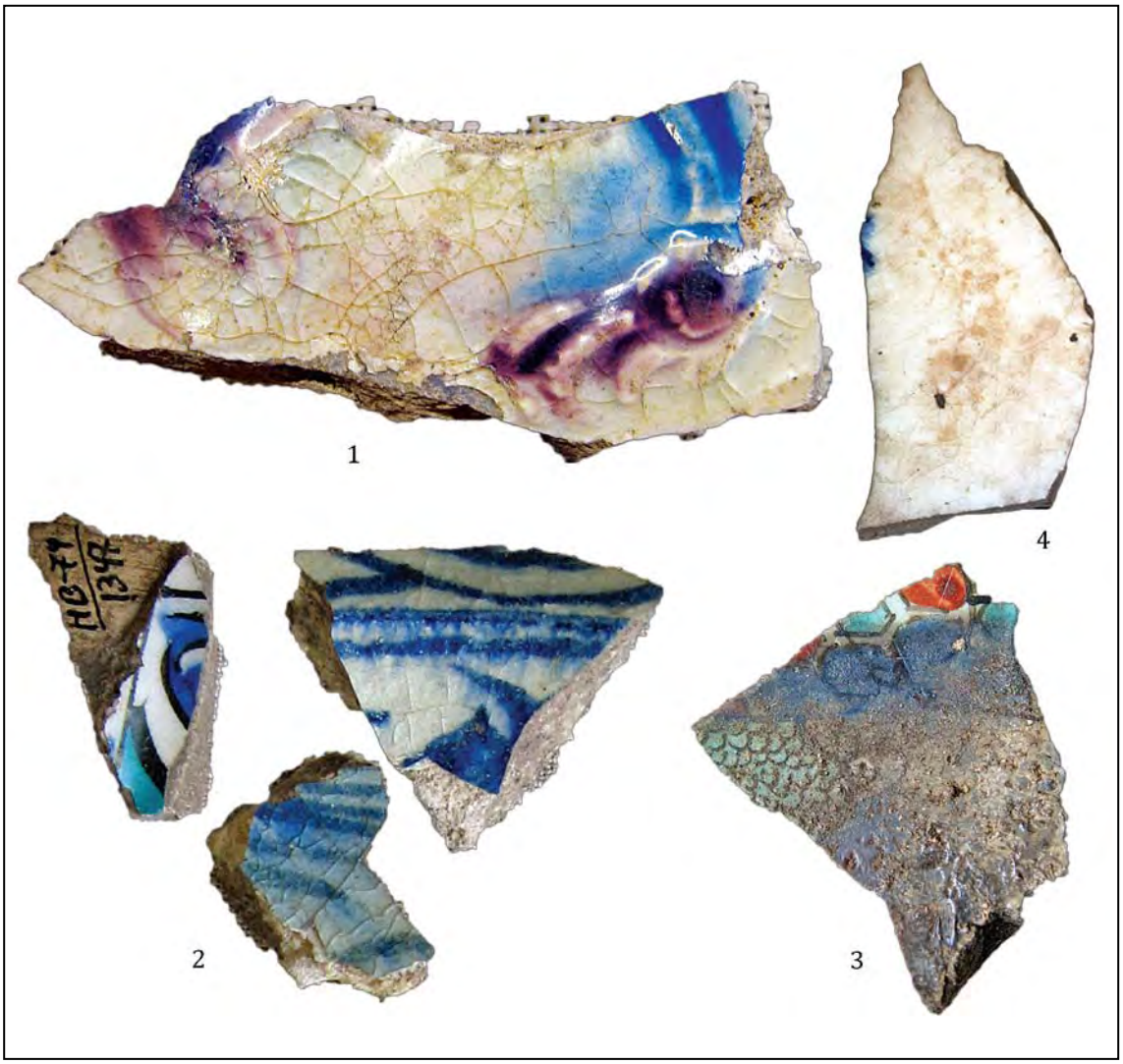

Рис. 5. 1 — фрагмент полуфаянсового кашинного блюда с рельефной моделировкой поверхности и полихромной росписью (керамика типа «лакаби») из Новогрудка. Сирия, вторая половина XII в. . Раскопки Ф.Д. Гуревич. Минск, Национальный исторический музей Республики Беларусь. Инв. КП 9634/71; 2 — фрагмент стенки сосуда из мягкого мелкопористого кашина с подглазурной росписью черным, синим и бирюзовым цветами из Новогрудка. Сирия или Иран, XIII в. Раскопки Ф.Д. Гуревич. Новогрудок, Новогрудский историко-краеведческий музей. Инв. КП 4291; фрагменты сосудов из белого рыхлого кашина с синей подглазурной росписью текучим кобальтом из Новогрудка. Золотая Орда (?). XIV в. (?). Раскопки Ф.Д. Гуревич. Новогрудок, Новогрудский историко-краеведческий музей. Инв. КП 4291; 3 — фрагмент фаянсовой тарелки с надглазурной полихромной росписью (керамика типа «минаи») из Гродно. Иран, конец XII — начало XIII в. Раскопки Н.Н. Воронина. Гродно, Гродненский государственный историко-археологический музей. Инв. КП 5076/63; 4 — Фрагмент полуфаянсового сосуда с подглазурной подцветкой синим кобальтом (керамика типа «лакаби») из Гродно. Сирия (?), вторая половина XII — начало XIII в. Гродно, Гродненский государственный историко-археологический музей. Инв. КП 1103 (фото В.Ю. Коваля).

Fig. 5. 1 — Fragment of composite white frit plate with relief modeling of the surface and polychrome underglaze painting ("lakabi" pottery). Syria. Second half of the 12th c. Found in Novogrudok. Excavations by F.D. Gurevich. Minsk, National Historical Museum of the Republic of Belarus. Inv. no. КП 9634/71; 2 — fragment of vessel wall from soft fine-pored composite white frit material with underglaze black, blue and turquoise painting. Syria (?) Iran (?) 13th c. Found in Novogrudok. Excavations by F.D. Gurevich. Museum of History and Local lore in Novogrudok. Inv. no. КП 4291. Fragments of vessels from soft composite white frit material with underglaze painting with blue cobalt. Golgen Horde (?) 14th c. (?) Found in Novogrudok. Excavations by F.D. Gurevich. Museum of History and Local lore in Novogrudok. Inv. no. КП 4291; 3 — fragment of faience plate with overglaze polychrome painting ("minai" pottery). Iran. Late 12th — early 13th cc. Found in Grodno. Excavations by N.N. Voronin. Grodno State Historical-Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. КП 5076/63; 4 — fragment of composite white frit vessel with polychrome underglaze painting ("lakabi" pottery). Syria (?). Second half of the 12th — beginning of the 13th c. Found in Grodno. Grodno State Historical-Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. КП 1103. (photo by V. Yu. Koval).

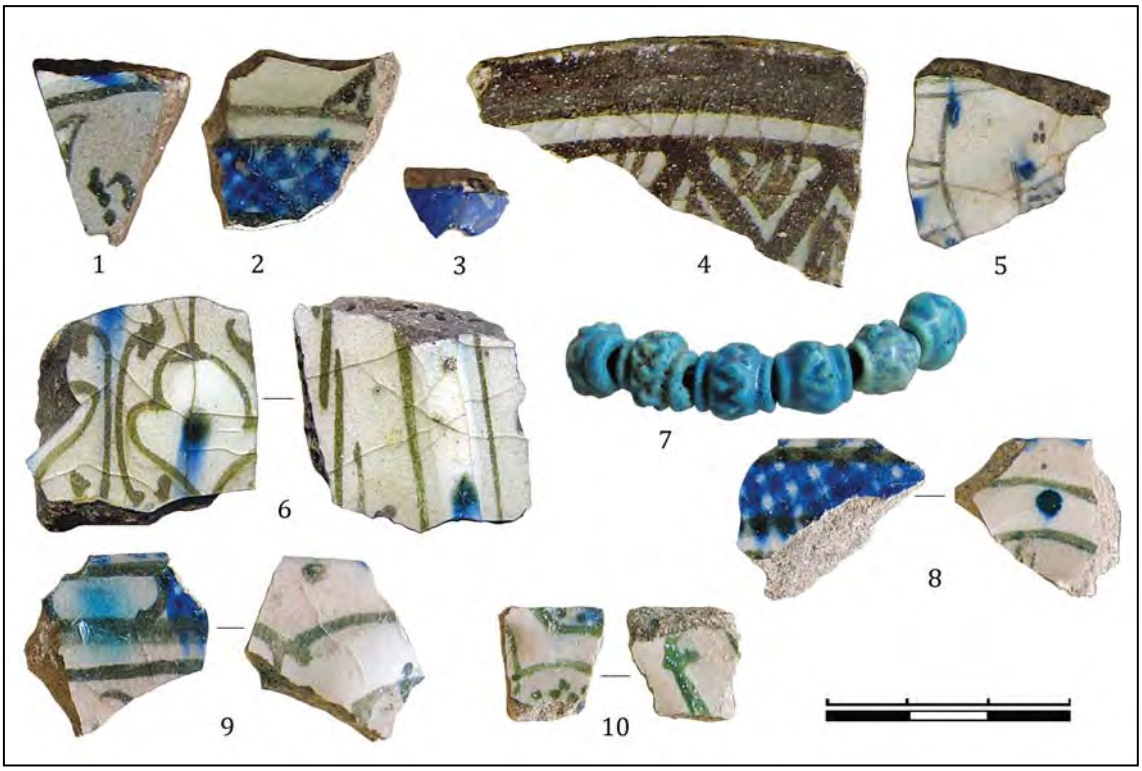

Рис. 6. 1, 2, 5 — фрагменты полуфаянсового сосуда (сосудов?) с рельефной моделировкой поверхности и полихромной подглазурной росписью из Новогрудка. Золотая Орда, вторая половина XIV в. Раскопки Ф.Д. Гуревич. Новогрудок, Новогрудский историко-краеведческий музей. Инв. НВ 4056, НВ 4057, НВ 77/А759; 3 — фрагмент полуфаянсового сосуда типа «ладжвардина», покрытый с двух сторон синей ультрамариновой глазурью, снаружи видны следы белой и черной росписи, из Новогрудка. Золотая Орда (?). Иран (?), XIV в. Раскопки Ф.Д. Гуревич. Новогрудок, Новогрудский историко-краеведческий музей. Инв. НВ 4056; 4 — фрагмент полуфаянсовой тарелки с подглазурной серо-коричневой росписью из Новогрудка. Золотая Орда (?), XIV в. (?). Раскопки Т.С. Бубенько. Новогрудок, Новогрудский историко-краеведческий музей. Инв. КП 3796; 6 — фрагмент полуфаянсовой кашинной чаши с рельефной моделировкой поверхности и полихромной подглазурной росписью из Лукомля. Золотоордынское Поволжье, вторая половина XIV в. Раскопки Г.В. Штыхова. Минск, Национальный исторический музей Республики Беларусь. Инв. КП 31811/69; 7 — кашинные бусы с городища «Замковая гора» в Мстиславле. Золотая Орда, вторая половина XIII—XIV вв. Раскопки Л.В. Алексеева. Могилев, Могилевский областной краеведческий музей; 8—10 — фрагменты полуфаянсовых сосудов с рельефной моделировкой поверхности и полихромной подглазурной росписью из Слонима. Золотая Орда, вторая половина XIV в. Раскопки Г.И. Пеха. Слоним, Слонимский районный краеведческий музей. Инв. КП 6258/34/В, КП 6258.

Fig. 6. 1, 2, 5 — Fragments of composite white frit vessel (or vessels?) with relief modeling of the surface and polychrome underglaze painting. Golden Horde. Second half of the 14th c. Found in Novogrudok. Excavations by F.D. Gurevich. Museum of History and Local lore in Novogrudok. Inv. no. HB 4056, HB 4057, HB 77/A759; 3 — fragment of composite white frit "ladjvardina" vessel with ultramarine glaze inside and outside and with the traces of white and black painting. Golden Horde (?) Iran (?) 14th c. Found in Novogrudok. Excavations by F.D. Gurevich. Museum of History and Local lore in Novogrudok. Inv. no. HB 4056; 4 — fragment of composite white frit plate with underglaze grey-brown paiting. Golden Horde (?). 14th c. (?).Found in Novogrudok. Excavations by T.S. Bubenko. Museum of History and Local lore in Novogrudok. Inv. no. КП 3796; 6 — fragments of composite white frit bowl with relief modeling of the surface and polychrome underglaze painting. Golden Horde, Volga region. Second half of the 14th c. Found in Lukoml. Excavations by G.V. Shtykhov. Minsk, National Historical Museum of the Republic of Belarus. Inv. no. КП 31811/69; 7 — composite white frit beads. Golden Horde. Second half of the 13th c. — 14th c. Found at the hillfort "Zamkovaya gora" (Castle Hill) in Mstislavl. Excavations by L.V. Alekseev. Mogilev Regional Museum of Local Lore; 8—10 — fragments of composite white frit vessels with relief modeling of the surface and polychrome underglaze painting. Golden Horde, Volga region. Second half of the 14th c. Found in Slonim. Excavations by G.I. Pekh. Slonim Regional Museum of Local Lore. Inv. no. КП 6258/34/В, КП 6258.

ской керамики других типов. Из Новогрудка происходит фрагмент из белого рыхлого кашина с подглазурной коричневато-серой росписью с геометрическим зигзагообразным орнаментом (рис. 6: 4). В Друцке обнаружен фрагмент сосуда из мягкого белого кашина с бирюзовой прозрачной поливой (XIV в.) (Коваль 1998).

К группе золотоордынской поливной посуды примыкают кашинные бусы (6 экз), найденные на Замковой горе в Мстиславле Л.В. Алексеевым (рис. 6: 7). Эти бусы по-

крыты бирюзовой поливой и имеют сложную форму, в своей основе бочонкообразную, с валиками вокруг отверстия и пересекающимися косыми насечками, которые образуют решетку или зигзаг. Большое количество кашинных золотоордынских бус происходит из Новгородской земли (Ю. М. Лесманом учтено 384 экз.). Подавляющее большинство находок происходит из могильников Ижорского плато, в меньшем количестве они найдены в могильниках Причудья, шесть экземпляров обнаружено в Новгороде, пять — в Орешке (Лесман 1994: 187, 192). Самые ранние образцы происходят из комплексов, синхронных XIV ярусу в Новгороде, который датируется приблизительно 1238—1268 гг., причем более 50% бус могут быть отнесены ко времени функционирования застройки XIV яруса. Находки XIV в. немногочисленны. Ю. М. Лесман считает, что такая ранняя датировка массового поступления кашинных бус в Новгородскую землю и их быстрый выход из обращения свидетельствует об их разовом поступлении практически сразу после монгольского завоевания Руси, и связывает это поступление с торговой операцией купца, прибывшего в Новгород вместе с ордынскими послами в 1257 г. или численниками в 1259 г. (Лесман 1994: 191—193). Все бусы покрыты бирюзовой поливой. Ю. М. Лесман выделил 15 разновидностей формы этих бус: от простых зонных-шарообразных до сложных бус с тремя каналами. Преобладают сложные формы. Около 49% (188 экз.) составляют бусы с ободками-валиками и разнообразно перекрещивающимися насечками в средней части бусины, около 36% (137 экз.) — ребристые бусы зонной формы, и только менее 10% (37 экз.) — зонно-шарообразные бусы (Лесман 1994: 191—192, рис. 1). Бусы из Мстиславля аналогичны одному из вариантов фигурных бус, найденных в Новгородской земле (Лесман 1994: 191—192, рис. 1: 6).

Скорее всего, золотоордынская керамика проникала на Русь не столько по торговым путям, сколько в качестве личного имущества татар (Коваль 1997b: 17). В Западной Руси находки поливной золотоордынской крамики, по-видимому, были связаны с татарами, переселившимися на земли Великого княжества Литовского по приглашению великих князей литовских, которые высоко ценили их как отличных воинов. Первые свидетельства о татарах на землях Великого княжества Литовского относятся к началу XIV в.: в 1316 и 1319 гг. татары принимали участие в битвах Гедимина с Тевтонским орденом (Гришин 1995: 10). Возможно, после окончания походов часть из них осталась на постоянной военной службе в Великом княжестве Литовском. Массовое переселение татар на земли Княжества началось при Витовте (1392—1430). В самой Орде в это время велись междоусобные войны между наследниками Чингисхана. Неизвестный автор «Трактата о польских татарах» (1558) писал: «Семьи нашего рода, уставшие от беспокойной жизни, переселились в ту сторону» (Гришин 1995: 13; Muchliński 1858: 250). Появившиеся в Великом княжестве Литовском ордынцы получали из рук великого князя вотчины, за которые они несли военную службу. Татары пользовались всеми правами шляхты, кроме права занимать государственные должности, имели гарантированную свободу вероисповедания. Вместе с тем, свобода вероисповедания не касалась татарских пленных, их нередко крестили, а потом селили в сельской местности. Сначала татары расселялись дисперсно отдельными слободами в районе Вильно, Гродно, Лиды, Новогрудка, Крева. Размещение первых татарских поселений показывает, что татарское осадничество с самого начала носило военный характер. Татарские деревни, располагавшиеся чаще всего вблизи важных городов, должны были выполнять функцию военных застав. Важно отметить, что значительная часть золотоордынских находок концентрируется именно в этом северо-западном, а также центральном регионе современной Беларуси.

Находки византийской поливной керамики на территории Беларуси немногочисленны, но при этом охватывают несколько ее групп: с подглазурной пятицветной росписью, с декором сграффито и более простые образцы, покрытые ангобом и поливой.

В Полоцке в 2002 г. были найдены три фрагмента белоглиняной поливной керамики с подглазурной пятицветной росписью (раскопки Д. В. Дука) (Дук 2002: 31, фото 76) (рис. 7). Цвета их росписи — синий, бирюзовый, красный, желтый и коричневый — являются характерными для этого типа керамики, которая является высшим достижением византийского керамического производства [1]. По классификации Ч. Моргана, это керамика второй группы (Morgan 1942: 67—68, pl. XVI: a, b; XVII: a—d; N 369—376). Керамика этого типа немногочисленна, ее находки происходят из Коринфа, Константинополя, Преслава, Цариграда, Диогеции, Херсонеса, Тамани, Киева и Новгорода (Коваль 2005a:

[1] Выражаю искреннюю благодарность В. Ю. Ковалю, М. Г. Крамаровскому и В. Н. Залесской за помощь в атрибуции.

Рис. 7. Фрагменты белоглиняной поливной керамики с подглазурной пятицветной росписью из Полоцка. Византия, XI—XII вв. Раскопки Д.В. Дука. Полоцк, Национальный полоцкий историко-культурный музей-заповедник. Полевой №Р. III, кв. 10, пл. 6, №143.

Fig. 7. Fragments of white clay glazed pottery with underglaze five-color painting. Byzantium. 11—12th cc. Found in Polotsk. Excavations by D.V. Duk. National Polotsk Historical-Cultural Museum-Reserve. Field No.P. III, sq. 10, пл. 6, no. 143.

170; Макарова 1967: 17—20; Миятев 1936: 120, обр. 80—83). Для росписи использовались синий (ультрамариновый), пурпурно-коричневый, бирюзовый, желтый и красный цвета, контуры рисунка обводились коричневыми или черными линиями. Процесс росписи был многоступенчатым: сначала наносились черные или коричневые контуры, детали синего, бирюзового и пурпурно-коричневого цвета с последующим закрепляющим обжигом, потом наносилась желтая и бирюзовая подцветка, красный ангоб, после этого изделие покрывалось тонким слоем бесцветной прозрачной поливы и снова обжигалось (Коваль 2005а: 169). Следует отметить, что этот слой поливы нестойкий, легко крошится, на многих образцах утрачен. Белый фон изделий получали не благодаря белому черепку, а с помощью белой непрозрачной поливы (Макарова 1967: 17). В росписи использовались растительные, геометрические, зооморфные и антропоморфные мотивы. Интересно отметить, что орнаментальные мотивы носят ориентализирующий характер, на ряде образцов имеются подражания куфическим надписям, в некоторых случаях присутствуют греческие надписи. Форма сосудов керамики этого типа — тарелки, блюда, чаши с одной или двумя ручками, кубки (Dark 2001: 123—124). Отличительной особенностью блюд этого типа керамики являются пятна красного ангоба (так называемая «красная пестрота»), нанесенные на внешнюю поверхность блюда, которую всегда оставляли без поливы, полива с внешней стороны наносилась только полосой вдоль края. Такая керамика редка даже для Византии, ее датировка и происхождение точно не ясны. Материалы Константинополя и Коринфа позволяют ее датировать в очень широких пределах X—XII вв. Наиболее вероятным местом ее производства может быть Константинополь (Коваль 2005а: 169—170).

Сосуд из Полоцка был расписан с двух сторон. К сожалению, сохранившиеся фрагменты слишком малы, чтобы восстановить орнаментацию и форму сосуда. Поскольку сосуд был расписан с двух сторон, можно предположить, что это была чаша, возможно, с одной или двумя ручками. С внешней стороны сохранился цветочный мотив и различной формы полосы, а с внутренней — возможно, изображение животного с желтой пятнистой шкурой. Все детали декора обведены темно-коричневым контуром. Ближайшие аналогии цветочному мотиву можно найти на блюдах из Тамани и Киева, где он заключен в зигзаг или треугольники, образованные несколькими рядами полос, а также на блюдах из Константинополя и Херсонеса (Шелковников 1955: рис. 1, 3; Залеская 1985: 9, № кат. 6—18, 47; Durand 1992: 387, il. 295). Аналогиями для изображения пятнистого животного могут служить изображения кошачьих хищников или копытных животных с пятнистой шкурой на сосудах из Херсонеса (Залеская 1985: 10—11, №№ кат. 21—32) и Коринфа (Dark 2001: il. 27). Особое значение полоцких фрагментов связано с фактом, что на территории Руси керамика этого типа найдена только в двух пунктах: Киеве и Новгороде. Часть тарелки с изображением птицы была найдена в Киеве еще в 1911 г. Т.И. Макарова относит ее к XI—XII вв. (Макарова 1967: 17—20) К сожалению, она была найдена во время земляных работ и не имеет стратиграфической датировки. Находка из Новгорода представляет собой часть дна блюда или тарелки, украшенную геометрическим орнаментом, и происходит из слоя первой четверти XI в. (Коваль 2005а: 170, рис. 2: 6).

В лаборатории микроанализа и электронной микроскопии (Санкт-Петербург) был сделан рентгеноспектральный микроанализ состава поливы и красок росписи фрагмен-

тов из Полоцка (сканирующий электронный микроскоп CAMSCAN-4 со спектрометром AN-10000, анализ выполнил Ю. Л. Крецер). О проведении подобных анализов поливы и красок росписи византийской полихромной полумайолики в России и других странах мне не известно. Анализ показал, что полива по составу натрий-свинцовая, что соответствует восточным и византийским поливам. Образцы отличаются низкой долей оксида свинца и очень высокой долей оксида натрия. Поливы других типов византийской керамики гораздо более высокосвинцовистые и щелочи содержат в минимальном количестве (Коваль 2010: 214—216). Что касается красителей в исследованных образцах из Полоцка, то для получения синего цвета был использован кобальт, коричневого — железо, бирюзового — медь, желтого — свинец, железо и медь. Параллельно был проведен рентгенофлюорисцентный анализ в лаборатории технической экспертизы Государственного Эрмитажа (на установке Art Tax), который показал сходные результаты. Кроме того, он показал в кобальтовой краске высокое содержание примесного цинка, заметную примесь меди, высокую концентрацию цинка и железа, низкое содержание никеля (следы), низкую концентрацию мышьяка. Все это говорит о том, что в данном случае использовался кобальт из восточных месторождений. Точную концентрацию мышьяка установить не удалось (однако высокая концентрация исключена), и это не позволяет достоверно идентифицировать кобальтосодержащие минеральные соединения [2].

Фрагменты византийской монохромной полумайолики, декорированной в технике сграффито, найдены в Турове и Минске (Полубояринова 1963: 45—46, рис. 11: 1; Археологическая научно-музейная экспозиция Института истории НАН Беларуси). «Сграффито» — способ декора гравировкой по ангобу, когда красноглиняное изделие покрывалось белым ангобом, в слое которого процарапывался рисунок до красноглиняной основы. Орнаментированный таким образом сосуд затем покрывался прозрачной поливой. Фрагмент из Турова (рис. 8: 3) представляет собой край полумайоликовой красноглиняной тарелки с белым ангобом под светло-зеленой поливой, украшенный бордюром с арабской надписью или ее имитацией, который ранее считался среднеазиатским импортом из-за характера декора. Однако этот фрагмент, скорее, принадлежит византийской керамике, где существовала традиция декора сосудов псевдоарабскими надписями. Из раскопок Константинополя и Коринфа известна группа керамики с подражанием арабским надписям, выполненным в технике сграффито. Она датируется Д. Т. Райсом XI — началом XII вв. (Rice 1930: 72—73, pl. III: 3; XII) Полные аналогии декору этого сосуда имеются в византийской керамике второй половины XII — начала XIII вв., найденной в Херсонесе (Коваль 2005а: 172).

Фрагмент из Минска, найденный в 2009 г., является придонной частью красноглиняной чаши или блюда с белым ангобом под бледно-желтой прозрачной поливой (рис. 8: 2). На ней сохранилось изображение, по-видимому, крыльев птицы, оперение которых детализировано «чешуйками». Чешуйчатым орнаментом заполнен и бордюр, который, видимо, очерчивал пространство медальона, в котором располагалось изображение. Этот фрагмент близок керамике «медальонного» и «спирального» стилей (по Ч. Моргану), которая изготавливалась в Византии в середине XII в. Ее отличительной особенностью были пояса с характерным изображением виноградной лозы и большие круглые медальоны с «чешуйчатым» заполнением фона рисунка. Центров производства этой керамики, возможно, было несколько. Одним из них может быть Коринф, где найдены полуфабрикаты ее производства. Керамика этого типа найдена также в Спарте, Константинополе, Херсонесе, Тмутаракани, Киеве, Белгороде (Morgan 1942: 147—157; fig. 22: a, b, e; 121: c; 125; pl. XLIX; Якобсон 1950: 171—172, табл. I: 1—3; Макарова 1967: 25, табл. VIII; Коваль 2005 а: 170, рис. 2: 7, 9; рис. 3: 1).

К керамике типа «Zeuxippus Ware» принадлежит дно чаши или блюда из Учебной лаборатории музейного дела исторического факультета Белорусского государственного университета (рис. 8: 1). Оно было найдено на территории Беларуси, однако точнее место его находки неизвестно. Дно декорировано в технике сграффито характерным круглым медальоном, внутри которого помещены дуги в семь рядов, и покрыто бледно-зеленой прозрачной поливой. Такой же медальон украшает дно блюд из Константинополя и Херсонеса, которые датируются XII в. (Якобсон 1950: 172, табл. II, 7; Brett 1947: tabl. 20, 30). Название керамики этого типа происходит от места ее первых находок при раскопках терм Зевксиппа в Константинополе. В эту группу объединено несколько родственных типов керамики с орнаментацией «сграффито».

[2] Благодарю Я. В. Френкеля за консультацию.

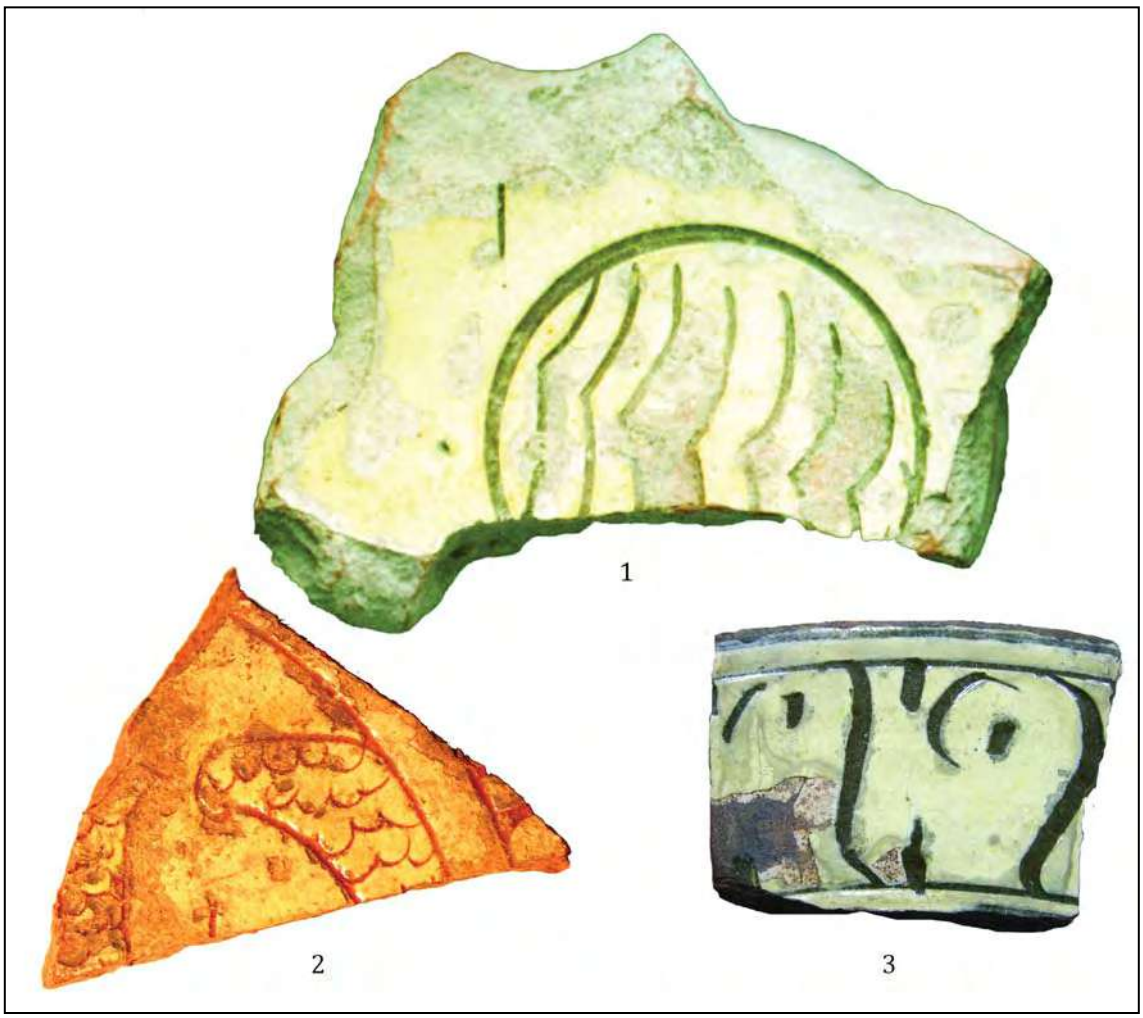

Рис. 8. 1 — придонная часть полумайоликового красноглиняного блюда с ангобом под бледно-зеленой прозрачной поливой, декорированного в технике «сграффито», с территории Беларуси (керамика типа «Zeuxippus Ware»). Византия, XII — начало XIII в. Минск, Учебная лаборатория музейного дела исторического факультета Белорусского государственного университета (фото В.Ю. Коваля); 2 — придонная часть красноглиняной чаши с белым ангобом под желтой прозрачной поливой, декорированной в технике «сграффито», из Минска. Византия, XII в. Раскопки А.М. Медведева. Археологическая научно-музейная экспозиция Института истории НАН Беларуси (Минск); 3 — фрагмент полумайоликового красноглиняного блюда с ангобом под бледно-зеленой прозрачной поливой, декорированного в технике «сграффито», из Турова, слой XII в. Византия. Раскопки М.Д. Полубояриновой. Минск, Национальный исторический музей Республики Беларусь. Инв. КП 8828/146.

Fig. 8. 1 — Near bottom part of semi-majolica red clay plate with engobe under pale-green transparent glaze, decorated in sgraffito technique (Zeuxippus Ware pottery). Byzantium. 12th — early 13th cc. Found on the territory of Belarus. Minsk, University Laboratory of Museology of the Historical Faculty of the Belarusian State University (photo by V.Yu. Koval); 2 — near bottom part of red clay bowl with white engobe under yellow transparent glaze, decorated in sgraffito technique. Byzantium. 12th c. Found in Minsk. Excavations by A.M. Medvedev. Minsk, Archaeological Academical Museum-Exposition of the Institute of History of the National Academy of Sciences of Belarus; 3 — fragment of semi-majolica red clay plate with engobe under pale-green transparent glaze, decorated in sgraffito technique. Byzantium. Found in Turov in the layer of the 12th c. Excavations by M.D. Poluboyarinova. Minsk, National Historical Museum of the Republic of Belarus. Inv. no. КП 8828/146.

Сосуды этой группы были украшены концентрическими линиями под монохромной (зеленой, желтой или бесцветной) поливой, а также сюжетными изображениями, выполненными тонкой линией и подцвеченными пятнами и потеками желтой поливы. Керамика этого типа датируется XII—XIV вв., местом ее производства могли быть Эгейский регион, Анатолия или какие-либо другие центры, за исключением Константинополя (по геологическим основаниям). Найдена она в районе Константинополя, Анатолии, Крыму, Греции, Северной Африке и Северной Италии (Dark 2001: 138—139).

В Новогрудке найден фрагмент сосуда из светло-красной глины, покрытый сна-

ружи белым ангобом и светло-зеленой поливой (Византия, причерноморские области, XIV в.). Из Волковыска происходят два фрагмента полумайолики с зеленой поливой из Причерноморья (XIII—XIV вв.) (Коваль 1998). Там же обнаружены еще три фрагмента, которые, возможно, также относятся к этому региону и времени. Два из них принадлежат красноглиняному сосуду, покрытому белым ангобом и бирюзовой прозрачной поливой (рис. 9: 2), третий — красноглиняному сосуду, покрытому белым ангобом и салатовой поливой с двух сторон (рис. 9: 1) [3].

О том, что византийская поливная керамика была знакома жителям Новогрудка, свидетельствуют найденные здесь два сосуда, воспроизводящие формы византийской посуды — открытое блюдо (первая половина XII в.) и чаша на поддоне (вторая половина XII в.). Открытое блюдо, покрытое с двух сторон зеленой непрозрачной поливой, с горизонтально отогнутым краем и низким поддоном, отличается от византийского прототипа простой плоской формой венчика (вместо “рельсовидного”). Чаша на поддоне, покрытая снаружи голубовато-зеленой поливой, а внутри — вишневой, воспроизводит формы чаши с вертикальным бортом, правда, в несколько видоизмененных пропорциях (немного выше и немного другого профиля) (Малевская 1969: 196, 198).

Как видим, находки византийской поливной столовой керамики немногочисленны и хронологически обособлены, что свидетельствует скорее о неторговом характере ее поступления. Ее торговое поступление не исключено, однако в таком случае оно было крайне ограниченным. Скорее всего, она была привезена паломниками или являлась личным имуществом византийцев или ордынцев, находившихся в восточнославянских городах. Ордынцы приобретали византийскую керамику, в свою очередь, на рынках Северного Причерноморья (таким путем образцы византийско-причерноморской керамики могли попасть в Новогрудок и Волковыск).

Находки византийской поливной столовой керамики немногочисленны не только в городах Западной Руси, но и в других древнерусских городах. Этот факт с трудом поддается объяснению. Амфоры ввозились на Русь тысячами, и это не позволяет говорить о недостаточности торговых контактов с Византией.

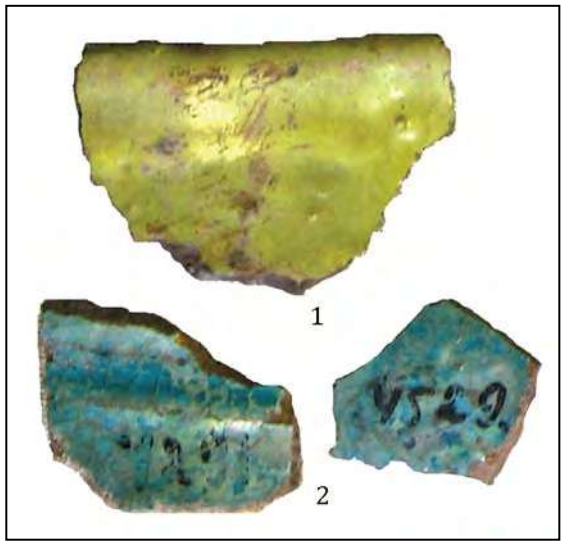

Рис. 9. 1 — фрагмент красноглиняного сосуда, покрытого белым ангобом и салатовой поливой с двух сторон. Причерноморье (?), XIII—XIV вв. Раскопки Я. Г. Зверуго. Волковысский военно-исторический музей им. П. И. Багратиона; 2 — фрагмент красноглиняного сосуда, покрытого белым ангобом и бирюзовой прозрачной поливой. Причерноморье (?), XIII—XIV вв. Раскопки Я. Г. Зверуго. Волковысский военно-исторический музей им. П. И. Багратиона.

Fig. 9. 1 — Fragment of red clay vessel covered with white engobe and yellow-green glaze inside and outside. Black Sea region (?) 13th — 14th cc. Excavations by Ya. G. Zverugo. Military-Historical Museum in Volkovysk; 2 — fragment of red clay vessel covered with white engobe and turquoise transparent glaze. Black Sea region (?) 13th — 14th cc. Excavations by Ya. G. Zverugo. Military-Historical Museum in Volkovysk.

Выдвигавшаяся ранее гипотеза об их ослаблении в XII в. также не находит подтверждения. Если оценивать находки византийской керамики в масштабах всей Руси, то на XII в. приходится до 90% амфор и около четверти всего объема импорта поливной керамики (Коваль 1997b: 18). Не обосновано также и предположение о том, что незначительное распространение византийской поливной керамики можно объяснить отсутствием соответствующих культурных запросов населения древнерусских городов, а также низким уровнем его благосостояния (Коваль 1997b: 18), поскольку византийская стеклянная посуда, которая ценилась еще выше, найдена в гораздо бóльших количествах. Причем, византийская стеклянная посуда, импортировавшаяся на Русь, в большинстве случаев была богато декорирована росписью золотом и эмалями и представляла собой предметы роскоши, изделия высокого художественного уровня. Остается только предположить, что потребность в поливной столовой керамике почти полностью удовлетворялась за счет

[3] Волковысский военно-исторический музеи им. П. И. Багратиона.

Рис. 10. Фрагменты кашинных чаш с рельефной моделировкой поверхности и полихромной подглазурной росписью (внутренняя и внешняя поверхность). Золотая Орда, XIV в. Витебский областной краеведческий музей.

Fig. 10. Fragments of composite white frit bowls with relief modeling of the surface and polychrome underglaze painting. Inside and outside. Golden Horde. 14th c. Vitebsk Regional Museum of Local Lore.

собственного производства, поэтому спрос на импортную поливную керамику был ограничен. Однако, это объяснение тоже не полностью удовлетворительно, поскольку находки иранской, сирийской и золотоордынской художественной керамики более многочисленны. Видимо, помимо всего прочего, имела место какая-то специфическая структура спроса на предметы импорта восточного происхождения, какие-то устоявшиеся культурные и торговые связи, которые предполагали определенный набор импортируемых товаров из каждой страны. Может быть, существовала определенная мода на импорт тех или иных вещей или сказались особенности производства художественной керамики в са-

мой Византии, возможно, оно не предполагало широкого экспорта.

Отдельного внимания заслуживает коллекция восточной керамики из Витебского областного краеведческого музея, которая состоит из восемнадцати фрагментов золотоордынской керамики с рельефной моделировкой поверхности и полихромной подглазурной росписью (вторая половина XIV в.), шести фрагментов с подглазурной росписью, которые могут быть отнесены к производству Золотой Орды XIV в. (причем не исключено их сирийское или иранское происхождение), двух фрагментов белоглиняной штампованной керамики золотоордынского происхождения, одного фрагмента красноглиняной плитки с рельефной моделировкой поверхности под бирюзовой поливой, видимо, также золотоордынского происхождения, трех фрагментов византийской красноглиняной полумайолики с декором «сграффито» (XII—XIII вв.) и одного фрагмента иранской кашинной керамики с люстровой росписью (XIII в.).

Золотоордынская керамика с рельефной моделировкой поверхности и полихромной подглазурной росписью пердставлена в коллекции Витебского областного краеведческого музея фрагментами как минимум шести чаш, которые сохранили элементы растительного и эпиграфического декора, розетки (стилизованные изображения шестилепестковых соцветий), мотив стилизованных ныряющих рыбок, косую сетку по краям чаш, выполненную синим кобальтом. Орнамент выполнен зеленым контуром на светло-сером фоне и дополнен синими точками. Наружная сторона во всех случаях декорирована стилизованным изображением лотоса (рис. 10; 11).

К золотоордынскому производству можно причислить фрагмент сосуда с бирюзовой поливой и черной подглазурной росписью (рис. 12: 3), а также фрагменты с черной и синей подглазурной росписью (рис. 12: 1—2). Этот способ декорации характерен также для сирийской, египетской и иранской керамики XIV в. При этом следует помнить, что керамические традиции Ирана и Сирии оказали сильное влияние на формирование золотоордынской поливной керамики. Аналогии росписи указанных фрагментов можно найти в материалах Сарай-Бату, иранских и сирийских памятников (Фёдоров-Давыдов 1976: 122, ил. 83).

Фрагменты белоглиняной штампованной керамики, представленные в коллекции музея, имеют, скорее всего, золотоордынское происхождение (рис. 12: 4). Возможно, они принадлежали кувшину с ручкой. Аналогией мо-

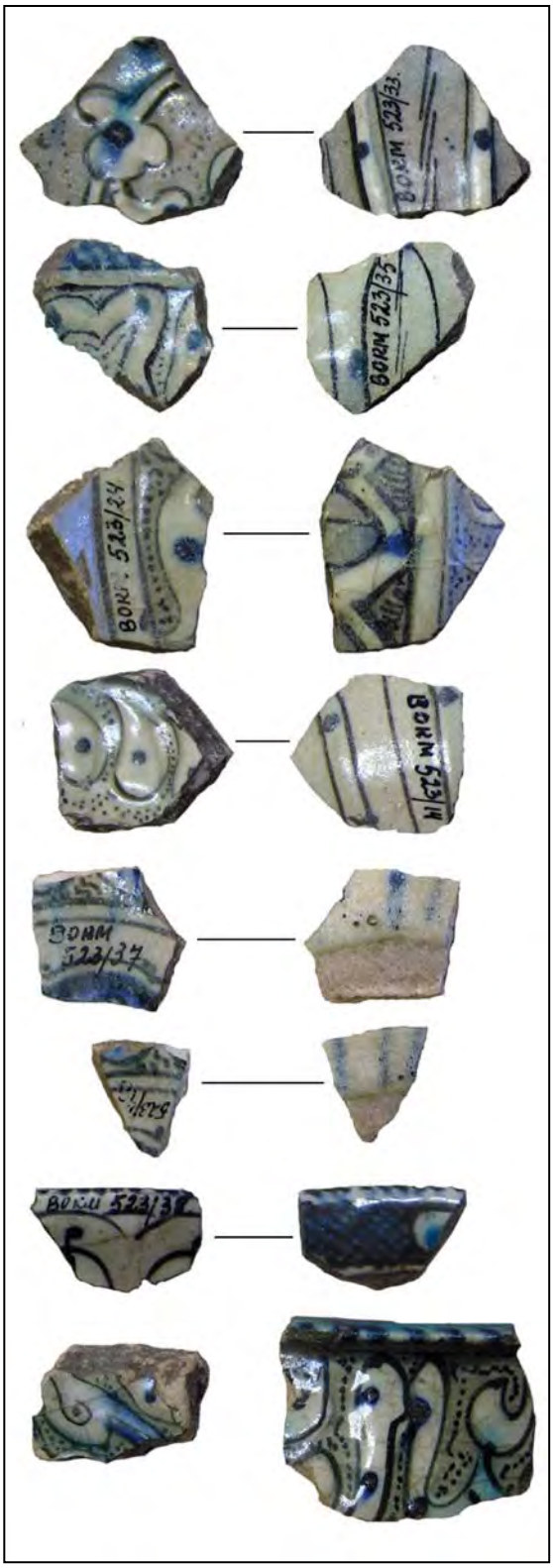

Рис. 11. Фрагменты кашинных чаш с рельефной моделировкой поверхности и полихромной подглазурной росписью (внутренняя и внешняя поверхность). Золотая Орда, XIV в. Витебский областной краеведческий музей.

Fig. 11. Fragments of composite white frit bowls with relief modeling of the surface and polychrome underglaze painting. Inside and outside. Golden Horde. 14th c. Vitebsk Regional Museum of Local Lore.

Рис. 12. 1—3 — фрагменты кашинной керамики с подглазурной росписью (без рельефа), фрагмент красноглиняной плитки с рельефной моделировкой поверхности под бирюзовой поливой. Золотая Орда (?), XIV в. Витебский областной краеведческий музей; 4 — фрагменты белоглиняной штампованной керамики. Золотая Орда (?), XIV в. Витебский областной краеведческий музей.

Fig. 12. 1—3 — Fragments of composite white frit bowls with polychrome underglaze painting (without relief), fragment of red clay planch with relief modeling of the surface under turquoise glaze. Golden Horde (?) 14th c. Vitebsk Regional Museum of Local Lore; 4 — fragments of white clay stamped pottery. Golden Horde (?) 14th c. Vitebsk Regional Museum of Local Lore.

жет служить кувшин с ручкой из Городища Нового Сарая (Фёдоров-Давыдов 1976: 152, ил. 123—124). Его тулово имеет шаровидную форму, которую подчеркивает орнамент, расположенный по горизонтальным кольцевым зонам. Орнаментальный пояс, расположенный на расширяющейся части тулова, — широкий с эпиграфическим декором, а на сужающихся частях сосуда орнаментальные пояса пропорционально сужаются.

В коллекции музея представлены три образца византийской керамики. Все они декорированы в технике сграффито. Один из фрагментов представляет собой край полумайоликовой красноглиняной тарелки с белым ангобом под светло-зеленой поливой, украшенный бордюром из различной формы линий. После того, как рисунок был вырезан в ангобе и все изделие покрыто светло-зеленой прозрачной поливой, перед обжигом рисунок дополнительно покрыли темно-оливковой поливой (рис. 13: 3).

Еще два фрагмента византийской керамики представляют собой придонные части красноглиняных полумайоликовых блюд с сочетанием декора «сграффито» и выемчатой техники («champlévé») (Коваль 2005 а: 172). В англоязычной литературе такая керамика называется “Elaborate Incised Ware” (Dark 2001: ill. 44—47). Дно одного из фрагментов украшено медальоном с крупной розеткой в центре, составленной из пяти небольших пальметок, переплетенных между собой. Орнамент выполнен врезанными линиями различной толщины по белому ангобу. Внутренняя часть блюда покрыта бледно-желтой поливой, а внешняя — зеленой (рис. 13: 1). Дно другого фрагмента украшено небольшим круглым медальоном, от которого радиально расходятся линии. Орнамент выполнен толстыми линиями, врезанными в слой белого ангоба. С внутренней стороны блюдо покрыто темно-желтой поливой, врезанный орнамент перед обжигом дополнительно покрыт красно-коричневой поливой (рис. 13: 2).

Единственный образец кашинной керамики с люстровой росписью представляет собой небольшой фрагмент, по которому, к сожалению, нельзя восстановить форму сосуда, но поскольку он расписан с двух сторон, можно предположить, что это была чаша. С внутренней стороны сохранились только мелкие точки, небольшие кружки и участок у края фрагмента, сплошь покрытый желто-коричневым люстром. Исходя из этого, можно предположить, что внутренняя сторона была расписана резервом. С внешней стороны была роспись темно-коричневым люстром (рис. 13: 4). Фрагмент можно отнести к иранскому производству XIII в.

Было бы заманчиво связать материалы коллекции Витебского областного краеведческого музея с довоенными раскопками Замковой горы в Витебске, однако мы не располагаем музейной документацией, которая бы давала основания для такого утверждения. Эти предметы происходят из довоенного собрания музея и обстоятельства их поступления, к сожалению, не известны. Известно лишь, что они находились рядом с материалами раскопок Замковой горы А.П. Сапунова. Не стоит отвергать и возможность того, что данные фрагменты происходили из частной коллекции какого-нибудь местного любителя

Рис. 13. 1—3 — фрагменты красноглиняных блюд, декорированных в технике сграффито. Византия, XII—XIII вв. Витебский областной краеведческий музей; 4 — фрагмент кашинной керамики с росписью люстром. Иран, XIII в. Витебский областной краеведческий музей.

Fig. 13. 1—3 — Fragments of red clay plates decorated in sgraffito technique. Byzantium. 12th — 13th cc. Vitebsk Regional Museum of Local Lore; 4 — fragment of Qashan vessel with luster painting. Iran. 13th c. Vitebsk Regional Museum of Local Lore.

древностей и были собраны им во время путешествий. По сравнению с находками керамики восточного происхождения из археологических раскопок средневековых городов Беларуси коллекция из Витебского областного краеведческого музея многочисленная, основную ее массу составляют сосуды золотоордынского происхождения с небольшой долей византийской керамики.

Фрагменты из витебской коллекции, в принципе, типичны для находок керамики восточного происхождения в средневековых городах Беларуси, из общего массива выбиваются только фрагменты штампованной белоглиняной керамики, которые ни разу не были найдены в раскопках на территории Беларуси (находки такой керамики известны из 8 пунктов в Северо-Восточной и Южной Руси) (Коваль 1997b: 12; 1999: 237) и фрагмент красноглиняной плитки с рельефной моделировкой поверхности под бирюзовой поливой, присутствие которого трудно объяснить (такие плитки на Востоке применяли для архитектурного декора, остается загадкой, что могла украшать данная плитка в средневековом Витебске). Следует отметить, что на Руси известны только две находки поливных красноглиняных плиток (изразцов): из Смоленска (Борисоглебский храм на Смядыни) и Москвы (раскопки в Зарядье). В обоих случаях плитки декорированы в технике «минаи» и датируются XIII—XIV вв. (Коваль 1997b: 13). Неожидан и значительный общий объем коллекции восточной керамики из Витебского областного краеведческого музея, а также достаточно большая доля византийской керамики по сравнению с материалами других городов, что, однако, не исключает возможности находки такого набора керамики в Витебске.

Вопрос о том, какие факторы сыграли ведущую роль в импорте восточных художественных изделий, остался неразработанным в научной литературе, и до сих пор не установлено, был ли он торговым или внеэкономическим. Скорее всего, художественный импорт следует рассматривать прежде всего как культурный феномен, и лишь затем — как экономический. Он приобретает экономическую основу только тогда, когда возникают соответствующие культурные запросы. В эпоху Средневековья экономические факторы влияли на размеры импорта, но не на его причины. Большинство византийских и восточных изделий попадали на Русь, в том числе и в ее западный регион, как предметы роскоши, принадлежали элите и отражали моду, общую для молодых государств Европы, где предметы византийского и восточного импорта были чрезвычайно популярны и престижны, воспринималась как эталон для подражания. На Руси, как и в Латинской Европе, стремились иметь одежды из византийских и восточных шелковых тканей, дорогие стеклянные, керамические и металлические сосуды, украшения. Эти изделия были желанными товарами, дарами, трофеями, их стремились привезти паломники.

Немаловажным представляется вопрос, каким образом попадали предметы восточного художественного импорта на Русь: появлялись ли они в результате целенаправленного отбора или же случайно, когда приобреталось то, что предлагалось. Скорее всего, имели место оба варианта при преобладании первого, поскольку основным стимулом при приобретении импортных вещей в средневековом обществе были соображения престижности, моды, а предметы восточного искусства были чрезвычайно популярны в средневековой Европе и считались предметами

роскоши, а обладание ими — престижным. Использование восточных импортных изделий не только в значительной степени характеризовало направленность художественных вкусов местного населения, но и способствовало их дальнейшему формированию в этом направлении. При этом восточный художественный импорт представлен в средневековых городах Беларуси более выразительно, чем западный.

Если говорить о торговых путях поступления восточного и византийского импорта в Западную Русь, то основная его часть прибывала, по-видимому, транзитом через Киев, имевший тесные связи с Византией (Гуревич 1983: 65). При этом Константинополь импортировал не только свою продукцию, но и изделия стран Востока. Некоторые предметы художественного импорта привозились непосредственно из Византии. Среди внеэкономических путей поступления следует выделить паломничество, которое засвидетельствовано письменными источниками в отношении Полоцка и Новогрудка. Отдельные высокохудожественные изделия оказывались в Западной Руси в результате контактов и личных связей влиятельных семейств, в числе посольских даров, в качестве военной добычи.

Как отмечает В. Ю. Коваль, основными признаками торгового характера импорта можно считать массовость находок иноземных изделий либо их хронологический континуитет, при наличии свидетельств письменных источников о существовании торговли с теми или иными странами. Отличительной чертой средневековой внешней торговли вообще и русско-восточной в частности являлось манипулирование небольшими партиями изделий высокой стоимости, так как дальние и опасные перевозки окупались только при этих условиях (Коваль 1999: 234—235). В таком случае этим условиям отвечают иранские люстровые фаянсы, отчасти византийская и сирийская стеклянная посуда с росписью золотом и эмалью, бóльшая часть шелковых тканей. Возможно, люстровая керамика иранского происхождения является единственным свидетельством возобновления в конце XII в. прямых либо опосредованных (через Волжскую Болгарию?) торговых связей Руси со странами Среднего Востока (по Волжскому пути), переживших свой расцвет в IX—X вв. и спад в XI—XII вв. (Коваль 1999: 238) К художественному импорту неторгового характера, ввиду немногочисленности и хронологической обособленности, можно отнести византийскую поливную посуду (монохромная желтая, зеленая полумайолика «сграффито»), сирийские полихромные фаянсы типа «лакаби», сирийские бирюзовые гравированные и тисненные полуфаянсы, сирийскую и иранскую люстровую керамику второй половины XIII — XIV в., а также золотоордынскую поливную керамику. Эта посуда могла быть привезена паломниками по возвращении из Святой земли в XI — начале XIII вв. или быть имуществом иноземцев, временно проживавших в восточнославянских городах.

Находки восточной и византийской керамики на территории Беларуси представлены следующими типами: среди иранской керамики — люстровая керамика и керамика «минаи», среди сирийской — люстровая керамика и керамика «лакаби» и технологически близкие к ней типы, среди золотоордынской — кашинная керамика с рельефной моделировкой поверхности и полихромной подглазурной росписью, кашинные бусы с бирюзовой поливой, среди византийской — керамика с подглазурной пятицветной росписью, керамика с декором сграффито и более простые образцы, покрытые ангобом и поливой, а также единичные находки других типов поливной керамики Ближнего и Среднего Востока. Большинство восточной и византийской керамики, найденной при раскопках средневековых городов Беларуси, относится к предметам роскоши или предметам достаточно высокого художественного уровня, и может быть связано с культурой элиты и зажиточных горожан. Часть из этих находок была опубликована ранее археологами, обнаружившими их во время своих раскопок, часть была опубликована, но неверно определена, еще часть осталась неопубликованной, неаттрибутированной и забытой в фондах музеев. В такой ситуации необходимо составление свода находок восточной и византийской поливной керамики, найденной на территории Беларуси. Важную роль в составлении свода играет обследование археологических коллекций музеев, изучение новых находок, проверка атрибуции уже известных ранее фрагментов. В данной статье представлена подобная попытка.

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Ближневосточная поливная керамика рубежа X—XI и XI вв. в памятниках Среднего Поволжья

Keywords: Volga Bulgaria, Egypt, Mesopotamia, Iran, early Islamic period, 11th century, imports, luster-painted ceramics, tableware of "Sari" type, mineral and chemical composition, urban culture

Ключевые слова: Волжская Булгария, Египет, Месопотамия, Иран, раннеисламский период, XI век, импорт, керамика с люстровой росписью, посуда типа «Сари», минеральный и химический состав, городская культура

S. I. Valiulina

Middle Eastern Glazed Ceramics of the Turn of the 10th—11th Centuries and the 11th Century from Middle Volga Region Sites

This article analyzes the Middle Eastern artistic ceramics of the turn of the 10th—11th centuries and 11th century from the Volga Bulgaria sites. Among the antiquities found in Eastern Europe, these items represent a rare and unique category of eastern imports. For a more complete characteristics and reliable attribution, chemical composition of the glaze and the clay base was determined by means of the scanning electron microscopy (SEM), mineral composition of the ceramic base of most impressive artifacts was identified by the X-ray phase analysis. As a result, the origin and dating of the Mesopotamian luster-painted tableware and Iranian vessels of the 11th century of "Sari" type was determined. The emergence of the imported Middle Eastern art works in the Middle Volga Region, in my opinion, is one of the evidences of the initial stage of Volga Bulgarian urban culture formation during the 11th century.

С. И. Валиулина

Ближневосточная поливная керамика рубежа X—XI и XI вв. в памятниках Среднего Поволжья

Статья посвящена анализу ближневосточной художественной керамики рубежа X/XI—XI вв. с памятников Волжской Булгарии. Эти произведения для древностей Восточной Европы являются редкой и уникальной категорией восточного импорта. Для более полной характеристики и надежной атрибуции методом сканирующей электронной микроскопии был установлен химический состав глазури и глиняной основы, рентгенофазовым анализом — минеральный состав керамической основы наиболее выразительных артефактов. В результате были установлены происхождение и датировка месопотамской посуды с люстровой росписью и иранских сосудов типа «Сари» XI в. Появление на Средней Волге импорта ближневосточных художественных произведений, по мнению автора, является одним из свидетельств начального этапа формирования в течение XI в. городской культуры Волжской Булгарии.

Средневековые домонгольские города Среднего Поволжья обладают богатыми коллекциями восточных изделий. Привозные поливные сосуды — узнаваемые, как правило, имеющие четкую атрибуцию, в большинстве случаев несут функцию надежного датирующего источника. Большая часть импорта — поливная керамика и стеклянные изделия — относятся к XII — началу XIII вв. Выявление более ранних материалов, соотнесение их с данными стратиграфии, в контексте с другими находками, особенно важно в связи с тем,

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Рис. 1. Фрагменты месопотамской чаши с люстровой росписью из Биляра, внутренняя сторона (БГИАПМЗ. 1 — БХХХIX-88/1191, 1265, КП.615/798; 2 — БХХХIX-87/169, КП.614/589; 3 — БХХХIX-88/640, КП.615/805; 4 — БХХХIX-88/1407, КП.615/804; фото автора).

Fig. 1. Fragments of Mesopotamian luster-painted bowl from Bilyar, inner side (Bilyar State Historical, Archaeological and Natural Museum-Reserve. 1 — BXXXIX-88/1191, 1265, KP.615/798; 2 — BXXXIX-87/169, KP.614/589; 3 — BXXXIX-88/640, KP.615/805; 4 — BXXXIX-88/1407, KP.615/804; photo by the author).

что точная датировка начального этапа истории булгарских городов и в настоящее время остается одной из острых проблем.

Наиболее ранние и выразительные находки происходят из Биляра. В центральной части внутреннего города, на XXXIX раскопе (руководитель — А. Х. Халиков) Билярского городища были найдены фрагменты керамики с люстровой росписью, принадлежащие, как удалось установить, одному сосуду (рис. 3; 4).

Раскоп XXXIX был заложен в продолжение с запада раскопа XXXVIII, которым было выявлено и начато исследование, вероятно, дворцового комплекса. О характере объекта свидетельствуют монументальность сооружения и богатые материалы раскопок. На обеих площадках работы велись в течение 1986—1988 гг.

Фрагменты чаши были найдены в засыпи двух объектов: ямы №1 (1987 г.) на глубине 50 см (−130 от нулевого репера)[1] и ямы №18 (1988 г.)[2]. Причем, в яме №18 три фрагмента обнаружены на разной глубине в трех выборках — первой, второй и четвертой. Обе ямы расположены на одной линии квадратов, на расстоянии менее 7 м друг от друга.

Все четыре фрагмента принадлежали одной, широко открытой чаше диаметром примерно 21 см, с прямым наклонно-отогнутым наружу венчиком шириной 2,2 см. Сохранившиеся осколки не дают информации о конструкции дна. Обычно такие сосуды имели концентрический поддон, при этом общая высота изделия могла составлять 5—6 см. Чаша была выполнена из плотной светло-желтой глины с редкими включениями обломочного альбита[3], толщина стенок достигала 0,8 см, поверхность покрыта опаковой белой глазурью и богато декорирована оливково-зеленым люстром. По краю венчика расположены полуовалы-тимпаны, которые более значительны на внешней поверхности, с внутренней стороны их контур по-

[1] БХХХIX-87/169, БГИАПМЗ: КП.614/589.

[2] БХХХIX-88/640, БГИАПМЗ: КП.615/805; БХХХIX-88/1191, 1265, БГИАПМЗ: КП.615/798; БХХХIX-88/1407, БГИАПМЗ: КП.615/804.

[3] Минеральный состав основы исследован рентгенофазовым методом на порошковом, автоматизированном дифрактометре общего назначения — ДРОН-2•0 на кафедре минералогии и петрографии КФУ инженером Г. М. Ескиной и канд. геол. -мин. наук В. П. Морозовым, за что выражаю им искреннюю благодарность.

Рис. 2. Фрагменты месопотамской чаши с люстровой росписью из Биляра, внешняя сторона (БГИАПМЗ. 1 — БХХХIX-88/1191, 1265, КП.615/798; 2 — БХХХIX-87/169, КП.614/589; 3 — БХХХIX-88/640, КП.615/805; 4 — БХХХIX-88/1407, КП.615/804; фото автора).

Fig. 2. Fragments of Mesopotamian luster-painted bowl from Bilyar, outer side (Bilyar State Historical, Archaeological and Natural Museum-Reserve 1 — BXXXIX-88/1191, 1265, KP.615/798; 2 — BXXXIX-87/169, KP.614/589; 3 — BXXXIX-88/640, KP.615/805; 4 — BXXXIX-88/1407, KP.615/804; photo by the author).

вторяет тонкая линия, затем последовательно располагаются ряд точек, пальметты и простые тяжелые завитки (рис. 1; 3). В центре сосуда находилось крупное изображение птицы или животного — на сохранившемся фрагменте центральной части сосуда отчетливо видна лапа, согнутая в колене и часть туловища, вокруг фигуры оставлен белый фоновый контур, ограниченный тонкой линией. Остальное пространство заполнено рядами точек-штрихов. Если внутренняя сторона демонстрирует довольно сложную орнаментальную композицию, внешняя — более простую и стандартную: по краю венчика полуовалы через интервал оконтурены тонкой линией, затем косыми рядами (по 2—3) нанесены точки. Место перегиба венчика-бортика отмечено широкой полосой густого люстра, под ней таким же люстром выполнены косые штрихи. Основной объем сосуда с внешней стороны украшали изображения окружностей и миндалевидных фигур, фон вокруг которых заполнен рядами точек-штрихов. Оформление этой части сосуда выполнено бледным желто-зеленым люстром (рис. 2; 4).

Технологические особенности и морфологические признаки, прежде всего декор сосуда, позволяют отнести его к достаточно известной и хорошо исследованной группе ранних ближневосточных люстров. Орнаментальная схема люстровой росписи характеризуется устойчивым сочетанием «обязательных» элементов: полукружия-тимпаны по краю венчика, концентрическая композиция с крупным центральным изображением — декоративно-растительным, предметным (например, изображение кувшина) и, чаще, так называемым «фигуральным» — фигурой человека (знаменосца, танцора, музыканта) (Miroudot 2008: 24—25, fig. 10; Atil 1973: 18—19; Rante 2012: 105—107), животного (зайца, газели, слона, осла, верблюда или птицы в белом контуре на точечном фоне) (Pancaroğlu 2007b: 48—53, no. 8—13). Точечный фон люстровых чаш этого типа сравнивают или с фактурой плетеного текстиля (Watson 2004: 191), или с основой металлических изделий, оформленных чеканкой (Feherwari 2000: 46—47). Птицы, возможно, являются наиболее распространенными объектами люстровой росписи (Watson 2004: 193; Kühnel 1970: 88, fig. 51; Feherwari 2000: no 34). Вокруг изображения почти всегда имеется белый узкий контур типа тени, как один из основных элементов композиции. В некоторых случаях вокруг центральной фигуры мог быть оставлен не контур, а белый фон без точечного заполнения (Miroudot 2008: 26, fig. 11), как на изысканной ирак-

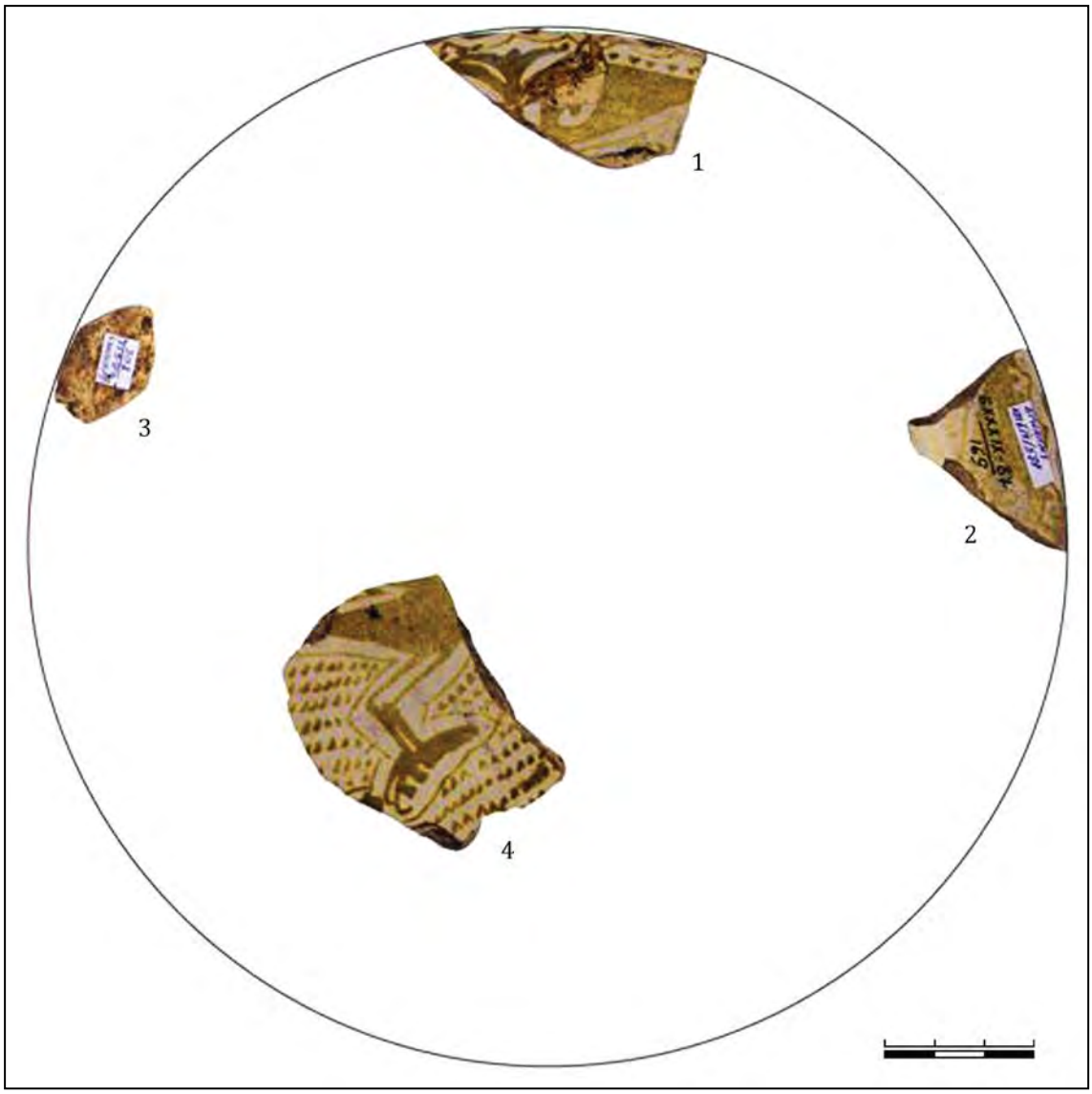

Рис. 3. Вариант реконструкции расположения фрагментов месопотамской чаши с люстровой росписью из Биляра, внутренняя сторона (БГИАПМЗ. 1 — БХХХIX-88/1191, 1265, КП.615/798; 2 — БХХХIX-87/169, КП. 614/589; 3 — БХХХIX-88/640, КП.615/805; 4 — БХХХIX-88/1407, КП. 615/804; фото автора).

Fig. 3. Reconstructed version of Mesopotamian luster-painted bowl fragments from Bilyar, inner side (Bilyar State Historical, Archaeological and Natural Museum-Reserve. 1 — BXXXIX-88/1191, 1265, KP.615/798; 2 — BXXXIX-87/169, KP.614/589; 3 — BXXXIX-88/640, KP.615/805; 4 — BXXXIX-88/1407, KP.615/804; photo by the author).

ской чаше X в. В подобном стиле, как правило, оформлялись невысокие чаши диаметром 12,5—27 см, с отогнутым наружу прямым бортиком, на небольшом поддоне.

Ещё одна находка месопотамского люстра (БГИАМЗ 473-90/226) в пределах Волжской Булгарии происходит с IV Кожаевского селища XI—XIV вв., расположенного на берегу реки Ахтай, левого притока р. Кама, недалеко от камского устья.

Фрагмент стенки сосуда 3,2×3,4 см, толщина — 0,5 см с бледной желто-зелёной люстровой росписью обнаружен в сооружении 1а верхнего горизонта культурного слоя поселения (XIV в.). Однако, соор. 1а — яма 74×90 см, частично перерезает более ранние сооружения 1 и 1б. Дневной уровень сооружения 1б находится у самого основания культурного слоя (Кавеев 1990: 13, 18), т. е. относится к началу XI в. Фрагмент сосуда, вероятно, попал в поздний объект в результате перекопа и оказался переотложенным.

При очевидном декоративном и морфологическом единстве, в настоящее время исследователями четко выделяются два художественных и ремесленных центра производства подобной посуды — Египет и Ирак, а также установлена динамика её развития,

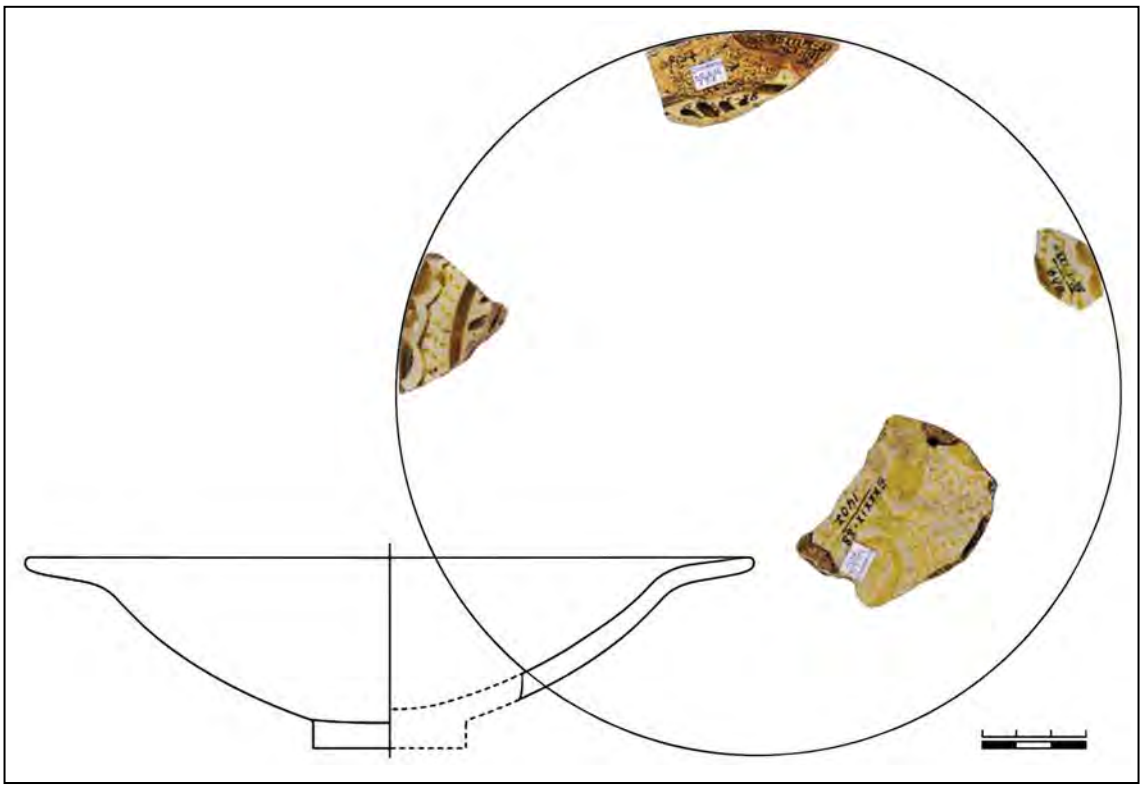

Рис. 4. Графическкая реконструкция формы и вариант расположения фрагментов месопотамской чаши с люстровой росписью из Биляра, внешняя сторона (БГИАПМЗ. 1 — БХХХIX-88/1191, 1265, КП.615/798; 2 — БХХХIX-87/169, КП.614/589; 3 — БХХХIX-88/640, КП.615/805; 4 — БХХХIX-88/1407, КП.615/804; фото и рисунок автора).

Fig. 4. Graphic reconstruction of shape and possible location of Mesopotamian luster-painted bowl fragments from Bilyar, outer side (Bilyar State Historical, Archaeological and Natural Museum-Reserve. 1 — BXXXIX-88/1191, 1265, KP.615/798; 2 — BXXXIX-87/169, KP.614/589; 3 — BXXXIX-88/640, KP.615/805; 4 — BXXXIX-88/1407, KP.615/804; photo and drawing by the author).

с IX до начала XI вв. По подписным изделиям известны имена ведущих мастеров раннефатимидского периода: Ибрагима, Муслима, Байтара (Feherwari 2000: 72).

Наиболее ранние образцы датируются IX в.; обычно в качестве примера приводится чаша из коллекции Давида в Копенгагенском музее, в каталоге местом её производства назван Ирак. Подобный сосуд в коллекции Тарег Раджаб музея Г. Фехервари относит к раннефатимидской продукции, считая прообразом ранних люстров египетские доисламские сосуды VI—VII вв. идентичной формы с коричнево-желтой глазурью. Кроме того, он называет в качестве определяющего признака египетских изделий наличие глазури на поддоне, в то время как поддоны иракских сосудов не покрывались глазурью (Feherwari 2000: 70).

По Г. Фехервари, фатимидские и аббасидские сосуды с люстровой росписью имеют и другие отличия: прежде всего, это материал основы — «типично египетский» хрупкий, крошащийся фаянс в Египте и светло-желтая плотная глина в Ираке; полихромный люстр в Египте, когда снаружи сосудов желто-зеленый люстр дополняется красно-коричневым, и монохромный в Ираке. Есть мнение, что полихромный люстр в Египте, в силу своей дороговизны и трудоемкости, производился короткое время: во второй половине — конце IX в. (Feherwari 2000: 44). Аббасидские сосуды тоже имели полихромную роспись. Произведения Самарры, Басры и Суз были полихромны в начале производства и стали монохромными в течение X века (Del Rio et al. 2010: 167). В орнаментации иракских сосудов характерно изображение миндалевидных фигур (Feherwari 2000: 72). В египетских люстрах чаще присутствуют эпиграфические элементы как составная часть орнамента. По мнению Н. Д. Халили, «фигуральный» стиль изображений на ранних люстровых чашах имел глубокие корни и продолжал традиции египетского изобразительного искусства — в оформлении настенных панно и доисламской керамики (Khalili 2008: 91). Возникновение «фигурального» стиля относят в настоящее время к X веку.

В Ираке одним из вероятных мест производства подобной посуды в X в. называется Басра, так, в частности, определено происхождение двух чаш X — начала XI вв. в фондах Музея Виктории и Альберта [4].

Примером взаимодействия двух художественных школ — месопотамской и египетской — можно рассматривать прекрасную чашу в собрании Музея истории Армении [5], найденную в слое IX в. центрального квартала Двина (Джанполадян, Калантарян 1988: 25, табл. L). Сосуд диаметром 26 см и высотой 7 см украшен монохромным люстром — в центре композиции изображение птицы, с внешней стороны, на покрытом глазурью поддоне, куфическим шрифтом написано «сделал Таха». Характер шрифта и имя мастера позволяют считать его выходцем из Тулунидского Египта (Zhamkochyan 2009: 129, pl. XXXIII: 1).

Вопрос о месте (Египет или Месопотамия) возникновения техники люстровой росписи на керамике в настоящее время остаётся открытым. При этом признаётся очевидным факт появления такой посуды в начале IX века для господ и придворных, о чем красноречиво говорят их находки в дворцовых комплексах восточных городов и редкое присутствие в любой другой обстановке. На протяжении нескольких столетий посуда с люстровой росписью сохраняла свой статус посуды для аристократических застолий (Sciau 2012: 527).

Сравнивая исходный материал для производства посуды с люстровой росписью в Египте и Месопотамии Оливер Ватсон представляет очевидные преимущества так называемой глины «Басра», из которой были выполнены аббасидские люстры: эта глина в своем естественном состоянии была относительно чистой — свободной от загрязняющих примесей, не требовала больших усилий и нововведений при подготовке к использованию и представляла собой отличный материал для изготовления изделий разных объёмов бледно-желтого цвета. В отличие от месопотамских, гончарам Египта в их стремлении достичь высокого качества продукции, по всей видимости, пришлось тратить время и прилагать усилия, смешивая различные материалы и добавляя специальные наполнители (Watson 2004: 24—25).

В Иране такую посуду не производили, а делали имитации (Watson 2004: 239; Khalili 2008: 92; Curatola 2006: 63). Находки ранних люстровых изделий, полихромных и монохромных, в Нишапуре, полученные в результате археологических раскопок экспедицией музея Метрополитен, исследователи рассматривают как импорт из Египта и Ирака (Wilkinson 1973: 190—193). В качестве иллюстрации может быть представлена чаша из коллекции музея Тарег-Раджаб, окрашенная оливково-зеленой глазурью, имитирующей монохромный люстр (Feherwari 2000: no. 67). По мнению Г. Фехервари, хотя гончары Нишапура не владели секретом росписи люстром, тем не менее, учитывая огромный интерес и спрос на такую продукцию, прилагали все усилия, чтобы имитировать оба типа ранних люстров, полихромного и монохромного, более того, они изготавливали эти чаши, полностью повторяющими форму люстровых сосудов. Исходя из того, что на сегодняшний день ни один другой центр Ирана и Средней Азии, известный археологически, не производил похожие имитации люстра, Г. Фехервари делает заключение, что это производство было прерогативой только нишапурских мастерских и датируются имитации так же, как их оригинальные прототипы из Ирака и Египта (Feherwari 2000: 63).

В Средней Азии со второй половины X в. не имитации, а подражания стилю росписи ранних люстров выполнялись оливковыми и полихромными красителями на глиняной основе (Шишкина 1986: 142—143, рис. 48: 1; Брусенко 1986: табл. 45: 1, 3, 5, 9; 46: 1, 4, 6, 7, 10; Ильясова и др. 2016: 73, кат. № 49, 51—58). Так оформляли не только чаши, но и кувшины, например, кувшин X в. из Афрасиаба в собрании Эрмитажа (Curatola 2006: 64).

Сооружения, из которых происходят фрагменты билярской чаши, бедны находками. В качестве датирующего материала выступает бронебойный наконечник стрелы с массивной боевой головкой ромбовидных очертаний и ромбического сечения с шейкой [6] — тип 83 по А. Ф. Медведеву, «наконечники этого типа очень характерны для XI в., были широко распространены в XI в. по всей территории Древней Руси, в Волжской Болгарии, у финно-угорских народов Поволжья и Прикамья» (Медведев 1966: 81).

Таким образом, сооружения, в которых найдены осколки чаши (ямы № 1, 18), можно датировать XI в., вероятно, его началом или

[4] Victoria and Albert Museum. Museum nos. C.350-1930; C.62-1981.

[5] Музей истории Армении. Инв. № 2040-145.

[6] БХХХIX-88/1353, БГИАПМЗ: КП. 615/806.

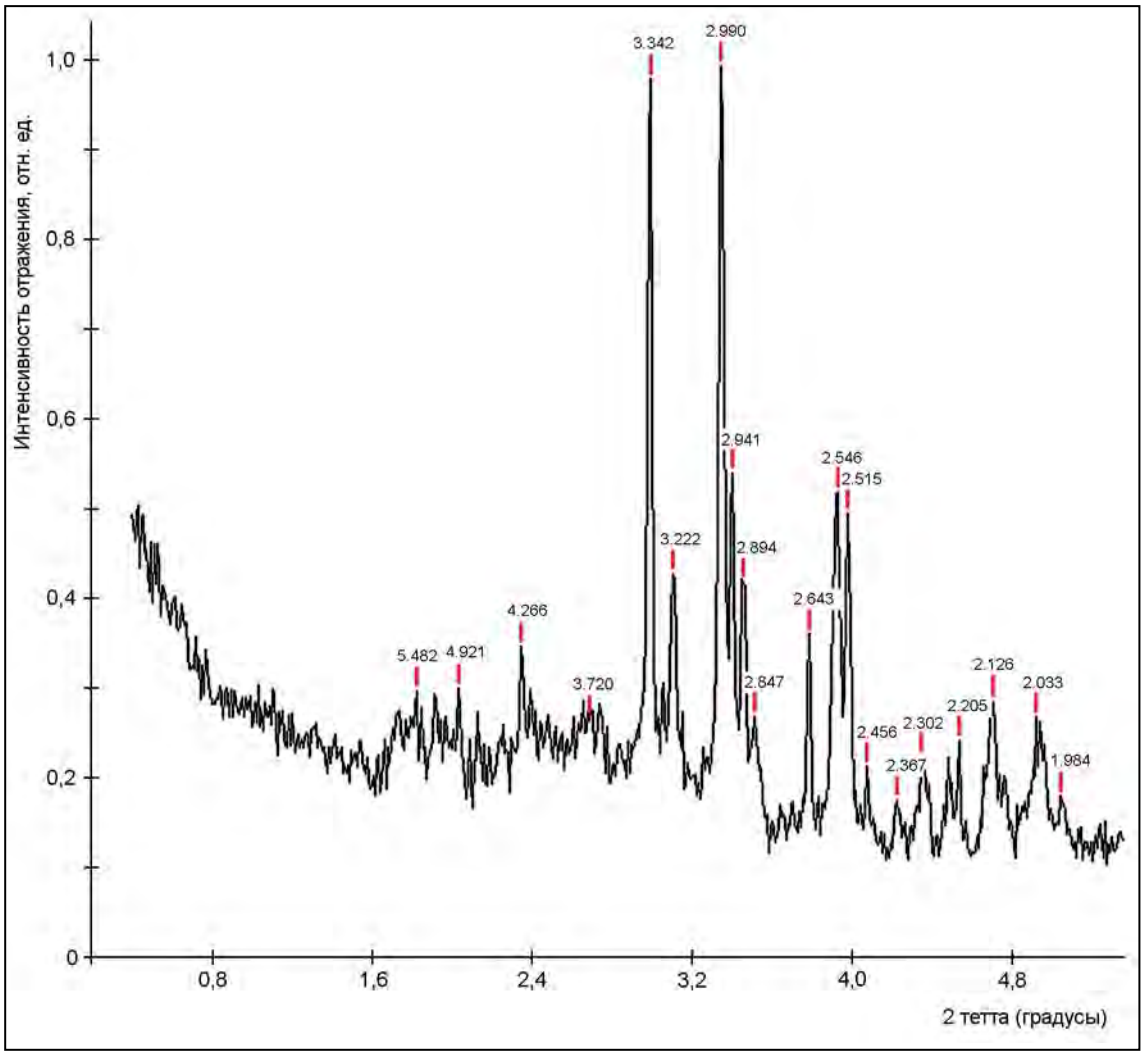

Рис. 5. Рентгенофазовый анализ глиняной основы месопотамской чаши с люстровой росписью. Дифрактограмма образца из БГИАПМЗ, БХХХIX-88/640, КП.615/805 (аналитики Г. М. Ескина, В. П. Морозов, кафедра минералогии и петрографии Казанского (Приволжского) Федерального университета).

Fig. 5. X-ray analysis of clay base of Mesopotamian luster-painted bowl. The XRD pattern (diffractogram) of the sample from Bilyar State Historical, Archaeological and Natural Museum-Reserve, BXXXIX-88/640, KP.615/805 (analysts G. M. Eskina, V. P. Morozov, Department of Mineralogy and Petrography of the Kazan (Volga Region) Federal University).

Таблица 1.

d, Å	Минерал	d, Å	Минерал	d, Å	Минерал	d, Å	Минерал
5,482	Альбит	3,220	Альбит + Диопсид	2,643	—	2,302	Диопсид
4,433	—	2,990	Диопсид	2,546	Диопсид	2,205	Диопсид
4,266	Кварц	2,941	Диопсид	2,515	Диопсид	2,126	Диопсид
3,720	Альбит	2,894	Диопсид	2,456	Кварц	2,033	Диопсид + кварц
3,342	Кварц	2,847	Диопсид	2,367	—	1,984	Альбит

первой половиной, то есть отнести к наиболее ранним объектам Билярского городища.

Для технологической характеристики билярской чаши особенно важны оказались аналитические результаты люстровой керамики из Медина-ал-Захра. Этот город в испанской Кордове жил короткий отрезок времени с 936 по 1013 год, тем не менее, раскопки представили богатые материалы, а коллекция люстровой керамики в их составе отражает динамику производства, происхождение импорта, особенности технологии. Информативные возможности изделий с люстровой росписью были в полной мере реализованы благодаря использованию широкого спектра современных аналитических

методов, способных решать задачи технологических реконструкций на уровне нанометрических измерений, позволяющих, в частности, «стратифицировать» люстровую роспись (Del Rio et al. 2010: 158).

Минеральный состав керамической основы билярской люстровой чаши был определен рентгенофазовым анализом. Полученный результат представлен на дифрактограмме (рис. 5) и в таблице (табл. 1).

Кроме фазы диопсида ($MgCaSi_2O_6$), альбита ($Na[AlSi_3O_8$), обращает на себя внимание присутствие кварца в составе основы сосуда (рис. 5). Казалось бы, этот факт противоречит общей характеристике чистой и тонкодисперсной месопотамской глины, однако кварц обнаружен и анализом месопотамского люстра в нескольких образцах из Медина-ал-Захра (Del Rio et al. 2010: 161). Такое сходство позволяет предположить, что люстровая чаша из Биляра, как и образцы аналогичного состава из Медина-ал-Захра, были выполнены из тщательно очищенной и обработанной однородной глины, в которой в результате продолжительного обжига при температуре 850—950 ºС или близкой к 1000 ºС (Sciau 2012: 534) была достигнута полная термическая трансформация керамической основы, приведшая к кристаллической фазе первоначально очищенного сырья произошли полиморфные превращения, в том числе выделился кварц. Таким образом, его присутствие в глиняной основе билярской чаши (рис. 5; табл. 1), так же, как и в керамике из Медина-ал-Захра, следует рассматривать как приобретённую особенность технологического характера (Del Rio et al. 2010: 161).

Методом сканирующей электронной микроскопии (SEM) был установлен химический состав глазури (табл. 2).

Анализ показал использование свинцово-щелочной глазури, при этом, химический состав по концентрации оксидов свинца и олова соответствует составу глазури изделий, произведенных в иракских мастерских в финале Аббасидского халифата (Del Rio et al. 2010: 166). Установлено, что ранние изделия аббасидского люстра имели щелочную глазурь, в последующем был введен свинец и в некоторых случаях олово (Sciau 2012: 528; Del Rio et al. 2010: 166; Коваль 2010: Прил. 1: 80, 81). Более высокое содержание свинца отличает фатимидские люстры из Фустата (Del Rio et al. 2010: Table 3; Коваль 2010: Прил. 1: 82; Прил. 1: 80, 81).

Минеральный и химический состав основы и химический состав глазури билярской чаши с люстровой росписью показывает, что

Таблица 2.

Оксид	%	Оксид	%
Na_2O	3,31	CaO	8,19
MgO	2,87	FeO	0,72
Al_2O_3	1,26	CuO	0,02
SiO_2	68,98	SnO_2	1,03
P_2O_5	2,22	PbO	3,67
K_2O	4,71		

изделие было выполнено в одной из мастерских Самарры, Басры или Суз и импортировано в период Аббасидского халифата.

Образцы аббасидского люстра конца X — начала XI вв. следует рассматривать как еще одно археологическое подтверждение контактов Волжской Булгарии в период ее ранней государственности с Багдадским халифатом.

Сосуды месопотамского люстра в IX — начале XI вв. были популярны на обширной территории распространения исламской культуры от Испании до Индии (Atil 1973: 19). В Восточной Европе такие находки чрезвычайно редки — в настоящее время, кроме Биляра, известны еще два образца подобной посуды: осколки чаш из Старой Ладоги (IX в.), Рюрикова городища и фрагмент блюда из Саркела, найденный в слое X в. (Шитова 1980: 239; Макарова 1967: 32; Коваль 2010: 187, цв. ил. 38: 5; Прил. 1: 80, 81).

Находки ранних люстровых чаш высвечивают маршрут их поступления в Восточную Европу по Волге и ключевые пункты на Волго-Балтийской торговой магистрали в IX—XI вв., при этом Закавказье, в частности Двин, выступает посредником в движении ремесленной продукции и других товаров из стран Ближнего и Среднего Востока на север.

Иного типа ближневосточная (иранская) керамика могла поступать в Поволжье не только через Закавказье, но и через Среднюю Азию с юго-востока Прикаспия.

Фрагмент венчика и стенки сосуда размерами 6,0×5,3 см, толщиной 0,5 см (БХХIII-75/2920), представляет, очевидно, чашу, выполненную из светло-красной глины плотной тонкой структуры с полихромной росписью по белому ангобу под бесцветной прозрачной глазурью с внутренней стороны (рис. 6: 1). Фрагмент происходит с XXIII раскопа 1975 г. в центре Билярского городища (рук. А. Х. Халиков). К сожалению, в отчете о полевых исследованиях находка никак не отражена.

Характер декора и анализ глазури позволили определить принадлежность сосуда к так называемой керамике типа «Сари» (Sari). Эта

Рис. 6. Фрагменты керамики типа «Сари» (1 — Биляр, БХХIII-75/2920; 2, 3 — Билярское III селище, АКУ 321/77-78).

Fig. 6. Ceramic fragments of "Sari" type (1 — Bilyar, BXXIII-75/2920; 2, 3 — Bilyar III settlement, Archaeological collections of Kazan University, no. 321/77-78).

посуда получила свое название более ста лет назад по одноименному иранскому городу на южном побережье Каспия. Название сохраняется, хотя изготовление такой посуды в Сари не имеет доказательств, а новые археологические свидетельства — открытые производственные комплексы, показывают, что вероятными центрами производства этого типа посуды являлись мастерские города Гурган на юго-востоке Каспийского побережья (Pancaroğlu 2007b: 73), и Нишапура — столицы Хорасана (Rante 2012: 161, fig. 103).

Несмотря на небольшой размер билярской находки, она обладает характерными для этой группы посуды признаками — венчик не позволяет представить диаметр, но показывает ровное продолжение прямых стенок. Обычно такие сосуды на небольшом полом поддоне имеют коническую широкооткрытую форму с прямыми расходящимися стенками (Curatola 2007: 65, 173). Билярский фрагмент обладает и традиционными элементами декора: на белом фоне по внутреннему краю — на лицевой стороне сосуда нанесена концентрическая розетка или цветок кирпично-красного цвета в темно-коричневом обрамлении и с такой же сердцевиной, темный цвет акцентирован цепочкой белых точек.

Центральным элементом орнаментальной композиции классической чаши «Сари» являлось изображение крупной нарядной птицы (Feherwari 2000: 58, no. 56; Watson 2004: 243). Кроме того, в других вариантах композиции круглые цветы с побегами или «леденцы» (lollipop) дополнялись стилизованными

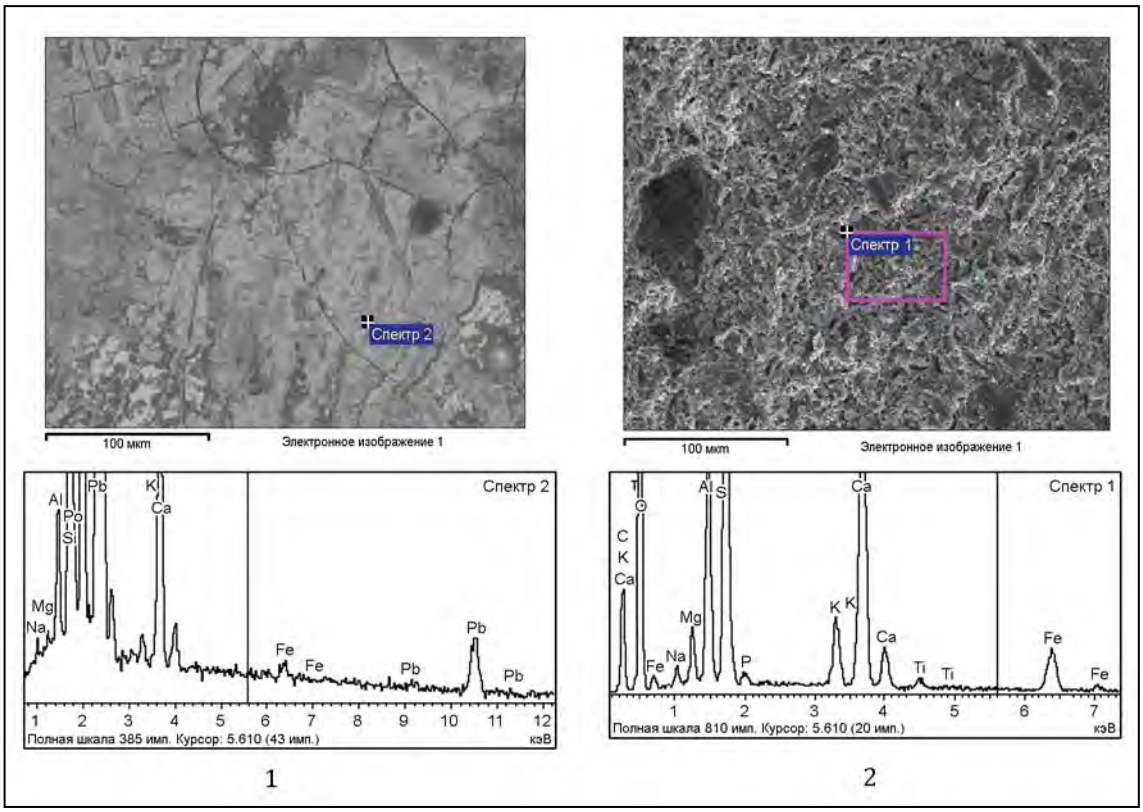

Рис. 7. Результаты анализа методом сканирующей электронно-микроскопической спектроскопии фрагмента керамики типа «Сари», Биляр, БХХIII-75/2920: 1 — химический состав глазури, 2 — химический состав глиняной основы (аналитик А.А. Трифонов).

Fig. 7. Analysis by method of scanning electron-microscopic spectroscopy of ceramic fragment of "Sari" type from Bilyar, BXXIII-75/2920: 1 — chemical composition of the glaze, 2 — chemical composition of the clay (analyst A.A. Trifonov).

Таблица 3.

Элемент	Весовой %	Атомный %	Вес % оксида	Оксид
Na K	0,34	0,57	0,45	Na_2O
Mg K	0,29	0,46	0,48	MgO
Al K	1,64	2,36	3,10	Al_2O_3
Si K	13,16	18,22	28,15	SiO_2
K K	0,66	0,65	0,79	K_2O
Ca K	8,67	8,41	12,13	CaO
Fe K	0,77	0,54	1,00	FeO
Pb M	50,04	9,39	53,90	PbO
O	24,44	59,40		
Итого	100,00	100,00	100,00	

Таблица 4.

Элемент	Весовой %	Атомный %	Вес % оксида	Оксид
Na K	0,85	0,84	1,14	Na_2O
Mg K	1,81	1,69	3,00	MgO
Al K	7,73	6,51	14,60	Al_2O_3
Si K	20,77	16,82	44,43	SiO_2
P K	0,54	0,4	1,24	P_2O_5
K K	3,12	1,81	3,75	K_2O
Ca K	16,39	9,3	22,94	CaO
Ti K	0,76	0,36	1,26	TiO_2
Fe K	5,93	2,42	7,63	FeO
O	42,10	59,85		
Итого	100,00	100,00	99,99	

пальмовыми листьями, раскрытыми веерами или опахалами и каллиграфией (Watson 2004: 225; Porter 2014: 54—55). Изысканная цветовая гамма сочетания темно-коричневого, терракотово-красного и белого цветов могла включать и оливково-зеленые элементы (рис. 6: 3). Бесцветная прозрачная глазурь внутри не покрывала внешнюю поверхность, чуть заходя снаружи за край венчика.

Для более полной характеристики и надежной атрибуции методом сканирующей электронной микроскопии был установлен химический состав глазури (рис. 7: 1; табл. 3) и глиняной основы (рис. 7: 2; табл. 4) фрагмента из Биляра. Анализ показал использование свинцово-кремнеземной прозрачной бесцветной глазури, в которой концентрация оксида свинца составляет почти 54%, боль-

Рис. 8. 1 — фрагмент керамики типа «Сари», Билярское III селище (АКУ 321/77); 2 — чаша с птицей, тип «Сари» (по Pancaroglu 2007b: 72, cat. nos. 30).

Fig. 8. 1 — ceramic fragment of "Sari" type, Bilyar III settlement (Archaeological collections of Kazan University, no. 321/77); 2 — bowl with a bird, «Sari» type (after Pancaroglu 2007b: 72, cat. nos. 30).

Рис. 9. 1 — фрагмент керамики типа «Сари», Билярское III селище (АКУ 321/78); 2 — чаша с птицей, тип «Сари» (по Pancaroglu 2007b: 73, cat. nos. 31).

Fig. 9. 1 — ceramic fragment of "Sari" type, Bilyar III settlement (Archaeological collections of Kazan University, no. 321/78); 2 — bowl with a bird, «Sari» type (after Pancaroglu 2007b: 73, cat. nos. 31).

шими процентами представлены соединения кальция и алюминия — 12,13% и 3,10% соответственно, их присутствие, как и соединений железа (1%), скорее всего, обусловлено близким ангобом, железосодержащим пигментом и глиняной основой под тонким слоем глазури. Однако очевидно, что в будущем представительная аналитическая серия позволит более точно объяснить результат.

По меньшей мере два фрагмента (рис. 6: 2, 3) керамики «Сари» или производных от неё типов имеются в составе коллекции материалов Билярского III селища (АКУ 321/77—78), расположенного на окраине современного села Билярск, в 1,5 км северо-западнее внешних укреплений домонгольского Билярского городища.

Раскопки представили раннезолотоордынский город Биляр второй половины XIII — начала XIV вв. На крайней юго-восточной периферии золотоордынский слой «накладывается» на памятник, первоначально датированный концом X — первой половиной XII вв. — Билярское II селище (Валиулина 2000: 284). Судя по материалам раскопок, скорее всего, XII век нужно исключить из времени функционирования поселения: со второй половины XI в. до монгольского нашествия жизни на этой территории не было. Нижний слой, как и верхний, показывает явный городской характер памятника, надежно датированного богатым нумизматическим и всем археологическим материалом рубежа X—XI — середины XI в. (Валиулина, Беговатов 1999: 108; Беговатов 2001: 153). Кроме прочего, в коллекцию входит довольно значительное, для своего времени, количество стеклянных изделий: украшения, посуда, представленная, к сожалению, в основном мелкими фрагментами. Исключение составляют две масляные лампы, сохранность которых позволила М. Д. Полубояриновой выполнить их реконструкцию и надежную атрибуцию (Беговатов, Полубояринова 2014: 158—162). Обе лампы представляют образцы ранних исламских подвесных светильников, отмеченных многочисленными аналогиями X—XI вв. (Kröger 1995: 182, no. 235; Carboni 2001: 20, fig. 5).

Иранская посуда типа «Сари» представлена большим числом находок, чем ранний люстр; кроме Билярского городища, она найдена на Муромском городке и в Суваре (БГИАМЗ 505-1169/228).

* * *

Рассмотренные находки раннеисламской поливной керамики интересно соотнести с ближневосточными стеклянными изделиями (но не бусами) X—XI вв. с булгарских памятников.

Самые ранние ближневосточные стеклянные произведения — миниатюрные флакончики для благовоний, лекарств, парфюмерии с резным и накладным декором, эталонные гирьки, чернильницы известны, прежде всего, в Болгаре и, кроме него, в Суваре. Изделия представлены единичными образцами и потому не могут рассматриваться в качестве импорта, являясь, очевидно, предмета-

ми личного пользования или подарками иноземцев — купцов или послов (Valiulina 2015). Весь скупой, но красноречивый набор ранних стеклянных изделий обладает широким перечнем аналогий в материалах раскопок ближневосточных памятников и в музейных собраниях, что открывает большие возможности в их атрибуции, позволяет установить их происхождение и датировку (Валиулина 2015). Время бытования этих стеклянных предметов приходится, в основном, на X в. Важно отметить, что синхронных импортных керамических сосудов в это время на Средней Волге нет.

Этот факт, в контексте других восточных импортов X в. на Среднюю Волгу (монетное серебро, в основном саманидские дирхемы, ближневосточные стеклянные бусы), позволяет сделать вывод, что в течение X в. в Волжской Булгарии ещё не сложилась городская мусульманская культура, как не сформировалась и та аристократия, которая бы имела потребность и возможность заказывать и приобретать дорогие и хрупкие заморские вещицы далеко не первой необходимости.

Одним из индикаторов уже сложившейся культуры мусульманского города является поступление восточного импорта — посудного стекла, ламп и глиняной посуды в XI веке. В это время, с наступлением «серебряного кризиса», Болгар передал эстафету Биляру, и восточные товары динамично поступают в новую столицу, достигнув максимума в предмонгольское время. Кроме Биляра, предметы восточного импорта отмечены в Суваре, Муромском городке, других городских центрах, но отсутствуют в изменившем статус Болгаре, особенно «темным временем» для бывшей столицы выступает XI в.

Таким образом, раннеисламская керамика с люстровой росписью, и особенно более характерная для XI в. посуда типа «Сари», знаменуют собой поступление восточной художественной продукции — стекла, керамики и других товаров, что, по нашему мнению, является одним из ярких свидетельств начального этапа сложения булгарской городской культуры в XI в.

Обращение к привозной художественной посуде позволяет не только реконструировать направления культурно-экономических связей Волжской Булгарии — их закономерности, характер, динамику, хронологию, но сформировать реалистичный взгляд на условия, предпосылки, и время возникновения собственного производства поливной керамики. На настоящий момент такое производство в Волжской Булгарии представлено только в домонгольском Биляре (Кокорина 1983; Валиулина 1990), где оно обеспечено надежной доказательной базой для второй половины XII — первой трети XIII вв. (Валиулина 1991: 92; Valiulina 2014: 285—290).

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Поливная керамика средневекового города Шамкир

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Ключевые слова: Азербайджан, Шамкир, средние века, глазурованная керамика, орнамент, художественная культура

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Glazed Ceramics of Medieval Shamkir City

This article focuses on the red-clay glazed ceramics of medieval Shamkir city, the ruins of which are located in the western region of the Republic of Azerbaijan, on the left bank of the river Shamkirchay. Wheel-made glazed ceramics of Shamkir is manufactured from well-prepared high quality levigated clay and is evenly baked. Main decoration techniques applied on glazed ceramics in 8th — 10th centuries were the color of baked shard, engobe, manganese and copper oxyde and glaze. Painting with engobe colors prevailed. The second stage in the development of artistic ceramics of Shamkir, encompassing 11th — beginning of the 13th century, was characterized by some innovations in decoration technology. The products that were decorated with engraving, the reserved technique, manganese and white painted engobe coating, engraving on manganese paintings, polychrome products under the glaze were widely used. The decor is dominated by geometric patterns, rarer plant, epigraphic and figurative motifs. Widespread rise of pottery production which began in the 9th century continuously evolved and reached its apogee in the 12th century.

Т. М. Достиев

Поливная керамика средневекового города Шамкир

Данная статья посвящена красноглиняной глазурованной керамике средневекового города Шамкир, развалины которого расположены в западном регионе Азербайджанской Республики, на левом берегу реки Шамкирчай. Глазурованная керамика Шамкира изготовлена на гончарном круге из хорошо промешенной, отмученной, высококачественной глины, имеет равномерный обжиг. В VIII—X вв. основными техническими средствами декорирования глазурованной керамики были цвет обожженного черепка, ангоб, окись марганца и меди, и глазурь. Доминировала роспись ангобными красками. Второй этап в развитии художественной керамики Шамкира, охватывающий XI — начало XIII в., характеризуется некоторыми новшествами в технологии декорирования. Широкое распространение получили изделия, украшенные гравировкой, техникой «в резерве», марганцевой росписью по белому ангобному покрытию, гравировкой по марганцевой росписи, полихромные изделия под глазурью. В декоре доминируют геометрические орнаменты, реже встречаются растительные, эпиграфические и изобразительные мотивы. Начавшийся в IX в. повсеместный подъем гончарного производства, непрерывно развиваясь, достиг в XII в. своего апогея.

Азербайджан является страной, где процессы урбанизации во многом определяли особенности культурного развития и оказывали значительное воздействие на социально-экономическое состояние общества. Важным этапом в эволюции городской культуры стал период средневековой урбанизации, который характеризуется развитием городского образа жизни восточного мусульманского типа. В этот период в Азербайджане насчитывалось до 70 городов. В числе этих городов был и Шамкир. Этот город, хотя и небольшой по числу жителей, был развитым торгово-ремесленным центром, осо-

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бенно были развиты производство керамики и металлообработка (Гейдаров 1982: 46).

Городище Шамкир расположено в западном регионе Азербайджанской Республики, на левом берегу реки Шамкирчай, на северной окраине села Мухтарийа Шамкирского района. В 2006—2015 гг. на территории шахристана и цитадели древнего города Шамкир на девяти раскопочных участках общей площадью более 1 га велись раскопки. Археологические находки представлены орудиями труда, оружием, простой и глазурованной керамикой, металлическими изделиями, фрагментами стеклянных сосудов, образцами оконного стекла, предметами украшения и монетами. Преобладают керамические изделия. Художественная керамика, наиболее распространенный вид декоративно-прикладного искусства средневекового Шамкира, выявленная при археологических раскопках является неопровержимым вещественным источником для определения высокого профессионализма, тонкого вкуса местных мастеров. В глазурованной керамике особенно ярко, проявились характерные черты художественной культуры эпохи — тенденция к синтезу искусств. Здесь часто с большим совершенством и гармонией сочетаются орнамент, каллиграфия и живопись.

Глазурованная керамика Шамкира делится по составу формовочной массы на два отдела: глиняная и «силикатная». Целью данной работы является исследование красноглиняной глазурованной керамики Шамкира. Она изготовлена на гончарном круге из хорошо промешаной, отмученной, высококачественной глины, имеет равномерный обжиг. Черепок обычно плотный, в изломе имеет розоватый, розовато-коричневый цвет.

В конце VIII — начале IX века в технологии гончарного производства Азербайджана, в том числе Шамкира, вводится новшество — применение ангоба, марганца и глазури в художественном оформлении керамических изделий. Глазурь изготовлялась из окиси свинца. Она увеличивала твердость черепка, лишала его гигроскопичности, придавала поверхности сосуда блеск (Ахмедов 2003: 308). В VIII—X вв. основными техническими средствами в декорировании были цвет обожженного черепка, ангоб и глазурь, которые дали возможность гончарам создать разнообразные в художественном отношении керамические изделия (Наджафова 1983: 12). Глазурью покрывались в основном столовая посуда открытой формы — блюда, чаши, тарелки, пиалы, солонки, реже встречаются закрытые формы — кувшины, светильники, даже крупные кюпы. В целом, они имеют стандартную форму и отличаются лишь в отдельных деталях.

Группировка глазурованной керамики Шамкира проводится по признакам технологии исполнения декора. Известно, что наличие глазури на изделиях уже является его декором. Причем этот декор имеет доминантное, и тем самым, определяющее значение (Коваль 2010: 20). В классификации поливной керамики большое значение имеет также техника исполнения орнаментации.

Керамика, украшенная росписью под бесцветной или светло-желтой прозрачной глазурью

Керамика с росписью ангобом. В VIII—X вв. в декорировке керамических изделий Шамкира широко применялась роспись белым ангобом по черепку под свинцовой прозрачной глазурью. Глазурью покрывалась, как правило, внутренняя поверхность открытых форм, реже покрывалась также наружная поверхность сосуда. Закрытые формы, в частности кувшины, наоборот, покрывались с глазурью снаружи. Узор, нанесенный белым ангобом на черепок, под прозрачной глазурью отчетливо выделяется на темном фоне. Художественный эффект достигался простым техническим средством, то есть цветом обожженного черепка, глазури и ангоба. Среди полуфабрикатов керамической посуды, обнаруженных в процессе археологических раскопок, имеется керамика этого типа. Так, например, стенки чаши полусферической формы украшены ангобными полосами, по неизвестной причине чаша не покрыта глазурью (рис. 1: 1).

В декоре этой керамики доминировала геометрическая орнаментация. Внутренняя поверхность некоторых чаш и блюд украшена кружочками и овалами (рис. 1: 2). Парные, пересекающие ангобные линии, на дне чаш создают четыре сектора, а в каждом секторе имеется небольшой круг, нанесенный ангобом (рис. 1: 3). Очень популярным был декор из кружочков и дугообразных полос. Как правило, донную часть чаши, центр композиции, занимает небольшой круг или кружочек, а на ее стенах нанесены дугообразные полосы (рис. 1: 4—5). Часто эти дугообразные полосы или полукруги, пересекая друг друга, создают астральные фигуры — четырех-, шести- или восьмиконечные звезды (рис. 1: 7). Изредка встречается мотив, напоминающий вихревую розетку (рис. 1: 6).

Иногда роспись ангобом наносилась по краснокрашенному черепку. Для этой ке-

Рис. 1. Керамика, украшенная росписью ангобом под бесцветной или светло-желтой прозрачной глазурью.

Fig. 1. Ceramics with slip-painted decoration under colorless or light yellow transparent glaze.

рамики характерны геометрические и растительные орнаменты. Встречаются узоры в различных сочетаниях. Доминирует геометрический орнамент: круги, ромбы, треугольники, многогранники, сетки, розетки из лентообразных полос, дугообразные фигуры, стилизованные изображения небесных светил и т. д. Эти орнаменты, расположенные по всей поверхности изделий, хорошо сочетаются с формами изделий, создают впечатление цельности и ясности. Сетки, как правило, расположенные на донной части чаши, занимают центральное место в композиции. Ячейки сеток квадратные или ромбовидные. Например, сетка, нанесенная тонкими ангобными линиями, занимает дно чаши. Ячейки сетки квадратные, и в каждой ячейке ангобом поставлен мазок в виде семечки (рис. 1: 8). На другом фрагменте ячейки сетки в шахматном порядке заполнены кружочком или диагональными линиями, которые создают четыре треугольника. Встречаются сетки, ячейки которых украшены растительными элементами. Заслуживает внимания фрагмент чаши,

Рис. 2. Керамика с росписью марганцем под прозрачной глазурью: 1—3 — керамика с росписью марганцем под бесцветной или светло-желтой прозрачной глазурью; 4—9 — керамика с подглазурной росписью ангобом и марганцем.

Fig. 2. Manganese painted pottery under transparent glaze: 1—3 — manganese painted pottery under colorless or light yellow transparent glaze; 4—9 — underglaze slip and manganese painted pottery.

на дне которой парными тонкими линиями нанесена сетка, а в ячейки вписаны трилистники. Эти трилистники создают как бы четырехлепестковую розетку (рис. 1: 9).

Заслуживает рассмотрения узор маленькой чаши. Сильно геометризованный растительный орнамент занимает всю внутреннюю поверхность чаши. Три эллипсовидные

Рис. 3. Керамика с подглазурной росписью марганцем и окисью меди.

Fig. 3. Underglaze manganese and copper oxide painted pottery.

фигуры, пересекающие друг друга, создают сильно геометризованный растительный орнамент в виде шестилепестковой розетки. В центре розетки имеется шестиугольник, внутри которого нанесена сетка, обрамленная кругом. А вокруг шестиугольника располагаются треугольники со штриховкой и овалы с четырехлучевыми звездами. Чаша покрыта светло-желтой поливой (рис. 1: 10). Изредка встречаются образцы, украшенные лишь растительным орнаментом. Следует отметить, что образцы глазурованной керамики с росписью ангобом по окрашенному черепку известны также из других памятников Азербайджана, в частности, из археологических раскопок Бейлагана, Полутепе и Ултангала и т. д. (Əhmədov 1979; Axundov, Dostiyev 2005; Alizadeh 2007).

Керамика с росписью марганцем. Для раннеглазурованной керамики Шамкира ха-

Рис. 4. Керамика с подглазурной росписью ангобом, марганцем и зеленой краской.

Fig. 4. Underglaze slip, manganese and green painted pottery.

рактерны также изделия с росписью марганцем по черепку под свинцовой прозрачной поливой. В декоре преобладают геометрические орнаменты: круги, спирали, дугообразные и миндалевидные фигуры, вертикальные или горизонтальные полосы и т.д. (рис. 2: 1—3). Заслуживает внимания третья часть блюда, украшенная узором, напоминающим рисунки «булут» — «облако», нанесенная росписью марганцем (Dostiyev və b. 2013: 298). Этот орнамент был одним из основных элементов азербайджанского орнаментального искусства (Керимов 1983: 83—87).

Керамика с подглазурной росписью ангобом и марганцем. В VIII—X вв. был широко распространен декор, выполненный ангобом с марганцевой расцветкой, или же наоборот, расписанный марганцем с белой ангобной расцветкой. Встречаются изделия, украшенные росписью ангобом и марганцем по черепку под свинцовой прозрачной поливой. Мотивы орнаментации этих изделий несложные и состоят из простых геометрических фигур — круг, кружочек, дугообразных полос, овалов, звезд и т.д. (рис. 2: 4—6). Сетка, расположенная в центре композиции, обрамлен-

ная кругом, также была популярным геометрическим мотивом. Ячейки сетки треугольные, и в каждой ячейке размещен ангобный кружочек (рис. 2: 7). Реже встречаются стилизованные растительные орнаменты. Как правило, эта пальметта окружена концентрическими кругами (рис. 2: 9).

Керамика с подглазурной росписью марганцем и окисью меди. Керамика, украшенная росписью марганцем и окисью меди, т. е. зеленой краской под бесцветной или светло-желтой глазурью, среди раннеглазурованной керамики Шамкира занимает значительное место. Внутренняя поверхность некоторых чаш, тарелок и пиал украшена зелеными и коричневыми полосами, нанесенными окисью меди и марганцем, покрыта прозрачной светло-желтой глазурью. Чередование зеленых и коричневых полос усиливает декоративность чаши или пиалы, придает динамичность декору (рис. 3: 1—6). Декор, состоящий из коричневых и зеленых полос, свободно разбросанных мазков также характерен для этой подгруппы. Встречаются чаши, украшенные концентрическими кругами, нанесенными коричневыми и зелеными красками под светло-желтой поливой (Dostiyev və b. 2013: 303). Заслуживает внимания фрагмент чаши, украшенный шестилучевой звездой. В центре композиции, на донной части чаши, два треугольника, расписанные марганцем, пересекая друг друга, создавая шестилучевую звезду. В центре звезды, в шестиугольнике имеется маленький, неправильной формы круг, а в нем зеленое пятно в форме запятой. В каждом луче звезды также имеется либо зеленое, либо коричневое пятно в форме запятой. В пространстве между лучами марганцем вписаны сердцевидные геометрические элементы с зеленым мазком (рис. 3: 8). На другом фрагменте имеется декор концентрического строения. В центре композиции, на дне чаши марганцем нанесена сетка, обрамленная кругом. Ячейки сетки квадратные. В каждой ячейке имеется зеленое пятно. Далее идет круг, образованный зелеными точками. Затем следует круг, нанесенный марганцем (рис. 3: 7). Интересен также фрагмент чаши, украшенный подобным, но более сложным геометрическим орнаментом (рис. 3: 9).

Керамика с подглазурной росписью ангобом, марганцем и зеленой краской. Среди глазурованной керамики IX—X вв. выделяются изделия, украшенные росписью ангобом, марганцем и зеленой краской под прозрачной глазурью. Среди полуфабрикатов глазурованной керамической посуды имеются также образцы этой керамики (рис. 4: 1). В декоре доминируют геометрические орнаменты. Простейшим геометрическим орнаментом был узор в виде хаотически расположенных полос и мазков (рис. 4: 3, 8). Часто встречаются звезды из дугообразных полос, в пространстве между лучами которых размещены элементы в виде запятых. Этот декор, в свою очередь, оживлен зелеными и коричневыми мазками (рис. 4: 4, 9). Следует отметить, что керамика, украшенная ангобом, оживленная марганцем и зеленой краской, характерна для арранской керамической школы. Многочисленные образцы этой керамики известны из археологических раскопок Старой Гянджи и Бейлагана.

Керамика, украшенная росписью под глазурью зеленого цвета

Большую группу раннеглазурованной керамики Шамкира составляют изделия, украшенные росписью под зеленой глазурью.

Керамика, украшенная подглазурной росписью белым ангобом. Для этой керамики, в целом, характерны несложные геометрические орнаменты: круги, ромбы, треугольники, многоугольники, сетки, розетки из волнистых линий, дугообразные фигуры, стилизованные изображения астральных символов и т. д. Заслуживает внимания фрагмент чаши с декором, состоящим из чередующихся кружочков и сердцевидных фигур (рис. 5: 1). Декор из концентрических кругов также является характерным геометрическим орнаментом для этой подгруппы (рис. 5: 2). Встречаются четырехлучевые звезды из дугообразных полос, в пространстве между лучами, которых размещены дугообразные полосы (рис. 6: 1). Популярным был орнаментальный пояс из полуовалов, которые пересекают друг друга, а свободное поле заполнено элементами в форме запятых (рис. 5: 3—4). Кружка большого размера снаружи украшена волютами, нанесенными ангобом. А изнутри ангобом нанесены дугообразные полосы, круг с кружочком в центре (рис. 5: 5). Популярным декором были шестиконечные звезды из двух треугольников. Фон этого орнамента оживляли кружочками, подковообразными фигурами (рис. 5: 12). Примечательна чаша с астральным орнаментом. Круги, нанесенные ангобом, расположенные симметрично, занимают всю внутреннюю поверхность чаши. В центре чаши, а также в свободном пространстве между кругами и внутри каждого круга вписана астральная фигура в виде знака планеты Сатурна (рис. 5: 6). В декоре этой керамики

Рис. 5. Керамика, украшенная росписью ангобом под глазурью зеленого цвета.

Fig. 5. Green glaze slip painted pottery.

часто встречается другой астральный орнамент — свастика (рис. 5: 7—10). Этот орнамент, известный в искусстве Азербайджана с древнейших времен, был символом света, движения вселенной. Изредка встречаются чаши с узором, на которых сочетаются сложные геометрические и растительные орнаменты (рис. 6: 5). Примечательно художественное оформление чаши, в центре которой ангобом нанесен сильно стилизованный растительный орнамент. Орнаментальный пояс на стене чаши, окружающий этот декор, напоминает геометрический орнамент меандра (рис. 5: 13).

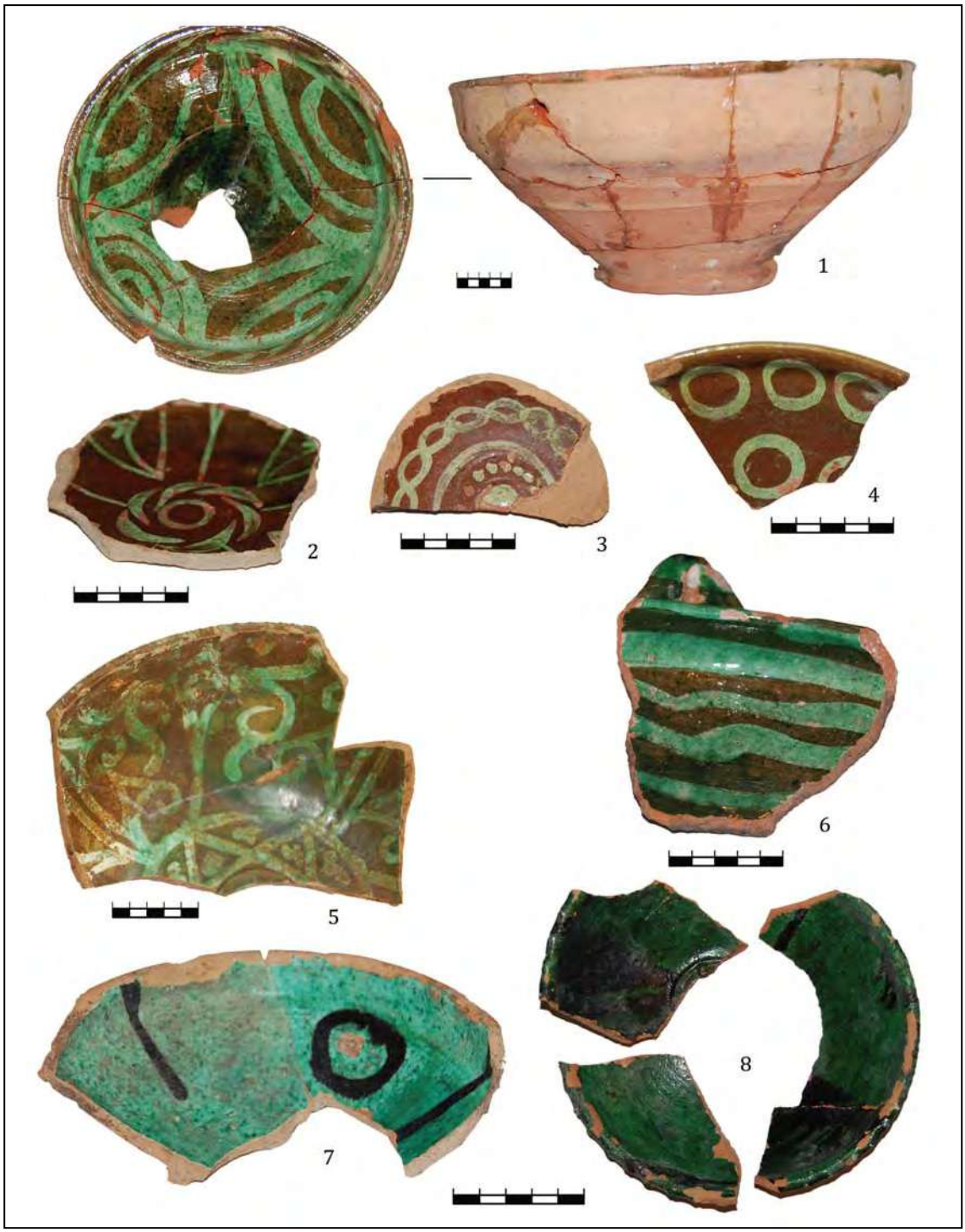

Рис. 6. Керамика с подглазурной росписью: 1—6 — керамика, украшенная росписью ангобом под глазурью зеленого цвета; 7—8 — керамика, украшенная черной росписью.

Fig. 6. Underglaze painted pottey: 1—6 — green glaze slip painted pottery; 7—8 — underglaze black painted pottery.

Керамика с росписью ангобом по непокрытому ангобом черепку под зеленой глазурью была широко распространена в Азербайджане в IX—X вв. Образцы этой керамики известны из археологических раскопок средневековых городищ Байлакана (Якобсон 1959: 231), Габалы (Babayev 1964: 138; Алиев, Гадиров 1985: 83), Шамахы (Джидди 1981: 62), Шабран (Dostiyev 2001: 163), Дербенда (Кудрявцев 1979: 121).

Керамика с росписью ангобом и марганцем. *Керамика*, украшенная росписью анго-

бом и марганцем по черепку под зеленой поливой, представлена только одной чашей. На внутреннюю поверхность чаши ангобом нанесены круги, пересекающие друг друга, а фон заполнен ангобными знаками в виде запятой и марганцевыми каплевидными полосами под зеленой поливой.

Керамика с подглазурной росписью черным. Керамика с черной росписью под зеленой поливой также немногочисленна. На раннем этапе (X в.) для этой керамики характерны неширокие полосы, круги, иногда расплывающиеся под зеленой поливой (рис. 6: 7—8).

Глазурованные монохромные изделия IX—X вв.

Особую группу раннеглазурованной керамики составляют монохромные изделия, черепок которых покрыт ангобом белого или розового цвета. Как правило, ангоб покрывал всю внутреннюю поверхность сосудов открытого типа — чаш, тарелок и блюд. На сосудах закрытого типа — кувшинах, светильниках, — наоборот, обычно ангобом покрывалась внешняя поверхность.

Монохромные неорнаментированные изделия. Эта керамика представлена, в основном, столовой посудой. Особенно широкое распространение получили чаши, пиалы, солонки, кружки различного размера. Часто встречаются также образцы светильников и кувшины. Преобладают изделия, покрытые глазурью зеленого и коричневого цвета.

Монохромные изделия, украшенные врезным способом и гравировкой. Встречаются образцы поливной монохромной керамики, украшенные геометрическими орнаментами, нанесенными гравировкой, и покрытые глазурью зеленого цвета. Фрагмент кружки с полукруглой ручкой с налепным выступом с коническим завершением украшен поясами с геометрическими орнаментами. В верхнем поясе гравировкой нанесены треугольники, а в нижнем — волнообразная линия (рис. 7: 1). Узкогорлый кувшин и фрагмент большой кружки украшены простыми прямыми и волнообразными линиями, нанесенными гравировкой (рис. 7: 2—3).

Встречаются кувшины с зооморфными элементами. В этой связи заслуживает внимания узкогорлый кувшин, имеющий сферическое тулово, узкое, невысокое горло, сильно выступающий желобчатый слив. По бокам к венчику прикреплено одно ушко, в котором просверлено два округлых отверстия. Верхняя половина тулова кувшина украшена геометрическим орнаментом, нанесенным гравировкой (рис. 7: 4).

Примечательно, что среди монохромной керамики IX—X вв. имеются узкогорлые кувшины средней величины, украшенные каннелюрным орнаментом под зеленой глазурью (рис. 7: 5—6). Отметим, что каннелюрный орнамент был популярным узором в декоре албанской керамики в раннем средневековье (Orucov 1989: 17) и был распространен в тех регионах Албании, где присутствовало сильное влияние хазар.

Поливная полихромная керамика IX—X вв.

Керамика с подглазурной полихромной росписью. В орнаментации поливной полихромной керамики основным способом декорировки была роспись. Всю внутреннюю поверхность чаш и блюд покрывали белым или розоватым ангобом. Кистью по ангобу наносили орнамент. Обычно контуры наносились марганцем, а внутреннее пространство орнамента заполнялось желтой и зеленой расцветкой. После этого сосуд покрывался прозрачной бесцветной поливой. Обильно используемые в росписи чистые тона желтой краски в сочетании с ярко-зеленой и ярко-фиолетовой создают поистине прекрасный в колористическом отношении декор (Наджафова 1983: 17). Доминирует геометрический орнамент как концентрического, так и радиального построения. Часто встречаются фрагменты чаш и мисок, украшенные охристо-желтыми, зелеными и коричневыми мазками под прозрачной поливой. Несмотря на простоту орнаментации, цветовая гамма придает узору привлекательность. Круги, расписанные марганцем, заполненные зеленой и желтой краской, также характерны для этой керамики. Вся внутренняя поверхность одной чаши покрыта ангобом. На одинаковом расстоянии нанесены светло-зеленые круги, обрамленные марганцевой линией. В центре каждого зеленого круга поставлено желтое пятно. А венчик чаши украшен марганцевыми точками (рис. 8: 2). Фрагмент другой чаши имеет близкий декор. В центре светло-зеленого круга поставлено желто-охристое пятно. По зеленому кругу поставлены марганцевые точки, что придает декору астральный характер (рис. 8: 3). Чаша, покрытая ангобом, украшена симметрично расположенными овалами и треугольниками, нанесенными марганцем и окисью меди. Внутреннее пространство этих фигур заполнено пятнами охристого цвета (рис. 8: 4). Другая чаша украшена четырех-

Рис. 7. Монохромные глазурованные изделия IX—X вв.: 1—4 — керамика, украшенная геометрическими орнаментами, нанесенными гравировкой врезным способом, и покрытая глазурью зеленого цвета; 5—6 — фрагменты кувшинов, украшенные каннелюрным орнаментом под зеленой глазурью.

Fig. 7. Monochrome glazed products of 9th—10th centuries: 1—4 — ceramics with geometric ornamentation drawn by incised engraving method and covered by green glaze; 5—6 — fragments of jars, decorated with grooves under green glaze.

лепестковой розеткой, нанесенной коричневой, светло-зеленой и светло-желтой краской. Лепестки оживлены марганцевыми мазками (рис. 8: 1). Декор, напоминающий шестилепестковую розетку, занимает внутреннюю поверхность чаши полусферической формы. Лепестки розетки также оживлены марганцевыми мазками (рис. 8: 5).

В декоре этой керамики очень часто встречаются цветные круги, кружочки, каплевид-

Рис. 8. Глазурованные полихромные изделия IX—X вв.

Fig. 8. Underglaze polychrome painted pottery of 9th—10th centuries.

ное пятно, мазки (рис. 8: 6). Чередование белых, зеленых и коричневых полос на фрагменте чаши усиливает динамику декора, повышает художественную выразительность чаши (рис. 8: 7; рис. 9, 2). Заслуживает внимания художественное оформление невысокой чаши, на стенке которой чередуются парные коричневые, охристые и зеленые полосы (рис. 9: 1). Интересны также фрагменты чаши, днище которой украшено цветными концентрическими кругами, а стена чаши декорирована цветными полукругами, вертикальными и дугообразными полосами, стреловидным знаком, нанесенным марганцем. В орнаментации чаш встречается декор из треугольника и дугообразных полос.

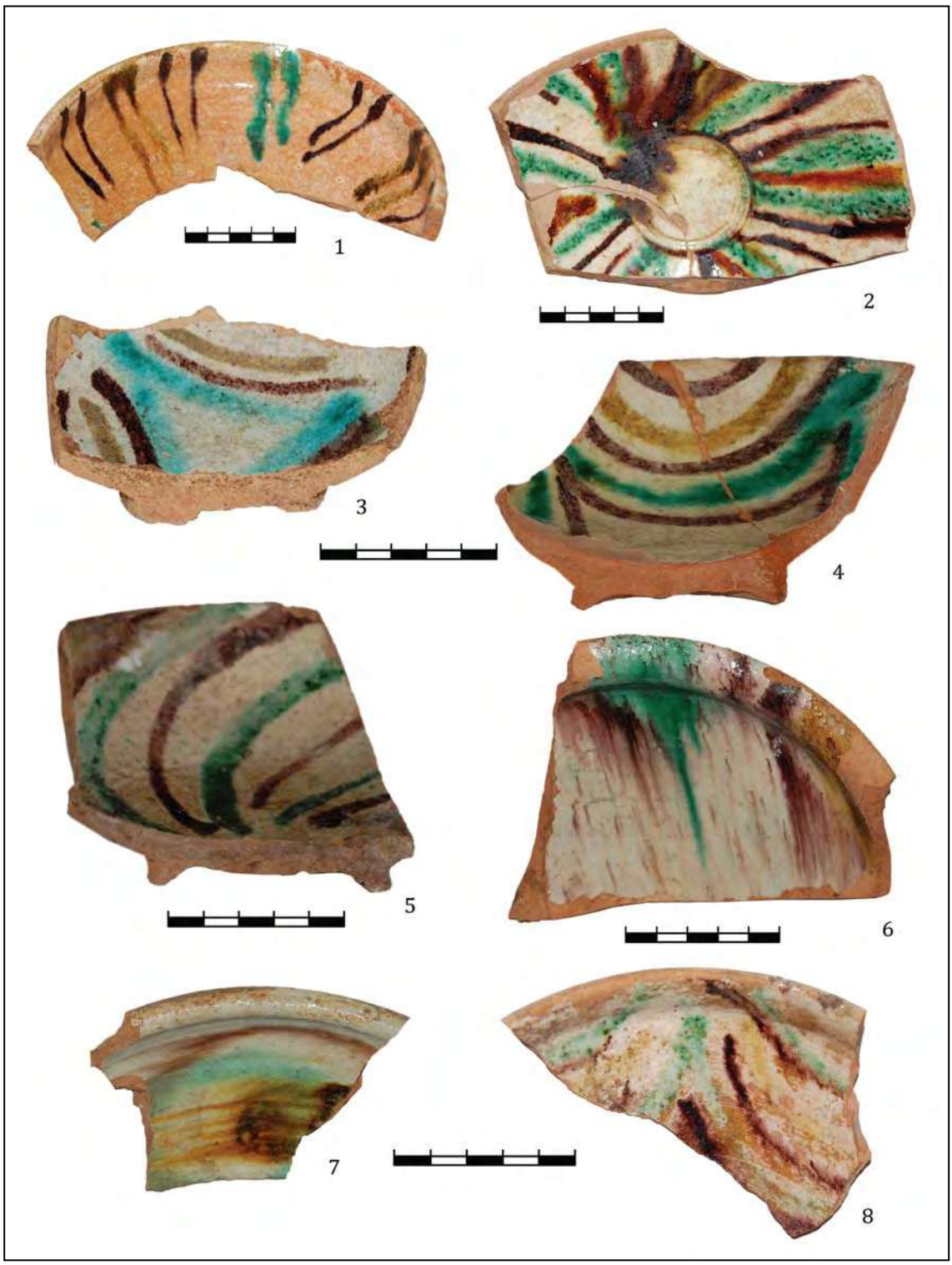

Рис. 9. Глазурованные полихромные изделия IX—X вв.

Fig. 9. Underglaze polychrome painted pottery of 9th—10th centuries.

В центре композиции, на дне чаши, марганцем либо окисью меди нанесен треугольник, а на стенке чаши чередуются светло-зеленые, коричневые и желтые полосы (рис. 9: 3—4). Красочностью отличаются тарелки, украшенные расплывчатыми зелеными, фиолетовыми, охристо-желтыми полосами и пятнами (рис. 9: 6—8).

Геометрические орнаменты, нанесенные марганцем и окисью меди на желтом фоне, также характерны для ранней глазурованной керамики Шамкира. Так, фрагмент

чаши украшен геометрическим орнаментом, нанесенным зеленой и желтой краской, элементы желтого цвета — полосы и кружочки, оживлены точками фиолетового цвета (рис. 10: 1).

Широкое распространение получила керамика, покрытая ангобом розоватого цвета, украшенная росписью марганцем и окисью меди, т.е. красками фиолетового и зеленого цвета. Сетка, нанесенная марганцем, имеет четырехугольные ячейки с многолепестковой розеткой желтого цвета (рис. 10: 3). Зеленые ленты создают сетку с овальными ячейками, а ячейки оживлены желтыми и коричневыми мазками (рис. 10: 2). Чаша, имеющая декор концентрического построения, украшена эпиграфическим орнаментом. На фрагменте чаши чередуются пояса розоватого и желтого цвета. Пояса розоватого цвета также украшены эпиграфическим орнаментом (рис. 10: 6). Заслуживает внимания фрагмент чаши со сложным геометрическим орнаментом, нанесенным окисью меди зелеными линиями. Овал, занимающий центральное положение в этом орнаменте, украшен сеткой, в ячейки которой вписаны трилистники. Свободное поле геометрического орнамента заполнено марганцевыми точками и фигурами в виде лука, которые нанесены марганцем и окрашены желтой краской (рис. 10: 7). Фрагмент другой чаши украшен сильно стилизованным растительным орнаментом (рис. 10: 4). Реже встречаются ярко выраженные растительные орнаменты (рис. 10: 5).

Керамика с подглазурной гравировкой и полихромной росписью

Чаши, украшенные тонкой гравировкой и полихромной росписью по ангобу, появляются в X веке. Как правило, декор имеет светло-желтый фон. На фрагменте тонкостенной чаши гравировкой нанесен спиралевидный орнамент, на котором нарисованы круг и кружочки марганцем и зеленой краской (рис. 10: 8). Спиралевидные завитки, выполненные беглой гравировкой, украшают стенки чаши (рис. 10: 10). Фрагмент чаши украшен спиралевидными элементами, нанесенными тонкой гравировкой и полосами и пятнами зеленого и коричневого цвета (рис. 10: 9). Чаша, имеющая полусферическое тулово на низком кольцевом поддоне, украшена миндалевидными фигурами и геометрическими элементами в виде сектора, выполненными беглой гравировкой. Расплывчатые зеленые и коричневые пятна и полосы не соответствуют графическим орнаментам (рис. 10: 12).

Заслуживает внимания поливная кружка, декорированная снаружи горизонтальными орнаментальными поясами, нанесенными врезными линиями и покрытая зеленой глазурью. Изнутри кружка украшена полихромной росписью под бесцветной прозрачной поливой (рис. 11: 1).

Керамика, декорированная в технике резьбы по подсушенной глине до обжига. Эта керамика немногочисленна. По мнению исследователей, эта техника декорирования имитировала резьбу по дереву (Федоров-Давыдов 1978: 34; Якобсон 1959: 282). Эта керамика представлена фрагментами кружек. Фрагмент большой кружки снаружи украшен поясом, который делится на четырехугольные части. В каждом четырехугольнике техникой резьбы нанесены крестообразные элементы и треугольники. Кружка покрыта зеленой глазурью (рис. 11: 2). Следует отметить, что для декора этой керамики весьма характерны резные треугольники. В исламской культуре треугольник, поставленный на основание и указывающий вершиной вверх, символизировал переход от земного мира к небесному, устремленность от материального к духовному. Треугольник, указывающий вершиной вниз, наоборот, символизировал переход от небесного к земному, от духовного к материальному (Стародуб 2010: 193). Фрагмент другой чаши снаружи украшен треугольниками, нанесенными техникой резьбы, и покрыт зеленой глазурью. Изнутри стенка кружки была украшена полихромными полосами, выполненными росписью, и покрыта бесцветной, прозрачной глазурью (рис. 11: 3). Керамика, декорированная треугольниками, нанесенными техникой резьбы по подсушенной глине до обжига, и покрытая зеленой глазурью, также известна из раскопок других городов Азербайджана, в частности, из Байлакана (Əhmədov 1979: 61, şək. 42; Якобсон 1959: табл. XXII—XXIII) и Шабрана (Dostiyev 2001: 71).

Подытоживая изучение поливной керамики VIII—X вв., можно констатировать, что в результате становления и развития производства глазурованной керамики происходит качественное изменение в гончарном ремесле Шамкира, и в целом Азербайджана. Производство глазурованной керамики было массовым, о чем свидетельствует стандартизация изделий. В VIII—X вв. основными техническими средствами декорирования керамики были цвет обожженного черепка, ангоб, окись

Рис. 10. Глазурованные полихромные изделия IX—X вв.: 1—7 — керамика с подглазурной полихромной росписью; 8—12 — керамика с подглазурной гравировкой и полихромной росписью.

Fig. 10. Underglaze polychrome painted pottery of 9th—10th centuries: 1—7 — underglaze polychrome painted pottery; 8—12 — underglaze polychrome painted and engraved pottery.

марганца и меди и глазури. Доминировала роспись ангобными красками. Используя эти средства, гончары-художники создали разнообразные керамические изделия, которые отличались не только высоким качеством черепка, ангобных красок и глазурей, но и художественной завершенностью формы изделий, декором, в трактовке которого преобладало орнаментальное начало. Орнамент на керамике, это не только декор, но и кодированный текст, где каждый элемент имеет свое символическое значение.

Рис. 11. Глазурованная керамика X — первой половины XI века: 1 — поливная кружка с подглазурным графическим орнаментом снаружи и с подглазурной полихромной росписью изнутри; 2—3 — глазурованная керамика, декорированная техникой резьбы по обсушенной глине до обжига; 4—7 — глазурованная керамика, украшенная с графическим орнаментом, марганцевыми мазками или зеленой растекающейся росписью.

Fig. 11. Glazed ceramics of the 10th — first half of 11th centuries: 1 — glazed cup with under glaze graphic ornaments from the outside and with under glaze polychrome painting inside; 2—3 — glazed ceramics with carvings in dry clay before baking; 4—7 — glazed ceramics decorated with graphic patterns, manganese strokes or green spreading painting.

Таким образом, ранняя глазурованная керамика Шамкира выделяется не только по оригинальности стиля и четкости декора, свежести и яркости колорита, но и по художественному решению орнаментальных композиций.

Поливная керамика XI — начала XIII веков

Второй этап, охватывающий XI — начало XIII вв., характеризуется некоторыми новшествами в технологии декорирования поливной керамики. В этот период производство красноглиняной поливной керамики Шамкира достигает своего зенита. Если поливная керамика IX—X вв. украшалась, в основном, росписью ангобными красками, то в XI — начале XIII вв. широко применялись краски на основе оксидов металлов: окись меди (зеленый цвет), марганца (фиолетовый или коричневый цвет), окалины железа (желто-коричневый цвет) и кобальта (синий цвет) и т. д. (Ахмедов 2003: 308). Отметим, что в различных регионах Азербайджана в XI—XII вв. возникают керамические школы со своими достижениями и традициями. Выделяются локальными особенностями ширванская, арранская, нахчыванская и агкендская (Южный Азербайджан) школы. Важным центром арранской керамической школы, наряду с Гянджой, Бардой, Бейлаганом, был и город Шамкир.

Керамика, украшенная гравированным орнаментом и растекающейся росписью под прозрачной бесцветной или светло-желтой глазурью

Особую группу составляют блюда и чаши, украшенные, наряду с гравированным орнаментом, также марганцевыми мазками или зеленой растекающейся росписью, которые не согласованы с основным рисунком. Иногда на фоне рисунка разбросаны зеленые пятна. Среди гравированного орнамента доминируют спиралевидные завитки (рис. 11: 6—7). На некоторых образцах встречается растительный орнамент, нанесенный гравировкой и несоответствующие ему марганцевые и зеленые мазки, пятна. В целом, характерным для этой керамики является пятнистый орнамент.

Типичным образцом этой керамики являются чаши, украшенные гравированными спиралевидными завитками, вне связи с этим рисунком по всему полю чаши нанесены марганцем три сомкнутые парные дуги, создающие как бы трехлепестковую розетку. На гравированный декор поставлены марганцевые и зеленые пятна (рис. 11: 5; 12: 4—5). Расписной декор не согласован с гравированными спиралевидными завитками. Отметим, что этот узор был очень популярным в творчестве гончаров-художников Аррана в XI в. Подобная керамика известна также из археологических раскопок средневекового Бейлагана и Старой Гянджи (Якобсон 1959: 249—250, табл. XX: 4—5).

Керамика, украшенная техникой «в резерве»

В XI веке в поливной керамике Азербайджана появляется новый прием декорирования изделий, так называемая выемчатая, или техника «в резерве», представляющая собой соскабливание фона с целью выделить основной узор. Изделия покрывали светлым ангобом и по влажному ангобу гравировали задуманный узор. Затем путем удаления вокруг рисунка фона, то есть ангобного слоя, резервировали орнаментальные мотивы. После этого сосуды покрывали глазурью и обжигали. Та часть поливной поверхности, которая приходилась на ангоб, получалась светлой, а та, которая попадала на обожженную глину, приобретала более темный оттенок. В результате создавалось впечатление двухцветности узора. Эта группа глазурованной керамики представлена в основном фрагментами чаш и блюд. Наиболее ранний экземпляр представлен фрагментом чаши с полусферическим туловом. На стенке чаши этой техникой нанесена многолепестковая пальметта. Зеленые мазки на ней не соответствуют растительному орнаменту. Венчик чаши украшен марганцевыми пятнами (рис. 12: 6). Для этой группы весьма характерны растительный орнамент «ислими». Растительный орнамент — «ислими» занимает внутреннюю поверхность другой чаши, представленной тремя фрагментами. Снаружи под венчиком эта чаша украшена орнаментальным поясом с эпиграфическим декором, нанесенным тонкой гравировкой. Чаша была покрыта прозрачной, бесцветной поливой (рис. 12: 7). На небольшом фрагменте чаши выемчатой техникой нанесены пятилепестковые розетки под светло-желтой глазурью (рис. 12: 8).

Керамика, украшенная черной росписью по белому ангобному покрытию

Производство поливной керамики, украшенной черной росписью по белому ангобному покрытию под глазурью зеленого цвета, продолжалось и в XI—XII вв. Образцы этой керамики немногочисленны и украшены, в основном, элементами геометрического характера. Заслуживает рассмотрения

Рис. 12. Глазурованная керамика XI века: 1—5 — глазурованная керамика, украшенная с графическим орнаментом, марганцевыми мазками или зеленой растекающейся росписью; 6—8 — глазурованная керамика, украшенная техникой «в резерве».

Fig. 12. Glazed ceramics of the 11th century: 1—5 — glazed pottery decorated with graphic patterns, manganese strokes or green spreading painting; 6—8 — glazed pottery decorated in reserved technique.

чаша с полусферическим туловом, невысоким бортиком и венчиком, отогнутым наружу. На дне чаши, в центре композиции нанесена небольшая окружность, на равном расстоянии от нее на стенке имеется ряд каплевидных фигур. Композицию завершает бордюр из парных полудуг. Сверху этот узор напоминает шестиконечную звезду (рис. 13: 1). В центре, на днище другой чаши, по ангобному покрытию поставлены три точки под

Рис. 13. Глазурованная керамика XII — начала XIII века: 1—3 — глазурованная керамика, украшенная с черной росписью по белому ангобному покрытию; 4—10 — Глазурованная керамика, украшенная с марганцевой росписью по белому ангобному покрытию.

Fig. 13. Glazed ceramics of 12th — early 13th century: 1—3 — glazed ceramics, painted with black over white slip; 4—10 — Manganese decorated glazed pottery over white slip.

глазурью зеленого цвета. В декоре этой керамики, наряду с геометрическими элементами, распространяются также эпиграфические орнаменты (рис. 13: 2). Очень популярным был орнаментальный мотив эпиграфического характера в виде буквы «вав» арабского алфавита. Как правило, этот орнаментальный элемент нанесен на донной части чаш и блюд.

Глазурованная керамика, украшенная марганцевой росписью по белому ангобному покрытию

Группа глазурованной керамики украшена марганцевой росписью по белому ангобу под бесцветной прозрачной глазурью. В декорировании этой керамики предпочтение отдавали геометрическим и растительным орнаментам, реже встречаются изобразительные мотивы. Доминирует геометрический орнамент. Узор из марганцевых точек, сгруппированных по три, широко применялся в украшении чаш и кружек (рис. 13: 4—5). Темно-коричные прямоугольники, нанесенные росписью марганцем по ангобу в шахматном порядке, украшают венчик чаши. А стенка чаши расписана крючкообразными знаками (рис. 13: 6). Встречается сетка из треугольников, расположенных в шахматном порядке (рис. 13: 7). На одном фрагменте марганцем нанесен узел счастья в виде двух скрещенных и переплетающихся овалов (рис. 13: 10). Изредка встречаются астральные орнаменты. Внутренняя поверхность маленькой чаши украшена шестиконечной звездой (рис. 13: 9). На одном фрагменте имеется стилизованный эпиграфический орнамент, напоминающий свастику. Пересекающиеся линии заканчиваются сильно геометризованными буквами. С трудом читается имя Мухаммед (Dostiyev və b. 2013: 347). Заслуживает внимания чаша с изображением птицы, вероятно, орла в геральдической позе (рис. 14: 1).

Глазурованная керамика, украшенная гравировкой по марганцевой росписи

Высокой художественностью выделяются образцы керамики, украшенные гравировкой по марганцевой росписи под бесцветной прозрачной глазурью. Техника исполнения орнаментации состоит в том, что чашу покрывали ангобом, затем расписывали марганцем, после чего по марганцевому полю гравировали задуманный рисунок, однако гравировка доводилась только до ангобного слоя, благодаря чему рисунок выделялся белыми линиями на марганцевом фоне. Заслуживает внимания глубокое блюдо с узором концентрического построения. В центре композиции расположены шестиконечные звезды, окруженные сегментовидными элементами и обрамленные кругом. На стенке блюда, на широкой кайме, чередуются прямоугольники и трапеции. Следующая, узкая кайма украшена конвертообразными геометрическими элементами. Композицию завершает бордюр из спиралевидных завитков (рис. 14: 4). Небольшой фрагмент чаши украшен сеткой, расписанной марганцем. По марганцевой росписи гравировкой нанесен растительный орнамент (рис. 14: 5). Поле днища другой чаши, покрытое марганцем, тонкими линиями разделено на орнаментальные пояса, которые заполнены стилизованным гравированным растительным орнаментом (рис. 14: 6).

Керамика, украшенная гравировкой по марганцевой росписи под бесцветной прозрачной глазурью, характерна для арранской керамической школы Азербайджана, особенно для Бейлагана. По мнению А. Л. Якобсона, она представляет собой, пожалуй, одно из наиболее интересных явлений в художественной культуре Бейлагана предмонгольского времени (Якобсон 1959: 273).

Монохромные глазурованные изделия XI — начала XIII вв.

Керамика, украшенная гравированным орнаментом под зеленой глазурью. В XI — начале XIII вв. одним из эффективных приемов декорирования красноглиняной поливной керамики является гравировка острым инструментом по ангобу, покрывающему красную глину. Декорирование изделий производилось следующим образом. Сосуд покрывался слоем ангоба, затем по влажному слою ангоба наносилась гравировка. После того, как сосуд покрывали глазурью и обжигали, гравированные линии получали более темную окраску. Таким простым способом получали довольно изящные графические рисунки. Эта керамика производилась почти во всех керамических центрах мусульманского Востока (Watson 2005: 253). Исследователи отмечают, что принцип графического декора керамики генетически связан с гравировкой по металлу (Poup 1964: 1505; Якобсон 1979: 120).

В декоре этой керамики применялась гравировка как толстой, так и тонкой линией. Часто оба приема присутствуют одновременно в одном рисунке. При этом толстой линией наносят контуры орнамента, а тонкой линией выполняются детали. Монохромные изделия, украшенные гравировкой под глазурью, были самой распространенной группой поливной керамики в XI — начале XIII вв. Применялась глазурь зеленого, желтого, желто-охристого, бирюзового, фиолетового цвета. Преобладающее большинство этой керамики покрыто глазурью зеленого цвета.

Рис. 14. Глазурованная керамика XII — начала XIII вв.: 1—3 — глазурованная керамика, украшенная марганцевой росписью по белому ангобному покрытию; 4—7 — глазурованная керамика, украшенная гравировкой по марганцевой росписи.

Fig. 14. Glazed ceramics of the 12th — early 13th century: 1—3 — manganese decorated glazed pottery over white slip; 4—7 — engraved glazed ceramics over manganese painting.

Эта керамика украшена геометрическими, растительными и эпиграфическими орнаментами. Наиболее простым и популярным орнаментом являлись завитки, спирали (рис. 15: 1—5), овалы, пересекающие линии (рис. 15: 9) и сетки (рис. 15: 6—7). Встречаются изделия с концентрической композицией в рисунке и с радиально расположенным орнаментом. При радиальном построении узора внутренняя поверхность посуды делится пря-

Рис. 15. Керамика, украшенная гравировкой под зеленой глазурью.

Fig. 15. Engraved pottery under green glaze.

мыми линиями гравировки на несколько секторов, и каждый из них украшается либо одним и тем же орнаментальным элементом, либо двумя разными, повторяющимися через сектор. Широкое распространение получил геометрический орнамент в виде различных спиралей в 1,5—3 оборота, иногда переплетающихся между собой, но чаще нанесенных в строгом порядке (рис. 15: 1—3, 5). Иногда спиралевидные фигуры создают замкнутые завитки, симметрично расположенные на стене чаш и блюд (рис. 15: 4). Волнистые линии в виде рыбьей чешуи, обрамленные кругом или овалом, встречаются на дне и стенках чаш, блюд и тарелок (рис. 15: 10). На фрагменте чаши парные тонкие гравированные

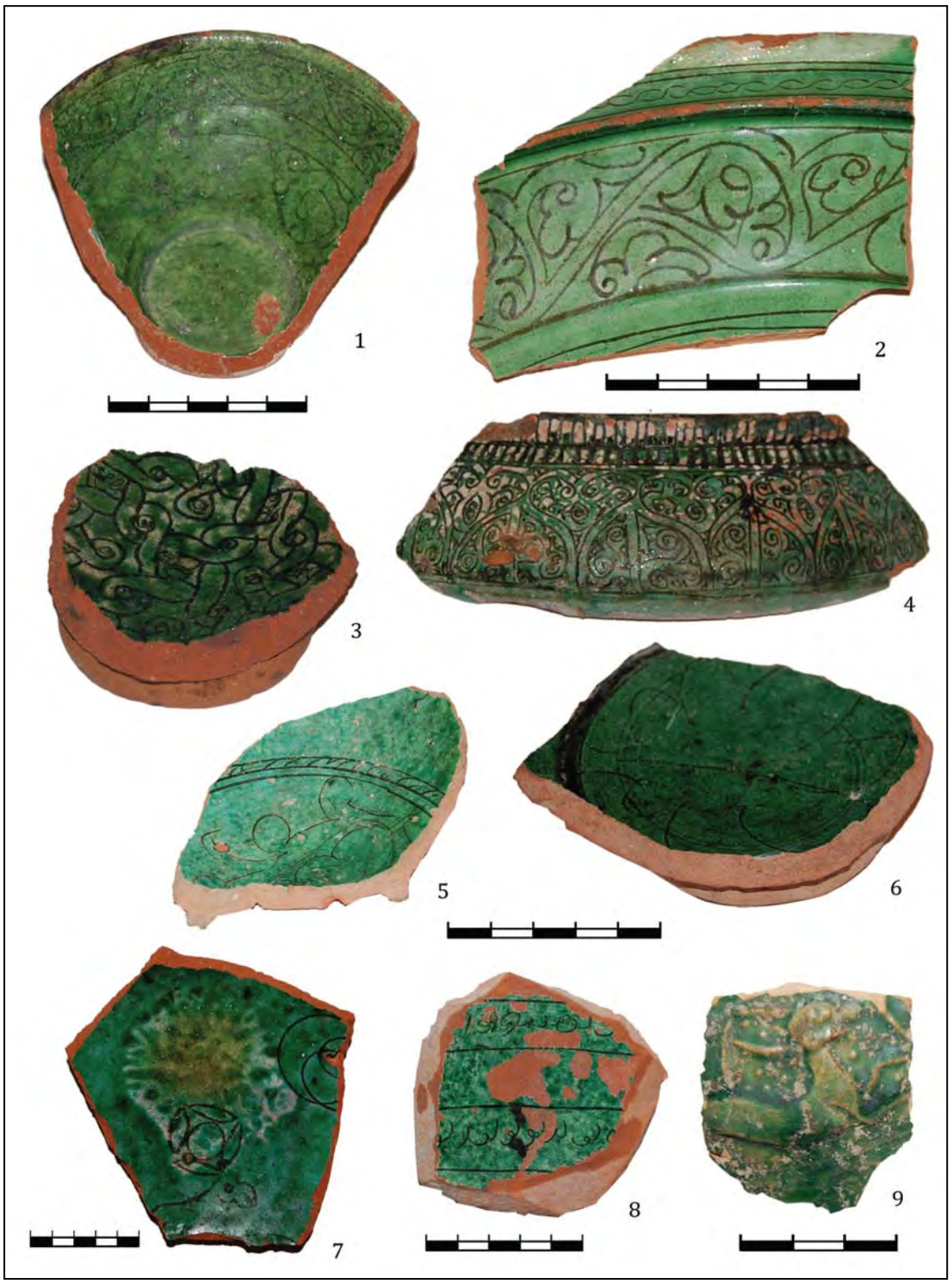

Рис. 16. 1—8 — керамика, украшенная гравированным орнаментом под зеленой глазурью; 9 — керамика, украшенная штампованным орнаментом под зеленой глазурью.

Fig. 16. 1—8 — engraved ceramics under green glaze; 9 — stamped ceramics under green glaze.

линии, отходящие от центра чаши, разделяют все поле на четыре части, а в центре создают как бы квадрат. В квадрате тонкой гравировкой нанесен завиток (рис. 15: 9). Чаша с аналогичным орнаментом известна из археологических раскопок городища Шабран. В шабранском экземпляре в центральном квадрате и в каждой части гравировкой нанесено

по одному завитку (Достиев 1989: 199, рис. 3: 1). Очень часто в донной части чаш, тарелок и блюд встречаются сетка, обрамленная кругом. Ячейки их квадратные или ромбовидные (рис. 15: 6—7). Заслуживает внимания экземпляр, в котором в ромбовидных ячейках сетки размещены буквы арабского алфавита «мим», «нун» и «син». Отметим, что буквы арабского алфавита считались священными, и каждая буква имела семантическое значение. Так, например, буква «нун» являлась символом «нусрат», т. е. успеха, победы (Göyüşov 1988).

Встречаются также изделия, украшенные сложным геометрическим орнаментом. Популярным геометрическим орнаментом было плетение — «сельджукская цепь» (рис. 16: 2). Иногда встречаются более сложные переплетения (рис. 16: 3).

Внутренняя поверхность некоторых чаш, блюд и тарелок рассматриваемого периода декорирована гравированным геометрическим и растительным орнаментом по белому ангобному покрытию. Как правило, растительные орнаменты сильно стилизованы.

Очень популярным растительным орнаментом был «ислими», который встречается в различных вариантах. Фрагмент сосуда с биконическим туловом декорирован орнаментальными поясами. В нижнем поясе снаружи расположен растительный орнамент — «ислими», выполненный гравировкой (рис. 16: 4). Широкая кайма на внутренней поверхности также орнаментирована гравированным растительным орнаментом «ислими» (рис. 16: 2). Стенка пиалы с полусферическим туловом изнутри также украшена растительным орнаментом «ислими» (рис. 16: 1).

Многолепестковые цветы, бутоны, пальметты также были популярными растительными орнаментами (рис. 15: 11; 16: 5—6).

Эпиграфическим орнаментом эта керамика небогата. Дно чаши было разделено прямыми горизонтальными линиями на три части — пояса, одна из них лишена декора, два другие украшены эпиграфическим орнаментом. Почерком «насх» выгравирована надпись (рис. 16: 8).

В художественном убранстве этой керамики изредка встречаются изобразительные мотивы. В этой связи заслуживает рассмотрения фрагмент чаши, на внутренней поверхности которой выгравирован рисунок птицы. На фрагменте сохранились изображения раскрытого крыла, шея и голова птицы (рис. 15: 8). Этот фрагмент по стратиграфии культурного слоя относится к XI в. Близкая аналогия имеется среди глазурованной керамики Бейлагана и Дербенда. На фрагменте другой

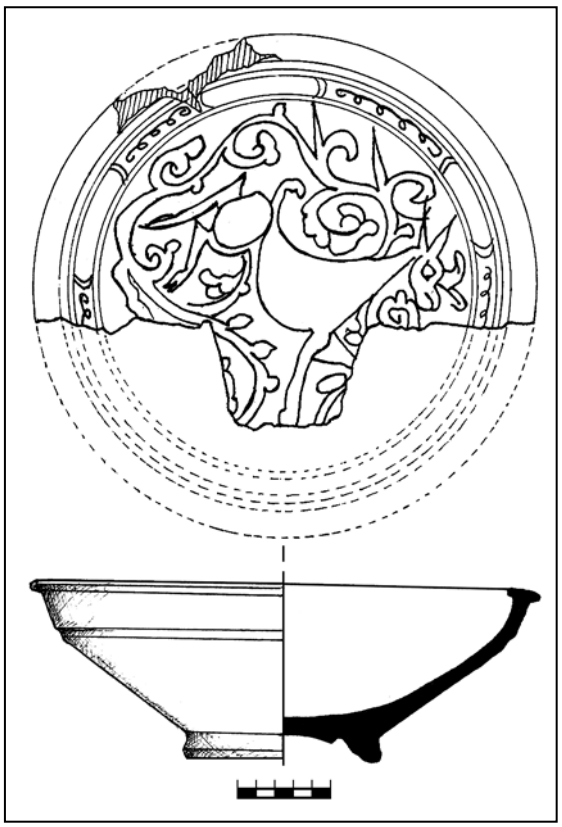

Рис. 17. Глазурованная монохромная чаша XII века.

Fig. 17. Glazed monochrome bowl of 12th century.

чаши, на днище чаши выгравирован рисунок оленя (рис. 16: 7). Образ оленя, широко распространенный мотив декоративно-прикладного искусства древнего и античного Азербайджана, в эпохи средневековья встречается реже. Этот образ с древнейших времен олицетворял солнечное божество (Рempель 1987: 28). Глубокая чаша с кольцевым поддоном украшена гравировкой и покрыта глазурью зеленовато-бирюзового цвета. Тектоника узора концентрическая. В центре композиции расположено схематичное изображение осла на растительном фоне. Невысокий бортик декорирован геометрическим орнаментом, спиралевидными завитками, выполненный тонкой гравировкой (рис. 17).

Монохромные изделия, украшенные гравировкой под зеленой глазурью, являются самой распространенной группой поливной керамики XI—XIII вв. Эта керамика хорошо известна из археологических раскопок средневековых городов Азербайджана (Ахмедов 1992; Достиев 1999; Ибрагимов 2000; Кудрявцев 1981; Новрузов 1993; Якобсон 1959).

Керамика, украшенная штампованным орнаментом под зеленой глазурью. В строительных горизонтах XII — начала XIII века

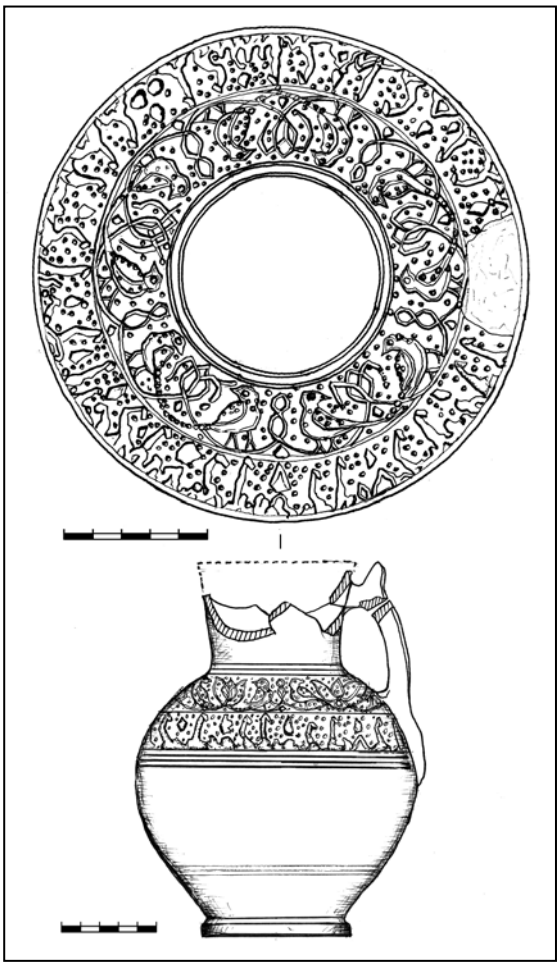

Рис. 18. Глазурованный кувшин со штампованным орнаментом.

Fig. 18. Glazed jug with stamped ornaments.

культурного слоя городища Шамкир встречаются монохромные изделия, как правило, узкогорлые кувшины со штампованным орнаментом, покрытые зеленой глазурью. Следует отметить, что изготовление этих кувшинов существенно не отличалось от неполивных кувшинов этого типа, которых в XI — начале XIII вв. производили довольно много. Изучение формы этих кувшинов показывает, что эти сосуды состояли из трех отдельно изготовленных частей: нижней и верхней частей тулова и горловины. Богато украшенная верхняя часть тулова этих кувшинов изготовлялась в специальных чашеобразных формах — калыбах, орнаментированных углубленным узором (Сайко 1982: 36; Исмизаде, Ибрагимов 1983: 9—10). Заслуживает внимания кувшин, верхняя половина которого украшена штампованным узором. На растительном фоне изображены птицы. Фон оживлен рельефными точками. Кувшин покрыт глазурью зеленого цвета травянистого оттенка (рис. 18). Декор кувшина носит идейную нагрузку. Можно предполагать, что сочетание птиц и растительных побегов символизировало идею рая (Ремпель 1987: 108). Другие образцы этой керамики представлены фрагментами. На одном фрагменте сохранился декор с рельефными геометрическими и растительными элементами (Dostiyev 2015: 50, II tablo: 5). Фрагмент другого кувшина орнаментирован рельефными растительными и эпиграфическими элементами (Dostiyev 2015: 50, IV tablo: 2).

Изредка встречаются образцы, тулово которых украшено поясом штампованного орнамента (рис. 16: 9).

Глазурованные полихромные изделия XI — начала XIII века

Высоким художественным уровнем выделяются глазурованные полихромные изделия Шамкира XI — начала XIII в. Здесь можно выделить три подгруппы:

Первая подгруппа представлена *керамикой, украшенной полихромной росписью под бесцветной прозрачной поливой.* Орнаментация изделий этой подгруппы несложна, в основном состоит из геометрических и растительных мотивов. Фрагмент чаши, имеющей декор концентрического построения, украшен полихромной росписью. В орнаментальных поясах геометрический орнамент, напоминающий имитацию надписи, нанесен марганцем, расцвечен желтой и зеленой краской (рис. 19: 1). Аналогичный геометрический орнамент имеется также на другой чаше. Здесь в центре композиции расположен медальон с цветными полосами. Чередуются желтые и темно-зеленые полосы. Донная часть тонкостенной чаши украшен геометрическим и эпиграфическим орнаментом. В центре композиции, на днище чаши коричневой краской нанесен небольшой круг, заполненный зеленым спиралевидным завитком и желтыми мазками. От круга отходят коричневые линии, разделяющие поле чаши на восемь частей. В каждой части вписан эпиграфический элемент — буква «вав» арабского алфавита. Чередуются зеленые и желтые цвета (рис. 19: 2). Встречаются образцы с растительным орнаментом. Как правило, растительные орнаменты даны в сочетании с геометрическими элементами. Две узкие зеленые полосы, обрамленные марганцевыми линиями, пересекая друг друга, в центре одной такой чаши создают четыре сектора, в каждом секторе марганцем нанесен

Рис. 19. Глазурованные полихромные изделия XI — начала XIII века: 1—3 — керамика, украшенная с подглазурной полихромной росписью; 4—11 — керамика, украшенная с гравировкой и полихромной раскраской под бесцветной, прозрачной поливой.

Fig. 19. Glazed polychrome ware of 11th — early 13th century: 1—3 — underglaze polychrome painted ceramics; 4—11 — engraved and polychrome ceramics under colorless, transparent glaze.

растительный элемент, расцвеченный краской охристого цвета. Фрагмент другой чаши украшен стилизованным растительным орнаментом. На её днище, в центре композиции, расположен цветок с тремя ланцетовидными лепестками, а пространство между лепестками заполнено геометрическим элементом. Реже встречаются изображения животных. Примечательно изображение газели (джейрана) на фрагменте чаши, нанесенное марганцем

и раскрашенное зелено-бирюзовой краской (рис. 19: 3).

В целом, керамика, украшенная росписью полихромными красками под прозрачной, бесцветной поливой выделяется ярким и свежим колоритом, оригинальной орнаментальной композицией.

Вторая подгруппа полихромной керамики XI — начала XIII в. включает *изделия, украшенные гравировкой и полихромной раскраской под бесцветной, прозрачной поливой*. Выделяется *два варианта*. Встречаются поливные чаши, тарелки *с гравировкой и растекающейся полихромной расцветкой, не совпадающей, в основном, с рисунком*. Так, на днище одной чаши выгравирована сетка с четырехугольными ячейками, а в каждой ячейке имеется эпиграфический элемент. Геометрический орнамент расцвечен расплывчатыми зелеными и желтыми пятнами, не совпадающими с графическим орнаментом (рис. 19: 4). На небольшом фрагменте чаши сохранился геометрический орнамент радиального построения, выполненный гравировкой, который беспорядочно окрашен зеленой и желтой краской (рис. 19: 6). На некоторых фрагментах встречается растительный орнамент, выполненный тонкой гравировкой, а желтые и зеленые пятна не соответствуют контурным линиям графического орнамента.

Второй вариант второй подгруппы полихромной керамики включает *изделия, украшенные гравировкой в сочетании с полихромной расцветкой элементов орнамента*. Эта керамика была наиболее популярным видом декоративно-прикладного искусства XI — начала XIII вв. В художественном оформлении этой керамики доминировала разнообразная геометрическая, растительная и изобразительная орнаментация. Часто геометрические и растительные орнаменты удачно сочетаются. Встречаются образцы с декором, где в центре композиции расположен медальон с сеткой, окруженный цветными концентрическими кругами. Следует отметить, что сетка с цветными точками или кружочками на дне весьма характерна для полихромной поливной керамики Шамкира XI—XII вв. (Bəşirov 2011: 102; Dostiyev və b. 2013: 356—358). Внутренняя поверхность глубокой чаши украшена сеткой, нанесенной тонкой гравировкой и окрашенной светло-зеленой краской. Ячейки сетки квадратные. В центре каждой ячейки имеется коричневый кружок, а в углах сегменты, раскрашенные желтой краской (рис. 19: 7). Очень популярным орнаментом была сетка с ромбовидными цветными ячейками. Как правило, в этих сетках ритмично чередуются белые, зеленые и желтые ячейки (Dostiyev və b. 2013: 356). Обычно либо на белых, либо на цветных ячейках встречаются зигзагообразные элементы или буквы арабского алфавита. Заслуживает внимания также фрагмент чаши, украшенный сеткой с квадратными ячейками. В каждом ячейке имеется либо ромб, либо небольшой круг. Эти ячейки чередуются. В центре круга марганцем нанесен кружок. Фон в этих ячейках окрашен зеленой краской. В центре ромба выгравирован кружок, поле вокруг которого окрашено желто-охристой краской, а ячейка, фон ромба, не окрашена (рис. 19: 8). Другой фрагмент, с сеткой с квадратными ячейками, декорирован иначе. В каждой ячейке имеется ромб, раскрашенный желтой краской, и в каждом углу ячейки марганцем поставлены точки. С изысканным вкусом декорирована чаша, в центре которой тонкой гравировкой нанесена восьмиконечная звезда. Внутри звезды выгравирован небольшой круг с кружочком в центре. Поле круга раскрашено зеленой краской. Вокруг круга поставлены марганцевые точки, что придает узору астральный характер. Восьмиконечная звезда окружена треугольниками (рис. 19: 9).

Встречаются чаши, на дне которых расположены цветные полосы, обрамленные кругом. При этом чередуются бесцветные и цветные полосы. Обычно бесцветные полосы, или наоборот, цветные полосы дополнительно украшены гравировкой.

Иногда гончары-художники, используя простые геометрические элементы и удачно выбирая цветовую гамму, создавали высокохудожественные изделия декоративно-прикладного искусства. Например, на фрагменте чаши, в широкой кайме, чередуются зеленые, белые, желтые и коричневые полосы. Это чередование создает цветовую игру, которая придает узору впечатление беспрерывности. Интересна трактовка орнамента «узел счастья» на фрагменте полихромной чаши (рис. 19: 11). Следует отметить, что этот орнамент был популярным не только в средневековом Азербайджане, но и был широко распространен по всему Востоку (Достиев 1989: 203). На месте словесного пожелания счастья появляется символ, который отражает воззрения эпохи и художественные идеалы (Ташходжаев 1967: 120).

В декоре этой керамики встречаются геометрические орнаменты в виде сплетенных лент в различных вариантах. Так, на фрагменте чаши имеется геометрический орнамент из сплетенных зеленых лент, промежут-

Рис. 20. Глазурованные полихромные изделия XI — начала XIII века.

Fig. 20. Glazed polychrome ware of 11th — early 13th century.

ки между которыми заполнены цветными фигурами. Другой фрагмент украшен подобным орнаментом из сплетенной светлой ленты, а промежутки заполнены желтыми кружочками и зелеными ромбами (рис. 19: 5).

Высоким художественным достоинством отличается чаша XII века. В центре композиции тонкой гравировкой нанесено сердцевидное изображение, расписанное зеленым и каштановым цветом. Вокруг этой фигуры поставлены точки, сгруппированные по три. На стенке чаши чередуются сердцевидные фигуры и цветные треугольники. Композицию завершает бордюр из цветных треугольников, окрашенных зеленым и желтым цветом, и марганцовых полос между ними (рис. 20: 5). Отметим, что точки, сгруппированные по три, помимо декоративности, имели также смысловое значение, играли роль оберега (Эфенди 1967: 92).

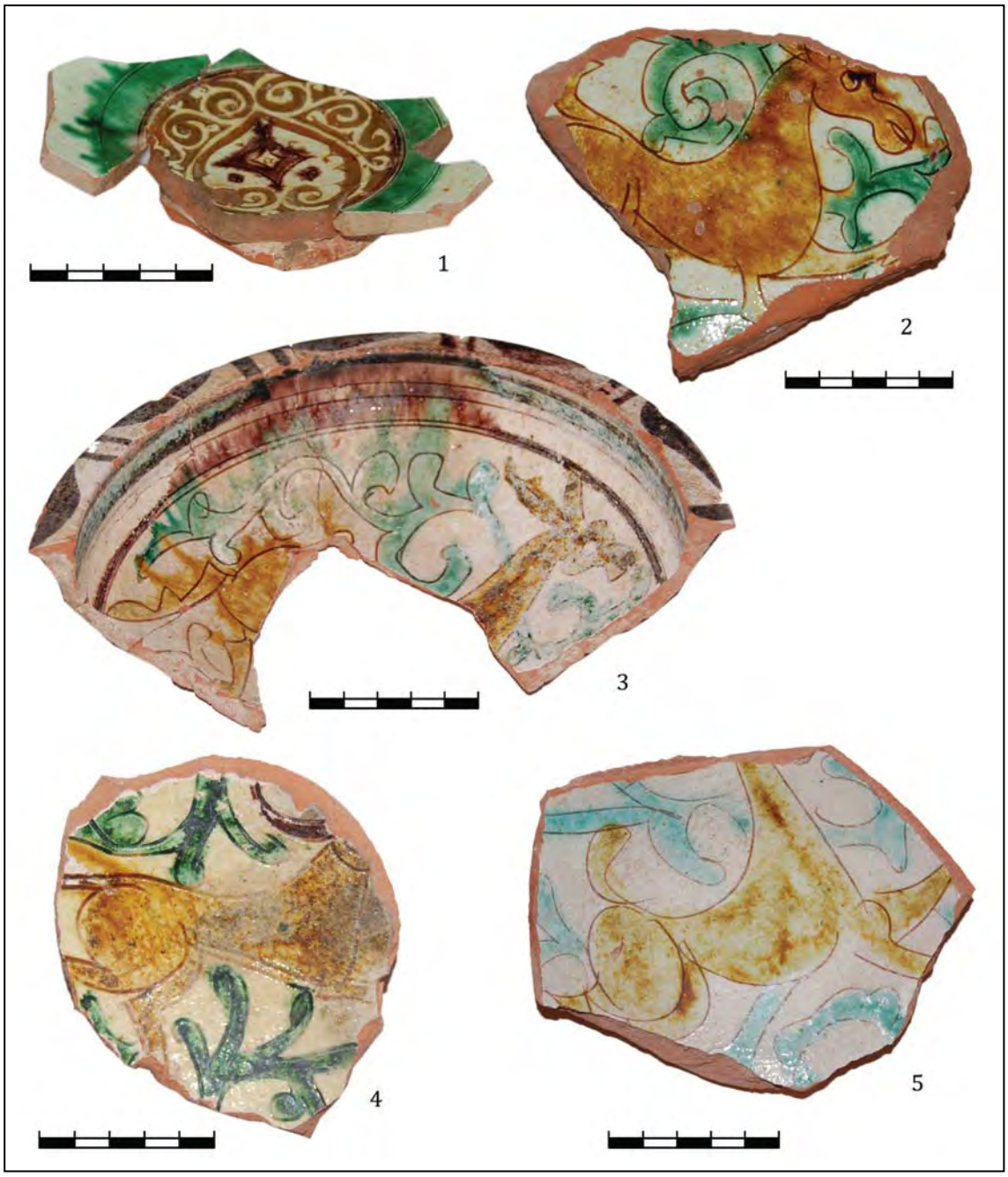

Рис. 21. Глазурованные полихромные изделия XI — начала XIII вв: 1 — фрагмент чаши, украшенной гравировкой и техникой «в резерве» с полихромной расцветкой под бесцветной поливой; 2—5 — фрагменты полихромных чаш, украшенные зооморфными изображениями, выполненными тонкой гравировкой.

Fig. 21. Glazed polychrome ware of 11th — early 13th century: 1 — fragment of engraved bowl decorated by reserved technique, with polychrome painting under colorless glaze; 2—5 — fragments of polychrome painted bowls with incised zoomorphic decoration.

Заслуживает внимания декор чаши, наружная сторона которой украшена орнаментальным поясом. На высоком бортике выгравирован геометрический орнамент, состоящий из комбинации треугольников, а свободном поле между треугольников заполнено стилизованным растительным элементом. Треугольники раскрашены желтой и зеленой краской, стилизованное изображение дерева выполнено фиолетовым цветом (рис. 20: 1).

Сосуды, украшенные лишь растительным орнаментом, встречаются редко. Обычно растительные орнаменты сочетаются с геометрическими. Очень популярным был декор концентрического построения, где в цен-

Рис. 22. Глазурованные полихромные изделия XI — начала XIII вв.

Fig. 22. Glazed polychrome painted ware of 11th — early 13th centuries.

тре композиции расположена розетка с ланцетовидными лепестками. Как правило, ланцетовидные лепестки розетки создают сектора, в которых гравировкой нанесены фигуры ромбовидные или же в виде букета, часто дополнительно украшенные растительными элементами. Затем, на стене чаши следуют цветные полосы. Декор завершает бордюр из цветных сегментовидных фигур (рис. 19: 10). Характерным декором полихромных чаш и блюд этой эпохи был геометрический орнамент, сплетенный из цветных лент, с промежутками, заполненными элементами растительного орнамента «ислими»

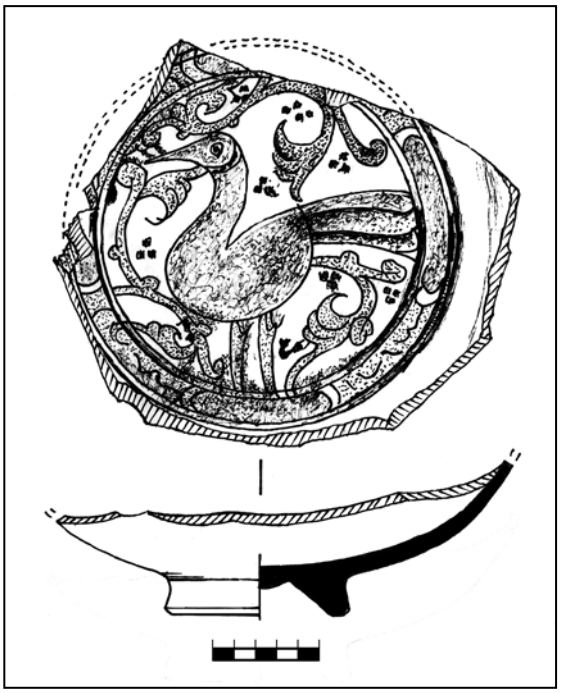

Рис. 23. Фрагмент поливной полихромной чаши с изобразительным мотивом.

Fig. 23. A fragment of glazed polychrome painted bowl with zoomorophic decoration.

или пальметтами (рис. 20: 2, 3). На одном экземпляре растительный орнамент представлен трилистником, изображенным в интересной манере (рис. 21: 1). Большой интерес представляет орнаментация чаши с полусферическим корпусом. В центре композиции, на дне чаши, расположен медальон с растительным орнаментом, его окружает широкий пояс, в котором чередуются медальоны, аналогичные центральному, и трапециевидные фигуры с растительным элементом. Затем следует зеленый круг, обрамленный марганцевыми линиями. Композицию завершает бордюр из марганцевых полос (рис. 20: 4).

Заслуживает рассмотрения чаша XII — начала XIII вв., украшенная тонкой гравировкой и раскрашенная зеленой, желтой и коричневой красками. Концентрическая композиция узора усиливает его выразительность. В центре композиции, на дне чаши, расположена сильно стилизованная многолепестковая розетка. На широком поясе на стене чаши чередуются бутоны и трилистники, выше следуют цветные полосы. На венчике чаши поставлены марганцевые пятна (Dostiyev və b. 2013: 359).

Популярным был также фаунистический мотив. Как правило, зооморфные изображения удачно сочетаются с растительным орнаментом. Реалистично исполнены изображения как домашних, так и диких животных. Особенно часто встречаются изображения птиц. Разветвленные растительные орнаменты являлись фоном и компонентом общего замысла. Сцены с изображениями животных, птиц, людей, как правило, помещались на дне сосуда и занимали центральное место в композиции.

На фрагменте одной чаши тонкими гравированными линиями на растительном фоне изображена бегущая лошадь (рис. 21: 2). Внутренняя поверхность чаши декорирована зооморфным мотивом на растительном фоне. На фрагменте сохранилась часть рисунка осла на фоне растительных побегов (рис. 21: 3). На фрагменте донной части другой чаши нанесен рисунок бегущего зебу (?), на растительным фоне (рис. 21: 4). На небольшом фрагменте изображен теленок (Dostiyev və b. 2013: 357). Центральная часть еще одной чаши занята изображением животного, видимо, гепарда, на растительном фоне, а фон оживлен марганцевыми точками, сгруппированными по три (Bəşirov 2011: 104). На большом глубоком блюде, в центре композиции, тонкой гравировкой изображен гепард в прыжке-беге. Фон изображения заполнен орнаментом астрального характера — солнечными дисками, выполненными зеленой краской с марганцевыми точками вдоль краев. На стенке чаши, на узкой кайме чередуются белые, зеленые и желтые полосы, что усиливает декоративность узора. Композицию завершает бордюр, состоящий из цветных прямоугольников и эпиграфического орнамента (рис. 22: 1).

С большой любовью представлен мир пернатых. Изображение птиц выполнено в фас, в профиль и в трехчетвертном повороте. Для поливной полихромной керамики весьма характерно изображение фазана, нанесенное тонкой врезной линией. Как правило, птица изображена в профиль, грудь ее выступает вперед, голова приподнята, широко раскрыты круглые белые глаза с темными зрачками. Фон изображения украшен элементами растительного орнамента «ислими». Свободное поле заполнено точками, сгруппированными по три (рис. 22, 4—5; 23; 24: 1). Чаши с аналогичным изобразительным мотивом известны из раскопок городища Орен-кала (Əhmədov 1979: 70), Старой Гянджи (Левиатов 1940: 19), Баку (Ахмедов 1992: 64), Шабран (Достиев 1989: 203), памятников Южного Азербайджана (Pope 1964: 1527). Рассматривая образцы глазурованной полихромной керамики с изображениями птиц на растительном фоне, можно

Рис. 24. Глазурованные полихромные изделия XI — начала XIII вв.

Fig 24. Glazed polychrome painted ware of 11th — early 13th centuries.

констатировать, что источником этих мотивов была природа. Садик-бек Афшар, известный средневековый художник Азербайджана, в трактате «Ганун-ас-совар» отмечает: «Если искусство изображения станет твоей мечтой, // (лишь) природа может быть твоим устадом» (наставником) (Садик-бек Афшар 1963: 76). Он же из семи «основ» орнамента первым назвал «ислими».

На небольшой тарелке изображен петух в боевой позе на растительном фоне (рис. 22: 2). Грудь птицы выступает вперед. Крыло, прижатое к туловищу, выделено гравированной линией, его внутренняя поверхность, а также туловище заполнены зигзагообразными линиями, имитирующими перья. У птицы мощные ноги. Рисунок петуха и элементы растительного орнамента «ислими» вы-

Рис. 25. Глазурованные полихромные изделия XI — начала XIII века: 1 — чаша с сюжетной сценой; 2 — чаша, украшенная гравировкой и техникой «в резерве» с полихромной расцветкой.

Fig. 25. Glazed polychrome painted ware of 11th — early 13th centuries: 1 — bowl with a storyline; 2 — engraved polychrome bowl decorated by reserved technique.

полнены тонкой гравировкой и окрашены светло-зеленой и коричневато-охристой краской. Бордюр, завершающий композицию, состоит из коротких парных линий и дугообразных фигур, нанесенных марганцем. Заслуживает внимания чернильница (?) с полихромным узором. Широкий венчик делится на сектора тонкими гравированными ли-

ниями. В каждом секторе тонкой гравировкой нанесено схематичное изображение верхней половины птицы — голова, шея и грудь. Фон изображения белый, рисунок раскрашен либо зеленой, либо коричнево-охристой краской. Гамма красок чередуется в секторах (рис. 22: 3). Свободное поле сектора также заполнено зеленой или коричнево-охристой краской.

Интерес представляет фрагмент чаши с изображением человека на растительном фоне. На фрагменте сохранилась только его голова, выполненная схематично (рис. 24: 2).

При археологических раскопках городища Шамкир выявлены полихромные изделия с изображением человека в сюжетной композиции. Фрагмент полихромного блюда украшен изображением всадника, стреляющего из лука. Рисунок выполнен гравировкой и расцвечен зеленым, охристо-золотистым и коричневым цветами (рис. 24: 3). На внутренней поверхности другойчаши изображена битва человека с фантастическим существом — драконом (рис. 25: 1).

В целом, анализ материалов позволяет отметить, что на керамике Шамкира изображение человека сильно стилизовано и трактуется обобщенно.

Для полихромной глазурованной керамики XII — начала XIII вв. типичен бордюр — орнамент, расположенный у венчика, который состоит из чередования цветных дугообразных полос или треугольников.

Изделия ***третьей подгруппы*** характеризуется *украшением гравировкой и техникой «в резерве» с полихромной расцветкой под бесцветной поливой*. Изделия этой подгруппы полихромной глазурованной керамики немногочисленны и представлены фрагментами чаш и блюд. На фрагменте чаши в центре композиции расположен миндалевидный медальон с пальметтой, выполненной техникой «в резерве». В центре этого растительного орнамента выгравирован ромб. Медальон окружен орнаментальным поясом из растительных побегов, выполненным техникой «в резерве». Затем следует пояс, нанесенный тонкой гравировкой и раскрашенный зеленой краской (рис. 21: 1). Фрагмент другой чаши украшен изобразительным мотивом, выполненным гравировкой. Рисунок сохранился не полностью. Судя по фрагменту, в центре чаши был рисунок коня. На фрагменте изображения имеется растительный побег, выполненный техникой «в резерве» (рис. 24: 4). Внутреннее поле глубокой чаши украшено зеленой лентой в виде сложного геометрического орнамента, нанесенного гравировкой. В промежутках сплетенных лент гравированного геометрического орнамента выемчатой техникой выполнены элементы растительного орнамента. Снаружи на широкой кайме врезными линиями нанесены аркообразные фигуры, поле которых либо раскрашено зеленой или желтой краской, либо украшено марганцевыми точками, сгруппированные по три (рис. 25: 2).

Подводя итоги изучения поливной красноглиняной керамики, можно констатировать, что в истории культуры Азербайджана значение прогрессивного развития средневекового декоративно-прикладного искусства, в частности, художественной керамики неоспоримо. Изучение керамики как части материальной культуры в контексте основных событий истории и культуры Азербайджана показывает, что все этнокультурные и религиозные процессы, происходящие в стране, отражались на художественном стиле керамики. Начавшийся в IX в. повсеместный подъем гончарного производства, непрерывно развиваясь, достиг в XII в. своего апогея. В этот период в Азербайджане, в том числе в Шамкире, была усовершенствована техника обжига керамических изделий, появились новые виды обжигательных печей, позволившие получение высококачественной керамики. Художники-гончары Шамкира, совершенствуя технологию производства и приемы декорирования, достигли высокого профессионализма. Особое значение придавалось обработке поверхности изделия узорами. Художественное убранство сосудов было продуктом фантазии местных гончаров, которые создавали конструктивные формы, имеющие утилитарное назначение. Внедряя все новое, прогрессивное и интересное, они создали шедевры декоративного искусства, вошедшие в сокровищницу азербайджанской художественной культуры.

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Средневековая керамика из фондов Национального музея Татарстана (предварительное сообщение)

Keywords: Tatarstan, Volga Bulgaria, Golden Horde, Middle Ages, ceramics, museum collections, classification, research history

Ключевые слова: Татарстан, Волжская Булгария, Золотая Орда, средние века, керамика, музейный фонд, классификация, история исследований

K. A. Rudenko

Medieval Ceramics from the National Museum of Tatarstan (preliminary communication)

The article considers the collection of medieval ceramics of the National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan. It includes finds from archaeological sites of Volga Bulgaria and Golden Horde sites in the Volga region. The author traces the history of this collection back to the second half of the 19th century. Findings from F. Ballod's digs in the Golden Horde's capital cities, so far little known to the researchers, are of special interest. The author examines main approaches to studying medieval ceramics by Kazan archaeologists in the 20th century and defines various groups of ceramics, mainly from Bolgar hillfort.

К. А. Руденко

Средневековая керамика из фондов Национального музея Татарстана (предварительное сообщение)

В статье рассматривается коллекция средневековой керамики из Национального музея Республики Татарстан. Она включает находки с археологических памятников Волжской Булгарии и поволжских памятников Золотой Орды. Изучена история формирования этой коллекции начиная со второй половины XIX в. Представляют немалый интерес материалы из раскопок Ф. Баллода в столицах Золотой Орды, в настоящее время мало известные ученым. Проанализированы главные приемы изучения средневековой керамики археологами Казани в XX веке. Дана характеристика различных групп керамики, главным образом с городища Болгар.

История формирования коллекции

Начало формирования коллекции средневекковой керамики Национального музея РТ относится ко второй половине XIX в. и связано с собранием казанского коллекционера А. Ф. Лихачева, котрое стало основой казанского городского, а затем губернского музея (Руденко 2014: 307, 309, табл. 1, 2, 3; 2015: 106—110). В его собрании были немногочисленные целые формы круговой керамики и несколько планшетов с нашитыми на них фрагментами орнаментированных сосудов. Как и большая часть средневекового материала, собранного А. Ф. Лихачевым, эта керамика происходила в основном из Билярского городища и его округи, а незначительная часть — из Болгарского городища [1]. В конце 1890-х гг. в фонды музея поступила коллекция среднеазиатской средневековой керамики, переданной членами семьи Лихачевых. Особый интерес в ней представляют белоглиняные сфероконические сосуды XI—XIV вв., украшенные штампованным орнаментом и налепами (рис. 25) [2].

[1] О керамике из собрания А. Ф. Лихачева и его взглядах на эту категорию изделий см.: (Хлебникова 1984: 6—7).

[2] В статье использованы фотографии автора и М. М. Багаутдинова. Благодарю М. М. Багаутдинова за разрешение использовать фотографии.

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После 1917 г. в фонды музея попала значительная часть собрания музея Общества археологии, истории и этнографии Казанского университета (ОАИЭ). Немалую часть ее составляли материалы сборов и раскопок (с 1914 г.) с Болгарского городища. В составе этих материалов выделяется коллекция красноглиняных сфероконических сосудов. В фонды также поступила коллекция поливной посуды из раскопов у Ханской усыпальницы, Малого минарета и Черной палаты (1914—1916 гг.) (Хлебникова 1987: 33, 75).

Достаточно представительный средневековый керамический материал был собран на других археологических памятниках, на которые совершались археологические экскурсии членами ОАИЭ в 1890—1910-х гг., в том числе Биляр, Казань и Джукетау (Хлебникова 1984). Они тоже оказались в фондах Центрального музея ТССР.

В середине 1920-х гг. коллекция поливной золотоордынской посуды пополнилась находками с Селитренного и Царевского городищ, переданными в музей Ф. Баллодом. В начале 1950-х гг. в фонды музея поступили материалы раскопок Болгарского городища Куйбышевским отрядом Поволжской археологической экспедиции под руководством А.П. Смирнова (отряды З.А. Акчуриной, О.С. Хованской, А.М. Ефимовой, А.П. Смирнова). Эти коллекции до сих пор не разобраны.

С 1977 г. передача находок из археологических экспедиций в фонды музея прекратилась и возобновилась только в 1994—1995 гг. в основном материалами из экспедиций Министерства культуры РТ, проводившихся под руководством автора (Руденко 2001: 20, табл. А; 2002: 10, табл. Б).

Рассмотрим керамические изделия музейного собрания.

Неполивная керамика Волжской Булгарии изучалась на протяжении 40 последних десятилетий XX в.[3] Формально-типологический принцип анализа этой категории изделий был разработан Т.А. Хлебниковой, сначала по материалам Рождественского селища, исследованного в 1957—1959 гг. В.Ф. Генингом, а затем Болгарского городища и еще ряда селищ по раскопкам Т.А. Хлебниковой. Эта методика была опубликована ею в 1962 г. и вплоть до середины 1970-х гг. активно применялась при анализе массовых серий неполивной керамики. Наиболее ярким примером воплощения этой разработки стала билярская коллекция, полученная в результате раскопок 1967—1974 гг., обработанная по этой методике и опубликованная в 1976 г. (Кокорина 1976: 212—227; Григорьева и др. 1976: 186—211). Формально-типологическая методика используется по сей день в работах специалистов, занимающихся изучением памятников булгарского времени, — например, в работах Г.И. Матвеевой (1988; 1993).

Формально-типологический метод был применен Е.П. Казаковым при анализе керамики раннебулгарских могильников (Казаков 1992), прежде всего Танкеевского (Казаков 1971: 94—100). Керамика этих могильников представлена круговыми, подправленными на круге и лепными сосудами. На основе метода аналогий Е.П. Казаков предложил свою версию болгаро-салтовских и угорских истоков формирования традиционных форм булгарской керамики и обосновал выделение «гибридных» — смешанных, по исходным традициям гончарства, типов керамических сосудов (Казаков 2007: 47—52)

К началу 1980-х гг., на основе разработок И.П. Русановой, Т.А. Хлебникова применила новый подход к исследованию массового керамического материала с булгарских памятников. Он заключался в комплексном анализе технологических и формально-типологических признаков, итогом которого становилось выделение этнокультурных групп керамики (Хлебникова 1984: 21). Главной целью этого выделения было выявление истоков той или иной этнокультурной группы и ее связь с конкретным этносомносителем традиций. Продолжателем этого направления стала Н.А. Кокорина, внесшая свои дополнения в методику выделения этнокультурных групп (Кокорина 1991). Кроме того, ею были привлечены новые данные с памятников XI—XV вв.: Русскоурматского селища и Камаевского городища (раскопки Р.Г. Фахрутдинова и Н.А. Кокориной) (Кокорина 2002: 12—13).

В 1980-х гг. на основе этих разработок типологическая схема билярской керамики была пересмотрена с новых позиций Ф.Ш. Хузиным, с привлечением материалов из раскопок 1976—1984 гг., с целью подтвердить основную версию исследователей этого памятника о его возникновении в 922 г. (Хузин 1986: 4—53; обобщающий очерк см.: Кокорина 2007). Применяется методика этнокультурного анализа в исследованиях керамического материала средневекового времени сопредельных к Булгарии территорий: Д.А. Салангин (1999), Л.Д. Макаров (2004).

[3] Историография см.: (Хлебникова 1984: 6—20). Литературу по современным методам исследования булгарской керамики см.: (Руденко 2002: 64).

Базой этнокультурных исследований булгарской керамики стали находки с памятников домонгольского времени. Результаты этих изысканий были обобщены в монографии Т. А. Хлебниковой (1984). Керамика золотоордынского периода была проанализирована ею на основе материалов Болгарского городища и опубликована в отдельной статье (Хлебникова 1988). Т. А. Хлебниковой были начаты работы по обработке материалов эпохи Казанского ханства и русского периода из раскопок Казанского кремля, наряду с выявлением домонгольских материалов на этом памятнике (Хлебникова 2000: 41—53).. Эти исследования были продолжены А. Г. Ситдиковым и О. О. Паракиной в конце 1990-х гг. (Ситдиков 2006: 72, рис. 33: 8—11; Паракина 1999: 81—83).

В методике этнокультурного анализа булгарской керамики основной акцент делается на те формы сосудов, которые несут в себе нестандартизированные признаки. Как правило, их два — примесь в глиняном тесте и форма. Это ярко выражается, например, в названиях некоторых этнокультурных групп, например, «славяноидная керамика»[4] отмечающая характерную форму изделия или керамика «типа джукетау»/«джукетаусская керамика», где в названии фигурирует памятник, на котором была выделена специфическая группа керамических изделий с заметной примесью песка в тесте. Данная методика оперирует жестко детерминированным набором признаков, поэтому исключает динамический взгляд на развитие керамических форм, то есть на факт существования симбиозных изделий, что было показано Е. П. Казаковым (1989: 38—39). Согласно основным принципам этой методики, может быть выделена новая группа или подгруппа, но промежуточных стадий исследовательская логика не предполагает.

На основе выделенных Т. А. Хлебниковой этнокультурных групп, И. Н. Васильевой было проведено технико-технологическое исследование средневековой булгарской керамики по методике А. А. Бобринского (Васильева 1988: 103—150). Но это направление в исследованиях булгарской керамики в дальнейшем не получило развития[5], хотя о собственно технологии булгарского гончарства имеются статья Н. А. Кокориной (1986б) и монография И. Н. Васильевой (1993).

Круговая посуда для анализа этнокультурных истоков керамики менее удобна, поэтому в исследовательском направлении по выделению и изучению этнокультурных групп керамики ей уделялось гораздо меньше внимания. Вместе с тем, формально-типологические признаки (например, форма венчика) становятся ведущими в исследованиях, в целом проведенных по методу Т. А. Хлебниковой, но где анализируются серии сильно фрагментированных сосудов (Салангин 1999; Макаров 2001: рис. 77—79; Михеева 2007: 311—324)[6].

Лакуна в исследованиях круговой посуды была заполнена А. Ф. Кочкиной, применившей математические методы и в анализе целых форм круговой посуды Биляра. Методика такого рода отрабатывалась ею на кувшинах (Кочкина 1982). А. Ф. Кочкина предложила формализировать терминологический аппарат описания, дав устойчивым типам посуды, выделенным на основе математических вычислений, условные буквенно-цифровые обозначения. В законченном виде эти разработки по Билярскому городищу были опубликованы в 1986 г. (Кочкина 1986).

Для расширения исследовательского поля такого рода исследований А. Ф. Кочкина и Е. А. Беговатов предложили методику реконструкции некоторых форм булгарской круговой посуды (в основном кувшинов) по фрагментам (Беговатов, Кочкина 1993). Кроме того, А. Ф. Кочкиной предложены подходы к изучению орнаментов на круговых булгарских сосудах в рамках структурно-семиотического подхода (Кочкина 1995). О семантике зооморфных украшений на булгарских сосудах писала Н. А. Кокорина (1986).

При наличии нескольких методик исследования керамики, остались проблемы, на которые указывали еще исследователи булгарских древностей в 1920—1950-х гг.: сравнительный анализ керамики крупнейших булгарских памятников — Булгара, Биляра и Сувара, с целью выяснения локальных центров произ-

[4] Сам термин не совсем удачен, поскольку речь идет о сходстве с керамикой не вообще славян, а материалами древнерусских поселений. Материалы по славяноидной керамике Поволжья были опубликованы в статьях А. И. Михеевой и К. А. Руденко в сборнике по итогам конференции (Михеева 2007: 311—324; Руденко 2007: 349—355). Несколько ранее итоги анализа славяноидной керамики из Марийско-Чувашского Поволжья опубликовала Т. Б. Никитина (Никитина 2006: 114—130).

[5] В некоторой степени предтечей этого направления стали исследования О. С. Хованской по гончарству города Болгара (Хованская 1954).

[6] Сочетание формально-типологического анализа и этнокультурного подхода применены при изучении Рождественского городища в Пермском крае (Богданова, Белавин 2006: 38—39 и сл.).

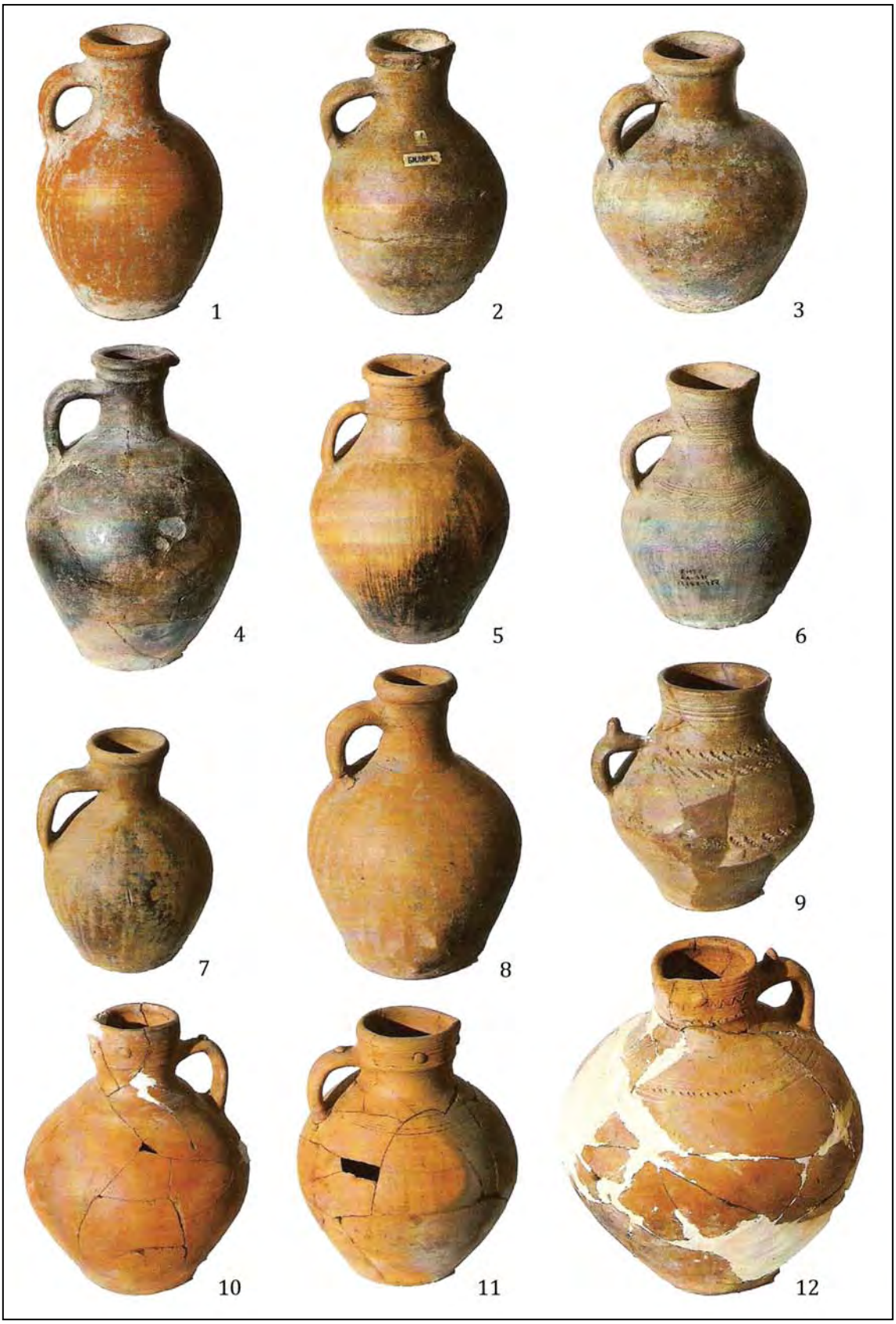

Рис. 1. Кувшины. Билярское (1—3) и Болгарское (5, 7, 8, 9: раскоп II, 1952 г.) городища; Мурзихинское (10—12) и VI Алексеевское (4) селища (1 — КП-5427-584; 2 — КП-5427-138/4; 3 — КП-5427-109/1; 4 — КП-24226; А-20-111; 5 — КП-12333; А — 380-306; 6 — КП-12268-437; АА-371; 7 — КП-12333, АА-380/304; 8 — КП-12333; АА-380/303; 9 — КП-12333; АА-380/2; 10 — КП-23665-51; 11 — КП-23665-50; 12 — КП-23665-52) (авторы всех фотографий в статье: М.М. Багаутдинов, К.А. Руденко).

Fig. 1. Jugs. Bilyar (1—3) and Bolgar (5, 7, 8, 9: excavation area II, 1952 г.) hillforts; Murzikha (10—12) and VI Alekseevskoye (4) unfortified settlements (1 — KP-5427-584; 2 — KP-5427-138/4; 3 — KP-5427-109/1; 4 — KP-24226; A-20-111; 5 — KP-12333; A — 380-306; 6 — KP-12268-437; AA-371; 7 — KP-12333, AA-380/304; 8 — KP-12333; AA-380/303; 9 — KP-12333; AA-380/2; 10 — KP-23665-51; 11 — KP-23665-50; 12 — KP-23665-52) (authors of all the photos in this article: M.M. Bagautdinov, K.A. Rudenko)..

водства, сходства и различий в керамическом комплексе этих памятников. Исследования керамического производства селищ до начала 2000-х г. публиковались незначительно.

Вторая проблема — это датировка и хронология традиционной керамики. Этнокультурный подход давал группировку керамики в весьма широких хронологических рамках — от X и до XV в., а то и далее. Это, в сущности, приводит к ошибками в датировании. В этом отношении формально-типологическая схема Т. А. Хлебниковой выдержала испытание временем и прекрасно «работает» и по сей день.

Подводя итог сказанному, отметим, что в настоящее время мы не располагаем четко определенными и обоснованными критериями выделения булгарских керамических школ-мастерских как домонгольского, так и золотоордынского времени, детально разработанной хронологией керамики, и, как следствие последнего, не можем проследить динамику развития технико-технологических особенностей булгарской керамики. Поэтому анализ материалов музейной коллекции ограничится только описанием формальных признаков.

Целые формы неполивной керамики XI—XIV вв.

Кувшины (рис. 1). Билярское (рис. 1: 1; 2: 8) и Болгарское (рис. 1: 5, 7, 8, 9 — раскоп II, 1952 г.) городища, Мурзихинское (рис. 1: 10—12) и VI Алексеевское (рис. 1: 4) селища. Кувшины, как видно из таблицы рисунков, достаточно стандартны. Средние размеры их: высота 25—30 см, наибольшее расширение тулова 17—19 см, диаметр дна 10—12 см, диаметр венчика 6,5—8 см. Для небольшого отрезка времени характерны различные варианты кувшинов (Руденко 2002: табл. 1—3), распространявшиеся из нескольких центров. Поскольку пока не выделены очаги такого производства для Булгарии в целом, можно уверенно предполагать наличие только нескольких очагов в домонгольское время: Болгар, Биляр, Русскоурматское селище, Муромский городок, где изучены гончарные горны этого времени. Даже внешнее сравнение форм сосудов двух крупнейших памятников булгарского средневековья показывает наличие в массовой гончарной продукции специфических черт (Руденко 2007: рис. 48—51).

Анализ имеющегося материала позволяет считать, что на селищах домонгольского времени большая часть кувшинов была привозной из городских мастерских[7], в то время как изготовлением т. н. традиционной керамики занимались сельские гончары, правда, не в каждом населенном пункте, а там, где были наиболее благоприятные к этому условия, прежде всего сырьевые ресурсы (Руденко 2002: 99).

Не менее стандартизированными были и другие формы круговой столовой посуды. Наиболее распространенными были *кринки* (рис. 2: 6), *тувaки* (рис. 2: 7) и *кружки* (рис. 2: 1—5). В рассматриваемой коллекции они происходят из Билярского (рис. 2: 7) и Болгарского (рис. 2: 1—6) городищ. Отметим устойчивые типы кружек (рис. 2: 1—2; 23: 5), бытовавшие как в домонгольский, так и раннеордынский период (Хлебникова 1988: 64, рис. 45: 5, тип 11). Размеры их стандартизированы: высота 11—12 см, наибольшее расширение тулова 9—10 см, диаметр дна 6 см, диаметр венчика 5—6 см. Билярские ремесленники XII в. изготавливали декорированные сосуды такого типа (рис. 5), который становится редкостью в ордынский период. Размеры этой кружки больше стандартных: высота 21,5 см, диаметр наибольшего расширения тулова 16,5 см, диаметр дна 9,6 см, диаметр венчика 9,2 см.

К рубежу домонгольского и ордынского периодов (середина XIII в.) по аналогиям из Болгара, может быть отнесен тувак из билярской коллекции (рис. 2: *7*). Весьма характерными для домонгольского Биляра являются кувшины, в том числе и весьма крупные формы со сливом типа «свиное рыльце» (рис. 2: 8). Последний сосуд имеет высоту 50 см, наибольшее расширение тулова 40 см, диаметр дна 18 см и диаметр венчика 12 см.

Золотоордынским временем датируется серия кувшинов из Болгарского городища (рис. 4). Явной инновацией, по сравне-

[7] Например, кувшины (рис. 1: 10—12) были найдены в одной хозяйственной яме на Мурзихинском селище и имеют аналогии в одной из гончарных мастерских Биляра.

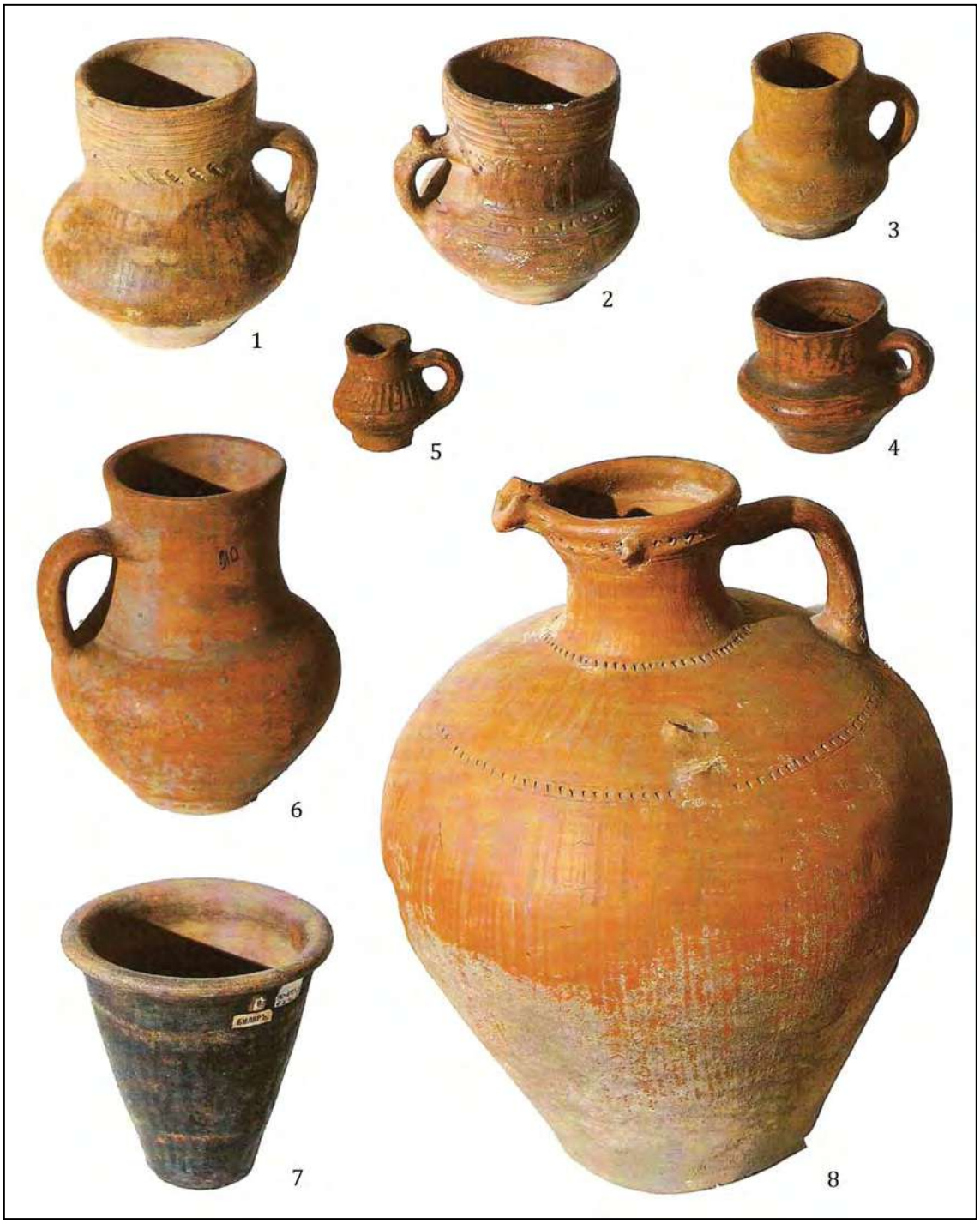

Рис. 2. Болгарское (1—6) и Билярское (7, 8) городища. 1—5 — кружки; 6 — кринка; 7 — тувак; 8 — кувшин (1 — КП-5626/2 (Болгар); 2 — КП-12333, А-380/300; 3 — КП-5446/1; 4 — КП-5622/3; 5 — КП-5622/1; 6 — КП-5743—1, АО 66—36/11990, № 610, 7 — КП-5427—586 (Биляр-9); 8 — КП-1/2).

Fig. 2. Bolgar (1—6) and Bilyar (7, 8) hillforts. 1—5 — cups; 6 — earthenware pot;; 7 — tuvak (chamber pot); 8 — jug (1 — KP-5626/2 (Bolgar); 2 — KP-12333, A-380/300; 3 — KP-5446/1; 4 — KP-5622/3; 5 — KP-5622/1; 6 — KP-5743—1, AO 66—36/11990, no. 610, 7 — KP-5427—586 (Bilyar-9); 8 — KP-1/2).

нию с домонгольским временем, становится появление кувшинов с носиком (рис. 4: 1; 23: 4), отнесенных Т. А. Хлебниковой к типам 10 и 13 (Хлебникова 1988: рис. 34: 10; 39: 1). Аналогичные кувшины встречены на городище в слое второй половины XIII — начала XIV в. Вытянутые пропорции сосудов с высокой шейкой и воронковидным широким сливом (рис. 4: 3, 4), также характерны для золотоордынских отложений городища.

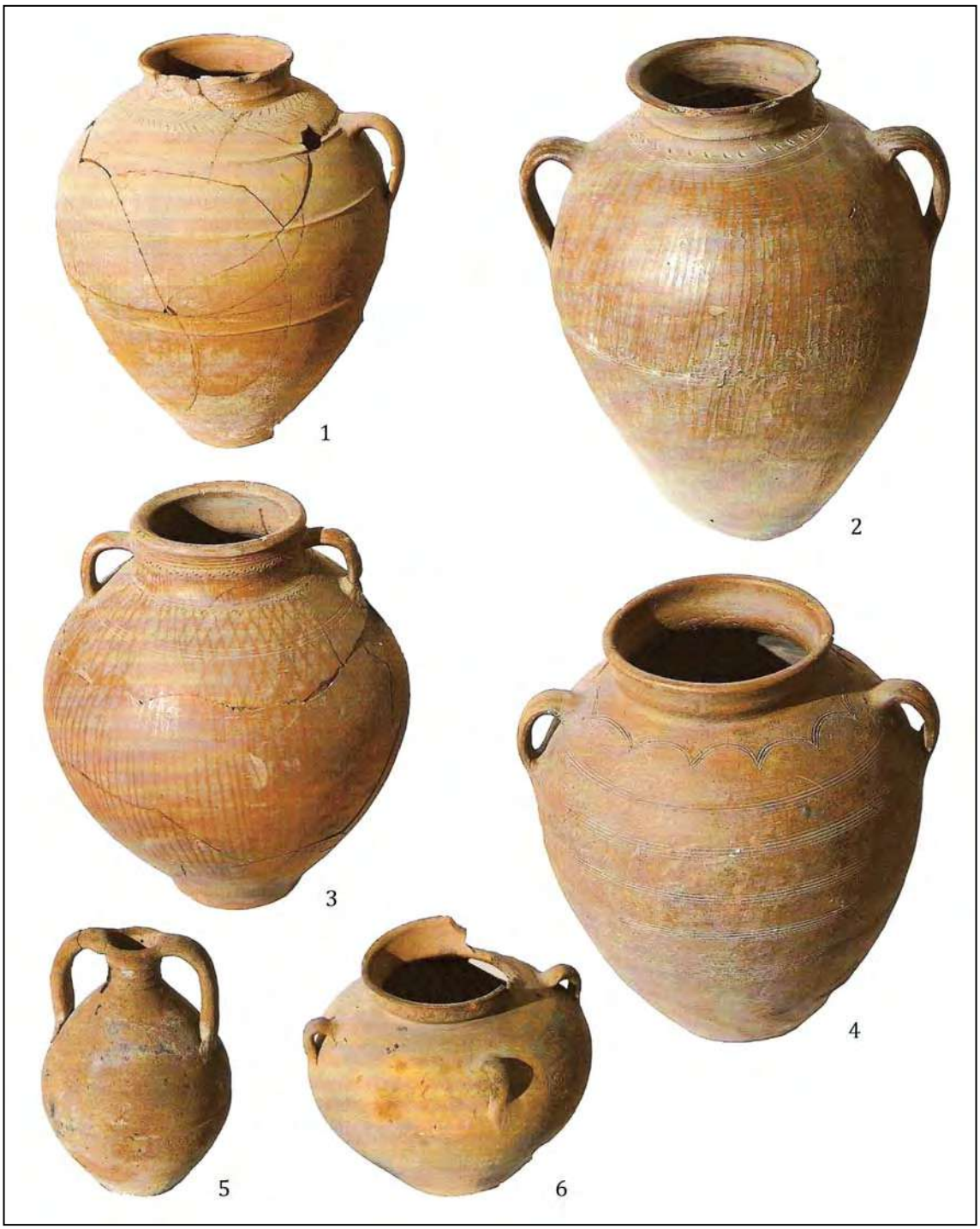

Рис. 3. 1—4 — корчаги; 5 — амфора; 6 — горшковидный сосуд. Болгарское городище (1—4, 6); Селитренное или Царевское городище (5). 1 — КП-13385а, АА-388; 2 — КП-5745-2; 3 — КП-12268; 4 — КП-5745-1; 5 — КП-5754—12/1; 6 — КП-5740).

Fig. 3. 1—4 — large pots; 5 — amphora; 6 — pot-shape vessel. Bolgar hillfort (1—4, 6); Selitrennoe or Tsarevskoe hillfort (5). 1 — KP-13385a, AA-388; 2 — KP-5745—2; 3 — KP-12268; 4 — KP-5745-1; 5 — KP-5754—12/1; 6 — KP-5740.

Сосуды из нижневолжских городищ (рис.3: 5; 4: 2) отличаются от тех, что найдены в Болгаре. Наиболее близкие аналогии амфоровидному сосуду имеются в Азаке — тип 5 и 6 миниатюрных амфор (Масловский 2006: 321, рис. 4: 10). Интересно, что амфоры с городищ Нижней Волги, как правило, имеют более высокие пропорции и крупнее по размерам (Федоров-Давыдов 2001: табл. 76: 1). Бутылеобразный сосуд аналогичен по форме тулова кувшинам с носиками с Царевского городища (Федоров-Давыдов 2001: табл. 51:

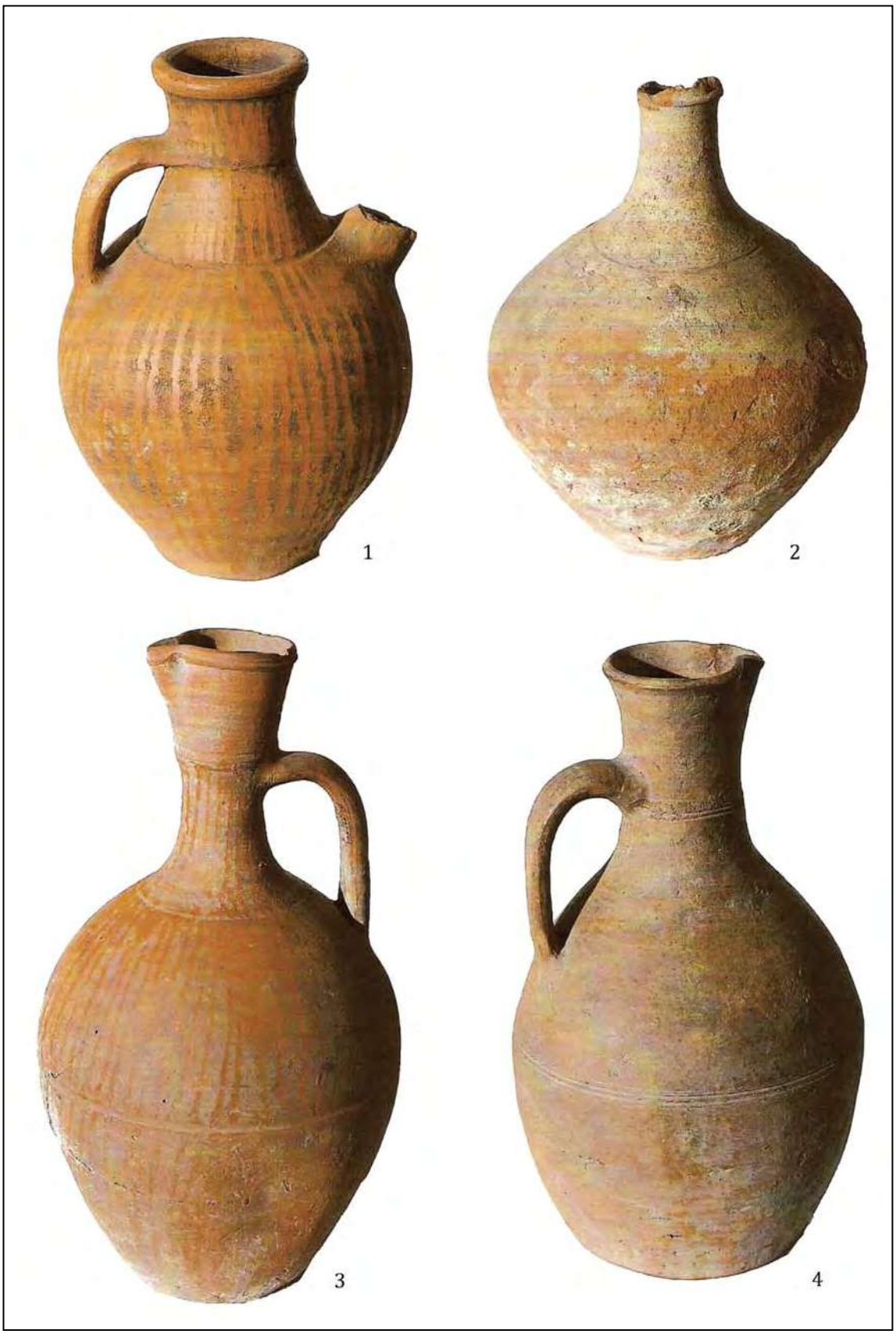

Рис. 4. Кувшины. Болгарское городище (1 — КП-12333, АА-380-302; 2 — КП-5754-12/2; 3 — КП-10999, АА-178—75/1; 4 — КП-5742-1).

Fig. 4. Jugs. Bolgar hillfort (1 — KP-12333, AA-380-302; 2 — KP-5754-12/2; 3 — KP-10999, AA-178—75/1; 4 — KP-5742-1).

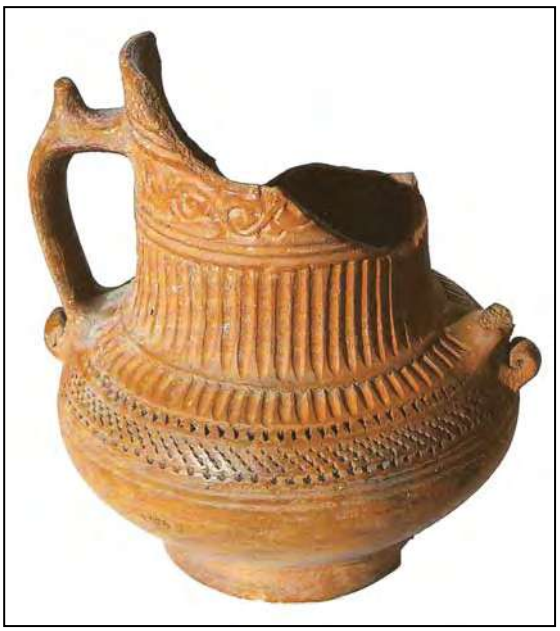

Рис. 5. Кружка. Билярское городище (?) (КП-1/9 (12156)).

Fig. 5. Cup. Bilyar hillfort (?) (KP-1/9 (12156)).

1). С Болгарского городища находок таких форм немного[8]. Датируются они со второй трети до конца XIV в.

Корчаги и горшковидные сосуды (рис. 3) с Болгарского городища с «напускным валиком», четко выделяющим свободное пространство под венчиком, край которого оттянут наружу, являются характерными для материалов Булгарского улуса. Размеры тарных сосудов в среднем: высота 42 см, наибольший диаметр тулова — 31 см, диаметр дна — 12 см, венчика — 15 см (рис. 3: 2). Эти формы универсальны и встречаются достаточно широко на памятниках ордынского времени.

Керамические трубы (кубуры) (рис. 6) Болгарского городища, в том числе и из собрания НМ РТ, специально исследованы В. С. Барановым (Баранов 2003). Приведенные в данной статье на иллюстрациях трубы, типологически относящиеся к деталям магистральных водопроводных линий или трубопроводов для отвода сточной воды из бань (Баранов 2003: 208). Они, скорее всего, происходят из Белой палаты — общественной бани XIV в. По конструктивным особенностям трубы Болгара имеют некоторые отличия от керамических труб нижневолжских городов (например, более выражен-

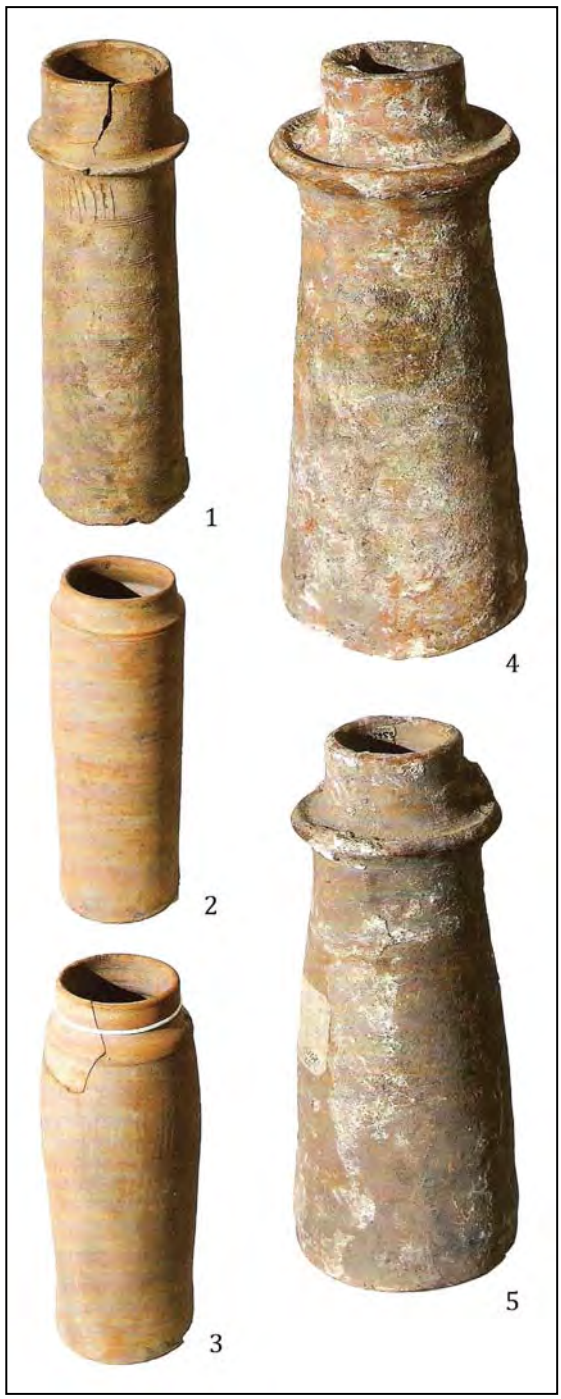

Рис. 6. Керамические трубы. Селитренное и Царевское (2, 3), Болгарское (1, 4, 5) городища. (1, 4, 5 — КП-5363; 2, 3 — КП-5754).

Fig. 6. Ceramic pipes. Selitrennoe and Tsarevskoe (2, 3), Bolgar (1, 4, 5) hillforts. (1, 4, 5 — КП-5363; 2, 3 — КП-5754).

ный бортик и усеченно-коническое тулово) (рис. 6: 2, 3), хотя встречаются и почти идентичные образцы (Федоров-Давыдов 2001: 188, табл. 99: 1). То же можно сказать и о керамических трубах из Азака, причем последние в большей степени напоминают образцы Селитренного городища (Масловский

[8] Т. А. Хлебниковой опубликовано несколько аналогичных кувшинов (Хлебникова 1988: рис. 39: 1, 2, тип 13).

Рис. 7. Альбарелло. Увекское (1) и Болгарское (2, 3) городища (1 — КП-5365-43; 2-КП-5638; 3-КП-5838-2).

Fig. 7. Albarello. Uvek (1) and Bolgar (2, 3) hillforts (1 — KP-5365-43; 2 — KP-5638; 3 — KP-5838-2).

2006: 333—335, рис. 11). Специфические керамические тройники-распределители, встреченные на Селитренном городище и в Азаке (Масловский 2006: рис. 11: 8), в Болгаре не известны.

Копилки из Болгара достаточно однотипны и различаются незначительными деталями (Хлебникова 1988: 95). В коллекции НМ РТ имеются экземпляры с выделенной придонной частью (рис. 22), которые Т. А. Хлебникова 1988: 95, рис. 71: 14) считала нетипичными для Болгарского городища. Ближайшие аналогии им имеются на Селитренном городище (Федоров-Давыдов 2001: табл. 89), хотя оформление верхней части в виде налепа или небольшой кнопки-шляпки (по опубликованным материалам) не встречено. По форме, к рассматриваемым материалам, близки азакские копилки (Масловский 2006: 333, 343—345, рис. 10: 12; 14: 5, 6). Оформление верхней части таких изделий в виде выступающего налепа или вытянутой кнопки, встречается в Увеке (Недашковский 2000: 102, рис. 27: 4, 5). Н. А. Кокорина высказала мнение, что копилки появились в гончарстве Булгарского улуса под влиянием южноказахстанской традиции (Кокорина 2002: 192) [9].

Из случайных сборов на Болгарском городище в фондах НМ РТ происходят и такие находки как *крышечка-пробка* (рис. 23: 2), и налепное *зооморфное украшение* (рис. 23: 1) [10]. К печному припасу можно отнести глиняную подставку-трехножку — *сепаю* (рис. 23: 3). Форма таких подставок универсальна (см., например: Масловский 2006: 338, рис. 12—14), хотя домонгольские булгарские памятники дают иные конфигурации этих приспособлений (Кокорина 2006: 132: рис. 9: 1—10).

[9] Особых аргументов для обоснования этого тезиса не приводится.

[10] Аналогии ей есть в Биляре (Кокорина 2006: 154, рис. 31: 4).

Рис. 8. Поливная керамика Болгарского городища (КП-5363-40/17).

Fig. 8. Glazed pottery of Bolgar hillfort (KP-5363-40/17).

Достаточно представительна коллекция *сфероконических сосудов* из Болгара (рис. 24). В целом с этого памятника, по материалам раскопок 1930—1970-х гг. Т. А. Хлебниковой учтено 38 целых форм таких сосудов (Хлебникова 1988: 92). По форме тулова она выделяет три типа сфероконусов Болгара (Хлебникова 1988: 93). Болгарские экземпляры отличаются от билярских почти полным отсутствием шейки, низкой посадкой головки, большей геометричностью формы, что подтверждается их меньшим типологическим разнообразием (А. Х. Халиков выделил шесть типов билярских сфероконусов) (Халиков 1986: 76—82). Подавляющая часть сфероконусов из коллекции НМ РТ, как и в целом с этого памятника, выполнена из красной глины [11], что отличает их от общей массы домонгольских сфероконусов из Биляра, сформованных из серой глины [12]. По сравнению с Булгаром, большим разнообразием отличаются сфероконусы Азака (Масловский 2006: 417—420, группа «Хорезм»), хотя и здесь встречаются типологические соответствия болгарским экземплярам. Типологическую

[11] В Болгаре встречаются и сероглиняные сфероконусы, но они составляют небольшой процент и связываются Т. А. Хлебниковой с домонгольским временем (Хлебникова 1988: 93—94).

[12] Из 200 учтенных А. Х. Халиковым билярских сфероконусов только 22 фрагмента (11 %) сделаны из красной глины (Халиков 1986: 76).

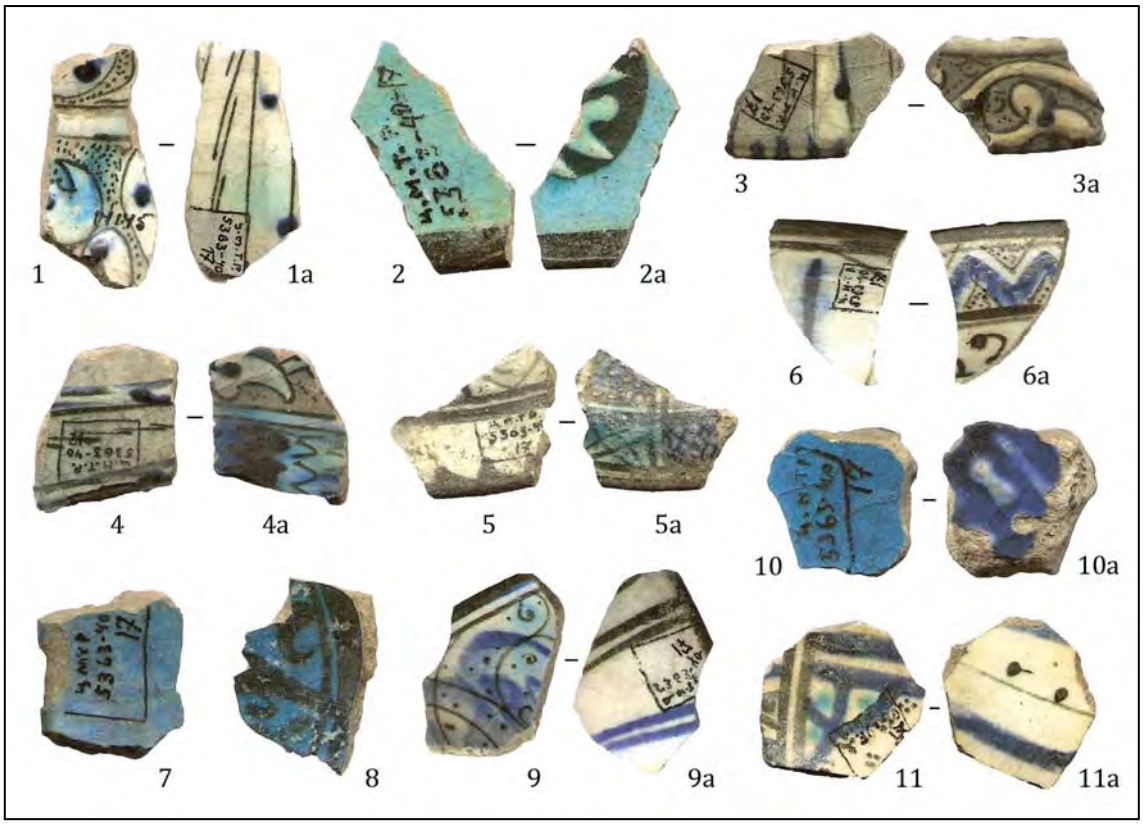

Рис. 9. Поливная керамика Болгарского городища (КП-5363-40/17).

Fig. 9. Glazed pottery of Bolgar hillfort (KP-5363-40/17).

близость к Булгару имеют сфероконусы Увека (Недашковский 2000: рис. 26: 1—8).

Большая часть коллекции сфероконусов НМ РТ не орнаментирована, в лучшем случае имеются резные линии (рис. 24: 7) или канавки по плечику (рис. 24: 8), еще реже — выемки типа каннелюр (рис. 24: 5). В последнем случае тулово сосуда украшено оттисками полой трубочки — кружочками. Кружочки сгруппированы в треугольники, как и на другом сосуде (рис. 24: 1). Обильным декором в верхней части изделия, нанесенного с помощью штампа, отличается только один сфероконус (рис. 24: 2).

В коллекции НМ РТ имеются глиняные *светильники* (рис. 21: 2) мало изменившиеся с домонгольского времени, что можно установить по находкам аналогичных светильников практически на всех булгарских памятниках, существовавших в тот период (Кокорина 2002: 71). Этот тип светильника (в виде плошечки с открытым носиком и уплощенной ручкой) является преобладающим в Болгаре (Хлебникова 1988: 85, рис. 63), по сравнению, например, с подсвечниками, характерными для нижневолжских городищ (Федоров-Давыдов 2001: табл. 96).

Поливная керамика

Поливная керамика домонгольского булгарского и булгаро-ордынского времени исследована значительно слабее. Билярской поливной посуде был посвящен небольшой очерк А. Х. Халикова и В. Н. Макаровой (Макарова, Халиков 1986). Здесь, кроме формально-типологических реконструкций, были приведены данные и спектрального анализа глазурей. Небольшой сюжет о поливной билярской керамике по материалам одного раскопа опубликовала С. И. Валиулина (1991: 78—96). Краткие заметки на эту тему, по материалам III Билярского селища золотоордынского времени, были опубликованы тем же автором (Валиулина 2000: 25—280). Поливная керамика Болгарского городища, за исключением строительной керамики (Носкова 2001: 295—310), не изучена.

Глазурованная посуда в фондах НМ РТ представлена в основном фрагментами. Целые формы немногочисленны. В числе практически целых сосудов — две красноглиняные *чернильницы* покрытые зеленой глухой поливой (рис. 21: 3, 4). Чернильницы с вертикальными стенками и высокой шейкой, по-

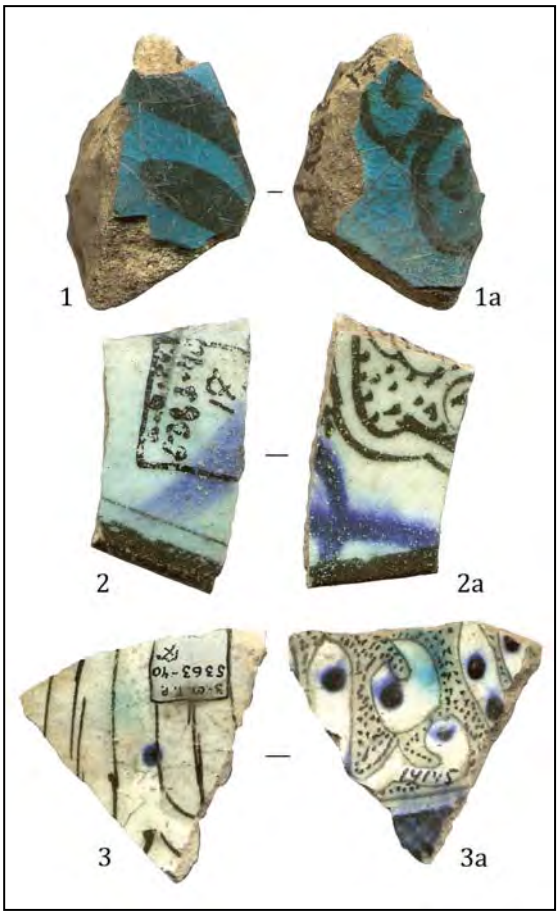

Рис. 10. Поливная керамика Болгарского городища (КП-5363-40/17).

Fig. 10. Glazed pottery of Bolgar hillfort (KP-5363-40/17).

Рис. 11. Поливная керамика Болгарского городища (КП-5363-40/17).

Fig. 11. Glazed pottery of Bolgar hillfort (KP-5363-40/17).

крытые аналогичной глазурью, встречаются в Биляре (Макарова, Халиков 1986: 56, рис. 4: 8). Усеченно-коническая сероглиняная чернильница с темно-зеленой глухой глазурью не имеет точных аналогий в Булгарии, хотя близкие формы известны в домонгольских булгарских памятниках (например, с Остолоповского селища X—XII вв.). Вместе с тем, аналогичной формы глазурованные чернильницы с небольшим поддоном известны в золотоордынских древностях (Крамаровский 2005: 140, кат. 152).

Единичными экземплярами представлены *светильники*, покрытые темно-зеленой глухой поливой и по форме аналогичные неглазурованным (рис. 21: 1). Они достаточно представительны в билярской коллекции (Макарова, Халиков 1986: 56). В НМ РТ они происходят из Биляра и Болгара.

Развал небольшого *кувшинообразного сосуда* кашинного теста с двусторонней бирюзовой глухой поливой происходит из раскопок 1914—1916 гг. в Болгарах (рис. 21: 5). Каких-либо дополнительных деталей (носик, ручка и т. п.) в коллекции не имеется, и судить о типе сосуда не представляется возможным.

Два аптекарских сосуда *альбарелло* (рис. 7: 2, 3) из Болгар типичны для ордынских памятников (Масловский 2006: 371). В качестве примера приведем альбарелло из Увекского городища [13], также хранящийся в фондах НМ РТ (рис. 7: 1). Сосуды альбарелло, несомненно, являются импортом в Булгарский улус.

Из раскопок 1950-х гг. в НМ РТ хранятся [14] два реконструированных кашинных сосуда: чаша [15] и сосуд для розовой воды с подглазурной росписью.

Фрагментированные сосуды XIII—XV вв.

Фрагментированные сосуды второй половины XIII — начала XV вв. (рис. 8: 15)

[13] Детально исследованы Л. Ф. Недашковским (2000: 105, рис. 28: 2, 4). Приведены аналогии и литература.

[14] В настоящее время находятся в экспозиции НМ РТ.

[15] Аналогичные чаши и пиалы представлены в экспозиции музея Болгарской цивилизации в Болгарском государственном историко-архитектурном музее-заповеднике.

Рис. 12. Поливная керамика Болгарского городища (КП-5363-40/17).

Fig. 12. Glazed pottery of Bolgar hillfort (KP-5363-40/17).

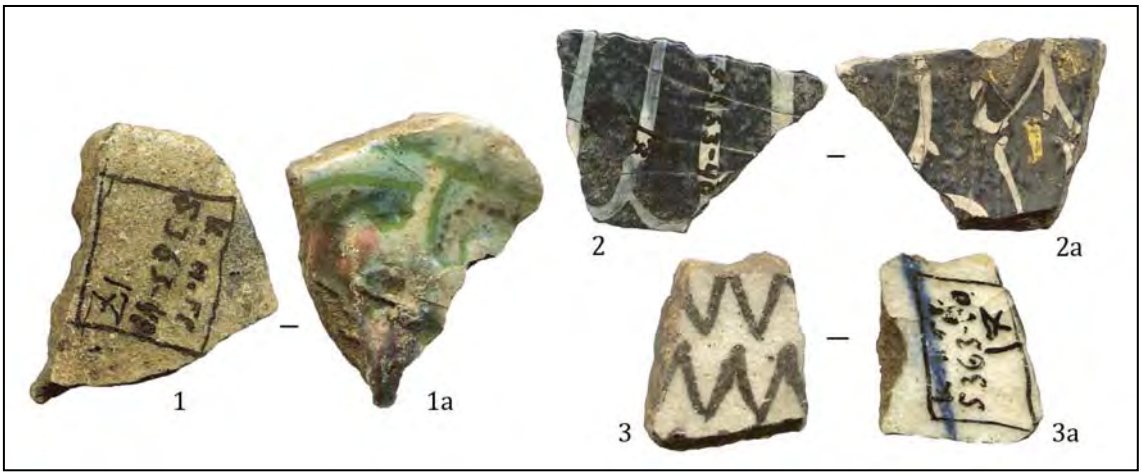

Рис. 13. Поливная керамика Болгарского городища (КП-5363-40/17).

Fig. 13. Glazed pottery of Bolgar hillfort (KP-5363-40/17).

из фондов НМ РТ, рассматриваемые в данной статье,[16] происходят из сборов и раскопок 1914—1916 гг. на Болгарском городище. Большая часть фрагментов, насколько можно судить, относится к кашинным[17] чашам с подглазурной полихромной роспи-

[16] Не учтенной осталась коллекция находок поливной керамики из раскопок 1940—50-х гг.

[17] О кашинной керамике см.: Масловский 2006: 420.

Рис. 14. Поливная керамика Болгарского городища (КП-5363-40/17).

Fig. 14. Glazed pottery of Bolgar hillfort (KP-5363-40/17).

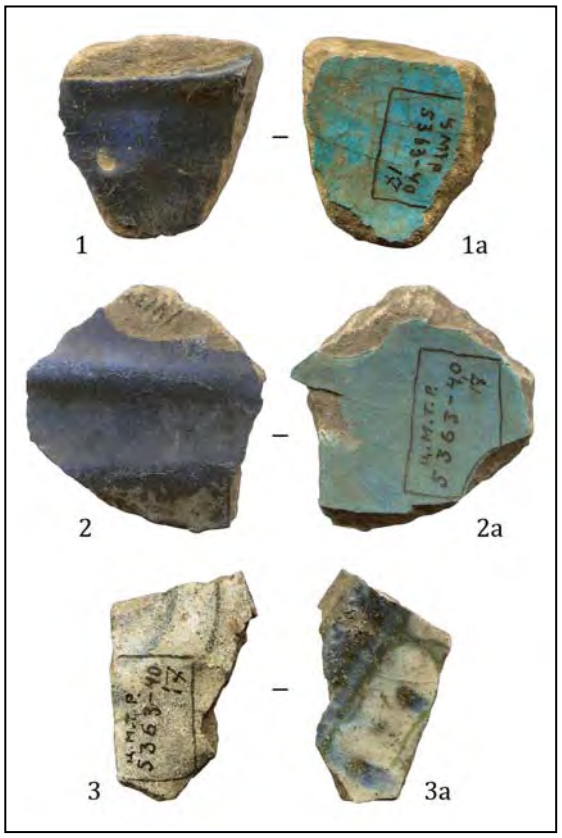

Рис. 15. Поливная керамика Болгарского городища (КП-5363-40/17).

Fig. 15. Glazed pottery of Bolgar hillfort (KP-5363-40/17).

сью без рельефа и с рельефом. Конечно, полностью реконструировать форму по небольшим фрагментам невозможно, поэтому атрибуция части сосудов будет гипотетической.

Не поддаются атрибуции фрагменты вторично использованные (рис. 14: 4) или же очень незначительных размеров (рис. 15: 1, 2) а также ошлакированные и оплавленные фрагменты (рис. 13: 1; 14: 1, 3). Малоинформативны и фрагменты с утратами (рис. 14: 5).

Подавляющая часть рассматриваемой коллекции представлена фрагментами с *прозрачной глазурью*. Около 10 экземпляров — фрагменты без рисунка с бирюзовой изнутри и ультрамариновой снаружи глазурью (рис. 15: 1, 2).

Можно атрибутировать по аналогиям фрагменты *чаш или пиал с подглазурной полихромной росписью с рельефом* (рис. 9: 1, 3, 5; 11: 1, 2; 12: 1—4, 6). Сосуды таких форм и орнаментации весьма многочисленны (Федоров-Давыдов 1994: 80, рис. 3 и сл.; ср.: рис. 12: 4; Федоров-Давыдов 1976: рис. 107; Крамаровский 2005: кат. 554). Наибольшее число аналогий происходит из нижневолжских городищ, откуда, вероятно они и привозились в Булгар. Особенностью имеющихся фрагментов от этих сосудов из Болгар является отсутствие изображений на них каких-либо существ (уток, леопардов, ал-Бораков и др.), что не редкость на ордынской керамике этой группы (Крамаровский 2005: кат. 577, 625).

Чуть в меньшем количестве представлены фрагменты *чаш или пиал с подглазурной полихромной росписью без рельефа* (рис. 8: 2, 3, 4; 9: 6, 11; 10: 2; 13: 3). Как и в первом случае, это, скорее всего, импорт из южных районов Золотой Орды; наиболее вероятно, из сто-

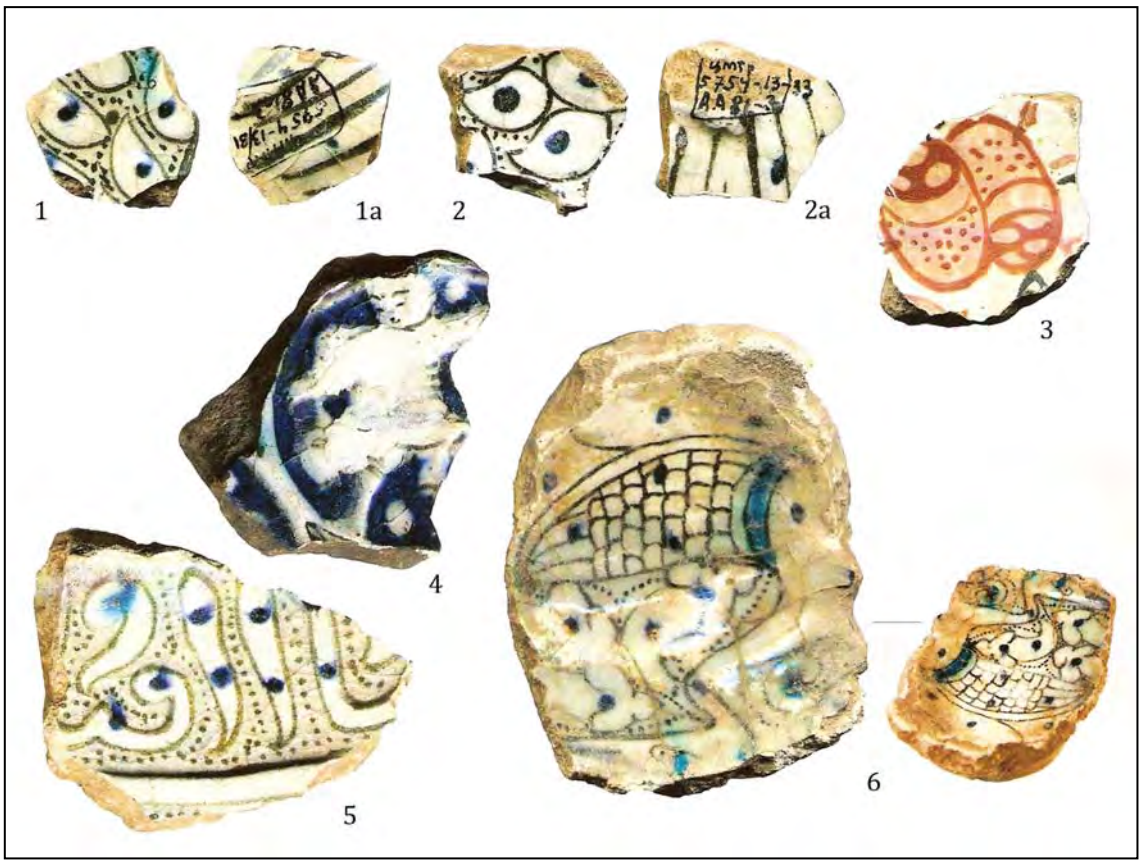

Рис. 16. Поливная керамика Селитренного и Царевского городищ (КП-5754-13).

Fig. 15. Glazed pottery of Selitrennoe and Tsarevskoe hillforts (KP-5754-13).

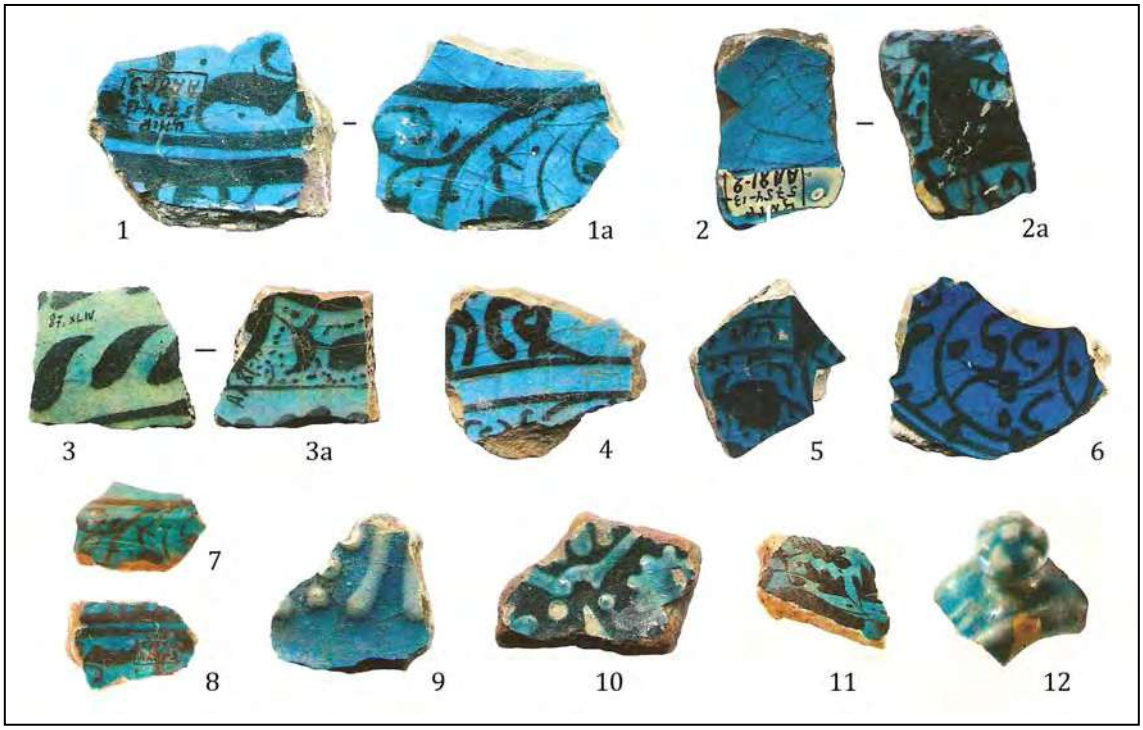

Рис. 17. Поливная керамика Селитренного и Царевского городищ (КП-5754-13).

Fig. 17. Glazed pottery of Selitrennoe and Tsarevskoe hillforts (KP-5754-13).

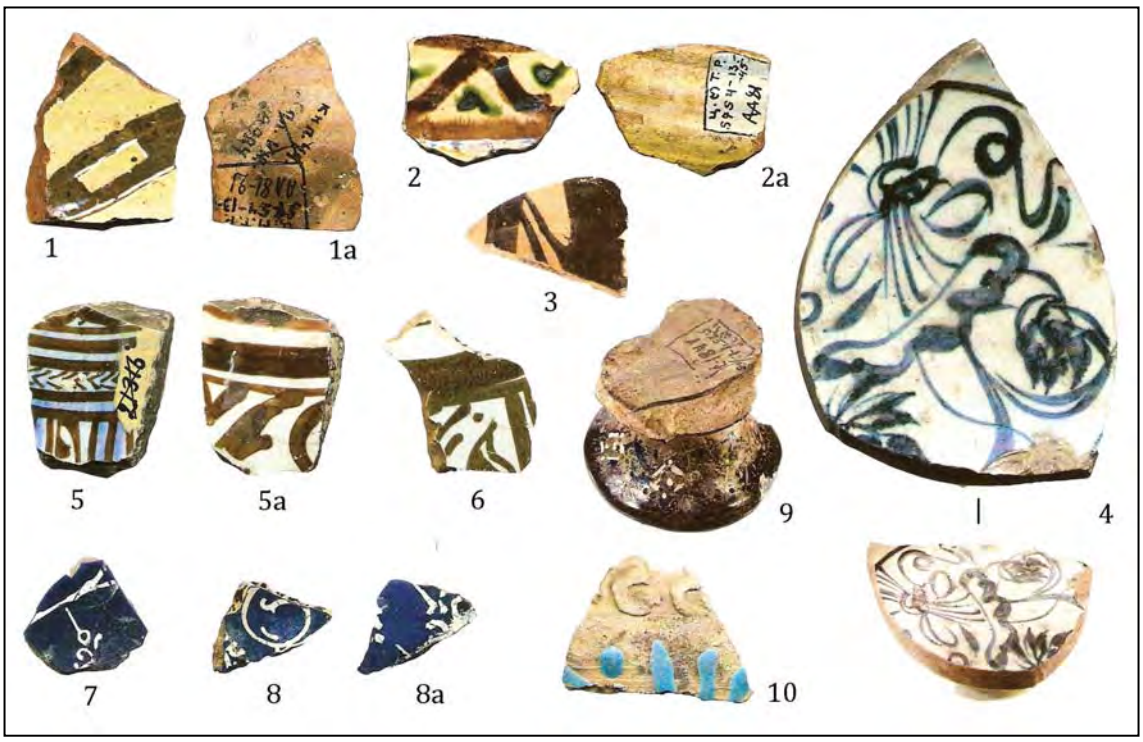

Рис. 18. Поливная керамика Селитренного и Царевского городищ (КП-5754-13).

Fig. 18. Glazed pottery of Selitrennoe and Tsarevskoe hillforts (KP-5754-13).

Рис. 19. Поливная керамика Селитренного и Царевского городищ (КП-5754-13).

Fig. 19. Glazed pottery of Selitrennoe and Tsarevskoe hillforts (KP-5754-13).

личных центров, где имеются многочисленные аналогии им (Федоров-Давыдов 1994: рис. 20—22).

Фрагментами от небольших *сосудов для розовой воды или чаш* (см. Фёдоров-Давыдов 1994: 115—116) представлена группа изделий с *подглазурной черной росписью и бирюзовой поливой* (рис. 10: 1; 11: 3; 12: 5). Часть фрагментов может принадлежать сосудам других форм[18]. Это относится к фрагментам с под-

[18] Это, кроме чаш, кувшины и биконические горшки (Матюхина, Моржерин 2005: 112—113).

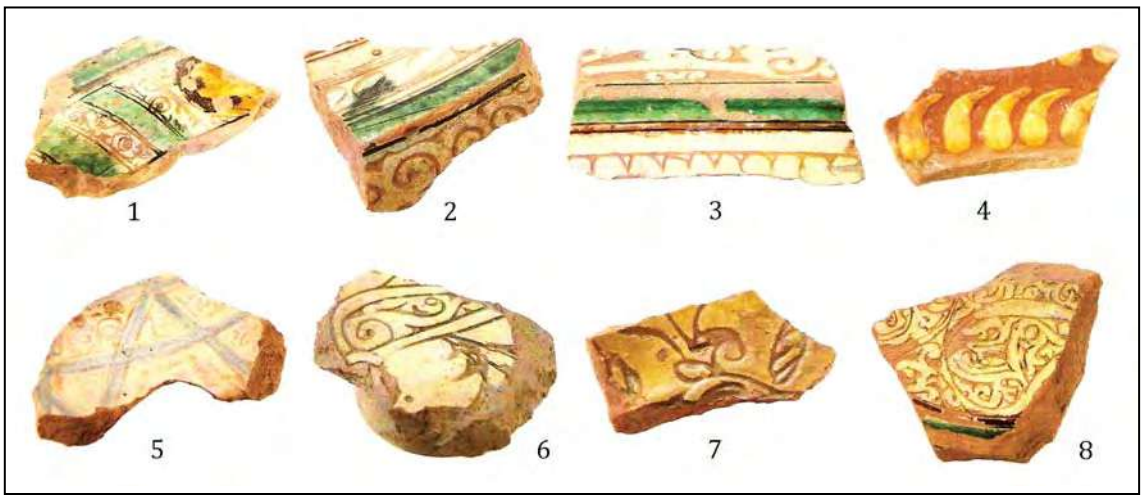

Рис. 20. Поливная керамика Селитренного и Царевского городищ. КП-5754-13.

Fig. 20. Glazed pottery of Selitrennoe and Tsarevskoe hillforts (KP-5754-13).

Рис. 21. Поливная (1, 3—5) и неполивная (2) керамика Болгарского городища. 1, 2 — светильники; 3, 4 — чернильницы; 5 — кувшин (?) (1, 2, 5 — КП-5363; 3, 4 — номер утрачен).

Fig. 21. Glazed (1, 3—5) and unglazed (2) pottery of Bolgar hillfort. 1, 2 — lamps; 3, 4 — inkwells; 5 — jug (?) (1, 2, 5 — KP-5363; 3, 4 — number lost).

глазурной черной росписью и бирюзовой поливой *с рельефом* (рис. 9: 2).

Посуда *с ультрамариновой поливой и черным подглазурным рисунком* (рис. 9: 7, 8; 14: 3) количественно невелика. Это мелкие фрагменты, по которым полностью форму изделия реконструировать невозможно. Судя по двусторонней глазури, можно предполагать, что это были сосуды открытых форм. Встречен один фрагмент с рельефным декором (рис. 9: 10), вероятно принадлежавший сосуду для розовой воды Федоров-Давыдов 1994: 122; ср. рис. 16: 4). Сочетание бирюзовой глазури изнутри и ультрамариновой снаружи характерно для таких изделий.

В коллекции имеются фрагменты от сосудов с *надглазурной росписью* по ультрамариновой поливе (белые лини, зигзаги, точ-

Рис. 22. Копилки. Болгарское городище. КП-5363.

Fig. 22. Moneyboxes. Bolgar hillfort. KP-5363.

Рис. 23. Неполивная керамика Болгарского городища. 1 — скульптурное зооморфное изображение; 2 — крышка; 3 — сепая; 4 — кувшин; 5 — кружка (КП-5363).

Fig. 23. Unglazed pottery of Bolgar hillfort. 1 — zoomorphic sculptural image; 2 — lid; 3 — sepaya; 4 — jug; 5 — cup (KP-5363).

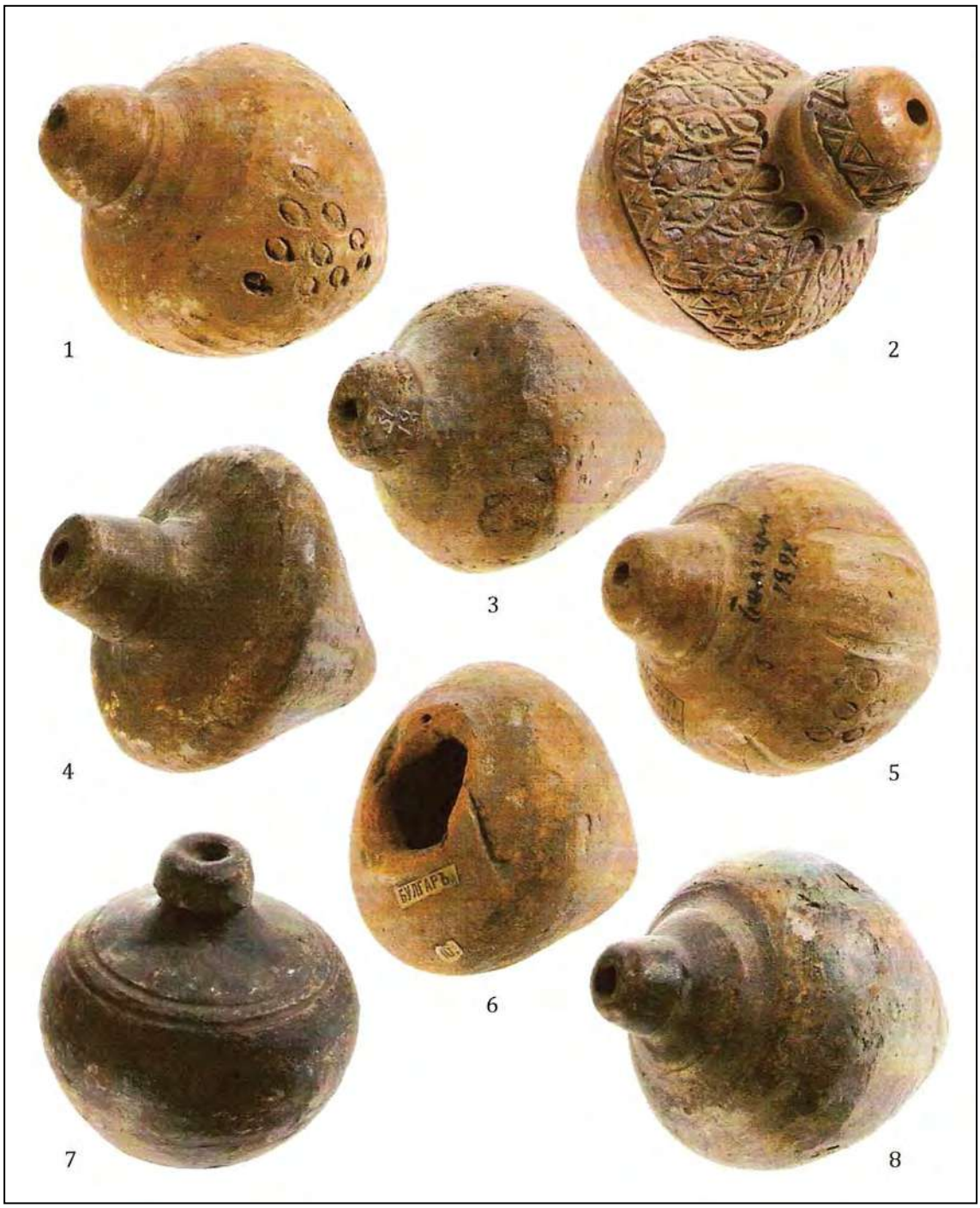

Рис. 24. Сфероконусы. Болгарское городище. КП-5363.

Fig. 24. Sphero-conical vessels. Bolgar hillfort (KP-5363).

ки: рис. 8: 6, 8; 14: 2). Форму сосудов установить невозможно. Это могли быть чаши, кувшины или вазы (Матюхина, Моржерин 2005: 114). Ряд фрагментов, кроме белых рисунков, имеет также роспись золотом (рис. 8: 5, 7; 13: 2). Аналогии этим сосудам имеются в золотоордынских городах (Фёдоров-Давыдов 1994: 122—124; Матюхина, Моржерин 2005: 114).

Мелкими фрагментами представлена *керамика с надглазурной росписью кобальтом по белой поливе* (люстр?) (рис. 8: 1).

Если сравнивать коллекцию с Болгарского городища с материалами Селитренного и Царевского городищ (рис. 16—20), то наряду с явными совпадениями (типа: рис. 16: 1, 5; 17: 1, 2, 4, 3, 5, 6), здесь отсутствуют многие достаточно распространенные группы

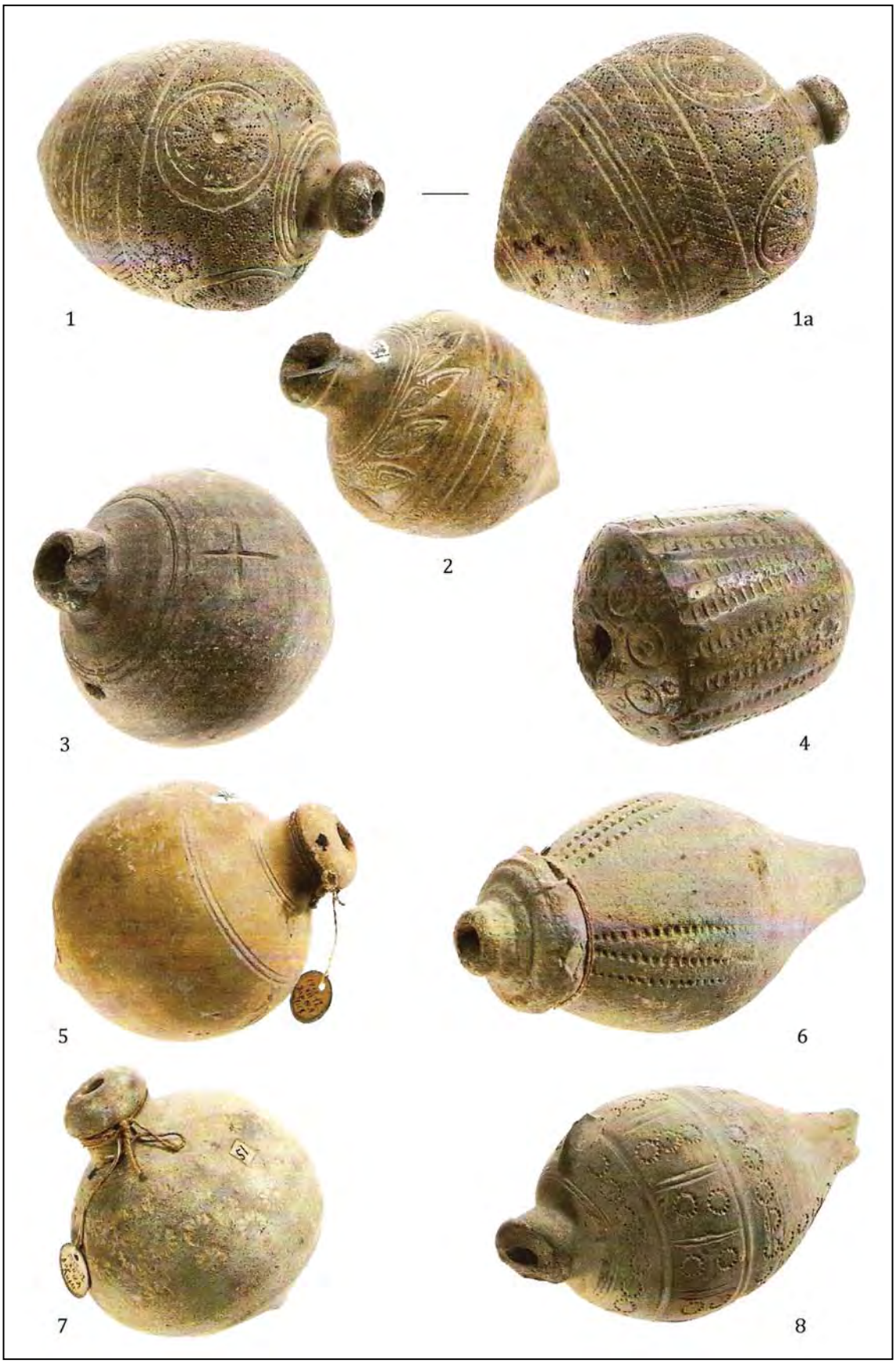

Рис. 25. Сфероконусы. Средняя Азия. Поступили в Казанский музей от Ф.А. Лихачева. ОА-1919/ XII-12.

Fig. 25. Sphero-conical vessels.. Central Asia. Offered to the Kazan Museum by F.A. Likhachev. OA-1919/ XII-12.

Рис. 26. Штампованная керамика. Фрагменты. Болгарское городище. Раскопки 1954 г. (КП-13469; АА-389).

Fig. 26. Impressed pottery. Fragments. Bolgar hillfort. Excavations of 1954 (KP-13469; AA-389).

посуды. Это керамика сграффито (рис. 19: 3; 20), красноглиняная с темно-зеленой глазурью (рис. 19: 5—7) и ряд других. Отметим, что рассматриваемая выборка поливной керамики с Болгарского городища не отражает полностью всей картины на этом памятнике, хотя общую тенденцию, нам кажется, она передает верно.

Штампованная керамика (рис. 26) в коллекции представлена развалом одного сосуда из раскопа 1954 г. Болгарского городища. Это части плоскодонной фляги, верхняя часть которой была в виде глубокого сегмента, нижняя — усеченно-коническая. Или же, что менее вероятно, это части двояковыпуклой фляги (Масловский 2006: 414, 416, рис. 42; 43). Интересно, что в раскопе 1952 г. на Болгарском городище были найдены три формы-матрицы для производства штампованных чаш, датированные XIV в. (Хованская 1954: 353, рис.5). Они также находятся в фондах НМ РТ (инв. №58692—58694)

Таким образом, коллекция Национального музея РТ содержит достаточно выразительный керамический материал, характеризующий общеордынские типы как поливной, так и неглазурованной посуды, и формы, отличающие домногольскую и булгаро-ордынскую керамическую традицию.

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Поливная керамика с золотоордынских селищ округи Укека

Keywords: Low Volga region, Golden Horde, 13th—14th centuries, settlements, glazed pottery

Ключевые слова: Нижнее Поволжье, Золотая Орда, XIII—XIV вв., поселения, поливная керамика

L. F. Nedashkovsky, M. B. Shigapov

Glazed Pottery from the Golden Horde Settlements of the Ukek Region

The purpose of the article is to characterise the finds of glazed pottery, found on the settlements of the region of the Golden Horde city Ukek, situated in the Saratov area of the Saratov region. All described glazed ceramic wares are published for the first time; they come from L. F. Nedashkovsky's excavations or from the casual finds. Chronologically, the settlements, and, accordingly, all published materials are dated by the second half of the 13th—14th century. Finds are represented by Qashan, red-clay glazed ceramics, and fragments of luster, stamped glazed, celadon vessels, Qashan buttons and tiles.

Л. Ф. Недашковский, М. Б. Шигапов

Поливная керамика с золотоордынских селищ округи Укека

Целью статьи является характеристика находок поливной керамики, происходящих с селищ округи золотоордынского города Укека, располагающихся в Саратовском районе Саратовской области. Все описанные поливные керамические изделия публикуются впервые, они происходят из раскопок Л. Ф. Недашковского либо из подъемного материала. Хронологически памятники и, соответственно, все публикуемые материалы датируются второй половиной XIII — XIV вв. Находки представлены кашинной и красноглиняной поливной керамикой, фрагментами люстровых, штампованного поливного, селадоновых сосудов, кашинными пуговицами и изразцами.

Наиболее многочисленные находки поливной керамики (как кашинной, так и красноглиняной) происходят с Хмелевского I селища, которое представляет собой остатки малого золотоордынского города площадью около 65 га (Недашковский 2000: 120—121; 2011; Nedashkovsky 2004: 69—72). Поселение датируется второй половиной XIII — XIV вв., на нем найдены нумизматические материалы, датирующиеся с начала 70-х гг. XIII в. до конца XIV в.

Многочисленные находки фрагментов кашинной и красноглиняной поливной посуды встречены в подъемном материале с Хмелевского I селища, из которого происходят также фрагменты придонной части селадонового сосуда с гравировкой и буро-коричневой «железной пятой» на свободной от поливы наружной стороне донца[1] (рис. 1: 6), и чаши с люстровой росписью (Коваль 2003: 67—68, рис. 4: 3). Кашинная керами-

[1] Все описываемые в статье изделия хранятся в настоящее время в фондах Саратовского областного музея краеведения.

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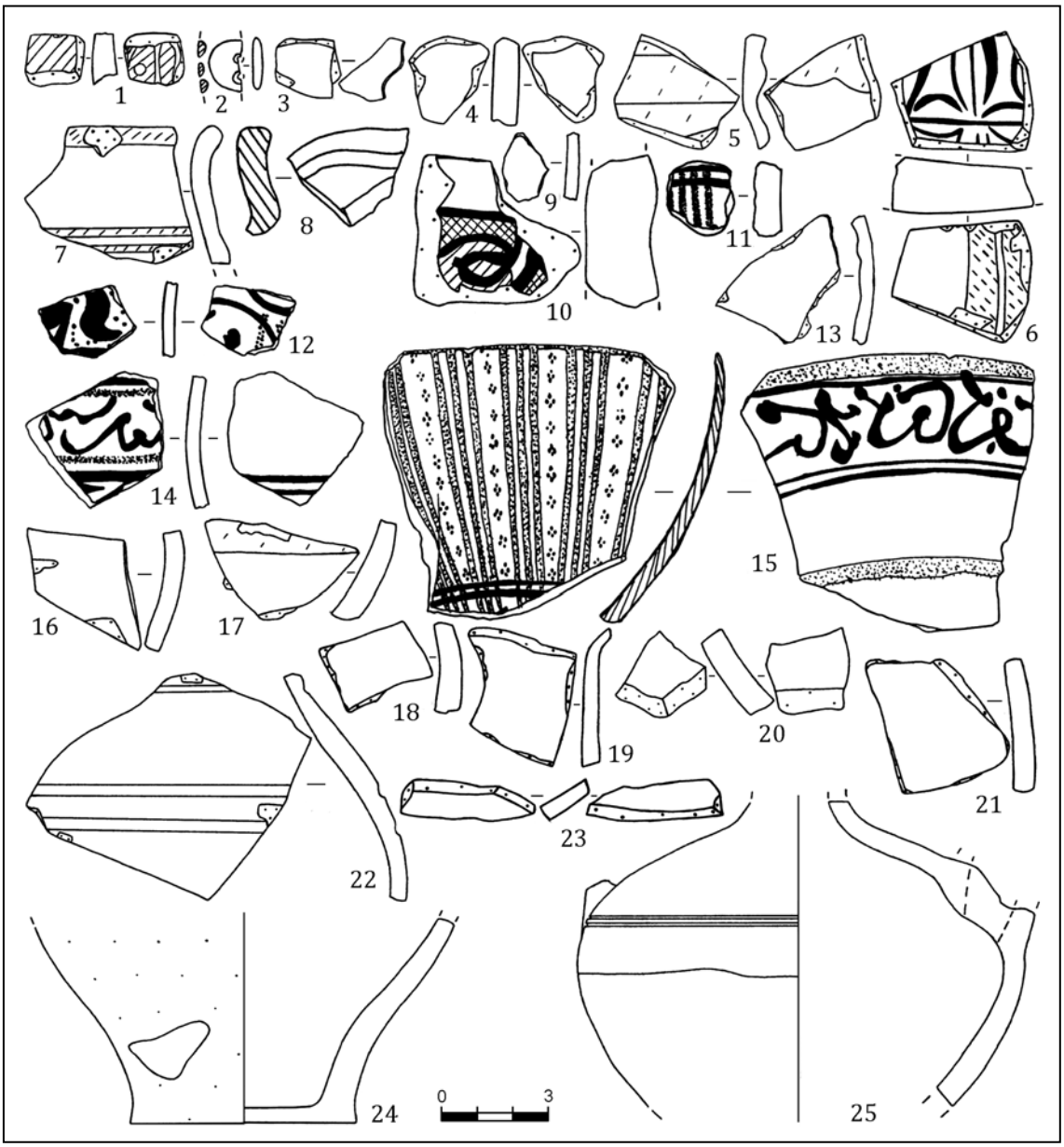

Рис. 1. Фрагменты кашинных сосудов (1, 3—4, 9, 11—12, 14—15), пуговицы (2), изразца (10), красноглиняных поливных (5, 7, 13, 16—25) и селадоновых (6, 8) сосудов. 1 — Болдыревское селище, подъемный материал (далее — ПМ), 1994 г., №НВСП 34909; 2—8, 10 — Хмелевское I селище: 2 — раскоп I-1999, яма 2; 3—7 — ПМ, 2010 (3—5), 1998 (6) и 1999 (7) гг., 8 — раскоп I-2000, культурный слой (далее — КС), 10 — ПМ, 1984—1985 гг., №НВСП 31562; 9, 11—13 — селище Широкий Буерак, ПМ, 2002 г.; 14—15 — селище Колотов Буерак, раскоп I-2002, яма 1, выб. 1; 16—25 — Багаевское селище: 16 — ПМ, 2010 г., 17, 20, 22, 24—25 — раскоп I-2010, КС (17, 22, 24), яма 9, выб. 2 (20), выб. 1 (25); 18—19, 21 — раскоп I-2012, КС (18), яма 30, выб. 2 (19), яма 31, выб. 8 (21); 23 — раскоп I-2015, яма 37, выб. 2.

Fig. 1. Fragments of Qashan vessels (1, 3—4, 9, 11—12, 14—15), buttons (2), tile (10), red-clay glazed (5, 7, 13, 16—25) and celadon (6, 8) vessels. 1 — Boldyrevka settlement, surface investigations of 1994, no. NVSP 34909; 2—8, 10 — Hmelevka I settlement: 2 — trench I-1999, pit 2 (no. 19,—205 cm), 3—7 — surface investigations of 2010 (3—5), 1998 (6) and 1999 (7), 8 — trench I-2000, cultural layer, 10 — find of M.I. Kurakin of 1984—1985, no. NVSP 31562; 9, 11—13 — Shiroky Buerak settlement, surface investigations of 2002; 14—15 — Kolotov Buerak settlement, trench I-2002, pit 1, fetch 1; 16—25 — Bagaevka settlement: 16 — surface investigations of 2010; 17, 20, 22, 24—25 — trench I-2010, cultural layer (17, 22, 24), pit 9, fetch 2 (20), fetch 1 (25); 18—19, 21 — trench I-2012, cultural layer (18), pit 30, fetch 2 (19), pit 31, fetch 8 (21); 23 — trench I-2015, pit 37, fetch 2.

ка с белым тестом из подъемного материала представлена следующими группами: рельефная с полихромным орнаментом; без рельефа с полихромной росписью (рис. 3: 2, 3); с рельефом с бирюзовой двусторонней глазурью, дополненной кобальтовыми точками; с под-

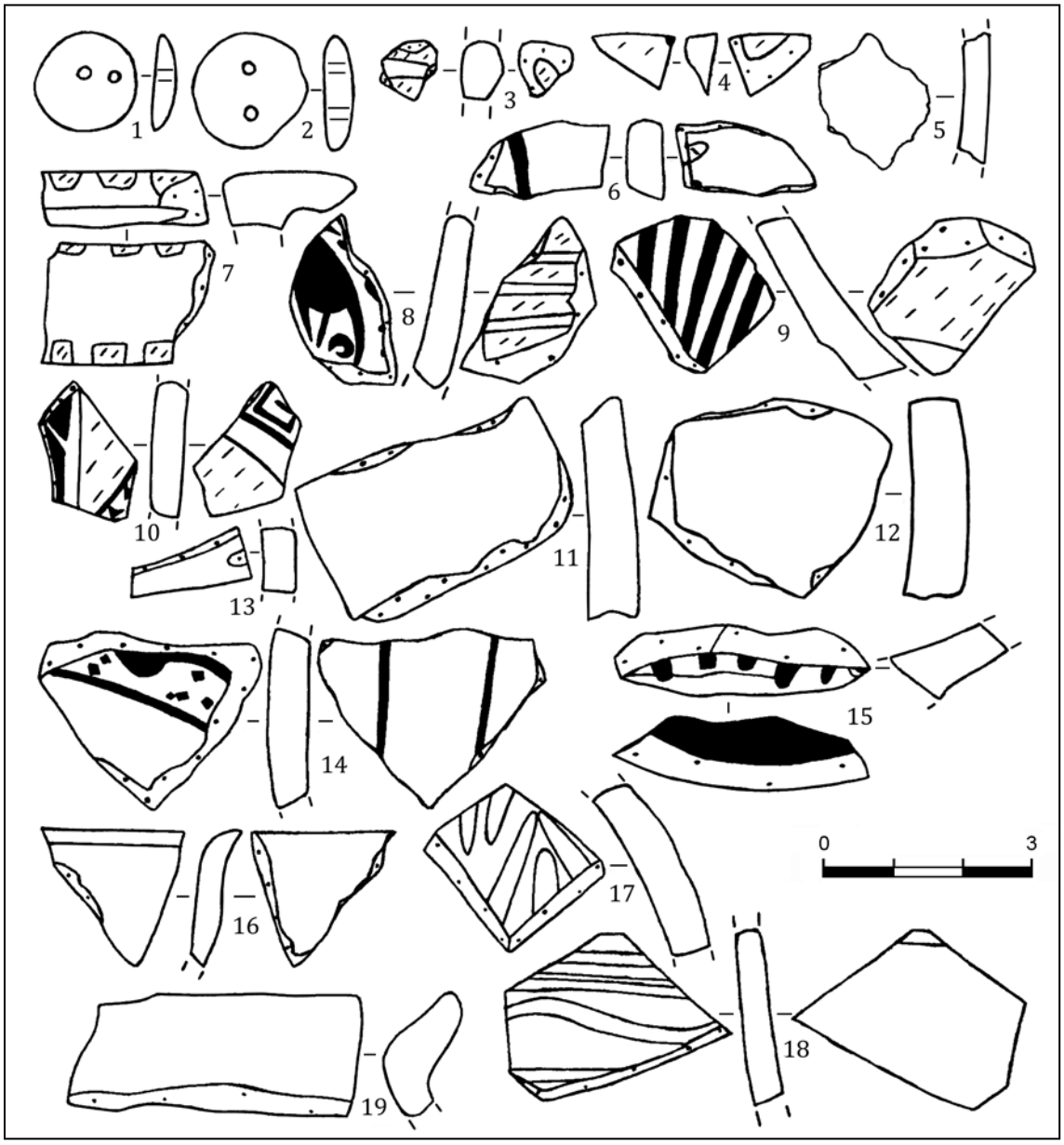

Рис. 2. Кашинные пуговицы (1—2), фрагменты кашинной (3—12, 14), люстровой (15) и красноглиняной поливной (13, 16—19) керамики с Багаевского селища. 1 — раскоп I-2008, культурный слой (№142, +1 см); 2, 9—11, 14 — раскоп I-2012, яма 31, №29, −151 см (2), выб. 5 (10, 14), культурный слой (9, 11); 3—4, 6—8, 16 — раскоп I-2009, культурный слой (3—4, 7—8, 16), яма 9, выб. 3 (6); 5, 18 — подъемный материал Л. Ф. Недашковского 2002 (5) и 2009 (18) гг.; 12 — раскоп I-2014, яма 36, выб. 5; 13, 19 — раскоп I-2010, культурный слой; 15 — раскоп I-2008, яма 9, выб. 1; 17 — раскоп I-2011, культурный слой.

Fig. 2. Qashan buttons (1—2), fragments of Qashan (3—12, 14), luster (15) and red-clay glazed (13, 16—19) ceramics from Bagaevka settlement. 1 — trench I-2008, cultural layer (no. 142, +1 cm); 2, 9—11, 14 — trench I-2012, pit 31, no. 29,—151 cm (2), fetch 5 (10, 14), cultural layer (9, 11); 3—4, 6—8, 16 — trench I-2009, cultural layer (3—4, 7—8, 16), pit 9, fetch 3 (6); 5, 18 — investigations of L. F. Nedashkovsky of 2002 (5) and 2009 (18); 12 — trench I-2014, pit 36, fetch 5; 13, 19 — trench I-2010, cultural layer; 15 — trench I-2008, pit 9, fetch 1; 17 — trench I-2011, cultural layer.

глазурной черной росписью и с двусторонней бирюзовой поливой без рельефа; с кобальтовой глазурью с рельефом (рис. 3: 4); с бирюзовой поливой (рис. 1: 3, 4; 3: 10, 11); с бирюзовой и кобальтовой глазурью. Красноглиняная гончарная хорошо обожженная керамика с примесью мелкого песка в тесте из подъемного материала представлена группами: с бирюзовой двусторонней глазурью; с ангобом и двусторонней светло-зеленой поливой; с ангобом и светло-зеленой глазурью; фрагмент альбарелло с темно-зеленой поливой (рис. 1: 7); с полихромной росписью; с тестом коричневатого цвета с коричневой и светло-

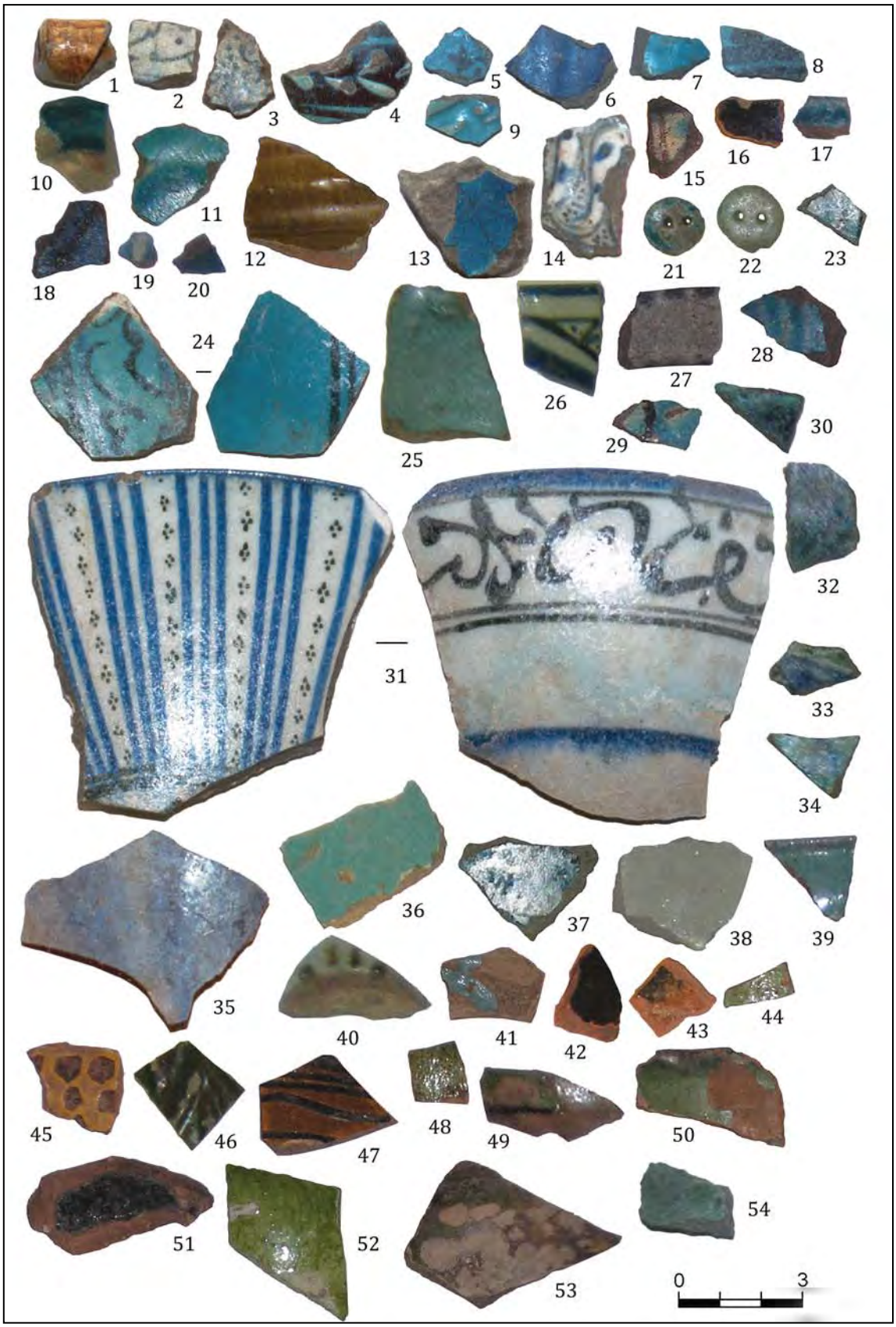

Рис. 3. Фрагменты красноглиняной поливной (1, 12, 42—54), кашинной (2—11, 14—20, 23—39), люстровой (40), штампованной поливной (41) керамики, кашинного изразца (13) и кашинные пуговицы (21—22). 1—13 — Хмелевское I селище: 1—4, 10—13 — подъемный материал Л. Ф. Недашковского 2001 (1—4, 13) и 2010 (10—12) гг.; 5—9 — раскоп III-2001, культурный слой; 14, 54 — селище Широкий Буерак: 14 — раскоп I-2002, культурный слой; 54 — раскоп I-2001, яма 1, выб. 5; 15 — Константиновское селище, раскоп I-2006, культурный слой; 16—23,

25—30, 32—53 — Багаевское селище: 16, 47, 52 — подъемный материал Л. Ф. Недашковского 2006 (16), 2009 (47) и 2010 (52) гг.; 17—18, 41, 45, 48, 50—51, 53 — раскоп I-2007, культурный слой (18, 41, 45, 50—51, 53), яма 4, выб. 3 (48), яма 5, выб. 4 (17); 19—20, 27—29, 39, 49 — раскоп I-2009, культурный слой (19—20, 27—28, 39, 49), яма 9, выб. 3 (29); 21, 25—26, 40 — раскоп I-2008, культурный слой (21, 25—26; 21 — №142, +1 см), яма 9, выб. 1 (40); 22—23, 30, 32—34, 36—37 — раскоп I-2012, яма 31, №29, −151 см (22), выб. 8 (23), выб. 5 (33, 37), выб. 3 (34), культурный слой (30, 32, 36); 35 — раскоп I-2002, культурный слой; 38 — раскоп I-2014, яма 36, выб. 5; 42—43 — раскоп II-2006, культурный слой; 44 — раскоп I-2010, культурный слой; 46 — раскоп I-2011, культурный слой; 24, 31 — селище Колотов Буерак, раскоп I-2002, яма 1, выб. 1.

Fig. 3. Fragments of red-clay glazed (1, 12, 42—54), Qashan (2—11, 14—20, 23—39), luster (40), stamped glazed (41) ceramics, Qashan tile (13) and Qashan buttons (21—22). 1—13 — Hmelevka I settlement: 1—4, 10—13 — investigations by L. F. Nedashkovsky of 2001 (1—4, 13) and 2010 (10—12); 5—9 — trench III-2001, cultural layer; 14, 54 — Shiroky Buerak settlement: 14 — trench I-2002, cultural layer; 54 — trench I-2001, pit 1, fetch 5; 15 — Konstantinovka settlement, trench I-2006, cultural layer; 16—23, 25—30, 32—53 — Bagaevka settlement: 16, 47, 52 — investigations by L. F. Nedashkovsky of 2006 (16), 2009 (47) and 2010 (52); 17—18, 41, 45, 48, 50—51, 53 — trench I-2007, cultural layer (18, 41, 45, 50—51, 53), pit 4, fetch 3 (48), pit 5, fetch 4 (17); 19—20, 27—29, 39, 49 — trench I-2009, cultural layer (19—20, 27—28, 39, 49), pit 9, fetch 3 (29); 21, 25—26, 40 — trench I-2008, cultural layer (21, 25—26; 21 no. 142, +1 cm), pit 9, fetch 1 (40); 22—23, 30, 32—34, 36—37 — trench I-2012, pit 31, no. 29,—151 cm (22), fetch 8 (23), fetch 5 (33, 37), fetch 3 (34), cultural layer (30, 32, 36); 35 — trench I-2002, cultural layer; 38 — trench I-2014, pit 36, fetch 5; 42—43 — trench II-2006, cultural layer; 44 — trench I-2010, cultural layer; 46 — trench I-2011, cultural layer; 24, 31 — Kolotov Buerak settlement, trench I-2002, pit 1, fetch 1.

зеленой поливой (рис. 1: 5; 3: 12); с коричневой глазурью (рис. 3: 1); с желтой поливой. На Хмелевском I селище найдены фрагменты кашинных изразцов с белым тестом, свидетельствующие о наличии на памятнике монументальной архитектуры: изделия с черной, синей и бирюзовой росписью (рис. 1: 10) и с бирюзовой глазурью (рис. 3: 13). Три фрагмента красноглиняной поливной золотоордынской керамики найдено в шурфе, заложенном в 1995 г. (Недашковский 2011: 39—40).

Раскоп I (1999—2000 гг.) площадью 168 кв. м был заложен в центральной части Хмелевского I селища, в его створ вошел шурф 1995 г. Был зафиксирован культурный слой золотоордынского времени мощностью местами более 70 см, в котором были выявлены три горизонта. Поливная керамика из раскопок 1999 г. была ранее опубликована В. Ю. Ковалем (Коваль 2003). В первом горизонте обнаружен 21 фрагмент кашинной (без рельефа с полихромной росписью; с подглазурной черной росписью и с двусторонней бирюзовой поливой без рельефа) и 4 фрагмента красноглиняной поливной посуды (с ангобом и светло-зеленой глазурью). Во втором и третьем горизонтах слоя найден 21 фрагмент кашинной керамики, в том числе с рельефом с полихромной росписью; без рельефа с подглазурной черной росписью и с бирюзовой поливой (Коваль 2003: 67—68, рис. 4: 4); без рельефа с кобальтовой глазурью; без рельефа с полихромной росписью, 27 фрагментов красноглиняной поливной посуды и фрагмент венчика селадоновой чаши с фестончатым краем (рис. 1: 8).

На раскопе I было зафиксировано 5 ям. В яме 1 найдено 7 фрагментов кашинной керамики — осколки тех же сосудов, что происходят из ямы 2, датируемой сарайским пулом Узбека 737 г. х. (Недашковский 2011: 43—44). В яме 2 отмечены половинка кашинной пуговицы с бирюзовой поливой (рис. 1: 2), осколок окрашенной кобальтом чаши с люстровой росписью, вероятно, сирийской по происхождению (Коваль 2003: 59—60, рис. 1: 1), 31 фрагмент кашинных чаш со светло-зеленой непрозрачной поливой, с полихромной росписью, в том числе с мотивами в виде «бесконечного узла» (Коваль 2003: 59—64, рис. 1: 2—5, 7; 2: 1—3), с черной росписью под бирюзовой глазурью (Коваль 2003: 60, 64—65, рис. 1: 8—9; 3: 1—3), гулабдана (сосуда для розовой воды) с рельефом, кобальтовой и бирюзовой поливой (Коваль 2003: 60—61, рис. 1: 6), сосуда (кувшина?) с бирюзовой глазурью, 9 фрагментов красноглиняных чаш, в том числе причерноморской из светло-красной глины с подглазурным орнаментом в технике «сграффито» с темно- и светло-зеленой глазурью и декоративными вмятинами по краю венчика (Коваль 2003: 62, 66, рис. 2: 4), из красной глины с белым ангобом, пятнами марганца на дне и бледно-желтой глазурью (Коваль 2003: 65—66, рис. 3: 4), из бледно-розовой глины с белым ангобом и бледно-зеленоватой глазурью (Коваль 2003: 66—67, рис. 4: 1). В яме 4, которая представляла собой остатки крупного жилища, датированного монетами 30-х — начала 50-х гг. XIV в. (Недашковский 2011: 44), найдено 12 фрагментов кашинной керамики с бирюзовой полупрозрачной, светло-голубой, кобальтовой поливой с рельефом и темно-бирюзовой прозрачной глазурью с черной подглазурной росписью (Коваль 2003: 67—68, рис. 4: 2), 3 фрагмента красноглиняной поливной посу-

Рис. 4. Фрагменты красноглиняной поливной керамики с Багаевского селища. 1, 3—4, 6—8, 10—11 — раскоп I-2012, яма 31, выб. 5 (1), выб. 2 (8), выб. 9 (10), выб. 8 (11), культурный слой (3—4, 6), яма 30, выб. 2 (7); 2, 5, 13, 15—16 — раскоп I-2010, яма 9, выб. 2 (2), выб. 1 (15), культурный слой (5, 13, 16); 9 — раскоп I-2015, яма 37, выб. 2; 12, 14 — раскоп I-2009, яма 9, выб. 1 (12), выб. 2 (14).

Fig. 4. Fragments of red-clay glazed ceramics from Bagaevka settlement. 1, 3—4, 6—8, 10—11 — trench I-2012, pit 31, fetch 5 (1), fetch 2 (8), fetch 9 (10), fetch 8 (11), cultural layer (3—4, 6), pit 30, fetch 2 (7); 2, 5, 13, 15—16 — trench I-2010, pit 9, fetch 2 (2), fetch 1 (15), cultural layer (5, 13, 16); 9 — trench I-2015, pit 37, fetch 2; 12, 14 — trench I-2009, pit 9, fetch 1 (12), fetch 2 (14).

ды. Из ямы 5 происходят 3 фрагмента кашинной керамики с бирюзовой поливой и 4 фрагмента красноглиняной поливной посуды.

Таким образом, кашинной керамики в стратиграфически более ранних ямах 4 и 5 найдено 15 фрагментов, в более поздних ямах 1 и 2 — 38 фрагментов. Красноглиняной поливной керамики в ямах 4 и 5 найдено 7 фрагментов, а в ямах 1 и 2 — 9 фрагментов (Недашковский 2011: 43—45). В яме 2 были найдены также половинка кашинной пуговицы, фрагменты ближневосточной чаши

с люстровой росписью, чаш причерноморского происхождения в технике «сграффито» и с пятнами марганца на дне. Кашинная посуда из раскопа могла быть изготовлена в Золотой Орде либо на Ближнем или Среднем Востоке (Коваль 2003).

На раскопе II площадью 32 кв. м, на котором был выявлен культурный слой мощностью от 12 до 27 см, в слое найдено 2 фрагмента кашинной керамики без рельефа (с полихромной росписью; с бирюзовой глазурью) и 13 фрагментов красноглиняной поливной посуды, в том числе с подглазурным орнаментом в технике «сграффито», имеется и фрагмент альбарелло с темно-зеленой поливой. В единственной яме 1 был найден фрагмент кашинного сосуда с рельефом, с подглазурной черной росписью и бирюзовой поливой.

Раскоп III площадью 32 кв. м позволил выявить культурный слой мощностью от 25 до 40 см, сооружений выявлено не было. Здесь найдено 5 фрагментов кашинной керамики: с рельефом с кобальтовой (рис. 3: 6) и бирюзовой (рис. 3: 9) глазурью, без рельефа с бирюзовой поливой (рис. 3: 7) и с черной росписью под бирюзовой глазурью (рис. 3: 5, 8).

Находки поливной керамики с селищ Болдыревское, Широкий Буерак, Колотов Буерак и Константиновское представлены сравнительно немногочисленными фрагментами (Недашковский 2012).

Болдыревское селище имеет размеры 210 × 95 м, его шурфовка Л. Ф. Недашковским в 1994 г. показала мощность культурного слоя золотоордынского времени — до 35—40 см. Датируют селище находки медных монет времени Токтамыша (Сарай 787 г. х. — 1; Хорезм 790 г. х. — 2) и клад, найденный в 1983 г. у пруда «Пионерский», в непосредственной близости от поселения, содержащий 74 серебряных дирхема, младшие из которых (11 экз.) отчеканены в 761 г. х.; данные нумизматики позволяют ограничить период существования селища второй половиной XIV в. (Моржерин 1997: 166, 169—170, рис. 2: 8; Недашковский 2000: 118, 160; Nedashkovsky 2004: 68, 94—95). Из подъемного материала с Болдыревского селища происходит небольшой кусочек белой кашинной чаши с бирюзовой поливой (рис. 1: 1).

Селище Широкий Буерак имеет площадь более 6,8 га и мощность культурных напластований более 60 см. Данное сельское поселение датируется по найденным предметам второй половиной XIII — XIV в.; монетные находки с памятника относятся к чеканке последней трети XIII — начала 60-х гг. XIV в. (Недашковский 2000: 121—122; 2012: 104—106; Nedashkovsky 2004: 72—73). В составе подъемного материала встречена кашинная керамика с бирюзовой поливой (рис. 1: 9) и полихромной росписью (рис. 1: 11—12), а также фрагмент красноглиняного поливного сосуда с бирюзовой поливой (рис. 1: 13). На раскопе I (площадь 96 кв. м) в 2002 г. в слое найден фрагмент кашинной керамики с рельефом и полихромной росписью (рис. 3: 14), а в 2001 г. в яме 1 найден фрагмент поливной красноглиняной посуды древнерусского облика с примесью дресвы и песка в тесте и темно-зеленой глазурью (рис. 3: 54). Таким образом, в ходе раскопок на селище выявлено лишь 2 фрагмента поливной посуды.

Селище Колотов Буерак представляет собой поселение площадью около 2,2 га со слоем мощностью от 16 до 58 см. Сельское поселение датируется по найденным артефактам второй половиной XIII — XIV вв., с него происходят две серебряные дореформенные монеты Токты (Недашковский 2000: 119; 2012: 103—104; Nedashkovsky 2004: 68), одна из которых датирована 690 г. х. (1290—1291 гг.). В ходе раскопок в 2002 г. на селище на раскопе I площадью 60 кв. м в яме 1 были найдены два фрагмента кашинных сосудов с подглазурной росписью без рельефа, украшенных надписями: с полихромной росписью под прозрачной поливой (рис. 1: 15; 3: 31) и с черной росписью под бирюзовой глазурью (рис. 1: 14; 3: 24). Данные кашинные сосуды, по нашему мнению, были изготовлены в Сирии или Иране и поступили в Золотую Орду, возможно, еще на рубеже XIII—XIV вв. (к этому времени относятся обе найденных на селище монеты), когда собственное производство кашинной керамики в золотоордынских городах, очевидно, еще не сложилось.

Константиновское селище является остатками малого сельского поселения площадью 0,5 га, мощность культурного слоя 6—48 см. Селище датируется по найденным предметам второй половиной XIII — XIV вв. В 2006 г. на памятнике был разбит раскоп I площадью 64 кв. м (Недашковский 2000: 119; 2012: 102—103; Nedashkovsky 2004: 68). В слое найден фрагмент кашинной керамики с полихромной подглазурной росписью без рельефа (рис. 3: 15).

Багаевское селище датируется по найденным артефактам второй половиной XIII — XIV вв.; на нем обнаружены монеты, чеканенные с конца XIII в. до начала 60-х гг. XIV в. (Недашковский 2000: 119—120; 2013; Nedashkovsky 2004: 68—69). Это крупное сельское поселение: площадь памят-

Таблица 1.

Находки кашинной керамики из раскопок селищ округи Укека

Поселение	Раскоп	Участок культурного слоя, сооружение
Хмелевское I	I-1999	уч. 1, 3, 4 (2 фр.), 6 (2 фр.), 11; я. 1 (7 фр.), 2 (31 фр.), 4 (7 фр.), 5 (2 фр.)
	I-2000	уч. 1 (3 фр.), 2 (2 фр.), 3 (8 фр.), 4 (2 фр.), 5, 6, 9, 10 (3 фр.), 15 (2 фр.), 17, 21 (2 фр.), 22, 23 (3 фр.), 26, 28, 30 (3 фр.); я. 4 (5 фр.), 5
	II-2000	уч. 3 (2 фр.)
	III-2001	уч. 1, 4, 5 (2 фр.), 7
Широкий Буерак	I-2002	уч. 12
Колотов Буерак	I-2002	я. 1 (2 фр.)
Константиновское	I-2006	уч. 9
Багаевское	I-2002	уч. 2
	I-2007	уч. 28; я. 5
	I-2008	уч. 5, 7
	I-2009	уч. 2, 4, 7, 11; я. 9
	I-2012	уч. 7, 26 (2 фр.); я. 31 (4 фр.)
	I-2014	я. 36

Таблица 2.

Находки красноглиняной поливной керамики из раскопок селищ округи Укека

Поселение	Раскоп	Участок культурного слоя, сооружение
Хмелевское I	I-1999	уч. 5; я. 2 (9 фр.), 4, 5 (3 фр.)
	I-2000	уч. 2 (2 фр.), 4, 6 (3 фр.), 7 (3 фр.), 11, 12 (2 фр.), 13, 15 (3 фр.), 16, 19 (2 фр.), 20, 21 (4 фр.), 23—24, 28, 29 (2 фр.), 30; я. 4 (2 фр.), 5
	II-2000	уч. 1 (6 фр.), 2 (5 фр.), 3 (2 фр.)
Широкий Буерак	I-2001	я. 1
	I-2002	уч. 12
Багаевское	II-2006	уч. 9, 14
	I-2007	уч. 1, 13, 33, 38; я. 4
	I-2009	уч. 4, 9; я. 9 (5 фр.)
	I-2010	уч. 1, 4, 10 (2 фр.), 18; я. 9 (2 фр.)
	I-2011	уч. 7
	I-2012	уч. 1, 3, 25; я. 30 (2 фр.), 31 (4 фр.)
	I-2015	я. 37

ника — 5,1 га, средняя мощность культурного слоя 30—40 см, местами она доходит до 90 см. Находки поливной керамики с аграрного Багаевского селища не так многочисленны, как с Хмелевского I поселения городского характера, тем не менее, их число значительно (табл. 1; 2).

Из подъемного материала Л. Ф. Недашковского происходят фрагменты кашинной и красноглиняной поливной керамики (Недашковский 2000: 119—120; 2013: 7; Nedashkovsky 2004: 68—69). Кашинная керамика представлена фрагментом чаши с черной росписью под бирюзовой глазурью, сосудов с бирюзовой поливой (рис. 2: 5) и с кобальтовой глазурью (рис. 3: 16). Красноглиняная поливная посуда с примесью песка в тесте представлена фрагментами красного гончарного сосуда со светло-зеленой поливой (рис. 1: 16; 3: 52), сосуда с бирюзовой поливой и светло-коричневой поливной причерноморской чаши в технике сграффито (рис. 2: 18; 3: 47).

На раскопе I (2002—2003, 2007—2012 и 2014—2015 гг.) площадью 886,1 кв. м в культурном слое были найдены 11 фрагментов кашинных сосудов (рис. 5), 15 фрагментов красноглиняной поливной посуды (рис. 6) и фрагмент поливной штампованной керамики (Недашковский 2013: 8—9). Кашинная керамика на раскопе I встречена лишь на нескольких участках раскопа в слое, красноглиняной поливной посуды в культурном слое немно-

го больше. Кашинная керамика представлена пуговицей с бирюзовой поливой (рис. 2: 1; 3: 21), фрагментами сосудов с рельефом с белым тестом и бирюзовой глазурью (рис. 2: 3; 3: 19), без рельефа с полихромной росписью (рис. 2: 7; 3: 26—27, 35), без рельефа с белым тестом и черной росписью под бирюзовой глазурью (рис. 2: 4, 8—9; 3: 18, 20, 28, 30, 32), без рельефа с кремовым тестом и бирюзовой глазурью (рис. 2: 11; 3: 25, 36). Красноглиняная поливная керамика представлена фрагментами с белым ангобом и зеленой поливой, с примесью песка и мелкого шамота в тесте (рис. 1: 17, 22, 24; 3: 49—51, 53; 4: 4—5, 13, 16), с белым ангобом и светло-зеленой поливой с примесью песка в тесте (рис. 1: 18; 2: 13; 3: 44; 4: 3, 6), с ячеистым орнаментом в технике сграффито (рис. 3: 45), с двусторонней непрозрачной бирюзовой поливой (рис. 2: 16; 3: 39), с коричневым тестом с примесью песка с рельефным орнаментом и темно-зеленой поливой из Восточного Крыма (рис. 2: 17; 3: 46), с желтым тестом с примесью песка и светло-коричневой поливой (рис. 2: 19). Был найден и фрагмент сероглиняного штампованного сосуда с бирюзовой поливой (рис. 3: 41).

На раскопе I было выявлено 37 ям. Кашинная керамика обнаружена в ямах 5, 9, 31 и 36. Красноглиняная поливная керамика найдена в ямах 4, 9, 30—31 и 37.

В яме 4, датированной пулами 731 и 736 гг. х. (Недашковский 2013: 10), найден фрагмент красноглиняной поливной керамики с белым ангобом и зеленой глазурью (рис. 3: 48). В яме 5 обнаружен фрагмент кашинного сосуда с белым тестом и бирюзовой поливой (рис. 3: 17). В очень крупной яме 9, которая представляла собой остатки жилища, датированного монетами конца XIII — начала 60-х гг. XIV в. (Недашковский 2013: 11—12), найдены фрагмент кашинной керамики с белым тестом без рельефа и с полихромной росписью (рис. 2: 6; 3: 29), 7 фрагментов поливной красноглиняной посуды (рис. 1: 20, 25; 4: 2, 12, 14—15), в том числе 5 фрагментов крымского кувшинчика-афтобы с примесью органики в тесте, белым ангобом и светло-зеленой поливой (рис. 1: 25; 4: 12, 14), фрагмент сосуда с примесью песка и темно-коричневой поливой (рис. 1: 20; 4: 2), фрагмент с примесью песка в тесте, с белым ангобом и зеленой поливой (рис. 4: 15), а также фрагмент иранского люстрового сосуда с розоватым тестом и белой непрозрачной глазурью, поверх которой была нанесена роспись (рис. 2: 15; 3: 40). В яме 30 обнаружено 2 фрагмента красноглиняных поливных сосудов с примесью песка в тесте и двусторонней темно-зеленой поливой без ангоба (рис. 1: 19; 4: 7). В крупной яме 31 были найдены кашинная пуговица с бирюзовой поливой (рис. 2: 2; 3: 22), 4 фрагмента кашинной керамики с белым тестом без рельефа, в том числе с полихромной росписью (рис. 2: 10; 3: 33) и с черной росписью под бирюзовой глазурью (рис. 2: 14; 3: 23, 34, 37), 4 фрагмента красноглиняных поливных сосудов, в том числе с примесью песка в тесте и двусторонней непрозрачной бирюзовой поливой (рис. 1: 21; 4: 1, 11), с темно-зеленой поливой (рис. 4: 10), а также с белым ангобом и светло-зеленой поливой с примесью песка в тесте (рис. 4: 8). В яме 36 был найден фрагмент кашинной керамики с белым тестом и двусторонней прозрачной поливой (рис. 2: 12; 3: 38), а в яме 37, датируемой пулом Сарая ал-Джедид 1340-х гг. — фрагмент красноглиняного поливного сосуда с примесью песка в тесте и двусторонней темно-зеленой глазурью (рис. 1: 23; 4: 9).

На раскопе II площадью 64 кв. м в 2006 г. на двух участках культурного слоя были найдены 2 фрагмента красноглиняной поливной посуды с примесью песка в тесте и коричневой глазурью (рис. 3: 42—43).

Красноглиняная поливная и кашинная керамика найдена и на других, не подвергавшихся раскопкам, поселениях округи Укека. Фрагменты кашинных сосудов отмечены на Чардымском II городище, поселении Подгорное, селище на улице Лермонтова в Волжском районе г. Саратова (там встречены также фрагменты селадонового сосуда, кашинных майолик и мозаик), фрагменты кашинных майолик или мозаик встречены также на поселении у с. Квасниковка (Касанкин 1997: 235, 238, рис. 3: 1, 4; Недашковский 2000: 115, 117, 124; Nedashkovsky 2004: 66—67, 74—75). Фрагменты красноглиняной поливной керамики найдены на поселениях у с. Шумейка (на нем встречены и поливные изразцы) и Зауморье (Недашковский 2000: 123, 126; Nedashkovsky 2004: 74—76).

Поливная керамика, обнаруженная на селищах Золотой Орды, представлена преимущественно кашинной и красноглиняной посудой. Также встречены находки керамики с люстровой росписью, происходящей с Ближнего и Среднего Востока (Хмелевское I и Багаевское селища). Есть находки китайских селадоновых сосудов (Хмелевское I селище, Улица Лермонтова), штампованной поливной керамики, очевидно поступавшей из Хорезма (Багаевское селище). Найдены кашинные пуговицы (Хмелевское I и Багаевское селища) и по-

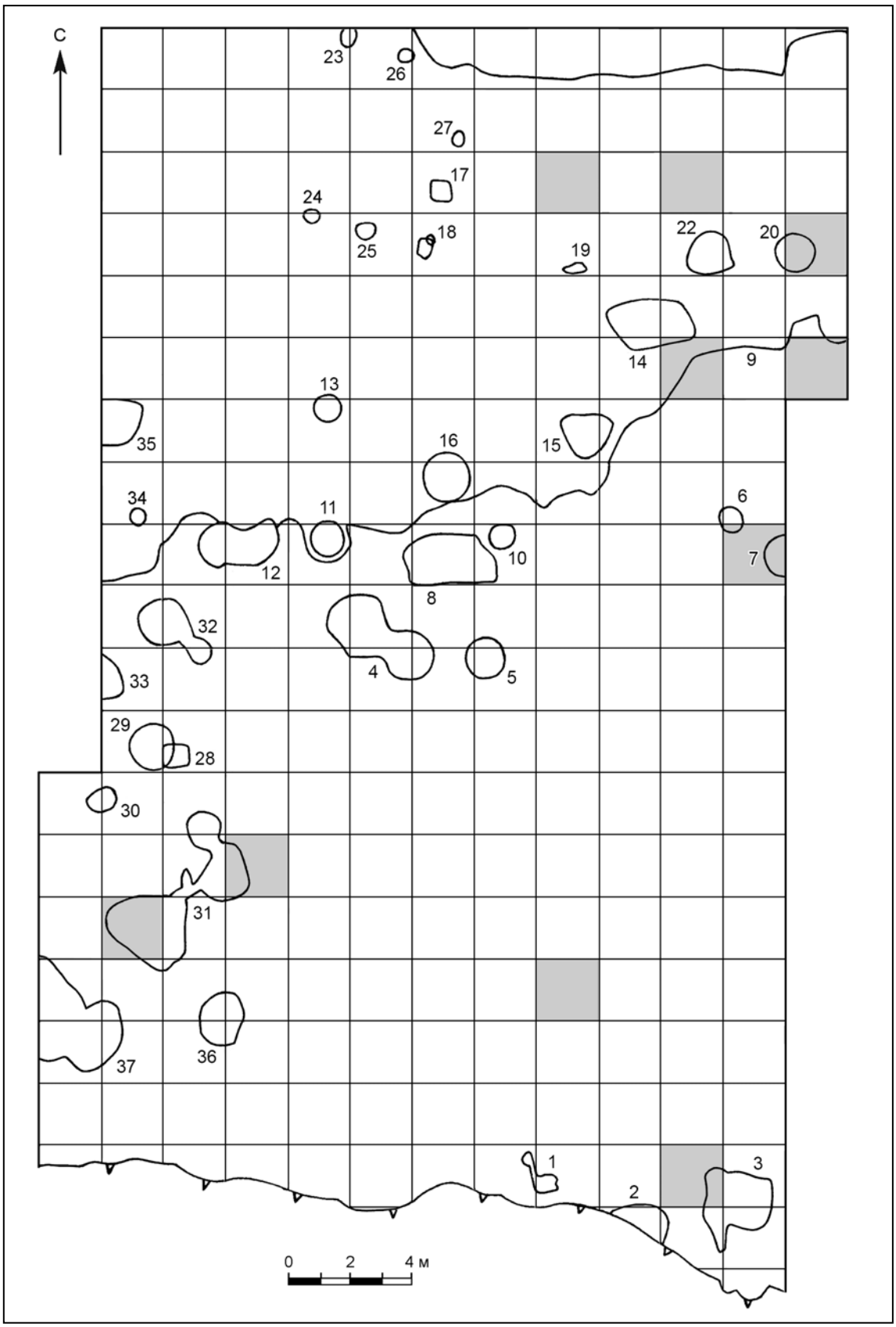

Рис. 5. Распределение кашинной керамики из культурного слоя по участкам раскопа I на Багаевском селище (закрашены серым участки, на которых найдены фрагменты кашинной посуды).

Fig. 5. Distribution of Qashan ceramics from cultural layer on square parts of trench I on Bagaevka settlement (parts on which fragments of Qashan wares were found are colored in gray).

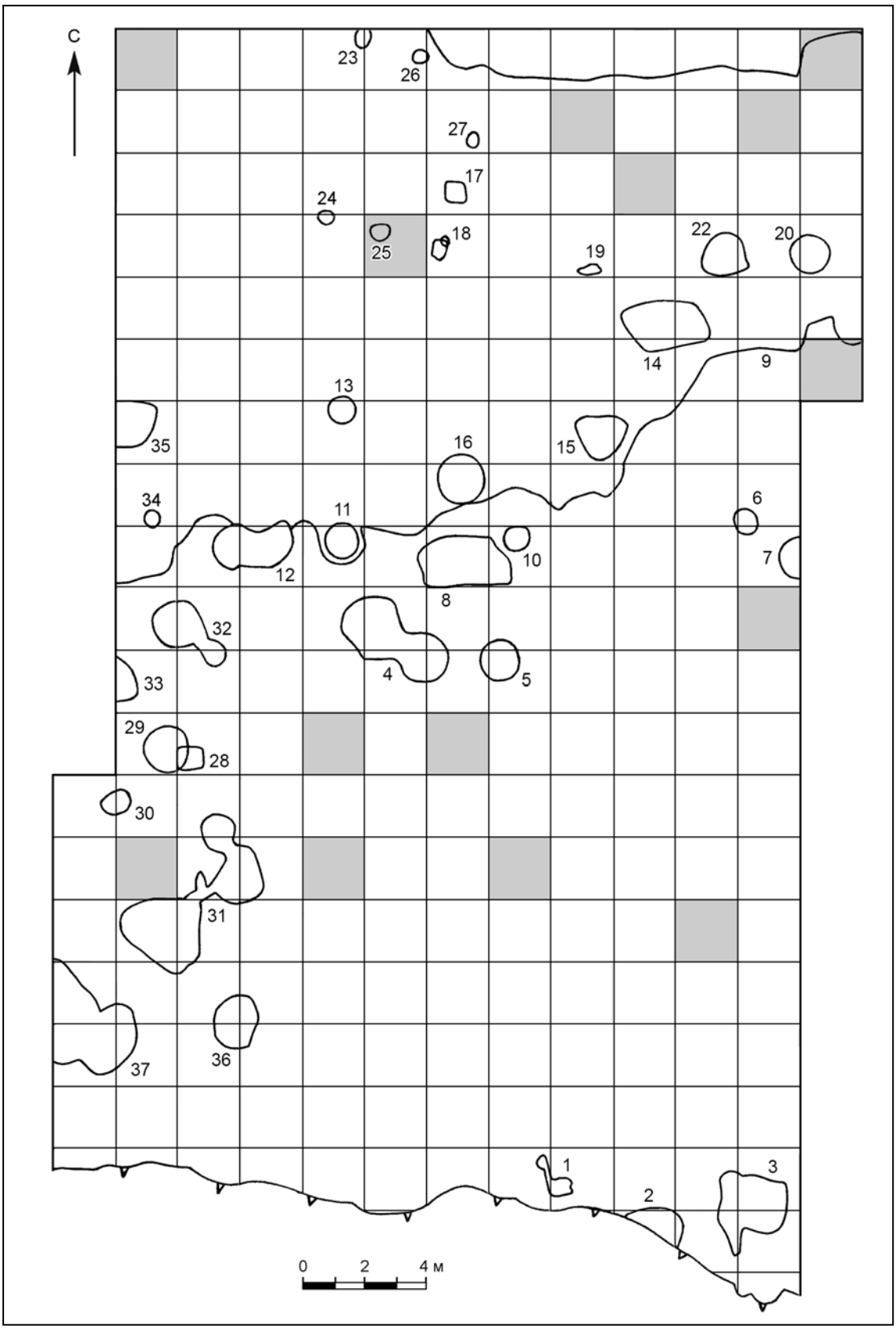

Рис. 6. Распределение красноглиняной поливной керамики из культурного слоя по участкам раскопа I на Багаевском селище (закрашены серым участки, на которых найдены фрагменты красноглиняной поливной посуды).

Fig. 6. Distribution of red-clay glazed ceramics from cultural layer on square parts of trench I on Bagaevka settlement (parts on which fragments of red-clay glazed wares were found are colored in gray).

ливные изразцы (Хмелевское I селище, Улица Лермонтова, Квасниковка, Шумейка). Характерно, что находки архитектурного декора и селадоновых сосудов отмечены на памятниках городского характера (Хмелевское I селище, Шумейка) и на поселениях, расположенных недалеко от крупнейшего золотоордынского памятника региона, Увекского городища (Улица Лермонтова, Квасниковка), на которых могли располагаться загородные дворцы-резиденции аристократии.

Очевидно, что поливная керамика, как золотоордынская, так и импортная, поступала в сельские поселения (Болдыревское, Широкий Буерак, Колотов Буерак, Константиновское, Багаевское, Чардымское II, Улица Лермонтова, Зауморье, Подгорное, Квасниковка) из близлежащих крупных (Увекское городище) и малых (селища Хмелевское I, Шумейка) городов (Недашковский 2010: 242—244). Мастерские по изготовлению кашинной и поливной красноглиняной посуды были исследованы на Увекском, Царевском и Селитренном городищах (Недашковский 2010: 183). Поступления импортной поливной керамической посуды из городов в сельские поселения были не столь значительны, хотя они также имели место — керамика, полученная в результате международной торговли, зафиксирована на селищах Багаевское, Широкий Буерак (древнерусская поливная посуда) и Колотов Буерак.

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Поливная керамика Красноярского городища

Keywords: Golden Horde, Astrakhan Oblast, Krasny Yar settelment, glazed pottery, Qashan ceramics, pottery workshop

Ключевые слова: Золотая Орда, Астраханская область, Красноярское городище, поливная керамика, кашин, гончарная мастерская

E. M. Pigarev

Glazed Pottery of the Krasny Yar Hillfort

The article discusses findings of the research conducted on Krasny Yar hillfort (Astrakhan Oblast) and defines the ceramic assemblage uncovered during the archaeological excavations. It offers an analysis and typology of Qashan glazed ware and provides data on debris of a pottery workshop, which used to manufacture glazed ceramics. It is the first such workshop uncovered in a non-capital Golden Horde city in the Lower Volga region.

Е. М. Пигарёв

Поливная керамика Красноярского городища

В статье рассматриваются материалы исследований Красноярского городища Астраханской области и дается характеристика керамического комплекса, полученного в ходе раскопок. Проведены анализ и типологизация кашинной глазурованной посуды. Приводятся данные об остатках гончарной мастерской по производству поливной керамики, впервые обнаруженной на нестоличном нижневолжском золотоордынском городе.

В 1989—1990-х гг. археологической экспедицией Астраханского педагогического института проводились исследования Красноярского городища (Казаков и др. 1998: 72—83). Городище находится в восточной части дельты Волги на бэровском бугре, протянувшемся с СВ на ЗЮЗ по правому берегу реки Маячной в райцентре Красный Яр Астраханской области.

В течении двух полевых сезонов была вскрыта территория памятника на площади 274 м^2, на которой было обнаружено и исследовано 17 хозяйственных ям и остатки трёх домов. Со всеми объектами связано значительное количество керамического материала. Здесь преобладает круговая керамика, большинство сосудов найдено в развалах, на них есть следы использования. Особый интерес представляют находки поливной красноглиняной и кашинной посуды.

Красноглиняная поливная посуда представлена тонкостенными чашами, покрытыми темно-зеленой поливой (32 фр.), тарелками и блюдами с прорезным подглазурным растительно-геометрическим орнаментом, как с полихромной, так и с монохромной подглазурной росписью.

Коллекция глазурованной кашинной керамики с этого городища насчитывает свыше 900 фрагментов. Кашинная посуда представлена следующими группами (Булатов 1968: 95—109).

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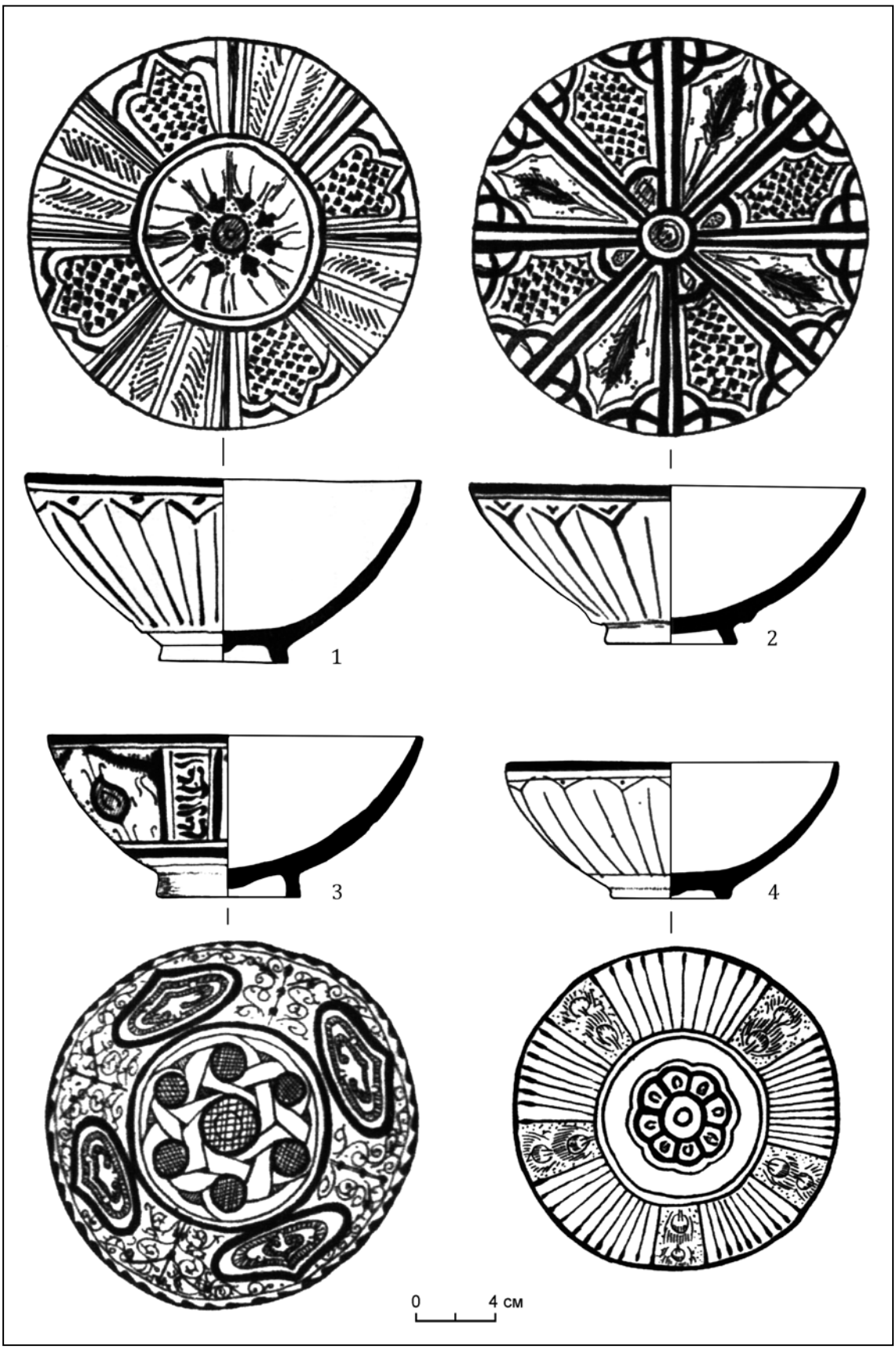

Рис. 1. Красноярское городище. 1—4 — кашинные чаши (по Шнайдштейн 1991: рис. 36—39).

Fig. 1. Krasny Yar hillfort. 1—4 — Qashan bowls (after Шнайдштейн 1991: рис. 36—39).

Отдел А. Прозрачные поливы

Группа I. Керамика с бесцветной поливой

Эта группа представлена в основном фрагментами пиалообразных чаш (всего 728 обломков и 4 целые формы). На городище найдена керамика двух типов этой группы.

Тип 1. Керамика с подглазурной полихромной росписью и подглазурным рельефом (рис. 1: 1, 2).

Для данного типа керамики характерна роспись по серому или светло-бирюзовому фону, контур рельефа и рисунка, обведенный черной или темно-зеленой линией, и расцветка светлых деталей орнамента синими точками или бирюзовыми пятнами. На внешней стороне рельефный арочный орнамент, расцвеченный синими точками, внутри арок полосы из косых штрихов или прямых линий. Сверху между арок встречаются одна или три точки. Край чаш украшен синими точками.

В украшении внутренней стороны можно выделить отдельные элементы, создающие многочисленные орнаментальные схемы. Наиболее частые элементы растительного мотива на боковой части — рельефные белые побеги с крупными листьями на тонких стеблях, расцвеченные синими точками и бирюзовыми пятнами; рельефный белый цветок двух видов: в форме круга, расчлененного шестью радиусами на секторы, которыми передаются лепестки, и цветок с маленькой круглой серединой и шестью лепестками — двулистниками и трилистниками. Внутри лепестков и середин синие точки.

Нередко встречается цветок лотоса: на боковых стенках — со спиралевидным рельефным стеблем с фигурными листьями; на дне — в круглом медальоне в виде распустившегося бутона.

К распространенным относится орнамент «павлиний глаз»: рельефные каплевидные фигуры с синей точкой или мазком внутри.

Эпиграфический орнамент встречается в виде повторяющегося стилизованного арабского слова «успех», расположенного широкой полосой в верхней части сосуда (рис. 1: 3).

Геометрический орнамент представлен шестиконечной звездой из двух взаимопереплетающихся белых треугольников с черной окантовкой, углы которых расцвечены синим или бирюзовым пятном, с синей точкой в местах переплетения.

Тип 2. Керамика с подглазурной полихромной росписью без рельефа (рис. 1: 3, 4).

Этот тип также представлен фрагментами и 4 целыми формами пиалообразных чаш. Орнамент здесь мельче, выполнен тонкими черными, темно-зелеными, синими линиями по белому фону. Декор располагается вертикально по секторам. Край венчика оформлен широкой черной полосой, реже встречается с синими точками.

На внешней стороне — арки черного, зеленого и темно-синего цвета с синей полосой посередине. Сверху арки соединены черной линией, с точками или галочками. Встречен элемент орнамента — «перо павлиньего хвоста».

На внутренней стороне более всего распространено сочетание геометрического и растительного орнаментов.

Растительный орнамент состоит из таких элементов: мелкие цветки с лепестками черного цвета и синей серединой; цветочные букеты с осевой симметрией черного цвета на тонких стеблях с синими цветами в форме крупных точек; стилизованные побеги с листьями, с черной штриховкой фона; трилистники; «перо павлиньего хвоста» — вокруг центрального синего или бирюзового круга (пятна) расположена черная штриховка.

Геометрический орнамент в виде: горизонтальных и вертикальных полос; сетки; «елочки»; заштрихованных треугольников. Полосы черные, синие, темно-зеленые. Сетки выполнены косыми синими линиями.

Группа II. Керамика с бирюзовой поливой

Эта группа представлена фрагментами пиалообразных чаш (всего 65 обломков). На городище найдена керамика трех типов этой группы.

Тип 1. Керамика с черной росписью.

На обнаруженных фрагментах венчиков чаш, чаще всего отмечается широкая полоса или точки. На внешней стороне — арки, соединенные сверху прямой линией; горизонтальные широкие мазки в виде «елочки».

Растительный орнамент на внутренней стороне представлен побегами, стилизованными цветами с точечным фоном, вертикальными «колосьями».

Тип 3. Керамика с бирюзовой поливой без росписи с рельефом.

Обломки, имеющиеся в коллекции, относятся, вероятно, к кувшинам. Выделить орнаментальную схему достаточно сложно из-за малого количества находок (5 фрагментов).

Тип 4. Керамика с ультрамариновой поливой без росписи и рельефа. Как и в преды-

дущем случае, небольшое количество находок (8 фр.) не дает возможности типологизировать форму сосудов.

Отдел Б. Опаковые поливы

Группа I. Керамика с белой поливой

Тип 1. Керамика с белой поливой без росписи.

Обнаружено 37 фрагментов, относящихся к кувшинам и вазам.

Тип 2. Керамика с росписью «под люстр».

Всего найдено 6 обломков от чаш. Снаружи чаши были украшены вертикальными полосами, внутренняя поверхность покрыта растительным орнаментом. Кроме того, встречены отдельные элементы эпиграфического орнамента.

Тип 3. Керамика с полихромной росписью в стиле «минаи».

Этот тип представлен 4 фрагментами стенок чаш, для него характерна трехцветная растительная орнаментальная роспись с обеих сторон черепка. Зафиксированы такие элементы орнамента: ультрамариновые точки, красные и коричневые линии. Цветы с внешней стороны выполнены желтой эмалью.

Все вышеперечисленные виды кашинной керамики относятся к сосудам типа пиал и чаш, реже к кувшинам и вазам. Аналогии большинству найденных на городище керамических объектов известны практически во всех нижневолжских золотоордынских городах, что говорит о повсеместном их использовании и, возможно, изготовлении.

Кроме того, в 1991 г. экспедицией Государственной дирекции охраны памятников истории и культуры Астраханской области проводились разведки в окрестностях пос. Красный Яр (Артемьев 1992). Обследованию подверглась интенсивно разрушаемая северная часть Красноярского бугра. В 70 м к СВ от раскопа 1 (1990 г.) были обнаружены остатки горна, глиняные штыри (17 шт) со следами глазури, печной припас (11 сепаев, 13 «крючков», 7 «лепешек»).

Судя по всему, здесь были зафиксированы остатки керамической мастерской. К сожалению, работы на этом участке не были продолжены, территория обнаружения была уничтожена строительством, и в настоящее время невозможно установить тип горна и уровень производства. Но, пожалуй, можно с достаточной долей уверенности говорить о самостоятельном производстве поливной керамики на Красноярском городище. Немаловажное значение имеет и то обстоятельство, что мастерская по производству поливной парадной посуды впервые встречена на нижневолжском провинциальном золотоордынском городище.

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Производство псевдоселадона в столице Золотой Орды — Сарае

Keywords: Lower Volga area, Astrakhan Oblast, Golden Horde period, Selitrennoye hillfort, kilns, glazed pottery, Qashan pottery, pseudo-celadon

Ключевые слова: Нижнее Поволжье, Астраханская область, золотоордынский период, Селитренное городище, горны, поливная керамика, кашинная керамика, псевдоселадон

V. L. Egorov, E. M. Pigarev

Production of Pseudo-Celadon in Saray, a Golden Horde Capital

In 1978—1982, a large aristocratic homestead was excavated by the Archaeological Expedition of the Institute of Archaeology of Russian Academy of Sciences, in Saray (Selitrennoe hillfort, Astrakhan district) — the Golden Horde capital. This paper published finds from the potter's workshop 14-th century which produce silicius pseudo-celadon wares, a local imitation of the Chinese celadon.

В. Л. Егоров, Е. М. Пигарёв

Производство псевдоселадона в столице Золотой Орды — Сарае

В статье приводятся материалы исследований крупной аристократической усадьбы золотоордынской столицы города Сарай (Селитренное городище), раскопанной ПАЭ ИА РАН в 1978—1982 гг. Вводится в научный оборот внутриусадебная гончарная мастерская, в которой производилась разнообразная парадная красноглиняная и кашинная посуда. Даются характеристики теплотехническим устройствам (горнам), раскопанным на территории мастерской. На основании анализа обнаруженного керамического материала (производственного брака, печного припаса и различных приспособлений для обжига поливных сосудов) выделяются горны по производству псевдоселадонов — местного подражания китайской технологии изготовления селадонов.

В течение 1978—1982 гг. ПАЭ ИА АН СССР проводились исследования на раскопе №XI, расположенном в береговой полосе центральной части Селитренного городища, общая площадь раскопа составила свыше 2000 м^2 (Федоров-Давыдов и др. 1979; 1980; 1981; 1982; Булатов и др. 1983; Пигарев 2015: 71—80). Здесь были раскопаны остатки крупной аристократической усадьбы, состоящей из многокомнатного дома-дворца с жилыми и хозяйственными помещениями, мельницей, пекарней, баней, пятью домами и одной двухкамерной землянкой усадебных людей, хаузом и гончарной мастерской по производству поливной керамики. Центральный зал дома-дворца имел деревянные стены, обмазанные известкой, и хорошо сохранившийся кирпичный узорчатый пол, в центре которого нахо-

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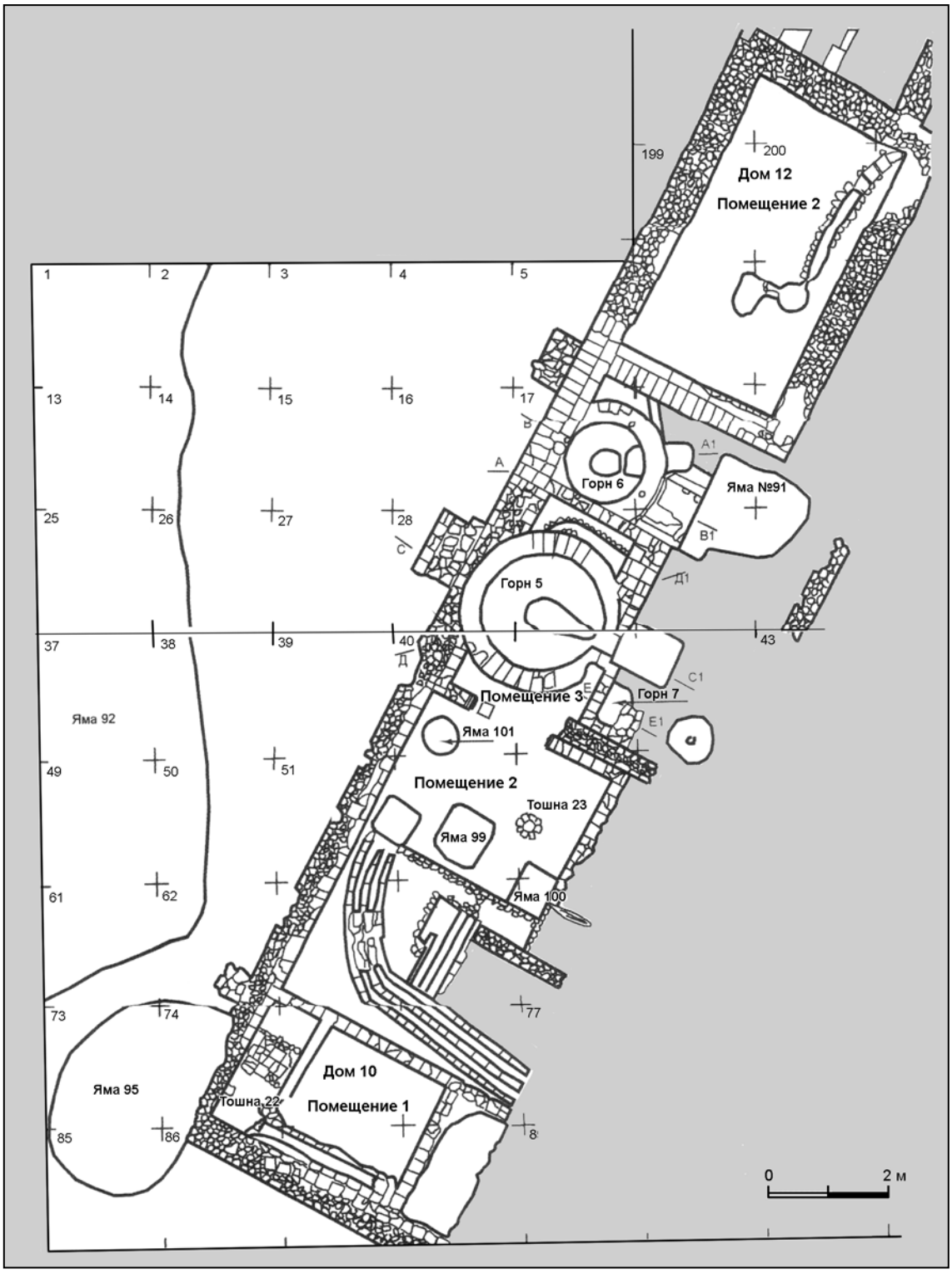


Рис. 1. Селитренное городище. Деталь плана раскопа №XI (по Булатов, Фёдоров-Давыдов 1983: рис. 11).

Fig. 1. Selitrennoe hillfort. A fragment of the plan of dig XI (after Булатов, Фёдоров-Давыдов 1983: рис. 11).

дилась тошна (умывальник). Стены были расписаны и украшены каменными и глиняными золочёными деталями, прибитыми гвоздями. Некоторые участки стен украшали панно из многокрасочных с надглазурными росписями изразцов с золочением фольгой. В одном из помещений располагалась ванная комната с квадратным бассейном в центре, снабженным кубурным водоотводом. К западной стене дома примыкал банный комплекс — помещение бани площадью около 60 м^2 с подпольной системой отопления.

Топка бани производилась снаружи посредством большой печи, над которой помещался котёл для подогрева воды. Усадьба неоднократно перестраивалась. Дом №6 в III строительном периоде (вторая половина XIV в.) из жилого помещения был превращен в производственное помещение — гончарную мастерскую, содержавшую восемь горнов разных типов, предназначенных для обжига кашинной и красноглиняной поливной керамики, а также некоторых видов архитектурного декора (рис. 1; 2). Судя по наличию архитектурных жилых и производственных объектов внутри усадьбы и внутреннему интерьеру дома-дворца, она принадлежала богатому и знатному горожанину. В IV строительном периоде (начало XV в.), после запустения и разрушения усадьбы, на месте построек был возведен мавзолей. Вокруг мавзолея расположился городской некрополь.

Характеристика производственных сооружений

Горн 1 сложен из сырцового кирпича, построен вплотную к стене дома №6. Для его возведения в материковом полу дома была выкопана цилиндрическая яма с вертикальными стенками. В яме были установлены стенки топки, которые в западной части были сделаны из кирпичей, а в южной и восточной — из камней. В северной части топки было сооружено устье топки, перекрытое коробовым сводом из обломков кирпичей. Под топки чашевидный в сечении, стенки сильно прокалены и ошлакованы. Устье выходило в предтопочную яму овальной формы. Сверху на поверхности материка на заполнении ямы топки горна была установлена стенка обжигательной камеры из обломков кирпичей. Под и стенки обжигательной камеры были покрыты обмазкой. В стенках обжигательной камеры на уровне 10 см от пода сделаны отверстия, которые вели к четырем наклонным каналам, оканчивающимся вертикальными трубами.

Горн 2 был возведен в северо-западном углу дома №6 напротив горна 1. Конструкция горна 2 отличалась от предыдущего. При его сооружении в материке была выкопана прямоугольная яма с уступами. Уступы были расположены у южной, западной и восточной стены, северная стена была вертикальная. Ширина уступов 10—12 см. На них были поставлены южная, западная и восточная стенки верхней части горна. Северная стенка горна была материковой. В южной стене было

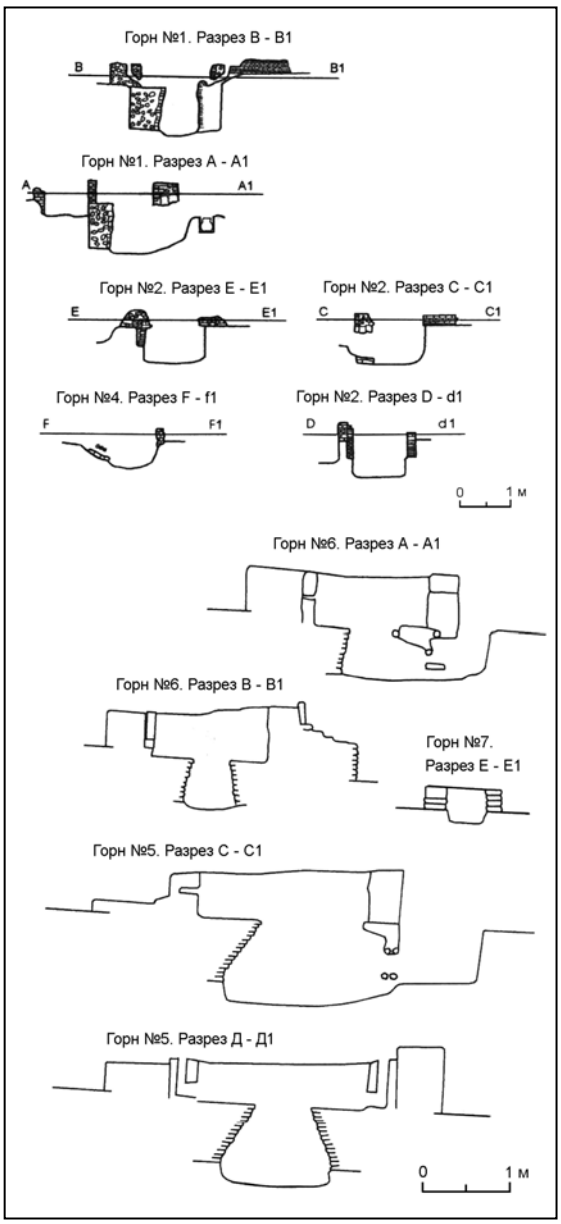
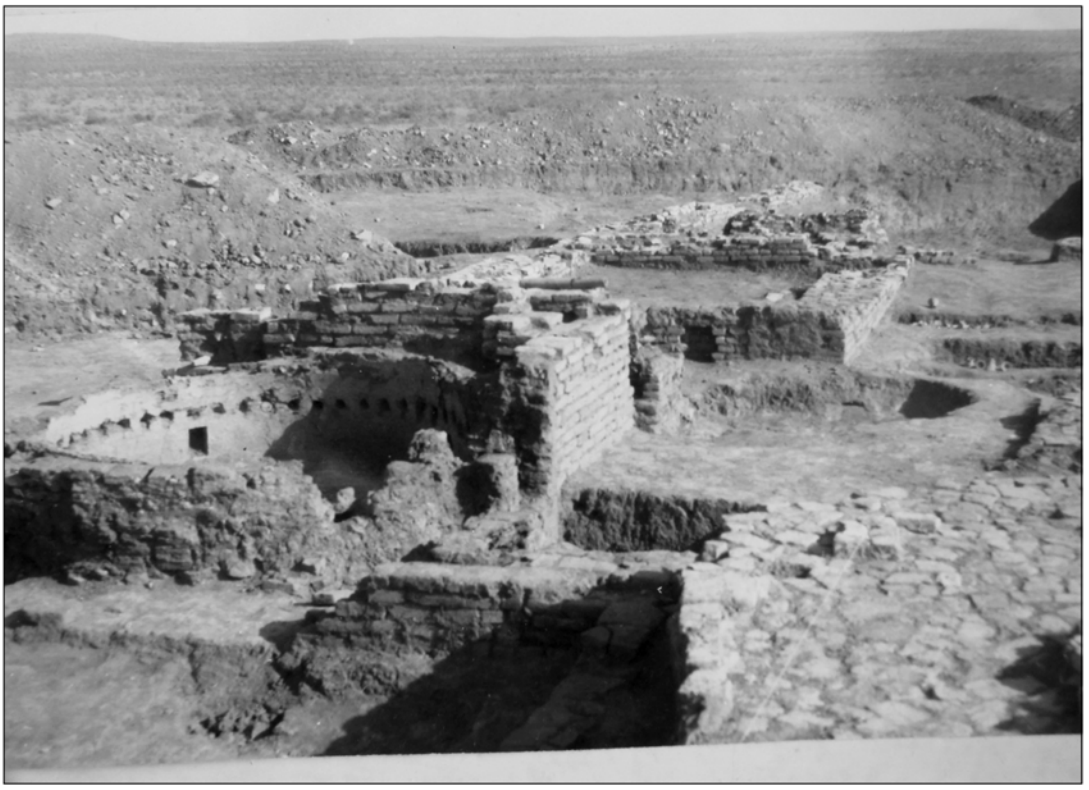


Рис. 2. Селитренное городище. Разрезы горнов раскопа №XI 1981 г. (по Федоров-Давыдов 1982: рис. 28; Булатов, Фёдоров-Давыдов 1983: рис. 36).

Fig. 2. Selitrennoe hillfort. Sections of kilns from dig XI (after Федоров-Давыдов 1982: рис. 28; Булатов, Федоров-Давыдов 1983: рис. 36).

сделано устье, под устья был выше пода топки. К югу он плавно повышался и заканчивался ямкой в предтопочной яме. Устье было перекрыто коробовым сводом. Предтопочная яма горнов 1 и 2 была единой. Перед устьями обоих горнов были сделаны углубления.

Горн 3 был пристроен к восточной стене горна 1. Он был возведен в массиве из обожжённых кирпичей и грунта, ограниченном с запада массивом горна 1, с севера — специально сооруженной стенкой. От горна 3 сохранилась только обмазка восточ-



1

2

Рис. 3. Селитренное городище. Горн №6: 1 — общий вид горна; 2 — камера обжига (фото В.Л. Егорова).

Fig. 3. Selitrennoe hillfort. Kiln no. 6: 1 — general view of the kiln; 2 — baking chamber (photo by V.L. Egorov).

ной и западной стенок топки. Остатки стен стояли на материке. Под горна покрыт сильно прокалённой обмазкой.

Горн 4 был сооружен к западу от горна 2. Для его топки в материке была выкопана яма. Над этой ямой были поставлены стенки из обломков кирпичей. Стенки и дно топки были обмазаны. Устье представляло собой канал, дно и бока которого были обложены обломками обожжённых кирпичей, перекрытый тремя обломками круглых штырей, положенных поперёк оси горна. Под штырями, таким образом, было оставлено поддувало. Между горном 2 и горном 4 была выкопана яма 63. Стенки и дно ямы были обмазаны глиной. В яме найдено большое количество шлаков, обломков кирпичей разнообразного печного припаса, поливной керамики и заготовок под поливу. К востоку от горна 4 находилась яма 67, стенки и дно которой также были обмазаны глиной. Заполнение её состояло почти целиком из золы.

Горн 5 был встроен в разрушенное помещение 3 дома №10. Горн сложен из сырцовых кирпичей. На внутренней стенке обжигательной камеры зафиксирован слой глиняной обмазки. Горн состоит из трёх частей: наземной обжигательной камеры, подземной топки и предтопочной ямы. Устья обжигательной камеры и топки обращены к востоку. Предтопочная яма прямоугольной в плане формы, дно плоское, стенки отвесные. Западная стенка ямы выложена из сырцового кирпича, отгораживая предтопочное пространство от подземной топки. Находившееся в этой стене топочное отверстие и поддувало заложены кирпичами, и вся поверхность стенки покрыта слоем глиняной обмазки. Это указывает на то, что определенный период горн работал без топочного отверстия и поддувала. Кроме того, судя по плотной забутовке, в этот период была ликвидирована и предтопочная яма, заподлицо забитая глиной. В разрезе топочная камера имеет грушевидную форму, плавно сужаясь кверху. Кверху она сужается и на поверхности пода обжигательной камеры образует вытянутое каплевидное отверстие. Стенки её выложены сырцовыми кирпичами — 15 рядов кладки от пода камеры обжига. Обжигательная камера горна в плане имеет форму правильного круга. Внешний диаметр его 2,74 м, внутренний — 2 м. В высоту стенки горна сохранились на 0,55 м. Под обжигательной камеры и внутренняя поверхность её стен покрыты глиняной обмазкой. Обращенное к востоку устье оформлено снаружи с южной и северной стороны двумя небольшими пилонами, каждый из которых представляет собой столбик из квадратных сырцовых кирпичей. Оба этих пилона прислонены к внешней стороне обжигательной камеры горна. В толще стенок было сделано 4 продуха, расположенных на одинаковом расстоянии друг от друга. Все они имели одинаковую конструкцию. Чтобы они не осыпались, в них были вставлены глиняные кубуры. На высоте 29 см от пода, параллельно ему, по всему кругу обжигательной камеры располагался ряд круглых отверстий, в которые в стенку под прямым углом вставлялись штыри. Всего сохранилось 40 отверстий. В двух отверстиях сохранились обломанные штыри. На северной стене обжигательной камеры заметно небольшое искривление внутрь, что свидетельствует о переходе стен на большой высоте в купольную конструкцию.

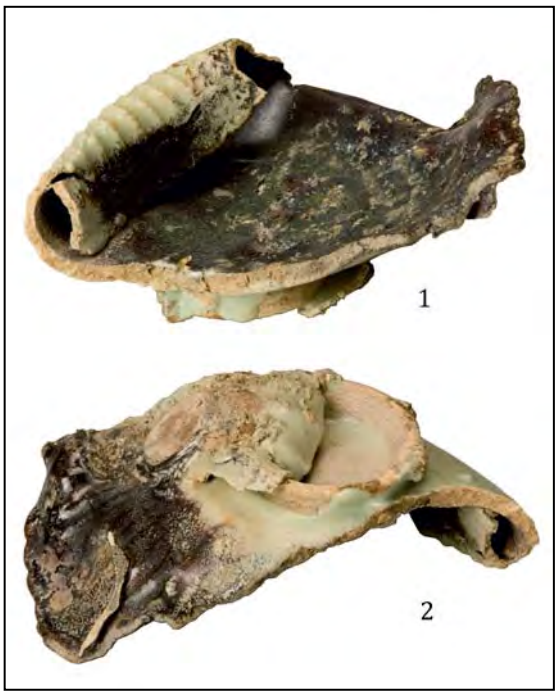


Рис. 4. Селитренное городище. Горн №6: 1, 2 — бракованная чаша (псевдоселадон) (фото В.Л. Егорова).

Fig. 4. Selitrennoe hillfort. Kiln no. 6: 1, 2 — spoiled cup (pseudoceladon). (Photo by V.L. Egorov)

Горн 6 встроен в помещение 1 дома №12 (рис. 3: 1, 2). Размеры горна 6 меньше горна 5 — внутренний диаметр — 2 м. В высоту стенки обжигательной камеры сохранились на 0,75 м. Горн сложен из длинномерных сырцовых кирпичей. Внутренняя сторона обжигательной камеры покрыта глиняной обмазкой. Конструкция горна 6 полностью повторяет конструкцию горна 5. Горн также состоит из трех основных частей: наземной

Рис. 5. Селитренное городище. Горн №6: 1, 2 — спекшиеся чаши (псевдоселадон); 3 — печной припас (сепаи) (фото В.Л. Егорова).

Fig. 5. Selitrennoe hillfort. Kiln no. 6: 1, 2 — vitrified cups (pseudo-celadon); 3 — tripods (sepai). (Photo by V.L. Egorov).

обжигательной камеры, подземной топочной камеры и предтопочной ямы. Загрузочное отверстие, топка и поддувало обращено к востоку. Предтопочная яма прямоугольной в плане формы, на самом дне топочной ямы, в стене горна, отделяющей яму от топочной камеры, проделано отверстие для поддувала. Сверху поддувало ограничено целым квадратным обожжённым кирпичом. Выше топочного отверстия находилось загрузочное отверстие, ведущее в обжигательную камеру. Под загрузочного отверстия, был выложен из лежавших вплотную друг к другу глиняных штырей, обмазанных сверху глиной. Потолок загрузочного отверстия имел сводчатое завершение. Стенки самой камеры обжига изнутри были покрыты слоем глиняной обмазки. В толще стенки обжигательной камеры, так же, как и в горне 5, были сделаны 4 продуха, вертикальная часть продухов была оформлена глиняными кубурами. В стенке обжигательной камеры, на высоте 32 см от пода, по кругу располагался ряд отверстий для вставления глиняных штырей. Всего сохранилось 28 отверстий диаметром 6 см. В южной части обжигательной камеры, на высоте 56 см от пода, находился второй ряд отверстий для глиняных штырей (сохранилось 11 отверстий). Под обжигательной камеры был выложен квадратными сырцовыми кирпичами. В верхней части обжигательной камеры на её стенках прилипли фрагменты псевдоселадоновых зеле-

ных сосудов. В середине пода обжигательной камеры находилось овальное отверстие, ведущее в топочную камеру. В плане топочная камера имела каплевидную форму, вытянутую по линии 3-В. Стенки топочной камеры выложены кирпичами. В заполнении топочной камеры были обнаружены бракованные и спекшиеся псевдоселадоновые сосуды (пиалы, миски, фляги).

Горн 7 находится на южном борту предтопочной ямы горна 5. Западная стенка горна 7 соприкасается с южной стенкой загрузочного отверстия горна 5. Горн 7 — очень небольшой по размеру и простой по конструкции — играл, видимо, вспомогательную роль. В плане горн прямоугольный. Все стенки горна сложены из сырцового кирпича. Горн имел одну камеру.

Горн 8 вплотную примыкал с востока к горну 6. Конструкция горна очень сильно разрушена, и размеры его можно определить лишь по высокому подиуму, сложенному из обожженных кирпичей, на котором сооружен горн. Всего кладка подиума в высоту начитывает 8 рядов кирпичей. Судя по этому подиуму, размеры горна были 0,95 × 0,86 м. В высоту стенки горна сохранились на 24 см. Где находилось устье горна, установить не удалось. Под горна выстлан сырцовым кирпичом. На поде горна сохранился отпечаток прикипевшей к нему псевдоселадоновой пиалы.

Также на площади раскопа были исследованы ямы №54, 56, 58, 59, 63, заполнение которых состояло из комьев глины, большого числа бракованных сосудов (рис. 4: 1, 2; 5: 1, 2) многочисленного печного припаса и различных приспособлений для обжига поливных сосудов в горнах: сепаи, сари, диски, штыри, раструбы (рис. 5: 3).

Из восьми горнов, раскопанных на территории усадебной мастерской, два (№3 и №8) были сильно разрушены, что не позволило установить их типологические особенности. Один горн (№7) относится к типу 8 и являлся, видимо, вспомогательным теплотехническим устройством. Горн №1 относится к типу 4. В горнах этого типа изготавливались поливные красноглиняные сосуды и штампованная сероглиняная керамика. Горны №2, 4, 5, 6 относятся к типу 7. Горны этого типа применялись для обжига поливной кашинной керамики и поливных кашинных изразцов (Пигарев 2015: 71—80).

Керамический брак, заготовки и обломки готовых изделий показывают, что в раскопанных горнах изготавливалась посуда следующих типов: 1) красноглиняные гончарные чаши: с росписью ангобом под зеленой поливой; с росписью ангобом с рельефом под прозрачной поливой с раскраской синим и бирюзовым; с росписью ангобом под зеленой поливой с рельефом; с гравировкой по ангобу с зеленой поливой; с росписью ангобом с полихромной расцветкой под бесцветной прозрачной поливой; с росписью ангобом под желтой поливой; с росписью ангобом под коричневой поливой; с гравировкой по ангобу с желтой поливой; с росписью ангобом под прозрачной светло-желтой поливой; с резервом по ангобу; с гравировкой по ангобу и росписью коричневым и зеленым под бесцветной поливой; с гравировкой по ангобу и резервом с бирюзовой поливой; с гравировкой и зелено-коричневой росписью по ангобу под желтой поливой; с гравировкой и резервом по ангобу с коричневой поливой; тимуридская керамика; 2) кашинная посуда: с подгла-

Рис. 6. Селитренное городище. 1 — сосуд (псевдоселадон); 2 — шкатулка (псевдоселадон) (фото В.Л. Егорова).

Fig. 6. Selitrennoe hillfort. 1 — vessel (pseudo-celadon); 2 — box (pseudo-celadon). (Photo by V.L. Egorov).

зурной полихромной росписью без рельефа; с бирюзовой поливой и росписью черным; с подглазурной полихромной росписью с рельефом; с подглазурной росписью кобальтом и с глухой салатно-зеленой поливой, имитирующей селадон (рис. 6: 1, 2).

Особый интерес среди описанных выше образцов посуды вызывают изделия, относящиеся к типу «псевдоселадоны». Бракованные и спекшиеся образцы этого типа были найдены в горне №6 и и яме №54. С известной долей осторожности можно заключить, что в горне №6 обжигалась сосуды местного производства, имитирующие дальневосточный селадон. Известно, что в XIII—XIV вв. из Китая в золотоордынские центры Поволжья широко импортировалась керамика типа селадон или лунцюань-яо (Коваль 2010: 135). С развитием золотоордынской столицы, расширением внутригородских и внешних рынков увеличилась потребность в парадной (элитной) посуде, что вызвало в местном керамическом производстве волну подражаний импортным изделиям. Это явление как раз и было зафиксировано в результате исследований внутриусадебной гончарной мастерской на раскопе №XI Селитренного городища.

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Глазури причерноморских средневековых посудных майолик: химический состав по данным спектрального анализа

Keywords: Black Sea region, Middle Ages, majolica, glaze, chemical composition, X-ray analysis

Ключевые слова: Причерноморье, средневековье, майолика, глазури, химический состав, рентгеноспектральный анализ

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Glazes of Black Sea Region Medieval Tableware Majolica: chemical composition according to spectral analysis

Investigations on 52 glazed samples (40 of them are examples of Byzantine-Black Sea ware) by X-ray microprobe technique allowed to make conclusions about the difference of the Byzantine pottery composition (and its successor on North Black Sea Coast and the Golden Horde traditions) composition from the West-Mediterranean wares (Spanish-Italian), in particular for the 15th century. One of the results of these investigations is the discovery of the downward trend rate of lead oxide in the Byzantine and Black Sea glazes during the 12th—15th centuries, refuting earlier formulated hypotheses about the growth of the share of lead materials in "Chersonesus" glaze recipe. The author also notes the lack of reliable data on glazed pottery production in medieval Cherson.

В. Ю. Коваль

Глазури причерноморских средневековых посудных майолик: химический состав по данным спектрального анализа

Исследование рентгеноспектральным микрозондовым методом 52 образцов глазурей (из них 40 образцов византийско-причерноморского происхождения) позволило сделать выводы о заметном отличии византийской (и наследовавшей ей севернопричерноморской и золотоордынской) рецептуры от западносредиземноморской (испано-итальянской), в особенности для XV в. Установлена также тенденция к понижению нормы оксида свинца в византийско-причерноморских глазурях на протяжении XII—XV вв., опровергающая выдвигавшуюся ранее гипотезу о росте доли свинцовых материалов в «херсонесской» рецептуре глазурей. Отмечено также и отсутствие надежных данных о производстве в средневековом Херсоне поливной посуды.

Изучение глазурного покрытия майолик[1] (т. е. керамических изделий, изготовленных из формовочных масс на основе глины раз-

[1] Среди существующих терминологических систем, применяемых для обозначения глазурованной керамики, изготовленной из разных видов глин (алюмосиликатов), в данной работе применяется та, которая рассматривает подобные изделия в качестве «майолик», следуя за термином, возникшим в средневековой Италии для обозначения испанской керамики, поступавшей с острова Майорки (отсюда и само название «майолика»). В дальнейшем изложении под собственно «майоликой» будем понимать керамику из глин различного цвета (химического состава), покрытую непрозрачной (заглушенной оксидом олова) поливой. При этом под «полумайоликой» в данной схеме понимается керамика, покрытая прозрачной глазурью любых оттенков цвета. Употребление термина «майолики» (мн. ч.) означает объединение обеих разновидностей для обобщенного обозначения глазурованной керамики из разных глин (алюмосиликатов), независимо от степени прозрачности кроющей глазури. Особо подчеркнем, что в данном случае речь пойдет исключительно о посудной керамике, а не о декоративных облицовочных плитках, которые также часто называют «майоликами».

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личного химического состава) весьма трудоемко и требует крупных финансовых затрат для осуществления дорогостоящих аналитических методов. Поэтому в России это направление керамологии развивается крайне слабо. Впервые к изучению глазурей причерноморской керамики обратилась Ю. Л. Щапова, которая провела 36 качественных спектральных анализов образцов, взятых с белоглиняной и красноглиняной полумайолики X—XV вв., обнаруженной при раскопках в Керчи, Тмутаракани, а также в Гнездове и Великом Новгороде. Однако качественный спектральный анализ не позволил ей получить какие-либо определенные выводы. Было только установлено, что причерноморские средневековые глазури относились к «стеклам» классов Pb-Si и Ca-Mg-Pb-Si (Щапова 1967: 70, Прил. III). При этом надо заметить, что само существование глазурей класса II (Ca-Mg-Pb-Si) является недоразумением, возникшим из-за особенностей качественного спектрального анализа: доли оксидов кальция и магния в этих глазурях столь малы, что говорить об их существенном влиянии на состав и химический класс глазурей не приходится[2].

В 1990-х годах к изучению глазурей причерноморской полумайолики обратился В. В. Булгаков, проведший 23 количественных спектральных анализа глазурей электронно-зондовым методом с образцов керамики XIII—XV вв. из Херсонеса, Судака, Старого Крыма и Киева (Булгаков 2005: 359—378). На этой (весьма узкой) источниковой базе исследователем была сделана попытка найти хронологические изменения и локальные отличия в рецептуре причерноморских глазурей. За основу группировки химических составов глазурей им были взяты процентные доли оксидов свинца и кремния (PbO и SiO_2), но соотношения этих оксидов рассчитывались без учета иных составляющих глазурей (т. е. проводился перерасчет данных анализов, при котором все иные компоненты глазурей исключались, чтобы сумма PbO и SiO_2 составляла 100%). В результате были выделены 4 группы глазурей с содержанием оксида свинца в размере 57—61%, 64—67%, 70—72% и 75—76%. При этом пороговые значения процентных долей в группах не были каклибо обоснованы, а это неизбежно заставляло усомниться и в достоверности полученных выводов. Ведь если интервалы групп были установлены произвольно, то при изменении границ интервалов могли быть получены совсем иные результаты. Впрочем, выборка была столь мала, что о достоверности получаемых выводов невозможно было говорить априори.

Однако выводы были сформулированы и опубликованы (о них речь будет идти ниже), поэтому для их проверки было проведено новое исследование, к которому были привлечены 42 образца причерноморской и средиземноморской посудной керамики, происходивших из Херсонеса (8), Феодосии (8), Старого Крыма (1), Селитренного городища (1), Азова (1), Киева (9), Чернигова (3), Шестовиц (2), Москвы (4), Великого Новгорода (1), Владимира-на-Клязьме (1), Твери (1), Нижнего Новгорода (2) (рис. 1; 2). Для получения более широкой картины в качестве сравнительных материалов были использованы также образцы испанской и итальянской майолики XIV—XV вв., а также отдельные образцы полумайолики из Волжской Булгарии, Средней Азии и Ближнего Востока (всего 10 образцов). Таким образом, общее количество проанализированных образцов глазурей составило 52 экз. Анализы глазурей были выполнены в Институте геологии рудных материалов, петрографии, минералогии и геохимии РАН (г. Москва) канд. геол.-мин. наук А. И. Цепиным рентгеноспектральным локальным методом на микроанализаторе «Camebax SX-50»[3] (табл. 1). Использованный аналитический метод был идентичен тому, который применялся В. В. Булгаковым (с неизбежной поправкой на различия в применявшихся в разных лабораториях эталонах и индивидуальном опыте анализаторов), т. е. данные проведенных ана-

[2] Содержание оксида магния в средневековых свинцовых глазурях составляло ничтожно малые величины и редко достигало 0,2—0,3%, содержание же оксида кальция, как правило, не превышало 2%, редко достигая 4% (табл. 1). В нашей выборке имеется лишь один случай аномально высокого содержания оксида кальция (15%), являющийся, несомненно, результатом ошибки анализа (табл. 1: №39).

[3] Условия измерения: рабочее напряжение 20 кв, ток зонда 20 нА, экспозиция для каждого элемента 10 сек. Эталонами сравнения служили: альбит (Na Ka), ортоклаз (K Ka), андрадит (Si Ka, Ca Ka, Fe Ka), $MnTiO_3$ (Mn Ka, Ti Ka), Al_2O_3 (Al Ka), SnO_2 (Sn La), Cu (Cu Ka), MgO (Mg Ka), Co (Co Ka), PbS (Pb La), Sb (Sb La).

Определение состава каждого объекта проводилось на нескольких участках. При этом, ввиду нестабильности изучаемых объектов под электронным пучком и неоднородности изучаемых объектов, измерения проводились расширенным (30 мкм) зондом. Измеренные относительные интенсивности пересчитывались в концентрации методом ZAF-коррекции по программе PAP из математического обеспечения микроанализатора.

лизов были условно-сопоставимы. А это позволило использовать в нашем исследовании и данные, опубликованные В.В. Булгаковым, доведя объем выборки до 75 образцов, максимально приблизив ее к статистически достоверной. Разумеется, и такого количества анализов все же еще недостаточно для получения репрезентативных выводов по рассматриваемым вопросам, однако ее объем позволяет высказывать несколько более достоверные гипотезы.

Общая характеристика аналитических данных, включающая определение интервалов содержания различных компонентов в составе глазури и определения их влияния на свойства этих глазурей, хорошо известны по специальной технической литературе и в исчерпывающем виде представлены в публикации В.В. Булгакова, к которой мы и отсылаем заинтересованного этой стороной вопроса читателя. Отметим только несколько принципиальных моментов.

1. Содержание двуокиси кремния (SiO_2), составлявшей основу всякой глазури (источником которой были кварцевые пески), в глазурях причерноморской керамики колеблется в пределах от 20 до 50—53%, наиболее часто встречаются глазури с содержанием этого оксида в пределах 25—35%. Максимальных значений (45—53%) этот компонент достигал в глазурях испанской и итальянской майолики (табл. 1: №43, 45—48). На графике соотношения оксидов кремния и свинца в составе глазурей эти глазури четко отделяются в обособленную группу (рис. 3).

В собственно византийской полумайолике столь высокие значения двуокиси кремния пока не отмечены. Поэтому образец керамики из Владимира-на-Клязьме с близким содержанием такого оксида (табл. 1: №6) вряд ли может связываться с византийским производством (к тому же он существенно отличается от византийской керамики бирюзовым цветом кроющей глазури).

Следует также обратить внимание на то, что между глазурями XII—XIII вв. и XIV—XV вв. отсутствуют какие-либо серьезные различия. Поэтому пока трудно допускать возможность каких-то заметных трендов в увеличении нормы оксида свинца на четырехвековом хронологическом отрезке. Напротив, скорее можно говорить о сохранении все это время широкой вариативности в соотношении оксидов свинца и кремния в глазурях. А это может свидетельствовать о том, что никаких жестких «стандартов» при составлении глазурной шихты не существовало, и сама она изготавливалась «на глазок», с очень приблизительным соблюдением самых общих норм, определявшихся, вероятно, такими крайне приблизительными «мерами объема» компонентов, как «горсть».

2. Содержание оксида алюминия (Al_2O_3) в нашей выборке колеблется в гораздо большем интервале, чем по данным В.В. Булгакова, — от 0,1 до 7,2%. При этом жесткой зависимости между содержанием оксидов кремния и алюминия не наблюдается (рис. 4). Вместе с тем, можно заметить, что глазури испанской и итальянской майолики (с высоким содержанием кремнезема) включали ничтожное количество оксида алюминия, тогда как у византийско-причерноморских глазурей его содержание колебалось в самых широких пределах. При всем том в составе этих глазурей как будто намечается 3 группы[4]:

— с содержанием оксида алюминия на минимальном уровне (от десятых долей процента до 2%);

— с его содержанием в пределах 2—5% (последних явное большинство);

— с максимально высоким содержанием оксида алюминия — более 5% (табл. 1: №1—2; 3—5; 10—11, 14)[5].

К первой группе относились, прежде всего, глазури византийской белоглиняной полумайолики XII—XIII вв., ко второй — глазури красноглиняной полумайолики XIV—XV вв., происходившей из разных регионов (Византии, Крыма, Золотоордынского Поволжья), к третьей — византийская полумайолика X в.

3. Новые материалы подтвердили предположение В.В. Булгакова о корреляции содержания двуокиси титана (TiO_2) и глинозема (рис. 5), т.е. связи этого компонента с глинистыми минералами, вводившимися в состав глазури вместе с используемым песком. При этом оказалось, что экстремально высокое содержание TiO_2 (от 0,3 до 0,7%) фиксируется исключительно в глазурях византийской полумайолики, причем как белоглиняной, так и красноглиняной (табл. 1: №1, 2, 27, 29, 30, 39). В то же время, почти все образцы XII—XIII вв. имели низкое содержание этого компонента.

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[4] Выделение этих групп базируется на концентрации точек на графике, однако оно не может расцениваться как твердо установленное, поскольку, как уже отмечалось, используемая выборка невелика, и при ее существенном расширении возможно получение иных групп с другими пороговыми значениями.

[5] Более высокое содержание этого компонента было отмечено только 1 раз — в глазури византийской полумайолики XV в., результаты анализа которой явно выполнены с ошибкой (табл. 1: №39).

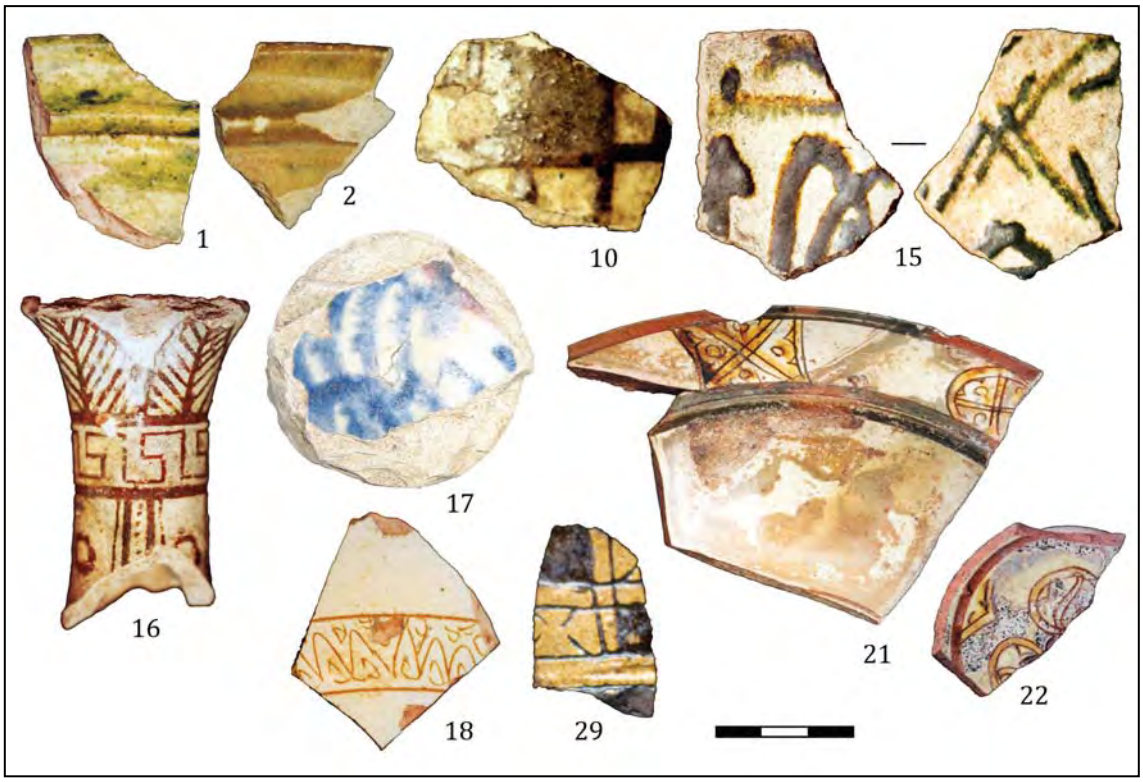

Рис. 1. Образцы полумайолики из Шестовиц (1, 2), Киева (10, 18), Москвы (15, 16), Херсонеса (17), Чернигова (21, 22), Нижнего Новгорода (29). Номера на рисунке соответствуют номерам в табл. 1 (фото автора).

Fig. 1. Samples of semi-majolica from Shestovitsi (1, 2), Kiev (10, 18), Moscow (15, 16), Chersonesos (17), Chernigov (21, 22), Nizhny Novgorod (29). Figure's numbers correspond to the numbers of samples in table 1 (photo by the author).

4. Представляется преждевременным делать какие бы то ни было предположения о происхождении свинца, использовавшегося при изготовлении причерноморских глазурей, поскольку для этого необходимо проведение специального исследования. Мысль В. В. Булгакова о применении свинца из малоазийских месторождений (Булгаков 2005: 365) представляется логически вполне допустимой, однако предлагавшиеся доказательства этой гипотезы недостаточны. Сравнение свинца из малоазийских и иных месторождений никем не проводилось, а колебания в содержании оксида сурьмы (Sb_2O_3) в глазурях вряд ли могут служить доказательством малоазийского происхождения использованного свинца. Из 24 образцов, исследовавшихся В. В. Булгаковым, 10 практически не содержали этого компонента, 10 включали его в пределах 0,1—0,2 %, и лишь у 4 этот оксид колебался в пределах 0,4—0,7 %, т. е. составлял сколько-нибудь заметную долю. В нашей выборке из 52 образцов глазурей лишь у 7 доля оксида сурьмы превышала порог в 0,2 %, а у подавляющего числа остальных ее доля колебалась в очень незначительных пределах — от 0 до 0,1 %. Таким образом, никакой заметной амплитуды в содержании этого компонента не наблюдается, можно лишь говорить о редком использовании несколько более насыщенного сурьмой свинца (если, конечно, речь не идет о каких-то случайных факторах, например, небольших колебаниях концентрации сурьмы в свинце одного и того же базового состава (и происхождения). Вероятно, надо искать какие-то иные признаки для определения происхождения свинца, использовавшегося в глазурном производстве. Пока же можно констатировать лишь то, что более высокое содержание оксида сурьмы встречено в основном у глазурей XIV—XV вв., преимущественно на керамике, изготовленной в Крыму или в золотоордынском Поволжье (табл. 1: №28, 30, 32, 41, 42). К этому же времени относились глазури с повышенным содержанием сурьмы из Византии (табл. 1: №39), неизвестного центра, работавшего в русле византийской традиции (табл. 1: №9) и Средней Азии (табл. 1: №51). Все это может свидетельствовать лишь о спорадическом использовании в Причерноморье свинца, происходившего из какого-то иного месторождения, нежели наиболее распространенный на рынках ре-

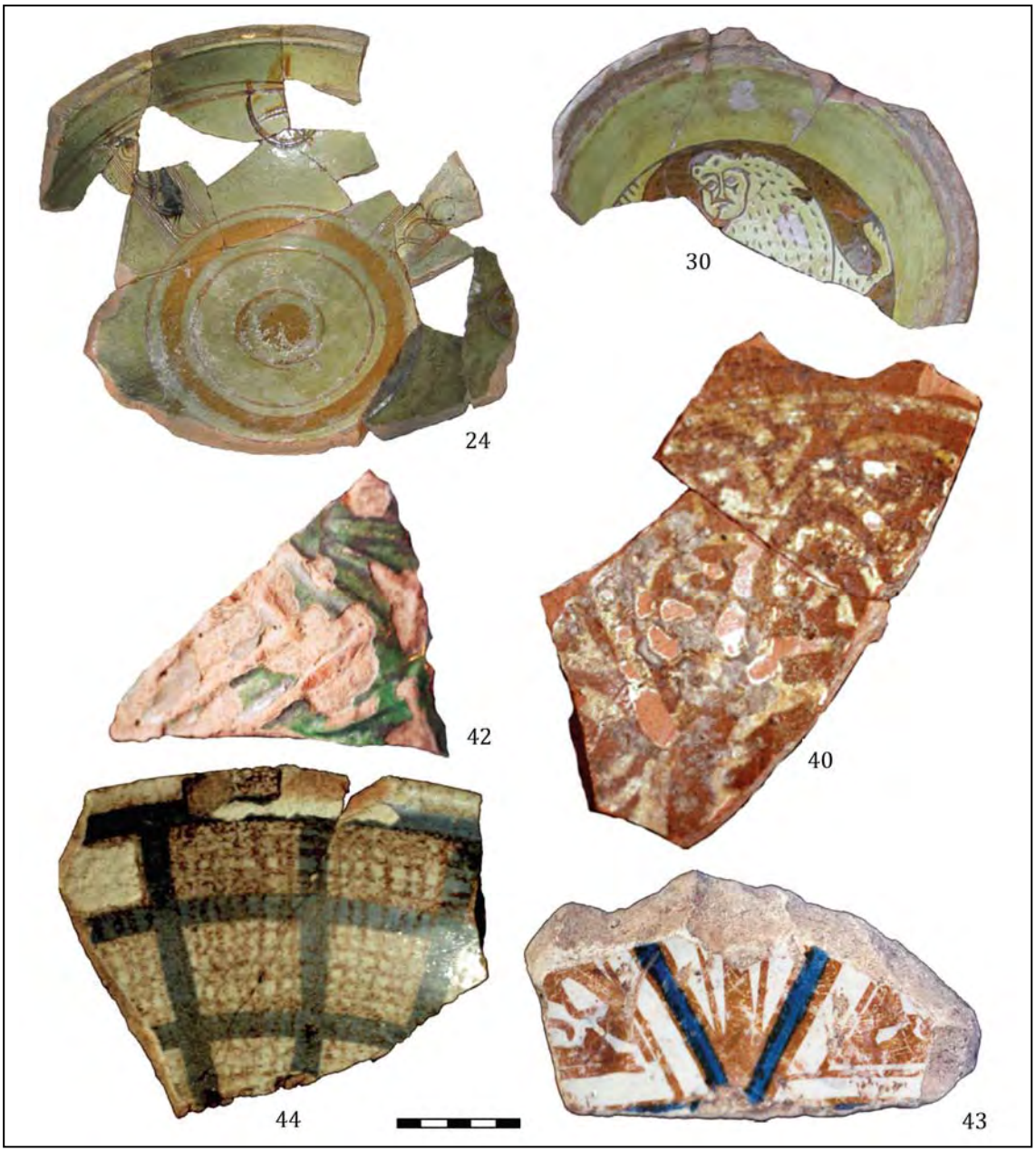

Рис. 2. Образцы полумайолики из Херсонеса (24), Азова (30), Киева (40), Москвы (42) и испанская люстровая майолика из Москвы (43, 44). Номера на рисунке соответствуют номерам в табл. 1 (фото автора).

Fig. 2. Samples of semi-majolica from Chersonesos (24), Azov (30), Kiev (40), Moscow (42) and Spanish luster majolica from Moscow (43, 44). Figure's numbers correspond to the numbers in table 1 (photo by the author).

гиона свинец, практически не содержавший сурьмянистой примеси. Какие-либо более далеко идущие выводы на данном материале делать преждевременно. Если же рассматривать Малую Азию как наиболее вероятный источник свинца, использовавшегося при производстве глазурей в циркумпонтийской зоне, то как раз средневековый малоазийский свинец должен был быть низкосвинцовистым.

5. Оксид олова не является примесью, часто встречающейся в свинцовых глазурях. Однако в исследованной нами выборке количество образцов, содержавших этот компонент в объемах, достаточных для воздействия на характеристики глазурей, было все же заметным (12 из 52 исследованных), в остальных образцах он отсутствовал или содержался в минимальном количестве (не более 0,1%). Прежде всего, оксид олова использовался как глушитель в глазурях испанской и итальянской майолики XIV—XV вв., где его содержание колебалось от 1,7 до 10,9% (табл. 1: №43—47). Почти во всех остальных образцах этот оксид являлся примесью, образовав-

Таблица 1.

Таблица результатов количественных спектральных анализов глазурей

№	Тип керамики (цвет глазури)	Место производства, дата	Место находки и адрес образца	Удельный вес оксидов (в %)													
				Na_2O	K_2O	CaO	PbO	SnO_2	Sb_2O_3	MgO	Al_2O_3	MnO	FeO	CuO	CoO	TiO_2	SiO_2
1	Белоглиняная с подглазурной гравировкой (зеленая)	Византия. X в.	Шестовицы (2000. Р. 5. №106)	<0,1	0,3	0,2	69,3—70,6	0—0,1	0—0,1	—	7,2	—	0,4—0,5	0,3—0,4	0,05	0,3—0,4	20
2	—»—	Византия. X в.	Шестовицы (2000. Р. 5. №53)	<0,1	0,3	0,2	67,8—68,4	<0,1	0—0,1	—	7,1	—	0,5	0,8—1,2	—	0,4	21
3	Монохромная белоглиняная без дополнит. декора (коричневая)	Византия. XII в.	Киев (2001. Рейтарская, 4. №170)	0,1—0,2	0,1—0,2	0,4	61,2—62,2	—	0—0,1	—	0,9—1,3	2,9—3,1	0,4—0,5	—	—	<0,1	32—33
4	—»— (бирюзовая)	Византия. XII в.	Киев (МИК №А4987/1070)	1,8—1,9	0,2	1,5—1,7	53,5—54,8	3,9—5,3	0,1	—	0,6—0,8	0,1	0,1—0,3	1,7—2,1	—	<0,1	34
5	Монохромная красноглиняная без дополнит. декора (бирюзовая)	Причерноморье (?) XIII-XIV вв.	Новгород (НГОМЗ №А78/1162)	2,0—2,5	1,0—1,3	0,6—0,7	49,5—53,6	2,8—5,5	—	—	1,4—2,9	—	0,6—1,0	0,6—1,3	0—0,15	0,1—0,2	33—38
6	Монохромная белоглиняная без дополнит. декора (бирюзовая)	Западное Средиземноморье? XIV в.?	Владимир (ВСМЗ №В58/335)	5,9—6,1	2,8—2,9	4,2—4,5	25,5—26,1	3,1—4,4	0,1	0,9—1,0	1,0—1,5	0,1	0,5	1,5—1,6	—	0,1	49—51
7	—»— (бледно-зеленая)	Золотая Орда ? XIV в.	Тверь	0,7—0,9	1,1—1,3	2,0—2,4	50, 2—50,3	3,9—4,1	?	—	0,2—0,3	—	0,5—1,2	3,4—4,1	—	?	34—35
8	—»—	Золотая Орда XIV в.	Нижн. Новгород (2001. Я. 76. №2171)	0,1—0,2	0,4—0,5	1,3—1,4	55,3—55,9	—	0,1	0,1	3,7—3,8	<0,1	0,5—0,6	2,6—2,7	—	0,2	34
9	Монохромная красноглиняная без дополнит. декора (зеленая)	Причерноморье. XIV-XV вв.	Москва (ММК. 1988. №4)	0,2—0,3	0,4—1,0	1,6—1,9	53,6—60,1	<0,1	0,3—0,5	—	2,4—4,9	0—0,1	0,5—1,0	0,4—0,6	<0,1	0,2	33—37
10	Белоглиняная с черно-зеленой росписью (зелено-бурая)	Византия. XII в.	Киев (МИК №А4901/111)	<0,1	0,1	0,3—0,5	65—67	<0,1	—	—	0,7—1,5	<0,1	0,5—0,6	0—0,1	<0,1	0,1	31

Большинство анализов выполнено в ИГЕМ РАН к.г.-м.н. А.И. Цепиным рентгеноспектральным локальным методом на микроанализаторе “Camebax SX—50”. Анализы, отмеченные звездочкой (*), выполнены во Всероссийском НИИ минерального сырья к.г.-м.н. Н.И. Чистяковой на микроанализаторах SuperProbe—733 и Camebax-MBX спектрометром “Link—860”.

Примечания:

— знак “?” означает, что определение содержания оксида не проводилось или не указано в источнике;

— знак ”—” означает, что содержание оксида равно нулю.

Таблица 1 (продолжение).

№	Тип керамики (цвет глазури)	Место производства, дата	Место находки и адрес образца	Удельный вес оксидов (в %)													
				Na_2O	K_2O	CaO	PbO	SnO_2	Sb_2O_3	MgO	Al_2O_3	MnO	FeO	CuO	CoO	TiO_2	SiO_2
11	Белоглиняная с зелено-коричневой росписью (бесцветная)	Византия. XII–XIII в.	Херсонес (№37131/ ВФ631-6)	0,1—0,2	0,2—0,3	0,7—0,8	64—69	0,1	0—0,1	—	1,0—2,3	<0,1	0,2—0,4	<0,1	<0,1	0,1	29—31
12	—»—	—»—	Херсонес (№37131/26)	0—0,1	0,2—0,3	0,2	68—70	0—0,1	0—0,2	—	4,3—5,0	<0,1	0,4—0,5	0—0,1	<0,1	0,1	24—26
13	—»—	Византия. XIII в.	Киев. (2001. Рейтарская, 4. Об. 9. №158)	0,1	0,4—0,7	0,3—0,4	60—61	0—0,1	0—0,2	—	1,6—4,9	0—0,1	0,2—0,4	<0,1	—	0,1	33—37
14	—»—	—»—	—»— б/№	<0,1	0,1	0,4—0,5	67—69	0—0,1	<0,1	—	0,6—1,6	0—0,1	0,6	0—0,1	0—0,1	0—0,1	30—31
15	—»—	Причерноморье? XIV в.	Москва (ММК. №1301 НВ)	<0,1	<0,1	0—0,1	72,2—73,1	0—0,1	—	—	0,3—0,6	<0,1	0,1—0,2	0—0,1	—	<0,1	26—27
16	Красноглиня-ная с красной роспи-сью (бледно-зеленоватая)	Золотая Орда. Конец XIV в.	Москва (ММК. №519/47433)	—	0—0,1	0—0,1	71,4—73,4	<0,1	0—0,1	—	0,1—0,2	<0,1	0—0,1	—	<0,1	0—0,1	26—27
17	Белоглиняная с синей и коричневой росписью (синяя)	Италия (?) XIII в.	Херсонес (№37131/10)	2,0	0,7	2,4—2,5	54—56	0—0,1	<0,1	0,3	1,1—1,3	0,2	0,9—1,0	<0,1	0,8—0,9	<0,1	34—35
18	Сграффито моно-хромная (бесцвет-ная)	Византия XII в.	Киев (МИК. №А4913/59)	0,3—0,4	0,4	0,6	64—66	0—0,1	<0,1	—	4,1—4,2	—	0,5—0,6	0—0,1	—	0,1	27—28
19	Сграффито полих-ромная (бесцветная) (St. Simeon Ware ?)	Сирия ? XIII в.	Херсонес (№37131/ ВФ 624) (Cr – 0—0,4%)	0,2	0,5	1,5—1,6	60—62	—	<0,1	0,1	4,0—4,2	<0,1	1,3—1,5	0,2	<0,1	0,2—0,3	30—32
20	—»—	—»—	Киев (2001. Бол. Жито-мирск. 20. №360)	0,2	0,3—0,4	0,5	63	0—0,1	<0,1	—	4,5—4,6	<0,1	0,4—0,5	0,1	<0,1	0,1	31
21	«Сграффито» (Zeuxippus ware) (бледно-желтоватая)	Византия 1 пол. XIII в.	Чернигов (1998. Кирпоноса, 7. №258)	0,2	1,0—1,4	1,5—2,7	49,6—52,9	0,1—0,2	0—0,1	—	3,6—6,5	—	0,3—0,5	<0,1	—	0,2	37—41
22	—»— (бесцветная)	–»–	Чернигов (1991. Р. 2. №118)	<0,1	<0,1	0,6—0,7	63,8—65,3	0—0,1	0—0,1	—	1,4—1,8	—	0,3	0—0,1	—	0—0,1	32—33
23	—»—	–»–	Чернигов (1998. Кирпоноса, 7. №137)	<0,1	0,3	0,7—0,8	66,2—67,0	<0,1	0—0,1	—	2,7—3,1	—	0,3—0,4	<0,1	—	0,2	29
24	—»—	—»— XII в.	Херсонес (№37131/ ВФ 6306)	<0,1	0,5—0,7	0,5—0,6	59—60	0—0,1	<0,1	—	2,2—4,6	—	0,3	<0,1	—	0—0,1	34—36

Таблица 1 (продолжение).

№	Тип керамики (цвет глазури)	Место производства, дата	Место находки и адрес образца	Удельный вес оксидов (в %)													
				Na_2O	K_2O	CaO	PbO	SnO_2	Sb_2O_3	MgO	Al_2O_3	MnO	FeO	CuO	CoO	TiO_2	SiO_2
25	—»—	—»—	Херсонес (№37131/ ВФ624)	<0,1	0,1—0,2	0,5—0,6	63—65	<0,1	<0,1	—	3,6—5,3	—	0,2	<0,1	0—0,1	0,1	30—31
26	«Сграффито» монохромная (желтая)	Византия (Никея?). XIII в.	Херсонес (№37131/2)	<0,1	0,2	0,3	67—68	0—0,1	0,1	—	3,3—3,5	—	2,8—2,9	0—0,1	0—0,1	0,1	25—26
27	«Сграффито» монохромная (типа «Скопелос» ?) (желтоватая)	Византия. XIII в.	Херсонес (№37148/86)	0,4—0,6	0,7—1,0	2,4—3,2	51—54	0—0,1	0,3	0,6—0,8	7,0—7,5	<0,1	1,8—2,6	0,1	<0,1	0,3—0,4	30—31
28	Монохромная полумайолика (зеленая)	Золотая Орда. XIV в.	Селитренное городище (п.м.)	0—0,1	0,2—0,3	1,1	63—64	0,3—0,4	0,1	—	2,7—3,0	0—0,1	0,7—0,8	2,7—3,1	<0,1	0,2—0,3	28
29	«Сграффито» + выемчатая техника (желтая)	Балканы или Византия? XIV в.	Нижний Новгород (2001. №1823)	<0,1	0,2—0,3	0,4—0,5	56,8—59,7	0,3—0,4	0—0,1	0,2—0,4	2,2—3,9	<0,1	3,6—4,1	0—0,1	—	0,4—0,7	31—32
30	—»— (зеленая)	Византия. Сер. 1360-х гг.	Азов (1997. Чехова, 3. Р. 2. Яма 4. б/№)	0,2—0,3	0,4	0,5—0,6	60—61	<0,1	0,4	—	5,7—6,2	<0,1	0,5—0,7	1,6	<0,1	0,3—0,5	29—30
31	—»—	Византия. XV в.	Феодосия (1995. Р. 1.б/№)	0—0,1	0,2	0,6—0,7	65,0—65,5	—	0,1—0,2	—	4,3—4,5	0,1	0,6	1,5—1,7	0—0,1	0,2	26—27
32	Сграффито полихромная (желтая)	Старый Крым ? XIV в.	Феодосия (1995. Р. 2. Пол. №6)	0,2—0,3	0,6—0,7	3,5—3,7	52,8—53,8	—	0,4	0,2—0,4	3,8—4,3	<0,1	4,2—4,8	0,1—0,2	—	0,2—0,3	30—31
33	—»—	Причерноморье. XIV в.	Киев (МИК №А4623/4)	0,2—0,3	0,8	2,3—2,4	54—55	0—0,1	—	0,1	4.6—4,9	0,1	1.2—1,5	0,7	—	0,3	33
34	—»—	Крым (Кафа) XV в.	Феодосия (1995. Р. 1. №КО65)	0,2	0,4—0,5	3,9—4,2	57,0—59,0	<0,1	0—0,1	0—0,3	3,5—3,9	0—0,1	0,7—0,9	1,5—1,9	—	0,2	29—30
35	—»— (бледно-зеленоватая)	Крым (Кафа) Конец XIV – начало XV вв.	Феодосия (1995. Р. 1. №КО118)	0,2	0,8	2,9—3,1	50,4—51,1	0—0,1	0—0,2	—	6,6—7,5	<0,1	0,5—0,7	0,2	<0,1	0,3	35—36
36	—»—	Крым (Кафа) XV в.	Феодосия (1995. Р. 1. №КО 92)	0,4—0,5	0,9—1,0	3,4—3,6	50,7—52,0	0—0,1	0,2	0,1—0,2	2,8—3,1	<0,1	1,0—1,1	0,4	0—0,1	0,2	36—37
37	—»—	Крым (Кафа) XV в.	Феодосия (1995. Р. 1. Пол. №53)	0,3—0,4	0,8—1,0	2,5—2,7	53,1—54,3	<0,1	0,1—0,2	<0,1	4,8—5,4	0,1	0,4—0,6	0,1—0,3	—	0,2—0,3	35—36
38	—»—	Крым (Кафа) XV в.	Феодосия (1995. Р. 1. Пол. №17)	0,2—0,3	0,6—0,7	3,2—3,3	51,2—51,6	0—0,1	0,1—0,2	0,1—0,3	3,7	0,1	1,6—1,8	2,2	—	0,2—0,3	35
39	—»— (желтая)	Византия ? XV в.	Феодосия (1995. Р. 1. б/№)	0,5—0,9	1,1—1,4	15,2—15,7	19,0—25,0	<0,1	0,3—1,1	0,9—1,3	9,9—11,9	0,1	6,4—6,9	0—0,1	0—0,1	0,5—0,6	22—27

Таблица 1 (окончание).

№	Тип керамики (цвет глазури)	Место производства, дата	Место находки и адрес образца	Удельный вес оксидов (в %)													
				Na_2O	K_2O	CaO	PbO	SnO_2	Sb_2O_3	MgO	Al_2O_3	MnO	FeO	CuO	CoO	TiO_2	SiO_2
40	С росписью ангобом (светло-желтая)	Причерноморье. XIII в.	Киев (2001. Рейтарская, 4. Об. 9)	0,4—0,5	0,4—0,5	1,5—1,8	65—66	0,1—0,2	0,2	—	3,8—4,0	0,1	1,2—1,4	0,1—0,2	—	0,2	25
41	—»—	Старый Крым. XIV–XV вв.	Старый Крым. (п.м.)	0,1—0,2	0,5	2,3—2,5	59	0—0,1	0,3—0,5	—	5,1	<0,1	1,6—1,7	0—0,2	—	0,2—0,3	28—29
42	Штампованная (зеленая)	Восточный Крым. XIV в.	Москва (ММК. 1994. №44)	0,1	0,2	2,0—2,2	65,2—66,9	0—0,1	0,2—0,3	—	1,3—1,6	<0,1	0,4—0,7	1,3—2,3	<0,1	<0,1	26—28
СПРАВОЧНЫЕ МАТЕРИАЛЫ																	
43	Люстровая майолика (белая)	Испания. Конец XIV – начало XV вв	Москва	1,0—1,1	6,7—7,6	2,8—3,5	32,0	3,3—4,0	?	0,4	0,9	?	2,2—2,3	?	0,4	?	49—51
44	—»—	Испания. XIV в.	Москва (МИГМ. Кремль— 1959. №34)	1,7—2,0	2,2—2,5	1,3—1,5	44,9—51,0	3,5— 12,4	—	—	1,7—1,9	—	0,1—0,2	—	0,04	0—0,1	34—37
45	—»—	Испания. XV в.	Феодосия (1995. Р. 1. №24)	0,4—0,5	6,4—6,9	1,5—1,7	32,8—37,5	1,7—2,6	0,2	0—0,2	2,3—3,5	<0,1	0,2—0,3	<0,1	<0,1	<0,1	49—53
46	Майолика с желтой и зеленой росписью (белая)	Италия. XIV в.	Новогрудок (1974. №НВ 4286)	0,5—0,6	6,9—8,0	1,1—1,6	25,8—33,0	4,2—9,9	0—0,1	<0,1	1,1—2,3	<0,1	0,2—0,4	0—0,1	0,03	0,2—0,3	49—50
47	—»— (желтая)	—»—	—»—	0,6	6,2—7,1	2,1—2,5	31,3—32,7	5,4— 10,9	0—0,3	—	1,1—1,4	—	0,4—0,7	—	0,05	0,2	46—48
48	—»— (бесцветная)	—»—	—»—	0,6	5,2—5,5	3,1—3,7	35,8—37,4	1,2—1,5	0,1—0,2	0,2	0,8—1,1	<0,1	0,2—0,4	0—0,1	0,02	0,2—0,3	47—49
49	Полумайолика монохромная (зеленая)	Волжская Булгария. XII в.	Биляр (АМКУ. №262/76)	0,2—0,3	0,4—0,5	0,8—0,9	65—67	<0,1	0—0,1	—	3,7—3,8	0,1	1,3—1,7	<0,1	<0,1	0,2—0,3	26—27
50	—»—	Волжская Булгария. XII в.	Биляр (АМКУ. №262/480)	0,2—0,6	0,9—1,7	1,1—5,9	42,1—44,8	—	—	0,8—2,4	6,0—8,5	0—0,1	2,6—3,4	<0,1	—	0,4—0,5	38—40
51	Полумайолика с росписью черной и крас-ной красками (желтая)	Средняя Азия. XIV в.	Селитренное городище. (ГИМ. 1985. №201)	1,7—1,8	1,9—2,2	3,0—3,5	50—51	0—0,1	0,5	<0,1	3,0—3,2	0—0,1	1,5—1,6	0,1—0,2	—	0,2	34—35
52	Монохромная без дополнит. декора (коричневая на сфероконусе)	Иран или Сирия ? XII в.	Чернигов (1996 г. Ш.1. №5)	0,3—0,4	0,3—0,5	0,6—0,8	60,5—64,1	<0,1	<0,1	—	0,7—2,0	2,1—2,6	0,3—0,4	0—0,1	—	<0,1	30—33

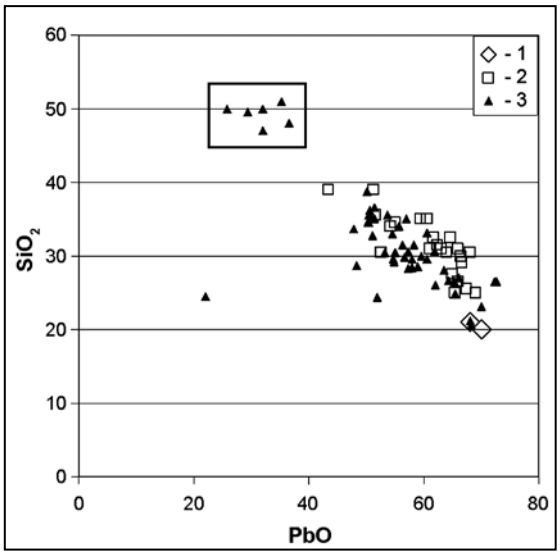

Рис. 3. Соотношение оксидов кремния и свинца в глазурях (по средним значениям их содержания в %). Прямоугольником выделены данные по глазурям испанской и итальянской майолики. 1 — глазури X в.; 2 — глазури XII—XIII вв.; 3 — глазури XIV—XV вв.

Fig. 3. The ratio of silica and lead in glazes (by the average values of their content in %).The rectangle marks the data on Spanish and Italian majolica glazes. 1 — glazes of 10th c.; 2 — glazes of 12th—13th cc.; 3 — glazes of 14th—15th cc.

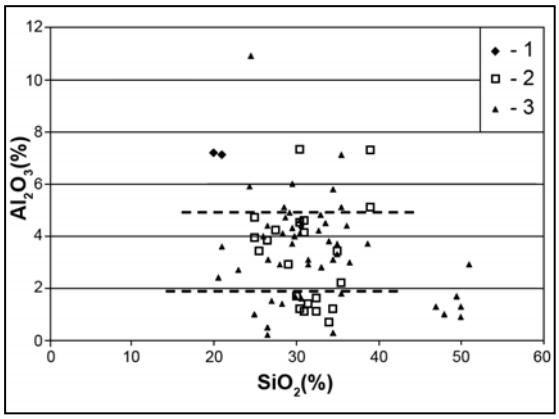

Рис. 4. Соотношение оксидов кремния и алюминия в глазурях (по средним значениям их содержания в %). Пунктирными линиями обозначены границы между группами. 1 — глазури X в.; 2 — глазури XII—XIII вв.; 3 — глазури XIV—XV вв.

Fig. 4. The ratio of silica and alumina in glazes (by the average values of their content in %). The dashed lines indicate the boundaries between groups. 1 — glazes of 10th c.; 2 — glazes of 12th—13th cc.; 3 — glazes of 14th—15th cc.

шейся из-за использования различных по составу бронз, пережогом которых, собственно, и добывался необходимый для окраски глазури в зеленый цвет оксид меди. Исключением из этого правила был образец №29, в составе которого оксид меди практически отсутствовал. В данном случае олово, вероятно,

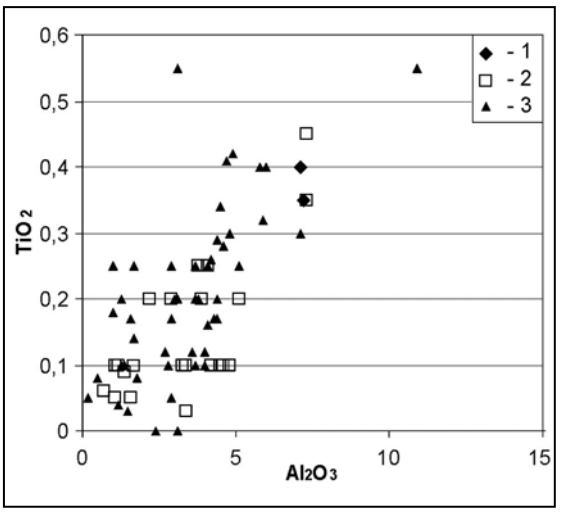

Рис. 5. Соотношение оксидов алюминия и титана в глазурях (по средним значениям их содержания в %). 1 — глазури X в.; 2 — глазури XII—XIII вв.; 3 — глазури XIV—XV вв.

Fig. 5. The ratio of aluminum and titanium oxides in glazes (by the average values of their content in %). 1 — glazes of 10th c.; 2 — glazes of 12th—13th cc.; 3 — glazes of 14th—15th cc.

было незначительной загрязняющей примесью к свинцу.

Отдельно стоит остановиться на вопросе о применявшихся в причерноморских глазурях красителях. Хорошо известно, что зеленым красителем в свинцовых глазурях обычно выступал оксид меди (CuO), а желто-коричневым — оксид железа (FeO). Судя по нашей выборке, оксид меди начинал «работать» в качестве красителя глазури в тех случаях, когда его доля превышала 1% (как правило, на уровне 1,5—3,0%). Этот компонент вводился в шихту обычно в виде окислов чистой меди либо свинцовистой (без включений олова) бронзы, однако в 2 случаях (причем оба они касались изделий золотоордынского Поволжья), вероятно, можно говорить об использовании оловянистой бронзы, на что указывает повышенное содержание оксида олова в составе глазури (табл. 1: №7, 28).

Оксид железа оказывал красящее действие при его концентрации от 0,7 до 6,5%: в таком качестве он присутствовал в глазурях византийской керамики типа «Скопелос», других разновидностях византийской керамики «сграффито» XII—XIII вв., в восточнокрымской керамике XV в. (табл. 1: №26—28, 32—34, 39). Однако в ряде других случаев желтоватый цвет кроющей глазури объяснялся просто высокой долей оксида свинца.

Интересная особенность выявилась в отношении глазурей Волжской Булгарии

(табл. 1: №49, 50), темно-зеленый цвет которых объяснялся добавкой не оксида меди (ее доля в обоих образцах не превышала 0,1%), а оксида железа (на уровне от 1,3 до 3,4%), присутствовавшего, вероятно, в виде сочетания закиси железа (FeO) и окиси железа (Fe_2O_3), которое как раз и придает стеклам и глазурям бутылочно-зеленый цвет (Ланцетти, Нестеренко 1987: 37). Не исключено, что это характерная особенность булгарских глазурей XII века.

Два образца коричневых глазурей (на византийской белоглиняной керамике и на ближневосточном сфероконусе) оказались окрашены оксидом марганца в концентрации 2—3% (табл. 1: №3, 52). Во всех остальных глазурях этот оксид практически отсутствовал (его содержание не превышало 0,1%).

Что касается глазурей бирюзового цвета (их исследовано 3 образца), то все они были окрашены оксидом меди в концентрации от 0,6 до 2,1%, которой обязательно сопутствовал оксид олова, количество которого было весьма велико — от 2,8 до 5,5% (средние показатели 3,8—4,6%) (табл. 1: №4—6). Хотя подбор компонентов для достижения требуемой окраски, скорее всего, проводился по заранее установленной норме, нельзя исключать и того, что для получения такого красителя могла использоваться высокооловянистая бронза. При этом 2 исследованных образца имели византийско-причерноморское происхождение, а происхождение третьего остается неизвестным (табл. 1: №6). Последний отличался от других более высоким содержанием щелочных и щелочноземельных элементов.

Лишь на 2 образцах керамики, попавших в нашу выборку, присутствовал синий краситель, использовавшийся для подглазурной росписи (табл. 1: №17, 43). Оба они относились к западносредиземноморской (итальянской и испанской) керамике XIII—XIV вв. Анализ показал, что в обоих случаях красителем выступал оксид кобальта в концентрации 0,8 и 0,4% соответственно. В других глазурях оксид кобальта также иногда присутствовал, но в виде несущественной загрязняющей примеси (не более 0,1%).

Выше уже говорилось о том, что высказанное В.В. Булгаковым предложение разделять причерноморские глазури на группы по процентным долям содержания оксида свинца изначально вызывало сомнение. Представление имеющихся процентных данных на графике (рис. 3) сразу же показало, что основная масса причерноморских глазурей содержала оксид свинца в пределах 50—70%, и никаких скоплений (групп) показателей внутри этого массива, судя по графику, не наблюдается. Правда, за пределами указанного массива осталась довольно обширная «периферия», в которой, наряду со случайными отклонениями в результатах анализа и данными, напоминающими скорее аналитическую ошибку (табл. 1: №39), присутствовала небольшая группа образцов с относительно низким содержанием оксида свинца (в пределах 25—37%), принадлежавшая в основном к испанской майолике XV в. (валенсийского происхождения) (табл. 1: №43, 45) и итальянской майолике XIV в. (табл. 1: №46—48). Вероятно, испанская и итальянская рецептура приготовления глазурей существенно отличалась в это время от византийской, причерноморской (провинциально-византийской) и золотоордынской (наследовавшей провинциально-византийскую традицию). К пяти испано-итальянским образцам примыкает только 1 образец неясного происхождения, найденный во Владимире-на-Клязьме и отличавшийся бирюзовой прозрачной глазурью (табл. 1: №6). Один образец белоглиняной полумайолики (протомайолики?) с синей и коричневой росписью (табл. 1: №17), предположительно атрибутированный в качестве южноитальянского импорта XIII в., отличался от остальных испано-итальянских глазурей высоким содержанием оксида свинца.

Разделение причерноморских глазурей на группы по произвольно установленным нормам содержания оксида свинца представляется недопустимым с методической точки зрения. Кроме того, такое разделение не дает каких-то новых знаний, а наоборот, затемняет исследуемый вопрос. В связи с этим была предпринята попытка найти иные критерии для группировки глазурей. Прежде всего, была рассмотрена корреляция соотношений оксидов свинца и кремния (PbO/Si_2O_3), с одной стороны, и основных щелочей (Na_2O/K_2O) — с другой, подобно применяющейся при изучении стекла (Галибин 2001: 68, 69). Однако полученный график (рис. 6) показал почти полную однородность изученного массива глазурей. Если отвлечься от 5 образцов с нереально высокими (полученными в результате случайных отклонений в составе глазурей) показателями отношения Na_2O/K_2O, все остальные глазури (71 образец) характеризовались показателями этого отношения, колебавшимися в пределах от 0 до 1,0. В то же время, удалось выявить определенную хронологическую тенденцию в соотношении основных щелочных составляющих причер-

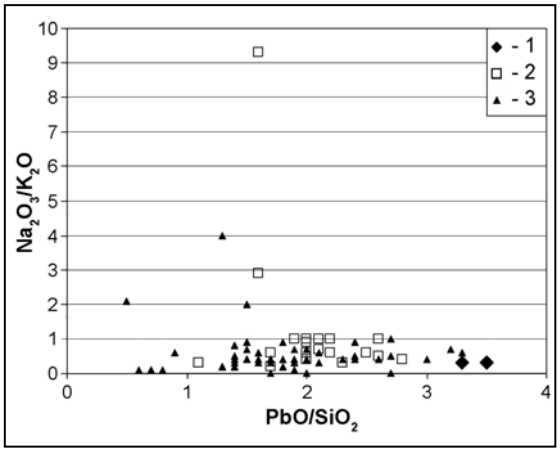

Рис. 6. График распределения глазурей по соотношению оксидов свинца и кремния, натрия и калия. 1 — глазури X в.; 2 — глазури XII—XIII вв.; 3 — глазури XIV—XV вв.

Fig. 6. Distribution of glazes by ratios of oxides of lead and silicon, sodium and potassium. 1 — glazes of 10th c.; 2 — glazes of 12th—13th cc.; 3 — glazes of 14th—15th cc.

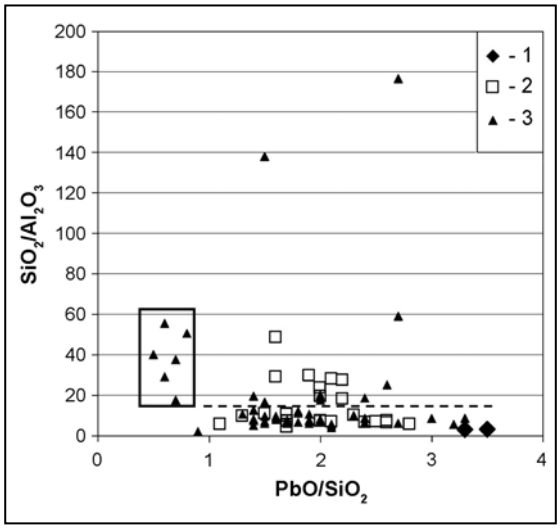

Рис. 7. График распределения глазурей по соотношениям оксидов кремния, свинца и алюминия. Прямоугольником выделена область данных испанской и итальянской майолики, пунктиром — первая и третья группы глазурей (по соотношению кремнезема к глинозему) отделены от группы 2 (ее точки расположены в верхней части графика). 1 — глазури X в.; 2 — глазури XII—XIII вв.; 3 — глазури XIV—XV вв.

Fig. 7. Distribution of glazes by ratios of oxides of silicon, aluminum and lead. The rectangle marks the on Spanish and Italian majolica glazes, the dashed lines separate the first and third groups of glazes (by the ratio of silica to alumina) from group 2 (its points are at the top of the graph). 1 — glazes of 10th c.; 2 — glazes of 12th—13th cc.; 3 — glazes of 14th—15th cc.

номорских глазурей (табл. 2). Оказалось, что среди 40 образцов таких глазурей X—XV вв. (т. е. без средиземноморских, среднеазиатских и волжско-булгарских) образцы XII—XIII вв. и XIV—XV вв. распределяются почти поровну — 18 и 20 экз. соответственно. При этом среди глазурей XII—XIII вв. преобладали рецептуры с относительно высоким содержанием соды (с соотношением Na_2O/K_2O от 0,5 до 1, а в отдельных случаях и еще более высоким), тогда как в XIV—XV вв. положение изменилось, и стали преобладать глазури с очень низким содержанием соды (с соотношением Na_2O/K_2O равным менее чем 0,5).

Второй вариант поиска внутригрупповых различий в глазурях средневековых майолик заключался в установлении связей между соотношениями оксидов кремния и алюминия, с одной стороны, и оксидов свинца и кремния — с другой (рис. 7). В результате построения графика таких соотношений стало очевидно, что западносредиземноморские глазури XV в. выделились здесь в отдельную область в левой части графика[6], отражающую низкую долю оксида свинца в глазури при низкой же доле оксида алюминия (соотношение SiO_2/Al_2O_3 в интервале от 17 до 60). Среди остальных образцов (за вычетом явно случайных отклонений с коэффициентами 138 и 177 — Табл. 1. №7 и 16) можно выделить 3 группы по соотношению SiO_2/Al_2O_3: 1) основную (наиболее массовую) группу составляли глазури, у которых при совершенно различном содержании оксида свинца, отношение кремнезема к глинозему колебалось пределах от 5 до 12; 2) ко второй, меньшей, группе принадлежали глазури с низким содержанием глинозема (с коэффициентом SiO_2/Al_2O_3 в интервале от 12 до 30). При этом во второй группе явно преобладали глазури XII—XIII вв. (в т. ч. часть византийской белоглиняной полумайолики), чего нельзя сказать о первой группе; 3) наконец, допустимо выделение еще одной, третьей, группы, к которой относились глазури с высоким содержанием глинозема (с коэффициентом менее 5) (табл. 3). Этих образцов в нашем распоряжении пока оказалось мало (всего 4 экз.), однако реальное существование этой группы представляется несомненным.

Границы между выделенными группами являются довольно условными и обосновываются пока только концентрацией показателей на графике (для визуализации группы 3 требуется построение иного графика, в котором бы группа 2 вообще отсутствова-

[6] Правда, 2 других (более ранних) образца испано-итальянских глазурей попали в основную (византийско-причерноморскую) группу.

Таблица 2.

Динамика в содержании щелочных материалов среди византийско-причерноморских глазурей X—XV вв.*

Na_2O/K_2O	X в.	XII—XIII вв.	XIV—XV вв.
До 0,5	2	7	12
0,5—0,8	—	4	5
>0,8	—	7	3

*Расчеты проведены по данным таблицы 1. При этом образцы, датированные в ней XIII—XIV вв. здесь учитывались в составе группы глазурей XIV—XV вв. Пороговое значение 0,5 определено в соответствии с предложенным В.А. Галибиным (Галибин 2001: 69), пороговое значение 0,8 установлено условно, исходя из результатов, полученных в нашей выборке.

Таблица 3.

Динамика в соотношении кремнезема и глинозема среди византийско-причерноморских глазурей X—XV вв.

SiO_2/Al_2O_3	X в.	XII—XIII вв.	XIV—XV вв.
До 5,0	2	1	1
5,0—12,0	—	11	12
12,0—30,0	—	6	6

Таблица 4.

Динамика в содержании свинцового материала среди византийско-причерноморских глазурей X—XV вв.

PbO/Si_2O_3	X в.	XII—XIII вв.	XIV—XV вв.
До 1,0	—	—	1
1,0—2,0	—	9	12
>2,0	2	9	7

ла), поэтому эти границы могут быть уточнены по мере накопления новых данных.

Если данные таблицы 3 действительно отражают реально существовавшую тенденцию, то они свидетельствуют о том, что более 2/3 продукции причерноморских мастерских пользовались относительно низкосортной глазурью, приготовленной из не полностью очищенного сырья. Важно также отметить, что глазури из очищенного песка (с низким содержанием глинозема) изготавливались не только в Византии, но и в Крыму, других районах Причерноморья, в золотоордынском Поволжье. Сложнее делать хронологические гипотезы. Однако на имеющемся (крайне неполном) материале вырисовывается картина перехода в XI или XII в. от высокосвинцовистых глазурей на основе загрязненного глиноземом песка к низкосвинцовистым глазурями, при производстве которых использовался хорошо очищенный кварцевый песок. Уровень качества глазурей, судя по нашим данным, на протяжении XII—XV вв. практически не снижался.

Надо признать, что пока попытки расчленить глазури причерноморской полумайолики на группы по признакам соотношения в их составе различных компонентов не дали очевидного результата. Это означает, что на имеющейся источниковой базе мы еще не можем строить надежные выводы о существовании внутри византийско-причерноморской рецептуры приготовления свинцовых глазурей каких-либо особых локальных традиций. Разумеется, остается надежда, что на более широкой базе данных такие традиции могут быть выявлены в будущем. Однако уже сегодня можно уверенно утверждать, что свинцовые глазури Византии, Северного Причерноморья и золотоордынского Поволжья были в массе практически неотличимы по рецептуре и применявшемуся для их изготовления сырью. Вероятно, это объясняется единым происхождением такой рецептуры из мастерских Византии, которая была воспринята мастерами, изготавливавшими полумайолику как в различных центрах Причерноморья, так и в поволжских городах Золотой Орды. Зато западносредиземноморские свинцовые глазури XV века самым существенным образом отличались от синхронных им причерноморских даже по основным своим компонентам: 1) они содержали значительно меньше оксида свинца (как правило, 27—37% или в пределах коэффициента 0,6—0,8 отношения PbO/Si_2O_3); 2) у них очень низкое содержание оксида натрия (отношение Na_2O/K_2O не более 0,1); 3) содержание глинозема в глазурях этой группы было довольно низким (отношение SiO_2/Al_2O_3 составляло 17—60), что говорит о хорошей подготовке сырья.

В уже не раз цитировавшейся работе В.В. Булгакова выделяется еще одно предположение: «о последовательном повышении доли свинцовых материалов в херсонесской рецептуре» глазурей, вслед за которым высказывалась еще более далеко идущая гипотеза о гораздо более широкой в географическом и хронологическом планах тенденции, якобы присущей развитию свинцово-силикатных технологий глазурования (Булгаков 2005: 368). Однако о какой «херсонесской рецептуре» может идти речь, если само производство поливной керамики в Херсоне XIII—XV вв. остается не доказанным? К тому же приведенные в качестве основы для построений цитированного автора образцы керамики, вполне могли относяться к импортам из ближайших к Херсону керамических центров

(Судака, Кафы, Солхата) и Византии. Правда, судя по описанию образцов, они имеют заметные отличия от восточнокрымской группы изделий, однако В. В. Булгаковым не приведены данные не только о составе формовочных масс обеих групп («херсонской» и восточнокрымской), но и не даны изображения самих образцов, что делает дальнейшее обсуждение этой темы беспредметным. Необходимо лишь подчеркнуть, что глобальные выводы о хронологической тенденции в рецептурах глазурного производства были сделаны всего по 13 (!) образцам XIII—XV вв. На более широких материалах, привлеченных нами (40 образцов причерноморских и золотоордынских глазурей), подобная тенденция совершенно не прослеживается. Напротив, для исследованных глазурей скорее можно говорить о прямо противоположной тенденции (табл. 4)[7]. Если в XII—XIII вв. наблюдался паритет между высокосвинцовистыми и низкосвинцовистыми глазурями, то в XIV—XV вв. низкосвинцовистые глазури были вдвое более распространенными, нежели высокосвинцовистые.

И хотя сверхвысокие концентрации оксида свинца в глазурях (в количестве 70% и выше) действительно появились только в XIV—XV вв., а до того известны не были, в целом тенденция развития глазурного производства в Византии и Причерноморье на протяжении XII—XV вв., скорее, следовала в направлении понижения нормы оксида свинца в глазурной шихте. Правда, у нас пока очень мало данных о динамике этого процесса в более раннюю эпоху (IX—XI вв.).

Почему же наш предшественник пришел к диаметрально противоположным выводам? Это может объясняться как недопустимо малым для формулировки каких-либо выводов объемом исследовавшейся выборки, так и слишком узким хронологическим промежутком, охватывавшим всего 2 столетия (с середины, вернее — конца XIII по XV вв.), в пределах которого проводилось некорректное сравнение образцов, датированных в пересекающихся интервалах: XIII—XIV и XIV—XV вв. (последнее обстоятельство могло привести к тому, что синхронные в действительности образцы оказывались в разных хронологических группах). Безусловно, имеющаяся в нашем распоряжении выборка также недостаточно репрезентативна для однозначных выводов, однако она все же значительно более показательна.

Представленное здесь исследование причерноморских глазурей не претендует ни на законченность, ни на полноту и неоспоримость выводов. Напротив, объем исследованной выборки представляется нам совершенно недостаточным, а сами выводы по ней — сугубо предварительными. Для получения полноценных и действительно объективных результатов потребуется проведение еще нескольких сотен анализов образцов, имеющих твердые стратиграфические даты и широкий круг датированных аналогий. Без проведения такой работы попытки классификации причерноморских глазурей и, соответственно, керамики, вряд ли смогут претендовать на объективность.

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[7] Расчеты проведены по данным таблицы 1. Пороговые значения коэффициентов установлены произвольно.

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Импортная глазурованная керамика Московского Кремля (по раскопкам 2007 г.)

Keywords: Moscow Kremlin, Middle Ages, imported glazed pottery, classification, origin

Ключевые слова: Московский Кремль, Средневековье, импортная глазурованная керамика, классификация, происхождение

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Imported Glazed Ceramics of the Moscow Kremlin (from 2007 year excavations)

The archaeological excavations in the Moscow Kremlin carried out in 2007 uncovered a collection of imported glazed ceramics (146 samples). This is the most numerous collection of all previous finds of such ceramics in the Kremlin over more than 100 years.

Sherds of vessels produced in the middle — second half of the 14th century in the Golden Horde towns in the Lower Volga region make almost half of this collection. Most of them are made of soft white Qashan (quartz-frits) decorated with polychrome (black-and-blue, black/green-and-blue-and-turquoise) painting, often with addition of white slip. A very small group (about 5%) are sherds of red-clay ceramics with green transparent lead glaze without any decoration; these were manufactured in towns of the South-Eastern Crimea. Chinese celadons and blue-and-white faience make an unusually big group (1/5 of all finds), yet these vessels were represented only by small fragments found in 16th — 17th centuries layers. The Turkish faience (from Iznik) of the first half of the 16th century, which is a very rare find in Russia, make 13% of all finds. Including, sherds of vessels with red background, which are the first finds of this kind in Moscow and in Russia as a whole. The most enigmatic groups include sherds of imported plates without any decoration and bowls with brown decoration. These were likely produced in Asia Minor or in the Caucasus. Another type of vessels with white slip decoration were probably imported from North-Western Europe — Holland or Germany (a tripod vessel).

В. Ю. Коваль

Импортная глазурованная керамика Московского Кремля (по раскопкам 2007 г.)

При археологических раскопках в Московском Кремле, проведенных в 2007 году, была собрана коллекция импортной глазурованной керамики (146 образцов). Эта коллекция многочисленнее, чем все находки подобной керамики в Кремле за предыдущие более 100 лет.

Почти половину этой коллекции составляют фрагменты сосудов, сделанных в середине — второй половине XIV в. в городах Золотой Орды на Нижней Волге. Подавляющее большинство из них принадлежало к изделиям из мягкого белого кашина (кварц-фритты), украшенным полихромной (черно-синей, черно/зелено-сине-бирюзовой) росписью, нередко с добавлением росписи белым ангобом. Очень небольшую группу (около 5%) составляют обломки красноглиняной керамики с зеленой прозрачной свинцовой глазурью без декора, изготовленной в городах Юго-Восточного Крыма. Необычайно высокой была доля китайских селадонов и сине-белого фарфора (1/5 часть всех находок), но эти сосуды были представлены лишь небольшими фрагментами, найденными в слоях XVI—XVII вв. Турецкие (Изник) фаянсы первой половины XVI в., которые встречаются в России крайне редко, составили 13% находок. Среди них фрагменты посуды с красным фоном впервые были найдены в Москве и в России в целом. Самая загадочная группа включает обломки импортных блюд без декора и чаши с коричневой росписью, произведенных, вероятно, в Малой Азии или на Кавказе. Другой вид сосудов, украшенных росписью белым ангобом, вероятно, прибыл в Москву из Северо-Западной Европы — Голландии или Германии (сосуд-трипод).

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В ходе археологических исследований 2007 г. в Тайницком саду Московского Кремля, занимающего значительную часть Подола (приречной части средневековой Москвы), была собрана обширная коллекция находок. В составе этой коллекции имеется 169 образцов импортной керамики.

При систематизации данного материала на первом этапе проводилось его разделение по формальным основаниям на классы и группы, различающиеся самыми общими характеристиками материала, из которого была изготовлена керамика, и способам нанесения декора. Основные принципы такого деления успешно использовались при обработке импортной керамики, поступавшей в средневековую Русь (Коваль 2010: 14—25). Подобный подход позволяет проводить общее сравнение импортов по технологическим признакам керамики и абстрагироваться от их конкретных атрибуций, поскольку происхождение и датировка отдельных образцов бывает весьма спорной и неоднозначной, в зависимости от того, насколько хорошо изучена та или иная разновидность импортов, установлены места производства изделий, или они только предполагаются на основании различных логических построений. Только после проведения такой систематизации, с соответствующими выводами об атрибуциях импортов, может и должна быть проведена их группировка по регионам-экспортерам, что позволит составить представление о спектре внешних связей. В современной российской науке существует и иной подход, предусматривающий уже на первом этапе систематизации материала разделение импортов на группы в зависимости от установленного или предполагаемого места производства керамики.

Все собранные при раскопках образцы импортной керамики относились к разделу «бытовой емкостной» керамики, внутри которой выделяются категории *посудной* и *тарной* керамики. К последней относились 33 образца, которые в данной работе не рассматриваются. Остается за пределами данной публикации и неполивная столовая посуда (9 образцов). Таким образом, в дальнейшем изложении будет дана характеристика 146 образцам ***глазурованной посуды***, 134 из которых были найдены на раскопе 1 (руководители раскопа В. Ю. Коваль, Т. Д. Панова и Д. О. Осипов), и 12 — на раскопе 2 (руководители раскопа Н. А. Кренке, О. М. Олейников, Д. О. Осипов).

Импортная глазурованная керамика разделялась на несколько классов: восточных фаянсов (2 экз. или 1,5%) и полуфаянсов[1] (73 экз. или 50%), западноевропейской майолики (5 экз. или 3,5%), восточной и византийской полумайолики (29 экз. или 20%), китайских фарфора и селадона (37 экз. или 25%).

Фаянсы

Класс **фаянсов** представлен только одной разновидностью изделий — с полихромной (черной, синей, белой и красной) росписью по красному фону. Сосуды этого типа изготовлены из твердого или мягкого белого кашина, они изготавливалась только в одном месте — Османской Турции (предположительно, в г. Изник) в середине — второй половине XVI в. Технология изготовления такой керамики была очень сложной: на слой красной непрозрачной поливы наносилась роспись, выполнявшаяся ангобами голубого, белого и красного цвета, а также черной глазурью, после чего все изделие покрывалось бесцветной прозрачной глазурью (Soustiel 1985: 334: fig. 25). В музейных собраниях мира известно лишь несколько целиком сохранившихся сосудов данного типа (Soustiel 1985: №347, 358; Atasoy, Raby 1989: №372, 684, 711; Pasinli, Balaman 1991: 74, 76). Среди опубликованных материалов археологических раско-

[1] **Фаянсами** называются изделия из силикатных масс («stonepaste»), покрытые непрозрачной поливой, **полуфаянсами** — из таких же масс, но с кроющей прозрачной глазурью, **майоликой** — из цветных глин («earthenware»), покрытые непрозрачной поливой, **полумайоликой** — такая же керамика, покрытая прозрачными глазурями (Коваль 2010: 20). Применяемая здесь терминология не претендует на универсальность, это всего лишь инструмент для систематизации и краткого именования больших групп поливной посуды. Некоторые из применяемых здесь терминов подвергались критике со стороны коллег (Волков 2006: 413, 414, 421; Столярова и др. 2012: 248, 249), пытающихся провести жесткую кодификацию терминов, избрав из спектра их значений только одно. Не возражая в принципе против такой кодификации (установить которую все же достаточно трудно), должен принципиально согласиться и со многими замечаниями в адрес используемой здесь терминологии. Разумеется, названия «полуфаянс» и «полумайолика» звучат несколько двусмысленно, однако эти таксоны были введены в научный оборот довольно давно и вполне пригодны для емкого обозначения классов керамики. Поскольку иных терминов для рассматриваемых классов керамики пока не придумано, единственной альтернативой им стали бы многословные описательные наименования, которых как раз и хотелось бы избежать. Поэтому, отдавая дань уважения глубокой эрудиции критиков, мне представляется вполне допустимым придерживаться прежней терминологической схемы.

пок в Северном Причерноморье (Крым, Азов и др.) такая керамика не фигурирует, на территории позднесредневековой Руси она также ранее не была известна. Поэтому 2 обломка чаш, найденных на Подоле Московского Кремля (рис. 3: 2, 3) являются первыми подобными находками на территории Московской Руси. На этих небольших обломках сохранилась только бихромная роспись черной глазурью и голубым ангобом. Обе находки происходят из контекстов XVII в., т.е. в целом соответствуют времени бытования и археологизации турецкой керамики рассматриваемого типа.

Полуфаянсы

В классе **полуфаянсов** имеется только 1 образец сосуда, принадлежавшего серии изделий с надглазурным декором — это крошечный обломок чаши с остатками люстровой росписи на внутренней поверхности, покрытой бесцветной глазурью. Внешняя поверхность сосуда была покрыта синей глазурью, и хотя следов люстра на ней не сохранилось, трудно сомневаться, что на целом сосуде такой декор присутствовал. Основа изделия — твердый белый кашин. Все перечисленные признаки характерны для изделий Ирана XVII — начала XVIII вв. В Москве подобные импорты до сих пор были известны лишь за пределами Кремля, кроме того, поздний иранский люстр найден в Коломне и Нижнем Новгороде (Коваль 1997а: рис. 2: 3; 2010: 56, 60, 61). В раскопе 2007 г. эта находка зафиксирована в поздних отложениях XVIII—XIX вв. Нельзя исключать того, что этому же сосуду принадлежал небольшой обломок, найденный в том же контексте и не несший никакого декора. Но идентичный черепок и бихромное глазурное покрытие позволяют считать, что это сходство неслучайно, тем более что обе находки были сделаны в одном и том же слое на соседних квадратах.

Еще один обломок донца сосуда из твердого белого кашина с двусторонней бесцветной (чуть голубоватой) глазурью, без всяких следов декора, также мог принадлежать иранскому люстровому сосуду XVII—XVIII вв. Во всяком случае, кашин столь высокого качества в Новое время изготавливался только в Иране.

Все остальные импортные полуфаянсы, о которых пойдет речь ниже, принадлежали к серии изделий из рыхлого белого кашина с подглазурным декором (а внутри нее — к одной группе — изделиям, украшенным подглазурной росписью). Они разделялись на 2 подгруппы — с бесцветной и бирюзовой кроющими глазурями.

Бирюзовые полуфаянсы включали только 1 тип изделий — с монохромной черной росписью (7 экз.). Четыре обломка принадлежали различным чашам, еще 3 — вазам гюльабдан. Большинство обломков было столь малы по размерам, что реконструировать их декор не представляется возможным, лишь 2 фрагмента чаш сохранили орнаментацию в виде «крестиков-соцветий» и растительных мотивов. Судя по основам из рыхлого белого кашина, все эти сосуды были изготовлены в золотоордынских центрах Нижнего Поволжья во 2—3-й третях XIV в. Золотоордынские бирюзовые полуфаянсы были широко распространены в русских городах XIV в., но в Москве они до сих пор были представлены лишь небольшой серией из 9 мелких обломков и 1 вазы гюльабдан из состава клада под полом Благовещенского собора Кремля (Коваль 2010: 92, 93, ил. 31: 1, 6, 8; 32: 4).

Полуфаянсы, крытые бесцветной прозрачной глазурью, разделяются в изученной коллекции на 7 типов, различающихся набором использовавшихся красок и приемов росписи.

Тип 1. Полуфаянсы с полихромной подглазурной росписью красками и росписью белым ангобом

Элементы декора, выполненные густым белым ангобом, своей легкой рельефностью создавали основу орнаментальной композиции, которая дополнялась полихромной (черной/зеленой, синей и бирюзовой) красочной росписью. Все встреченные обломки (24 экз.) принадлежали только чашам, причем наиболее крупные образцы (9 шт.) — чашам, внутренняя поверхность которых была украшена рядами каплевидных фигур — стилизованных ныряющих рыбок (рис. 1: 1—3, 5, 6). Интересно, что встречены разные варианты оформления этого мотива — с выделенной головой и двумя синими точками, одна из которых выглядит как глаз рыбки (рис. 1: 1, 2, 6), а также в виде предельно схематизированной фигуры с одной точкой посередине (рис. 1: 5) — именно такие фигуры породили интерпретацию этого мотива в качестве «павлиньего глаза» (Скоробогатова 1983: 97; Лисова 2012: 84, 85, табл. 20: 13—15)[2]. Мотив стили-

[2] Н.Ф. Лисова ссылается на неопубликованное мнение Т.Х. Стародуб (из текста ее кандидатской диссертации), заметившей в росписи одной (!) сирийской вазы листья, трактованные в виде капле-

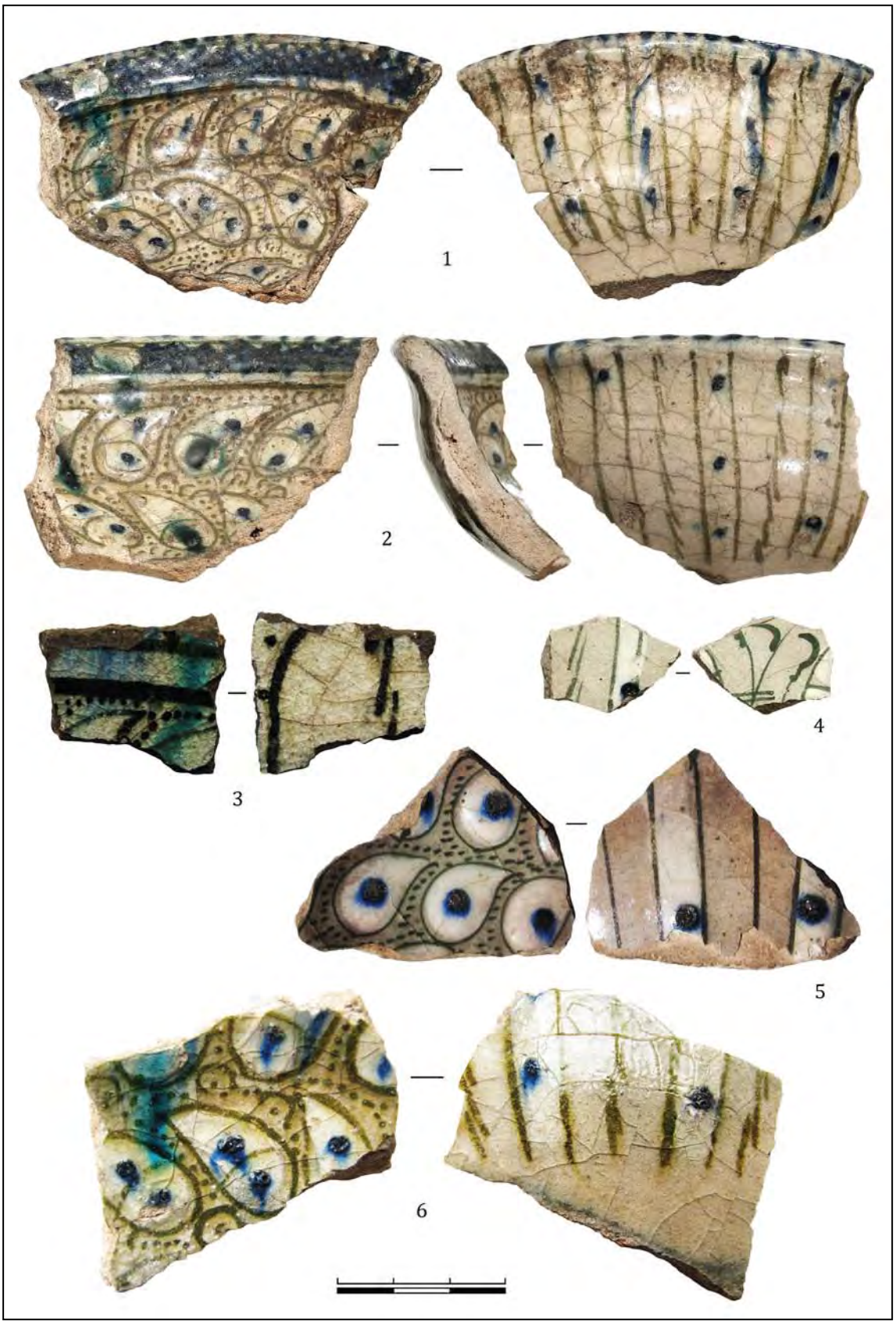

Рис. 1. Обломки золотоордынских кашинных чаш с подглазурной полихромной росписью и росписью белым ангобом (фото С.Д. Захарова).

Fig. 1. Fragments of the Golden Horde's Qashan bowls with underglaze polychrome painting and white slip painting (photo by S.D. Zakharov).

зованных ныряющих рыбок был чрезвычайно популярен на золотоордынских полихромных полуфаянсах второй половины XIV в., перейдя сюда с сирийских люстровых полуфаянсов (вероятно, через бирюзовые полуфаянсы с черной росписью) и известен на множестве чаш и блюд, изготовленных в золотоордынском Поволжье (Коваль 2005: 83, 84; 2010: 90, 91, 95). Именно оттуда доставлялись на Русь сосуды такого типа.

Наряду с мотивом «ныряющих рыбок», на 2 обломках чаш встречены такие элементы, как круглые цветочные розетки (ранее называвшиеся «колесовидным орнаментом») (рис. 1: 4), изображения цветка лотоса, прочие растительные мотивы, также широко распространенные на золотоордынской посуде. К сожалению, на мелких обломках чаш установить мотив росписи не представлялось возможным, а именно такие обломки преобладали в коллекции. Внешняя сторона всех крупных обломков чаш была покрыта разными вариантами стилизованных лепестков лотоса — как с закругленными краями (рис. 1: 3), так и предельно схематизированных, в виде вертикальных полос, упиравшихся в край чаши (рис. 1: 1, 2). Подобные стилизации являются относительно поздним признаком, характерным для изделий второй половины XIV в.

Самые крупные из обломков были найдены в заполнениях построек первой половины XV в. (рис. 1: 1, 6) и XVI в. (рис. 1: 2), причем в первой из них (сооружение Т1-32) найдено 4 обломка от одной чаши, залегавших в слое пожара, уничтожившего эту постройку (заглубленный в материк погреб). В слоях второй половины XIV в., т.е. того времени, когда подобная керамика производилась в Орде и поступала на Русь, найден только один обломок такой керамики, большинство же находок происходило из комплексов XV в. (11 шт.), остальные (мелкие) обломки встречены в более поздних комплексах переотложенными. Вероятно, сосуды этого типа, попав на Русь в конце XIV или начале XV в., выпадали в культурный слой преимущественно в первой половине и середине XV в.

Тип 2. Полуфаянсы с полихромной (черной/зеленой, синей и бирюзовой) или бихромной (черно-синей) росписью (без росписи ангобом)

Зафиксировано всего 5 небольших обломков такой керамики, что само по себе вызывает удивление, поскольку эти разновидности кашинной керамики были на Руси одними из самых широко распространенных. В Москве до раскопок 2007 г. было известно 37 обломков такой керамики, лишь немногим меньше, чем образцов предыдущего типа (Коваль 2010: 75, 76, 82, 84). На Подоле такая керамика была представлена мелкими обломками чаш с не слишком ясно реконструируемым декором. Следует выделить 2 обломка чаш наилучшей сохранности, принадлежавших бихромной (черно-синей) разновидности, изготовленных из рыхлого кашина. Один из них принадлежал чаше, внешняя поверхность которой была украшена вертикальными панелями с эпиграфическим орнаментом (рис. 2: 1). Читаемые надписи, выполненные почерком «насх» часто встречаются на иранской керамике XIV в., однако они размещаются на ней обычно по внутренней поверхности (Коваль 2010: ил. 20: 2; 27: 2, 3), в горизонтальных или вертикальных панелях. В данном случае невысокое качество рыхлого белого кашина указывает скорее на поволжское происхождение чаши, а использование псевдонадписей в декоре внешней поверхности можно рассматривать в качестве попытки творческого переосмысления декора персидских образцов. В этом смысле показателен обломок золотоордынской чаши из Великого Новгорода, внешняя поверхность которого также была украшена вертикальной панелью с эпиграфическим орнаментом (Коваль 2010: ил. 33: 8). Возможно, такое переосмысление отчасти формировалось и под влиянием иранских люстровых чаш того же времени, на внешний поверхностях которых нередко присутствовали панели с эпиграфическим декором (Коваль 2010: ил. 6: 1).

Второй обломок принадлежал чаше из ярко-розового (почти красного) кашина (рис. 2: 2), он был найден в слое XIV в. Декор этого образца не столь выразителен, однако тут играет роль цвет кашина. Розоватый кашин часто встречается в придонных частях иранских чаш XIV в., однако в данном случае оттенок столь интенсивен, а качество рыхлого рассыпающегося кашина столь невысоко,

образных фигур. Этому единичному исключению противостоят многочисленные люстровые сосуды с рядами каплеобразных фигур, никак не связанными с какими-либо растительными побегами и составляющими самостоятельный мотив росписи. Заметим, что при систематизации орнаментов на золотоордынской керамике Н.Ф. Лисова не смогла найти ни одного примера, когда каплеобразные фигуры входили бы в состав растительных композиций и отнесла этот элемент к «абстрактным орнаментам» (Лисова 2012: 85).

Рис. 2. Обломки полуфаянсовых сосудов с полихромной подглазурной росписью из золотоордынского Поволжья XIV в. (1, 2) и Турции XVI в. (3—11) (фото С.Д. Захарова).

Fig. 2. Fragments of semi-faience vessels with polychrome underglaze painting of the Golden Horde Volga region, 14th c. (1, 2) and Turkey, 16th c. (3—11) (photo by S.D. Zakharov).

что не может возникать сомнений в том, что сосуд был изготовлен в нижневолжских центрах Золотой Орды.

Тип 3. Полуфаянсы с синей росписью «в резерве» с добавлением бирюзово-зеленой и пурпурной красок

У керамики этого типа рисунок выполнялся черными контурными линиями, а весь фон заливался синей кобальтовой краской. Бирюзово-зеленая и пурпурная (сиреневого оттенка) краски использовались для подцветки отдельных деталей изображений, оставшихся белыми. Таким образом, в декоре этого типа полуфаянсов присутствовало 5 разных цветов (включая белый и черный). Подобная керамика производилась только в Османской Турции на протяжении XVI в. (ранее эту разновидность называли «стилем Дамаск»), и в Москве до сих пор были известны лишь 3 обломка подобных блюд (Коваль 2010: 77—79, ил. 25: 5).

В 2007 г. на Подоле Кремля были обнаружены 6 мелких обломков от разных сосудов этого типа — блюд и кувшинов. Все они происходили из контекстов XVI—XVII вв. или более позднего времени. При этом ни на одном из обломков не сохранилось полной цветовой гаммы, но была четко видна заливка фона росписи густо-ультрамариновой кобальтовой краской (рис. 2: 3—5), важно также то, что все образцы были изготовлены из твердого белого кашина, характерного для турецких полуфаянсов. Наиболее интересны пряслице из стенки блюда и круглая фишка (или заготовка для совсем маленького пряслица) (рис. 2: 3, 4). Пряслица из красочной турецкой керамики разных типов уже бывали найдены в Москве и других городах Руси (Коваль 2010: ил. 25: 6).

Подобная керамика получила распространение в Турции в первой половине XVI в., вероятно, в то же самое время она доставлялась и в Москву, но в культурный слой обломки сосудов выпадали, конечно, позднее. Это тем более верно для изделий вторичного использования (пряслиц).

Тип 4. Полуфаянсы с синей, бирюзовой (или голубой), зеленой и красной (или пурпурной) росписью в черных контурах

У керамики этого типа мотивы «в резерве» не встречаются. Кашинная основа могла быть твердой или мягкой. Подобные полуфаянсы начали производиться в Турции (в г. Изник) с середины XVI в. Вторая половина XVI и XVII вв. были временем их наиболее широкого распространения. При этом красный ангоб в декоре этих изделий стал применяться только в последней четверти XVI в. (Aslanapa 1971: 217), именно эта разновидность ранее называлась у антикваров керамикой «стиля Родос». В Москве к началу 2007 г. было известно 13 находок керамики этого типа, кроме того, она была встречена в Коломне, Дмитрове, Рязани, Ярославле в виде единичных находок (Коваль 2010: 80, ил. 25: 1—4, 6).

При раскопках на Подоле были найдены 3 обломка такой керамики. Два из них, принадлежавшие к ранней группе изделий, в декоре которых использовалась пурпурная (сиреневого оттенка) краска (рис. 2: 6, 7), могут быть уверенно датированы серединой — второй половиной XVI в. Обломок блюда (рис. 2: 7) происходил из слоя второй половины XVI в., т.е. из синхронного контекста. Изображения тюльпанов с пурпурными лепестками на этом обломке и сложная растительная композиция с центральной розеткой на другом обломке блюда (рис. 2: 6) находят многочисленные аналогии среди турецкой керамики (Atasoy, Raby 1989: fig. 50a, 351, 352, 368, 371; Denny 2005: 220).

Еще один обломок принадлежал краю кружки, в декоре которого применен красный ангоб. Мотив из чередующихся наклонных листочков с заостренными концами и трехлепестковых половинок соцветий характерен для оформления краев кружек (Atasoy, Raby 1989: fig. 543; Denny 2005: 122), но встречается и на бордюрах краев тарелок (Bilgi 2009: №239; Hitzel, Jacotin 2005: fig. 443). В данном случае речь может идти только о кружке либо кувшине с широкой горловиной.

Тип 5. Полуфаянсы с бихромной (синей и бирюзовой/голубой) росписью

Изделия этого типа изготавливались из твердого или мягкого белого кашина в Османской Турции на протяжении XVI в. (преимущественно, в 1530—1550-х гг.). В декоре сосудов преобладал синий цвет: синей краской (кобальтом) выполнялась контурная роспись, тогда как бирюзовый краситель мог использоваться в разных объемах (часто — очень локально, для подцветки всего нескольких деталей). Стилистика росписи сосудов сильно различалась. В частности, к этому типу принадлежали изделия, которые в прошлом именовались «керамикой Золотого Рога», главное отличительной чертой кото-

Рис. 3. Турецкие полуфаянсы (1, 4—7) и фаянсы (2, 3), иранские полуфаянсы (8, 9): 1—7 — XVI в., 8 — XVIII в., 9 — XV в. (фото С.Д. Захарова).

Fig. 3. Semi-faiences (1, 4—7) and faiences (2, 3) from Turkey, and Iranian semi-faiences (8, 9): 1—7 — 16th c., 8 — 18th c., 9 — 15th c. (photo by S.D. Zakharov).

рых были крупные спирали из стеблей с мелкими листочками и «пушистыми» соцветиями, за что такой стиль декора еще называют «спиральным» (Atasoy, Raby 1989: 108—114). В Москве до 2007 г. были известны только 7 обломков сосудов этого типа, причем все

они происходили из раскопок в Зарядье, среди них 5 принадлежали кувшину, декорированному в стиле «Золотого Рога» (Коваль 2010: 80, 81, ил. 26: 1; рис. 25: 1; 29: 5, 6).

При исследованиях на Подоле Кремля найдены 7 обломков от различных сосудов рассматриваемого типа, происходивших из слоев XVI в. (1 экз.), второй половины XVI (рис. 2: 11; 3: 7) и XVII в. (рис. 2: 9). Контексты еще 2 находок достоверно не установлены (рис. 2: 10; 3: 1).

Один из обломков принадлежал кувшину с декором в стиле «керамики Золотого Рога», традиционно датируемой 1530-ми гг. (рис. 3: 7). Хотя бирюзовый краситель на этом образце отсутствует, принадлежность к декоративной группе не вызывает никаких сомнений (тем более, что в ней известно множество сосудов с монохромной синей росписью). Все остальные сосуды этого типа были орнаментированы в иной стилистике (рис. 2: 9—11; 3: 1), причем обломок одного сосуда был украшен росписью, в которой бирюзовая краска доминировала, заполняя фон (рис. 2: 10), а у другого вместо бирюзовой для заполнения фона была использована голубая краска (рис. 3: 1).

Тип 6. Полуфаянсы с монохромной синей росписью

Внутри этого типа можно выделить 2 вида изделий, различающихся как по качеству кашина, так и по декору.

Вид 1. Изделия из рыхлого кашина. Место производства сосудов, изготовленных из рыхлого белого кашина, с относительно толстыми (около 0,5 см) стенками установить довольно сложно: такая керамика изготавливалась в нижневолжских центрах Золотой Орды в конце XIV — начале XV вв., однако похожая посуда производилась в XV в. в Иране и Средней Азии. До раскопок 2007 г. в Москве были известны 8 находок керамики этого вида, из них 3 — в Кремле (Коваль 2010: 88, 89). В 2007 г. в Тайницком саду были найдены 7 обломков чаш и блюд, часть из которых сильно обгорела в пожаре. Обломок блюда с плоскоотогнутым краем (рис. 3: 9) мог относиться к дальним импортам (Иран? Средняя Азия?), поскольку в золотоордынской керамике такие формы встречаются исключительно редко (и, вероятно, сами были импортами). Другие образцы не пострадали от пожара, но их декор был столь невыразительным, что по нему невозможно проводить какие-либо атрибуции. Необходимо заметить, что из 7 находок одна происходила из постройки, засыпанной в первой половине XV в. (сооружение Т1-117), 2 — из слоя второй половины XV в., 3 — из контекстов XVI в., т.е. были, вероятно, переотложены.

Вид 2. Изделия из твердого кашина. Среди этой керамики необходимо выделять 2 варианта изделий, различающихся стилистикой росписи.

Вариант 1. Турецкие изделия. Речь идет о 4 обломках от 2 сосудов. Два из них принадлежали блюду или тарелке, край которой был украшен бегунком-арабеской «в резерве» на светло-синем фоне (рис. 3: 4, 6) в манере, известной по турецким полуфаянсам конца XV — первой половины XVI в. стилей «Master of the Knots» и «Baba Naccaє Ware» (Atasoy, Raby 1989: №96; Bilgi 2009: 82, №19). Другие 2 обломка относились к кувшину, украшенному в той же манере, но без следов использования «резерва», с изображением цветка лотоса (рис. 3: 5), аналогии которому известны на большой серии турецких изделий (Atasoy, Raby 1989: №83, 85, 90, 95, 96, 106, 18, 109, 112; Bilgi 2009: №8). Все фрагменты встречены в переотложенном состоянии в контекстах XVII и XVIII—XIX вв.

Вариант 2. Изделия неясного происхождения (Иран?). В эту группу включены обломки сосудов из очень твердого («фарфоровидного») белого кашина и росписью расплывающимся кобальтом, с мотивами, не находящими прямых аналогов среди турецкой посуды, но имеющими некоторое сходство с иранскими изделиями XVI—XVIII вв., а также обломки с четко не атрибутируемыми изображениями. Расплывание кобальтовой росписи («текучесть») не характерна для глазурей турецкой керамики, но часто встречается на персидских изделиях.

Не исключено иранское происхождение для маленькой пиалы, на дне которой имелся медальон с орнаментом, выполненным синей краской, а вся внешняя поверхность была закрашена шоколадно-коричневой краской (рис. 3: 8). Подобные изделия копировали китайский фарфор позднего этапа эпохи Мин и начала эпохи Цин (XVI—XVIII вв.), в котором были распространены чашки с коричневой или красно-коричневой внешней поверхностью (Carswell 1995: №170, 171; He Li 1996: №456, 501, 547). Аналогичные по декору (синяя роспись внутри, коричневая окраска внешней поверхности) чашечки известны в материалах XVIII в. из Азака, где они атрибутированы производству малоазийской Кютахьи (Гусач 2005: 478, 479, рис. 1: 13, 15), специализировавшейся на производстве кофейных

чашечек. Однако кютахьинские чашки отличаются хрупким черепком, тогда как московский образец был изготовлен из очень прочного «камнеобразного» кашина.

Тип 7. Полуфаянсы с монохромной черной росписью

Единственный небольшой обломок чашки из твердого белого кашина нес такую роспись на внешней поверхности. Размеры обломка (2×1,5 см) не позволяют утверждать, что таков же был декор всего сосуда. По той же причине атрибуция образца не может быть проведена с достаточной уверенностью. Монохромная черная роспись очень редко встречается среди турецких полуфаянсов XVI в., где она фактически замещала монохромный синий декор (Bilgi 2009: №31). Однако турецкие изделия отличаются изящно выполненным рисунком, тогда как на описываемом образце декор состоял из небрежно выполненных спиралей. Поэтому более вероятным кажется иранское происхождение этой чашки и датировка в пределах XVII—XVIII вв.

Майолика

Импортная **майолика** представлена среди находок с Подола 5 образцами. Два из них принадлежат германской «каменной» керамике (нем. «Steinzeug»; англ. «Stoneware»), покрывавшихся непрозрачной соляной поливой, имевшей характерную бугристую фактуру. Один из сосудов, с желто-коричневой поливой и декором, состоявшим из изображений цветов (рис. 4: 1), можно датировать XVII—XVIII вв. В частности, очень близкие цветки изображены на кувшине первой половины XVIII в. из раскопок в городе Хёкстере (земля Северный Рейн — Вестфалия) (Aus dem Pottland 2012: №55). Второй обломок принадлежал кувшину с серо-синей гаммой поливного покрытия, явно относился к изделиям Вестервальда того же периода. Подобная керамика, называвшаяся на Руси в XVI—XVIII вв. «каменным рейнским товаром», хорошо известна по многочисленным находкам в Москве (Розенфельдт 1968: 71) и других городах, однако московские находки никогда не публиковались.

Две другие находки относятся к числу североевропейских изделий с монохромной синей росписью: это обломки ручки и стенки кувшинов из желтоватой глины без видимых примесей, облицованных белой непрозрачной поливой (рис. 4: 3, 4). Роспись синей краской внутриглазурная (т. е. нанесенная по «сырой» поливе, до ее обжига). Подобная керамика, подражавшая китайскому фарфору, была широко распространена в Европе XVII—XVIII вв., наиболее известной ее разновидностью является знаменитый «делфтский фаянс» XVII века, изготавливавшийся в Голландии, в г. Делфт. На Руси и, в частности, в Москве, европейские изделия известны среди археологических находок, однако они также никогда не публиковались.

Четвертый образец майолики, относившийся к североевропейским (вероятно, нидерландским) изделиям XVI — первой половины XVII вв. — это обломок блюда из желтоватой глины без видимых примесей, которое снаружи было покрыто бесцветной прозрачной глазурью, а изнутри — белой непрозрачной поливой, по которой нанесена внутриглазурная роспись синей (оксид кобальта) и пурпурно-коричневой (вероятно, оксид марганца) красками (рис. 4: 2). По концентрической композиции орнаментации эта тарелка близка итальянским майоликам XVI—XVII вв., а использование пурпурно-коричневого красителя напоминает «каменную керамику» Вестервальда с двуцветной сине-коричневой гаммой декора. Производство майолики в Нидерландах было организовано итальянскими мастерами в XVI в. в городах Харлинген, Мидделбург, Берген-оп-Зум, Роттердам, а позже процветало в Харлеме и Делфте. В середине XVII в. непрозрачная полива стала наноситься уже и на внешнюю поверхность блюд, и такая керамика в североевропейской литературе называется «фаянсом»[3]. Использование марганцевого красителя известно именно для нидерландской майолики. Такая керамика на территории Руси встречается исключительно редко, опубликованные образцы нам не известны.

Полумайолика

В составе импортной **полумайолики** (29 экз.) выделяются *2 серии изделий — с дополнительным декором (росписью, гравировкой) и без него*. Вторая серия достаточно обширна и включает несколько групп изделий, а также 4 обломка ангобированных чаш и блюд, очень сильно перегоревших в пожарах: их тесто почернело и приобрело пемзообразное состояние, глазурь также почер-

[3] Благодарю за консультацию Яна Тэйссона (J. R. A. M. Thijssen), Нидерланды.

Рис. 4. Европейская майолика XVII—XVIII вв. (1—4) и причерноморская полумайолика XIV в. с зеленой глазурью (5—8) (фото С.Д. Захарова).

Fig. 4. The European majolica of 17—18th cc. (1—4) and Black Sea region green-glaze semi-majolica of 14th c. (5—8) (photo by S.D. Zakharov).

нела, и хотя в ряде случаев она имеет буро-зеленоватый цвет (рис. 4: 7), невозможно утверждать, что до пожара, повредившего сосуд, эта глазурь также была зеленой. Среди них отметим обломок тарелки из формовочной массы, насыщенной песком, идентичной материалу чаши с плоским краем (рис. 5) и чаши с монохромной росписью (рис. 7), т. е., вероятно, происходившей из того же самого производящего центра. Три находки происходили из слоев XV в., одна — из слоя первой половины — середины XIV в.

Среди изделий без дополнительного декора особняком стоит 1 обломок кувшина, не имевшего ангобной облицовки. Тусклая зеленая глазурь была нанесена на его внутреннюю поверхность (рис. 4: 5), а на внешней поверхности заметен край потека желто-

Рис. 5. Обломки красноглиняной чаши без дополнительного декора и бесцветной глазурью (1—3); a — фактура поверхности глазури; b, c — изломы черепка (фото С.Д. Захарова).

Fig. 5. Fragments of red-clay bowl without decoration under colorless glaze (1—3); a — the texture of the surface of the glaze; b, c — the crock breaks (photo by S.D. Zakharov).

ватой глазури, которая, вероятно, покрывала горловину и верхнюю часть тулова. Кувшин был изготовлен вытягиванием из формовочной массы с крупными включениями карбонатов. Кувшины из подобных масс и с подобным способом глазурования встречаются в средневековых слоях на памятниках Северного Причерноморья, но на территории Руси они почти не известны (Коваль 2010: 106), место их производства не установлено. Находка происходит из слоя первой половины XV в.

Остальные образцы данной серии изделий (11 шт.) были покрыты зеленой глазурью по слою белого ангоба. Среди них выделяются несколько видов:

Вид 1. Изделия из сильноожелезненных (красножгущихся) глин с примесью мелкого песка. Такая рецептура формовочных масс характерна для нижневолжских керамических центров Золотой Орды. На Подоле встречен только один обломок кувшина подобного вида, в переотложенном слое XVI в.

Вид 2. Изделия из сильноожелезненных (красножгущихся) глин с включениями красного шамота и органики (иногда — карбонатных пород). Данная рецептура свойственна продукции городов Юго-Восточного Крыма XIV—XV вв. Подобная керамика широко импортировалась на Русь, она известна во многих городах, в т.ч. и в Москве (Коваль 2010: 109, 110). В исследуемой коллекции такие образцы преобладали, причем все они были встречены в слоях XIV и XV вв., т.е. контекстах, синхронных времени производства такой керамики. Пять обломков принадлежали кувшинам, причем 3 из них не имели глазурного покрытия внутренней поверхности, но на всех изделиях хорошо заметно рифление вытягивания (рис. 4: 6).

Вид 3. Изделия из ожелезненных (красножгущихся) глин с включениями крупных карбонатов. Такой состав имели некоторые

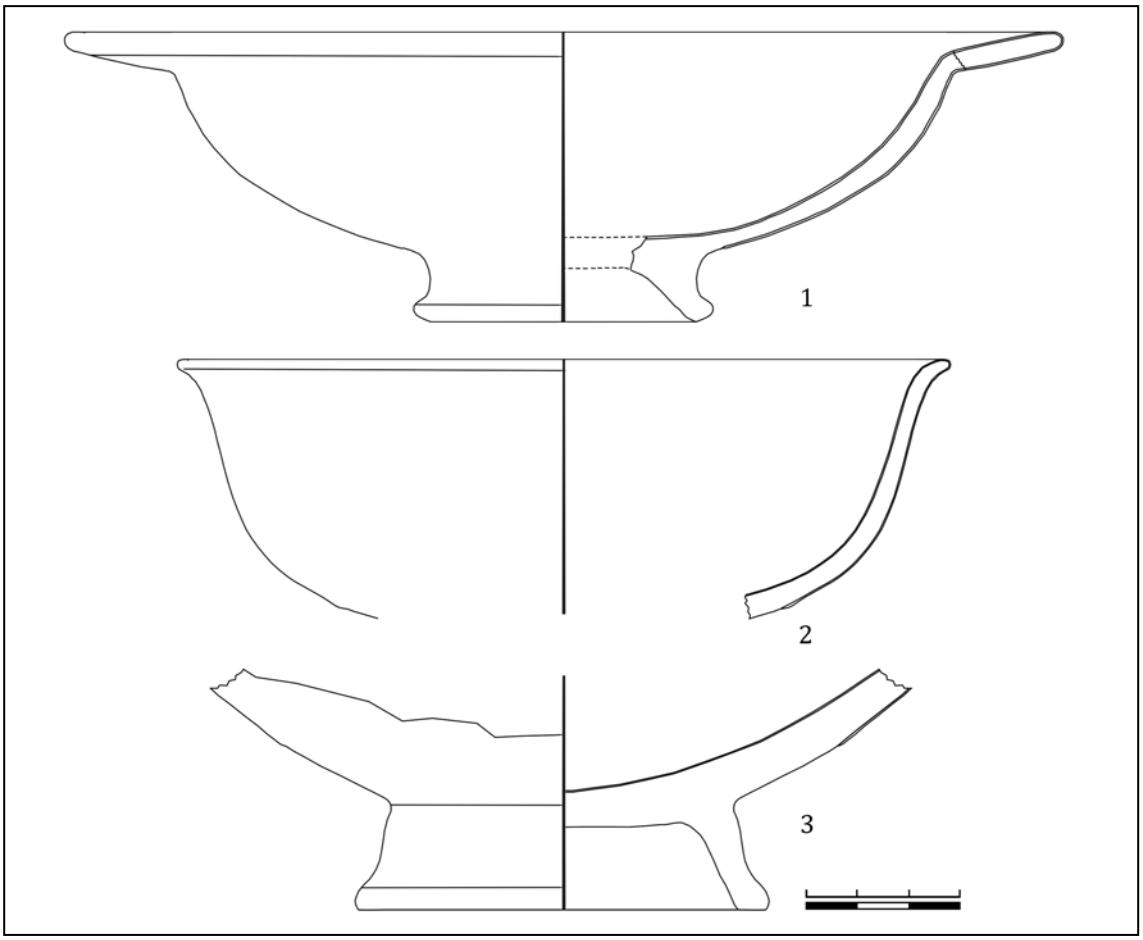

Рис. 6. Профили полумайоликовых чаш из заполнения сооружения Т1-117.

Fig. 6. Profiles of semi-majolica bowls from construction T1-117.

сосуды Юго-Восточного Крыма. К этому виду принадлежал обломок блюда с желтовато-зеленой пятнистой глазурью, найденный в слое XIV в. (рис. 4: 8).

Вид 4. Изделия из слабоожелезненной (розоватой) глины с включениями мелкого песка. Для этой редкой разновидности, представленной обломком края чаши, обнаруженной в слое второй половины XV в., трудно назвать аналогию. Чаша была покрыта изнутри темно-зеленой глазурью, а снаружи — светлой желтовато-зеленой.

Вид 5. Изделия из сильноожелезненной (красно-коричневого цвета) глины с искусственной примесью песка среднего размера (с зернами диаметром до 1,5 мм — рис. 5: b, c), отличающиеся недостаточно продолжительным обжигом, о чем свидетельствует черная полоса на изломах стенок (рис. 5: b). Кроме песка, в составе формовочной массы замечены комочки рыхлого белого вещества (разложившиеся карбонаты?) и отдельные включения крупных обломков неизвестной породы. К этому виду принадлежали 3 находки, 2 из которых принадлежали одной чаше с плоскоотогнутым краем и были собраны при разборке заполнения сооружения Т1-117 (датировано первой половиной XV в.) и слоя XV в., залегавшего над ним[4]. Чаша (рис. 5: 1, 2; 6: 1) совершенно уникальна и требует подробного описания. Кроме отмеченных особенностей формовочной массы, она отличалась полным отсутствием какого-либо дополнительного декора. Сосуд был практически полностью (изнутри и снаружи) облицован слоем белого ангоба (включая внутреннюю полость поддона), а затем также почти полностью (за исключением поддона) покрыт бесцветной (чуть зеленоватой) глазурью с сеткой мелких цековых трещин (характерным признаком свинцовых глазурей) (рис. 5: c). К сожалению, глазурованные по-

[4] Это сооружение знаменито тем, что в его основании находились остатки более раннего погреба (рубежа XIV—XV вв.), в заполнении которого найдена московская берестяная грамота №3 с текстом, записанным чернилами (Гиппиус и др. 2011).

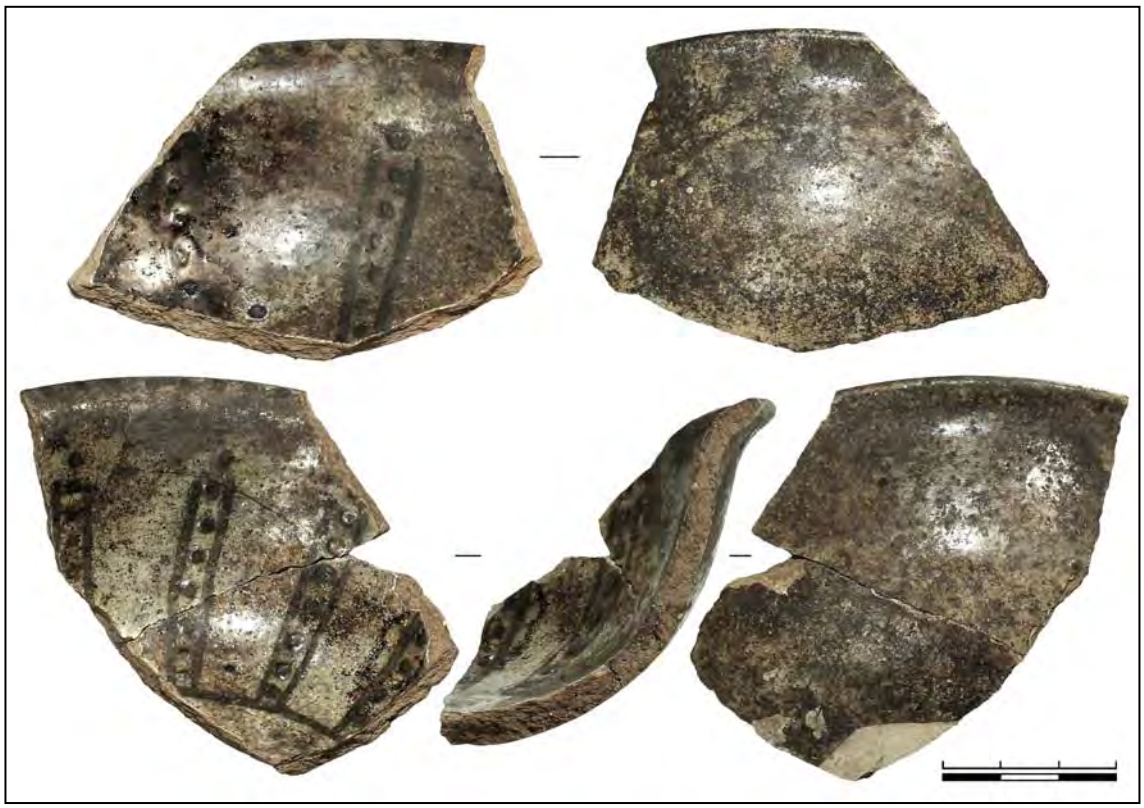

Рис. 7. Обломки чаши с подглазурной коричневой росписью (фото С.Д. Захарова).

Fig. 7. Parts of bowl with underglaze brown painting (photo by S.D. Zakharov).

верхности чаши были покрыты черной пленкой прилипшего вещества органического происхождения, снять которую с глазури удалось лишь частично. Диаметр чаши 22 см, в центре дна — крупная капля глазури с лопнувшими пузырьками (кавернами).

Вероятно, этой же самой чаше принадлежал обломок плоскоотогнутого края, найденный в переотложенном состоянии (в слое второй половины XVI в.) в 3 м к югу от сооружения Т1-117. В отличие от других частей этой чаши, он сохранил довольно чистую поверхность глазурного покрытия (рис. 5: 3).

Недекорированная керамика очень сложна для атрибуции, поскольку она не обладает яркими художественными особенностями: такие сосуды не сохранялись в древности, не включались в коллекции музеев и не обращают на себя внимание при археологических раскопках. Форма чаши довольно редкая, но ей можно указать аналогии в разных странах. Например, чаши с плоскоотогнутым краем, и притом вовсе без декора, изготавливались в Северной Италии и даже использовались там для украшения фасадов храмов в качестве так называемых «бачини», вмуровывавшихся в кладку стен лицевой стороной наружу. В частности, такие чаши украшают стены церкви Сан Мартино в Пизе, построенной в 1280—1330 гг. (Berti 1997: Tav. VI; VII; 48—55). Однако все пизанские сосуды относятся к классу майолики и покрыты плотной непрозрачной глазурью различных оттенков. Кроме того, среди итальянской поливной керамики не известны сосуды из столь грубого теста, как в данном случае, нет среди них и недообожженных изделий. Поэтому при всем поверхностном сходстве итальянские аналогии не помогают атрибуции московской находки.

Другим регионом, где производили монохромные чаши с плоскоотогнутым краем (причем относящиеся к классу полумайолики) является Малая Азия поздневизантийской и раннеосманской эпох (XIV—XV вв.) (Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Taf. 8: 154, 155). Правда, недекорированные образцы среди них крайне редки (Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: Abb. 45), а ряд опубликованных образцов несут на себе гравированный декор (Doger 2009: Res. 8: a, b), хотя можно не сомневаться, что большинство недекорированных изделий просто не попали в публикации. Наконец, плоскоотогнутые края можно наблюдать у многих чаш и блюд керамики «милетской группы» (Тесленко 2005: рис. 1; 2; 4:

2), среди которой, правда, неорнаментированные изделия не известны вовсе. Однако и византийская керамика, и «милетская» раннеосманская, отличались высоким качеством глины и обжига, что не позволяет относить рассматриваемую чашу ни к византийским изделиям, ни к группе «Милет».

Вместе с тем, одна черта сходства с «милетской» керамикой все же прослеживается: на многих чашах и блюдах этой группы изделий, формовавшихся из мелкодисперсной глины без примесей, применялся своеобразный прием оставления отверстия в центре дна, которое впоследствии заделывалось массой иного состава — насыщенной крупным песком (Тесленко 2005: 386, 387), т.е. очень близкой той рецептуре, по которой изготовлена чаша из сооружения Т1-117. Само применение в высокотехнологичном производстве «милетской» керамики масс столь грубого состава заставляет думать, что на сложение данной керамической традиции повлияли какие-то очень архаичные керамические навыки.

Аналогии формовочной массе рассматриваемой чаши представляют также 3 обломка от разных сосудов, найденных в Москве: с бихромной (зеленой и желто-коричневой) подглазурной росписью (Коваль 2010: 119 (тип 11), ил. 44: 2, рис. 40: 4), с монохромной красно-коричневой росписью, имитировавшей гравированный декор (Коваль 2010: 119, 120 (тип 12), рис. 40: 9) и с монохромной коричнево-черной росписью (Коваль 2010: 120 (тип 13), рис. 40: 2), аналогии которым до сих пор не известны. При этом важно, что все эти образцы также были найдены в слоях золотоордынской эпохи. Вместе с тем, среди золотоордынской керамики, известной по раскопкам городов Среднего и Нижнего Поволжья, изделия из столь грубой формовочной массы не обнаружены (по крайней мере, они не описаны в литературе). Можно с высокой степенью уверенности допускать, что рассматриваемые сосуды были изготовлены в одном производящем центре с хорошо укоренившейся традицией подготовки формовочных масс.

Обращают на себя внимание следующие обстоятельства: при схожем составе формовочной массы и низкокачественном обжиге, наблюдается большое разнообразие в формах и декоре изготавливавшейся керамики. В то же время, ни один из 4 рассматриваемых московских образцов не копирует золотоордынские формы, а чаша — явно демонстрирует следование поздневизантийским образцам. И только один из четырех сосудов включал декоративную схему, применявшуюся на Нижней Волге и в Иране — стилизацию лепестков лотоса (Коваль 2010: рис. 40: 9). Таким образом, подобные изделия вряд ли могли появиться в центральных районах Золотой Орды, скорее, на роль их производителя может претендовать какой-то окраинный центр в Северном Причерноморье (но не в Крыму), активно функционировавший до начала XV в. Однако еще более вероятно размещение этого центра в одном из районов Малой Азии либо в Закавказье. Мастера этого центра восприняли как византийские керамические традиции, так и ближневосточные, но при этом сохранили архаичные навыки подготовки формовочных масс и не достигли высокого уровня в обжиге керамики, хотя прекрасно освоили высокую технологию глазурования (этим они напоминают русских гончаров — производителей поливной посуды в XIV—XVI вв.). Вероятно, этот центр еще не исследован (или слабо исследован) археологически, а материал из него не опубликован. В этом смысле менее всего имеется информации о керамических центрах Грузии (в том числе и по причинам языкового барьера и современных политических проблем) и многих районов Малой Азии. Армению и Азербайджан можно исключить из списка стран, на территории которых могло находиться такое производство, поскольку керамика этих территорий достаточно хорошо известна и публиковалась, пусть и не в самом полном объеме.

Полумайолика с подглазурным декором включала 3 группы изделий.

Группа 1. Керамика с росписью красками

Относилась к единственному типу изделий с монохромной коричневой (или красно-коричневой) росписью под бесцветной (или слабо окрашенной в бледно-зеленоватый или желтоватый цвет) глазурью

В составе этого типа выделяются 2 вида изделий:

Вид 1. Изделия из сильноожелезненной глины с примесью песка среднего размера, т.е. той же самой массы, из которой была изготовлена описанная выше чаша из сооружения Т1-117.

К этому виду относились 5 обломков от 3 или 4 чаш. Два из них несомненно принадлежали одной и той же чаше (и найдены они были в том же заполнении сооружения Т1-117, откуда происходила и описанная выше чаша без декора), поверхность которой также была частично загрязнена черным ве-

ществом, однако под бесцветной (чуть зеленоватой) глазурью тут имелся расписной декор, нанесенный густой темно-коричневой краской, рельефно выделявшейся под глазурью (судя по рельефности, этот краситель был приготовлен на основе ангоба, а желтоватые края линий росписи указывали на присутствие оксида железа). Сама роспись была довольно проста и состояла из ряда круглых пятен-точек по краю чаши и вертикальных полос на внутренней поверхности, состоявших из 2 параллельных линий и ряда таких же точек между ними (рис. 7). Профилировка чаши со слегка отогнутым краем (рис. 6: 2) резко отличается от поздневизантийских сосудов, но близка золотоордынским кашинным чашам и раннетурецким изделиям Изника — так называемой керамике группы «Милет» (Тесленко 2005: рис. 3; 6; 10).

Прямых аналогий декору кремлевской чаши среди изделий Западной Азии не известно, но зато он находит стилистическое сходство с оформлением еще одной загадочной по происхождению тарелки, обломки которой были найдены недавно при раскопках в Звенигороде (Коваль, Алексеев 2013: 106—117). На ней тоже имелся мотив из двух параллельных линий черно-коричневой краски, между которыми помещены в ряд жирные точки (Коваль, Алексеев 2013: рис. 1: 7). Для звенигородской тарелки предполагались разные варианты происхождения, в т. ч. среднеазиатский и малоазийский. Правда, тарелка из Звенигорода изготовлена из очень плотного красного теста и прошла высококачественный обжиг, т. е. ее формовочная масса резко отличалась от сосудов, собранных в заполнении сооружения Т1-117, однако названный орнаментальный мотив не является единственной чертой сходства между ними. Например, на тарелках из Звенигорода и Подола присутствует такая редкая технологическая деталь, как нанесение белого ангоба на внутреннюю поверхность поддона, практически не известная на всей остальной керамике Востока и Византии. Интересна также близость орнаментации краев звенигородской тарелки (точки со штрихами на наружную сторону) и рассматриваемой чаши (точки). Поэтому при всех (очень важных) различиях, имеются и такие черты сходства, которые не стоит игнорировать.

Другой чаше, очень сильно перегоревшей в пожаре (глазурь почернела, подглазурная роспись скорее угадывается), но имевшей ту же самую профилировку, что и у описанной выше, принадлежал довольно крупный обломок, который также был найден в заполнении сооружения Т1-117. На внутренней поверхности сосуда когда-то имелась роспись из линий темной краски, рисунок которой достоверно не восстанавливается, однако можно утверждать, что он состоял из довольно простых (геометрических?) мотивов (рис. 8: 1).

Третий крупный обломок чаши являлся дном с кольцевым поддоном, найденным в том же самом комплексе (сооружении Т1-117). Это дно не могло принадлежать развалу чаши №1, но вполне могло составлять единое целое с краем чаши №2, поскольку оно тоже перегорело в сильном пожаре (рис. 6: 3; 8: 2). Следует обратить внимание на сходство профилировки этого поддона с дном рассмотренной выше недекорированной чаши (ср. рис. 6: 1 и 6: 3). Идентичен и способ нанесения ангоба на эти сосуды — он покрывал сосуды целиком, включая и внутреннюю поверхность поддона, т. е. создавал полную имитацию того, как будто сосуды сделаны из белой глины.

Последний, четвертый, обломок принадлежал чаше той же самой профилировки (с плавно отогнутым наружу краем), который был найден над сооружением Т1-117 в слое второй половины XVI в. В отличие от предыдущих, этот небольшой обломок не был ничем загрязнен, и цвет его поверхности и декора не был искажен. Благодаря совершенно бесцветной глазури и слою ангоба, прикрывавшему коричневую глину, поверхность чаши выглядела чисто-белой. Глазурь свинцовая, с мелким цеком. Роспись имелась только на внешней поверхности и состояла из вертикальных полос рыжей (красно-коричневой) краски (рис. 9: 2). В отличие от чаши №1, здесь краска была нанесена тонким слоем.

Вид 2. Изделия из неожелезненных (беложгущихся) глин без видимых примесей — один обломок чаши с двусторонней бесцветной (чуть зеленоватой) глазурью и красновато-коричневой росписью, состоявшей на внутренней поверхности из косой ромбической сетки с мелкой точкой внутри каждого ромба (рис. 8: 3). Однако гораздо важнее остатки росписи внешней стороны этой чаши, состоявшие из небольших кругов, помещавшихся внутри крупных ромбов, намеченных длинными тонкими штрихами. Такая композиция хорошо известна по многочисленным золотоордынским и хорезмским кашинным чашам, украшенным полихромной росписью (Вишневская 1958: рис. 7: 1; Скоробогатова 1983: рис. 1: 3; Федоров-Давыдов 1994: рис. 13; 15; 16; 19: 2; 21: 2; Коваль 2010: ил. 24: 1).

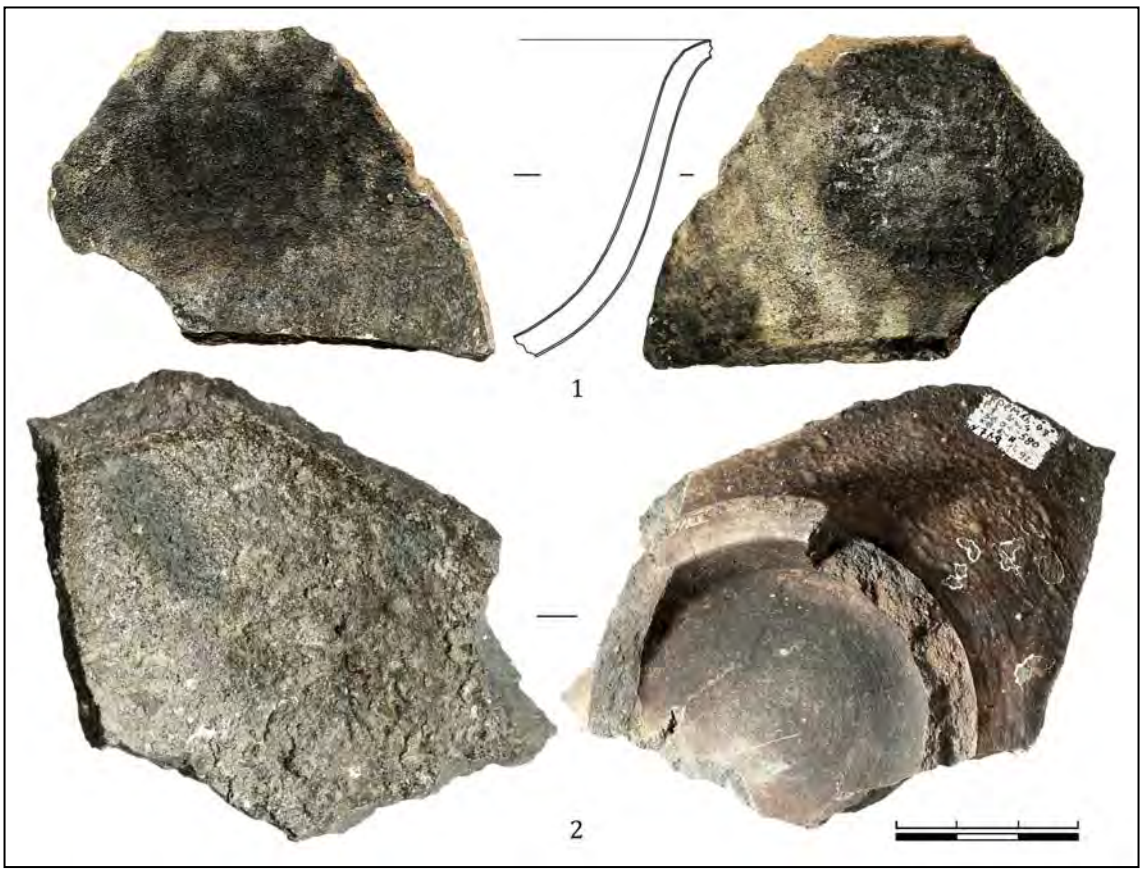

Рис. 8. Обломки чаш, перегоревших в пожаре (фото С.Д. Захарова).

Fig. 8. Fragments of bowls, burnt in the fire (photo by S.D. Zakharov).

Белоглиняная и светлоглиняная (из глины желтого цвета) керамика изготавливалась в монгольскую эпоху в Средней Азии — в Хорезме и Отраре. Вероятно, из одного из этих регионов происходила и та чаша, обломок которой здесь рассмотрен.

Группа 2. Керамика с декором «сграффито»

В этой группе имеются только 2 образца, заметно различавшихся по декору и признакам формовочной массы.

Первый являлся краем чаши, изготовленной из сильноожелезненной (темно-красной) глины с включениями мелкой дресвы (острогугольных частиц породы белого матового цвета). Обе поверхности чаши были покрыты белым ангобом и украшены гравировкой по ангобу («сграффито») в сочетании с «выемчатой техникой» (с помощью которой были оформлены лепестки на внешней поверхности чаши). Глазурь светло-зеленая, с мелким цеком (рис. 9: 1). Находка происходила из слоя первой половины XVI в., т.е. была переотложена.

Для атрибуции этой чаши важен декор ее внешней поверхности (в виде лепестков лотоса с округлыми завершениями), имеющий многочисленные аналогии на поздневизантийских изделиях, принадлежащих к большой группе «Elaborate Incised Ware», связываемой рядом исследователей с константинопольским производством XIV в. (François 2005: fig. 4: 1, 2, 8). Лепестковидный декор чаще всего встречается на колоколовидных чашечках с усеченно-конической нижней частью, появившихся еще в XIII в. на изделиях, относимых к группе «Zeuzippus Ware 1C» (Böhlendorf-Arslan 2004: 352. Taf. 61: 98). «Elaborate Incised Ware» была широко распространена в Северном Причерноморье в XIV в. (Масловский 2006: рис. 35; 36), известна она и на территории Руси (Коваль 2010: рис. 42: 3—8).

Второй образец керамики «сграффито» — мелкий обломок чаши, найденный в слое XIV в. Сосуд был изготовлен из красной глины без видимых примесей, т.е. из формовочной массы, типичной для изделий Византии, сельджукской Малой Азии и ряда районов Причерноморья.

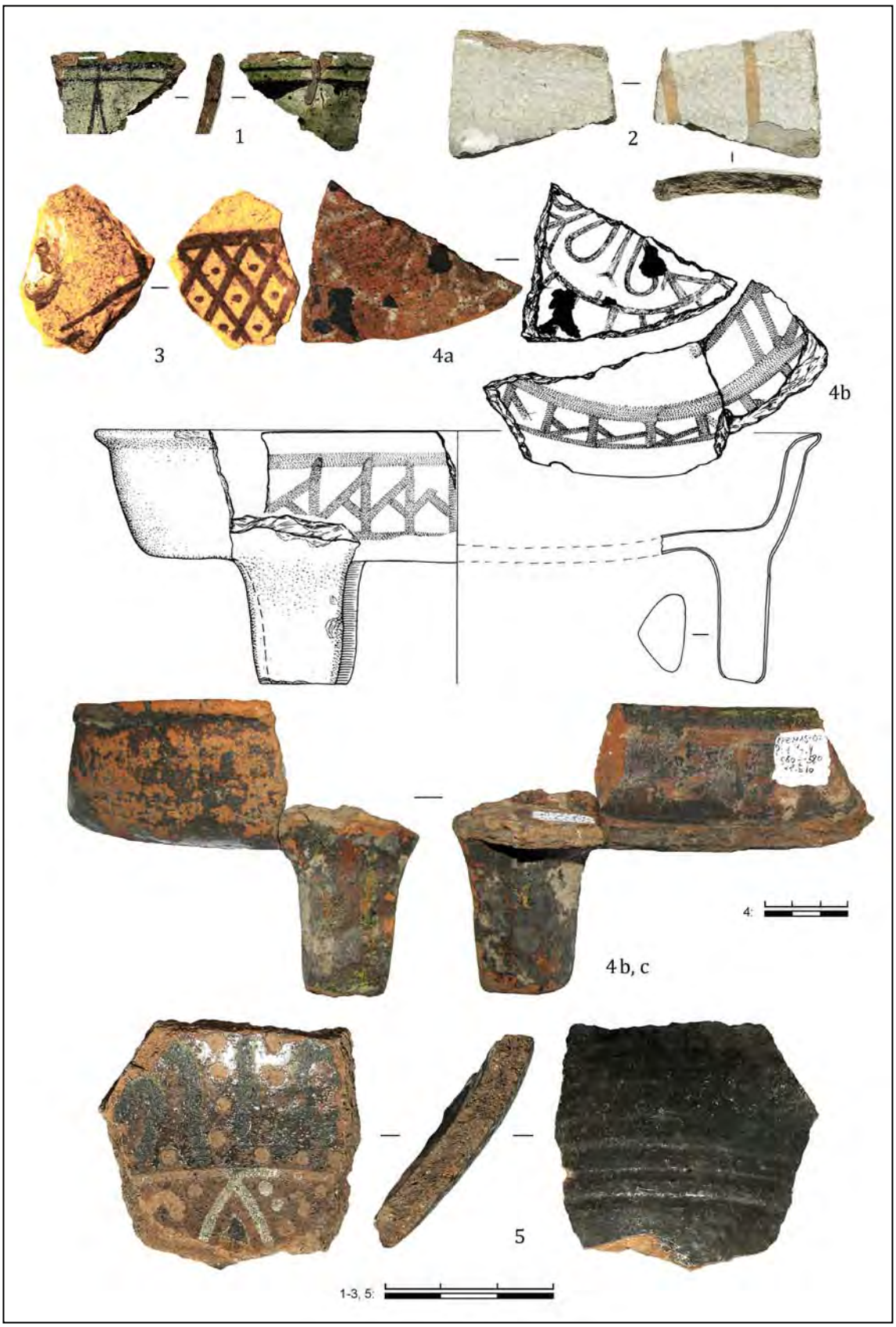

Рис. 9. Полумайолика с декором «сграффито» (1), росписью краской (2, 3) и белым ангобом (4, 5) XIV—XV вв. (фото С.Д. Захарова).

Fig. 9. Semi-majolica with sgraffito decoration (1), painted by pigments (2, 3) and white slip (4, 5). 14—15th cc. (photo by S.D. Zakharov).

Группа 3. Полумайолика с росписью ангобом

К этой группе принадлежали части двух сосудов. Первому принадлежали 3 обломка, найденные в слоях первой и второй половины XV в., в т.ч. в заполнении сооружения Т1-117 и рядом с ним. Сосуд реконструируется в виде низкой (4,5 см) миски усеченно-конической формы, диаметром около 26 см, к дну которой были прикреплены вертикальные ножки подтреугольного сечения высотой 4,5 см. Сохранилась только 1 ножка, но, исходя из размеров сохранившейся части дна, у целого сосуда их не могло быть больше трех. Сосуд был изготовлен из ярко-красной глины с примесью мелкого песка (с зернами размером не более 0,5 мм), прошел полный окислительный обжиг. Весь сосуд, включая ножки, был полностью покрыт темно-зеленой глазурью, которая на внутренней поверхности почти не сохранилась (отслоилась), но благодаря этому стало видно, что его внутренняя поверхность была украшена подглазурной росписью белым ангобом (рис. 9: 4). Рисунок этой росписи может быть реконструирован в виде концентрических окружностей, соединенных радиальными штрихами, внутри которых размещалась розетка с чередующимися овальными лепестками и выходившими из ее центра прямыми линиями. Стенки сосуда также были украшены простым геометрическим рисунком (рис. 9: 4b).

Формовочная масса этого сосуда имеет некоторое сходство с поволжскими изделиями золотоордынской эпохи, однако его форма (плоскодонная миска на трех ножках) не находит никаких аналогий ни в Золотой Орде, ни на Востоке, ни в Византии. Роспись белым ангобом была широко распространена в золотоордынской и причерноморской полумайолике XIV в., однако для нее не характерны примитивные геометризированные схемы. Поэтому приходится исключать восточное или причерноморское происхождение этого сосуда. Зато сосуды на трех ножках известны среди керамики XIV—XV вв., бытовавшей в Германии, Голландии и Фландрии (De Groote 2014: fig. 180, 201—206), там же практиковалось и украшение различных глазурованных сосудов примитивной геометрической или растительно-геометризированной росписью белым ангобом (Mellor 1997: fig. 29, 32; de Groote 2014: fig. 144, 145, 150, 225). Среди красноглиняной (поливной и неполивной) посуды Голландии и Фландрии XIV—XV вв. известны блюда на 3 ножках и другие формы, украшенные простыми геометризированными рисунками, нанесенными белым ангобом, среди которых можно видеть мотивы, очень близкие тем, которые помещены на рассматриваемый сосуд (Janssen, Hijhof 2010: fig. 27: 5, 6; 31; 35; 36). Гораздо более широко известны поздние разновидности треножных сосудов, распространившихся из Германии через Польшу в западнорусские области с XVI в. под названием «рынки». Однако в Германии и Голландии такие сосуды появились с XIV в. (Mellor 1997: 40). Чаще всего изготавливались горшки на 3 ножках, покрытые глазурью только изнутри (англ. «tripod pipkin»), однако известны и такие же сковородки (англ. «tripod skillet») (Janssen, Hijhof 2010: fig. 19, 20). Те и другие предназначались для приготовления или подогрева пищи на открытом огне и снабжались керамическими боковыми втулками, в которые вставлялись деревянные ручки, за которые такие сосуды и держали над огнем (Mellor 1997: fig. 45, 46).

Очень близкие по профилировке «миски» на трех ножках известны и в неполивной керамике Испании эпохи Альмохадов (XIII в.) (Vera Reina, Lopez Torres 2009: 440), но нет никаких данных о том, что подобная посуда покрывалась глазурью или украшалась росписью ангобом. Поэтому на сегодняшнем уровне знаний[5] более вероятным представляется северноевропейское происхождение необычного сосуда с Подола Московского Кремля.

Не менее интересен и загадочен второй обломок мисковидного сосуда с росписью ангобом на внутренней поверхности, происходивший из слоя первой половины XV в. рядом с сооружением Т1-117. Его формовочная масса не отличалась от описанного выше треножного сосуда, но роспись ангобом была гораздо более сложной (рис. 9: 5). Соединение ангоба с основой — очень слабое, многие элементы ангобной росписи отслоились вместе с глазурным покрытием. Кроме того, имелась подглазурная подцветка расплывчатыми пятнами светло-зеленой глазури. Внутренняя поверхность сосуда была покрыта бесцветной (чуть желтоватой) глазурью. Цвет глазури на внешней поверхности установить невоз-

[5] Здесь не рассматриваются сосуды на трех ножках, производившиеся в разных частях мира (в т.ч. и в районах, имевших разнообразные торговые и культурные контакты с центром Восточной Европы — Волжской и Дунайской Болгарии, Иране, Средней Азии и т.п.), но в эпохи, существенно (на 100 и более лет) удаленные от периода XIV—XV вв., поскольку нет никаких оснований для допущения каких-либо реальных связей между этими разновременными изделиями.

можно, поскольку она покрыта пленкой черного органического вещества.

Происхождение этого сосуда пока не может быть достоверно установлено, но он имеет значительное сходство (по фактуре формовочной массы, глазури с пятнистой зеленой подцветкой) с северноевропейскими изделиями. В то же время, найти аналогии ему среди таких изделий пока не удалось.

Китайская керамика (селадоны и фарфор) настолько сильно отличается от остальных импортных сосудов, что требует отдельного рассмотрения.

Селадоны

Семейство *селадонов* обладает единством по формовочной массе светло-серого цвета и глазурному покрытию нежно-зеленого цвета. В отечественной литературе прижилось терминологическое отождествление западноевропейского (с XVII в.) названия такой керамики («селадоны») и одной из самых распространенных в Китае ее разновидностей — «Лунцюань-яо» (продукции местности Лунцюань в провинции Чжэцзян). Поскольку фарфоровидная керамика с зеленоватой глазурью различных оттенков производилась не только в Лунцюане, но и в других районах Китая, такое отождествление весьма условно, и недавно оно было подвергнуто аргументированной критике (Родионова, Френкель 2012: 21, 22). В то же время, в тех случаях, когда проводится специальное исследование конкретных импортов, обнаруживается, что их признаки соответствуют именно Лунцюань-яо (Родионова, Френкель 2012: 17, 18). Получается, что основная масса (если не все) импорта такой керамики на Русь являются все же лунцюаньскими селадонами. Несколько сложнее с атрибуцией селадонов, поступавших в золотоордынские города Поволжья, но и там, судя по известным находкам, абсолютно доминировала именно продукция Лунцюаня.

В этой связи стоит обратить внимание на новую (для российской науки) тенденцию, состоящую в попытках атрибутировать некоторые находки селадонов в качестве продукции мастерских средневековой Кореи (Гаджиев, Лим Джихён 2011: 133, 134; Губайдуллин 2013: 193). В качестве аргументов высказываются соображения о сходстве китайских и корейских селадонов, на основании которых допускается происхождение восточноевропейских находок из разных мест Дальнего Востока (Гаджиев, Лим Джихён 2011: 133), а также присутствие на одном из блюд корейского иероглифа (Губайдуллин 2013: 193). Оба эти наблюдения не могут быть приняты в качестве серьезных аргументов в пользу корейской атрибуции названных находок. При всем сходстве селадонов из разных районов Китая и Кореи, они все же имеют определенные отличия в формах, цвете глазури и основы, декоре, которые позволяют различать продукцию разных центров. Лунцюань, несомненно, был крупнейшим производителем селадонов в юаньскую эпоху, т. е. именно в то время, когда такая керамика проникала на Русь. В то же время государство Корё в период с 1231 по 1258 гг. (до момента подчинения империи Юань) подверглось шести опустошительным нашествиям монголов, серьезно разорившим страну, а в дальнейшем (конец XIII — XIV вв.) отношения с Кореей оставались крайне напряженными и конфликтными. В этих условиях допускать массовое производство корейских селадонов просто невозможно. Поэтому все наиболее известные шедевры корейских селадонов (в т. ч. имеющие сходство с лунцюаньскими) датируются преимущественно XII — первой половиной XIII вв., а не последующим временем (Choi-Bae 1984). Что касается иероглифа на блюде из Болгара, то он может быть как корейским, так и китайским (Губайдуллин 2013: 193), причем китайское его происхождение более вероятно, поскольку по всем своим признакам найденное блюдо (Губайдуллин 2013: рис. 5—7) идентично Лунцюань-яо, тогда как черты сходства с корейскими изделиями не прослеживаются.

Таким образом никаких реальных оснований для допущения импорта в Восточную Европу в конце XIII — XV вв. корейских селадонов не существует, а потому всерьез рассматривать подобные атрибуции не стоит.

На территории Руси селадоны были распространены достаточно широко и известны более чем в 10 городах, однако повсюду они представлены единичными находками. В Москве до 2007 г. таких находок было известно только 21, половина из них — в Кремле (Коваль 2010: 135, 136). Раскопки 2007 г. дали 30 обломков селадоновых блюд и чаш (рис. 10: 1—4), принадлежавших нескольким сосудам, причем большинство из них было сильно измельчено. Удалось установить, что 12 обломков относились к 5 блюдам, что диагностировано в том числе и по склейкам обломков (рис. 10: 2). Однако весьма вероятно, что и среди остальных 18 обломков имеются части тех же самых сосудов. Интересно, что хотя основные признаки найденных обломков соответствовали лунцюаньским се-

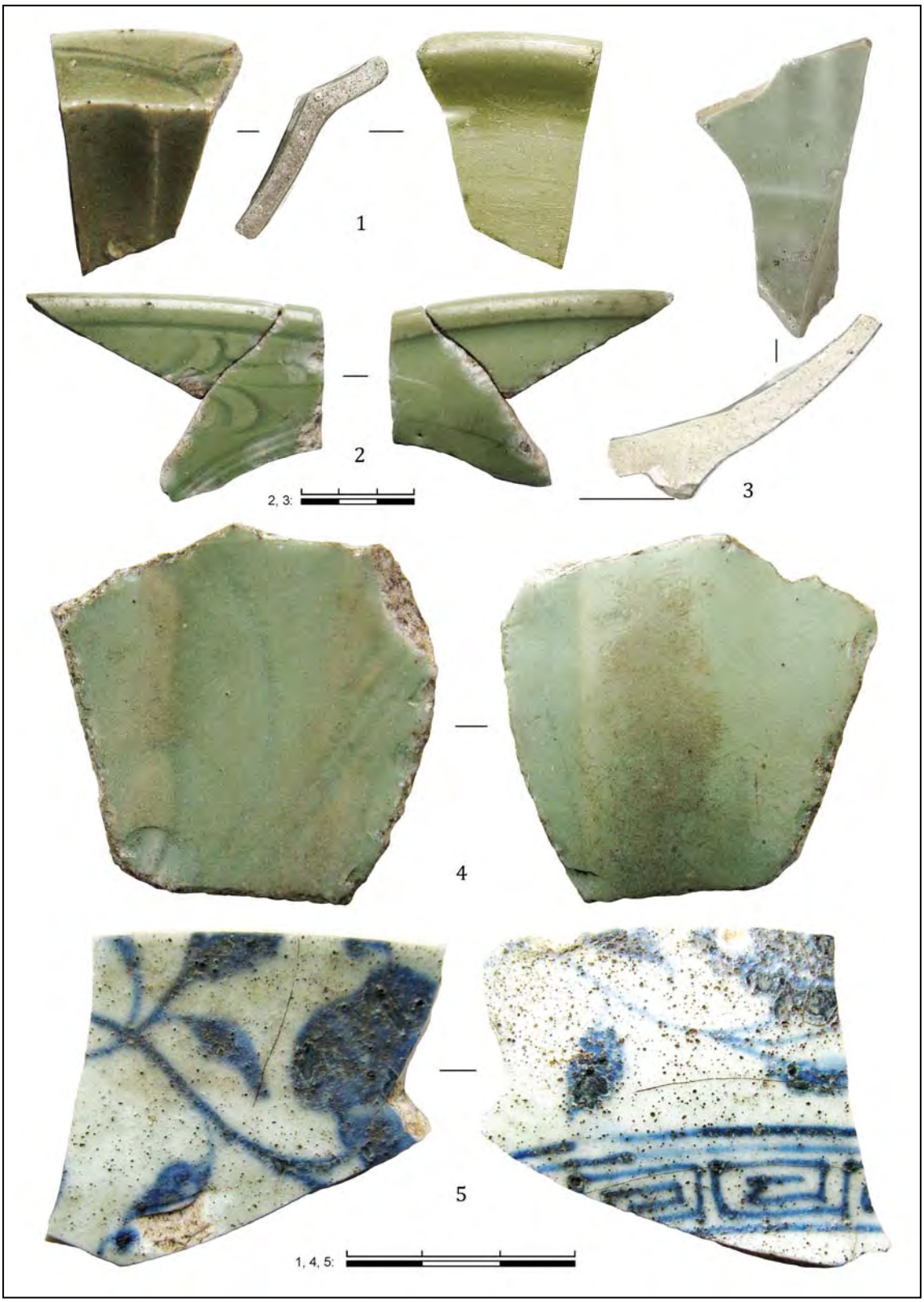

Рис. 10. Китайские селадоны (1—4) и бело-синий фарфор (5) XIV—XV вв. (фото С.Д. Захарова).

Fig. 10. Chinese celadon (1—4) and blue-and-white porcelain (5) of 14th—15th cc. (photo by S.D. Zakharov).

ладонам эпохи Юань (светло-серое тесто, зеленоватый оттенок глазури, гравированный декор), подавляющее большинство находок, происходивших из точно зафиксированных контекстов (10 из 12), было сделано в слоях XVII в., а остальные 2 обломка — в сло-

ях XVI в. Еще 18 находок происходят из контекстов, которые устанавливаются приблизительно в интервале XVII—XVIII вв. Важно заметить также, что на раскопе 2 селадоны не найдены вовсе. Эти наблюдения заставляют предполагать, что все находки с раскопа 1 являются переотложенными, причем попали они сюда в короткий промежуток времени и весьма «кучно». Разумеется, обстоятельства такого перемещения могли быть самыми разными, однако наиболее вероятным представляется привнос порции культурного слоя XIV века (т. е. времени наибольшего распространения селадонов в Восточной Европе), уже содержавшего в себе измельченные обломки нескольких сосудов. Эта порция вполне могла происходить с верхней площадки Кремля или поступить с близлежащей усадьбы. Таким образом может объясняться появление селадонов XIV века в слоях существенно более позднего времени. Менее вероятной (но также допустимой) представляется более поздняя датировка обнаруженных селадонов, поскольку в Минскую эпоху производство этой керамике в Китае еще существовало и целенаправленно копировало ранние (юаньские) образцы.

Фарфор

Китайский **фарфор** представлен в рассматриваемой коллекции 6 находками так называемых «сине-белых» изделий, имевших монохромную роспись синей краской (окисью кобальта) под бесцветной прозрачной глазурью. Такая керамика стала широко производится в Китае в эпоху Мин (1368—1644 гг.), т. е. уже с последней трети XIV в., в последующие столетия (XV—XVII вв.) это была самая популярная в странах Европы и Азии разновидность китайской керамики, вывозившаяся в огромных количествах как по сухопутным путям, так и морем. На территории Руси эта разновидность китайских импортов почти не известна и до недавнего времени была зафиксирована только в Москве, но вне Кремля (Коваль 2010: 136, 137).

Среди новых находок из Кремля один обломок принадлежал чаше с декором, включающим меандр («узор грома») и тонко выписанные растительные мотивы (рис. 10: 5), характерным для раннеминских изделий XV в. (He Li 1996: №395—398). Обломок побывал в пожаре, повредившем глазурное покрытие (глазурь покрылась лопнувшими пузырьками и приобрела несвойственную фарфору матовость). Подобная посуда изготавливалась, прежде всего, в печах Цзиндэчженя (в южнокитайской провинции Цзянси). Находка происходила из слоя XVI в.

Исключительный интерес представляет еще один обломок тонкостенной тарелки с растительным орнаментом, также найденный в слое XVI в., который нес на себе дополнительную надглазурную роспись зеленой прозрачной глазурью (рис. 11: 2). Полихромная роспись с использованием зеленой краски известна на целой серии изделий минского Китая, но они принципиально отличаются от данного образца. Это прекрасно выписанные высокохудожественные произведения, где разноцветные глазури применены для расцвечивания отдельных деталей, причем мастера заранее знали, куда они будут наносить разные краски. На нашем образце картина совершенно иная: если подглазурная роспись кобальтом выполнена изящно, рукой настоящего художника, то зеленая глазурь нанесена грубыми мазками, ее края не совпадают с подглазурным рисунком. Сама раскраска заставляет думать о примитивном желании «разукрасить» монохромный рисунок тарелки. Такие «варварские» попытки «улучшить» полихромией китайские изделия предпринимались в Иране конца XIV—XVII вв., где известны селадоны с надглазурным золочением и полихромными «дополнениями» (Булатов 1979: 261—264)[6]. Вероятно, и рассматриваемая тарелка прошла цикл «улучшения» иранскими мастерами, владевшими навыками нанесения надглазурной росписи (такие навыки были у производителей фаянсов «минаи» и полуфаянсов «ладжвардина»), которые могли еще сохраняться в Иране в XV в.

Три обломка принадлежали тарелкам позднеминской (эпохи Ванли, 1573—1620 гг.) разновидности южнокитайского (в т. ч. цзиндэчженьского) фарфора, широко импортировавшейся в Европу и получившей у антикваров название «Kraak porcelain»[7]. Изделия стиля «Kraak» отличаются беглой, несколь-

[6] Н. М. Булатов полагал, что опубликованный им обломок сосуда с надглазурным декором был изготовлен в Иране из необыкновенно твердого кашина, однако описание образца (его профилировка, цвет глазури) не оставляет сомнений в том, что в действительности речь шла о разновидности китайского селадона, который был «улучшен» росписью золотом и полихромными глазурями.

[7] Краак — голландское слово, которое связывают с названием португальских кораблей (каррака), которыми в XVI в. в Европу доставлялся китайский фарфор. Правда, сами португальцы так свои корабли не называли (Pijl-Ketel 2003: 94).

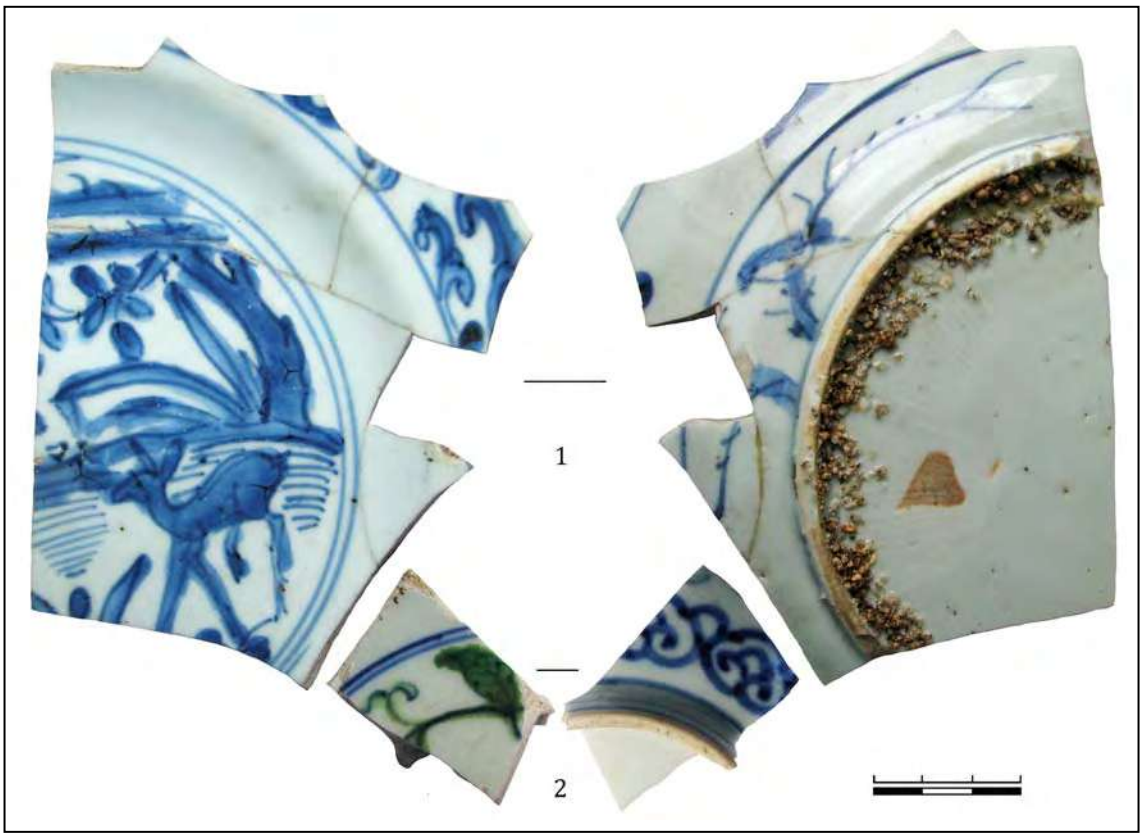

Рис. 11. Китайский сине-белый фарфор. 1 — тарелка стиля «Kraak» (вторая половина XVI — первая половина XVII в.), 2 — обломок тарелки с надглазурной росписью зеленой глазурью (XV—XVI вв.) (фото С.Д. Захарова).

Fig. 11. Chinese blue-and-white porcelain. 1 — "Kraak" porcelain plate (the 2nd half of 16th — 1st half of 17th c.), 2 — fragment of overglazed green-painted plate (15—16th cc.) (photo by S.D. Zakharov).

ко небрежной росписью, включающей центральный мотив с изображениями сосен, ланей, других пейзажных зарисовок, а по бордюру — растительные мотивы или панели с символическими фигурами («горящей жемчужины», свитков, ветки коралла и других подобных символов, популярных в китайской культуре) (Pearce, Martin 2003: 101—104, fig. 7). Из трех обломков, найденных на Подоле Кремля, только один был достаточно крупным (это почти половина тарелки), чтобы провести его надежную атрибуцию (рис. 11: 1). Эта тарелка обладала всеми признаками, характерными для стиля «kraak», в т.ч. технологическими, наблюдаемыми внутри поддона тарелки. К числу последних относятся: зоны, не покрытые глазурью, радиальные линии на поверхности поддона и крупный «песок» (или мелкий «гравий»), налипший на поверхность глазури вдоль кольцевого поддона (на эту подсыпку устанавливались сосуды в ходе второго обжига, которым закреплялась глазурь) (Kuwayama 1997: №24). «Песок» состоял из мелкодробленого шамота, полученного из белого бисквита, т.е., вероятно, его получали, разбивая и размалывая сосуды, которые после первого обжига были расценены в качестве «брака».

Ближайшую аналогию рисунку росписи на дне тарелки из Кремля (с фигурами пасущихся ланей) можно видеть на целых тарелках из собрания музея Садберк-ханым в Стамбуле (Carswell 1995: №63) и коллекции Meiyintang в Цюрихе (Krahl 1994: №720).

Новые импортные керамические материалы, полученные при раскопках на Подоле Московского Кремля, по своему объему в полтора раза превышают массу импортов, известных по прежним исследованиям в Кремле (начиная с середины XIX в.). В результате теперь с территории Кремля стало известно уже почти 300 находок импортной керамики. Разумеется, этот качественно новый источник по внешним торговым и культурным связям средневековой Москвы позволит в дальнейшем пересмотреть многие положения, сформированные в прошлом на базе единичных находок или крайне неполных серий, т.е. на малодостоверной источниковой базе.

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Средняя Азия и Дальний Восток

Central Asia and Far East

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Ishkornaïa : de l'usage de la soude végétale dans les revêtements céramiques (Paykend, oasis de Boukhara, IXe—XIXe siècles)

Keywords: Central Asia, Islamic Period, Timurid Period, Post-Timurid Period, Pottery, Alkaline Glaze

Ключевые слова: Средняя Азия, исламский период, эпоха Тимуридов, пост-Тимуридская эпоха, XVIII—XIX века, керамика, щелочная глазурь

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Ishkornaya: the use of vegetal soda plant in ceramic coverings (Paykend, Bukhara oasis, 9th—19th centuries)

The terms of *ishkornaya* or *ishkor* ware are used in the western archaeological literature. They relate to the alkaline glazes produced from plant ashes. This technique is still used nowadays. The archaeological material from Paykend provides the samples with opaque or transparent alkaline glaze from the 9th—10th century and later, from Timurid and post-Timurid period. The first ones are produced in Paykend's pottery workshop. The following are from the oasis region. They are characterized by the presence of the siliceous slip between the earthenware body and the glaze. This observation remains to be confirmed by laboratory tests.

Г. Гьонова, М. Буке

Ишкорная керамика: применение растительного натрия в покрытии керамических сосудов (Пайкенд, Бухарский оазис, IX—XIX вв.)

Термины «ишкорная» керамика или «ишкор» распространены в западной археологической литературе. Они связаны со щелочной поливой, получаемой из растительной золы. Такая техника применяется и в наши дни. Археологический материал из Пайкенда содержит образцы глухой или прозрачной щелочной поливы как IX—X вв., так и более поздние, относящиеся к тимурдискому и посттимуридскому периоду. Первые производились в гончарной мастерской Пайкенда. Последние происходят из района оазиса. Они характеризуются наличием кремнистого ангоба между глиняным корпусом и поливой. Данное наблюдение нуждается в подтверждении лабораторными тестами.

Le mot *ishkor* signifie «alkali» dans les langues turciques. En Ouzbékistan, il désigne plus particulièrement la soude végétale qui sert à la préparation de la glaçure alcaline. Cette glaçure est alors définie par l'adjectif russifié *ishkornaïa* et désigne, encore actuellement ou dans les études ethnographiques, les glaçures alcalines sodiques (et non potassiques) (Кубель 2014 : 408—409).

■ MAFOUB (Franco-Uzbek Archaeological Mission in the oasis of Bukhara): Louvre, Department of Islamic Art, dir. of archaeological expedition R. Rante — Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbékistan, dir. of archaeological expedition Dj. K. Mirzaakhmedov; in partnership with French Ministry of Foreign Affairs and LA3M (Laboratory of the medieval and modern archeology in the Mediterranean, Aix Marseille Univ, CNRS, Aix-en-Provence, France) ■ MAFOUB (франко-узбекская археологическая экспедиция в Бухарский оазис): Лувр, Отдел исламского искусства, начальник экспедиции Р. Ранте; Институт археологии Академии наук Узбекистана, начальник экспедиции Дж. К. Мирзаахмедов; в партнерстве с Министерством иностранных дел Франции и LA3M (Лабораторией средневековой и современной археологии Средиземноморья, Университет Экс-Марсель Национального центра научных исследований, г. Экс-ан-Прованс, Франция)

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La production potière de la vallée de Fergana est associée à la technique de l'*ishkornaïa*. Pourtant, vers la fin du XIX[e] — début du XX[e] siècle l'utilisation des glaçures alcalines était supplantée par des revêtements plombifères. Ce changement a été conditionné par la difficulté liée à la production de la soude végétale ainsi que l'accessibilité accrue du plomb venant de Russie (Кубель 2014 : 408—409). À Fergana, cette technique se perd entièrement dans les années 1960. Une volonté de sauvegarder le savoir-faire est affichée en 1974 lors d'une conférence d'historiens d'art. Elle est mise en pratique par les potiers soutenus par les pouvoirs locaux (Хакимов 2015). Des ouvrages récents sur la renaissance de l'*ishkornaïa* rendent hommages à ces artisans et à leur production (Хакимов 2013 ; 2015). Conscients de la valeur de cet héritage, les potiers locaux le partagent volontiers avec les touristes curieux. Ainsi, des informations orales, souvent partielles, se retrouvent régulièrement sur les blogs russophones de voyage de l'espace virtuel. Désireux de revenir aux sources, certains potiers de l'oasis de Boukhara tentent eux-aussi à retourner à cette pratique[1].

Dans l'oasis de Boukhara, la plante ramassée est appelée « kirk bugin » ou « qirq bu'gin » qui pourrait être l'*Anabasis eriopoda*. Une étude ouzbek des années soixante, republiée par UNESCO en 2006, dresse la liste des noms des plantes utilisées dans les différents centres. Y figurent des noms comme « choroinak », « sari bu'irak », « sari tirnoq », « chog'on » et « kirchop qoravarak » (Rakhimov 2006 : 49). Dans la région de Fergana, apparaissent aussi des noms vernaculaires comme « gouliob », « goul'ak » et « balikuz ». Dans le Khorezme apparaissent ceux de « kara-varak » et « chogon » (Rakhimov 2006 : 176). Ces noms régionaux ne sont que rarement repris dans la littérature botanique (UNESCO 1960 : 66—68 ; Илиахунова 1993). Le croisement de ces mentions avec nos observations, semble définir des plantes de la famille des Chénopodiacées telles que la *Climacoptera*, l'*Anabasis* ou la *Salsola*. Le traité d'Abu'l-Qasim de 1301, largement évoqué lors de commentaires des analyses de céramiques islamiques de A.-M. Bernsted, évoque l'utilisation de la plante « ushnan » traduit comme *Salsola soda* pour la production de *shakhar* (*qali*) dont la provenance est de Tabriz ou de Bagdad. (Keblow Bernsted 2003 : 36—37 ; Allan 1973).

La cuisson de la soude se fait à l'automne, plusieurs potiers peuvent s'associer et opérer ensemble. En fonction des participants, le ramassage des plantes peut durer de quelques jours à deux semaines. Les végétaux doivent être ni trop verts, ni trop secs afin de permettre une consumation lente. Cette combustion se pratique sur le lieu-même de la cueillette, dans une fosse aménagée d'environ 2 m de diamètre et jusqu'à 1 m de profondeur. La fosse de cuisson est alimentée régulièrement au fur et à mesure de la réduction de la masse végétale. Elle est surveillée afin que les végétaux ne s'enflamment pas. Une partie des cendres formées peut être prélevée pour assurer la continuité du processus. Ainsi, « six remorques » de végétaux suffiraient pour la préparation de 200 kg de cendres (Хакимов 2013 : 102). Les cendres obtenues sont transportées à l'atelier et débarrassées des impuretés. Elles subissent une ou deux cuissons de 1000° à 1200° (d'après les différentes sources), mélangées à du sable blanc ou à du quartz broyé en proportion de 3/1. Cette cuisson se fait dans un espace réservé du four du potier. Un foyer à deux gradins peut être utilisé, le mélange est alors posé dans un récipient en argile au niveau supérieur afin que la masse en fusion soit récupérée plus bas. Si elle est réussie, la pâte vitreuse ainsi obtenue est de couleur verte et brillante (Rakhimov 2006 : 49 ; Элегия n.d.). Ce verre est finement broyé dans une meule en pierre, auparavant manuelle. La poudre est diluée avec de l'eau douce (pluviale, de neige fondue ou de rivière) et l'ajout d'un peu de farine assure sa suspension dans la préparation liquide. L'addition de la farine bouillie avant le broyage (50 gr pour 8 kg de préparation de glaçure sèche) éviterait le craquelage de la glaçure lors de la cuisson (Rakhimov 2009 : 50). La présence d'étain en faible proportion (10%) est évoquée par certains potiers. Il est probable qu'il procure une meilleure résistance à la glaçure. L'émail ainsi obtenu est donc opacifié et blanc après la cuisson. L'adjonction d'oxyde de cuivre lui donne une couleur turquoise, le manganèse le colore en brun, le fer en jaune et le cobalt en bleu. D'après les spécialistes, le cobalt n'est pas utilisé avant le XII[e] siècle pour les couleurs bleues des glaçures alcalines en Asie Centrale. Les proportions variables d'oxyde de cuivre (CuO) et d'oxyde de manganèse (MnO) définissent alors les nuances (Шишкина 1979 ; Henshaw et al. 2004 : 491). Toutefois, G.V. Shishkina donne l'exemple d'une coupe à épigraphie en bleu et décorée de taches vertes sur glaçure opaque. Elle fait partie des ramassages de V.V. Bartol'd à Samarkand en 1904 et serait une imitation des produits importés du IX[e] siècle (Шишкина 1979 : 41). Toujours pour la couleur bleue, la lazurite naturelle d'Afghanis-

[1] Renseignements oraux obtenus auprès des potiers Bahtior Nazirov de Rishtan (vallée de Fergana) et Alisher Narzulaev de Gijduvan (oasis de Boukhara).

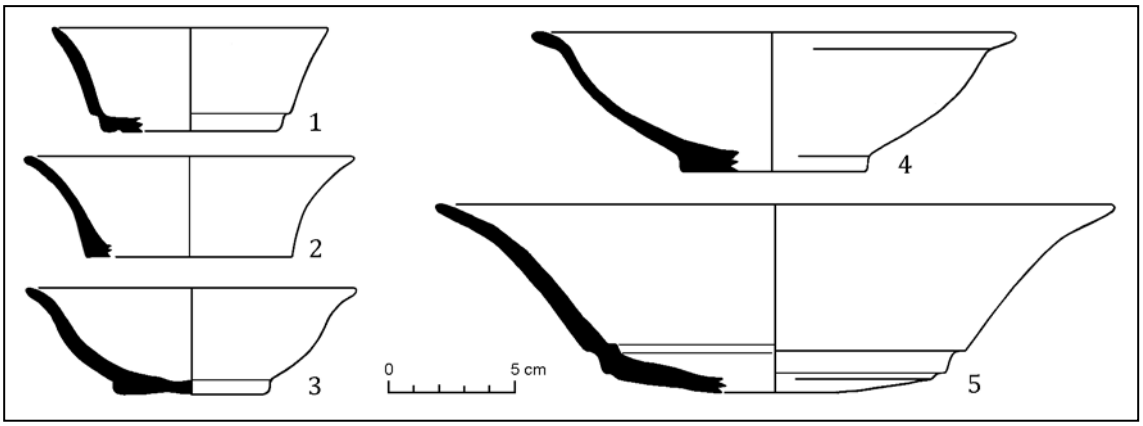

Fig. 1. Biscuits de la production émaillée, quartier de potiers (dessins des auteurs).

Рис. 1. Бисквит (неоглазуренный фарфор), квартал горшечников (рисунки авторов).

tan utilisée avant est aujourd'hui remplacée par du cobalt synthétique[2] (Colomban 2005).

Le terme d'*ishkornaïa* est également adopté par plusieurs auteurs occidentaux lors des descriptions de la céramique archéologique à glaçure alcaline d'Ouzbékistan. Ainsi, certains le destinent à toutes les productions du IX[e] siècle émaillées[3] en blanc opaque ou semi-transparent et décorées souvent en vert, parfois en vert et noir ; le décor de taches et points est parfois spécifié (Siméon 2009 : 93—94 ; Lyonnet 2010 : 69). La définition d'*ishkor ware* est plus largement rattachée aux céramiques à glaçure alcaline de la période médiévale du VIII[e] au début XII[e] siècle comme à Ahsikent, dans la vallée de Fergana. Les auteurs présentent les analyses menées sur des exemples à décor turquoise bleu et violet ou vert et noir, la « glaçure grise » (cf. plus bas) est évoquée pour son absence d'oxyde de cuivre et le taux de soude de plus bas dans sa composition (Henshaw et al. 2004).

Dans son travail fondateur sur la céramique glaçurée de la région de la Sogdiane, G.V. Shishkina détaille plusieurs sous-groupes pour la céramique peinte au cuivre et au manganèse sur glaçure. Le groupe le plus ancien d'Afrasiab (près de Samarkand), à décor de taches vertes posées sur glaçure blanche épaisse et brillante est associé aux premières productions glaçurées en vert du début du IX[e] siècle. Dans cette glaçure opaque, les analyses identifient la présence de plomb (Pb), d'étain (Sn) et de soude (Na) ainsi que l'absence de potasse (K). Dans les deux premiers tiers du IX[e] siècle cette production évolue vers des décors à contour noir-violet remplis de vert, avec des nuances grisées ou violacées de la glaçure blanche. Cet effet enfumé serait dû à une cuisson réductrice qui différencie ces séries du groupe nommé *ishkornaïa* cuit, donc, en atmosphère oxydante. L'*ishkornaïa*, quant à elle, présente des motifs remplis de pointillé dont les couleurs varient du turquoise (exemples d'Afrasiab) au vert émeraude ou vert herbe (exemples de Chach qui combinent les deux couleurs). Ces différences dérivent des ajouts de l'alcalin ou de l'étain dans le colorant qui est l'oxyde de cuivre. La glaçure blanche opaque des plus anciens exemples sogdiens d'*iskkornaïa* est à base sodique, la potasse et le plomb constituent de quelques centièmes à quelques dixièmes de pourcent et l'étain se limite à quelques millièmes. Les analyses spectrales d'un groupe chronologiquement plus large d'*ishkornaïa* démontrent une plus grande variété : les compositions des glaçures sont alcalines, plombo-stannifères ou plombo-stannifèro-alcalines. La plus ancienne *ishkornaïa* d'Afrasiab provient des assemblages toujours avec les formes à glaçure verte mais aussi avec celles à décor de taches vertes sur émail blanc brillant et des fragments à décor en jaune vif, vert (ou vert bleuté) et brun de manganèse (Шишкина 1979 : 42—45). On peut donc conclure que le groupe d'*ishkornaïa* défini par G.V. Shishkina est constitué par de la céramique à décor en vert ou turquoise à motifs remplis de pointillés et cuite en atmosphère oxydante (ou, en tout cas, à fond opacifié qui garde sa blancheur), indifféremment de la composition variable du revêtement vitreux ou d'une limite chronologique stricte de diffusion.

Pour la production de la région de Chach, L.G. Brusenko décrit les revêtements opaques et semi-transparents de couleur gris-blanchâtre ou gris violacé de la première moitié du IX[e] siècle. Leur composition d'après les analyses spectra-

[2] Information orale du potier Bahtior Nazirov de Richtan.

[3] Le terme d'émail est plus approprié pour un revêtement vitreux opaque (Picon et al. 1995 : 41).

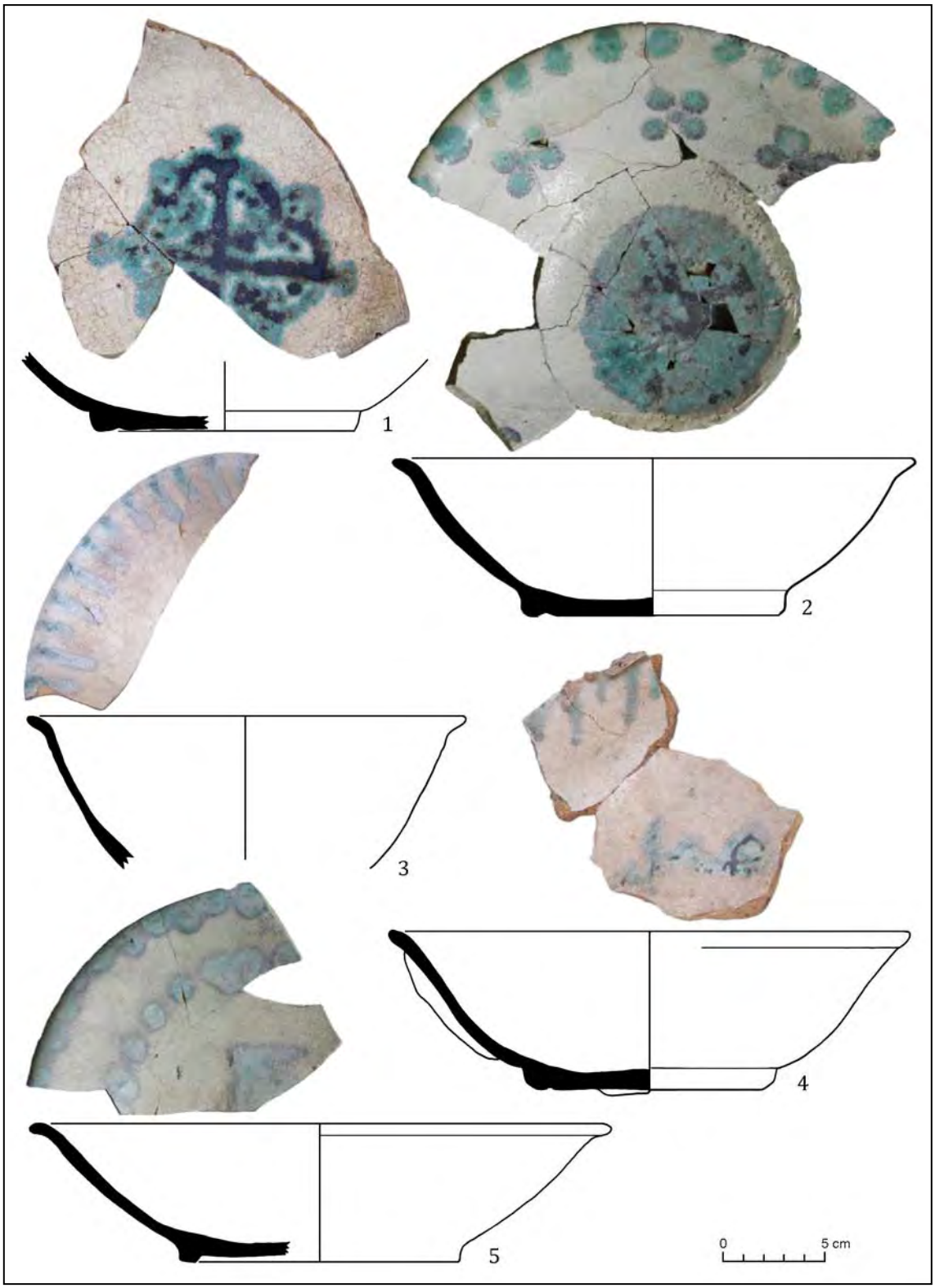

Fig. 2. Production émaillée, quartier de potiers (dessins et photos des auteurs).

Рис. 2. Керамика с непрозрачной поливой из квартала горшечников (рисунки и фото авторов).

les est alcalino-plombo-stannifère. Rarement dépourvu de décor, les formes portent des taches et coulures ou un décor végétal géométrique exécutés en oxydes de cuivre et de manganèse. Les motifs verts de contours remplis de point sont rares et c'est en les évoquant que l'auteur mentionne à peine les glaçures à *ishkor* (Брусенко 1986 : 41).

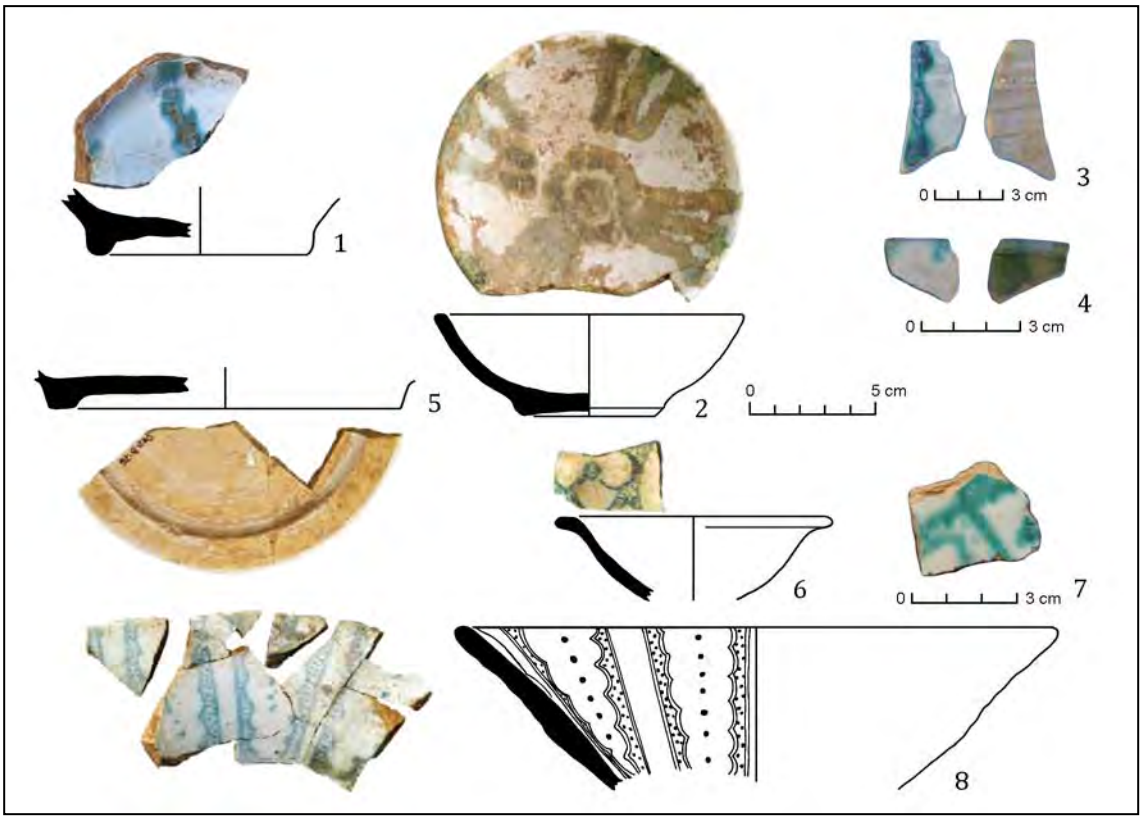

Fig. 3. Formes émaillées, Shahrestan (1, 2, 5—8) et fosses d'abandon ou de pillage du quartier de potiers (3, 4) (dessins et photos des auteurs).

Рис. 3. Формы с непрозрачной поливой из шахристана (1, 2, 5—8) и из ям для добычи строительного материала в квартале горшечников (рисунки и фото авторов).

La publication des recherches archéologiques menées à Paykend (oasis de Boukhara) par l'équipe russo-ouzbek décrit brièvement les catégories de céramique glaçurée. Le nom d'*ishkornaïa* est attribué aux formes à glaçure opaque de couleur blanche, grise ou jaunâtre et décor de taches ou de motifs végétaux ou géométriques en vert bleuté. Cette production est associée à la première moitié du IXe siècle (Мухамеджанов et al. 1988 : 169).

La Mission Archéologique franco-ouzbèke de Boukhara[4] initiait en 2010 la recherche archéologique sur Paykend. La même année, un secteur de fouille a été ouvert le long du canal, sur l'emplacement d'un quartier de potiers fouillé jusqu'à 2015[5]. Un des remblais de ce secteur constitué de près de 400 objets (Nombre Minimum d'Individus) a été publié en illustrant la production de cette céramique à glaçure alcaline (Guionova, Rante 2015). Parmi des formes sans revêtement (50%), le matériel d'enfournement et l'outillage (30%) et les fragments de gros récipients qui ont probablement servis de cales lors de l'enfournement (4%), elle constitue à peine 5% de l'ensemble et 12% supplémentaires reviennent aux biscuits de cette production (fig. 1). Décrite en détail dans la publication citée, il faut rappeler que la quasi-totalité des formes sont des coupes de dimensions variables, à lèvres déversées et fonds-disques soigneusement façonnés et soulignés parfois d'un sillon qui détache faiblement le pied. Plus rarement, la panse est rectiligne, marquée par une carène au-dessus du fond ou par un talon droit. Quelques éléments de petites formes fermées ont été enregistrés.

Il est difficile de déterminer correctement les couleurs de ces vingtaines d'objets altérés et rejetés lors de la cuisson. Les teintes grisâtres de

[4] La MAFOUB est dirigée par R. Rante (Département des Arts de l'Islam, Musée du Louvre) et A. Raimkulov, S. Adilov et D. Mirzaakhmedov (Institut d'Archéologie de Samarkand). L'étude du matériel céramique a été menée sous la responsabilité de G. Guionova (CNRS, Aix Marseille Université, LA3M UMR 7298) de 2010 à 2015.

[5] La fouille de ce secteur a été initiée par J. Thiriot (CNRS, Aix Marseille Université, LA3M UMR 7298), poursuivie depuis 2011 par S. Berthier (CNRS, Aix Marseille Université, LA3M UMR 7298).

l'émail couvrant entièrement les pièces pourront être autant la caractéristique, tant évoquée par les auteurs, de ces premières productions glaçurées que le résultat d'une cuisson défectueuse. Par ailleurs, la nuance grisée d'un émail stannifère pourrait dériver soit d'une oxydation insuffisante du plomb lors de la préparation de l'émail, soit d'un excès de vapeurs organiques dans l'atmosphère de cuisson qui provoque une réduction accidentelle de l'oxyde du plomb (Picon et al. 1995). Ainsi, les teintes grisées de ces premières glaçures pourraient donc être expliquées non pas par la cuisson réductrice mais par le manque de maîtrise de la chaîne opératoire de la préparation du revêtement vitreux lors de la cuisson. De même, le décor intérieur en oxyde de cuivre varie de vert brillant d'apparence transparente aux nuances turquoise bleutées fusionnées dans la masse de l'émail (fig. 2). En périphérie de certains motifs mais aussi dans l'épaisseur d'autres, apparaissent des teintes noires et ternes qui évoquent plutôt une réduction de l'oxyde que des contours tracés au manganèse. À part les taches alignées ou placées en fleurettes et les coulures, des médaillons centraux composés de pois ou de motifs plus complexes, sont peu lisibles à cause de la fusion. Un ou deux éléments épigraphiques, dont le mot « āmal », sont toutefois relevés (fig. 2 : 4 et 5). Il semble qu'un des motifs centraux en forme de croix à bras reliés par des arceaux doubles soit rempli par de points (fig. 2 : 1) à l'instar des productions d'*ishkornaïa* décrites par G.V. Shishkina (Шишкина 1979 : 43).

L'ensemble des études antérieures révèlent une période relativement courte pour cette production qui ne dépasserait pas la fin du IX^e^ siècle. Son caractère paraît encore plus éphémère à Paykend. Le quartier des potiers fouillé n'a pas livré d'autres ensembles de rejets de cette production, quelques rares fragments apparaissent ponctuellement dans les remblais. La présence rarissime de cette catégorie parmi le matériel de consommation des contextes étudiés des IX^e^—X^e^ siècles est encore plus éloquente : elle varie de 0,08 à 1,9 %, c'est-à-dire de 1 objet des 1180 formes estimées dans une fosse et 4 des 4908 ou 5 des 263 objets de deux remblais contemporains (fig. 3). Parmi ces exemples, deux reprennent le décor de taches et coulures décrit pour la production des ateliers (fig. 3 : 1 et 2). Le premier provient d'un remblai constitué au pied de la fortification du Shahrestan I que l'assemblage de mobilier situe vers le X^e^ siècle (Lorain 2010 : 23 ; Guionova 2012 : fig. XVIII). Son émail régulier est beaucoup plus blanc, les coulures sont en vert turquoise. Le revers est entièrement recouvert d'émail et le fond a subi un nettoyage ou un raclage. La forme du talon mieux marqué diverge des exemples façonnés près du canal, l'épaisseur et l'irrégularité de la glaçure opaque de ces derniers ne permettent pas de comparer ce geste technique. Il est donc difficile d'attribuer le fragment du secteur de la fortification à la production de Paykend. Le second, une petite coupe provenant d'une fosse du Shahrestan I, est aussi difficile à rattacher aux ateliers (Dantec 2013 ; Guionova 2014, pl. III/5). Son profil semi-sphérique, sa pâte moins épurée et son pied peu soigné la détache des objets de l'atelier alors que le décor de coulures et pois en est assez proche (fig. 3 : 2). Un autre fond provenant du grand dépotoir fouillé entre des habitats du Shahrestan I (Dantec 2013), porte un revêtement bien blanc mais moins couvrant par endroits, sans décor. Il illustre un façonnage proche de celui des coupes de l'atelier : un raclage détache le talon rectiligne et semble prélever avec le même geste le surplus de l'émail déjà posé (fig. 3 : 5).

Deux petits fragments sortis des fosses formées après l'abandon du quartier potier ont des décors de taches et coulures semblables à ceux rejetés du four (Guionova 2012 : 70). Ils présentent une particularité qui n'apparaît pas pour la fournée ratée : le revers des fragments est recouvert de glaçure transparente posée à même la pâte, de couleur claire brunâtre ou verte (fig. 3 : 3 et 4). Ces exemples viennent à l'appui de l'hypothèse, déjà exprimée, que le four qui a cuit la céramique émaillée a également servi à la cuisson de celle à glaçure verte transparente. Les rebuts de cette catégorie n'ont pas été associés dans le remblai mais la grande quantité de barres de four qui y est enregistrée porte des taches de glaçure verte, parfois brune. La transparence du décor vert de certains objets incite même à imaginer que la glaçure verte a été utilisée pour le décor sur le fond de l'émail blanc.

Les autres exemples du grand dépotoir daté provisoirement du X^e^ siècle ont un décor très différent. Sur le fond assez blanc et opaque, les motifs sont tracés en lignes fines et remplis de pointillé ou bien, laissés en négatif dans un champ semé de points (fig. 3 : 6 à 8). Les nuances de l'oxyde de cuivre varient du vert sombre au turquoise. Un décor très proche a été trouvé sur une coupe hémisphérique provenant d'un puits d'Afrasiab (Shishkina 1979 : pl. 29/3). Le revêtement alcalin combiné au décor à remplissage pointillé (qui imite, à l'unanimité des auteurs, le pointillé des objets métalliques), semble identifier ces exemples comme de l'*ishkornaïa*, définit par G.V. Shishkina.

Aucune des formes cités de Paykend ni des parallèles de la Sogdiane et de Chach évoqués plus haut ne porte d'engobe sous l'émail. Cette possibilité est décrite pour un des groupes de cé-

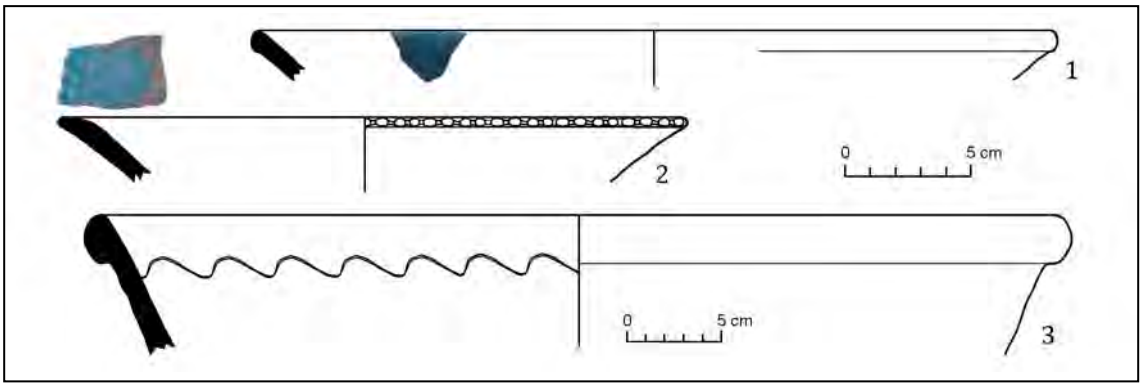

Fig. 4. Formes émaillée en turquoise, fosses d'abandon ou de pillage du Shahrestan (dessins et photos des auteurs).

Рис. 4. Эмалированные бирюзовые образцы из ям для добычи строительного материала в шахристане (рисунки и фото авторов).

ramique à décor vert ou brun sur glaçure opaque, semi-transparente ou transparente de Hulbuk (sud-est du Tadjikistan). Toutefois, l'auteur la distingue du groupe d'*ishkornaïa* qui est sans engobe (Siméon 2009 : 89—90).

La céramique postérieure au XI[e] siècle est très peu présente parmi le matériel étudié des secteurs fouillés par les équipes françaises de la MAFOUB. Des rares contextes, souvent très mélangés appartiennent essentiellement aux couches d'abandon et aux fosses de récupération de matériaux du site. En revanche, la zone du faubourg oriental, fouillée par les archéologues ouzbeks de l'autre côté du canal, a livré des séries plus tardives qui correspondent aux exemples publiés ailleurs pour les XII[e] et XIII[e] siècles comme ceux Wardana ou d'Afrasiab (Society for the Exploration of EurAsia 2010 : pict. 1 à 6 ; Grenet et al. 1992 : 70). Il s'agit principalement de coupes à parois, parfois animées par des repousses, recouverts d'émail turquoise à l'intérieur et sur le haut des faces extérieurs. La partie basse du revers est souvent enduite d'une peinture au pigment rouge à brun, plutôt qu'un engobe car cette couleur est posée à même la pâte sans former une couche. Les exemples documentés de Paykend représentent des coupes ou des bassins tronconiques, certains à bords festonnés ou avec des incisions perceptibles en relief sous l'émail (fig. 4). L'émail, souvent épais, est opaque et posé sur la pâte jaunâtre beige sans intermédiaire d'engobe. Les nuances turquoise de ce revêtement indiquent une base alcaline à la masse vitreuse qui semble être la solution technique prédominante pour la période.

Les revêtements vitreux alcalins se caractérisent par une température de fusion relativement basse et la possibilité d'utiliser une palette de couleur plus riche. La cuisson peut donc être abaissée à 850° environ mais il reste un grand inconvénient qui est l'adhésion de la glaçure sur les pâtes céramique. Pour cette raison, des nombreuses variantes de glaçures plombo-alcalines sont mises au point en Orient et des argiles de synthèse siliceuses y sont associées (Picon et al. 1995). Cette observation est une piste très intéressante pour l'analyse des productions à glaçure alcaline plus tardives diffusées à Paykend. Appuyée par les quelques analyses de laboratoire publiées, la présence de l'alcalin dans les glaçures du matériel examiné est supposée d'après des indices comme la couche de verre tressaillie, son aspect souvent terne et irisé et, surtout, la présence de nuances turquoise dans le décor qui nécessitent, rappelons-le, la réaction de l'oxyde de cuivre avec l'alcalin. Leur point commun, mentionné rarement dans les publications, est la présence d'un engobe blanc siliceux qui fait l'intermédiaire entre des pâtes de lœss ou calcaires et la glaçure. Parfois assez épaisse, cette couche d'engobe garde une structure granuleuse au touché et l'aspect de cristaux de sucre à l'observation à la loupe. Cette particularité est relevée par J.-Cl. Gardin lors de l'étude de la céramique de Balkh afghan, où la présence d'un « engobe blanc, souvent épais et de texture sableuse » et la prédominance des teintes bleues des décors sont les caractéristiques principales de la catégorie « B » de la « céramique polychrome glacée » attribuée à la première décennie du XV[e] siècle (Gardin 1957 : 73, 84). Plus généralement, ce mobilier est rattaché à la période timouride et post-timouride qui voit se développer un artisanat potier véhiculant les motifs chinois (Golombek et al. 1996). La description de l'argile mise en œuvre est souvent ignorée ou caractérisée seulement par sa couleur (Ahsiket, Fergana : Ахрапов 1969 ; Tashkent : Мирзаахмедов 1992), plus rarement décrite comme argileuse (Termez : Houal 1997 ; Houal, Le Maguer 2013 : 138). Pour le matériel similaire du site d'Eski-Turkestan au Kazakhstan, les analyses spectrales et microscopiques ont déter-

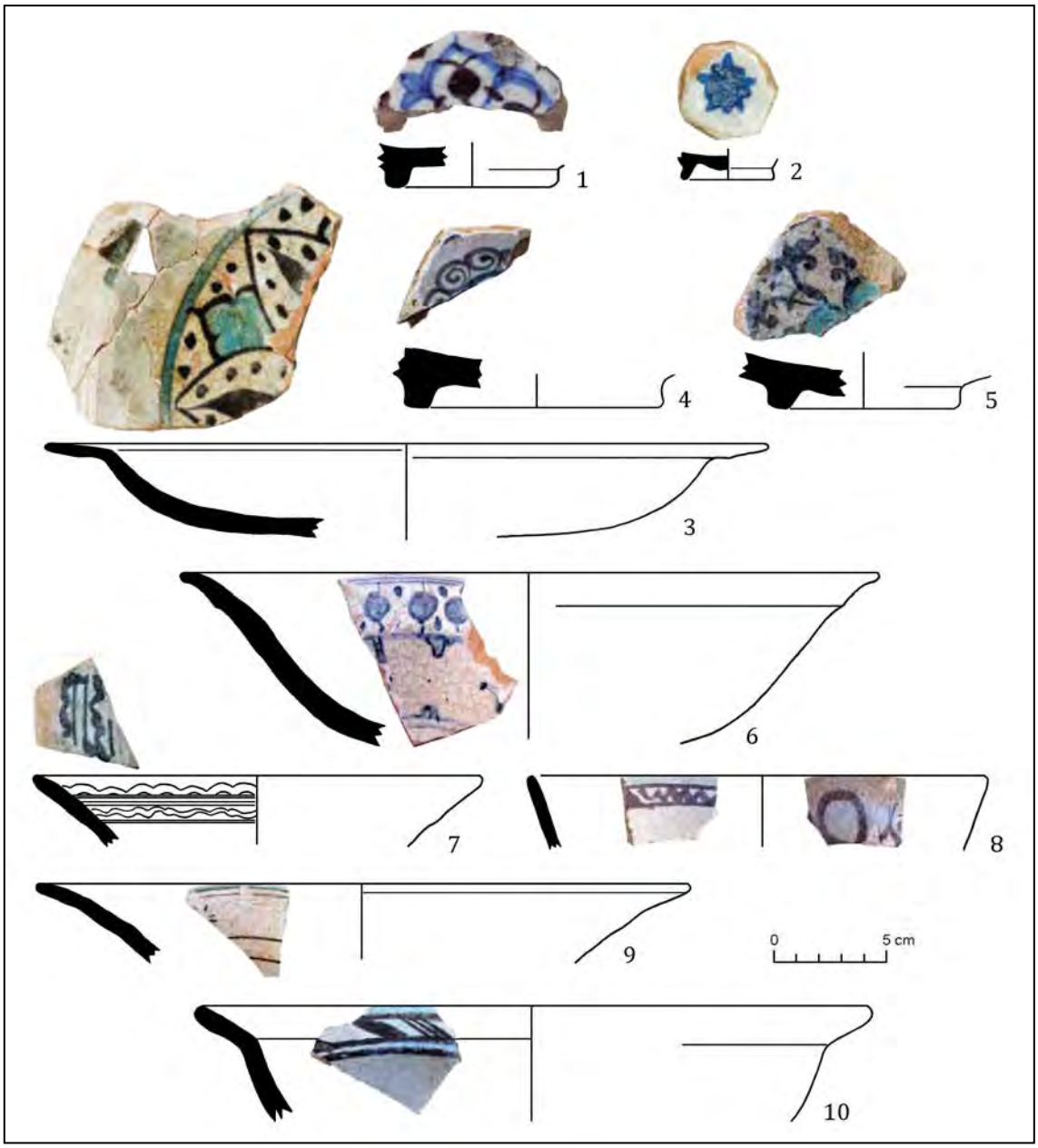

Fig. 5. Formes glaçurées sur engobe de l'époque timouride ou post-timouride (1—6) et des XVIII[e]—XIX[e] siècles (7—10) (dessins et photos des auteurs).

Рис. 5. Формы с глазурью по ангобу: 1—6 — тимуридское или посттимуридское время; 7—10 — XVIII—XIX вв. (рисунки и фото авторов).

miné trois variantes de la composition des glaçures alcalines : sodique, potassique et à proportions égales d'oxydes de sodium et de potassium (Смагулов 1992 : 163). Si les mentions techniques sont rares, une attention particulière est apportée au décor, les motifs et les couleurs. Les compositions polychromes en noir ou brun avec du vert ou bleu ou les monochromes, de bleu ou brun seuls, sont recouvertes de glaçures incolores ou verdâtres. Les datations proposées sont rarement précises et englobent les XV[e]—XVI[e], parfois le XVII[e] siècle.

Les exemples de Paykend ne forment pas de séries, ils représentent les traces de fréquentation occasionnelle du site à l'abandon depuis des siècles. Associés à du mobilier mélangé dans les fosses de récupération de matériaux, ils ne pourraient pas bénéficier d'une datation précise des contextes archéologiques. Des parallèles des décors élaborés en bleu et brun ou turquoise et brun-noir ou bleu seul (fig. 5 : 1 à 6) sont datés de la première décennie du XV[e] siècle à Balkh (Gardin 1957 : pl. XX—XXI). Certaines de ces compositions (fig. 5 : 3—5) trouvent des compa-

raisons parmi les plats, provenant probablement de fours, attribués au XVII[e] ou XVIII[e] siècle à la citadelle de Wardana (Vardanze-tepa), dans l'oasis de Boukhara (Society for the Exploration of EurAsia 2010 : pict. 12—17).

Les séries les plus récentes sont mieux cernées par des études de contextes proches de Samarkand et de Boukhara, datées de la deuxième moitié du XVII[e] au milieu du XIX[e] siècle (Султанова 2012 ; Мирзаахмедов 1981 ; 2014). Pour la région de Boukhara, l'auteur enregistre une prédominance des glaçures verdâtres ou jaunes, avec ou sans engobe, à décors incisés ou peints en brun de manganèse. Ces glaçures semblent avoir une composition plutôt plombifère, d'après les fragments observés parmi le matériel de Paykend. Cette caractéristique est retenue par M.N. Sultanova pour ce type de matériel quasi-absent à Samarkand dans le contexte étudié du troisième quart du XIX[e] siècle. En règle générale, des nuances du cobalt dominantes pour les XV[e] et XVI[e] siècles cèdent la place aux tons jaune-brun pour disparaître dans la deuxième moitié du XVII[e] siècle (Мирзаахмедов 1981 : 110, 112). En revanche, la glaçure transparente, incolore ou bleutée, qui couvre les pièces publiées est déterminée comme alcaline alors que les caractéristiques des engobes sont limitées à leurs couleurs. Cette présence d'alcalin est révélée par les nuances bleuté turquoise associées aux brun-noir ou jaunâtres qui apparaissent dans les parallèles décrits pour Boukhara (Мирзаахмедов, 2014). Ceux de la région de Samarkand sont décorés en bleu ou turquoise, noir, brun sombre ou vert sombre posés toujours sur engobe et glaçure incolore ou bleutée, souvent pauvre, parfois laiteuse. (Султанова 2012 : 87).

Les quelques fragments de Paykend, de bols et de coupes ouvertes, à parois tronconiques rectilignes ou hémisphériques à marlis évasés portent des décors schématiques en brun-noir et turquoise (fig. 5 : 7 à 10). La glaçure est toujours incolore, posée sur engobe blanc d'apparence siliceuse, souvent pauvre et qui assure mal l'adhésion à la pâte calcaire. Le décor prédominant est une combinaison de lignes concentriques, droites ou ondulées et des motifs simples comme le *basma* (ou « petits soleils ») en brun-noir et turquoise.

L'examen à l'œil nu des autres catégories glaçurées des IX[e]—XI[e] siècles semble relever un engobe blanc, de structure fine et crayeuse, probablement calcaire. Ceci concerne les formes à décor d'engobes rouges et noirs rehaussé parfois de taches de glaçure verte ou vert olive ; le *sgraffito* à taches vertes, brunes et jaunes ainsi que les monochromes incisées plus tardives (Guionova 2011, p. 45—46). À l'évidence des analyses, l'*ishkor* (alcali végétal) est présent dans la plupart des revêtements vitreux à partir de la deuxième moitié du VIII[e] siècle — début IX[e] siècle. D'après les quatre groupes de glaçure déterminés par G. V. Shishkina, un seul représente un aspect transparent et une composition plombifère ou plombo-alcaline. Dans les trois autres, l'alcalin est présent seul (glaçures transparentes ou semi-opaques) ou en combinaison avec du plomb et de l'étain (glaçures opaques ou transparentes/semi-opaques). Malheureusement, les nombreuses analyses menées ne concernent que les pâtes et les glaçures.

Les catégories monochromes turquoise des XII[e]—XIII[e] siècles ne semblent pas porter un engobe sous le revêtement épais, opaque et irisé. En revanche, la céramique glaçurée à décor en bleu, turquoise et brun-noir de l'époque timouride et poste-timouride semble toujours associer l'engobe blanc de structure siliceuse au revêtement transparent à dominante alcaline. Par ailleurs, cette observation est soutenue par les recherches ethnographiques qui précisent que la composition de l'engobe associé aux glaçures alcalines est enrichie en silice (60 à 70%). Cette combinaison exigerait une température plus élevée : 980—1000°C (Rakhimov 2006: 41—42, 50). Si le constat de la meilleure adhésion des glaçures alcalines sur des pâtes siliceuses artificielles a imposé cette association plus au sud comme en Iran ou en Syrie, elle ne semble pas mise en œuvre en Ouzbékistan, ou au moins, pas dans la zone de l'oasis de Boukhara. En revanche, elle a été adaptée aux techniques et matériaux de production potière locale en associant les pâtes argileuses aux glaçures alcalines par l'intermédiaire d'un engobe siliceux. Cette hypothèse reste à confirmer par des analyses faites non seulement sur les pâtes et les glaçures mais également sur les engobes.

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Поливная керамика Узбекистана: этапы развития

Keywords: Uzbekistan, Afrasiab, Timurids, Late Medieval Uzbek Khanates, ceramic vessels, potash, Qashan, 'chinni' ceramics, decoration, coloring

Ключевые слова: Узбекистан, Афрасиаб, Тимуриды, позднесредневековые узбекские ханства, посудная керамика, поташ, кашин, чинни, декор, колорит

E. F. Gyul

Glazed Ceramics of Uzbekistan: Stages of Development

The article offers an analysis of main stages in development of glazed ceramics of Uzbekistan: Samanid, Karakhanid and Timurid periods, the period of the late medieval Uzbek Khanates and the modern period. The author characterizes local ceramic schools and centers and reveals traditional elements in development of pottery. She discusses reasons behind the spread of glazed ceramics during the first centuries of Islam. Its further specific development is explained within the context of social-historical development of the region.

The ceramic industry of Uzbekistan is shown as a vibrant and dynamic process, which has maintained sustainable archetypical features through time. These include: conventional pattern, contrast colors, basic repertory of decoration: floral motifs, stylized images of animals and birds, simplistic geometric ornamentation.

Э. Ф. Гюль

Поливная керамика Узбекистана: этапы развития

В статье предлагается анализ основных этапов развития поливной керамики Узбекистана — саманидской, караханидской, тимуридской, периода позднесредневековых ханств и современного периода. Дана характеристика локальных керамических школ и центров, выявлены черты преемственности в развитии гончарства. Обосновываются причины, которые привели к распространению поливной керамики в период первых веков ислама. Специфика ее последующего развития объясняется в связи с контекстом общественно-исторического развития региона.

Гончарство Узбекистана представлено как живой, динамичный процесс, в котором сохраняются устойчивые архетипические черты, передающиеся из одного периода в другой. К ним относятся: условный рисунок, контрастный колорит, базовый репертуар декора — цветочные мотивы, стилизованные изображения животных и птиц, несложный геометрический орнамент.

Узбекистан — страна, где гончарство занимает важнейшее место в развитии традиционного и современного искусства. Возникнув еще в эпоху неолита, местное производство керамической посуды, а затем и архитектурных изразцов, прошло несколько этапов развития. Своеобразие каждого из них определялось историко-культурным контекстом своей эпохи. Как результат, керамика служит одним из самых выразительных материалов для разработки вопросов периодизации истории Средней Азии.

Поливная посуда на территории современного Узбекистана появляется лишь с середины VIII — начала IX в. (Ташходжаев 1967; Беленицкий и др. 1973: 275). Некоторые исследователи фиксируют единичные образцы с кушанского времени (I—III вв. н. э.), однако приведенные доводы трудно считать убедительными (Сайко 1963: 10). В любом случае,

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массовое распространение этой технологии начинается лишь после завоевания среднеазиатского региона арабами.

Столь позднее появление технологии нанесения глазури инициирует вопрос — почему она не применялась ранее? Глазурованные изразцы, столовая посуда и пластика малых форм были известны еще в древнем Египте и Месопотамии; несмотря на наличие культурных связей с этими регионами, исторические области на территории современного Узбекистана (Бактрия, Согд, Хорезм) не дают нам устойчивых образцов поливных изделий. Очевидно, причины этой ситуации кроются в том, что в доисламский период не было необходимости в этом виде продукции. Местная знать пользовалась посудой из драгоценных металлов; менее зажиточные слои населения для хозяйственных нужд использовали ангобированную лощеную керамику, в том числе лепную, посуду с резным, штампованным, налепным декором. Существовала также нарядная расписная (неглазурованная) керамика.

На стенных росписях раннесредневековых памятников, изображающих пиршества знати, мы можем видеть разнообразнейшие наборы золотых и серебряных кубков и чаш в руках участников застолья (к примеру, Балалыктепа, V—VI вв., Тохаристан); посуда — согдийского или северно-тохаристанского производства (Альбаум 1960: 178—180). О широком хождении серебряной посуды в Согде, а также Иране пишет Б. И. Маршак (Маршак 1972).

Завоевав Среднюю Азию, арабские кочевники-бедуины столкнулись с высокоразвитой культурой согдийских, бактрийско-тохаристанских и хорезмских городов, длительное время аккумулировавших в себе богатства, получаемые благодаря посреднической торговле на Великом шелковом пути. Противостояние арабов местным порядкам проявилось, в том числе, в запретах на ношение шелковой одежды, еду и питье из золотой и серебряной посуды. В хадисах указывается, что «Посланник Аллаха (мир ему и благословение Аллаха) запретил нам есть и пить из золотой или серебряной посуды, также он запретил носить золото и шёлк и сидеть на чём-либо из шёлка» (аль-Бухари, имам Муслим, Термизи, Насаи, Абу Давуд и Ахмад). Эти запреты объяснялись религиозными деятелями борьбой с расточительством и тщеславием, объяснимой с точки зрения политики эгалитаризма. Другая причина могла крыться в конфликте между аскетичным уровнем жизни арабов и теми высокими стандартами рафинированной городской культуры, которые существовали на завоеванных ими территориях.

В ситуации запрета на посуду из драгоценных металлов возникает необходимость в столовой утвари, которая была бы относительно гигиенична и нарядна. Как результат, ввозится, а затем и налаживается производство собственной поливной керамики, ставшее, по сути дела, выходом из сложившихся обстоятельств. Глазурь, закупоривая поры глиняного черепка, препятствовала развитию в нем болезнетворной флоры, а ее блеск, как и подглазурная роспись, превращали посуду в подлинное произведение искусства. В дальнейшем поливная керамика эволюционирует, каждый раз воплощая в себе самые характерные черты той или иной эпохи. Запреты первых веков ислама продержались относительно недолго: уже с XI в., при новых тюркских династиях (Караханиды, Сельджукиды, Газневиды), шелк и столовая утварь из серебра постепенно возвращаются в обиход, однако глазурованная керамика уже прочно заняла свои позиции в ремесленной среде и жизни населения.

В Средней Азии использовались преимущественно щелочная (поташная) и свинцовая (окись свинца) глазури. Свинцовая отличалась блеском и прозрачностью, однако, при всех визуальных достоинствах, она, как любое свинцовое соединение, обладала токсичностью, а также была подвержена цеку — сетке мелких трещин. Что касается щелочной глазури, именуемой *ишкор* (поташ), ее состав мог варьироваться за счет разнообразных добавок. Чаще встречается щелочно-свинцово-оловянная глазурь, получаемая при добавлении к поташу окислов металлов (свинца, меди, железа и проч.).

Сам *ишкор* был весьма трудоемким в получении, но экологичным материалом, добываемым из золы растений, содержащей соли калия. Осенью, до сезона дождей, гончары выходили в степь собирать растения, растущие исключительно на солончаковых почвах и богатые поташем. Одно из самых известных — *киркбугин* (узб., дословный перевод — сорокасуставный; тадж. вариант — *гуляк*, т. е. цветочек; ботаническое название: ежовник шерстистоногий, лат.: *Anabasis eriopoda*). Огромные снопы *киркбугина* сжигали тут же, в полях. Полученный продукт в виде спекшихся пористых комков сгоревшего растения был богат поташем. Следующий этап обработки — его смешивание с кварцевым песком (*акташ*), смалывание, очищение и фриттование уже в условиях мастерской, в печи, при средней температуре 1000 градусов. В ито-

Рис. 1. Блюдо. Афрасиаб, X — первая половина XI вв.

Fig. 1. Dish. Afrasiab, 10th — first half of 11th c.

ге получалась тягучая масса, при застывании напоминающая по цвету и виду куски оплавленного бутылочного стекла; это и есть *ишкор*. При необходимости глазурования посуды нужный объем *ишкора* откалывают, смалывают на жерновах в порошок, добавляя воду; ныне мастера подсыпают также муку. После повторного помола глазурь, принявшая консистенцию и вид жидкой сметаны, готова к употреблению. Ловкими движениями гончар в буквальном смысле обливает свое изделие глазурью (поливная керамика), откладывает его на просушку, и далее — в печь. После обжига краски росписи обретают свой истинный цвет, а глазурь — прозрачность.

В развитии поливной керамики Узбекстана можно выделить три основных, сменяющих друг друга периода: афрасиабская керамика (саманидского и карахандского типа, IX — нач. XIII вв.), тимуридская керамика (конец XIV—XV вв.), и, наконец, керамика позднесредневековых ханств, представленная тремя школами: бухаро-самаркандской, хивинской, ферганской (XIX — нач. XX вв.).

Керамика IX — нач. XIII вв. — яркое, самобытное явление, в котором предшествующий опыт декоративного оформления сочетался с новаторскими технологическими и художественными чертами. Еще при Саманидах (875—999 гг.) выделяется несколько центров гончарного производства — Афрасиаб (древнее городище Самарканда, пришедшее в упадок в годы монгольских завоеваний и уже не восстановившееся в своих границах), Мерв, Бухара, Чач (Бинкет), города Ферганской долины, а также иранский Нишапур. Общепризнанное значение Афрасиаба позволяет с определенной долей условности классифицировать продукцию этого времени как керамику афрасиабского типа. Эволюция ее декора дает возможность говорить как минимум о двух периодах, каждый из которых представлен уникальными по художественным качествам образцами посуды — саманидском и караханидском.

Самые яркие образцы саманидского времени (IX—X вв.) — это посуда с эпиграфическим декором (арабская каллиграфия), типичный образец мусульманского искусства. Эти изделия демонстрируют экспансию новой культуры и новых эстетических идеалов на завоеванных арабами территориях. Классическое мусульманское искусство еще лишь определяло свой профиль, но арабская каллиграфия уже заявила свои права на роль важнейшего символа в новом формируемом художественном пространстве.

Широкое использование надписей стало важным шагом на пути сложения нового стиля искусства мусульманского Востока. Их популярность была связана с культом Корана, и, соответственно, с сакральным характером Слова и письма, его равноценностью иконным изображениям в язычестве и христианстве (Golombek, Wilber 1988: 56); письмо имело «священный характер, воплощая красоту божества и его творения» (Шукуров 1989: 22). Содержание надписей отвечало требованиям времени, когда ислам завоевывал культурное пространство, предлагая своим адептам коранические постулаты и вызывая их расположение мудрыми нравоучениями и благопожелательными высказываниями.

Если в архитектурном декоре преобладали цитаты из Корана, упоминания Аллаха и имени пророка Мухаммеда (мечети), поэтические строки (мавзолеи), фразы, выражающие государственные идеи (дворцы), то надписи на столовой посуде — это в первую очередь благопожелания и афоризмы, в том числе хадисы, освященные традицией высказывания пророка Мухаммеда, играющие роль нравоучительных сентенций. Так, к числу благопожеланий относятся надписи *барака* (благословение), *ал-йумн* (благополучие), *ал-бирр* (доброта, любовь, праведность), либо незамысловатое «Ешь (пей) на здоровье!». Популярны выражения, в которых отражались духовные ценности исламской культуры: «Щедрость — свойство праведников», «Терпение — ключ радости», «Жадность — проявление бедности», «Ал-мулк» — власть (принадлежит Аллаху), «*Тукфа*» (сокращение сентенции «уповай на Аллаха, и будешь

Рис. 2. Блюдо. Афрасиаб, конец X — начало XI в.

Fig. 2. Dish. Afrasiab, late 10th — early 11th c.

вознагражден»: Беленицкий и др. 1973: 279), «Скромность — ветвь веры. Благословение владельцу сего» (Культура и искусство 1991: 123—131).

Посуда с эпиграфикой поражает в первую очередь высочайшей культурой подачи графического декора. Используя выразительные особенности арабского шрифта, мастера создавали подлинные шедевры художественного гения. Чаще всего встречаются белоангобные, имитирующие фарфор, красноангобные, а также с темно-коричневым ангобом *ляганы* (крупные плоские тарелки) с круговыми надписями по внешнему краю, либо лаконичными фразами по центру блюда. Надпись выполнялась темно-коричневой, почти черной, краской по белому фону, либо белой краской при красном и темном фоне. Художественный эффект строится на контрастном сочетании фона и самой надписи, лаконизме и четкости шрифта, выверенном ритме его горизонтальных и вертикальный линий, радиально разбегающихся стройных алифах, приковывающих внимание смотрящего. Чем более активен в композиции фон, тем более изысканна сама надпись, превращенная в изящный декоративный акцент.

Самый распространенный почерк — *куфи*, от строгого до цветущего. Изысканная линия арабской вязи, с регулируемой силой нажима кисти, то утолщающаяся, то сходящая на нет, чаще всего выдает профессиональную, уверенную, хорошо поставленную руку. Возможно, некоторые образцы выполнялись приезжими мастерами, хорошо владеющими арабской каллиграфией.

Керамику с эпиграфическим декором С. Ильясова связывает с понятием «общеимперского стиля»; центром его распространения она считает Самарканд (Ильясова 2008: 9). Однако данное определение вряд ли уместно, хотя бы потому, что «империя», т. е. Арабский халифат, уже не существовала на карте мира. Логичнее назвать керамику этой группы «халифатской» — несмотря на распад самого Халифата, арабская каллиграфия, как и новая религия ислам, уверенно утвердилась в культурном пространстве и искусстве завоеванных арабами стран. Аналогичная белоангобная посуда посуда выполнялась и в соседнем Нишапуре (Хорасан), территориально входившем в то время в состав государства Саманидов, и в этой связи вопросы атрибуции бывают затруднены.

Известно, что в художественной культуре ислама надписи не всегда были рассчитаны на прочтение, столь же были распространены и нечитаемые надписи. Практика трансформации надписей в орнамент, нечитаемые символы, обретавшие не информативный, а символический характер, также появляется в домонгольский период. Такая декоративная эпиграфика, с продуманной художественной подачей, скорее, взывала к любованию изысканностью линий, к их долгому и внимательному рассматриванию, узнаванию, выступала в роли маркера, указующего на религиозный характер художественного оформления в целом. При этом псевдонадпись нисколько не теряла в своем содержании, наполнялась новыми смыслами, в зависимости от духовной зрелости воспринимающего ее человека. Если читаемая надпись была рассчитана на человека, как минимум, владеющего арабским языком, то нечитаемая — на любого, воспитанного в традициях исламской культуры.

Декоративная эпиграфика стала типична для более поздней керамики Афрасиаба. Необязательность прочтения надписи давала простор орнаменталистам для составления буквенных узоров, а также открывала возможность использования эпиграфического декора для широкого круга народных мастеров, не владеющих арабским языком.

С превращением надписи в нечитаемый узор постепенно меняется и ее стилистика: буквы теряют изящество и изысканность линий, общий рисунок грубеет. Однако такая «народная» интерпретация, весьма самобытная, предстает не менее значимым художественным явлением, свидетельствующим

о творческом подходе местных гончаров, их умении адаптировать привнесенные нормы под местные возможности и эстетические приоритеты.

В целом эпиграфика на керамике Мавераннахра IX—X вв., отразившая вовлечение художественной культуры региона в новый, исламский контекст, стала ярким художественным феноменом. С начала XI в. эпиграфический декор все более упрощается и постепенно (к концу века) выходит из творческой практики гончаров, уступая место несложным, подчас примитивным орнаментальным и изобразительным композициям.

Одновременно с адаптацией арабской каллиграфии в афрасиабской керамике сохраняется старый согдийский декор; не случайно еще первые исследователи предлагали именовать ее «согдийской» (Денике 1931: 57). Сохранение мотивов, типичных для раннесредневековой согдийской керамики, отражает специфику художественного процесса: искусство исламского периода формировалось на базе новой, привнесенной эстетики и доисламских художественных образов и приемов. К типично согдийским узорам относятся медальоны в кругу перлов с изображенными на их фоне птицами. Такой узор, правда, с гораздо более широким репертуаром животных образов (кони, львы, бараны, ибисы, кабаны, павлины, гуси и проч.), был широко представлен в прикладном искусстве раннесредневекового Согда (шелковые самиты, ковры, расписная керамика). Эти животные относились к культовым зороастрийским персонажам и соотносились с тем или иным персонажем авестийского пантеона (Альбаум 1975: 104). В исламский период из всего зороастрйского бестиария остается лишь птица, как вполне вписывающаяся в новый культурный контекст, да и та максимально стилизуется по рисунку, в то время как перлы превращаются в цепочку мелких жемчужин. Такие медальоны с птицами располагались в центре блюда (один или три). В образцах XI в. от птиц остаются лишь схематичные изображения головок по борту блюда.

Таким образом, новая, исламская, эстетика на определенный период объединила согдийские медальоны с зороастрийскими зооморфным образами и арабские каллиграфические надписи. Такого рода декор выглядит как встреча и союз двух эпох, интереснейший синтез доисламских и исламских приемов декоративного оформления.

Еще одним наследием предшествующего раннесредневекового времени стали животные образы уже без «согдийского» круга пер-

Рис. 3. Блюдо. Афрасиаб, конец X — начало XI в.

Fig. 3. Dish. Afrasiab, late 10th — early 11th c.

лов, типичные как для Афрасиаба, так и для Чача и Ферганы. Это полнофигурные изображения тигров, гепардов, зайцев, архаров, коней, рыб, птиц (фазан, петух, голубь) (X — перв. пол XI вв.), в духе экспрессивного реализма, сохранялись в искусстве первых веков ислама благодаря тюркскому присутствию. Но и они под влиянием исламской эстетики приобретают все большую условность рисунка, а также подвергаются флоризации — превращению в растительный декор. Примеры таких трансформаций, когда птица становится бутоном или парными завитками, убедительно приводит Л. И. Ремпель (Ремпель 1978: 216).

В тохаристанской и афрасиабской керамике нередко встречаются и изображения человека: показательна в этом плане чаша из Шуробкургана (IX в.), в углублении которой, на сеточном фоне, изображен сидящий юноша в кафтане, запахнутом слева направо (Культура… 1991: 106), женские образы на афрасиабских фрагментах X в. (Культура… 1991: 125). Такие примеры дают возможность акцентировать проблему изобразительности в искусстве ислама и заметить, что образы людей и иных живых существ, не служивших объектами поклонения, были обычны на памятниках, не связанных с культом.

С приходом к власти Караханидов (999 г.) происходит дальнейшая эволюция керамического декора: постепенно в нем преобладают разнообразные геометрические композиции так называемого коврового стиля, в сочетании с простейшими пальметтками, известны-

Рис. 4. Блюдо. Чач, X — первая половина XI вв.

Fig. 4. Dish. Chach, 10th — first half of 11th c.

ми еще по памятникам искусства ранних кочевников (Пазырык; см. Руденко 1952: 149). Этот более пестрый стиль орнаментации исследователи связывают с этническими процессами в обществе — очередной волной тюркизации Мавераннахра (Беленицкий и др. 1973: 282). Эпиграфика все чаще трансформируется в орнамент, свидетельствуя о том, что не всем местным мастерам был доступен арабский шрифт; он воспринимался лишь как важный символ культуры, желательный для воспроизводства (Культура… 1991: 142).

К XII—XIII вв. относятся также попытки изготовления дорогой люстровой керамики (Мерв, Самарканд, Хорезм), отличавшейся специфическим желтовато-золотистым колоритом и перламутровым отблеском, получавшимся в результате нанесения на роспись металлических пигментов — солей меди, серебра, золота и др. Лучшие люстровые изделия, с сюжетными росписями, производились в Иране, где, собственно, и появилась эта технология. Мавераннахр так и не смог составить конкуренцию Ирану в этом виде керамики.

В целом керамика IX — нач. XIII вв. дает возможность проследить динамику декора: преемственность согдийских элементов (стилизованные головки птиц в кругах-медальонах, широкий круг животных образов), выработка собственно исламских приемов оформления (каллиграфия), и, наконец, сложение принципов декоративного оформления («ковровый орнамент»), характерных уже для тюрко-исламского искусства. Этот яркий период отразил сложение в искусстве Средней Азии новых принципов художественного оформления, с одной стороны, все еще сохраняющих образы и приемы предшествующего времени, с другой — опирающихся на новые, привнесенные исламом, эстетические представления.

Монгольские завоевания вызвали упадок во всех сферах общественной жизни, но вскоре города Мавераннахра вновь оживают. Следующий период расцвета гончарного искусства связан с эпохой Тимуридов (конец XIV—XV вв.). Крупнейшим центром керамического производства вновь стал Самарканд, столица империи. По-прежнему сохранялась видовая типология керамического производства, представленная посудой хозяйственного (хумы, тагора, кувшины, чайники, котлы) и столового (пиалы, коса, ляганы, тарелки) назначения, открытой и закрытой форм, но меняется материал, колорит и стиль оформления. Огромную роль во всех этих изменениях сыграла необычайная популярность в кругах тимуридской и не только знати китайского фарфора, стремление местных мастеров подражать великолепным и весьма дорогим творениям Китая эпохи Мин (1368—1644 гг.). Не обладавшие сырьем для фарфоровой массы мавераннахрские гончары полностью переключаются на кашин — силикатный состав, близкий фаянсу, известный в местной практике еще с XII в. Кашин давал гораздо более тонкий и прочный черепок; покрытый белым ангобом, расписанный кобальтовой краской под блестящей прозрачной свинцовой глазурью, этот материал вполне напоминал китайский бело-голубой фарфор типа «кобальт». Копируя китайские рисунки и ставя клейма китайских художников, местные мастера создавали подделки, успешно реализующиеся даже на западных рынках.

На смену эпиграфическому и «ковровому» декору, стилизованным зооморфным мотивам IX — нач. XIII вв. приходят типично китайские, реалистические изображения птиц, животных и растений; меняется также колорит — от белого и красного, темно-коричневого и оливково-зелено-желтых сочетаний — к бело-голубой и черно-синей гаммам.

Интересно, что бело-голубая гамма считается подражанием китайскому фарфору, хотя сами китайцы при росписи своей посуды не ограничивались лишь этим сочетанием цветов. Бело-голубой фарфор типа «кобальт» в самом Китае появляется в период правления монгольской династии Юань (1271—1368 гг.). Этот факт дает возможность предполагать,

Рис. 5. Блюдо. Самарканд, XV в.

Fig. 5. Dish. Samarkand, 15th c.

Рис. 6. Блюдо. Самарканд, XV в.

Fig. 6. Dish. Samarkand, 15th c.

что именно монголы являлись инициаторами производства этой группы посуды, попав, в свою очередь, под обаяние искусства тюрков, где ярко-голубой, цвет Неба и главного тюркского божества Тенгри, являлся доминирующим. «Представители тюркской, а позже тюрко-монгольской аристократии были авторами социального заказа на голубой цвет в архитектурных сооружениях» (Смагулов и др. 1999: 199), а затем и в посудной керамике (так наз. «турецкая синька»). Китайцы, адаптировав «турецкую синьку», «возвращают» ее обратно в тюркский мир под видом китайского бренда; в свою очередь, тюрки попрежнему комплиментарно относятся именно к бело-голубому китайскому фарфору в силу их генетической приверженности к священному для них цвету Неба.

Что касается черно-синей керамики, она появилась в Средней Азии под влиянием аналогичных образцов Сирии и Ирана XIV—XV вв. (фрагмент чаши с изображением птицы среди растительных побегов, Самарканд, XV в.; фрагмент чаши с изображением аиста, летящего над зарослями камыша, Ташкент, XVI в.). Рисунок этой группы изделий также отличается максимальной близостью натуре, вниманием к деталям, продуманностью сюжетного начала.

Характерными для этого времени становятся парковые сюжеты с лотосовыми прудами, рыбами и цаплями, сцены с летящими утками или фениксами, павлинами среди цветов, воробьями среди ветвей, цветущие пионы и проч. Рисунки на поверхности блюд размещались свободно, как на живописном полотне, для них характерно верное следование натуре, живописность и легкость мазка. Еще первые исследователи тимуридской керамики отмечали это торжество реализма: «Поливная посуда эпохи Тимура и Тимуридов характеризуется более реалистически трактованным лиственным и цветочным орнаментом»,— писал В. Денике (Денике 1931: 59). Этот реализм не был чужд мусульманской художественной традиции; он отталкивался не от натуры, а от представлений об идеальном, предельно эстетизированном образе, достойном божьего творения. При всем натурализме форм в композициях доминирует линейное начало, выразительность силуэтов.

Впрочем, копирование и подражание китайскому фарфору, особенно характерное для периода правления самого Тимура, сопровождалось и поисками собственного стиля оформления. Он был основан на местных традициях орнаментального декора и все той же уже узнаваемой бело-голубой гамме. Таковы блюда с крупными звездчатыми розетками, вихревыми свастиками в окружении миндалевидных медальонов и проч.

В целом именно бело-голубой колорит становится характерной стилевой чертой тимуридской керамики; мода на него сохраняется и в последующие века, как стремление соответствовать блестящему веку расцвета империи.

Керамика последующего времени, с одной стороны, сохраняет художественные тради-

ции тимуридской эпохи, ставшей временем наивысшего расцвета культуры и искусства эпохи средневековья, с другой, демонстрирует формирование новых тенденций.

Мухаммед Шейбани-хан, свергнув власть Тимуридов, стремился поддерживать тот культурный уровень, который сложился при его великих предшественниках; он подражал им во всем, покровительствуя искусствам и ремеслам. Однако в период правления следующей династии, Аштарханидов, начинается ожесточённая междоусобная борьба за власть в Бухаре и Хорезме, что приводит к упадку культурной деятельности, постепенному забвению традиций городской культуры. Общий спад в регионе был отчетлив в конце XVII — первой половине XVIII вв., когда территория современного Узбекистана была охвачена тяжелым экономическим и политическим кризисом, ослаблением международных торгово-экономических связей и проч.

2 пол. XVIII — сер. XIX вв. вновь демонстрируют стабилизацию жизни уже в границах новых государств региона — Хивинского и Кокандского ханств, Бухарского эмирата. Это время подъема экономики и культуры, формирования новых локальных школ и центров ремесла.

Гончарное производство этого периода представлено тремя школами. Центральная, или бухаро-самаркандская, включала в себя такие центры, как Бухара, Самарканд, Гиждуван, Шахрисабз, Ургут, Ташкент, Китаб, Каттакурган, Термез, Денау (Бухарский эмират). Северо-восточная, или ферганская — Риштан, Гурумсарай, Наманган, Андижан, Канибадам, Ходжент, Чорку, Исфара (Кокандское ханство). Юго-западная, или хорезмская — Хива, Куня-Ургенч, селения Мадыр, Каттабаг, Ханка, Чимбай, Турткуль, Ташауз и др. (Хивинское ханство). Многие центры возникали заново, вне сложившихся местных традиций. Это обстоятельство придает керамике рассматриваемого периода специфические черты, которые выражались в самобытных формах, колорите и росписи посуды.

Вновь расширяется ассортимент изделий: это кухонная (котлы, кувшины, хумы — большие сосуды для воды или хранения зерна) и столовая посуда открытых и закрытых форм: чаши (*коса*), чашки (*пиалы*), блюда (*ляганы*), блюдца (*липокча*), кувшины и кувшинчики (*куза* и *кузача*); бытовые изделия иного назначения: светильники (*чироги*), подсвечники (*шамдоны*), рукомойники (*дастшуи*), глубокие чаши для мытья волос (*саршуяки*) и проч. Их качество было рассчитано на самый разнообразный спрос: от недорогих неполивных изделий до глазурованных, с богатым орнаментальным декором. Видовая специфика керамики в разных школах была единой.

При оформлении посуды повсеместно использовалась уже апробированная веками роспись кистью (*калами*), также в провинциальных центрах становится популярной гравировка (*чизма*); для более дешевой посуды используется метод *басма* — штамповка, создающая ритмично-однообразный и примитивный узор.

Существует устойчивое мнение, что хорезмскую и ферганскую школы объединял бело-голубой колорит, в то время как бухаро-самаркандской была присуща охро-оливковая, желто-коричневая гаммы. Однако такое противопоставление школ по колориту вряд ли объективно. На самом деле к излюбленному бело-голубому колориту тяготели все крупные города, в том числе Бухара и Самарканд, еще помнившие эталонные тимуридские традиции, в то время как провинциальные центры, вне зависимости от географического местоположения, предпочитали теплые охристо-коричневые цвета — цвета земли. В то же время, именно города первыми утратили традиции гончарства, в связи со ввозом в Туркестан фабричной фаянсовой посуды и падением спроса на местную кустарную продукцию. Это обстоятельство и привело к неточному мнению о том, что бухаро-самаркандскую керамическую школу характеризует одна лишь охристая гамма цветов. Обнаружение в ходе археологических работ голубой бухарской керамики XVIII—XIX вв. опровергает это распространенное мнение.

Посудная керамика Хорезма относится к наименее изученной. Для нее типично преобладание сине-бирюзового колорита, темно-синих или черных узоров по бирюзовому или белому фону. При всей общности с керамикой других школ и центров, только в Хорезме производили *бадия* — блюда с высокими, почти вертикальными бортами и декорированной лицевой стороной.

Самая распространенная композиция на ляганах — крест из двух широких, заштрихованных в сетку полос по всему зеркалу блюда; в сегментарных промежутках — крупные завитки, с примитивными пальметтками на концах. Столь же популярен рисунок крупной розетки с миндалевидными лепестками. Для куня-ургенчских и ханкинских ляганов также была типична крестообразная композиция, причем в данном случае рисунок креста весьма близок аналогичным рисункам на коврах среднеазиатских скотоводов (кара-

калпаки, узбеки, туркмены, казахи) — с рогообразными завитками на концах. Этот мотив является архетипичным для искусства всех в прошлом кочевых народов, он имел значение космограммы — тенгрианского креста, с помощью которого номады воплотили свое представление о структурированном мире, охраняемом богами. На некоторых экземплярах рога трансформируются в букву Х, а сам крест дополняется исходящими из его центра четырьмя длинными лепестками — смысл тенгрианского символа забывался, он трансформировался лишь в удобный и привычный для декора ляганов мотив. Узор на хорезмской керамике наносился кистью, глазурь — преимущественно *ишкор*.

С 1950—1960-х гг. декор хивинской посудной керамики радикально меняется — на смену несколько примитивным, архаичным рисункам пришли узоры в стиле *ислими*, «подсмотренные» гончарами из репертуара архитектурной керамики дворца хивинских ханов (Ичан-Кала) в процессе проводимых реставрационных работ. Старая хорезмская школа рисунка с использованием архачных символов полностью исчезла.

Керамика бухаро-самаркандской школы XVIII — 1-й пол. XIX вв. отличается большим разнообразием локальных вариантов. С одной стороны — изделия самих городов: Бухары, Самарканда, Шахрисабза, отличающиеся как бело-голубой, так и коричнево-охристой гаммой, с другой — провинциальных центров, где коричневый, охра, зеленый и желтый доминируют. В бухарских изделиях преобладает стилизованно-растительный орнамент — мотив цветущей ветви либо куста, простейшие пальметты и розетки, а также множество дополнительных геометрических мотивов. О сохранении высокого уровня орнаментальной традиции свидетельствуют образцы с дробным, насыщенным декором, где тщательно прописанные цветочно-лиственные мотивы сочетаются с геометрическими узорами (цепочки из ромбов, сегменты, заполненные сердечками и проч.). Композиции — радиальные, с размещением крупных цветочных элементов по кругу зеркала блюда, либо центрические — крест в центре, делящий поверхность блюда на четыре равных сектора. Замечательные образцы изделий XIX в. представлены в альбоме Н. Бурдукова «Гончарные изделия Средней Азии» (Бурдуков 1904). Впрочем, о постепенном упадке ремесла свидетельствует грубый, толстостенный черепок.

На рубеже веков кустарное производство посуды сохраняется лишь в провинции, каждый из центров самобытен по-своему. В Гиждуване, самом стабильном центре, активно работающем и в наши дни, керамика отличается растительно-цветочным расписным декором в охристо-зеленой гамме под свинцовой глазурью. Довольно близкой по стилю была и посуда Каттакургана, ныне угасшего центра. Шахрисабз отличается господством оранжево-зеленых и желтовато-коричневых сочетаний, в декоре доминирует монументальный стиль — крупные кольца, напоминающие бусины *кузмунчок* — традиционный амулет от сглаза. Ургутская посуда также сразу узнаваема благодаря желто-зеленой расцветке, известной среди археологов как «яичница с луком». В росписи местные мастера делают акцент на линию, рисунок — выведенные зеленым цветом геометрические абстракции — звезды, цепочки треугольников и проч., на желтом фоне. Помимо расписной, есть и группа керамики, декор которой образован потеками краски двух разных цветов. Эти два стиля вполне можно сопоставить с геометрической абстракцией и абстрактным экспрессионизмом. Наконец, в керамике отдаленных Термеза и Денау (Сурхандарья) акцент делался на технику *чизма* — гравировки. Незамысловатые росчерки графического узора накладывались на интенсивный по своей яркости фон, образованный потеками изумрудно-зеленой и огненной, золотисто-охристой краски под прозрачной свинцовой поливой.

Рис. 7. Блюдо. Хорезм, XX в.

Fig. 7. Dish. Khwarezm, 20th c.

С многоплановым керамическим искусством Хорезмского и Бухаро-Самаркандского

регионов успешно соперничали мастера Ферганской долины — Риштана, Гурумсарая и Андижана. Каждый из этих центров также отличался собственными специфическими чертами, несмотря на известную общность, обусловленную постоянными творческими контактами и связями мастеров.

Лидирующее положение занимал Риштан, где, по свидетельствам историков, в конце XIX — нач. XX вв. «насчитывалось 80 гончарных мастерских, в которых работало 300 человек… За сезон, который продолжался 6—7 месяцев, выпускалось 1500—1700 изделий» (Развадовский 1916: 710). Здесь существовала развитая цеховая организация ремесла со своими уставом и традициями, узкой специализацией гончаров. В местной посуде можно выявить как минимум два ведущих стиля. Первый — подражания китайскому бело-голубому фарфору, в этом смысле риштанские ремесленники повторяли опыт тимуридского времени. Второй — местные самобытные традиции, в основе которых — растительно-цветочный декор в сочетании с изобразительными мотивами.

Кашинные изделия, подражающие китайскому фарфору, были известны как *елгон чинни* (ложный фарфор), *сопол чинни* (глиняный фарфор), *кук чинни* (голубой фарфор), а мастера, специализировавшиеся на такой посуде, именовались *чиннисоз* или *чиннипаз* (специалист по фарфору). Экземпляры, копирующие китайские, и даже воспроизводящие клейма китайских мастеров в целях ее лучшего сбыта, отличаются мелкими узорами *чинни*, тонкой вязью заполняющими поверхность блюд. *Чинни*, напоминающие плетение кружева, требовали большого мастерства от рисовальщика, поэтому не случайно к началу XX в. подражания китайским образцам становятся скорее исключением, чем правилом. Известны также местные подражания китайским селадонам — тонкостенным сосудам из фарфоровидной массы с глазурью зеленого тона. Такие образцы — кувшины, коса и проч. — не орнаментировались, и отличались глубоким, насыщенным цветом поливы.

Нередки в Риштане подражания керамике Кашгара, близкой китайской, но более разнообразной по цветовой гамме. Так, характерные для Кашгара элементы — стилизованные облачные мотивы — часто встречаются в бордюрах риштанских ляганов. Уйгурское влияние проявилось и в растительных узорах в стиле *ислими*, выполненных плавными линиями, в системе бесфонового рисунка. Такие узоры были известны среди мастеров как *сиех калам* или *кара калам* (букв.: черный карандаш, то есть эскиз, набросок); они были связаны с профессиональной художественной традицией уйгурской школы, восходящей ко времени средневековья.

Определенные параллели прослеживаются также с иранской и турецкой керамикой. Так, явно под воздействием последних образцов выполнены блюда со свободным рисунком цветущего кустарника. В Риштане был очень популярен рисунок кумгана и ножей. Блюда с аналогичными изображениями предметов обихода были типичными и для изникской (Турция) керамики первой половины XVII в. В данном случае, конечно, трудно говорить о прямых заимствованиях, но нельзя и полностью исключать их. Народные мастера в поисках новых форм декора всегда обращались к импортным изделиям, как к предметам, достойным подражания. В целом, несмотря на значительную роль заимствований в декоре риштанской керамики, «чужие» мотивы испытывали значительное воздействие местного стиля. Для местного стиля были характерны незамысловатые композиции с круглыми цветочными розетками или кругами (*чашма гуль*), разбросанными по полю блюда, крестообразные (*чор гуль*) и спиральные (центрические) композиции (*офтоб* — Солнце).

Яркий и по-своему уникальный центр гончарного производства существовал и в Гурумсарае. Его специфика заключается в характерной бело-голубой гамме и узнаваемом декоре. Характерные элементы — *кумганы*, как символ гостеприимства, в сочетании с разного рода символами плодородия и амулетами от сглаза — *ботагоз* (глаз верблюжонка), *илон изи* (змеиный след), *барг* (листья), *балыг* (стилизованное изображение чешуйчатой рыбы); в бордюрах — сеточные композиции с цветочными розетками или ломаные линии. В конце XIX в. эти рисунки полностью сменяются на иной стиль, возникший под влиянием узоров войлочных ковров местных полукочевых племенных групп, населявших степные районы. Влияние степи на уровне отдельных элементов орнамента проявилось и в риштанской, и в андижанской керамике, однако именно Гурумсарай дает нам пример коренной смены стиля в результате проникновения в гончарное ремесло традиций «степного» рисунка. Ее выразительный, монументальный, несколько архаичный декор состоит из бесфоновых криволинейных рисунков, образующих контрастные бело-синие (бело-бирюзовые) композиции. Такие рисунки часто встречаются в разработке некоторых видов ковровых орнаментов, и особен-

но четко — в киргизских войлочных коврах *алакиизах* и *ширдаках* (Дервиз и др. 1988: 54). Бесфоновые узоры продиктованы самой технологией изготовления узорного войлока, при которой узор накладывался на фон, образуя аппликацию. «Мозаичная техника дает возможность получать сразу один и тот же рисунок в двух вариантах — прямом и обратном виде… В мозаичной технике почти не применяются геометрические формы» (Ромм 1941: 27). Будучи перенесен на поверхность блюда, бесфоновый узор дает совершенно новый, оригинальный эффект, новые композиции (например, *бир барг* — один лист, цепочкой украшающий бордюры блюд), но в любом случае в нем соблюдается закон равенства узора и фона, которые выступают равноправными компонентами рисунка. Среди современных керамистов Гурумсарая этот вид декора известен как *ларзана* (букв.: дрожащий, трясущийся), что говорит о его сугубо декоративной интерпретации, утрате древней семантики, связанной с космосом кочевников. Узоры *ларзана* богаты вариациями — использование приема бесфонового рисунка дает бесчисленное количество вариантов; как результат, при всей однотипности орнамента гурумсарайская керамика поражает разнообразием композиционных решений.

Гончарное производство Андижана носило несколько провинциальный характер. Здесь преобладала посуда в желто-зеленой или бело-голубой гамме, рисунок отличается несложностью форм. Его элементы связаны как с оседло-земледельческой средой (*пилляки* — кокон тутового шелкопряда, *маджнунтал* — ива, *чорбарг* — четырехлистник, *чоргуль* — четыре цветка), так и кочевой (занджир и меандровые мотивы, появившиеся под влиянием узоров войлочных ковров).

Социальные трансформации, происходившие в регионе с конца XIX в., ввоз, а затем и собственное производство фабричной посуды, привели к постепенному упадку гончарного ремесла. В советский период, в связи с запретом частного предпринимательства, немногочисленные мастера объединяются в системе государственных предприятий худпрома — различных артелях и цехах, экспериментально-творческих комбинатах и керамических заводах. Готовая продукция в основном представляла собой музейно-выставочные образцы, сувенирные поделки для худсалонов. Неизбежная для производства регламентация и централизация постепенно вела к забвению особенностей локальных школ, выхолащиванию специфики того или иного центра. Вопросы, касающиеся художественного и технологического качества продукции, зачастую согласовывались на худсоветах вне участия самих народных мастеров, что вело к эклектике, игнорированию своеобразия изделий. Сокращалось число *кулолов* (ремесленников-керамистов) на местах; с их уходом исчезали и самобытные традиции гончарства.

В 1970-е гг., в разгар застоя, когда в обществе пробудился интерес к традиционным ценностям, некоторые центры вновь оживают (Риштан, Ферганская долина).

Но подлинное возрождение традиционного гончарства происходит со второй половины 1990-х гг., уже после обретения Узбекистаном независимости, когда государство на законодательном уровне приняло меры, направленные на возрождение национальной культуры, поддержку ремесленничества. Новая государственная политика, связанная со стимулированием частного предпринимательства, повышением социального статуса мастеров, стала мощным стимулом для возрождения многих ремесел, в том числе и традиционной керамики. На рубеже XX—XXI вв. керамика становится предметом массового частного рыночного производства, возвращает себе свое бытовое предназначение. Гончары, ощутив поддержку государства, спрос на свою продукцию, стали увеличивать объемы производства. Вновь вошла в практику и традиционная система обучения *усто — шогирд* (мастер — ученик), основанная на прямой изустной передаче опыта молодому поколению и имеющая глубокие и сильные корни в традиционной культуре Узбекистана. Основные тенденции в развитии керамики связаны в наши дни со стремлением восстановить в каждом случае местные традиции технологии, форм и декора, а также обновить канонический язык этого вида искусства и ремесла.

Большую помощь в возрождении традиционного гончарства оказывает офис ЮНЕСКО в Узбекистане, а также республиканские и зарубежные фонды. В частности, в 2006 г. при поддержке ЮНЕСКО и Фонда «Форум культуры и искусства Узбекистана» на базе керамической мастерской Акбара Рахимова, сына известного в советский период усто Мухиддина Рахимова, была открыта Школа керамики «*Усто — шогирд*». Здесь проводится огромная работа по помощи различным локальным центрам республики, обучению учеников разных районов.

Лидирующие позиции в возрождении гончарства занимает Ферганская долина. Ныне города долины — настоящие заповед-

ники вековых традиций производства национальной посуды. Местная керамика — это в первую очередь удивительный по своей насыщенности колорит, сочетание бирюзы и кобальта, спорящих между собой по яркости и, вместе с тем, создающих ощущение полноты жизни, гармонии, ассоциирующихся со свежестью, небом, водой, воздухом. Ферганская долина — один из немногих регионов, где гончары сохранили традицию использования натуральной ишкоровой глазури.

Уникальный центр современной керамики — Риштан. Местная продукция широко известна как в Республике Узбекистан, так и за ее пределами, благодаря ее популяризации на многочисленных выставках (с 1990-х гг. состоялись выставки риштанских мастеров в Санкт-Петербурге и Москве, не раз местная керамика была представлена в составе различных экспозиций в Ташкенте, странах ближнего и дальнего зарубежья). Работавший с 1960 г. Риштанский керамический завод, сыгравший свою важную роль в сохранении ремесленной традиции, в конце 1990-х гг. практически закрывается в силу разного рода организационных причин; мастера переключаются на надомное производство, открывают частные мастерские и малые предприятия. Крупнейшие среди них — керамическая творческая мастерская Алишера Назирова, созданная в 1995 г., мастерская-галерея Рустама Усманова. Здесь можно не только увидеть бережно собранные старинные образцы и весь процесс создания посуды, но и приобрести навыки работы с глиной, купить понравившееся изделие. В городе функционирует также Дом-музей Народного художника Узбекистана усто Ибрагима Камилова, чье мастерство унаследовали его сыновья Исмаил, Исраил, Музаффар, Шарофиддин и дочь Халима Эргашева.

Гончары современного Риштана — это представители разных поколений; в числе лидеров — Шарафиддин Юсупов (первый среди гончаров Действительный член Академии художеств Узбекистана), Ашурали Юлдашев, Исмаил Камилов, Валиджон Исаков, Алишер Назиров, Бахтиер Назиров, Рустам Усманов, Музаффар Саидов, Исмаил Комилов, Кимсанбой Абдукадыров, Алиджон Исаков и многие другие. Вместе с тем, значительно увеличившееся число керамистов сочетается с неоднозначным качеством работ — от уникальных изделий до откровенного ширпотреба, заполонившего не только местные рынки.

Специфика риштанской керамики наиболее ярко проявляется в ее декоре, необычайно разнообразном, оперирующем как традиционными, так и новообразованными формами и композициями (геометрические, растительные и предметные мотивы). Для декоративного оформления плоских риштанских блюд особенно характерна композиция с *кумганами* (кувшин для воды) или *чойдишами* (сосуд для чая) по центру; это классический сюжет для керамики всей долины. Кумган — символ воды, а значит — плодородия, успеха, счастья, и потому молодоженам к свадьбе обязательно дарили блюда с нарисованными кумганами, как пожелание достатка в доме. На изделиях начала XX в. под чойдишем изображались язычки пламени, рядом с ним — два ножа, мотив, который в современном восприятии стал ассоциироваться как с хозяйственной деятельностью, так и с защитой (любой острый или колюще-режущий предмет в традиционном искусстве играл роль оберега). Одна из тенденций 1990-х — акцентирование авторского начала, сложение узнаваемых индивидуальных почерков местных керамистов.

К сожалению, практически прекратил свою деятельность Гурумсарай. На протяжении XX в. славу этому центру принесли такие мастера-*усто*, как Махмуд Рахимов, Хайитбай Хакимов, Максудали Турапов, однако в начале 2000-х в этом городе оставался лишь один гончар — Вахобжон Буваев, который ныне оставил практику ввиду проблем с реализацией готовой продукции. Единственный мастер работает и в Андижане — Мирзабахром Абдувахабов, возглавляющий группу подмастерьев. Проблемы данного центра — те же, что и в Гурумсарае — отсутствие устойчивого сбыта, в результате чего андижанцы большей частью занимаются изготовлением неглазурованных хозяйственных изделий.

Из всех центров бухаро-самаркандской школы самая благополучная ситуация сохраняется в Гиждуване, небольшом районном центре, расположенным в 40 км к северо-востоку от Бухары. Пережив сложный советский период, местные керамисты встретили начало 1990-х гг. уверенным желанием приумножить славу своего центра. Производство посуды было сосредоточено в руках нескольких семей, где ведущие позиции занимает династия Нарзуллаевых; в 1990-х гг. ее основными представителями являются братья Абдулло и Алишер, сыновья известного в республике народного усто Ибодулло. Братья сохраняют специфику гиждуванской керамики, которая заключается в характерном колорите, с преобладанием светлой и темной охро-коричневой, зеленой, синей, желтой гаммы, а также дизайне, где сделан упор на крупную (бодом, розетки-медальоны,

пальметтовидные цветы и листья) и мелкую, в стиле ислими, растительную орнаментику. Такая гамма достигается за счет использования свинцовых глазурей и особых приемов ее нанесения — плотным, почти рельефным слоем.

В традициях бухаро-самаркандской школы XIX в. работает потомственный мастер Нумон Аблакулов из Ургута. Для Нумона Аблакулова важно сохранять узнаваемую ургутскую манеру, что достигается благодаря подражанию изделиям, сохранившимся от дедов и прадедов. Специфика местной керамики заключается в использовании свинцовой глазури, горчичной, желто-охристой, с зеленью («яичница с луком») палитры. В декоре превалируют две тенденции: орнаментальная роспись и гравировка (чизма), а также потеки краски. Типичные мотивы декора — круги (яблоко, солнце, цветок), четырехлучевые розетки (стилизованный цветок), профильные изображения коробочек хлопка, амулеты *тумор*; в качестве дополнительных мотивов в бордюрной части используются трилистники, цепочки из треугольников, штампованные розетки. Рисунок достаточно примитивный, некоторые мотивы представляют собой в значительной степени упрощенные цветочные пальметты, выглядящие несколько аморфно. Гравированный узор в виде вихревых или цветочных розеток в центре блюд, спиралей и штриховки по краям, дополнен растекающейся глазурью, где сочетаются зеленые, бежевые и охро-коричневые тона. В отличие от старых образцов, современная посуда отличается тонкостенностью и адаптированными к современному быту формами (различных размеров *ляганы*, *коса*, вазы, одноручные и двуручные кувшины), с преобладанием процарапанного узора *чизма*.

Шахрисябзская керамика практически исчезла в 1970-х гг.; последними мастерами этого центра были знаменитые усто Абдукарим Хазраткулов, Ахат Музаффаров. О необходимости ее возрождения говорилось на различных семинарах с начала 2000-х гг. Благодаря программе ЮНЕСКО «Лазурная керамика Узбекистана» была сформирована группа учеников, которые стали восстанавливать традиции данного центра. В 2006 г. в Школе керамики Акбара Рахимова (Ташкент) состоялась выставка-презентация их работ «Возрождение традиционной керамики Шахрисабза». В настоящее время традицию школы представляет молодой потомственный мастер Рустам Музаффаров.

Среди бухарских керамистов особого внимания заслуживает Абдулвахид Каримов. Его

Рис. 8. Блюдо. Гурумсарай, XX в.

Fig. 8. Dish. Gurumsaray, 20th c.

работы представляют два основных направления — подражания белофонной керамике афрасиабского типа X—XII вв. и бирюзовой бухарской керамике XVIII—XIX вв., практически забытой. Абдулвахид Каримов поставил перед собой благородную цель возродить художественную традицию лазурной керамики Бухары. В 2006 г. Каримов стал обладателем гранта ЮНЕСКО и Швейцарского агентства по развитию и сотрудничеству.

Проблематичной остается ситуация с керамикой Хорезма. В наши дни ремесленную традицию, сохранявшуюся на протяжении XX в. знаменитыми усто из Мадыра Раимберды Матчановым и С. Атаджановым, продолжают их сыновья и ученики, в том числе мастера Одилбек Матчанов и Оллоназар Садуллаев.

Возрождение локальных центров керамики — одна из самых заметных позитивных тенденций современной практики. В этом аспекте наибольшую озабоченность вызывает гончарное искусство столицы нашей страны — Ташкента. Несмотря на то, что в городе работают замечательные потомственные мастера, вопрос о ташкентской школе до сих пор остается открытым. Почти исчезнувшая в XX в. традиционная поливная керамика Ташкента так и остается некоей «атлантидой» в современном художественном пространстве.

Когда речь идет о Ташкенте, то в первую очередь говорят о династии Рахимовых, представители которой вносили и вносят огромный вклад в развитие и популяризацию это-

го древнейшего ремесла. В своем творчестве Акбар Рахимов и его сын Алишер уделяют равное внимание аранжировке традиций различных школ и исторических периодов в развитии керамики Узбекистана; именно эта направленность была задана еще творчеством Мухиддина Рахимова, бывшего не только гончаром, но и исследователем, реставратором, автором ряда монографий по истории керамического ремесла. Так, среди их произведений — изделия по мотивам кушанской (античность), афрасиабской (X—XII вв.), тимуридской (XV в.) посуды, интерпретация классических уйгурских, китайских, и образцов иных школ. Между тем, вопрос с собственно ташкентской школой до сих пор остается открытым.

Обзор дает возможность заметить, что узбекская традиционная поливная керамика периода 1990 — нач. 2000 гг. отличается динамичным ростом, активно позиционирует себя на современном рынке. Основные тенденции ее развития сводятся к тому, что постепенно, но уверенно возрождается ряд центров этого ремесла. Практика показывает, что судьба того или иного центра во многом зависит от его местоположения: чем ближе к трассам популярных туристических маршрутов — тем благополучнее продажи.

Активизируется работа риштанских, бухарских, гиждуванских, самаркандских керамистов. Ярким событием последних лет стала выставка «Хранители керамики Узбекистана», которая состоялась в Ташкенте уже дважды — в декабре 2015 г. и сентябре 2016 г. Каждый раз в этом представительном мероприятии принимали участие лучшие мастера — настоящее созвездие керамистов со всей республики. Великолепное качество экспонируемых работ продемонстрировало возросшую ответственность мастеров, их активные творческие поиски и стремление к экспериментам. Планируется, что выставка сохранит свой ежегодный статус.

Вместе с тем, остаются и негативные моменты. В наши дни, когда ремесла стали частью рыночного процесса, ученики, приобретая поверхностные ремесленные навыки, сразу приступают к самостоятельной работе, приводят керамику невысокого качества. Негативное влияние оказывают также погоня за количеством, массовыми продажами. Серьезным препятствием является нехватка газа для керамических печей. Как известно, в средние века для обжига посуды использовались хорошо просушенные смолистые дрова. В XX веке их заменил газ, что значительно облегчило процесс работы, однако возникающие проблемы с газоснабжением создают трудности для гончаров.

В целом поливная керамика Узбекистана — это многовековой практический опыт, богатейшее художественное разнообразие форм, стилей, узоров, колористических решений. Развивавшееся в прошлом в контексте масштабных культурных процессов — сначала в рамках формирующейся исламской художественной традиции (IX — нач. XIII вв.), затем — в тимуридском культурном круге, сконцентрировавшем лучшие достижения своего времени, к XIX в. искусство керамики сосредотачивается в более замкнутом пространстве локальных школ. Эта относительная закрытость имела и положительные моменты — она позволила мастерам активизировать собственный творческий потенциал. Своеобразие позднесредневековых школ и центров керамики является отправной точкой для современных мастеров, идущих по пути возрождения этого древнего ремесла.

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Поливная керамика Миздахкана

Keywords: Southern Aral Sea region, Golden Horde, medieval site of Mizdakhkan, Qashan and red clay glazed ceramics, ornament, classification

Ключевые слова: Южное Приаралье, Золотая Орда, средневековое городище Миздахкан, кашинная и красноглиняная поливная керамика, орнамент, классификация

O.-Sh. Kdirniazob

Glazed Ceramics of Mizdakhkan

The author discusses glazed ceramics of the medieval town of Mizdakhkan. The site is situated in the Republic of Karakalpakstan. The archaeological digs conducted on the hillfort in 1985—2015 yielded a vast collection of ceramic materials. Glazed ceramics of Mizdakhkan demonstrates a variety of manufacturing technologies, forms, use, ornamentation and color of glaze. By these criteria, it can be classified into types and subtypes. Among them, the red-clay and Qashan ceramics of the Golden Horde time prevail. There is also imported celadon, minai and luster items. This paper discusses just the most typical samples of glazed ceramics of 13th—14th centuries. The forms and ornamental patterns of glazed items mainly suggest local manufacturing; however, they find analogies on the Golden Horde sites in different regions: in cities of the Lower Volga region, North Caucasus, Crimea and Dniester region (Old Orhei).

О.-Ш. Кдырниязов

Поливная керамика Миздахкана

В статье исследуется поливная керамика средневекового города Миздахкан. Памятник расположен на территории Республики Каракалпакстан. В ходе археологических раскопок, проведенных на городище в 1985—2015 гг., была собрана большая коллекция керамического материала. Поливная керамика Миздахкана разнообразна по технологии изготовления, формам, назначению, орнаментации, цвету поливы. На этом основании её можно классифицировать по видам и типам. Преобладают красноглиняная и кашинная керамика золотоордынского времени. Встречаются импортный селадон, минаи и люстровые изделия. В настоящей работе рассмотрены только наиболее характерные образцы глазурованной керамики XIII—XIV вв. Формы и орнаментальные мотивы поливных изделий в основном указывают на местное производство, однако находятся аналогии на памятниках Золотой Орды различных регионов: в городах Нижнего Поволжья, Северного Кавказа, Крыма и Поднестровья (Старый Орхей).

Древний Миздахкан расположен в Ходжейлийском районе Республики Каракалпакстан. Археологический комплекс состоит из трех частей. На западе памятника расположена его древняя часть — крепость Гяур кала, имеющая культурные слои с эпохи античности до монгольского времени (IV—III вв. до н. э. — XIII в.). На восточном бугре Мазлумхан Сулу находится огромный некрополь с архитектурными погребальными памятниками (IV в. до н. э.— XX в.). Между ними прослеживается планировка неукрепленного золотоордынского города (более 100 га) со следами керамического и других видов производства. Здесь в течение 30 лет — с 1985 года работает Миздахканская археологическая экспедиция (МАЭ) кафедры археологии Каракалпакского государственного университета им. Бердаха (Кдырниязов и др. 2015: 93). Работы МАЭ позволили провести раскопки на значительной части золотоордынского города: вскрыты жилые кварталы, ремесленные мастер-

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ские, мукомольни, мечети и мавзолей. Среди ремесленного производства города по объему и занимаемой площади главное место занимает гончарное ремесло. Большие гончарные районы, где вскрывались цеха и индивидуальные мастерские, находились в центральной части, юго-западных и южных кварталах города. В горнах в основном обжигали неполивную красноглиняную и сероглиняную лощеную керамику (Торебеков 2003: 67—79; Кдырниязов и др. 2004: 102—105; 2015: 39—50). Предварительные сведения о керамике города отражены в отчетах и небольших статьях ряда авторов (Якубовский 1930: 566; Кдырниязов 2004: 122—124; Хожаниязов, Искандерова 1999: 103). Однако специальной работы по изучению глазурованной керамики из Миздахкана нет. В статье впервые обобщаются сведения о поливной керамике памятника, собранные в последние десятилетия. Это в значительной мере расширяет информацию о поливной керамике Южноприаральского региона в средневековую эпоху. Глазурованная керамика Миздахкана этого периода по прослеживаемым признакам: составу теста, формам, цвету и характеру росписей — хронологически относятся к IX—XI, XII — началу XIII и XIII—XIV вв. Однако ранние образцы глазурованной керамики часто встречаются в перекопанных слоях во фрагментированном виде. Включение ранних видов поливной керамики в объект изучения увеличивает объем работы, и в связи с этим мы ограничимся анализом глазурованной керамики золотоордынского периода. Она по составу теста разделяется на кашинную и красноглиняную керамику. В данной работе мы также избегаем ранее уже выработанных принципов дробной классификации керамики (класс, отдел, группа, тип). Ограничимся рассмотрением наиболее характерных образцов глазурованной керамики из Миздахкана.

Кашинная керамика

Керамика на кашинной основе встречается с прозрачной, бесцветной глазурью, кобальтовой, бирюзовой и белой поливой. Значительная часть изделий покрывалась качественной щелочной глазурью и оформлялась над- и подглазурной росписью. Посуда разнообразна по формам и размерам. Ассортимент изделий состоит из чаш, чашечек, блюд, горшковидных сосудов, кувшинов, альбарелло, светильников и др. Среди них преобладают **чаши,** покрытые бирюзовой поливой, с рельефным орнаментом и черной подглазурной росписью. Чаша №1 найдена при раскопках вокруг жилищ у мавзолея Мазлумхан Сулу (30-е годы XIV в.). Край венчика украшен крупными рельефными точками, ниже, между двумя попарно проведенными линиями, нанесена широкая полоса в виде жгутообразной плетенки. Дно чаши украшает композиция из листьев. Остальное пространство орнаментировано симметрично нанесенными точками черного цвета. Вариантом этого рисунка является орнаментальный мотив в виде «крестиков» или «мелких птичек». Узор в виде «птички» с распластанными крыльями известен в Южной Туркмении и относится к архаическому типу росписей (Бяшимова 1980: 126). Этот орнамент встречается в XIII—XIV вв. на поливных изделиях Хорезма (Вактурская 1959: 323) и городов Золотой Орды (Якубовский 1931: 38, рис. 15).

Рис. 1. Кашинная чаша №1 с бирюзовой поливой и подглазурной черной росписью (фото автора).

Fig. 1. Qashan bowl no.1 with turquoise underglaze black painted decoration (photo by the author).

На внешней поверхности чаши сверху и снизу нанесены узкие черные линии, между которыми расположены четыре ряда мазков. Диаметр венчика — 17 см, диаметр донца — 6,5 см. Высота чаши — 8,5 см (рис. 1)[1]. Такая посуда — один из распространенных видов чаш золотоордынского периода. Близкие или идентичные изделия встречаются в Сарай-Берке (Якубовский 1931: 38, рис. 16, 17; Булатов 1968: 102, 103), Маджаре (Гражданкина, Ртвеладзе 1971: 128,

[1] Далее используются сокращения: Д — диаметр венчика, В — высота сосуда, дд. — диаметр донца, вд. — высота донца.

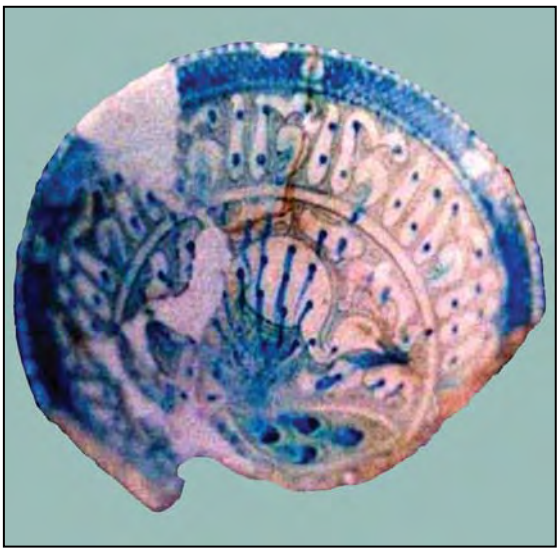

Рис. 2. Кашинная чаша №2 с бесцветной поливой и подглазурной полихромной росписью с рельефом (фото автора).

Fig. 2. Qashan bowl no.2 with colorless glaze and underglaze polychrome painting with relief decoration (photo by the author).

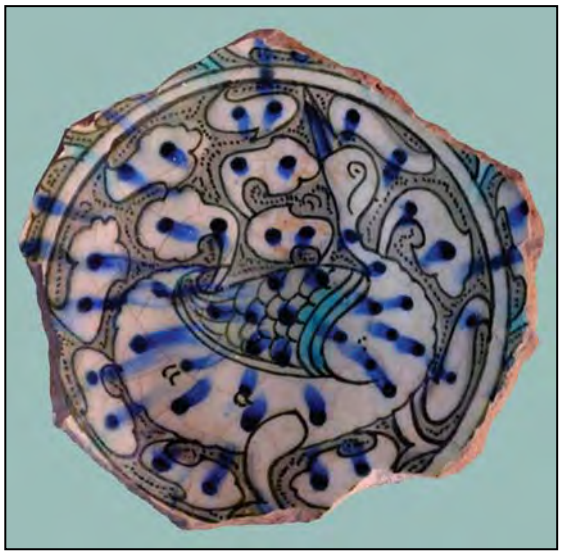

Рис. 3. Кашинная чаша №3 с бесцветной поливой и подглазурной полихромной росписью с рельефом (фото автора).

Fig. 3. Qashan bowl no.2 with colorless glaze and underglaze polychrome painting with relief decoration (photo by the author).

129, рис. 2), в городах Южной Туркмении (Литвинский 1951: 269). Однако значительная часть чаш такого типа обнаружена в керамике городов Южного Приаралья: в Джампык-кале (Манылов, Кдырниязов 1984: 74, рис. 3: 17, 18), Пульжай (Саипов 2013: 219), Куня-Ургенче (Якубовский 1931: 39, 40) и др. Большой ареал распространения изделий с бирюзовой поливой свидетельствует о распространении кашинных изделий подобного типа не только в хорезмских городах, но и в памятниках Золотой Орды.

Кашинную керамику данной группы дополняли чаши с полихромной росписью и рельефом. Они, по мнению исследователей, заменяли широко распространенную в золотоордынскую эпоху черную роспись. Здесь в качестве красителя применялся хром, а не кобальт (Булатов 1968: 104). К этому типу относится чаша №2. Она была обнаружена в раскопках «Белой ханаки» Миздахкана (40-е годы XIV в.). Эта своеобразная богато орнаментированная поливная чаша — прекрасный образец продукции хорезмских гончаров эпохи Золотой Орды. Чаша полусферической формы, на кольцевом поддоне, венчик отогнут наружу. Розоватый черепок сформирован из тонко молотого мелкопористого кашина. Внутренняя поверхность сосуда по краю венчика украшена полосой с переплетающимися линиями. Ниже ее идут куфические надписи, состоящие из повторяющих слов «икбаль» («успех»). На дне чаши изображен павлин в окружении стилизованных растительных элементов, расцвеченных синими точками; его голова повернута назад, к раскрытому хвосту. На внешней поверхности сверху к низу сосуда нанесены широкие удлиненные аркообразные фигуры, прочеркнутые двумя линиями, их детали расцвечены синими точками и зеленой чертой. Размеры чаши: Д — 20 см, дд. — 7 см, В — 8,5 см (рис. 2). Прекрасный образец вазообразного кашинного сосуда для розовой воды с изображением павлина был найден и в Куня-Ургенче (Пугаченкова 1960: 197—200).

Чаша №3 найдена в «Восточном квартале I». На её дне изображена крупная утка. Она по аналогиям относится к сосудам полусферической формы, с чуть отогнутым наружу венчиком. Сосуд на кольцевом поддоне, покрыт бесцветной поливой, подглазурная роспись дополнена рельефным орнаментом и синими точками. Птица изображена в стоящей позе, голова повернута налево в сторону хвоста, окружена стилизованными листьями и многократно повторяющимися «павлиньими глазками». Размер чаши: дд. — 7 см, высота донца (вд.) — 1 см, толщина стенок — 0,6 см (рис. 3). Посуда с изображением утки, кроме Миздахкана, встречается и в других городищах хорезмского оазиса: в Шемахакале (Вактурская 1952: рис. 29: 1, 5), Ай-Ате (Манылов 1990: 156, рис. 4: 10), Пульжае, Джампык-кале и сельских поселениях XIII—XIV вв. (Вишневская 1963: 66, рис. 7:

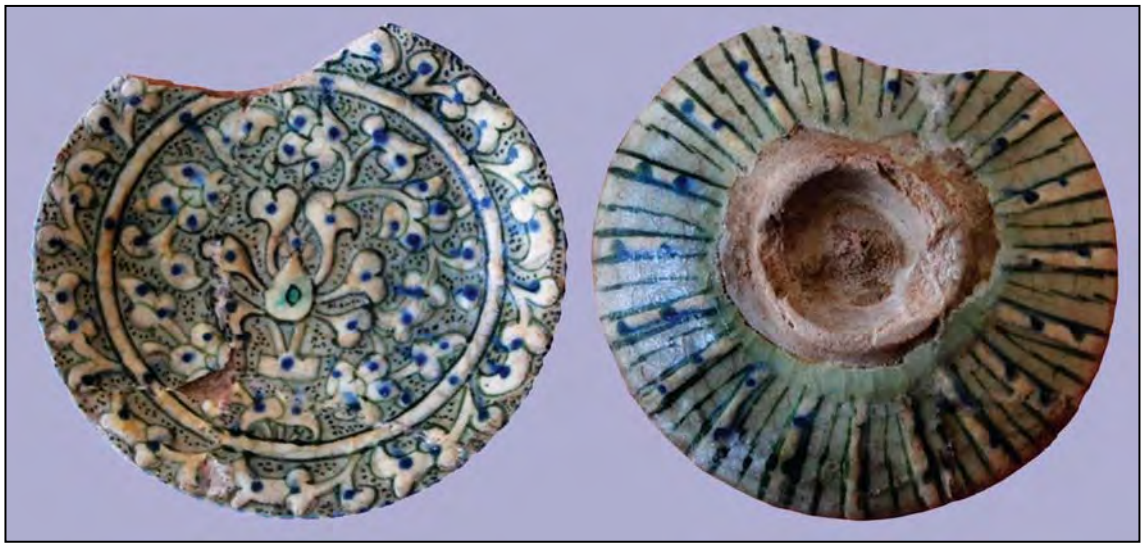

Рис. 4. Кашинная чаша №4 с бесцветной поливой и подглазурной полихромной росписью с рельефом (фото автора).

Fig. 4. Qashan bowl no.4 with colorless glaze and underglaze polychrome painting with relief decoration (photo by the author)

б, в). За пределами оазиса сосуды с подобными изображениями найдены в Самарканде (Пугаченкова, Ремпель 1965: рис. 295), Казахстане (Байпаков, Ерзакович 1971: рис. 36), на Северном Кавказе (Гражданкина, Ртвеладзе 1971: рис. 1: 2), Белореченских курганах (ОАК 1889: рис. 85: а, б), золотоордынских городах Поволжья (Федоров-Давыдов 1976: рис. 110) и в Сарайчике (Самашев 2000: 91, 93, табл. IV: 1—2). В домонгольское время изображение уток встречается на штампованной керамике из Мерва (Лунина 1962: 311), на поливной посуде из Самарканда (Ташходжаев 1967: 116), Чача (Брусенко 1986: 72) на пятке светильника из Ферганы (Брыкина 1972: 4, рис. 2: 3). У народов Средней Азии утки считаются символом здоровья (Пугаченкова 1967: 142).

Представленная в керамическом комплексе Миздахкана кашинная чаша №4 имеет бесцветную поливу и подглазурную полихромную роспись с рельефом. Внутри узор нанесен на белый фон и сопровождается легким рельефом черепка, подчеркивающим основные элементы декора. Характерен темно-зеленый контур рисунка и расцветка деталей орнамента синими точками. Свободный фон растительного орнамента заполнен мелкими штрихами. Орнаментация на внутренней стороне чаши заключена в крупный медальон, окаймленный белой линией. Мотив композиции в медальоне — луковица с отходящими от неё толстыми побегами с трилистниками с точками. Наружная сторона сосуда украшена слабо рельефным арочным орнаментом, а также расцвечена кругом из точек. В отличие от других видов, здесь арочный орнамент «вырождается» в вертикальные линии, упирающиеся вверху в край сосуда. Размеры чаши: Д — 14,5 см, дд. — 5 см, В — 4,5 см (рис. 4). В золотоордынских памятниках Южного Приаралья такая посуда представлена своеобразными группами поливной керамики из Шемаха-калы, Пульжай, Куня-Ургенча, Хивы. Аналогии также встречаются в материалах Селитренного городища (Зивилинская 2008: 85, рис. 43: 1), Маджара (Гражданкина, Ртвеладзе 1971: 128, рис. 1: 1) и Старого Орхея (Абызова, Бырня, Нудельман 1981: 62—76).

Пиалообразная чаша №5 с вертикальным, чуть загнутым вовнутрь краем, была найдена в «Восточном квартале II». Она имеет радиальную композицию. Внутренняя поверхность сосуда разделена тройными синими полосами на девять широких секторов, в которых чередуются три разновидности рисунка, выполненного зеленой и синей краской. В трех секторах изображен растительный орнамент в виде «древа жизни», во второй тройке секторов — рисунки многолепесткового цветка (хризантема), остальные три сектора заполнены точками. В центре дна чаши изображена шестиконечная звезда синего цвета, обведенная концентрическими полосами, одна из которых образована из точек с крестиками. В центре звезды — цветок-пальметка зеленого цвета. В промежутках между лучами звезды расположены вытянутые стилизованные листья, окруженные зелеными штрихами. По сохранившимся частям венчика можно восстановить орнамента-

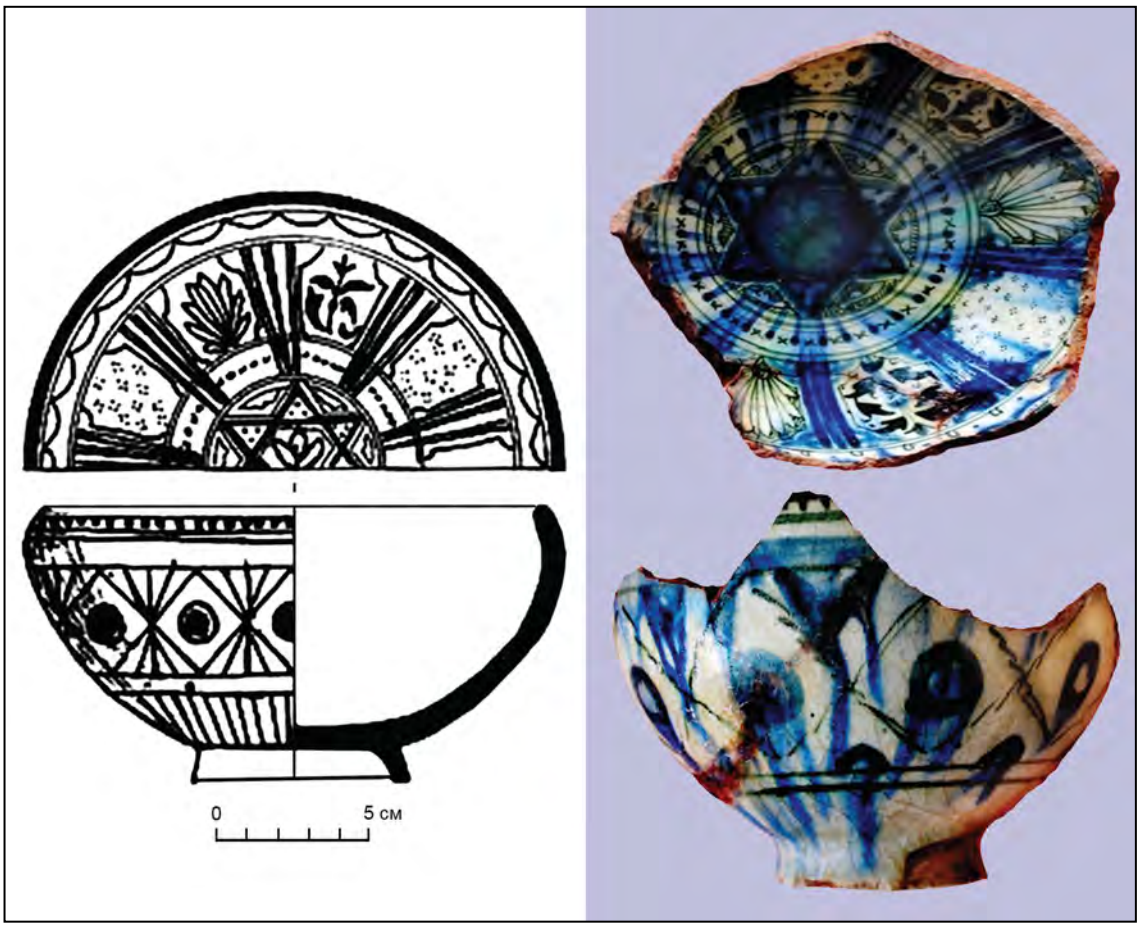

Рис. 5. Кашинная чаша №5 с бесцветной поливой и зеленой и синей кобальтовой росписью (фото и рисунок автора).

Fig. 5. Qashan bowl no.5 with colorless glaze, green and blue cobalt painted decoration (photo and drawing by the author).

цию верхнего края сосуда. Здесь присутствует узкая полоса зеленого и синего цветов с подглазурной темно-синей рельефной точкой. Размеры чаши: Д — 16 см, дд. — 6,5 см, В — 9,5 см (рис. 5). Керамика подобного типа известна на памятниках Золотой Орды. Они найдены в караван-сарае Талайхан Ата в Хорезме (Вишневская 1958: 449, рис. 7: 1, 4), Новом Сарае (Якубовский 1931: 30, рис. 3; Федоров-Давыдов 1976: илл. 111) и Маджаре (Гражданкина, Ртвеладзе 1971: 128).

К этой категории сосудов относятся донца двух идентичных чаш №6 и №7. Стенки не сохранились. Внутренняя поверхность сосудов орнаментирована изображениями растительного характера. Узоры нанесены на белом фоне темно-зеленой и синей кобальтовой краской. В центральном круглом медальоне — изображения шестилепестковых цветов, окруженные прорисованными тонкой линией завитками и стеблями. Наружный пояс вокруг центральной композиции занят полосой с зигзагообразным мотивом, фон которой заполнен вертикальной штриховкой. Судя по аналогиям из других памятников, орнаментальная композиция этих чаш была центрической. Орнаментацию внешней поверхности на этих экземплярах из-за отсутствия стенок трудно определить. Размеры донца: дд. — 9,5 см, вд. — 1,5 см, толщина стенок — 1 см (рис. 6; 7).

Чаша №8, покрытая белой поливой, в отличие от предыдущих сосудов, имеет другую композицию декора. Подглазурная роспись этой чаши выполнена на белом фоне кистью по внутреннему полю черным и темно-синим цветом в виде кругов, с заполнением из сеточки и точек. В центре дна на белом фоне выделяется темно-синяя подглазурная роспись в виде круга. Вокруг круга употреблен несложный вариант росписи — крапины, которые образуют композиции из семи однотонных пятен, также образующих круг. Этот вид декора местами обогащен более крупными синими точками. Здесь керамист-художник предельно упростил методы укра-

Рис. 6. Кашинная чаша №6 с бесцветной поливой и подглазурной темно-зеленой и синей кобальтовой росписью (фото автора).

Fig. 6. Qashan bowl no.6 with colorless glaze, underglaze dark-green and blue cobalt painted decoration (photo by the author).

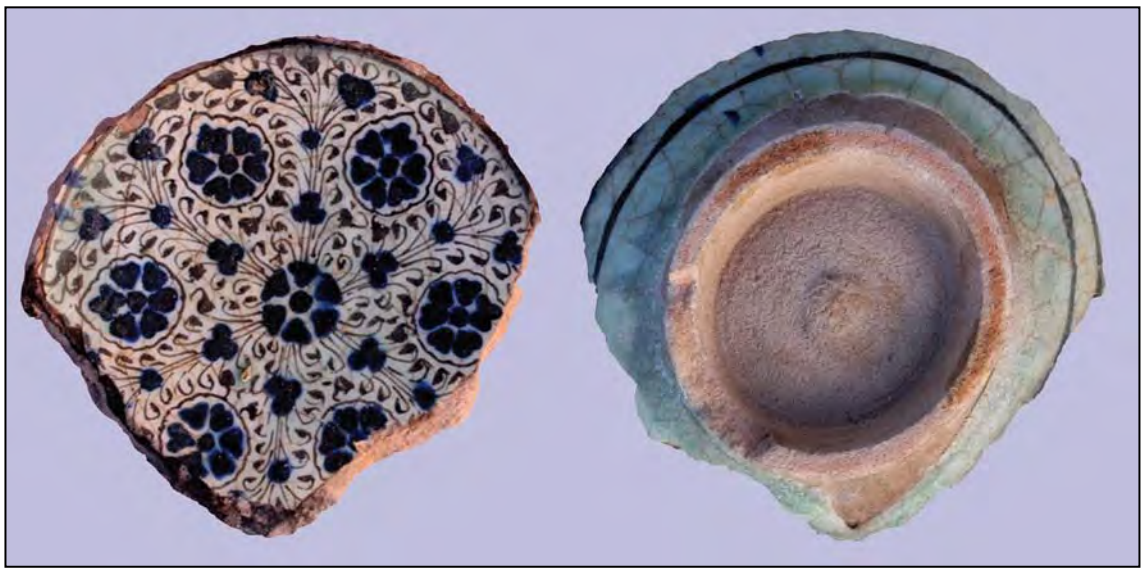

Рис. 7. Кашинная чаша №7 с бесцветной поливой и темно-зеленой и синей кобальтовой росписью (фото автора).

Fig. 7. Qashan bowl no.7 with colorless glaze, dark-green and blue cobalt painted decoration (photo by the author).

шения, сложные сюжеты росписи заменил простым незатейливым рисунком. Этот тип декора употребляется как самостоятельный способ украшения, возможно, он заимствован из образцов ближневосточной или китайской импортной керамики. Размер чаши: Д — 13 см, дд — 7,4 см, вд — 4,5 см (рис. 8).

Среди поливной керамики Миздахкана встречаются фрагменты **вазообразных сосудов** закрытых форм, покрытых кобальтовой ультрамариновой поливой (№9). Они орнаментированы подглазурным рельефным эпиграфическим, сосцевидным и точечным узором, имеющим цвет белого ангоба просвечивающегося под тонким слоем глазури (рис. 9). Керамика подобного типа домонгольским памятникам Хорезма несвойственна. В XIII—XIV вв. изделия этих форм известны по находкам из Куня-Ургенча, Пулжая, Джампык-калы и Миздахкана (Пугаченкова 1960: 197—200; Кдырниязов 2015: 164). Подобная керамика на территории Золотой Орды зафиксирована в Сарай-Бату (Федоров-Давыдов 1994: 88, 89, рис. 7: 1, 132),

Маджаре (Гражданкина, Ртвеладзе 1971: 128, рис. 1: 4) и Старом Орхее (Абызова, Бырня, Нудельман 1981: 296—298).

Чаша №10 «тимуридской керамики» Миздахкана имеет вытянуто-сферическую форму, фестончатый, отогнутый наружу край, невысокий кольцевой поддон. Черепок плотный, белого цвета, глазурь бесцветная чуть голубоватая. Чаша орнаментирована подглазурной росписью синего и зеленоватого цвета с кобальтовыми кружочками. Как и на предыдущих сосудах, центральная композиция на дне растительного характера: от шестилепесткового цветка радиально отходят шесть многожильных тонких стеблей, между которых также размещался шестилепестковый цветок, свободный от них фон местами заполнен кобальтовыми точками. Бордюр по венчику расписан расплывчатой волнистой линией, местами имеются кобальтовые завитки и точки. Поверхность внешней стенки чаши имеет орнаментальную композицию со стрельчатыми арочками типа «даури-поя». Мотив арочки, нарисованный тонкими линиями, типичен для керамики Хорезма и Мавераннахра XIV—XV вв. Размеры чаши: Д — 19,5 см, дд. — 6,5 см, В — 8 см (рис. 10).

Чаша №11, относительно крупная, цилиндро-конической формы типа «каса» на кольцевом поддоне. Подглазурная монохромная роспись черного цвета по белому ангобному фону нанесена под бирюзовой поливой. Венчик украшен обрамлением-бордюром с мелкими зубчиками. Внутри на дне — круглый центральный медальон заполнен сеткой, образующейся пересечением

Рис. 8. Дно кашинной чаши №8 с бесцветной поливой и подглазурной черной и синей росписью (фото автора).

Fig. 8. Bottom of Qashan bowl no. 8 with colorless glaze, black and blue underglaze painted decoration (photo by the author).

прямых линий с кобальтовыми пятнами (орнамент «мадахиль»). У края круга симметрично расположены стилизованные чередующиеся «ростки-листочки» и трехлепестковые бутоны на тонких стеблях. Они представляют собой орнаменты «сарлаухи», встречающиеся в книжных украшениях тимуридской эпохи (XV в.) (Пугаченкова 1950: 114). В отличие от других сосудов, вертикальные стенки чаши не орнаментированы. Однако при взгляде сверху, внутренняя поверхность кажется покрытой сплошным орнаментом. Зрительный эффект достигнут относительно крупными размерами и простотой декора, стиль которого характерен для керамики Хорезма с бирюзовой поливой и подглазурной черной росписью. Наш вывод подтверждается и орнаментальным мотивом внешней поверхности

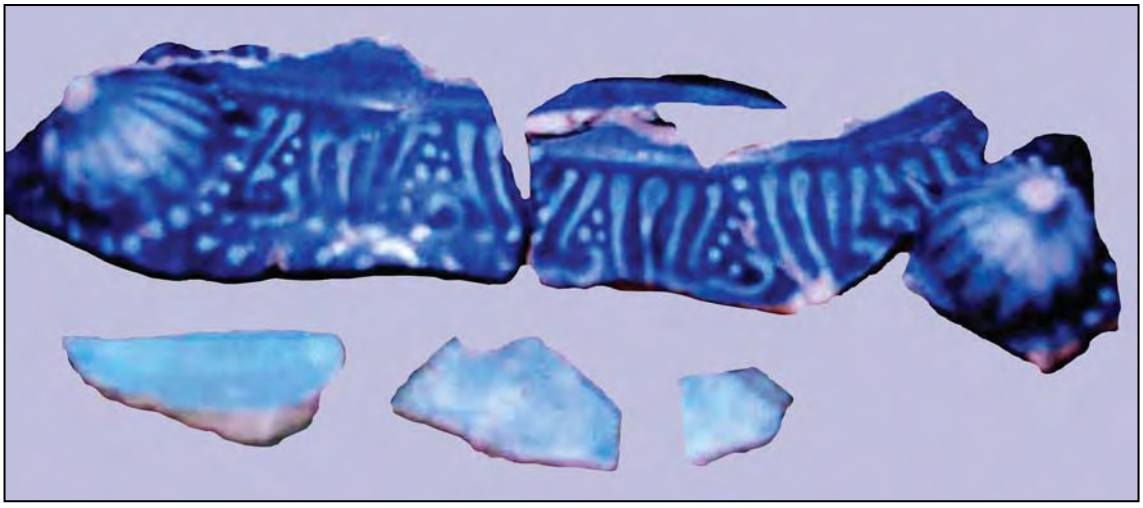

Рис. 9. Фрагменты вазообразного кашинного сосуда №9 с кобальтовой поливой, орнаментом белым ангобом и рельефом (фото автора).

Fig. 9. Fragments of vase-shaped Qashan vessel no. 9 with cobalt glaze, ornamented with white slip and relief decoration (photo by the author).

Рис. 10. «Тимуридская керамика».Чаша № 10 с бесцветной поливой и подглазурной кобальтовой росписью (фото автора).

Fig. 10. "Timurid pottery". Bowl no. 10 with colorless glaze and underglaze cobalt painted decoration (photo by the author).

Рис. 11. «Тимуридская керамика». Чаша № 11 с бирюзовой поливой и подглазурной черной росписью (фото автора).

Fig. 11. "Timurid pottery". Bowl no. 11 with terquoise underglaze black painted decoration (photo by the author).

сосуда. Здесь присутствуют шести- и семилепестковые цветы, чередующиеся с трехлепестковыми ланцетолистыми пальметтами, по белому ангобу. Шестилепестковый цветок окрашен в черный цвет и обведен черной линией, а семилепестковый цветок имеет белый фон, не окрашен и без обвода. Этот широкий орнаментальный пояс сверху и снизу окаймлен попарно расположенными черными полосами. Под нижней полосой к донцу идут вертикальные узкие линии. Размеры чаши: Д — 13,5 см, дд. — 7,3 см, В — 7,5 см (рис. 11).

В 1994—1997 гг. в «Северном квартале» городища Миздахкан вскрыты десятки жилых сооружений, среди которых ряд помещений с поливной керамикой тимуридского времени. Среди них чаша №12 с отогнутым наружу венчиком. Внутренняя сторона имеет подглазурную роспись кобальтом растительного характера. Центральная композиция — шестилепестковый цветок — оконтурена расписной каймой, по краю расположена композиция в виде трехлепесткового цветка («кольцо-локон») на длинном стебле. Окружает эти розетки орнаментальный пояс из реалистических цветков, листьев и стеблей. Над ним расположены цепочки белых точек в кобальтовом кольце. По борту идут волнообразные побеги с полупальметтами. Фон всех орнаментальных деталей оконтурен кобальтовыми линиями. По краю чуть отогнутого наружу венчика идет сплошная тонкая линия. Наружную поверхность чаши украшает орнамент в виде фигур из трех округлых лепестков, внутри которых сгруппированные точки-ягодки. Размеры чаши: Д —17,3 см, дд. — 6,4 см, В — 8,5 см (рис. 12: 1).

Имитацией тимуридской фаянсовой посуды является великолепная местная чаша №13. Материалом этой чаши служила белый

Рис. 12. «Тимуридская керамика». 1 — чаша №12 с бесцветной поливой и подглазурной кобальтовой росписью; 2—4 — прорисовки чаш №10—12 (фото и рисунки автора).

Fig. 12. "Timurid pottery". 1 — bowl no.12 with colorless glaze and underglaze cobalt painted decoration; 2—4 — drawings of the bowls no.10—12 (photo and drawings by the author).

кашин розоватого оттенка. Белая прозрачная глазурь покрывает растительную роспись темно-синим кобальтом. Форма сосуда полусферическая, с легким отгибом венчика наружу, имеет кольцевую ножку, дно чуть утолщено посередине. Внутри центральная композиция в виде шестилепесткового цветка, она в свою очередь обрамлена шестилепестковой цветочной розеткой. Второй ярус композиции также состоит из растительной росписи, покрывающей половину центральной, половину вертикальной части внутренней поверхности чаши. В них кобальтовая роспись состоит из веток, лепестков и розеток, составленных из кружков. Корпус чаши слабо отогнут, закраина орнаментирована волнистыми гибкими побегами, листиками и завитками. Чаша имеет низкий кольцевой поддон, от которого идут вертикальные полосы арочного орнамента. Размеры чаши: Д — 21 см, дд. — 7 см, В — 8 см (рис. 13). В целом, глазурованные чаши тимуридского типа Миздахкана отличаются от других изделий заметным технологическим признаком. Черепок в изломе чисто белый, без оттенков других цветов, блестящая белизна фактуры сближает их к изделии-

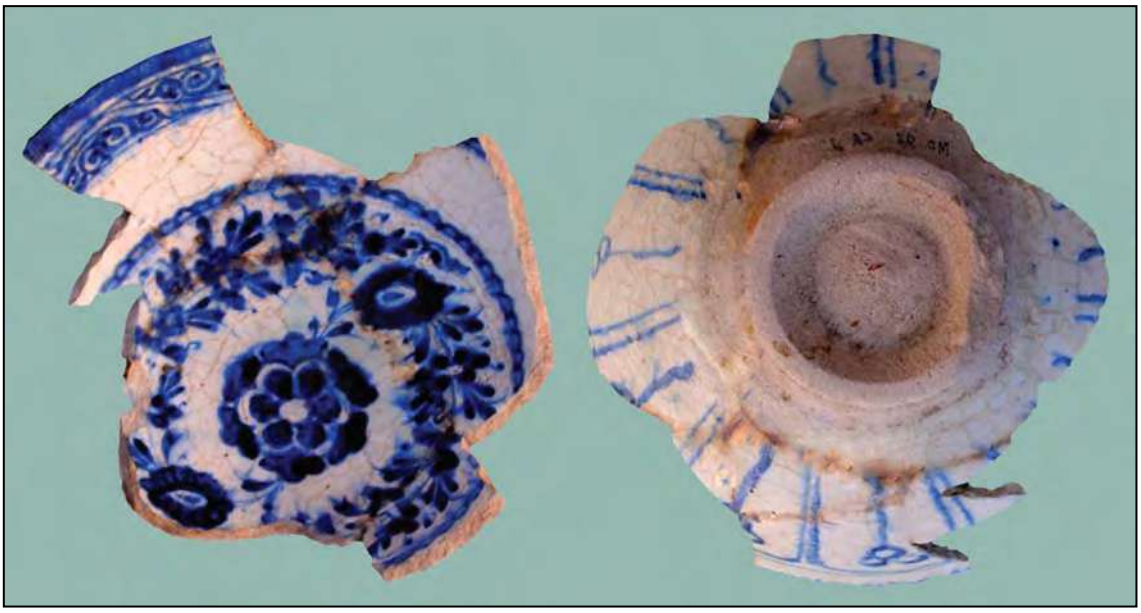

Рис. 13. «Тимуридская керамика». Чаша №13 с бесцветной поливой и подглазурной темно-синей росписью (фото автора).

Fig. 13. "Timurid pottery". Bowl no. 13 with colorless glaze and underglaze dark blue painted decoration (photo by the author).

ям фаянсовой посуды Самарканда. Однако их профилировка и размеры аналогичны другим кашинным и красноглиняным изделиям из памятников Южного Приаралья.

Миниатюрный близкой к сферической форме **кувшинчик (кружка?)** имеет пластинчатую ручку (№14). Кашинный сосудик покрыт бесцветной поливой, имеет подглазурную кобальтовую темно-синюю и зеленую роспись на белом ангобе. Кобальтовая орнаментация нанесена в виде вертикальных параллельных линий. Она разделяет поверхность сосудика на четыре орнаментальных пояса. Внутри них орнамент из сплетающихся растительно-цветочных побегов зеленого цвета. По верху венчика также идет горизонтальная кайма из кобальтовых точек (рис. 14). Орнаментальная композиция сосудика хорошо известна в декоративном убранстве мавзолея Наджим-ад-дин Кубра (20—30 гг. XIV в., Гургандж), Махмуд Пахлаван (30-е гг. XIV в., Хива). Однако отметим, что белый ангоб, кобальтовая и зеленоватая роспись хорошо известны и в тимуридской керамике Хорезма, Золотой Орды и Самарканда в конце XIV—XV вв. Традиции ее прослеживаются и в позднесредневековой поливной керамике Куня-Ургенча (XV—XVII вв.).

Рис. 14. Миниатюрный кувшинчик (альбарелло) №14 с бесцветной поливой и подглазурной темно-синей и зеленой росписью (фото автора).

Fig. 14. Miniature jug (Albarello) no. 14 with colorless glaze and underglaze dark blue and green painted decoration (photo by the author).

Кроме этих экземпляров, в Миздахкане встречаются и другие типы керамики тимуридской эпохи. Ранее тимуридская керамика зафиксирована в таких средневековых памятниках Южного Приаралья, как Шемаха-кала, Куня-Ургенч, Шехрлик, Вазир-Дэвкескен и Хива. Она вкупе с керамикой Миздахкана тимуридской эпохи представлена двумя типами: с ярко-синей (вариант — черной) росписью и «резервом» и с росписью темно-синей кобальтовой краской и рельефом. В этом плане изучение тимуридской керамики Хорезма позволяет определить культурное развитие области в период «Ренессанса Тимуридов». В конце XIV в.

и в XV в. начался новый этап в развитии поливной керамики Средней Азии. Среди них резко выделяется керамическая посуда и архитектурный декор с кобальтовой росписью под прозрачной бесцветной (или чуть голубоватой) глазурью. Такая керамика сначала зародилась в Самарканде, и благодаря коммуникативным возможностям Великого Шелкового пути, распространилась в различные регионы Мавераннахра, Хорезма, Казахстана, Золотой Орды, Кавказа и Руси. Новые находки тимуридской керамики на Миздахкане свидетельствуют о влиянии самаркандской школы на появление художественной посуды Хорезма. Монохромная роспись тимуридской керамики Хорезма мало отличается от самаркандской. Она возникла, как бы подражая мавереннахрской керамике, на основе местных материалов. По составу хорезмская кашинная глазурь близка к основной массе керамики Золотой Орды и Мавераннахра тимуридской эпохи.

Характерная особенность поливной, особенно кашинной керамики Миздахкана: глазурь сплошь покрывает поверхность посуды, за исключением кольцевого поддона. Исключение составляют красноглиняные гигиенические сосуды типа тувак, покрытые поливой только с внутренней стороны.

Рис. 15. 1 — красноглиняная чаша №15 с полихромной росписью; 2 — прорисовка чаши №15; 3 — аналогия ей (фото и рисунки автора).

Fig. 15. 1 — Red-clay bowl no. 15 with polychrome painted decoration; 2 — drawing of bowl no. 15; 3 — analogy to it (photo and drawings by the author)

Красноглиняная поливная керамика

Эту группу керамики Миздахкана, вместе с керамикой Шемаха-калы (периферийный город XIII—XIV вв. рядом с Устюртом), можно сравнивать с высокохудожественной кашинной керамикой. Для этой группы изделий характерно изящество формы, сочность красок и колоритность росписей. Она изготовлена из глины хорошего качества, сосуды тонкостенные, черепок в изломе имеет окраску от красного до кремового. Формы красноглиняной керамики почти полностью повторяют силуэты кашинных сосудов. Среди них, как и в кашинной керамике, встречаются чаши и пиалы на кольцевом поддоне, сегментовидной или полусферической формы с прямым и отогнутым наружу венчиком. Эта группа изделий представлена также плоскодонными мисками, тарелками, кувшинчиками с широким горлом, альбарелло, светильниками (чираки) и детскими гигиеническими сосудами (туваки). Сосуды как открытых, так и закрытых форм часто с двух сторон покрыты однотонной красно-желтой, зеленой или бесцветной поливой. Редко встречаются изделия с двухцветной поливой (внутренняя и внешняя поверхность покрывались поливой разного цвета). Изделия орнаментированы геометрическим, растительным и зооморфными узорами. Иногда поливная посуда с внутренней стороны орнаментировалась комбинированным способом: наряду с гравировкой (сграффито) она имела растительно-геометрическую и абстрактную роспись.

Довольно большая **чаша** №15 с полихромной росписью в центре имеет сложный цветочный орнамент, образующий крестовидную фигуру, в середине которой вписана маленькая четырехлепестковая розетка. Поля между концами крестовидной фигуры заполнены светло-желтым сетчатым узором. Своеобразие декора чаши — это использование зеленой росписи, нанесенной в виде полос и крупных точек. Размеры чаши: Д — 20 см, дд. — 7,5 см, В — 8,8 см (рис. 15: 1, 2).

Другая чаша №16, усеченно-конической формы на кольцевом поддоне, представле-

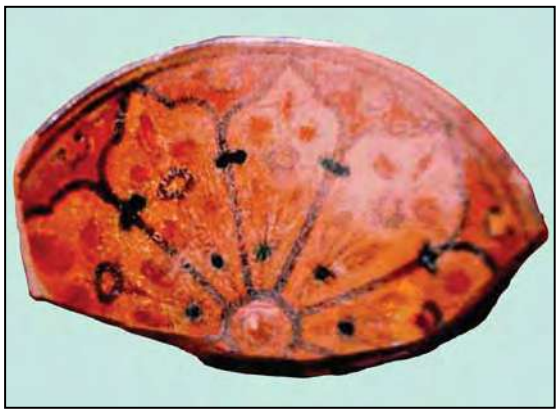

Рис. 16. Красноглиняная чаша №16 с полихромной росписью (фото автора).

Fig. 16. Red-clay bowl no. 16 with polychrome painted decoration (photo by the author).

Рис. 17. Красноглиняная миска с полихромной росписью, фрагмент (фото автора).

Fig. 17. Red-clay bowl with polychrome painted decoration, a fargment (photo by the author).

на крупным фрагментом. Полихромная роспись выполнена коричнево-черной и красной красками. Чаша выделяется не только своеобразным орнаментом, но и изящной формой. На внутренней стороне сосуда орнамент состоит из секторов в виде крупных листьев, изображенных веерообразно. Середина листьев украшена красным древовидным орнаментом с оранжевыми плодами, кругами точек и растительными побегами. Край венчика подчеркнут коричнево-черной подглазурной полосой. Размеры чаши: Д — 18 см, дд. — 8,5 см, В — 6,5 см (рис. 16).

Следующий сосуд представлен донной частью чаши, в центре которой на светло-кремовом ангобе, под прозрачной глазурью со слегка красноватым оттенком изображена летящая утка. Нарисованная в центре чаши фигура птицы сочетается с растительным орнаментом, выполненным черной краской. Реалистично представлены туловище, крылья и хвост. Голова утки нарисована в позе полета вверх. Распушенные перья хвоста отличают ее от изображения утки на идентич-

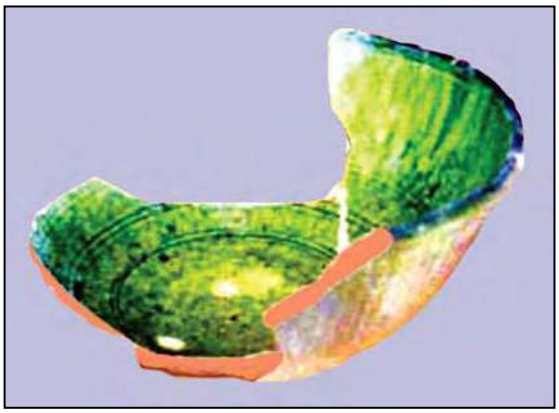

Рис. 18. Красноглиняная чаша с зеленой поливой (фото автора).

Fig. 18. Red clay bowl with green glaze (photo by the author).

Рис. 19. Фрагмент красноглиняной чаши с зеленой поливой (фото автора).

Fig. 19. A fragment of red clay bowl with green glaze (photo by the author).

Рис. 20. Фрагмент красноглиняной тарелки с зеленой поливой (фото автора).

Fig. 20. A fragment of red clay plate with green glaze (photo by the author).

Рис. 21. Красноглиняные кувшины с зеленой поливой (фото автора).

Fig. 21. Red clay jugs with green glaze (photo by the author).

ной красноглиняной полихромной керамике из Шемаха-калы (Вактурская 1959: рис. 29, 5) и Джампык-калы. Для уток из этих памятников характерно изображение распластанных крыльев с развевающимися перьями и собранный в пучок хвост. Здесь надо отметить, что набирающие высоту птицы изображены и на монетах Хорезма золотоордынского периода (Федоров-Давыдов 1965: табл. V: 43). Другая особенность изображения уток — в свободном полете — встречается в Южном Приаралье в основном на донья красноглиняной посуды.

В группу сосудов открытых форм типа чаш относятся и поливные **миски**. Они отличаются от чаш большим диаметром донца и корпуса. Однако способы нанесения орнамента такие же, как у вышеописанных чаш. Плоскодонная миска имеет прямые, конически расходящиеся стенки. Роспись выполнена по светлому ангобу полихромными красками (темно-коричневого и сочно-зеленого цвета). На донце нарисован растительный узор в виде извивающихся побегов и трехлепестковая пальметта в сердцевидном обводе. Этот растительный мотив, повторяясь, образует кольцевую зону на дне сосуда. По бортику чаши расположена орнаментальная полоса, нижнюю часть которой занимает извивающийся растительный побег. Нижняя часть бортика украшена темно-коричневой полосой. Размеры миски: дд. — 16 см, В — 5,5 см (сохранившаяся часть) (рис. 17).

Значительную группу красноглиняной керамики Миздахкана составляют изделия, покрытые **зеленой поливой**. Вся поверхность сосудов покрывалась светлым ангобом. Однотипные подглазурные врезные концентрические круги и горизонтальные каннелюры украшают внутреннюю поверхность сосудов. Значительно четче выражены формы сосудов, они становятся изящнее, стенки тоньше. По функциональному назначению выделяются следующие категории сосудов: чаши, тарелки, кувшины, горшки и чираги. **Чаша** полусферической формы имеет прямой, чуть отогнутый наружу венчик, с внутренней части покрыта ярко-зеленой поливой, наружная поверхность орнаментирована вертикальными слабовыраженными линиями. Размеры: Д — 16 см, дд. — 5,5 см, В — 9,2 см (рис. 18).

К этой категории чаш относится и другой экземпляр с темно-зеленой поливой. Чаша имеет полусферическую форму, отогнутый наружу венчик. Размеры: Д — 23,5 см, дд. — 11,5 см, В — 2,8 см (рис. 19).

Рис. 22. Чираги (светильники) с зеленой поливой (фото автора).

Fig. 22. Chirags (lamps) with green glaze (photo by the author).

Рис. 23. Пиала с зеленой и желтой поливой (фото автора).

Fig. 23. Bowls of green and yellow glazes (photo by the author).

Эту группу изделий дополняют **тарелки** с широким бортиком и плоским, почти горизонтально отогнутым наружу венчиком (рис. 20).

К следующей группе керамики с зеленой поливой относятся фрагменты и десятки целых экземпляров **кувшинов** и светильников. В большинстве случаев встречаются кувшины с широким цилиндрическим горлом, шаровидным туловом без ручек и дном на кольцевом поддоне (тип I), широкогорлые кувшины с подцилиндрическим туловом с вертикальным рифлением (тип II) и сосуды с яйцевидным туловом и широким валиком у основания горловины (тип III) (рис. 21). Кроме того, встречаются фрагменты сероглиняных штампованных кувшинов с частичным покрытием бирюзовой поливой.

Наряду с кувшинами с зеленой поливой, имеются образцы **светильников-чирагов** с округлым граненым и плошковидным корпусом с вытянутым носиком (тип I) (рис. 22). Встречаются кашинные чираги с биконическим граненым резервуаром (тип II). Ручки у светильников часто имеют пластинчатую форму, также встречаются ручки, оформленные сверху листовидным навершием со штампованным орнаментом из растительных мотивов. Иногда встречаются и чираги с лимонно-желтой глазурью. Эту категорию керамики представляет и пиала с полусферическим корпусом на кольцевом поддоне с желтой поливой. Размеры: Д — 12,4 см, дд. — 6 см, В — 4,5 см. (рис. 23).

В Миздахкане найдены несколько экземпляров сфероконусов с бирюзовой поливой. **Поливные сфероконусы** почти одинакового размера и каплевидной формы (рис. 24) различаются по орнаментации. Одни из них имеют стенки с рельефными «шишечками», покрывающими всю поверхность сосуда (тип I). Другие сосуды гладкостенные (тип II). В Средней Азии сфероконусы известны по материалам X—XIV вв. Миздахканские сфероконусы датируются XIII—XIV вв. Их аналогии встречаются в золотоордынских городищах Северного Кавказа, Нижнего Поволжья и Средней Азии (Ртвеладзе 1974: 178—186; Галиева 2000: 45—48).

Туваки — сосуды, входящие в комплекс детских люлек, предназначенные для гигиенических целей, имеют форму суживаю-

Рис. 24. Сфероконусы с бирюзовой поливой (фото автора). Масштабы разные.

Fig. 24. Turquoise glazed sphero-conical vessels (photo by the author). Scale is different.

щегося к низу усеченно-конического резервуара с широким, горизонтально отогнутым бортиком и плоским дном. Полива темно-зеленая, покрывает сосуд с внутренней стороны. Размеры: Д — 16 см, дд. — 6 см, В — 14 см (рис. 25).

Таким образом, рассмотренная нами поливная керамика Миздахкана относится к золотоордынскому времени. Все материалы обнаружены в непереотложенных слоях XIII—XIV вв. и являлись одним из компонентов материальной культуры этого времени. Комплекс глазурованной керамики памятника имеет богатую орнаментацию. Это особенно относится к чашеобразным (пиалообразным) сосудам, которые отличаются большим числом серий изделий, для каждой из которых, вместе с тем, характерна стандартизация формы и оформления.

Рис. 25. Тувак с зеленой поливой (фото автора).

Fig. 25. Tuvak (butt) with green glaze (photo by the author).

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Кашин Хорезма

Keywords: Khwarezm, Golden Horde period, Qashan ceramics, glaze, ornamentation

Ключевые слова: Хорезм, золотоордынский период, кашинная керамика, глазурь, орнаментация

M.-Sh. Kdirniazob

Qashan Ceramics of Khwarezm

The author publishes some new finds of the 13th — 14th century Qashan ceramics from medieval towns of Khwarezm. The author offers his own ideas about the typology of the Qashan ceramics produced in the Central Asia, referring primarily to the authority of previous researchers. An attempt is made to define which vessels refer to the local production and which were imported here from Iran. The author concludes about the same place of origin for the Qashan ceramics produced in Khwarezm urban centers and main Golden Horde cities in the Lower Volga region.

М.-Ш. Кдырниязов

Кашин Хорезма

Статья посвящена публикации отдельных новых находок кашинной керамики из средневековых городов Хорезма XIII—XIV вв. Автор излагает свои взгляды на типологию кашинной керамики среднеазиатского производства, руководствуясь в первую очередь авторитетным мнением предыдущих исследователей. Предпринимается попытка определить, какие сосуды относятся к местному производству а какие попали на памятники изучаемого региона в качестве иранских импортов. Автор приходит к выводу о едином происхождении кашинной керамики произведённой в городских центрах Хорезма и столичных нижневолжских городах Золотой Орды.

Продукция гончарного производства средневекового Хорезма является одним из наиболее изученных аспектов его материальной культуры. Она была представлена в исследованиях А. Ю. Якубовского (1931: 28—48), Н. Н. Вактурской (1959: 300—328), Г. А. Пугаченковой (1960: 197—200), Э. В. Сайко (1966: 54—63), где были отмечены отдельные виды поливных изделий региона на базе материалов, собранных в 1930—1940 и 1960-х гг. В результате раскопок последних десятилетий XX — начала XXI вв. получены новые комплексы керамики из городищ Миздахкан, Пульжай и Джанпык-кала. Итогом их изучения стали работы по истории средневековой керамики Хорезма, в которых изучены виды, формы, морфологические признаки керамических изделий, технология производства и пути ее становления (Кдырниязов 1989: 62—93; 2015: 162—185; Искандерова 2005: 3—21). Изучению кашинной керамики Хорезма посвящены отдельные разделы работы Н. Н. Вактурской (1959: 320—326), М.-Ш. Кдырниязова (1989: 65—77) и кандидатская диссертация А. Ж. Искандеровой (2005: 10—17). В целом, представленные материалы дополняют сведения о производстве поливной керамики в средневековых городах Южного Приаралья. Подобная кашинная керамика восточноевропейских центров Золотой Орды нашла отражение в работах Г. А. Федорова-Давыдова, Н. М. Булатова и др. (1968: 85—109; 1976: 73—107; 1989: 133—248; Федоров-Давыдов 1994: 78—137; Абызова и др. 1981). В последние годы находки импортной кашинной керамики этого вре-

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мени в России и Казахстане отмечают в своих работах В. Ю. Коваль (2005: 75—86: 2010), З. Самашев, О. В. Кузнецова (2000: 84—100). В этих работах, подчеркивая высокий уровень керамического производства в городах Золотой Орды, проводится классификация кашинной поливной керамики (Булатов 1968: 95—109; Федоров-Давыдов 1994: 78—126). Наряду с этим в них признается наличие самостоятельной керамической школы средневекового Хорезма, традиции, которые повлияли на поволжские и северо-кавказские керамические центры Золотой Орды (Якубовский 1931: 28—48; Гражданкина, Ртвеладзе 1971: 138—139; Федоров-Давыдов 1994: 133). Однако новые находки и особенности производства кашина в Хорезме в целом специально не изучались.

Кашинная керамика Хорезма XIII—XIV вв. известна по многочисленным образцам изделий из высоко-силикатного кремноземного состава хорошего качества — кашина, принимающего после обжига ярко-кремовую или белую окраску. В этот период происходит подъем производства поливных керамических изделий, появляются новые художественные декоративные приемы (Вактурская 1959: 341; Кдырниязов 2015: 195—202). Кашинную керамику Хорезма также можно классифицировать как и в других центрах Золотой Орды (отдел, группа и типы). Здесь учитывается состав и прозрачность поливы, техника нанесения орнаментации и их колер. В керамическом комплексе городов Южного Приаралья среди поливных изделий присутствуют и импортные сосуды. Среди привозной керамики можно выделить изделия на кашинной основе типа минаи, люстр, «грэн де-ри» («ажурная»). Для кашинной керамики Хорезма характерно пористое бело-серое тесто. Кашин появляется здесь в конце XII — нач. XIII вв. (Вактурская 1959: 320, 327). В золотоордынский период кашинная керамика получает особое распространение и становится разнообразной. В золотоордынских слоях Шемахакалы она составляет 49,03%, Миздахкана — 43% от поливной керамики. Кашинная керамика Средней Азии примерно одинакова по химическому составу глазури. Однако изделия Хорезма отличаются более высоким процентом кремнезема (89—93%) (Гражданкина 1989: 72). Высокий показатель кремнезема наблюдается в составе стеклянных изделий (68,37%) (Абдуразаков, Безбородов 1966: 85, 108, табл. XVIII) и архитектурной керамики (высокосиликатный кремнозем до 94%) (Гражданкина 1989: 85). В XIII—XV вв. изделия покрывались щелочной глазурью, для облицовки использовались в основном прозрачная поташная и глухие оловянные поливы. Они, в отличие от характерной для хорезмшахского времени (XI — нач. XIII вв.) свинцовой поливы, давали толстый стеклянный слой (Вактурская 1959: 320). В археологической литературе по поводу изготовления кашинных изделий существуют различные мнения. Кашинные изделия изготовлялись с помощью специальных алебастровых форм, встречающихся в золотоордынских городах Поволжья, Хорезма (Булатов 1972: 271—274; Федоров-Давыдов Булатов 1989: 227, рис. 32). Н. С. Гражданкина полагает, что их делали с помощью гончарного круга или накладыванием массы на особые деревянные шаблоны (Гражданкина 1965: 158). Ясно, что изготовление кашинных сосудов требовало особой технологии, и работа эта была трудоемкой.

Отдел I

Группа I. Керамика с прозрачной поливой

Высококачественные свинцовые глазури давали толстый слой поливы на дне чаши и были прозрачными. Это предоставляло возможность для украшения посуды подглазурной росписью. В XIII—XV вв. большим разнообразием отличалась керамика, покрытая прозрачной глазурью и подглазурной росписью.

Тип 1. Керамика с подглазурной полихромной росписью и рельефом. Этот тип представлен сравнительно большим количеством находок. В росписи применялись, в основном, темно-серая с зеленоватым оттенком и синяя краски. Рельефный узор создавался с помощью специальных разъемных форм с вырезанным орнаментом (Кдырниязов 1983: 66—67). Он представлен большим числом сосудов типа чаш, пиал, тарелок. Чаши тонкостенные, сегментовидные и полусферические, на поддоне переходной формы от дисковидной к кольцевидной. Внутренняя поверхность открытых сосудов включает от двух до четырех орнаментальных поясов, разделенных одинарными широкими или двойными узкими горизонтальными и вертикальными полосами (т. н. «секторная» композиция). В росписи применялись темно-синяя с зеленоватым оттенком и ультрамариновая краски. Мотивы орнаментации внутренней поверхности в центральной зоне представлены геометрическими фигурами, заполненными точками, включают эпиграфические стилизованные надписи «насхи» и цветочные

Рис. 1. Кашинные чаши с изображением уток и орнаментом в виде «павлиньих глазков» с кобальтовыми темно-синими точками. 1—2, 4 — Миздахкан; 3 — Шемаха-кала, чаша с бирюзовой поливой и подглазурной черной росписью в виде птичек (в статье все фото и рисунки автора).

Fig. 1. Qashan bowls with ducks, ornaments (peacock eyes) and cobalt dots. 1—2, 4 — Mizdahkan; 3 — bowl with turquoise underglaze painted decoration in the form of birds from Shemakha kala (all photos and drawings in the article are by the author).

розетки. Кроме этих орнаментальных мотивов, встречается роспись в виде многократно повторяющихся «павлиньих глазков» с синим и голубым заполнением. В центральной зоне на дне чаш, на фоне стилизованных растительных орнаментов, заполненных темно-синими точками, встречаются изображения уток, как, например, на чашах из Ай-ата (Кдырниязов 2015: 166, рис. 50: 1), Шемаха-кала (Вактурская 1959: рис. 29: 1) и Миздахкан (рис. 1: 1, 2). В целом, на территории средневековых городов и поселений Южного Приаралья найдено около полутора десятков чаш и пиал с изображением уток, сидящих с головой, повернутой назад, в летящей или стоящей позе. Такие же изображения известны и в керамике восточноевропейских памятников Золотой Орды (Булатов 2002: 43—45). Однако исследователями отмечалось, что в западных регионах Улуса Джучи «зооморфные орнаменты сравнительно редки и ограничены изображением в центральной зоне водоплавающих птиц» (Федоров-Давыдов 2004: 87).

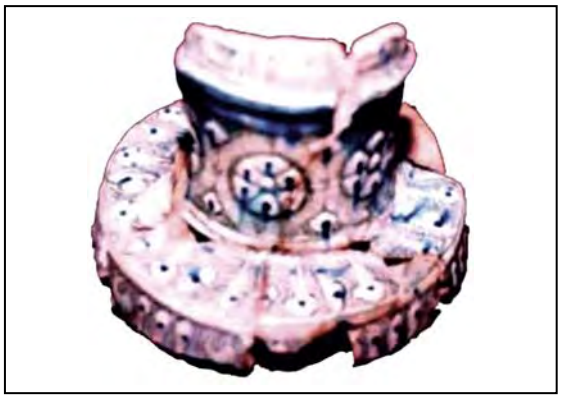

Рис. 2. Керамика с поглазурной росписью кобальтовой краской по белому фону и с рельефом.

Fig. 2. Relief decoration ceramic with cobalt painted motifs under colorless glaze.

Тип 2. Кермаика с подглазурной полихромной росписью без рельефа. Такие сосуды часто встречаются среди кашинной керамики Хорезма в памятниках домонгольского (Каваткала) и золотоордынского периода (Шемахакала). Их поверхность с двух сторон покрыта толстым слоем стекловидной поташной поливы. Основные формы: пиалообразные полусферические чаши с отогнутым венчиком и сегментовидные чаши с вертикальным краем. Эти сосуды украшались подглазурной росписью, нанесенной зеленой и синей кобальтовыми красками. Совершенствуются мотивы и техника росписей, они становится мельче и тоньше. Орнамент изделий разделяется на зоны т. н. «секторной» композицией из геометрического и стилизованно-растительного узоров (Кдырниязов 1989: 67). Чаша, сочетающая эти декоры, найдена в караван-сарае Талайхан-ата (Вишневская 1958: рис. 7: 1, 4). Орнаменты внутренних бортиков чаши разделены вертикальными тройными синими полосами на восемь широких секторов. В них чередуются семичастные пальметты, стилизованно-растительные мотивы и сектор с точками. На дне чаши, в центральной зоне, окаймленной коричнево-зеленой полосой, вписаны два шестиугольника, составленные из зеленых косых крестиков и синих точек. В центре внутреннего, маленького шестиугольника нанесен узор в виде пятичастной пальметты. Верхние края венчика орнаментированы поперечными зелеными полосами в сочетании с более широкими полосами бирюзового и синего цветов. Внешняя сторона сосуда с высоким бортиком украшена орнаментальными поясами, состоящими из геометрических фигур (кольцо, треугольник, ромб). Тарелка с аналогичным орнаментом была найдена в «Восточном квартале I» Миздахкана. Внутренний маленький шестиугольник заполнен стилизованными цветами белого и бирюзового тона. Окончания наружной звезды украшены белой и кобальтовой краской. Борт тарелки разделен тремя вертикальными полосами кобальтовой краски на девять секторов. В них чередуются сектора с пятичастной пальметтой, розетка с шестилепестковым цветком, расцвеченным кобальтовой точкой, и сектор с мелкими точками зеленой краской. Отогнутый наружу венчик покрыт зеленой краской и украшен завитками. Чуть утолщенный край орнаментирован ко-

Рис. 3. Керамика с подглазурной полихромной росписью без рельефа.

Fig. 3. Underglaze polychrome painted ceramic.

бальтовыми и белыми точками. Внешняя сторона сосуда покрыта широким орнаментальным поясом, состоящим из треугольников с тремя синими крупными точками со следами потеков (рис. 3). Из Миздахкана известны и другие фрагменты кашинной посуды с шестиугольным орнаментом в центральном секторе, на дне. Подобная чаша найдена и в другом памятнике Хорезма — Замахшаре, в слоях золотоордынского времени (Атагаррыев 1974: 80). Роспись в виде шестиугольника или шестиконечной звезды в Хорезме известна из домонгольских керамических комплексов Замахшара (Вактурская 1959: рис. 9: 3) и в золотоордынских слоях Миздахкана (Кдырниязов 2015: 166, рис. 50: 2). В целом, на территории средневековых городов и поселений Хорезма найдено около десяти сосудов открытой формы с изображением шестиконечной звезды. Шестиугольная орнаментация встречается и в кашинной керамике Нового Сарая (Федоров-Давыдов 1976: илл. 111; Федоров-Давыдов, Булатов 1989: 197, рис. 23: 3, 5) и в Белгороде-Днестровском золотоордынского периода (Кравченко 1986: 68).

Тип 3. Керамика с ажурным орнаментом и с полихромной подглазурной росписью. Эти кашинные изделия украшены проколами и покрыты поливой в так называемой технике «рисового зерна» — *grain de riz* (Кдырниязов 2015: 164; Хожаниязов, Кдырниязов 1989а: 98). Появление этого типа посуды в Средней Азии относится к XII—XIII вв., она известна в Мисриане (Атагаррыев, Бяшимова 1979: 100) и Нисе (Пугаченкова 1949: 403). Сосуды с ажурным орнаментом были распространены в XIV в. в городах Золотой Орды. Кашинная керамика с ажурным орнаментом была найдена в незначительном количестве в золотоордынских городах Маджар, Увек и Сарай-Бату. Такие сосуды считались привозными из Ирана. Однако раскопки гончарных печей на золотоордынском памятнике дают фрагменты бракованной керамики с ажурным орнаментом (Булатов 1976: 247; Федоров-Давыдов, Булатов 1989: 196), что говорит о местном производстве. В этот период керамика с ажурным орнаментом распространялась и в хорезмских городах. Этот тип керамики встречается в Замахшаре, Ярбекиркала, Шемаха-кала (Вактурская 1959: 324), Джампык-кала (Манылов, Кдырниязов 1982: 78) и Миздахкане[1]. Среди кашинных керамических комплексов Кызыл-кала

Рис. 4. Керамика с белой поливой, подглазурной полихромной росписью (тимуридская).

Fig. 4. Underglaze painted pottery (Timurid time).

есть несколько образцов керамики «грэн де ри» (Хожаниязов, Кдырниязов 1989: рис. 8: 2). Одна пиалообразная чаша с ажурным орнаментом типа «грэн де ри» имеет конусовидную форму, на высокой кольцевидной ножке с выступающими перегибами при переходе стенок от донца к корпусу. Формовочным материалом для посуды послужило хорошо отмученное кашинное тесто светлого тона. В центре дна на белом фоне выделяется темно-синяя подглазурная роспись в виде парящей птички. На стенке чаши — полоса подглазурного ажурного орнамента: узор, состоящий из крупных листьев и стеблей. Край сосуда окаймлен темно-синей полоской. Эти находки позволяют предполагать, что такие изделия производились и в Хорезме.

Тип 4. Керамика с подглазурной росписью кобальтовой краской по белому фону (тимуридская). Посуда подобного типа домонгольским памятникам Хорезма не свойственна. В Хорезме, как и в городах Поволжья, кобальтовая керамика распространяется со второй половины XIV в. и часто встречается в слоях XV в., из-за чего получила название «тимуридской» (Кдырниязов 2015: 164; Федоров-Давыдов, Булатов 1989: 196). Традиции ее прослеживаются в керами-

[1] Неопубликованные находки из фонда кафедры Археологии КГУ.

Рис. 5. Керамика с подглазурной росписью кобальтовой краской по белому фону (тимуридская).

Fig. 5. Underglaze cobalt painted ceramics with a white background (Timurid time).

ке позднесредневекового времени из Ургенча (XVI—XVII вв.). В хорезмской посуде керамика с кобальтовой подглазурной росписью представлена нарядными столовыми сосудами типа блюд, кувшинов, чаш и горшковидных сосудов. Чаши имели сегментовидные и полусферические формы со слегка отогнутым или прямым венчиком, выступами внутрь и наружу. Блюда толстостенные или с утолщенными стенками с изогнутыми вверх венчиками. Одна чаша из «Северного квартала» Миздахкана имеет чуть отогнутый кнаружи венчик, слабо выступающие перегибы при переходе стенки от донца к корпусу и кольцевой поддон. В центральной зоне на дне нанесен растительный орнамент в виде шестилепестковых цветков и стеблей. По борту идут волнообразные побеги с полупальметтами. Наружную поверхность чаши украшает орнаментальная кайма в виде трехлепестковых фигур, внутри которых изображены четыре точки-ягодки (рис. 6).

Тип 5. Керамика с белой прозрачной поливой, подглазурной полихромной росписью.

Среди археологических находок из Миздахкана и Пульжая обнаружено несколько образцов археологически целых форм и фрагменты чаши с белой поливой и подглазурной полихромной росписью. Чаша имеет сферическую форму, фестончатый широкий отогнутый кнаружи край и геометрическо-растительный орнамент. Поверхность сосуда разделена на два пояса кобальтовыми точками и линиями. Кобальтовой росписью нанесены

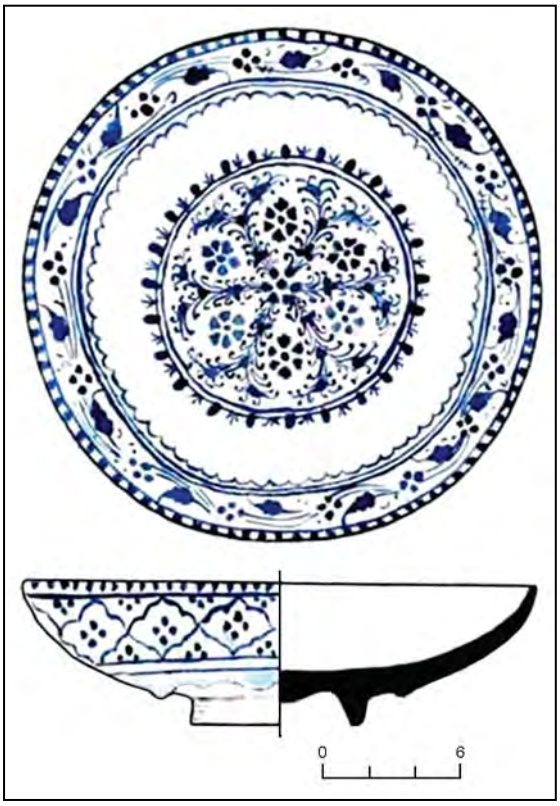

Рис. 6. Кашинная чаша с бесцветной поливой подглазурной кобальтовой росписью (тимуридская).

Fig. 6. Qashan bowl with colorless glaze and underglaze cobalt painted decoration (Timurid).

округлые волнистые линии и крупные шестилепестковые цветки центральной композиции на дне сосуда. Их дополняют элементы в виде синих точек с крапинами. Зеленой росписью

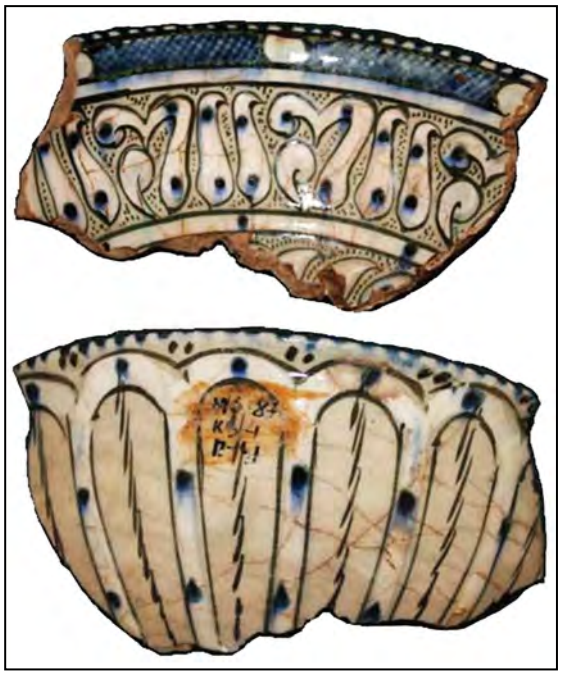

Рис. 7. Керамика с поглазурной росписью кобальтовой краской по белому фону и с рельефом.

Fig. 7. Relief underglaze cobalt painted decoration ceramic with a white background.

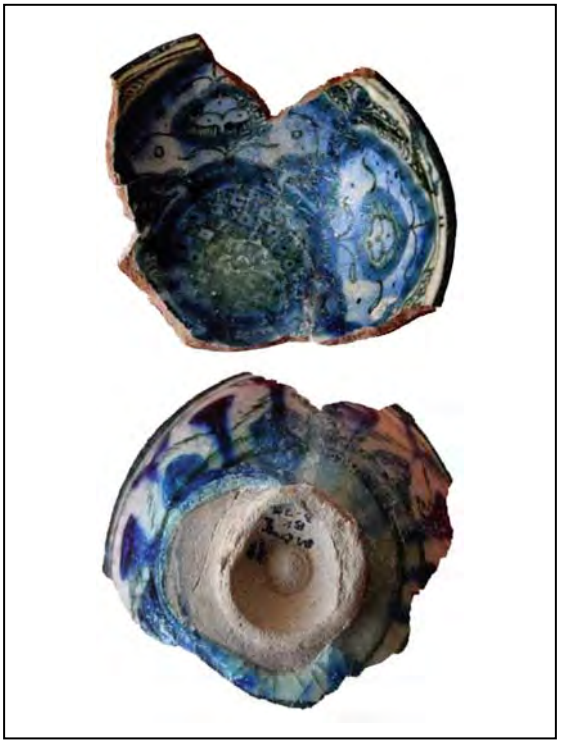

Рис. 8. Керамика с бесцветной поливой и кобальтовой зеленой росписью.

Fig. 8. Pottery with colorless cobalt glaze and underglaze green painted decoration.

выполнены тонкие лепестки с закругленными краями на дне и закругленные фигуры венчика. Судя по аналогиям растительных узоров на другой чаше из Миздахкана, шестилепестковые цветки «вырастают» из цветка в центре сосуда (Кдырниязов 2015: 202, рис. 76б). Поверхность внешней стенки чаши имеет орнаментальный узор в виде крупных окончаний листьев, внутри которых находятся по три пирамидально расположенные точки (рис. 4).

Тип 5. Керамика с подглазурной росписью кобальтовой краской по белому фону и с рельефом. К этому типу относится полусферическая чаша из Миздахкана с тремя горизонтальными секторами узора на внутренней стороне. Внутренняя поверхность чаши ниже венчика украшена косой полосой. Ниже нанесена многократно повторяющаяся рельефная куфическая надпись. На дне, в большом секторе, изображен павлин. Наружная поверхность чаши расписана рельефными арочками с крупными синими точками по краям. Павлин головой повернут назад, к хвосту. В целом, изображения и павлина, и птиц схожи между собой, выполнены в том же стиле и одной технике рисунка (рис. 1: 1). Другой образец этого типа представлен керамической кашинной подставкой из Миздахкана. Нижняя широкая донная часть и обвод края ножки изделия украшены белыми многократно повторяющимися рельефными арабскими буквами. Выше этой надписи цилиндрический корпус сосуда расписан рельефными шестилепестковыми цветками. Эпиграфический, растительный орнамент и свободный фон между рисунками подставки расцвечены синими кобальтовыми точками (рис. 2). Подобная керамика широко распространена на территории Хорезма (Якубовский 1931: рис. 7—8; Вактурская 1959: рис. 30) и в Поволжье (Федоров-Давыдов 1976: илл. 108—109; Федоров-Давыдов, Булатов 1980: 198, рис. 23: 2, 5).

Группа II. Керамика с бирюзовой поливой

Тип 1. Керамика с прозрачной бирюзовой глазурью и черной подглазурной росписью (рис. 1: 3; 21). Появление бирюзовой прозрачной глазури относится к XII в. (Сайко 1966: 38), широкого распространения эта расцветка достигает в XIII—XIV вв. Этот тип керамики распространен во всех странах мусульманского мира и прообразом его считаются так называемые люстровые фаянсы, известные в Египте, Сирии и Иране (Квердфельд 1947: 63; Булатов 1968: 103). В Хорезме изделия

Рис. 9. Керамика с бесцветной поливой кобальтовой росписью.

Fig. 9. Cobalt painted decoration ware.

с бирюзовой поливой изготовлялись из светлого пористого кашина и расписывались краской тёмно-зелёного и синего (кобальта) цветов, дающий под бирюзовой глазурью темный оттенок. Среди изделий этого типа преобладали чаши, блюда, небольшие кувшинчики без ручек, миниатюрные чираги. Формы их были стандартными, изменялись только в деталях, отличались друг от друга размерами. Открытые сосуды типа чаши имели полусферическую или сегментовидную форму, со слегка загнутым внутрь венчиком и кольцевидным поддоном. Орнаментальная композиция расположена на дне и по стенкам сосуда. Между горизонтально расположенными секторами нанесена узкая или широкая кольцевая линия, расчленяющая орнаментальные зоны. Среди них выделяется чаша, найденная в Шемаха-кала (рис. 1: 3). Внутренняя поверхность сосуда на дне сплошь покрыта трех- и пятичастными лепестками, ветками, перьями «павлиньего хвоста». Выше, по широкому бирюзовому полю нанесены черные, нераскрывшиеся трехлепестковые бутоны и листья, напоминающие летящих птиц.

Рис. 10. Керамика с подглазурной росписью кобальтовой краской по белому фону и рельефом.

Fig. 10. Relief underglaze cobalt painted decoration ceramic with a white background.

Рис. 11. Кувшин с люстровой росписью.

Fig. 11. Lustre painted jar.

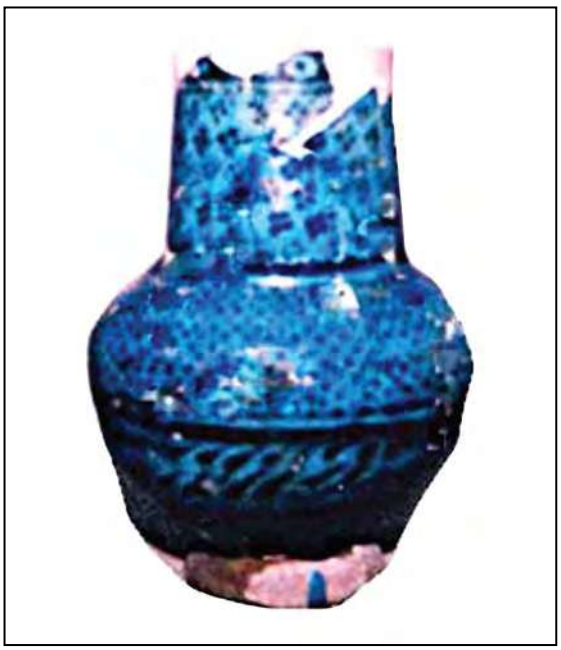

Рис. 12. Кувшин с бирюзовой поливой и подглазурной черной росписью.

Fig. 12. Turquoise glaze jar with black painted decoration.

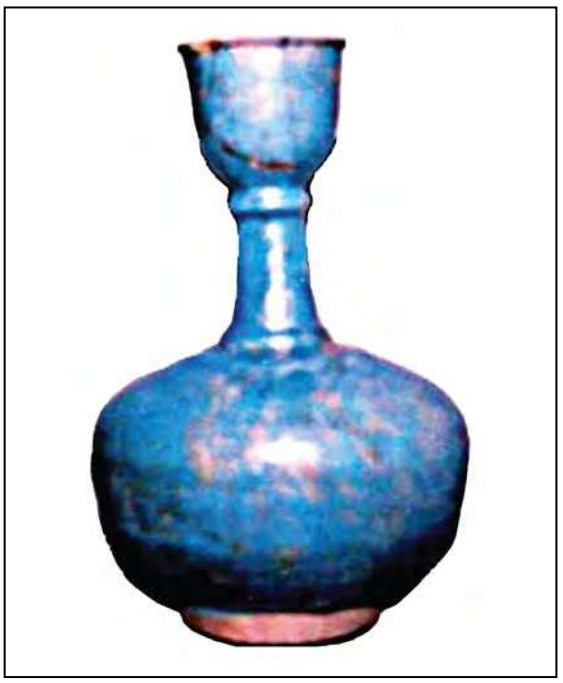

Рис. 13. Кувшин с двусторонней кобальтовой поливой.

Fig. 13. Cobalt glaze jug.

Эти симметрично расположенные фигуры в итоге образуют правильную черную сетку (Вактурская 1959: рис. 34: 1). Внешняя сторона чаши украшена параллельными рядами линий, выделеных глазурью чёрного цвета (Якубовский 1931: 37). Следует отметить, что керамика с бирюзовой поливой представлена и другими типами кашинных изделий. Кашинный кувшин из Куня-Ургенча, хранящийся в фондах Музея искусства Каракалпакстана им. И.В. Савицкого по характеру орнамента, росписи имеет полное сходство с предыдущими изделиями, украшенными подглазурной черной росписью, отличается только по форме изделия и расположением орнаментальных зон (рис. 12). В золотоордынскую эпоху с бирюзовой поливой и подглазурной черной росписью часто орнаментировались и архитектурная керамика (рис. 22).

Тип 2. Керамика с ажурным орнаментом и бирюзовой поливой. Такие изделия в керамических производственных центрах Хорезма встречаются повсеместно (Шемаха кала, Миздахкан, Пульжай, Джампык-кала). Подобная керамика на территории Золотой Орды зафиксирована в Сарай-Бату в слоях XIV в. Однако в ней, в отличие от хорезмских изделий, присутствует подглазурная кобальтовая роспись (Булатов 1976: 251, табл.).

Тип 3. Керамика с бирюзовой поливой, с рельефным орнаментом и черной подглазурной росписью. Чаша с бирюзовой поливой найдена в раскопках подсобных помещений мавзолея Мазлумхан-Сулу (30-е гг. XIV вв.). Край венчика украшен крупными рельефными точками. Ниже между попарно произведенными линиями нанесена полоса. Все остальное пространство до центральной зоны по бирюзовому полю, как и в Шемахакалинской чаше, нанесено трехлепестковыми бутонами, листьями, образующими черную сетку. Дно чаши украшает композиция из крупных листьев и веток (Кдырниязов 2015: рис. 53: б). На внешней стороне сверху и снизу чаши нанесены узкие параллельные черные линии. Эти чаши с подглазурной черной росписью и бирюзовой поливой находят аналогии в кашинной керамике Сарая-Берке (Якубовский 1931: 37; Федоров-Давыдов, Булатов1989: 197, рис. 23,1), Маджара (Гражданкина, Ртвеладзе 1971: 128—129), Увеке и Дубовском городище Поволжья (Булатов 1968: 102). Другой подтип подобной керамики, украшенный подглазурной черной росписью, отличается цветом росписи и отсутствием рельефа. Причем чаще всего встречается керамика без орнамента с гладкими стенками и зеленой подглазурной росписью. Зеленая подглазурная роспись, по мнению исследователей, заменяла широко распространенную в XIII—XIV вв. черную роспись. Здесь в качестве красителя применялся хром, а не кобальт (Булатов 1968: 104).

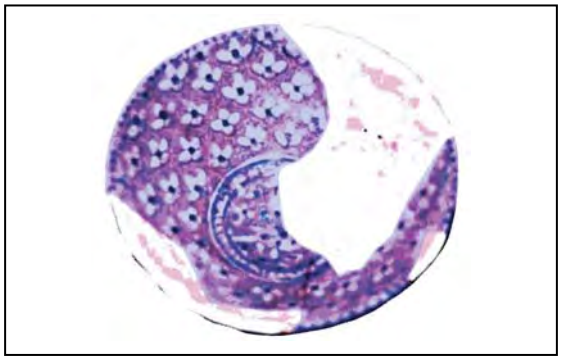

Рис. 14. Чаша с ультрамариновой поливой с полихромной росписью.

Fig. 14. Ultramarine glaze polychrome painted bowl.

Группа III. ***Керамика с ультрамариновой поливой с подглазурной росписью.*** Изделия с ультрамариновой кобальтовой поливой представляют особый вид кашинной керамики. Тип 1: *керамика с подглазурной белой растительной росписью и рельефом* (рис. 14). Этот тип часто встречается в архитектурной керамике Миздахкана. Тип 2 — керамика этого типа сочетается *с бирюзовой поливой*. В таких случаях внутренняя сторона покрыта бирюзовой поливой, а наружная — ультрамариновой (рис. 20). Аналогии подобным типам керамики встречаются в Поволжье в XIII—XIV вв. (Булатов 1968: 105; Федоров-Давыдов, Булатов 1989: 196). Несмотря на то, что целых сосудов не найдено, форму их можно реконструировать. В основном это блюда с прямым краем, кувшины с плоскими ручками на высоких кольцевых поддонах.

Отдел II

Керамика на кашинной основе с непрозрачной глухой (опаковой) поливой

Непрозрачность поливы достигалась добавлением в ее состав олова, и в результате керамисты получали глухую (опаковую) непрозрачную глазурь (Федоров-Давыдов, Булатов 1989: 199). Основное отличие керамики с опаковой (непрозрачной) поливой от керамики с прозрачной поливой состоит в том, что при росписи рисунок наносится по глазури, а не под ней (Булатов 1968: 105; Кдырниязов 2015: 173). Выделяются следующие типы этой керамики. *Тип 1 — керамика с непрозрачной бирюзовой поливой без росписи* представлена открытыми сосудами типа чаш и блюд, чернильницами и альбарелло. Находки этой керамики известны из раскопок

Рис. 15. Кувшин с люстровой росписью.

Fig. 15. Luster painted jug.

Шехрлик, Шемаха-кала (Архив ХАЭЭ, шифр Ш-Х-к, 1948; Вактурская 1963: 49) и встречены на других памятниках Хорезма: Джанпыккале, Миздахкан и сельских поселениях. *Тип 2 — с росписью и рельефом*. Надглазурная роспись на бирюзовой опаковой поливе сочетается с рельефом в виде «арок», рельефными «зубчиками» по краю сосуда и коническими налепленными деталями (Кдырниязов 2015: 173). *Тип 3 — без росписи с рельефом. Тип 4 — с белой поливой и полихромной надглазурной росписью*. Исследователями отмечено, что этот тип сложился в керамических центрах Средней Азии как подражание иранской керамике «минаи» (Вактурская 1952: 487; 1960: 191, 192). Сосуды с двух сторон покрывались непрозрачной белой поливой, а поверхность их украшалось надглазурной росписью — красной, коричневой и сине-зеленой красками, образующими изящный орнамент. Некоторые фрагменты имеют роспись с золочением, они особенно широко применялись в архитектурной керамике Хорезма XIII—XV вв. (Гражданкина 1989: 74). Производство подобных типов керамики было развито в золотоордынских центрах на Волге, в Селитренном городище найдена бракованная керамика этого типа (Федоров-Давыдов, Булатов 1989: 199). *Тип 5 — с росписью под «люстр»*. Наряду с люстровой посудой, в XIII—XIV вв. мастера-керамисты Хорезма выпускали и архитектурные изразцы в подражание люстровым керамическим издели-

ям (Сайко 1966: 55; Фонд ОА ККО АН РУз, Миздахкан, бугор Жомарт кассаб). Этот тип в Хорезме появился в хорезмшахскую эпоху (Гражданкина 1989: 82). *Тип 6 — с кобальтовой поливой и с люстровой росписью на обратной стороне* (рис. 16). Данный тип керамики представлен небольшим количеством находок по сравнению с предыдущими типами. Люстровая роспись встречается на внешней или внутренней сторонах изделий. Причем открытые сосуды типа тарелок с внешней стороны сплошь покрывались кобальтовой поливой, когда в технике люстра расписывались лицевые поверхности изделий. С внешней стороны люстром расписывались сосуды закрытого типа, а изнутри покрывались кобальтовой поливой (Фонд ХАЭ: Замахшар 59ЛБ, т. 717187—189; Даудан 11 (шифр 67), Д-н, 11/68; Айгельды, шифр 67/70, 74, 84—86). *Тип 7 — с бирюзовой поливой и надглазурной полихромной росписью*. При изготовлении изделий с глухой бирюзовой поливой и надглазурной росписью широко использовались красная или белая краски (Кдырниязов 2015: 174). *Тип 8 — с зеленой поливой*. Керамику с глухой зеленой поливой получали путем введения в состав содовых полив окиси меди с последующим заглушением их окисью олова. В золотоордынских городах Поволжья такую керамику исследователи называют «псевдоселадоном», то есть подражанием китайским селадонам (Булатов 1968: 108, 109). Черепки хорезмских «псевдоселадоновых» изделий окрашены глазурью двух цветов: ярко-зеленой и голубовато-зеленой.

На кашинной основе изготовлена и привозная керамика. Она в памятниках Хорезма XII—XIV вв. представлена следующими типами: люстр, грэн де-ри, фарфоровые изделия с кобальтовой росписью. Импортные изделия отличаются от хорезмских техническим и орнаментальным особенностями изобразительных мотивов.

Люстр. Люстровая керамика известна в Хорезме с домонгольского времени. За пределами Хорезма в Средней Азии люстровые изделия изготовлялись значительно раньше и зарегистрированы в городах Мавераннахра в IX в. (Шишкина 1979: 23, 36, 69), Южной Туркмении — XI—XII вв. (Атагаррыев, Бяшимова 1979: 101, 104). О местном производстве изделий этого типа на территории Средней Азии свидетельствуют находки бракованных сосудов в Мерве (Пугаченкова 1960: 84—86) и Бухаре (Мирзаахмедов 1999: 303). До недавнего времени находили единичные экземпляры люстровых изделий. Однако по археологическим работам последних лет на средневековых памятниках Хорезма получены новые образцы люстровой керамики, происходящих из культурных слоев Джанпык-калы, Кават-калы (Кдырниязов 1985: рис. 2; 5), Ербуруна, Кызыл-калы (Фонд ОА ККФАН; Хожаниязов, Кдырниязов 1989: 91—101), Миздахкана (Фонд ОА ККФАН, Жомарт Кассаб 1987) и сельских поселений Левобережного Хорезма (Фонд ХАЭЭ: шифр 58 Ярб/70 (ККГМИ, инв. 1170); 67 Кызылча/130—138, 143—146 (ККГМИ, инв. 1584—1599). В XII—XIV вв. люстровые изделия были распространены в Средней

Рис. 16. Тарелка с люстровой росписью и кобальтом.

Fig. 16. Luster painted plate with cobalt.

Рис. 17. Чаша с белой поливой и люстровой росписью.

Fig. 17. Lustre painted bowl.

Рис. 18. Чаша с бирюзовой поливой и черной росписью.

Fig. 18. Turquoise glaze black painted bowl.

Азии, в том числе в городах Хорезма. Ибн Баттута упоминает о бытовании люстровых изделий в Хорезме в XIV в. Для люстровых изделий, найденных в средневековых городах Хорезма, характерны следующие формы: блюда на кольцевом поддоне с отогнутым наружу краем, чаши пиалообразной формы, сосуды закрытого типа (Фонд ХАЭЭ: шифр 67, т. 707/1601—1604; 1608—1619 и др.: ККГМИ, инв. 10236—10245).

Первую группу составляют фрагменты и целые экземпляры тонкостенных тарелкообразных изделий. Основа — пористо-плотный кашин молочного цвета. Покрывающая глазурь белого оттенка, орнамент надглазурный, золотисто-коричневый люстр (рис. 17). С внутренней стороны расположены орнаментальные пояса, на дне нанесен узор в виде многолучевой звезды, фигурной розетки зооморфного и растительного характера. Выше центрального сюжета, на бортиках — розетки-медальоны, изображающие птиц, цветы, ягоды, завитки или эпиграфический орнамент. Последний орнаментальный пояс, нанесенный на верхний край, состоит из изображений растительного характера или стилизованной арабской вязи. Орнаментальные пояса выделяются одинарными, парными линиями по белому контуру. С внешней стороны блюда просто украшены сомкнутыми кругами, арочками, лепестками, плодами ягод и парным окаймляющим контуром.

Вторую группу составляют чаши пиалообразной формы. В центре чаши — антропоморфные или зооморфные изображения. Поверхность по бортикам украшена растительным и эпиграфическим орнаментом или фигурами птиц, выделенных контуром. Иногда фон птиц заполнен произвольными изображениями цветков и завитков. С наружной стороны подглазурные орнаментальные пояса, обрамленные золотисто-коричневыми линиями, заполнены надписями и стилизованными розетками с изображением известных точек. Среди люстровых изделий имеются фрагменты сосудов, покрытых с внутренней стороны люстровой росписью, а с наружной — кобальтовой поливой. Аналогичные изделия найдены при раскопках средневековых

Рис. 19. Фрагмент сосуда с двусторонней бирюзовой поливой.

Fig. 19. Fragment of turquoise glaze ware.

поселений вокруг Замахшара (Фонд ХАЭЭ; шифр 67, т. 707/1601—1604; 1608—1619 и др. (ККГМИ, инв. 10236—10245), Айгельды (Фонд ХАЭЭ, шифр 67, Ай-ы, п/70, 74, 84—86 (ККГМИ, инв. 5717—5721), Даудан II (Фонд ХАЭЭ, шифр 67, Д-н II/68, 97—98.: ККГМИ, инв. 5722, 5756, а.б) и Джанпык-кала (Фонд ККГМИ, шифр Дж-к, 83/раск. 11. п. I).

Третью группу люстровых изделий составляют сосуды закрытых форм (Кдырниязов 2006: 122—124). К ним относятся узко- и широкогорлые кувшины малого и среднего размеров (рис. 15). Судя по сохранившимся фрагментам, они орнаментировались только с внешней стороны растительным, эпиграфическим и зооморфным орнаментом. Закрытые сосуды внутри покрывались белой или кобальтовой поливой. В коллекциях ККГМИ им. И. В. Савицкого хранится кувшин с люстровой росписью (рис. 11) (Фонд ККГМИ, инв. 71 (КП-3531). Фрагменты аналогичных кувшинов найдены вокруг городищ Шехрлик (Фонд ХАЭЭ, шифр 70, т. 845, п. (ККГМИ, инв. 5760), Кзылча-кала (Фонд ХАЭЭ, шифр 67, К-ча/129—133, 140—146 и др. (ККГМИ, инв. 1584—1599).

Изобразительные мотивы люстровой керамики Хорезма сходны с керамикой средневековых городов Ирана и Южной Туркмении. Это тождество особенно отчетливо видно на сосудах открытых форм типа блюд и чаш. Сюжеты декоративной композиции на подобных изделиях — реалистические изображения человека (особенно всадников), животных (лебедь, павлин, утка) и эпиграфические надписи. Эти декоративные элементы встречаются в двух вариантах: одиночные изображения и вереницы фигур, многократно повторяющиеся на внутренней стороне сосуда. Подобная керамика имеет близкие аналогии в городах Южной Туркмении и Ирана (Атагаррыев, Бяшимова 1979: рис. 5; Атагаррыев 1986: 115—119). Совпадение изобразительных мотивов, форм и красок изделий позволяют предположить влияние или ввоз иранской и, в частности, хорасанской (южнотуркменской) люстровой керамики в Хорезм. Среди высококачественной люстровой керамики из городов Хорезма встречаются явно бракованные фрагменты. Довольно большой фрагмент найден близ Замахшара. С наружной стороны он орнаментирован люстровой росписью коричнево-золотистого цвета. Изнутри покрыт непрозрачной белой поливой, нижняя часть не глазурована. Полива нанесена неаккуратно, не выдержан температурный режим при обжиге, в результате чего поверхность поливы испорчена пузырчатыми крапинками (Фонд ХАЭЭ, шифр 58, т. 707/154 (ККГМИ, инв. 5754).

Наряду с отмеченными видами люстровой посуды XII—XIV вв. среди керамических материалов хорезмских городов встречаются и архитектурные изразцы с люстровой росписью (Сайко 1966: 55; Гражданкина 1989: 82). Однако вопрос о месте производства люстровых изделий, найденных в Хорезме, остается открытым.

Минаи. В эту группу входит тип керамики, покрытый с двух сторон непрозрачной белой поливой, их поверхность украшалась надглазурной росписью — красной, коричневой

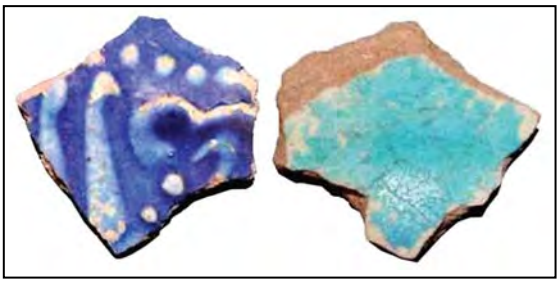

Рис. 20. Фрагмент горшковидного сосуда с ультрамариновой и бирюзовой поливой.

Fig. 20. Fragment of jar shaped vessel with ultramarine and turquoise glazes.

и сине-зеленой красками. Прекрасный образец иранской привозной керамики типа минаи с изображением вереницы крылатых сфинксов и фантастических существ — полугрифонов, полульвов — найден в 1957 году в Куня-Ургенче и опубликован Н. Н. Вактурской (Вактурская 1960: 191—192). Сюжет орнаментальной композиции совпадает с украшением керамики, изготовленной в XIII в. в Хорасане (Искусство 1980: рис. 197). Кроме того, в 1987 г. во время раскопок золотоордынской части Джанпык-калы найден довольно большой фрагмент иранской чаши, на высоком кольцевом поддоне типа «минаи» с изображением всадников (XIII—XIV вв.) (Доспанов, Сайпанов 1997: 129—131).

Исследователями отмечено, что этот тип сложился в керамических центрах Средней Азии как подражание иранской керамике «минаи» (Вактурская 1960: 192; Атагаррыев 1986: 116—118). Можно предположить, что выпуск керамических изделий в подражание иранским имел место и в Хорезме. Это подтверждается частыми находками фрагментов такой керамики на сельских поселениях Левобережного Хорезма. Керамика, подражающая «минаи», покрыта бирюзовой поливой, надглазурным орнаментом красной, коричневой, черной красками. Некоторые типы керамики покрыты кобальтовой поливой. Посуда изготовлена из толстой грубоватой кашинной основы (Фонд ХАЭЭ, шифр 66, Ак-ч, п/25,94,97; 68 Ш-а-к, п. т. 856/100; 67, т. 845, п/397)[2]. Производство подобных типов керамики было развито и в золотоордынских центрах на Волге (на Селитренном городище найдены бракованные изделия этого типа керамики).

«Грэн-де-ри». Среди археологических материалов средневековых городов Хорезма — Замахшара (Вактурская 1959: 342], Ярбекир-калы, Джанпык-калы (Манылов, Кдырниязов 1984: 78) и Кызыл-калы (Хожаниязов, Кдырниязов 1989: 98) — встречаются кашинные изделия, украшенные проколами, ажурным орнаментом и покрытые поливой в так называемой технике «рисового зерна» в специальной западноевропейской литературе она известна под названием «грэн-де-ри», от франц. *grain de riz*). Первоначальным центром производства этой керамики была Средняя Азия (Хорасан), откуда в XII—XIV вв. она распространилась в Китай (Массон 1953: 69; Атагаррыев, Бяшимова 1979: 100), Хорезм и Золотую Орду (Федоров-Давыдов 1976: 148).

В 1982 г. при рекогносцировочных раскопках на городище Кызыл-кала была найдена чаша на высоком кольцевидном поддоне с выступающим перегибом при переходе стенок от донца к корпусу. По бортику, охватывая всю его окружность, нанесен подглазурный ажурный орнаментальный пояс, залитый прозрачной глазурью, который, просвечивая сквозь стены, создает эффект мерцающих звезд (Хожаниязов, Кдырниязов 1989: рис. 8: 2).

В целом, особого искусства в рассматриваемый период достигли хорезмские мастера кашинной керамики. Кашинные изделия появляются на территории Хорезма в конце XII в., а расцвет этого ремесла относится к XIV в. Для поливных кашинных сосудов Хорезма XIII—XIV вв. характерно появление кольцевых поддонов, которые раньше не встречались среди археологических материалов хорезмшахской культуры. О развитии гончарного производства свидетельствует появление и широкое распространение новых форм открытых сосудов и массовое использование кашинных изделий.

Прослеживается стандартизация выпускаемой продукции, о чем свидетельствует сохранение в разных золотоордынских городах определенных типов, форм и расцветок керамических изделий. Преобладающей группой поливной посуды стали полусферические и сегментовидные чаши на кольцевом поддоне, типа «каса» или «пиалы». Кроме того, к не известным ранее формам следует отнести подставкообразные сосуды на кашинной основе. Разнообразнее стали горшковидные открытые сосуды, оформленные с наружной стороны рельефными налепами и куфической надписью (Вактурская 1959: 324, 325; Пугаченкова 1960: 197).

[2] Примечание: Ак-ч — Акча Гелин; Ш-а-к — Шемаха-кала; Ярб. — Ярбекир-кала; К-ча — Кызылча кала; ЛБ — Левобережный.

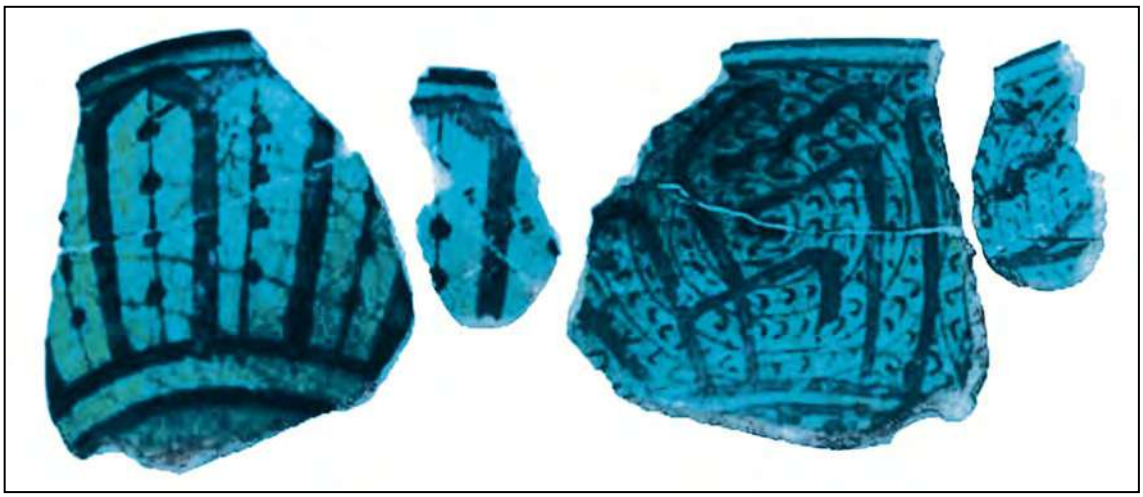

Рис. 21. Фрагмент чаши с бирюзовой поливой и черной росписью.

Fig. 21. Fragment of a bowl with turquoise glaze and black painted decoration.

Происходит изменение и в орнаментации керамических изделий. Характерная черта — обильное применение подглазурной зеленовато-черной или темно-бирюзовой росписи в виде полураскрывшихся трехлепестковых бутонов-листьев («летящая птичка»), веток («древо жизни»), параллельных рядов черных пятен (рис. 1: 3; 18). К числу других типичных признаков для поливных кашинных сосудов золотоордынского времени относится подглазурный рельефный орнамент в виде «арок», «точек» и стилизованных фигур («арабских букв»).

Необходимо отметить, что орнаментальные мотивы кашинной керамики Хорезма отличаются от красноглиняной поливной керамики этой эпохи своим художественным осмыслением. Кашин Хорезма обогащен новыми изобразительными средствами и приемами украшения, оригинальностью сюжетной композиции. Прежде всего, остановимся на орнаментальном мотиве с растительным узором. К подобным изображениям относятся веточки из двух-, трех-, четырехлистников, побегов, «пальметт», «ислими» и шестилепестковой цветочной розетки. Крупные детали рисунка расцвечены темно-синими, зелеными, иногда черными пятнами, фон заполнен мелким точечным орнаментом. Эффект усиливается и обводом контуров рисунка черной линией, так называемым «мертвым краем».

Интерес представляют декоративные мотивы с изображением животных. Фигуры животных широко распространены в искусстве Хорезма в эпохи античности и средневековья. Животные встречались в рельефах золотоордынских монет (Федоров-Давыдов 1965: 190, 192), бронзовых подвесках (Неразик 1976: рис. 59; 97; Манылов 1979: 87, рис. 1; Кдырниязов 2015: 227, рис. 100). В декоре керамики Хорезма часто встречаются изображения рыб (Кдырниязов 2015: 200, рис. 74; Доспанов 1997: рис. 2), джейрана (газели) (Вишневская 1963: 66: рис. 7: 2), зайцев (Вактурская 1959: рис. 326), быка (Неразик 1976: 110, 115, рис. 67), лошади (Неразик 1976: 110; Доспанов 1997: 130, рис. I), павлинов (Пугаченкова 1960: 197; 1967: 165, рис. IX), уток (Вактурская 1959: рис. 29: I; Вишневская 1963: рис. 7: б, в; Кдырниязов 2015: 166: рис. 50: I, 1), голубей (Неразик 1976: 110). В средневековых памятниках Хорезма встречаются кашинные кувшины с бирюзовой поливой, ручки которых оформлены в виде льва (ХАЭЭ, 57, Д-н, I/60; ККГМИ, инв. 5252; 67, К-ча/132; ККГМИ, инв. 5753). Примечательно, что рельефные детали (глаза, уши, морда, шея) подчеркнуты надглазурной красной краской, аналогично с изображением головы петуха. Кроме керамики, изображение льва встречается и на архитектурных памятниках (Белеули) (Толстов 1948: 248: рис. 85). На джучидских монетах лев изображен с солнцем, олицетворяя символ хранителя монархической власти (Федоров-Давыдов 1965: 190, табл. III: 11; Атагаррыев 1986: 118).

Необходимо отметить изображения пяти петухов на дне поливной чаши из Джанпык-калы (Манылов, Кдырниязов 1984: рис. 74: 15; Кдырниязов 2015: 165, рис. 49: 3). Изображения петуха характерны и для керамики сельских поселений Западного Хорезма XII—XIV вв. В точке 144 близ Кзылча-калы (западный Хорезм) найден венчик кашинно-

Рис. 22. Кашинные майоликовые капители с бирюзовой поливой и подглазурной черной росписью (домашняя молельня в Миздахкане).

Fig. 22. Qashan majolica glazed capitals with turquoise underglaze glaze and black underglaze painting (home chapel on Mizdahkan site).

го кувшина с рельефным изображением головы петуха: реалистично изображены глаза, гребешок и клюв (ХАЭЭ, 67, К-ча/144; ККГМИ, инв. 5752). Аналогичные предметы известны по фондам музеев Киева (Веймарн 1974: 117, рис. 138), археологическим находкам Херсонеса (Якобсон 1950: 115, рис. 80: 10), Передней Азии и Туркменистана (Атагаррыев 1986: 110—111). С давних времен петух особо почитался у народов Средней Азии. В IV в. в день Навруза зороастрийцы рано утром приносили петуха в жертву Сиявушу на его могиле в Бухаре. Петух как вещая птица обладал особым смыслом в представлениях народов Китая, Персии и Европы, как существо мудрое, полезное, противостоящее духам тьмы (Жерневская 1977: 97).

На дне красноглиняной чаши с жёлтой поливой из Джанпык-калы, на дне — рыбы в окружении растительно-стилизованного мотива без декоративного фона (Кдырниязов 2015: 200, рис. 74; Доспанов 1997: 131: рис. 2). Рельефное изображение рыб характерно для штампованных сероглиняных кувшинов и бронзовых зеркал (ХАЭЭ, 59 ЛБ, т. 845/1132, ККГМИ, инв. 11937; Кдырниязов 2015: 213, рис. 89: 5; Доспанов 1991: 89, рис. 3; 9). В искусстве чжурчжэней мотивы с изображением рыб появляются с XI—XIII вв., причем там они входят в группу изображений на бронзовых зеркалах, для которых характерны парные изображения рыб (Шавкунов 1981: 107—108; Гусева 1985: 56). В Китае и Корее с древности и до наших дней рыба считается символом благополучия. В дальневосточных вариантах широко представлен карп. В хорезмских образцах материальной культуры изображенные рыбы также, относятся к семейству карповых (*Cyprinidae*). Ученый ихтиолог Л. П. Павловская на основании морфологического анализа золотого сосуда в форме рыбы из «Амударьинского клада» (1877 г.) пришла к выводу, что «прообразом золотой рыбки из клада послужили рыбы рода *Barbus brachycephalus Kessler* (аральский усач из семейства карповых), которые обитают в Аральском море, для размножения заходят в Амударью, Сырдарью и поднимаются для нереста до предгорной зоны на Пяндже» (Павловская 1982: 124). Действительно, в Хорезме прослеживается ареал распространения изображения рыб по материалам кушанской (Топрак-кала) (Толстов 1948а: рис. 48: а), кердерской (Токкала) и афригидской (Куйик-кала, Якке-Парсан, Хайван-кала) культур (Неразик 1963: 13, рис. 7: 6; Гудкова 1964: 54, рис. 13: 2).

Судя по количеству изображений, на кашинной керамике наиболее излюбленным был мотив одиночных уток, нанесенный на внутреннее дно тарелок, пиал, чаш. Рельефные детали рисунка расцвечены темно-синими пятнами, фон заполнен мелким точечным орнаментом. Сосуды с подобным изображением в единичных экземплярах найдены в Самарканде (Пугаченкова, Ремпель 1965: рис. 295), Казахстане (Байпаков, Ерзакович 1971: рис. 36), Северном Кавказе (Гражданкина, Ртveладзе 1971: рис. 1, 2), Белореченских курганах Кубани (ОАК 1889: рис. 85: а, б), Старом Орхее (Абызова и др. 1981: 75), Великом Новгороде (Монгайт 1948: 70), Московском Кремле (Панова 1986: 223) и золотоордынских городах Поволжья (Федоров-Давыдов 1976: рис. 110). С учетом широкого ареала такой керамики Г. А. Федоров-Давыдов приходит к выводу «об одновременном сложении золотоордынского стиля в поливной керамике, общего и для Хорезма, и для Поволжья» (Федоров-Давыдов 1984: 90). Фон зооморфных орнаментальных мотивов заполнен сюжетной композицией из рельефных растительных или эпиграфических изображений, в некоторых случаях выполнен способом резерва и вкраплениями капельками синего или голубого цветов. Зооморфные сюжеты поливной и неполивной керамики Хорезма XIII—XIV вв. широко известны в керамике Мавераннахра (Ташходжаев 1967: 116; Пугаченкова 1967: 142; Брыкина 1972: рис. 2; 3), Туркмении (Лунина 1962: 248, 311—313, 323; Бяшимова 1980: 116—120), Ирана (Pope 1939, vol. VI: 562—563, 587—588, 597, 635, 723, 726, 729, 779 и др.; Ettinghausen 1939: tabl. XXVII; XXVIII; XXXIII; Talbot Rice 1939: tabl. XCII; XCV; XCVI; Wilkinson 1963: fig. 59, 61—62), Поволжья (Федоров-Давыдов 1976: рис. 93—99, 101; Булатов 1968: 100—101; Fyodorov-Davydov 1984: 76—99) и Кавказа (Наджафова 1961: 113, 119, 120).

Считается, что изображения животных и птиц в памятниках искусства и материальной культуры в Средней Азии связаны с образами местной символики, имеющими магическое значение. В историко-этнографических данных образы птицы тесно связаны с мифологией и фольклором народов Средней Азии. В поверьях народов Узбекистана птица Хума, Симург издревле считаются символом возрождения, добра и счастья (Жураев и др. 1998: 37). Изображения птиц в образцах материальной культуры трактуется как символы «здоровья» (утки) (Пугаченкова 1967: 142), «огня и победы» (фазан) (Иностранцев 1868: 147), «олицетворение Анахиты» (голубь и утка) (Рапопорт

1962: 58; Неразик 1976: 110), «смелости, отваги и храбрости» (петух) (Атагаррыев 1986: 111), «посредника между человеком и божеством» (заяц) (Лунина 1962: 323). В целом «сонм образов птиц, рыб, животных олицетворяет качества могущества, силы, ума, благополучия, богатства, процветания» (Лунина 1962: 329). Животные и птицы «прочно связаны с представлениями, символами верований-тотемами и этнической историей Хорезма» (Неразик 1976: 110, 116—117). Не менее важное место занимали и мотивы орнаментации в виде различных геометрических фигур и штрихов. Большинство из них — «косые диагональные сетки», «шестиугольные звезды» (рис. 1, 3), «павлиньи глазки», «крестики» («летящие птички») — известны в керамике Хорезма и Мавераннахра в до- и послемонгольскую эпоху (Тереножкин 1940: 54—64, табл. II: 5; Шишкина 1979: табл. I: 24—25, 53, 56). В некоторых случаях в изобразительных композициях встречаются ненароком нанесенные капли или мазки. Как отмечает Е.М. Пещерева, они являлись оберегом от «сглаза» (Пещерева 1959: 79).

Дальнейшее развитие культуры ислама и его влияние на местные традиции в области искусства способствовало распространению эпиграфического орнамента стилизованным почерком «насха» и «куфи» (Вактурская 1959: 316, 324; Кдырниязов 2015: 200). На неглазурованных штампованных кувшинах Хорезма XIII—XV вв. эпиграфический орнамент встречается в сочетании с растительным и зооморфным мотивами (Вактурская 1959: 309, рис. 23; 24; Воробьева и др. 1963: 168, рис. 8; Кдырниязов 2015: 190, рис. 67: 2). Имеется керамика с ажурным орнаментом, выполненная техникой «рисового зерна». Она обнаружена на хорезмийских памятниках Шемаха-кала, Ярбекир, Замахшар (Вактурская 1959: 342), Джанпык-кала (Манылов, Кдырниязов 1984: 78), Кызыл-кала (Хожаниязов, Кдырниязов 1989: 98). Сосуды с ажурным орнаментом были распространены в XIV в. в городах Поволжья (Федоров-Давыдов 1976: 148). Появление этого типа посуды в Средней Азии относится к XII—XIII вв., она известна в Самарканде (Шишкина 1979: 10: Ч, Э, С), Мисриане (Атагаррыев 1986: 110—111) и Нисе (Пугаченкова 1949: 403).

Таким образом, основные формы, сюжеты и другие декоративные элементы хорезмской кашинной керамики тяготеют к гончарным изделиям Центральной Азии (в частности, Самарканда, Мисриана, Нисы, Сайрама), Северного Кавказа (Маджар), Поволжья (Сарай). При этом особо отметим, что большинство мотивов художественного оформления кашинной керамики тесно связано с продукцией Улуса Джучи. Это объясняется вхождением северных областей Средней Азии (Хорезма) в монгольское время в государство Золотой Орды. Однако в монгольский период, несмотря на принудительное разделение областей региона (чагатаидский и джучидский улусы), традиционная культурно-генетическая связь областей и народов Средней Азии не нарушалась. В XIII—XV вв. хорезмская кашинная керамика достигает совершенства. Постепенно керамика Хорезма избавляется от влияния «иноземных» культур, обретая свои индивидуальные черты. А в середине XIV в. появляются оригинальные формы, красивые орнаментальные мотивы, тонкая и прозрачная глазуровка с полихромной расцветкой. В эту эпоху начали применяться такие новшества, как подражание селадону (псевдоселадон), минаи (псевдоминаи) и люстру.

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Китайский фарфор с русских памятников Среднего Прииртышья XVII — первой половины XVIII вв.

Keywords: Middle Irtysh region, 17th — first half of the 18th century, Russian settlements, Chinese porcelain, trade relations

Ключевые слова: Среднее Прииртышье, XVII — первая половина XVIII вв., русские поселения, китайский фарфор, торговые связи

F. S. Tataurov

Chinese Porcelain from Russian Sites of the Middle Irtysh in 17th — First Half of the 18th Centuries

The process of accession of Western Siberia to the Russian state had begun in the end of the 16th century. Russian pioneers were looking for opportunities and ways of communication, both with natives, and with the population of the territories, adjacent to Western Siberia because of the conditions of the new cultural environment and constant military danger. This enabled commercial relations and cultural exchange. Among all range of imported goods the significant place was taken by the things which emphasized the social status and welfare of their owners. Chinese porcelain which was widely spread in the region despite its high price can serve a good example of such prestigious things. It was imported into the territory of Central Irtysh region during the mid 17th — first half of the 18th centuries, which can be confirmed by materials of archaeological research.

Ф. С. Татауров

Китайский фарфор с русских памятников Среднего Прииртышья XVII — первой половины XVIII вв.

В конце XVI века начинается процесс присоединения Западной Сибири к Русскому государству. Русским первопроходцам в условиях новой культурной среды и постоянной военной опасности приходилось искать возможности и способы коммуникации как с аборигенами, так и с населением прилегающих к Западной Сибири территорий. В результате устанавливаются торговые связи, налаживается культурный обмен. Среди всего спектра ввозимых товаров значимое место занимали вещи, подчёркивающие социальный статус и благосостояние владельца. К таким предметам можно отнести китайский фарфор, получивший широкое распространение в регионе, несмотря на высокую цену. Он ввозился на территорию Среднего Прииртышья в период с середины XVII по первую половину XVIII вв., что фиксируется по материалам археологических исследований.

Введение

В конце XVI века, после многочисленных военных экспедиций, начало которым положил поход атамана Ермака, происходит присоединение огромных территорий Западной Сибири к Российскому государству. Первые русские поселенцы, оказываясь на новых землях, попадали в очень тяжёлые условия, что объяснялось суровым климатом, враждебностью коренных жителей Сибири и отдалённостью от европейской части России. Это вынуждало русских первопроходцев искать новые возможности и способы коммуникации как с аборигенами, так и с населением других государств, прилегающих к Западной Сибири. В XVI—XVII вв. формируется новое население региона на основе выходцев из европейской России и местных народов, его социальная структура; складывается система управления, государственные органы власти, города и села, начинается хозяйственное освоение края. Устанавливаются торговые связи, налаживается культурный обмен.

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Большой объём данных в изучении этих процессов дают археологические исследования. В частности, в Среднем Прииртышье были изучены культурные слои Тарской и Омской крепостей, а также нескольких сельских памятников: Изюк-I, Ананьино-I и Бергамак-I (Большереченский, Тарский, Муромцевский р-ны Омской области)[1]. Интересной спецификой является то, что археологический материал, обнаруженный на сельских памятниках, по своему разнообразию и качественным характеристикам во многом превосходит находки, сделанные в ходе раскопок городов.

Из всего обнаруженного на русских памятниках Среднего Прииртышья комплекса предметов материальной культуры, мы можем выделить ряд престижных вещей, служивших не для бытового использования, а для демонстрации социального статуса их владельца. Это изделия из драгоценных материалов, некоторые сорта тканей (шёлк, бархат), стеклянные бутылки, в которых привозились дорогие виноградные вина, курительные трубки (для импортного табака и опиума), а также китайская фарфоровая посуда (Татаурова и др. 2014: 293—300). Обнаруженные на сельских памятниках Среднего Прииртышья фрагменты фарфора представляют собой части тарелок, блюдец и чашек.

Необходимо отметить, что с посудой из фарфора было неразрывно связано поступление чая, который также имел особый статус. Китайские традиции чаепития, атрибутом которых была фарфоровая посуда, способствовали возникновению особой пищевой культуры не только в Сибири, но и в европейской части России (Похлёбкин 1997: 298—300).

Цель нашего исследования — описать и проанализировать китайский фарфор с русских памятников Среднего Прииртышья XVII — первой половины XVIII вв., как важный источник, иллюстрирующий характер социокультурных связей. Взаимопроникновение и переплетение европейской и азиатской культуры на территории Западной Сибири и, в частности, в Среднем Прииртышье, породило новую «сибирскую» культурную традицию, которая, оставаясь в основе русской, подверглась влиянию аборигенных культур Сибири и культур Средней Азии и Китая, что объясняет появление в обиходе средних и высших слоёв русского сибирского общества фарфоровой посуды.

Основные типы китайского фарфора и пути его поступления в Сибирь

Торговые пути из Бухары в Сибирь существовали задолго до появления на этих территориях русского населения. Китайская фарфоровая посуда тоже была известна у аборигенов Сибири до ее российского освоения, в частности, фрагменты «расписных фарфоровых сосудов» были обнаружены при археологических раскопках г. Искера, который в XVI веке являлся ставкой сибирского хана Кучума (Адамов и др. 2008: 54).

Первые поставки синьцзянского (северо-западный Китай) фарфора в Среднее Прииртышье после прихода в этот регион русских начались, судя по данным Таможенных книг, уже в первой трети XVII века; он фиксируется как предмет казённой торговли на Тарской ярмарке в 1630 году (Вилков 1990: 46). В то время город Тара являлся одним из крупных военно-административных центров Западной Сибири, откуда на протяжении ста лет велось хозяйственное освоение Прииртышья (Татаурова и др. 2014: 153).

В первой половине XVII века основной была так называемая Туркестанская дорога, проходившая из Тобольска по левому берегу Иртыша до устья р. Омь, где она делала поворот к верховьям Ишима, откуда шла на Бухару и Самарканд (Матвеев 2003: 164). Этим путём товары из Центральной и Восточной Азии поступали на рынок г. Тары, который с конца XVI века был транзитным пунктом в торговле Западной Сибири с Востоком (Алисов и др. 2014: 105). Среднеазиатские и китайские товары на Тарскую ярмарку доставляли бухарские купцы (Полякова 2011: 83).

Археологические материалы показывают различные по декоративному стилю и технологии типы китайского фарфора. Необходимо отметить, что основные тенденции и стили в фарфоровом производстве Китая во многом зависели от правящей династии (Жущиховская 2001: 38).

На первую половину XVII в. пришлись последние годы существования китайской династии Мин, уничтоженной манчжурами в 1644 году. В правление императора Ваньли (1573—1620) в фарфоровом производстве в моду входит копирование керамических изделий сунского периода и раннеминского фарфора XIV—XV вв. (Кузьменко 2009: 34). Эта тенденция была продолжена и в «пе-

[1] Раскопки Л.В. Татауровой 1996—2015 гг. Пользуясь случаем выражаю благодарность автору раскопок за возможность публикации материала.

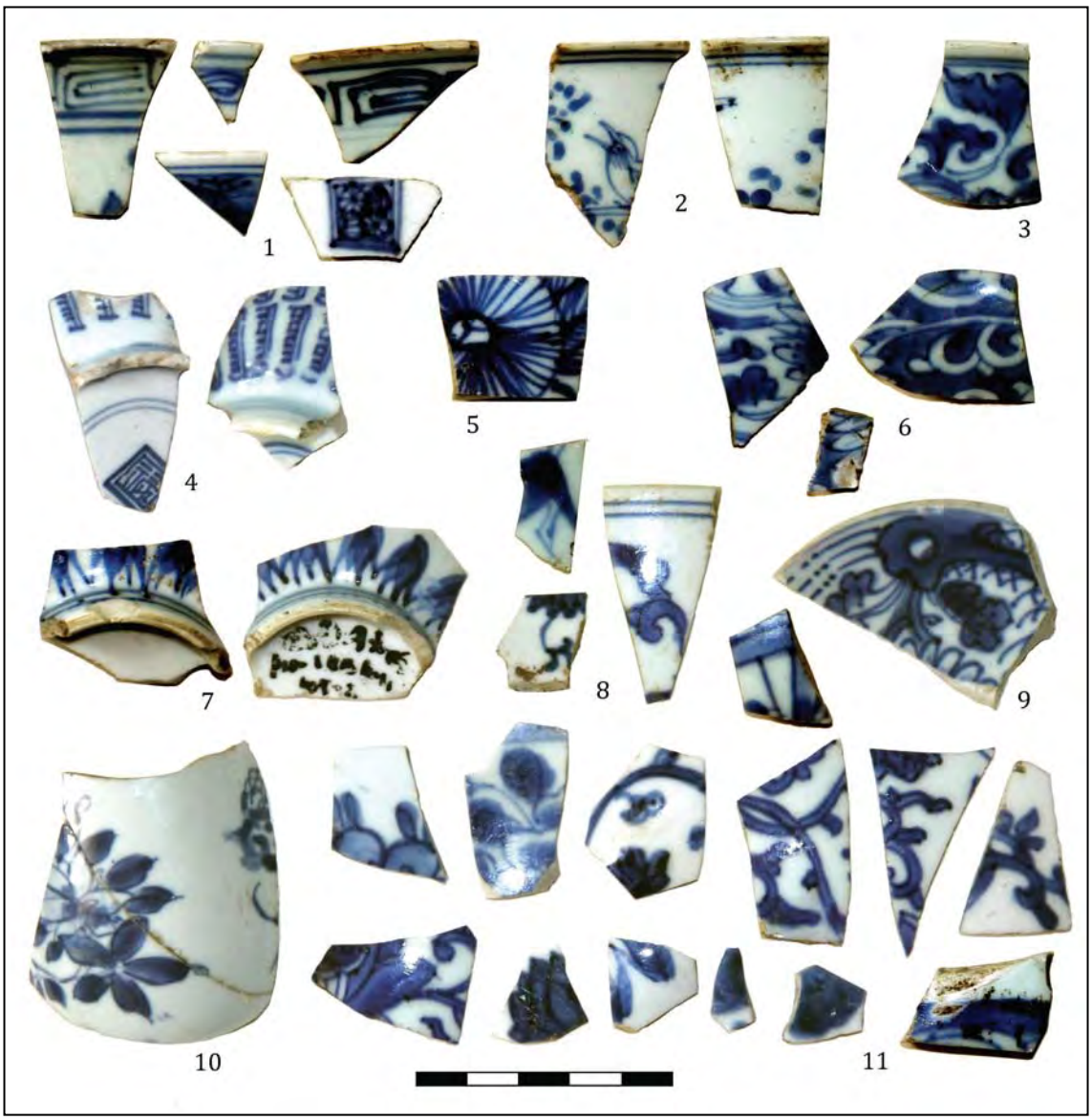

Рис. 1. Фрагменты китайского фарфора переходного периода (1620—1670): 1, 4, 5 — фрагменты с геометрическим орнаментом; 2, 3, 6—11 — фрагменты с растительным орнаментом (фото Л. В. Татауровой).

Fig. 1. Chinese porcelain fragments of the Transition period (1620—1670): 1, 4, 5 — fragments with geometric designs; 2, 3, 6—11 — fragments with floral designs (photo by L. V. Tataurova).

реходный» период 1620-х — 1680-х годов, во время захвата Китая маньчжурской династией Цин. Как раз в этот период происходит налаживание экономических связей Среднего Прииртышья с Китаем.

Для мастеров конца Минского периода (1580—1620) было характерно производство фарфоровых изделий с использованием большого набора цветов, однако на короткий период в моде были монохромные изделия «под старину» (Кузьменко 2009: 53). Другой тенденцией, получившей развитие в XVI веке, была технология заполнения всей поверхности сосуда узором, который усложнился и мог одновременно включать в себя разнообразные — геометрические, растительные, животные — мотивы (Кравцова 1999: 373).

Фрагменты фарфоровой посуды, выполненные в этой технике, обнаружены на сельских памятниках Ананьино-I и Изюк-I (рис. 1).

Интересно, что для Западной Сибири фрагменты посуды с аналогичным узором встречаются только в городах Заполярья: Берёзове и Мангазее (Татауров 2011: 384), где торговцы и промысловики, обладавшие высоким достатком, могли позволить себе вещи подобного рода.

После крушения династии Мин торговля китайскими товарами в Западной Сибири

Рис. 2. Фрагменты китайского фарфора периода Канси (1662—1722): 1—5 — фрагменты, где рисунок выполнен зелёной эмалью с красными и золотыми вкраплениями; 6—10 — фрагменты, где рисунок выполнен красно-зелёной эмалью (фото Л.В. Татауровой).

Fig. 2. Fragments of Chinese porcelain, Kangxi period (1662—1722): 1—5 — fragments, where drawing is made of green enamel with red and gold inclusions; 6—10 — fragments, where drawing is made of red and green enamel (photo by L.V. Tataurova).

временно угасает и возобновляется только в 1689 году после Нерчинского договора уже с новой китайской династией Цин, причём теперь необходимость в транзитной торговле через Бухару отпала, товары ввозились напрямую из Китая (Полякова 2011: 87). В связи с этим увеличивается и объём фарфоровой продукции, поставляемой на ярмарки Тары и Тобольска, что подтверждается материалами археологических исследований.

Со сменой правящей династии в Китае изменилась и технология изготовления фарфоровой посуды, появились новые клейма. Роспись по фарфору все больше напоминает живописное произведение, чему способству-

Рис. 3. Фрагменты китайского фарфора периодов Юнчжэн и Цяньлун (1723—1796): 1, 2, 5, 9—11 — фрагменты с растительным орнаментом; 3 — фрагменты, где рисунок выполнен светло-зелёной эмалью; 4, 6—8 — фрагменты со сложным растительным орнаментом; 10 — фрагменты, где рисунок выполнен розовой эмалью (фото Л.В. Татауровой).

Fig. 3. Fragments of Chinese porcelain, Yongzheng and Qianlong periods (1723—1796): 1, 2, 5, 9—11 — fragments with floral designs; 3 — fragments, where drawing is made of light-green enamel; 4, 6—8 — fragments with a complex plant ornament; 10 — fragments, where drawing is made of pink enamel (photo by L.V. Tataurova).

ет улучшение качества черепка, нанесения глазури, появление новых разноцветных эмалей и т. д. (Кузьменко 2009: 82). Фарфоровое производство в северо-западном Китае в период правления династии Цин расширилось и достигло особого богатства и разнообразия в декорировании изделий (Кравцова 1999: 373). Возникает новый тип китайского фарфора, который в Европе условно называют «зелёное семейство». Его появление относится

к годам правления императора Канси из династии Цин (1662—1722). Для этого типа характерна живая гамма, включающая красные, лиловые, жёлтые и чёрные тона (Кравцова 1999: 373). В цветовой гамме эмалей преобладали зелёные тона разной насыщенности и оттенка, полученные на основе химических соединений меди. Рисунок наносился эмалью на обожжённое неглазурованное изделие либо поверх слоя прозрачной полевошпатовой глазури. После этого изделие повторно обжигали при невысоких температурах для закрепления эмалевой краски (Жущиховская 2001: 40).

Фрагменты фарфоровой посуды «зелёного семейства» найдены на сельских археологических памятниках Среднего Прииртышья Ананьино-I, Бергамак-I и Изюк-I (рис. 2), которые расположены поблизости от основных сибирских торговых путей и потому были хорошо обеспеченны редкими товарами. Аналогичные образцы фарфора найдены на Берёзовском городище (Пархимович 2008: 229).

На фрагментах фарфора из сельских комплексов мы наблюдаем характерный для данного типа рисунок, нанесённый красно-зелёной эмалью (рис. 2: 6, 9, 10), на одном фрагменте (рис. 2: 7) фиксируется часть клейма, характерного для периода правления Канси.

В период правления императоров Юнчжэна (1723—1736) и Цяньлуна (1736—1796) формируется новый тип фарфоровой посуды, условно называемый «розовым семейством». В нём продолжается «живописная» линия росписи, как в сюжетной основе, так и в технике; происходит дальнейшее усложнение комбинаторики орнамента (Кузьменко 2009: 124). Эмалевая краска нежного розового цвета содержала коллоидный раствор золота, а использующийся в сочетании с ней матовый белый пигмент готовился на основе мышьяка (Жущиховская 2001: 40).

Фрагменты подобной фарфоровой посуды были также обнаружены на памятниках Среднего Прииртышья — Ананьино-I и Изюк-I (рис. 3), однако стоит отметить, что их находки немногочислены по сравнению с фрагментами изделий «зелёного семейства». Высокое качество работы китайских мастеров проявляется в тонкости линий рисунка, обилии мелких деталей (рис. 3: 6, 7, 8).

Заключение

В XVII веке основу социальной структуры сибирского общества составляли служилые люди, что объясняется военным характером освоения края; они же выступали в качестве основных покупателей престижных предметов, в том числе и фарфоровой посуды (Татаурова и др. 2014: 314—315).

Во второй половине XVIII века происходит изменение социальной структуры западносибирского русского общества, связанное с ликвидацией военной напряжённости и изменением социального положения служилого населения, которое массово переводится в крестьянство и, соответственно, теряет прежний достаток и статус (Крих 2012: 136—144), уже не имея возможности приобретать дорогой китайский фарфор.

С начала XIX века начинается упадок и в фарфоровом производстве Китая, вызванный нестабильной экономической и политической обстановкой в государстве, ослабленном колониальными войнами с европейцами (Жущиховская 2001: 41). В исследованных археологами русских памятниках Среднего Прииртышья XIX века китайский фарфор уже не встречается. На его место приходит значительно уступающий в качестве, но более доступный по стоимости (Селиванов 2002: 5) российский фарфор и фаянс (Татауров 2011: 386—387).

Подводя итог, можно сказать, что с начала освоения Западной Сибири русские активно включились в торговлю со Средней Азией и Китаем, чему не мешала даже перманентная военная угроза со стороны кочевников Алтая и северного Казахстана. Среди всего ассортимента ввозимых товаров значимое место занимали вещи, подчёркивающие социальный статус и благосостояние владельца, к которым можно отнести китайский фарфор. Фарфоровая посуда получила широкое распространение в регионе, несмотря на свою высокую цену. Фарфор ввозился на территорию Среднего Прииртышья большими партиями, что фиксируется по письменным источникам и подтверждается материалами археологических исследований.

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Список сокращений

АДСВ	— Античная древность и средние века. Свердловск/Екатеринбург.
АДУ	— Археологічні дослідження на Україні. Київ.
АЕС	— Археология евразийских степей. Казань.
АКМ	— Азовский краеведческий музей. Азов (Ростовской области).
АКУ	— Археологические коллекции Казанского университета.
АлтГУ	— Алтайский государственный университет. Барнаул.
АН АрмССР	— Академия наук Армянской ССР. Ереван.
АН СССР	— Академия наук СССР. Москва.
АП	— Археология Приаралья. Ташкент: Фан.
АП УРСР	— Археологічні пам'ятки Української РСР. Київ.
АП	— Археология Приаралья.
АУ	— Археология Узбекистана.
БАН	— Болгарская академия наук. София.
БГИАМЗ	— Болгарский государственный историко-архитектурный музей-заповедник. Болгар.
ВАН ЧР	— Вестник Академии наук Чеченской республики. Грозный.
ВВ	— Византийский временник. Москва.
ВГУЭС	— Владивостокский государственный университет экономики и сервиса. Владивосток.
ВНК	— Всероссийская нумизматическая конференция.
ВолГУ	— Волгоградский государственный университет. Волгоград.
ВСИ	— Вопросы северокавказской истории. Армавир.
ГБУК РО	— Государственное бюджетное учреждение культуры Ростовской области**.**
ГИМ	— Государственный Исторический музей. Москва.
ГМСБ	— Годишник на музеите от Северна България. Русе; Шумен; Търговище; Разград.
ГНАМ	— Годишник на Национален археологически музей. София.
ГЭ	— Государственный Эрмитаж. Ленинград / Санкт-Петербург.
ДАО	— Донское археологическое общество, Ростов-на-Дону.
ДонНУ	— Донецкий национальный университет. Донецк.
ДФАН СССР	— Дагестанский филиал Академии наук СССР. Махачкала.
ЗКВ	— Записки коллегии востоковедов при Азиатском музее Академии наук СССР.
ЗВОРАО	— Записки Восточного отделения Русского археологического общества. Санкт-Петербург.
ЗО	— Золотоордынское обозрение. Казань.
ИМКУ	— История материальной культуры Узбекистана. Ташкент; Самарканд: Ин-т археологии и этнографии АН Узбекской ССР.
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ИА	— Институт археологии.
ИАА	— Историко-археологический альманах. Армавир; Краснодар; Москва.
ИАИ	— Известия на Археологическия институт. София.
ИАИАНД	— Историко-археологические исследования в Азове и на Нижнем Дону. Азов: Азовский историко-археологический и палеонтологический музей-заповедник.
ИАИНДИА	— Историко-археологические исследования на Нижнем Дону и в г. Азове. Азов.
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ИГАИМК — Известия Государственной академии истории материальной культуры. Москва.
Изв. АН Аз. ССР — Известия Академии наук Азербайджанской ССР. Баку.
ИИ АН РТ — Институт истории им. Ш. Марджани Академии наук Республики Татарстан. Казань.
ИИА УрО РАН — Институт истории и археологии Уральского отделения РАН. Екатеринбург.
ИИМК — Институт истории материальной культуры. Ленинград/Санкт-Петербург.
ИМКУ — История материальной культуры Узбекистана. Ташкент; Самарканд.
ИМЮБ — Известия на музеите на Южна България. Пловдив.
ИНМВ — Известия на народния музей във Варна. Варна.
ИТУАК — Известия Таврической учёной архивной комиссии. Симферополь.
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КБИГИ РАН — Кабардино-Балкарский институт гуманитарных исследований Российской Академии наук. Нальчик.
КБР — Кабардино-Балкарская республика.
КГАМЗ — Краснодарский государственный археологический музей-заповедник им. Е. Д. Фелицына. Краснодар.
КГКМ — Каракалпакский государственный краеведческий музей. Нукус.
КД — Каракумские древности. Ашхабад: Ылым.
КИО — Крымское историческое обозрение.
ККГМИ — Каракалпакский государственный музей искусства им. И. В. Савицкого.
ККОАН РУз — Каракалпакское отделение Академии наук Республики Узбекистан. Нукус.
КП — книга поступлений.
КСИА — Краткие сообщения Института археологии АН СССР/РАН. Москва; Ленинград.
КСИИМК — Краткие сообщения Института истории материальной культуры. Ленинград/Санкт-Петербург.
КубГУ — Кубанский государственный университет. Краснодар.
КФ ИА НАНУ — Крымский филиал Института археологии Национальной академии наук Украины.
КЭС — Кавказский этнографический сборник. Москва.
ЛГУ — Ленинградский государственный университет, Ленинград.
МАД — Материалы по археологии Дагестана. Махачкала.
МАИЭТ — Материалы по археологии, истории и этнографии Таврии. Симферополь.
МарГУ — Марийский государственный университет. Йошкар-Ола.
МарНИИЯЛИ — Марийский научно-исследовательский институт языка, литературы и истории. Йошкар-Ола.
МАЭ — Музей антропологии и этнографии РАН (Кунсткамера) им. Петра Великого. Санкт-Петербург.
МГУ — Московский государственный университет им. М. В. Ломоносова. Москва.
МИА — Материалы и исследования по археологии СССР. Москва; Ленинград.
МИА СК — Материалы и исследования по археологии Северного Кавказа. Армавир; Краснодар.
МИАК — Материалы и исследования по археологии Кубани. Краснодар.
МКТ — Материальная культура Туркменистана. Ашхабад: Ылым.
МОН РК — Министерство образования и науки Республики Казахстан.
МХЭ — Материалы Хорезмской экспедиции.
НАН РК — Национальная академия наук Республики Казахстан.
НАНУ — Национальная академия наук Украины. Киев.
НГОМЗ — Новгородский государственный объединённый музей-заповедник. Великий Новгород.
НМ РТ — Национальный музей Республики Татарстан. Казань.
НЭ — Нумизматика и эпиграфика. Москва.
ОАК — Отчёты Императорской археологической комиссии. Санкт-Петербург.
ОАО — Открытое акционерное общество.
ООО — Общество с ограниченной ответственностью.
ПАЭ ИА АН СССР — Поволжская археологическая экспедиция Института археологии Академии наук СССР.
РА — Российская археология, Москва.
РАН — Российская Академия наук.
РГАДА — Российский государственный архив древних актов, Москва.
РГВИА — Российский государственный военно-исторический архив. Москва.
РГНФ — Российский фонд фундаментальных исследований.
РГТЭУ — Российский государственный торгово-экономический университет. Омск.
РИМ — Регионален исторически музей. Варна.
РИЦ АГПИ — Редакционно-издательский центр Армавирского государственного педагогического университета. Армавир.
РОМК — Ростовский областной музей краеведения, Ростов-на-Дону.
РТ — Республика Татарстан.
СА — Советская археология. Москва.
САГУ — Среднеазиатский государственный университет. Ташкент.
САИ — Свод археологических источников. Москва; Ленинград: Наука.
Сб. РИО — Сборник Русского исторического общества. Москва.
СВ — Советское востоковедение. Москва.
СОМК — Саратовский областной музей краеведения. Саратов.
ССПК — Старожитності Степового Причорномор'я і Криму. Запоріжжя.

СЭ	— Советская этнография. Москва.
ТашГУ	— Ташкентский государственный университет. Ташкент.
ТГЭ	— Труды Государственного Эрмитажа. Ленинград / Санкт-Петербург.
Тр. ГИМ	— Труды Государственного исторического музея. Москва.
ТХАЭЭ	— Труды Хорезмской археолого-этнографической экспедиции. Москва.
ТЮТАКЭ	— Труды Южно-Туркменистанской комплексной археологической экспедиции. Ленинград.
УИИЯЛ УрО РАН	— Удмуртский институт истории, языка и литературы Уральского отделения Российской Академии наук. Ижевск.
УрГУ	— Уральский государственный университет им. А. М. Горького. Свердловск/Екатеринбург.
ХАЭЭ	— Хорезмская археолого-этнографическая экспедиция.
ХНУ	— Харьковский национальный университет им. В. Н. Каразина. Харьков.
ЧИГУ	— Чечено-Ингушский государственный университет им. Л. Н. Толстого. Грозный.
ЮТАКЭ	— Южно-Туркменистанская археологическая комплексная экспедиция.
AA. VV. 1985	— Antichi documenti sulla ceramica di Castelli, atti del convegno Castelli, Museo delle ceramiche, agosto 1985, Città di Castello.
AA. VV. 1989	— Le maioliche cinquecentesche di Castelli. Una grande stagione artistica ritrovata, catalogo della mostra, Brescia.
AA. VV. 2001	— Antiche ceramiche italiane tra le due sponde dell'Adriatico. Dal Palazzo di Diocleziano a Spalato alla Fortezza di Pescara, catalogo della mostra, Museo delle Genti d'Abruzzo, Pescara, 30 luglio — 30 settembre 2001, Pescara.
ACIEB	— Actes du congrès international d'études byzantines.
AIECM2	— Association internationale pour l'Étude des Céramiques Médiévales en Méditerranée.
AIECM3	— Association internationale pour l'Étude des Céramiques Médiévales et Modernes en Méditerranée.
AIHV	— Association Internationale pour l'Histoire du Verre.
ASCA	— Archivio Storico comunale di Atri.
ASCH	— Archivio di Stato di Chieti.
ASLSP	— Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria. Genova.
ASTE	— Archivio di Stato di Teramo.
BAR	— British Archaeological Reports. Oxford.
BCH	— Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique. Paris.
BSA	— Annual of the British School of Archaeology at Athens. London.
CNRS	— Centre National de Recherches Scientifiques. Paris.
DOP	— Dumbarton Oaks Papers. Washington; New York.
EMAC	— European Meeting on Ancient Ceramics.
IFEAC	— Institut français d'études sur l'Asie centrale. Paris.
LAMM	— Laboratoire d'Archéologie Médiévale Méditérrannéene, Aix Marseille Univ, CNRS, Aix-en-Provence, France.
LA3M	— Laboratoire d'Archéologie Médiévale et Moderne en Méditérrannée, Aix Marseille Univ, CNRS, Aix-en-Provence, France.
LRCW	— Late Roman Coarse Wares. Aix-en-Provence.
MAFOUB	— Franco-Uzbek Archaeological Mission in the oasis of Bukhara.
NVAP	— Nemea Valley Archaeological Project.
ODTÜ	— Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi = Middle East Technical University. Ankara.
OJA	— Oxford Journal of Archaeology. Oxford.
RDAC	— Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus. Nicosie.
RMN	— Réunion des musées nationaux. Paris.
SOAS	— The School of Oriental and African Studies. London.
UTET	— Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese. Torino.

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