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Νέα στοιχεία για την εισηγμένη κεραμική στο Αιγαίο: ισλαμική κεραμική στη βυζαντινή Μέσα Μάνη, κεραμική από την Κριμαία στη βενετοκρατούμενη Κρήτη

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## NEW EVIDENCE ON IMPORTED CERAMICS IN THE AEGEAN: ISLAMIC POTTERY IN THE BYZANTINE MESA MANI, POTTERY FROM THE CRIMEA IN VENETIAN CRETE

Μέσα από τη μελέτη των εντοιχισμένων σε ναούς αγγείων επιχειρείται η ανάδειξη συγκεκριμένων κατηγοριών εφυαλωμένης κεραμικής. Μετά από μια σύντομη αναφορά σε κατηγορίες κεραμικής από την Αίγυπτο και τη Βόρειο Αφρική ή τη Σικελία, που απαντούν σε ναούς στην περιοχή της Μέσα Μάνης στη διάρκεια του 11ου αι., η έρευνα επικεντρώνεται κυρίως στην εισαγωγή, ιδίως μέσα στον 15ο αι., εφυαλωμένης κεραμικής από περιοχές της νότιας Κριμαίας στην Κρήτη, διερευνώντας πτυχές της κυκλοφορίας της στην περιοχή.

Through the study of immured vessels, specific categories of glazed ceramics are identified and discussed. A brief reference to vessels from Egypt and North Africa or Sicily, located in churches in the area of the Mesa Mani during the 11th c., sets the background. The main research focuses largely on the import to Crete, mainly during the 15th c., of glazed ceramics from regions of the South Crimea and explores aspects of their circulation on the island.

### Λέξεις κλειδιά

Μεσοβυζαντινή περίοδος, πρώιμη βενετοκρατία, εντοιχισμένα αγγεία, εφυαλωμένη κεραμική, Κριμαία, Σικελία, Βόρειος Αφρική, Πελοπόννησος, Κρήτη.

### Keywords

Middle-Byzantine period, Early Venetian period, bacini, glazed pottery, Crimea, Sicily, Ifriqiya, the Peloponnese, Crete.

Research into pottery produced and circulating during the Byzantine era in areas of the Mediterranean, and more particularly within the Aegean, has expanded considerably over the last fifteen years of the 20th c., while from the beginning of the 21st c. the pertinent and comparable studies remain numerous, providing data that mainly derives from rescue or systematic excavations, from intensive surface surveys or that forms part of museum collections<sup>1</sup>. This tendency is in line with

the burgeoning development that pottery studies are experiencing in general: it coincides with an increasing research-based interest and familiarization with various aspects of the medieval material culture<sup>2</sup>. In fact, we are

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<sup>1</sup> The enumeration of the related studies lies beyond the scope of this study. For a summary of the evidence deriving from various areas in Greece and related comments, see: J. Vroom, *After Antiquity. Ceramics and Society in the Aegean from the 7th to the 20th Century A.C. A Case Study from Boeotia, Central Greece* (Archaeological Studies Leiden University 10), Leiden 2003, 49-78 and, more recently: S. Skartsis, *Chlemoutsi Castle (Clermont,*

*Castel Tornese), NW Peloponnese. Its Pottery and its Relations with the West (13th – early 19th Centuries)* (British Archaeological Reports International Series 2391), Oxford 2012, 21-34. Particularly concerning evidence on pottery circulating on the island of Crete – on which this study mainly focuses – during the Byzantine, the Venetian and the Ottoman periods, see the analytical literature in: A. G. Yangaki, “Η κεραμική στην Κρήτη τη Μεσαιωνική και Νεότερη Εποχή: Βιβλιογραφία”, *Πανεπιστήμιο Κρήτης. Φιλοσοφική Σχολή – Τμήμα Ιστορίας και Αρχαιολογίας, Εκπαιδευτική Συλλογή Μεσαιωνικής και Νεότερης Κεραμικής. Κατάλογος*, eds A. Yangaki – O. Gratziou, Rethymnon 2012, 17-28.

<sup>2</sup> For some representative case-studies: T. Bonnot, *La vie des objets* (Ethnologie de la France 22), Paris 2002; L. Lavan – E. Swift – T. Putzeys (eds), *Objects in Contexts. Objects in Use* (Late Antique Archaeology 5), Leiden – Boston 2007; T. Hamling – C. Richardson,

now much better informed on the various ceramic categories – not only of the fine table-wares, but also of the common and coarse wares and amphorae – than we were 20 years ago, even if in the medieval period there is still a tendency to focus on the fine glazed wares.

One particular field of research, which is proving quite promising in providing information on the various types of pottery in circulation during the Middle and the Late Byzantine periods in areas of the Aegean, is the study of the vessels which adorn the exterior façades of numerous churches, the so-called *bacini*. In fact, previous studies on such immured vessels from Byzantine and post-Byzantine monuments<sup>3</sup> had already provided some primary information on until-then unknown categories of glazed wares that are nonetheless encountered in Greece. As a related example one can mention the contribution of H. Philon, who revealed the existence of pottery from the cultural sphere of the Golden Horde in Thessalonike during the 14th c.<sup>4</sup>, to which additional information has recently been provided<sup>5</sup>.

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*Everyday Objects. Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and its Meanings*, Surrey, Burlington 2010; D. Hicks – M. C. Beaudry, *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies*, Oxford 2010.

<sup>3</sup> For some representative studies on the immured vessels: A. H. S. Megaw, “Glazed Bowls in Byzantine Churches”, *DChAE*, period D, 4 (1964-1965), 145-162; G. Nikolakopoulos, *Εντοιχισμένα κεραμεικά σίς ὄψεις τῶν μεσαιωνικῶν καὶ ἐπὶ Τουρκοκρατίας ἐκκλησιῶν μας*, I. Εἰσαγωγή, II. Τὰ κεραμεικά τῶν Ἁγίων Θεοδώρων, Athens 1978; G. M. Velenis, *Ερμηνεία του εξωτερικού διακόσμου στη Βυζαντινὴ ἀρχιτεκτονική*, PhD dissertation, Thessalonike 1984, 194-195, 267, 270; K. Tsouris, *Ὁ κεραμοπλαστικὸς διάκοσμος τῶν ὑστεροβυζαντινῶν μνημείων τῆς βορειοδυτικῆς Ἑλλάδος*, PhD dissertation, Kavala 1988, 95-116; K. Tsouris, “Glazed Bowls in the Late Byzantine Churches of North-Western Greece”, *Archeologia Medievale* 23 (1996), 603-624; A. G. Yangaki, “Immured Vessels in Churches on Crete: Preliminary Observations on Material from the Prefecture of Rethymnon”, *DChAE*, period D, 24 (2013), 375-384; A. G. Yangaki, “The ‘Immured Vessels in Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Churches of Greece’ research programme: objectives and preliminary results from Crete”, *Proceedings of the 12th International Congress of Cretan Studies, Heraklion, 21-25.9.2016*, Herakleion 2019, 1-18. (accessible at: <https://12iccs.proceedings.gr/en/proceedings/category/39/36/590> [last accessed: 12.06.2019]). For additional related literature: Yangaki, “Immured Vessels”, 375, notes 2-3.

<sup>4</sup> H. Philon, “Thessaloniki, Andalusia and the Golden Horde”, *Balkan Studies* 26.2 (1985), 299-319.

<sup>5</sup> P. Androudis, “An Unknown 14th Century Golden Horde Bowl

In addition, research undertaken in the course of the programme on the *bacini* in churches of Greece<sup>6</sup> has led not only to the enrichment of our knowledge on specific categories of glazed pottery already known to have circulated in areas of Greece, such as various Byzantine productions or wares imported from the Italian and the Iberian peninsulae<sup>7</sup>, but in particular to the identification of some pottery categories on which the archaeological record had been hitherto silent.

The current study after shortly presenting information on Islamic wares located in monuments in the Mesa Mani, mainly focuses on glazed wares attributed to the production of South Crimea and immured in churches on Crete.

### **Islamic Ceramics from the Peloponnese during the Middle-Byzantine Period and some short remarks upon their diffusion**

A case characteristic of the above point is made by two specific categories of Islamic wares that are still immured in the façades of several churches in the region of the Mesa Mani in the Peloponnese, and more particularly in the Oitylo area<sup>8</sup> (Fig. 1, Fig. 2). The first group

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(piyala) from the Monastery of Vatopedi, Mount Athos, Greece”, *Niš i Vizantija* 15 (2017), 209-216.

<sup>6</sup> For details on the programme, run in collaboration with the respective Ephorates of Antiquities: “Immured Vessels in Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Churches of Greece: A Digital Corpus”: <http://www.immuredvessels.gr> (last accessed: 11.06.2019). I would like to thank the former and current directors of the Ephorate of Antiquities of Lakonia and of the Ephorates of Antiquities of Chania, Herakleion, Lasithi and Rethymnon for permission to study the material and for their collaboration during the research, as well as the colleagues from the Ephorates for their help. I express my thanks to Sergei Bocharov, Professor Sauro Gelichi and Larissa Sedikova for the reproduction of specific images provided in the text.

<sup>7</sup> Yangaki, “Immured Vessels in Churches on Crete”, op.cit. (n. 3), 375-384; A. G. Yangaki, “A First Overview on Late Medieval Pottery from the Iberian Peninsula in Greece”, *Viator* 44.1 (2013), 287-326.

<sup>8</sup> For an analytical presentation of all these ceramics, with details as to the monuments where these vessels are immured, their arrangements and respective figures and drawings: A. G. Yangaki, “The *bacini* in churches of the Mesa Mani”, *12th AIECM3 Congress on Medieval and Modern Period Mediterranean Ceramics, Athens*,



Fig. 1. Schematic map, marked with the main sites and areas mentioned in the text: 1. Genoa, 2. Venice, 3. Oudhna, 4. Šabra al-Mansūriyya, 5. Palermo, 6. Corinth, 7-9. Areas of the Mesa Mani, of Crete and of South-East and South-West Crimea, respectively, where individual sites are mentioned in the text (for details, see additionally figures 2, 12 and 13), 10. Fustat.

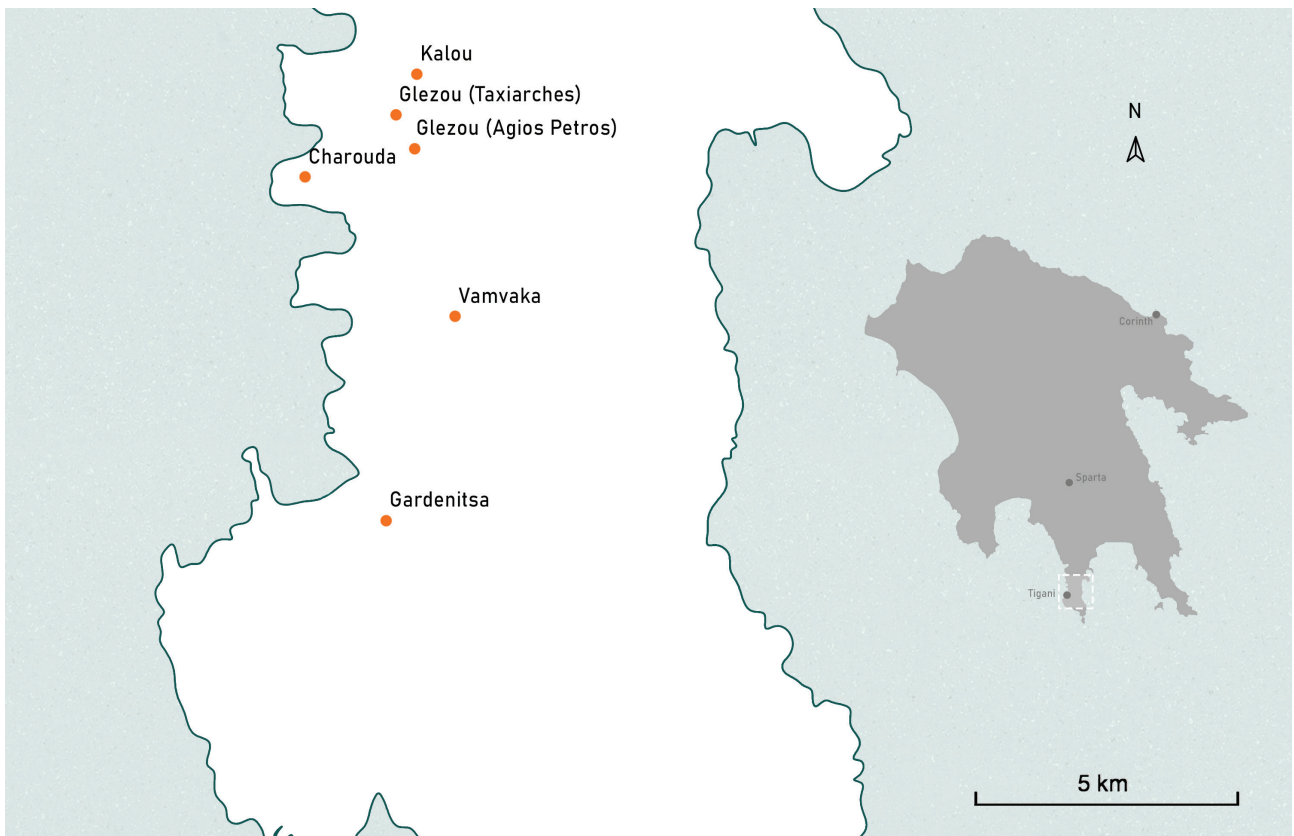


Fig. 2. Schematic map of part of the Mani peninsula, in the Peloponnese, with churches bearing bacini of the two aforementioned Islamic wares.

comprises polychrome glazed examples, to date commonly known in the literature with the misnomer “Fayyumi Ware” (Fig. 3, Fig. 4). These “Splashed Wares” belong to a problematic group of wares of Egyptian origin: they are not very homogeneous as a group, and have been attributed to Fustat, but also to other sites as well, being produced from the 9th to the 12th c. at least; with these are also associated ceramics of the “Green-Spotted” type (Fig. 5)<sup>9</sup>.

Most of the examples from the Mesa Mani (Fig. 6) have a buff-coloured fabric with paler surfaces, fine and

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October 21-27 2018. *Proceedings*, eds P. Petridis et al., Athens (under publication). Given the analysis of the specific material in the proceedings of the aforementioned congress, only basic information is provided here, with the aim of highlighting the presence of these wares and of underpinning the whole presentation. I would like to thank Professor Sauro Gelichi and Drs Francesca Agrò, Roland-Pierre Gayraud, Soundes Gragueb Chatti, Mina Moraitou and Viva Sacco, for their remarks concerning the various Islamic wares.<sup>9</sup> For these wares, see analytically: H. Blake – F. Aguzzi, “I bacini ceramici della torre civica di Pavia”, E. Gabba (ed.), *La Torre maggiore di Pavia*, Milan 1989, 212-215; G. T. Scanlon, “Fayyumi Pottery: a Long-lived Misnomer in Egyptian Islamic Ceramics. Type I”, *Bulletin de la Société d’Archéologie d’Alexandrie* 45 (1993), 295-330; O. Watson, *Ceramics from Islamic Lands. Kuwait National Museum. The Al-Sabah Collection*, London 2004, 53-54 (for Egypt), 199-200 (for examples from Eastern Iranian areas); R. Gayraud, “D’Est en Ouest, la céramique islamique”, P. Cressier – E. Fentress (eds), *La céramique maghrébine du haut moyen âge (VIIIe-Xe siècle). État des recherches, problèmes et perspectives* (Collection de l’École Française de Rome 446), Rome 2011, 299-301; G. Williams, “Fayyumi” Ware: Variations, Imitations, and Importations of an Early Islamic Glazed Ceramic Type, PhD dissertation, Cairo 2013, and in particular 15, 131, 133-134; I. Taxel, “Luxury and Common Wares: Socio-economic Aspects of the Distribution of Glazed Pottery in Early Islamic Palestine”, *Levant* 46.1 (2014), 127, fig. 4, 4, 129-130; R. Gayraud – L. Vallauri, *Fustat II. Fouilles d’Iṣṭabl Āntar. Céramiques d’ensembles des IXe et Xe siècles* (Fouilles de l’Ifao 75), Cairo 2017, 24, 383-384, 389; V. Sacco, “Ceramica con decorazione a splash da Palermo (Fine X – prima metà XI secolo)”, *XIth Congress AIECM3 on Medieval and Modern Period Mediterranean Ceramics Proceedings, 19-24 October 2015 Antalya*, ed. F. Yenişehirlioğlu, Ankara 2018, 433-437; S. Gelichi, “Islamic Pottery in the Neighbourhood of the Venetian Lagoon. A Contribution on the Relationships Between Venice and the Eastern Mediterranean During the 11th-12th Century”, T. Nowakiewicz – M. Trzeciackiego – D. Błaszczyka (eds), *Animos labor nutrit. Studia ofiarowane Profesorowi Andrzejowi Buko w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, Warsaw 2018, 115-128.



Fig. 3. A “Fayyumi Ware” vessel set into the bell tower at Pomposa, Italy.



Fig. 4. A so-called “Fayyumi Ware” vessel, British Museum, Museum number: 1932,0615.1.

sandy with an irregular breakage pattern. The most characteristic decoration consists of polychrome radial bands running down the interior in honey-brown, green, yellow and turquoise, all in a splashed pattern: the opacified colours have an almost equal visual impact, creating a colourful effect. It is a category of pottery dating from the Fatimid period, with the vessels immured in the churches of the Mesa Mani datable mostly to within the 11th c.

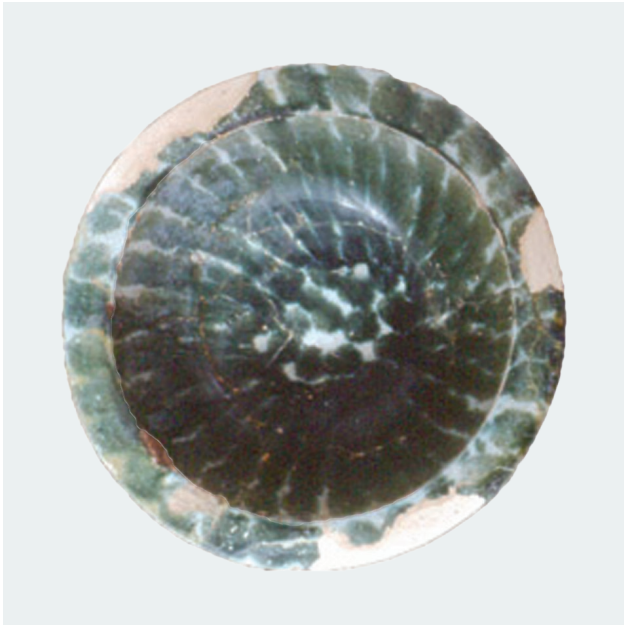


Fig. 5. Green Spotted Type vessel from Egypt, immured in S. Piero in Grado (Pisa).



Fig. 6. Egyptian polychrome dish of the so-called “Classic Fayyumi Ware”, immured at Taxiarches at Glezou (Peloponnese), 11th c.

The second group consists of examples of glazed polychrome products (“invetriate dipinte policrome”) (Fig. 7, Fig. 8), also known in the literature as “ceramica siculo-maghebina”<sup>10</sup>. These wares were produced in several

<sup>10</sup> For more details on this category and the various productions: Blake – Aguzzi, “I bacini ceramici”, op.cit. (n. 9), 221-222; A. Daoulati, “La production vert et brun en Tunisie du IXe au XIIIe

areas of Sicily and North Africa, and more particularly in Ifrīqiya, from the late 9th on until the middle of the 13th c., depending on the production site<sup>11</sup>. Among the manufacturing workshops that have been identified, the areas of Palermo and of Šabra al-Mansūriyya and

siècle. Étude historique et stylistique”, *Le vert & le brun, de Kairouan à Avignon, céramiques du Xe au XVe siècle*, Marseille – Paris 1995, 69-90; A. Molinari, “L’Italie du Sud”, *Le vert & le brun, de Kairouan à Avignon*, op.cit., 119-127; A. Molinari, “La produzione e la circolazione delle ceramiche siciliane nei secoli X-XIII”, *Actes du 5ème colloque sur la Céramique Médiévale en Méditerranée occidentale*, Rabat, 11-17 novembre 1991, eds R. El Hraïki – E. Erbaty, Rabat 1995, 191-200; A. Louhichi, *Céramique Islamique de Tunisie. École de Kairouan. École de Tunis*, Tunis 2010, 34-40; G. Berti – M. Giorgio, *Ceramiche con coperture vetrificate usate come “bacini”. Importazioni a Pisa e in altri centri della Toscana tra fine X e XIII secolo* (Ricerche di archeologia altomedievale e medievale 38), Florence 2011, 32-41; F. Spatafora – E. Canzonieri – L. Di Leonardo, “Ceramica da mensa nella Palermo di XI secolo: dalla fornace al butto”, *Archeologia Postmedievale* 16 (2012), 27-30; S. Gragueb Chatti, “Le vert et le brun de Sabra al-Mansūriyya”, *Kairouan et sa région. Nouvelles recherches d’Archéologie et de Patrimoine. Actes du 3ème colloque international du Département d’Archéologie (Kairouan 1-4 Avril 2009)*, eds N. Boukhchim – J. Ben Nasr – A. El Bahi, Kairouan 2013, 318-324; C. F. Mangiaracina, “La ceramica invetriata nella Sicilia islamica e normanna (X-XII secolo)”, *La luce del mondo. Maioliche Mediterranee nelle terre dell’Imperatore. Catalogo della mostra organizzata dal Museo della Ceramica di Montelupo (S. Miniato, 2 marzo – 19 maggio 2013)*, eds M. Carosio – F. Berti, Florence 2013, 89-105; S. Gragueb Chatti, “Contribution à l’étude de la céramique fatimido-ziride d’Ifriqiya et des bacini des monuments religieux d’Italie: essai de comparaison”, *Journal of Islamic Archaeology* 2 (2015), 259-281; S. Xhyheri, “Nuovi dati sui ‘bacini’ murati nelle chiese medievali e post-medievali in Albania”, *Hortus Artium Medievalium. Journal of the International Research Center for Late Antiquity and Middle Ages* 21 (2015), 367 and note 12; V. Sacco, “Le ceramiche invetriate di età islamica a Palermo: nuovi dati dalle sequenze del quartiere della Kalsa”, *Archeologia Medievale* 44 (2017), 337-366.

<sup>11</sup> On the area of Ifrīqiya: M. Brett, “Ifriqiya as a Market for Saharan Trade from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century A.D.”, *The Journal of African History* 10.3 (1969), 347. On the specific category of pottery: Louhichi, *Céramique Islamique*, op.cit. (n. 10), 34-36; Berti – Giorgio, *Ceramiche con coperture vetrificate*, op.cit. (n. 10), 32; Mangiaracina, “La ceramica invetriata”, op.cit. (n. 10), 89-94; Gragueb Chatti, “Contribution à l’étude de la céramique fatimido-ziride”, op.cit. (n. 10), 277-278; Sacco, “Le ceramiche invetriate”, op.cit. (n. 10), 340.



Fig. 7. Glazed polychrome bowl (“*invetriata dipinta policroma*”) from Sicily, immured in *S. Stefano extra moenia I* (Pisa).



Fig. 8. Glazed polychrome bowl (“*invetriata dipinta policroma*”) from Tunisia, immured in the church of *S. Sisto I* (Pisa).

Oudhna respectively constitute characteristic cases<sup>12</sup>. Their products bear painted decoration in green and brown,

<sup>12</sup> For these products, see respectively: Sacco, “Le ceramiche invetriate”, op.cit. (n. 10), 337-366 (on Palermo); Louhichi, *Céramique Islamique*, op.cit. (n. 10), 34-37; Gragueb Chatti, “Contribution à l’étude de la céramique fatimido-ziride”, op.cit. (n. 10), 277-278 (on Šabra al-Mansūriyya and Oudhna).

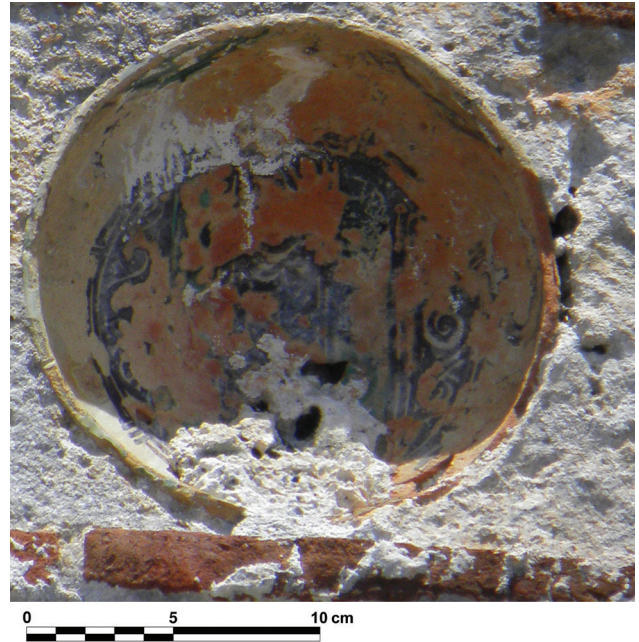


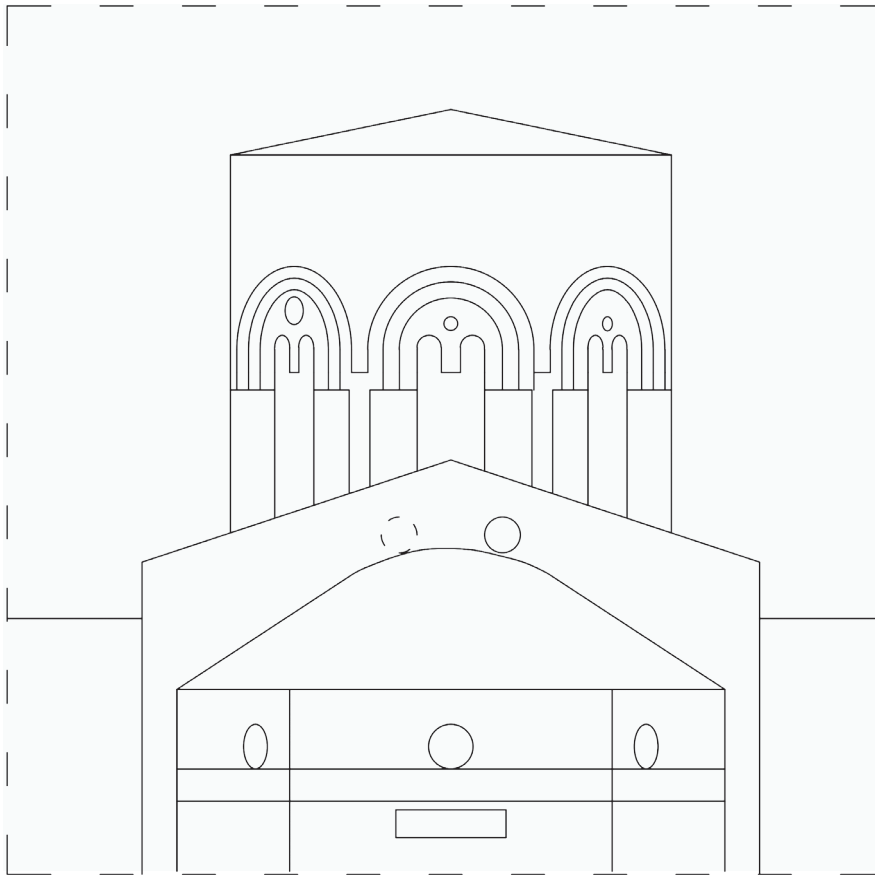
Fig. 9. Glazed polychrome bowl (“*invetriata dipinta policroma*”) from North Africa, immured in the church of *Agioi Theodoroi* at Vamvaka (Peloponnese).

with additional yellow in some cases. The examples from the Mesa Mani date mainly from the 11th c. (Fig. 9)<sup>13</sup>.

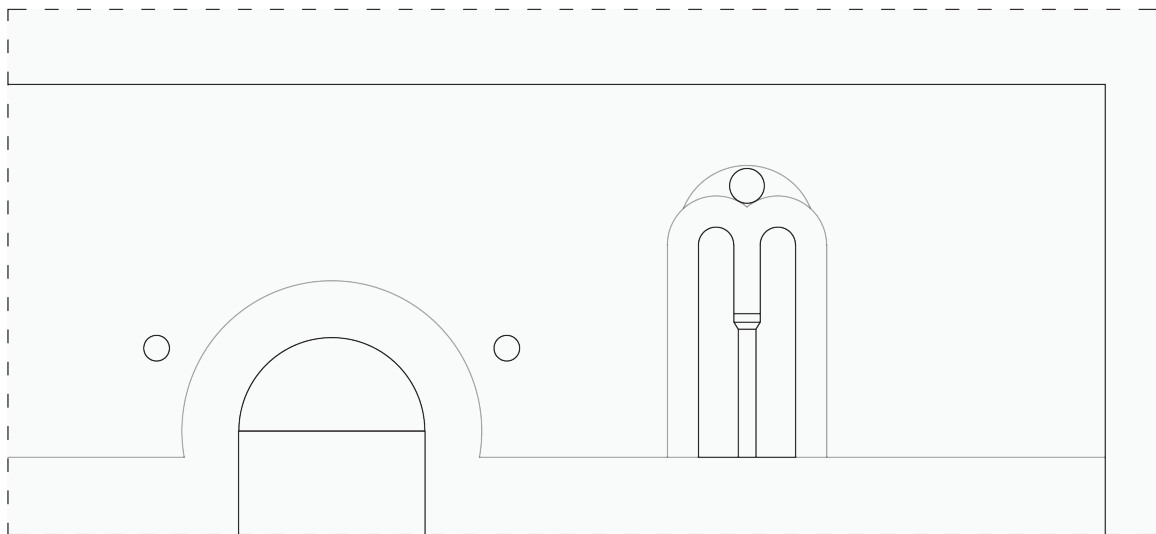
The aforementioned evidence is located in six monuments of the Mesa Mani: Taxiarchis at Charouda (Fig. 10), the Transfiguration of the Saviour at Kato Gardenitsa, Taxiarches and Agios Petros at Glezou, Agios Theodoros “at Kalou” (Fig. 11) and Agioi Theodoroi at Vamvaka<sup>14</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> Again, for this category and its examples in churches of the Mesa Mani: Yangaki, “The *bacini*”, op.cit. (n. 8), 58.

<sup>14</sup> For the main literature on the aforementioned churches, see: Taxiarchis at Charouda: R. R. Traquair, “Laconia. III. The Churches of Western Mani”, *BSA* 15 (1908-1909), 189-190; A. H. S. Megaw, “Byzantine Architecture in Mani”, *BSA* 33 (1932-1933), 162; N. Drandakis, “Σχεδιάσμα καταλόγου των τοιχογραφημένων βυζαντινών και μεταβυζαντινών ναών Λακωνίας”, *LakSpoud* 13 (1996), 223, no. 379; Ch. Bouras – L. Boura, *Ἡ Ἑλλαδικὴ ναοδομία κατὰ τὸν 12ο αἰώνα*, Athens 2002, 319-320; A. Mexia, *Βυζαντινὴ ναοδομία στην Πελοπόννησο. Ἡ περίπτωση τῶν μεσοβυζαντινῶν ναῶν τῆς Μέσα Μάνης*, PhD dissertation, Athens 2011, I. 289-290, II. 216-220, 232; Ch. Pinatsi, “Βυζαντινά μαρμάρινα δάπεδα τῆς Μάνης”, M. Korres – St. Mamaloukos – K. Zampas – F. Mallouchou-Tufano (eds), *Ἡρώς Κτίστης. Μνήμη Χαράλαμπου Μπούρα*, 2, Athens 2018, 481-482; Transfiguration of the Saviour at Kato Gardenitsa: Traquair,



*Fig. 10. Schematic drawing of part of the façade of the church of Taxiarchis at Charouda, view of the east side showing the location of bacini.*



*Fig. 11. Schematic drawing of the south side of Agios Theodoros "at Kalou", showing the location of bacini.*

These cover the period from the early 11th up to the middle of the 12th c.<sup>15</sup> In some cases ceramics of the second category form the only examples preserved and used as *bacini* in these churches, in others both categories are found at the same monument. It also occurs that the second category is accompanied by additional classes of Islamic wares or by ceramics, mostly monochrome ones, with an unclear attribution as to their area of provenance<sup>16</sup>.

Islamic wares, in particular lustre wares from Egypt and incised glazed pottery from Syria or Egypt, circulated in Greece during the 11th c.<sup>17</sup> Ceramics belong-

ing to the polychrome Islamic productions of Egypt, Ifrīqiya and Sicily have not – to my knowledge – been published previously from sites in Greece, apart from those found in the monuments from the Mesa Mani dating mainly from the 11th c. Thus, these two categories of Islamic ceramics reveal the diffusion of these wares in areas of the Peloponnese during the Middle-Byzantine period. By their number and their occurrence in different churches over a considerable time frame, they indicate the existence of direct or indirect trade contacts between Byzantium and the Islamic lands.

### Glazed Ceramics from the South Crimea in Crete during the early Venetian period

The focus, however, of this paper is on the geographical area of South Crimea and its production of glazed wares during the Late Medieval period. Various categories of glazed pottery were produced during the late 13th, the 14th and the 15th c. in areas of the South-East Crimea, such as Solkhat (Staryi Krym), Soldaya (Sudak), Caffa (Theodosia), with centres of production located also in the South-West of Crimea, such as Cembalo (Balaklava) (Fig. 1, Fig. 12), each centre having its own period of development within this broader time frame<sup>18</sup>. These ceramics

“Laconia. III”, op.cit., 180-181, 211; Megaw, “Byzantine Architecture in Mani”, op.cit., 144, 154, 162; Drandakis, “Σχεδιάσμα”, op.cit., 228, no. 407; N. Drandakis, “Σημειώσεις κυρίως γιὰ τὴν τοιχοδομία καὶ τὴν ἀρχιτεκτονικὴ βυζαντινῶν ναῶν τῆς Μέσα Μάνης”, *LakSpoud* 15 (1998), 291-293, 300; Bouras – Boura, *Ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ ναοδομία*, op.cit., 105-106; K. Diamanti, “Ἡ παράσταση τοῦ δωρητῆ στο ναὸ τοῦ Σωτήρα στὴ Γαρδενίτσα τῆς Μέσα Μάνης”, *Ανταπόδοση. Μελέτες βυζαντινῆς καὶ μεταβυζαντινῆς ἀρχαιολογίας καὶ τέχνης πρὸς τιμὴν τῆς καθηγήτριας Ἑλένης Δεληγιάννη-Δωρῆ*, Athens 2010, 129-140; Mexia, *Βυζαντινὴ ναοδομία*, op.cit., I. 286-287, II. 52-56, 231; Taxiarches at Glezou: Traquair, “Laconia. III”, op.cit., 191-192, 212; Megaw, “Byzantine Architecture in Mani”, op.cit., 139, 151-152; Drandakis, “Σχεδιάσμα”, op.cit., 222, no. 376; Drandakis, “Σημειώσεις”, op.cit., 285-287; Mexia, *Βυζαντινὴ ναοδομία*, op.cit., I. 316-317, II. 77-79, 231; Agios Petros at Glezou: Traquair, “Laconia. III”, op.cit., 192-193; Megaw, “Byzantine Architecture in Mani”, op.cit., 154; Drandakis, “Σχεδιάσμα”, op.cit., 223, no. 377; Drandakis, “Σημειώσεις”, op.cit., 284-285; Mexia, *Βυζαντινὴ ναοδομία*, op.cit., I. 282-283, II. 66-70, 231; Pinatsi, “Βυζαντινὰ μαρμάρινα δάπεδα”, op.cit., 482-485; Agios Theodoros at “Kalou”: N. Drandakis, “Ἐρευναι εἰς τὴν Μάνην”, *PAE* (1977), 221-222; Bouras – Boura, *Ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ ναοδομία*, op.cit., 276-278; Mexia, *Βυζαντινὴ ναοδομία*, op.cit., II. 97; Agioi Theodoroi at Vamvaka: Traquair, “Laconia. III”, op.cit., 183-185; Drandakis, “Σχεδιάσμα”, op.cit., 225, no. 389; Drandakis, “Σημειώσεις”, op.cit., 281-284; Mexia, *Βυζαντινὴ ναοδομία*, op.cit., I. 318-319, II. 40, 232.

<sup>15</sup> For the churches of the Transfiguration of the Saviour at Gardenitsa and Taxiarches and Agios Petros at Glezou a date within the 13th (and possibly also within the early 14th c. for the first church) has also been suggested (see the above-mentioned literature, for more details). The *bacini* offer evidence for the earlier dates proposed for these monuments [for more details: Yangaki, “The *bacini*”, op.cit. (n. 8)].

<sup>16</sup> Detailed presentation and comments of the assemblages of the ceramics in these and other monuments of the Mesa Mani are presented in: Yangaki, “The *bacini*”, op.cit. (n. 8).

<sup>17</sup> For characteristic examples, see the vessels immured in Agioi Theodoroi in Athens [Nikolakopoulos, *Ἐντοιχισμένα κεραμεικά*,

op.cit. (n. 3)] and pieces found in Corinth [A. Georgiou, “Clay Bowl with Kufic Inscription”, *Byzantium & the Arabs, October 2011 – January 2012. Exhibition catalogue*, eds N. Bonovas – A. Tzitzibassi, Thessalonike 2011, 152, no. 75; A. Ballian, “Exchanges between Byzantium and the Islamic World: Courtly Art and Material Culture”, *Heaven & Earth. Art of Byzantium from Greek Collections*, eds A. Drandakis – D. Papanikola-Bakirtzi – A. Tourta, Athens 2013, 294-296].

<sup>18</sup> For presentation of the various categories of glazed pottery from areas of the South-East and South-West Crimea during the 13th, 14th and 15th c., see: S. Bocharov – A. Maslowskij, “Byzantine Glazed Pottery in the Cities of the North Black Sea Region in the Golden Horde Period (Second Half of 13th Century – End of 14th Century)”, *Atti del IX Congresso Internazionale sulla Ceramica Medievale nel Mediterraneo. Venezia, Scuola Grande dei Carmini, Auditorium Santa Margherita 23-27 novembre 2009*, ed. S. Gelichi, Venice 2012, 274-275; N. Ginkut, “Glazed Ware Manufacture in the Genoese Fortress of Cembalo (Crimean Peninsula) from the Late Fourteenth to Fifteenth Century”, *Atti del IX Congresso Internazionale sulla Ceramica Medievale nel Mediterraneo, Venezia, Scuola Grande dei Carmini, Auditorium*



Fig. 12. Schematic map of the Crimean peninsula, in the Black Sea, showing the main sites mentioned in the text.

*Santa Margherita 23-27 novembre 2009*, ed. S. Gelichi, Venice 2012, 68-69, fig. 4, 1; S. Bocharov – A. Maslovskiy, “The Eastern Crimean Centers of Glaze Pottery Production in 13th and 14th Centuries”, *Acta do X Congresso Internacional a Cerâmica Medieval no Mediterrâneo, Silves 22 a 27. outubro ’12*, II, eds M. J. Gonçalves – S. Gómez-Martínez, Silves 2015, 604-607; I. Teslenko, “Crimean Local Glazed Pottery of the 15th Century”, *Acta do X Congresso Internacional a Cerâmica Medieval no Mediterrâneo*, op.cit., 928, fig. 1; A. N. Maslovskiy, “Восточнокрымский поливной импорт в золотоордынском Азаке. Вопросы хронологии [East Crimean Imported Glazed Ceramics in Azak, a Golden Horde City. Questions of Chronology]”, S. Bocharov – V. François – A. Sitdikov (eds), *Glazed Pottery of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea Region, 10th-18th Centuries*, II, Kazan – Kishinev 2017, 455-489; I. A. Kozyr – T. D. Borovyk, “Поливная керамика Торговицкого археологического комплекса периода Золотой Орды [Torhovytzia Archaeological Complex: Glazed Ceramics of the Golden Horde Period]”, *Glazed Pottery of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea Region*, op.cit., fig. 6; I. B. Teslenko, “Комплекс керамики из раскопок усадьбы золотоордынского периода на территории средневекового городища в Алуште (Крым) [Pottery Assemblage from the Excavation of a Household of the Golden Horde Period on the Territory of the Medieval Settlement in Alushta (Crimea)]”, *Glazed Pottery of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea Region*, op.cit., 392, 396, fig. 9, 398, fig. 11, 3, 400, fig. 13, 6-9, 401, fig. 14, 1, 402, fig. 15, 2. Chersonesos and Mangup have also been

considered as possible production centres of glazed pottery (see, respectively: S. Y. Waksman, in collaboration with A. I. Romanchuk, “Byzantine Chersonesos, an Investigation of the Local Production of Ceramics by Chemical Analysis”, *Çanak. Late Antique and Medieval Pottery and Tiles in Mediterranean Archaeological Contexts, Proceedings of the First International Symposium on Late Antique, Byzantine, Seljuk, and Ottoman Pottery and Tiles in Archaeological Context*, eds B. Böhlendorf-Arslan – A. O. Uysal – J. Witte-Orr, (Byzas 7) Istanbul 2007, 386, fig. 2, BYZ 297, 387, 389 and A. G. Gertsen – V. E. Naumenko, “Поливная керамика из раскопок цитадели Мангупа [Glazed Ceramics from Excavation of the Mangups Citadel]”, S. G. Bocharov – V. L. Mytz (eds), *Polivnaia keramika Sredizemnomor’ia I Prichernomor’ia. X-XVIII vv.* [Glazed Pottery of the Mediterranean and Pontic Regions in the 10th-18th Centuries], 1, Kiev 2005, 271-275, figs 7-10, 276, figs 12, 1-2, 273-274, figs. 9-10; A. G. Gertsen – V. E. Naumenko, “Археологические исследования церкви Св. Константина (Мангуп): II; горизонт застройки (XV в.) [Archaeological Research in the District of St. Constantine Church (Mangup): II Horizon of Building (the 15th Century)]”, *Материалы по археологии, истории и этнографии Таврии* 39 (2009), 396-397, 424, fig. 20, 4, 425, fig. 21, 1-2, fig. 21, 7; A. G. Gertsen – V. E. Naumenko, “Церковь Святого Георгия Мангупского городища. Общие итоги археологических исследований 2015-2016 гг. [St. George’s Church of Mangup Fortress. Common Results of Archaeological Research in 2015-2016 Summary]”, *АРХЕОЛОГИЯ АНТИЧНОГО И СРЕДНЕВЕКОВОГО ГОРОДА. Сборник статей в*

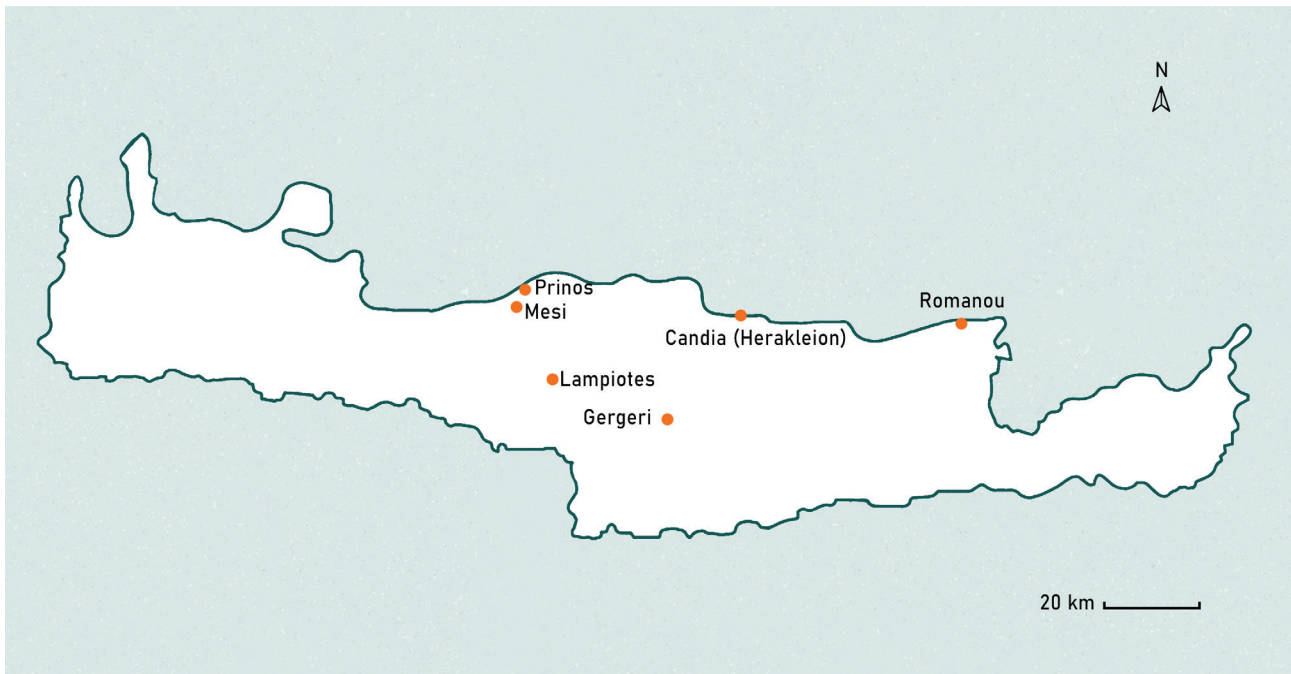


Fig. 13. Schematic map of Crete, showing the areas with churches bearing bacini from South Crimea.

either bear incised decoration under a monochrome glaze, or are glazed and painted with brown splashes, or may comprise various sets of painted sgraffito decoration, with the latter showing inspiration from Byzantine glazed wares<sup>19</sup>. Research on the immured vessels in churches on

честь. Станислава Григорьевича Рыжова / *Archaeology of the Ancient and Medieval City. Essays presented in honor of Stanislav Ryzhov*, Sevastopol 2018, 33, fig. 14, 1), although these opinions have not been accepted unanimously by researchers (for related comments, see: Teslenko, "Crimean Local Glazed Pottery", op.cit., 928, 930; L. Sedikova, "Glazed Polychrome Sgraffito Ware of the Thirteenth to Fifteenth Centuries from the Crimea: Mediterranean Parallels", *Cypriot Medieval Ceramics. Reconsiderations and New Perspectives*, eds D. Papanikola-Bakirtzi – N. Coureas, Nicosia 2014, 117-123; I. Teslenko, "Ceramic Import and Export of Crimea at the Final Stage of the Genoese Domination in the Black Sea Region", *XIth AIECM3 Congress on Medieval and Modern Period Mediterranean Ceramics Proceedings*, op.cit. (n. 9), 169-173.

<sup>19</sup> For the influence of Byzantine glazed pottery on the various productions of the Crimea, see: S. Bocharov – A. Maslowskiy, "Byzantine Glazed Pottery in the Cities of the North Black Sea Region in the Golden Horde Period (Second Half of 13th Century – End of 14th Century)", *Atti del IX Congresso Internazionale sulla Ceramica Medievale nel Mediterraneo*, op.cit. (n. 18), 270.

Crete has shown that a few such vessels in the regional units of Rethymnon, Herakleion and Lasithi should be considered as examples of some of the above particular categories. In detail, the earliest evidence, from the second half of the 14th c., is with most probability to be seen in the church of Christ the Saviour in Romanou (Lasithi). Later pieces, dated to within the 15th c., come from the churches of Agia Kyriaki in Mesi, Agios Nikolaos in Lampiotes, Panagia in Prinos (Rethymnon) and Panagia Chanoutia in Gergeri (Herakleion) (Fig. 13).

To the evidence from the 14th c. can most probably be ascribed three of the vessels immured on the gable above the apse in the church of Christ the Saviour at Romanou (Lasithi) that bear incised decoration which has parallels to the products of the South-East Crimea<sup>20</sup> (Fig. 14). Although the vessels are not well preserved, being partly broken so that their upper part either does not survive or is obscured with plaster, yet judging from the decoration in their centre, they have a central medallion delimited

<sup>20</sup> I would like to thank Sergei Bocharov, archaeologist at the Tatarstan Academy of Sciences at Kazan (Russian Federation), for the useful discussion on the glazed pottery of the South Crimea and his remarks on the dates of particular vessels.

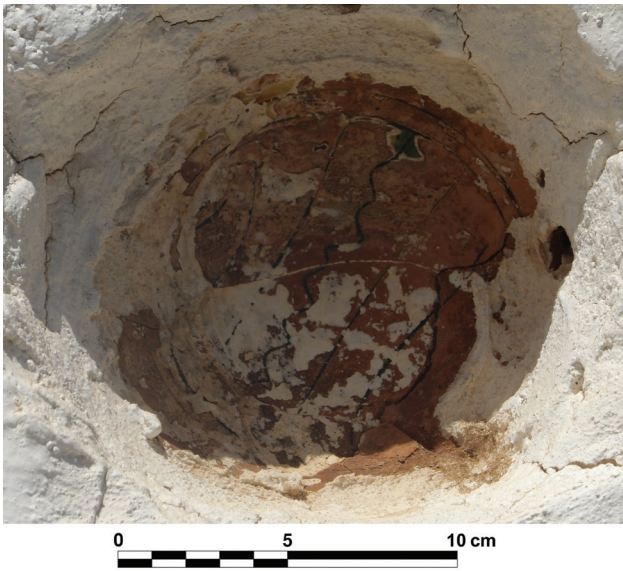


Fig. 14. Painted Sgraffito Ware from the South Crimea, immured at Christ the Saviour in Romanou (Crete).



Fig. 15. Polychrome Sgraffito Ware bowl from the South Crimea, immured at Agia Kyriaki in Mesi (Crete).

by incised bands. The interior is covered with parallel incised bands that alternate randomly with curved incisions. Additional green or brownish-orange irregular bands of colour exemplifying varied concentrations cover the incisions or delimitate the medallion, all under a yellowish glaze. Although the shape of the vessels cannot be reconstructed, yet their small diameter (under 19 cm), their dark reddish-brown fabric with several whitish inclusions and their form of decoration (a characteristic combination of simple incised bands with curved incised bands) all argue that they should most likely be recognized as bowls of the glazed ceramic repertoire from the South-East Crimea and that they date within the 14th c. Vessels attributed to the same place of origin and found in Tana (Azov), Lusta (Alushta) and Theodoro (Mangup) bear great similarities with the vessels under discussion<sup>21</sup>.

<sup>21</sup> Tana (Azov): I. V. Belinski – A. N. Maslovskiy, “The Imported Glazed Ceramics from Asak (XIV cent.)”, *Glazed Pottery of the Mediterranean and Pontic Regions in the 10th-18th Centuries*, op.cit. (n. 18), 169, fig. 4, 1; Maslovskiy, “East Crimean Imported Glazed Ceramics”, op.cit. (n. 18), 469, fig. 11, 1, 481, fig. 23, 2; Alushta: Teslenko, “Pottery Assemblage”, op.cit. (n. 18), 392, 396, fig. 9, 4, 400, fig. 13, 8, 401, fig. 14, 1; Mangup: Gertsen – Naumenko, “Archaeological Research”, op.cit. (n. 18), 425, fig. 21, 1-2. Ceramics of the Laphithos production centre dating to the end

Of the pieces dating to the 15th c., in the churches of Agia Kyriaki in Mesi (Fig. 15), of Agios Nikolaos in Lampiotes (Fig. 16) and of the Panagia in Prinos (Fig. 17), one of the vessels forming part of the cruciform formation (Fig. 18) of the *bacini* can be recognized as a product from the South-East Crimea: such formations are a common practice in Cretan churches<sup>22</sup>. Three of the many vessels used to create more complex formations on the façades of the Panagia Chanoutia have also the same provenance (Fig. 19). All six vessels share close affinities with the Glazed Polychrome Sgraffito Ware that was produced

of the 13th-14th c. also bear, at first glance, similarities with the aforementioned pottery from Romanou, since some examples bear in the centre of the vessels parallel incised bands that alternate randomly with curved incisions. Nevertheless, the way the incised decoration has been executed seems somehow different and, most importantly, the additional colours added in between in the form of large, rather symmetric bands, are not found in the vessels in Romanou (D. Papanikola-Bakirtzi, *Μεσαιωνική εφραλομένη κεραμική της Κύπρου. Τα εργαστήρια Πάφου και Λαπήθου*, Nicosia 1996, 142-145, 167, no. 61, no. 62, pl. LV, 61-62).

<sup>22</sup> For the cruciform arrangement: Yangaki, “Immured Vessels”, op.cit. (n. 3), 377-378; Yangaki, “The Immured Vessels”, op.cit. (n. 3), 4, 6, 9, 13.



Fig. 16. Polychrome Sgraffito Ware bowl from the South Crimea, immured at Agios Nikolaos in Lampiotes (Crete).



Fig. 17. Polychrome Sgraffito Ware dish from the South Crimea, immured at Panagia in Prinios (Crete).

at the end of the 14th and during the 15th c. in the South Crimea (Fig. 20-Fig. 23, Fig. 25, a-d): the two main confirmed centres of production were Cembalo and Caffa<sup>23</sup>. While the products of Cembalo were mainly destined for the local market, those of Caffa were distributed in areas around the Black Sea<sup>24</sup>. Macroscopic examination of the vessels' fabric, in the few cases where this has been possible, has shown that the fabric of the Cretan examples is red, fine, containing small whitish inclusions and grog (chamotte). Its composition seems very close to the main fabric as described by I. Teslenko<sup>25</sup>. The six vessels are of three shapes: a) plain bowls with a hemispherical body and simple rim (Fig. 24, a), b) cups with a hemispherical body with its upper part larger and clearly separated from the lower part, with a ridge and a simple rim (Fig. 24, b), and c) dishes with a convex and spreading profile that ends in a flattish rim, separated from the body with

a ridge (Fig. 24, c)<sup>26</sup>. They all bear a white slip and transparent glaze; the decoration is executed by large incisions and bears additional green and orange-brownish bands. In this combination of the decoration, all examples fall within the so-called "bicolour sgraffito"<sup>27</sup>. Based on the decorative style and the specific designs used, this pottery, produced during the third quarter of the 14th and the 15th c., is also known under the general term "Caffa style"<sup>28</sup> or "Caffa ware" (Fig. 25, a-h)<sup>29</sup>. Among the various decorative themes, the objects found in Crete bear geometric designs that consist of different arrangements of star-like motifs (Fig. 15-Fig. 17, Fig. 19, Fig. 26). An incised star is indeed one of the characteristic motifs of this particular production<sup>30</sup>. Besides the aforementioned

<sup>23</sup> For the various centres of production: Teslenko, "Crimean Local Glazed Pottery", op.cit. (n. 18), 928-932. See also the literature in note 18.

<sup>24</sup> Ginkut, "Glazed Ware", op.cit. (n. 18), 69; Teslenko, "Crimean Local Glazed Pottery", op.cit. (n. 18), 928, 930.

<sup>25</sup> Teslenko, "Crimean Local Glazed Pottery", op.cit. (n. 18), 930.

<sup>26</sup> Examples from Lampiotes and Gergeri belong to the first form (a), examples from Mesi belong to the second form (b), the example from Prinios belongs to the third form (c). For these forms see in detail, respectively: Teslenko, "Crimean Local Glazed Pottery", op.cit. (n. 18), 931, fig. 3, 9.5, 10.3, 8.1.

<sup>27</sup> Teslenko, "Crimean Local Glazed Pottery", op.cit. (n. 18), 930, 932, fig. 4.

<sup>28</sup> Teslenko, "Crimean Local Glazed Pottery", op.cit. (n. 18), 930.

<sup>29</sup> Teslenko, "Ceramic Import and Export", op.cit. (n. 18), 269-270.

<sup>30</sup> Teslenko, "Crimean Local Glazed Pottery", op.cit. (n. 18), 932.

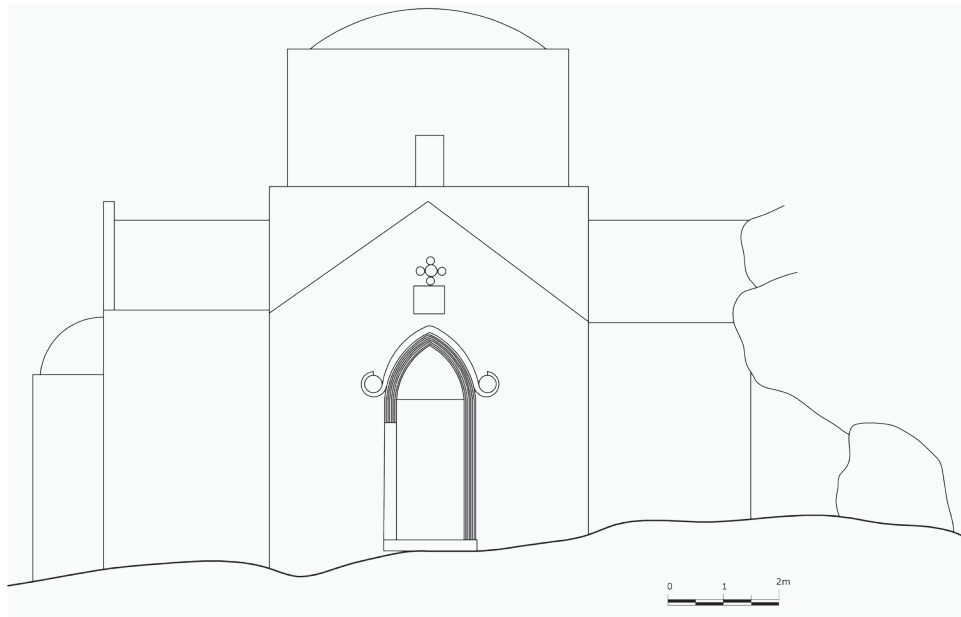


Fig. 18. Schematic drawing of the north façade of the church of Panagia in Prinós (Rethymnon), showing the location of bacini.

traits, a detail of decisive importance in the attribution of the specific vessels found in Crete to the products of the South Crimea is the use in almost all of the examples of incised bands consisting of triple large incisions that make up the main theme (Fig. 15-Fig. 17, Fig. 19-Fig. 20, Fig. 22-Fig. 23, Fig. 25-Fig. 26). The use of the triple incisions appears already during the third quarter of the 14th c. and runs on through the 15th c.<sup>31</sup> Complementary to these, single spirals appear, covering the space in between the main theme. An additional distinctive element supporting this attribution is the repeated use of alternating bands of green and orange-brown that are added to the decoration in a complementary way (Fig. 25-Fig. 26) and not completely randomly as is seen in Late Byzantine products. Characteristic of that decorative aspect is the

fig. 4. For star-like motifs, see also: Gertsen – Naumenko, “Glazed Pottery”, op.cit. (n. 18), 277, fig. 13, 3.

<sup>31</sup> Teslenko, “Crimean Local Glazed Pottery”, op.cit. (n. 18), 932, fig. 4. The use of triple incisions for the decoration of vessels, with additional colours is also found on ceramics of “Port Saint-Symeon Ware” attributed to the production of Kinet area, in Turkey: M. J. Blackman – S. Redford, “Neutron Activation Analysis of Medieval Ceramics from Kinet, Turkey, especially Port Saint Symeon Ware”, *Ancient Near Eastern Studies* XLII (2005), 104-105, 172, fig. 48, IV-RR.

dish in Prinós, where instead of bands, blobs of green and dark brown are meticulously placed only on top of the complementary spirals, alternating with one another (Fig. 17, Fig. 26, b). Together with the use of alternating bands of colour, the habit of adding incised bands to the main theme is also encountered in the glazed ceramics of the South-East Crimea<sup>32</sup>, besides the supplementary spirals set around the main theme<sup>33</sup>.

Concerning the main motif, four different variations in the rendering of the six, seven or eight-pointed stars occur: a) the bowl immured in Agios Nikolaos at Lampiotes (Fig. 16, Fig. 26, a) bears eight triple and large, if simple, incisions that meet at the centre of the bowl, thus creating a simple star-like motif; in the spaces in between, groups of curved or angular triple incisions occur. Similar incision-work occurs on a fragment from Mangup<sup>34</sup>; b) the bowl immured high above the west entrance in the Panagia Chanoutia of Gergeri (Fig. 19, Fig. 26, d), bears

<sup>32</sup> Teslenko, “Pottery Assemblage”, op.cit. (n. 18), 402, fig. 15, 1-2.

<sup>33</sup> Belinski – Maslovski, “The Imported Glazed Ceramics from Asak”, op.cit. (n. 21), 168, fig. 3, 3; Gertsen – Naumenko, “Archaeological Research”, op.cit. (n. 18), 424, fig. 20, 4.

<sup>34</sup> Gertsen – Naumenko, “Archaeological Research”, op.cit. (n. 18), 429, fig. 25, 11.



Fig. 19. Polychrome Sgraffito Ware bowl from the South Crimea, part of a cruciform arrangement above the entrance, at Panagia Chanoutia in Gergeri (Crete).

an additional form of a seven-pointed star, with simple straight bands consisting of either two or three large incisions, not very well executed. In this case, though, pairs of similar incisions create angular motifs that combine to form a schematic seven-pointed star or flower motif. The vessel finds general similarities as to the use of double or triple incisions and the schematic flower or star (in which bands of green and orange-brown alternate) (Fig. 25, d) with two ceramic pieces from Tana (Azov)<sup>35</sup> and a vessel from Mangup<sup>36</sup>; c) the dish immured in the Panagia in Prinos (Fig. 17, Fig. 26, b) is decorated with a six-pointed star made up by the interconnection of two triangles, whose sides are described by large triple incisions. Similar six-pointed stars occur in the products of Caffa<sup>37</sup>. Furthermore, vessels from the Principality of Theodoro in the South-West Crimea, dated to the 14th-15th c., and others from the excavations near the churches of Agios Konstantinos and Agios Georgios at Mangup, which are

<sup>35</sup> Maslovskiy, “East Crimean Imported Glazed Ceramics”, op.cit. (n. 18), 475, fig. 17, 1, 6 (dated to the 14th c.).

<sup>36</sup> Gertsen – Naumenko, “Glazed Ceramics”, op.cit. (n. 18), 269, fig. 5, 6.

<sup>37</sup> Teslenko, “Crimean Local Glazed Pottery”, op.cit. (n. 18), 928-933, 932, fig. 4.



Fig. 20. Polychrome Sgraffito Bowl from Mangup.

dated during the first and the second third of the 15th c. and particularly between 1400 and 1460, find very close analogies with the dish from Prinos<sup>38</sup> (Fig. 25, c, Fig. 26, b). They bear similar representations of a six-pointed star, formed by two combined triangles<sup>39</sup>; and d) lastly, the cup immured in Agia Kyriaki at Mesi (Fig. 15) and the two other bowls immured in Panagia Chanoutia at Gergeri (viz. the one placed to the right and the other placed to the left of the entrance<sup>40</sup>) all exemplify a more complex form of seven and eight-pointed stars the two again formed from two amalgamated triangles. Here, however, each side of

<sup>38</sup> For these vessels: Gertsen – Naumenko, “Glazed Ceramics”, op.cit. (n. 18), 271-275, fig. 7-10, 276, fig. 12, 2 (for similar rendering of the incised decoration), 277, fig. 13, 3 (for similar decoration with a star), 273-274, figs 9-10 (for a similar form); Sedikova, “Glazed Polychrome Sgraffito Ware”, op.cit. (n. 18), 122-123, fig. 11, fig. XII, 11; Gertsen – Naumenko, “Archaeological Research”, op.cit. (n. 18), 396-397, 424, fig. 20, 4 (for the use of the triple incision and spirals), 425, fig. 21, 1-2 (for large, triple incisions), fig. 21, 7 (for similarities as to the form); Gertsen – Naumenko, “St. George’s Church of Mangup Fortress”, op.cit. (n. 18), 33, fig. 14, 1 (for the use of triple incision and added colour). For reservations as to the attribution of these ceramics to a local production at Mangup, see the literature in note 18.

<sup>39</sup> Gertsen – Naumenko, “Glazed Ceramics”, op.cit. (n. 18), 277, fig. 13, 3.

<sup>40</sup> Although the interior surface of this bowl is not well preserved, judging from the rest of the preserved decoration it can reasonably be assumed that a similar motif originally occupied its surface.



Fig. 21. Polychrome Sgraffito Ware from Lusta (Schematic drawing after the prototype).



Fig. 22. Polychrome Sgraffito Ware from Mangup (Schematic drawing after the prototype).

the triangle is made up of a large band, itself composed of a pair of triple large incisions. The spaces in between are covered with alternating bands of green or orange-brown. The area around the points of the star is covered with poorly-executed spirals, as is seen too in the case of the vessel in Prinos. Similarly combined large bands made of incisions occur in vessels of the Crimean production found in Mangup (Fig. 20, Fig. 25, c) and in Tana<sup>41</sup> and other vessels (Fig. 25, a-b, d, h) attributed to “Caffa Ware”<sup>42</sup>.

It should be observed that in order to execute the motif of the seven- or eight-pointed star, the potter seems to have just inserted one or two extra apexes of incomplete ‘triangles’ to form the additional star points, since the existing two triangles already accounted for six of the

points. This lack of meticulousness or concern on the part of the potter is also shown through careful observation of the manner in which the additional colours are used. In one case, each of the two triangles is not executed in one colour, either green or orange-brown, as would have been most logical, but different colours are employed on different points; in another case, although the monochromatic nature of each triangle is adhered to, the addition of the extra ‘floating’ point causes confusion. To be more explicit, it seems that the two additional colours alternate with one another independently of the triangles to which they offer supplementary decoration, thus resulting in vessels either having the same colour in two continuous points or bearing two different colours in the same triangle.

It is interesting to note that in each of the immured examples a different version of a star is presented. The symbol of the star refers to good and bad destinies, to the light. As a Christian symbol, it encompasses various notions, referring to the Holy Will or to Jesus, while it also represents the star of Bethlehem that guided the

<sup>41</sup> Mangup: Gertsen – Naumenko, “Glazed Ceramics”, op.cit. (n. 18), 277, fig. 13, 6; Azov: Belinski – Maslovski, “The Imported Glazed Ceramics,” op.cit. (n. 21), 128, fig. 3, 4.

<sup>42</sup> For a characteristic example: Teslenko, “Ceramic Import and Export”, op.cit. (n. 18), 270, fig. 1, b, top left.

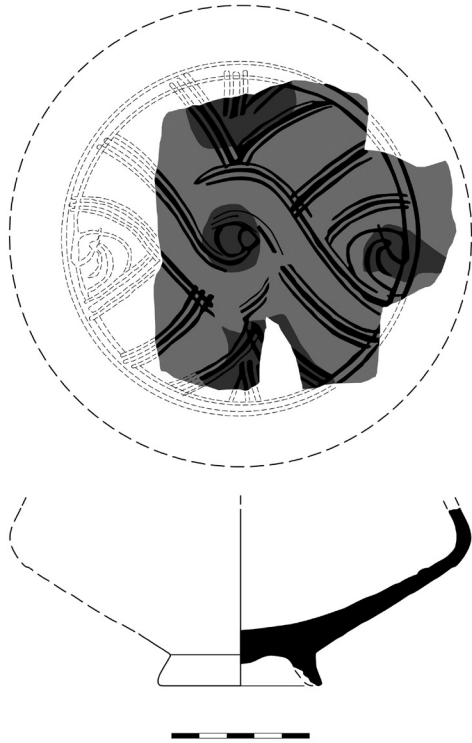


Fig. 23. Polychrome Sgraffito Ware from Mangup (Schematic drawing after the prototype).

Magi<sup>43</sup>. In the case of the creation of the star through the use of two triangles, the theme of the hexagram can be recognized, which is, among other notions, a reference to the six-days of the Creation, and the connec-

<sup>43</sup> *La Grande Encyclopédie. Inventaire raisonné des sciences, des lettres et des arts*, XVI, Eole – Fanucci, 676 (H. Gourdon de Genouillac); *Μεγάλη Ἑλληνική Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία*, 5, Ἀντοχύρωσις – Ἀσυντόνιστος, entry: “ἀστέρες” (P. I. Bratsiotis); *Θρησκευτική καὶ Χριστιανική Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία*, 2, Ἀπόστολο – Δῶρον, entry: “Ἀστήρ”; *Θρησκευτική καὶ Ἡθική Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία*, 3, Ἀπροσωποληψία – Βυζάντιον, entry: “Ἀστήρ” (M. Ch. Gitakos), entry: “Ἀστήρ τῶν Μάγων” (St. Plakidis); *Πάπυρος – Λαρούς. Γενική Παγκόσμιος Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία*, 9, entry: “Ἀστήρ”, and 17, entry: “ἑξάγραμμο”; *Υδροία. Ἑλληνική καὶ Παγκόσμια Μεγάλη Γενική Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία*, 11, Ἀρριδαῖος – Ἄττικῆς, entry: “Ἀστήρ” (I. Rizopoulos); *Υδροία. Ἑλληνική καὶ Παγκόσμια Μεγάλη Γενική Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία*, 2, Ἐλεάτις – Ἐπίδαυρος, entry: “Ἐξάγραμμο” (N. G. Stathopoulos); A. Frutiger, *Signs and Symbols. Their Design and Meaning*, translated A. Bluhm, New York – Scarborough 1989, 74-75; *ODB*, 3, entry: “Star” (A. Kazhdan – A. Cutler). H. Biedermann, *Dictionary of Symbolism. Cultural Icons and the Meanings Behind Them*, translated J. Hulbert, New York – London 1994, 173-174, 321-322; K. Dennys-Brian –

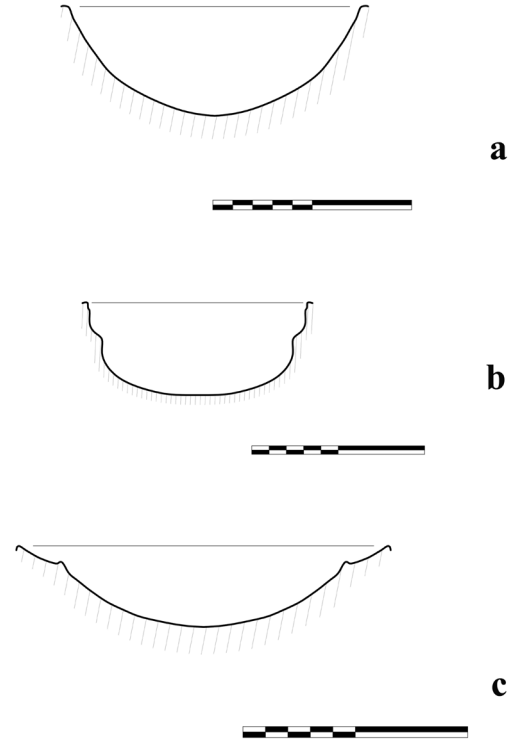


Fig. 24. a. Schematic drawing of the bowl, immured at Agios Nikolaos in Lampiotes, b. Schematic drawing of the cup, immured at Agia Kyriaki in Mesi, c. Schematic drawing of the dish, immured at Panagia in Prinios.

tion between Earth and Sky<sup>44</sup>. In the case of the seven-pointed star, this may well be an indirect reference to the “seven stars”, mentioned several times in John’s Book of Revelation and considered as referring to the bishops of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor<sup>45</sup>.

N. Hodgson – N. Lockley (eds), *Signs & Symbols: An Illustrated Guide to their Origins and Meanings*, London 2008, 22, 288; A. Nozedar, *Element Encyclopedia of Secret Signs and Symbols. The Ultimate A-Z Guide from Alchemy to the Zodiac*, Glasgow 2009, entry: “Star”.

<sup>44</sup> *Πάπυρος – Λαρούς. Γενική Παγκόσμιος Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία*, 17, entry: “Ἐξάγραμμο”. For the connection of the six-pointed star with the Star of David, see: G. Sholem, “The Curious History of the Six Pointed Star. How the ‘Magen David’ Became the Jewish Symbol”, *Commentary* 8 (1949), 243-351; O. F. A. Meinardus, “The Hexagram or the Magen David in Byzantine Art”, *DChAE*, period D, 8 (1975-1976), 97-98, 100; Biedermann, *Dictionary of Symbolism*, op.cit. (n. 43), 322.

<sup>45</sup> See above, note 43, and more particularly: *Μεγάλη Ἑλληνική Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία*, 5, Ἀντοχύρωσις – Ἀσυντόνιστος, entry: “ἀστέρες” (P.

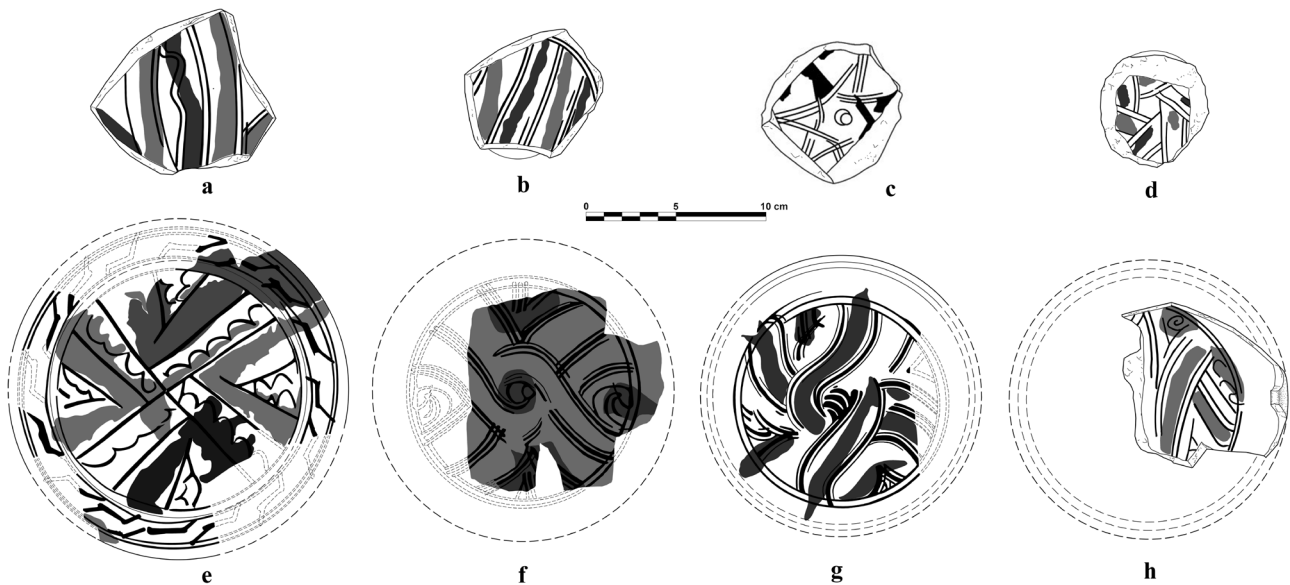


Fig. 25. Schematic drawings of the interior decoration of Polychrome Sgraffito Ware from South-East and South-West Crimean sites after published prototypes.

Given that in all the cases the vessels belong to the decorative formation that adorns the main entrance to the church, the selection of the particular objects can hardly have been random. One may well presume that the various embodied symbolisms would have exercised their influence on the particular selection of the objects. This premise is further corroborated by observing that in the cruciform formation of the church of Agios Nikolaos in Lampiotes, it is the only vessel bearing any particular decoration, set among a group of simple ceramics with monochrome glaze (Fig. 27).

### The Historical Background to the Presence of Crimean Glazed Wares on Crete

The ceramics presented above have analogies with specific groups of South Crimean provenance that date from the middle of the 14th c. through to the third quarter of

the 15th c.<sup>46</sup> The dish immured in Panagia in Prinos can be confidently attributed to the production of Caffa (Fig. 17). For the vessels dating within the 15th c., they are immured in churches for which a similar date has been proposed, based on other criteria, mostly their architecture and their painted decoration<sup>47</sup>. In fact,

<sup>46</sup> For this group and its date: Teslenko, “Local Crimean Glazed Pottery”, op.cit. (n. 18), 932, fig. 4.

<sup>47</sup> For the existing literature on some of the aforementioned churches, see, indicatively: Panagia Chanoutia in Gergeri: G. Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti nell'isola di Creta*, IV, Venice 1932-1940, 541-542, nos 6-7; G. Gerola, trans. K. Lassithiotakis, *Τοπογραφικός κατάλογος τῶν τοιχογραφημένων ἐκκλησιῶν τῆς Κρήτης*, Herakleion 1961, 88, no. 597; E. Borboudakis, “Θυρώματα και παράθυρα σε ἐκκλησίες της Κρήτης (τέλος 14ου – μέσα 15ου αιώνα)”, O. Gratziou (ed.), *Γλυπτική και λιθοξοϊκή στη Λατινική Ανατολή 13ος-17ος αιώνας*, Herakleion 2007, 81, 83, 85, figs 34-38; O. Gratziou, *Η Κρήτη στην ὕστερη μεσαιωνική εποχή. Η μαρτυρία της ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἀρχιτεκτονικῆς*, Herakleion 2010, 94, fig. 110; Agios Nikolaos in Lampiotes: Gerola – Lassithiotakis, *Τοπογραφικός κατάλογος*, op.cit., 66, no. 388; M. Andrianakis – K. Giapitsoglou, *Χριστιανικά Μνημεία της Κρήτης*, Herakleion 2012, 225-226; I. Spatharakis – T. Van Essenber, *Byzantine Wall Paintings in Crete, III, Amari Province*, Leiden 2012, 116-118. In particular, on the date ascribed to the church of Panagia in Prinos, several suggestions have been made in the past, with the most re-

I. Bratsiotis); *Θρησκευτική καὶ Ἱθική Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια*, 3, *Ἀρροσωποληψία – Βυζάντιον*, entry: “Ἀστίϋ” (M. Ch. Gitakos). On the Seven Churches of Asia, see, characteristically: W. M. Ramsay, *The Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia and their Place in the Plan of the Apocalypse*, London 1904; C. J. Hemer, *The Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia in Their Local Setting, with a new forward by D. E. Aune* (Eerdmans Biblical Resources Series), Michigan – Cambridge<sup>3</sup>2001.

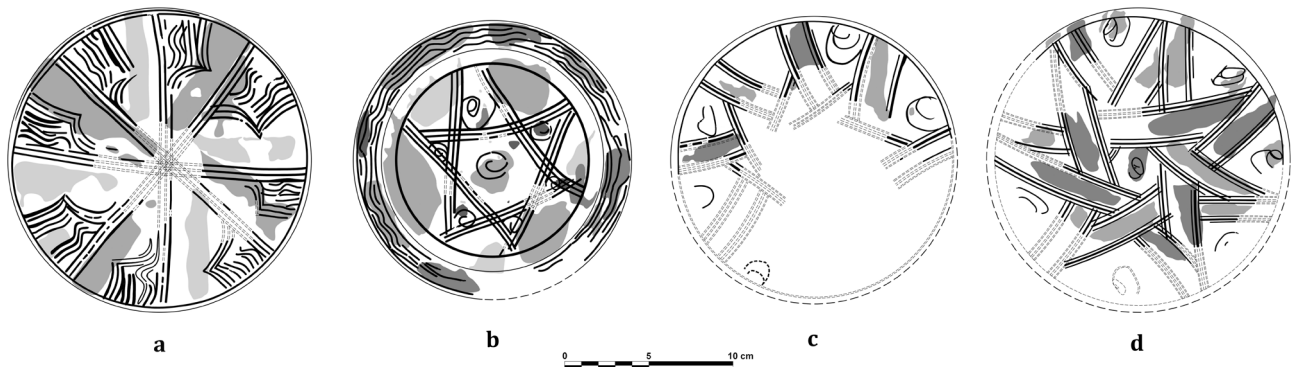


Fig. 26. Schematic drawings of the interior decoration of Polychrome Sgraffito Ware from South Crimea found in Crete, located in: a. Agios Nikolaos, Lampiotes, b. Panagia, Prinios, c-d. Panagia Chanoutia, Gergeri.

the date ascribed to the churches of Agios Nikolaos in Lampiotes and Panagia Chanoutia in Gergeri suggests that the Polychrome Sgraffito Ware from South Crimea circulated on the island mainly during the first half of the 15th c., with the latest evidence being the dish im-mured in Prinios, dated in the middle-third quarter of the 15th c.<sup>48</sup> Other than the church of Panagia Chanoutia in Gergeri, in the regional unit of Herakleion, and the church of Christ the Saviour in Romanou, in the regional unit of Lasithi, where the largest sample of vessels of Crimean origin is found, the rest of the examples derive from monuments in the regional unit of Rethymnon, located in its eastern part. They are found in monuments within a range of 40 to 90 km from Herakleion.

cent one placing the church within the middle or the second half of the 15th c. (Gratziou, *H Κρήτη στην ύστερη μεσαιωνική εποχή*, op.cit., 265-280, 290-299). For the earlier views about the church's date, the respective literature and related comments, see: Gratziou, *H Κρήτη στην ύστερη μεσαιωνική εποχή*, op.cit., 265-280, 290-299. The churches of Agia Kyriaki in Mesi and Christ the Saviour in Romanou have not yet been studied and published in detail. On the latter, see indicatively: G. Moschovi – M. Katifori, "Ναός με εντοιχισμένα αγγεία στον νομό Λασιθίου", *Proceedings of the 12th International Congress of Cretan Studies*, op.cit. (n. 3), 12, no. 3 (accessible at: <https://12iccs.proceedings.gr/en/proceedings/category/39/36/464> [last accessed: 05.04.2020]).

<sup>48</sup> Gertsen – Naumenko, "Glazed ceramics", op.cit. (n. 18), 261-263, 271-275, fig. 7-10, 276, fig. 12, 2, 277, fig. 13, 3, 273-274 figs 9-10; Sedikova, "Glazed Polychrome Sgraffito Ware", op.cit. (n. 18), 122-123, fig. 11, pl. XII, b; Gertsen – Naumenko, "Archaeological Research", op.cit. (n. 18), 396-397, 407, 424, fig. 20, 4, fig. 21, 1-2; Teslenko, "Crimean Local Glazed Pottery", op.cit. (n. 18), 932, fig. 4.

Different historical and cultural actualities characterized the various areas where glazed wares were produced in the South Crimea in the course of the period under question, with some areas being part of the Golden Horde, others comprised in the Principality of Theodoro or under the control of Italian powers<sup>49</sup>. As previously shown, the specific glazed ceramics are dated within the 14th and the 15th c. and most of the examples in Crete during the 15th c. find similarities with ceramics of the "Caffa ware". Given that their dissemination is clear in the Azov area and in areas of the northwest and north-east Black Sea, but not detected in more southern areas and in the Mediterranean<sup>50</sup>, their location on Crete seems,

<sup>49</sup> See, in general: J. Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der Goldenen Horde in Kiptschak, das ist: der Mongolen in Russland*, Pest 1840; N. Bănescu, "Contribution à l'histoire de la seigneurie de Théodoro-Mangoupen en Crimée", *BZ* 35 (1935), 20-37; B. Grekov – A. Iakoubovski, *La Horde d'or. La domination tatare au XIIIe et au XIVe siècle de la mer Jaune à la mer Noire*, Paris 1939; J. Heers, *Gènes au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Activité économique et problèmes sociaux* (École Pratique des Hautes Études – VI<sup>e</sup> section Centre de Recherches Historiques, "Affaires et Gens d'Affaires" XXIV), Paris 1961; M. Balard, *La Romanie Génoise (XII<sup>e</sup> – début du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, II vols (Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria 18), Genoa 1978, 199-215; T. T. Allsen, *Culture and Conquest in Mongol Eurasia*, Cambridge 2001; M. Favereau, *La Horde d'Or. Les héritiers de Gengis Khan*, photos: Jacques Raymond, Saint-Saturnin 2014; I. A. Khvalkov, *The Colonies of Genoa in the Black Sea Region: Evolution and Transformation*, 1, PhD Dissertation, Florence 2015 (= E. Khvalkov, *The Colonies of Genoa in the Black Sea Region. Evolution and Transformation*, New York – Oxon 2018).

<sup>50</sup> For the distribution of the glazed pottery from South-East



Fig. 27. The cruciform arrangement of the bacini in Agios Nikolaos in Lampiotes.

at first sight, unexpected, and all the more intriguing. The introduction of several of these ceramics to the island of Crete, over a long period during the 14th and the 15th c., coincides with the bulk of the production of these wares in Crimea. It demonstrates their diffusion even to southern areas, for which the evidence had not been realized until now. The amount of pieces securely attributed to this area of production is not great. Nevertheless, in two cases (Christ the Saviour in Romanou and Panagia Chanoutia in Gergeri) (Fig. 14, Fig. 19) more than one piece of glazed pottery from South Crimea has been im-mured in the monuments. In another case (Panagia in Prinos) (Fig. 17), the respective example enables a more precise dating to be assigned to the act of incorporating the particular group of *bacini* in the church, since it is the latest in the set<sup>51</sup>. Elsewhere, the vessels comply with the date ascribed to the monuments, based on other criteria<sup>52</sup>.

Crimea, see: Teslenko, “Crimean Local Glazed Pottery”, *op.cit.* (n. 18), 930; Teslenko, “Ceramic Import and Export”, *op.cit.* (n. 18), 269-270 (with additional information), fig. 1, a.

<sup>51</sup> For more details on this and the analytical presentation of the whole assemblage, see: A. G. Yangaki, “Τα εντοιχισμένα αγγεία στον ναό της Παναγίας στον Πρίνο Μυλοποτάμου (Κρήτη)”, (under publication).

<sup>52</sup> For these dates, see note 47.

The previous interpretations suggest that, at least where it concerns the glazed wares of the 15th c. from the South Crimea (but also most probably for the earlier examples of such pottery), their presence should not be regarded as atypical, they were not isolated and stray finds. It is tempting to interpret them as personal souvenirs acquired on a voyage to the area, or as heirlooms, objects imbued with a particular and intangible significance for their owners, usually due to their uniqueness/rarity and/or their being perceived as belonging to an earlier time. They should, however, better be viewed under the perspective of trade, as traded goods. They were items in circulation at the time they were used to decorate the churches. Moreover, the evidence does not derive from one particular place, but is found in several areas in the regional units of Herakleion, Lasithi and of Rethymnon, both in churches forming part of a monastic complex, and in non-monastic churches. Besides, northern Greece seems to have been in contact with regions of the Black Sea and further to the North, judging from the evidence of other ceramic types, produced within the Golden Horde area during the 14th c., and found in Thessalonike and Mount Athos<sup>53</sup>.

<sup>53</sup> Philon, “Thessaloniki”, *op.cit.* (n. 4), 299-319; Androudis, “An Unknown 14th Century Golden Horde Bowl”, *op.cit.* (n. 5), 209-216.

We should not forget that Caffa was an important production centre, particularly for ceramics in the 15th c.<sup>54</sup> In the square around the city's palace a marketplace was developed. According to a document of the late 14th c., jars were for sale in the area of a church dedicated to the Virgin<sup>55</sup>. Caffa was located at the eastern point of the south-east coast of the Crimean peninsula. It constituted (around 1275-1475) part of the Genoese settlements of Gazaria, together with other areas<sup>56</sup>. Caffa had great importance in the Genoese trade system, being the largest Italian settlement in the Crimea, and saw important developments from the early 14th c. onwards<sup>57</sup>. However, one must exercise some caution before claiming that the circulation of pottery from Crimea in Crete is a direct reflection of Genoese commercial activities within the Aegean, even though as early as the 13th c. they were rivals to

the Venetians and the Pisans, given the dominant role of Venice in Crete<sup>58</sup>. It is true, though, that the Black Sea region was more of a Genoese monopoly and Genoese merchants were active in the trade of several products, including grain from the Black Sea<sup>59</sup>. Caffa was an important port for the export and the redistribution of various products, such as grain, salt, wax, alum, leather and furs, spices, slaves, towards several areas of the Mediterranean<sup>60</sup>, while various other products were imported there from Europe by the Genoese, such as textiles or wine<sup>61</sup>.

On the sea routes that the Genoese ships used from the Black Sea towards the West, the port of Candia (Herakleion) constituted one of their stopping-points, which they reached via Chios<sup>62</sup>. The written sources de-

<sup>54</sup> Teslenko, "Crimean Local Glazed Pottery", op.cit. (n. 18), 930; Khvalkov, *The Colonies*, op.cit. (n. 49), 418-419.

<sup>55</sup> Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, op.cit. (n. 49), I. 211; see also for a plan of the city: Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, op.cit. (n. 49), I. 203, fig. 5. For more details on the formation of the city throughout the 13th, the 14th and the 15th c.: Khvalkov, *The Colonies*, op.cit. (n. 49), 116-122.

<sup>56</sup> Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, op.cit. (n. 49), I. 889; Khvalkov, *The Colonies*, op.cit. (n. 49), 69, 87-88, 115 (on Caffa's importance), 124-133 (on other Genoese settlements in the Crimea, such as Soldaya, Cembalo, Chersonesos). On the archaeology of Genoese Gazaria: S. Bocharov – A. Sitdikov (eds), *The Genoese Gazaria and the Golden Horde*, Kazan – Simferopol – Kishinev 2015; S. G. Bocharov, "АРХЕОЛОГИЯ ГЕНУЭЗСКОЙ ГАЗАРИИ XIII–XV ВВ. ОПРЕДЕЛЕНИЕ ТЕРМИНА [Archaeology of the Genoese Gasaria in the 13-th – 15-th Centuries. Definition of Term]", *НАУЧНЫЕ ВЕДОМОСТИ Белгородского государственного университета История Политология [Belgorod State University Scientific Bulletin History Political Science]*, 45.1 (2018), 35-48.

<sup>57</sup> Heers, *Gènes au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Activité économique*, op.cit. (n. 49), 142-143; Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, op.cit. (n. 49), I. 199-215; M. Balard – G. Veinstein, "Continuité ou changement d'un paysage urbain? Caffa génoise et ottomane", *Le paysage urbain au Moyen Age: Actes du XI<sup>e</sup> Congrès de la Société des Historiens médiévistes de l'Enseignement supérieur public (Lyon, 1980)*, Lyon 1981, 79-80, 82 [= M. Balard, *La mer Noire et la Romanie génoise (XIII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles)* (Variorum CS294), London 1989, no. XII]; E. Slater, "Caffa: Early Western Expansion in the Late Medieval World, 1261-1475", *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)* 29.3 (2006), 273-279, 281; Khvalkov, *The Colonies*, op.cit. (n. 49), 69, 71, 87-88, 100, 115. On Caffa and its later history: M. Abdullayeva-Vagia, "Θεοδοσία. Ιστορία εκκλησιών", <https://cities.blacksea.gr/gr/theodosia/3-3-1-1/> (last accessed: 01.02.2020).

<sup>58</sup> M. Balard, "Les Génois en Romanie entre 1204 et 1261. Recherches dans les minutiers notariaux génois", *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire publiés par l'Ecole Française de Rome* 78 (1966), 475-476, 487 [= M. Balard, *La mer Noire et la Romanie génoise (XIII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles)* (Variorum CS294), London 1989, no. I]; M. Balard, "A propos de la bataille du Bosphore. L'expédition de Paganino Doria à Constantinople (1351-1352)", *TM* 4 (1970), 444-445 [= M. Balard, *La mer Noire et la Romanie génoise (XIII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles)* (Variorum CS294), London 1989, no. II]; J. Heers, *Gènes au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Civilisation méditerranéenne, grand capitalisme, et capitalisme populaire*, Paris 1971, 339; Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, op.cit. (n. 49), I. 86, II. 590, 594; Slater, "Caffa", op.cit. (n. 57), 273, 275; Ch. Gasparis, "The Trade of Agricultural Products in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Regional Sea Routes from Thirteenth to Fifteenth Century", *Handels Güter und Verkehrswege. Aspekte der Warenversorgung im Östlichen Mittelmeerraum (4. Bis 15. Jahrhundert). Akten des Internationalen Symposiums Wien, 19.–22. Oktober 2005*, eds E. Kislinger – J. Koder – A. Külzer, Wien 2010, 93-94.

<sup>59</sup> Heers, *Gènes au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Activité économique*, op.cit. (n. 49), 341; Heers, *Gènes au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Civilisation*, op.cit. (n. 58), 244; M. Balard, "Le commerce du blé en mer Noire (XIII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles)", *Aspetti della vita economica medievale: Atti del Convegno di Studi nel X<sup>o</sup> Anniversario della morte di Federigo Melis (Firenze-Pisa-Prato, 10-14 marzo 1984)*, Florence 1975, 72 [= M. Balard, *La mer Noire et la Romanie génoise (XIII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles)* (Variorum CS294), London 1989, no. VI].

<sup>60</sup> Heers, *Gènes au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Civilisation*, op.cit. (n. 58), 262-263; Balard, "Le commerce du blé", op.cit. (n. 59), 76; Slater, "Caffa", op.cit. (n. 57), 176-177; Khvalkov, *The Colonies*, op.cit. (n. 49), 399-429, 437-441.

<sup>61</sup> Khvalkov, *The Colonies*, op.cit. (n. 49), 429-434.

<sup>62</sup> Heers, *Gènes au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Activité économique*, op.cit. (n. 49), 400; Heers, *Gènes au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Civilisation*, op.cit. (n. 58), 291-292, map at p. 428-429; Gasparis, "The Trade of Agricultural Products", op.cit. (n. 58), 98-99, 104, tabl. 3. For the routes of Genoese trade,

tail that Crete supplied the Genoese with local wine, but also with textiles, which they transported both to Chios and further to the North or to the West<sup>63</sup>. The activity of Genoese merchants on Crete seems indisputable: Leonello Giustiniani, for example, notes the Genoese activities there<sup>64</sup>. At the same time, however, it should also be remembered that even under Genoese domination the city of Caffa had a population of diverse origins, with various communities being established there<sup>65</sup>. At the end of the 13th c., Greeks formed the majority among the local population: they had an important role in the city, being involved in several branches of craftsmanship<sup>66</sup>. Further, during the whole period under question, Greek travelling merchants are also encountered there, usually transporting products for the Italians<sup>67</sup>, and Cretans are mentioned in particular<sup>68</sup>. A typical case is that of a merchant from Candia that resided in Tana (the site of modern Azov, at the extreme south-eastern part of the Azov sea, on the river Don) in the early 15th c.<sup>69</sup> (Fig. 12). Unfortunately, the potential

Cretan presence in the trade of specific commodities from the Black Sea into Crete cannot be explored or evaluated, since continuous cooperation with the Italians was mostly oriented towards regional and not interregional trade<sup>70</sup>.

Genoa also engaged in significant trade with the areas of the Azov sea<sup>71</sup>. In fact, in Tana the Genoese developed a consulate, as the settlement was very important for their trading activities<sup>72</sup>. Here it should be recalled that earlier products of South-Crimean glazed pottery, such as the ones located in Crete and dating from the 14th c., have been found in the area of Azov<sup>73</sup>. Nevertheless, the potential role of the Venetian merchants must be carefully considered, since they frequented several Crimean ports<sup>74</sup> and they too established an official settlement in Tana in 1332<sup>75</sup>. In fact, during the 15th c. the Venetians were by far more numerous at Tana than the Genoese<sup>76</sup>. Researchers point out that on several occasions, their rivalry notwithstanding, the two groups developed mutual relations and partnerships, as for example in the case of a Venetian who made a contract with the Genoese regarding a fishing set-up<sup>77</sup>. The example of the Venetian nobleman Marco Cicogna, who resided in Tana for at least a decade after 1383 before returning to Venice, may consti-

see also: Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, op.cit. (n. 49), II. 855, fig. 70; Gasparis, "The Trade of Agricultural Products", op.cit. (n. 58), 98-99.

<sup>63</sup> Heers, *Gênes au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Activité économique*, op.cit. (n. 49), 400 with note 4, 418 with note 4; Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, op.cit. (n. 49), II. 858. For the various products of Crete, see: Gasparis, "The Trade of Agricultural Products", op.cit. (n. 58), 95-96.

<sup>64</sup> Heers, *Gênes au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Activité économique*, op.cit. (n. 49), 400 with note 5.

<sup>65</sup> Balard – Veinstein, "Continuité ou changement", op.cit. (n. 57), 82-83; Khvalkov, *The Colonies*, op.cit. (n. 49), 204-245.

<sup>66</sup> M. Balard, "The Greeks of Crimea under Genoese Rule in the XIVth and XVth Centuries", *DOP* 49 (1995), 23-25, 28.

<sup>67</sup> For Caffa and the variety of its population, among which were numbered Russians: Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, op.cit. (n. 49), I. 286-288; for Caffa and Greeks: Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, op.cit. (n. 49), I. 272, 274; Balard, "The Greeks of Crimea", op.cit. (n. 66), 23-25; Khvalkov, *The Colonies*, op.cit. (n. 49), 219, 237-240; for Greeks from Crete in Constantinople: Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, op.cit. (n. 49), I. 271.

<sup>68</sup> Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, op.cit. (n. 49), I. 288; Khvalkov, *The Colonies*, op.cit. (n. 49), 168, 227, 259.

<sup>69</sup> Khvalkov, *The Colonies*, op.cit. (n. 49), 381. For a Greek community in Tana during the same period and the case of a possible additional person originating from Crete: A. Tzavara, "Ἐἰς τόν Τάναϊν ἀποδημῶσαντα: Esempi di immigrazione greca a Tana nei testamenti ivi rogati dai notai veneziani (prima metà del XV<sup>o</sup> secolo)", *Atti dell'incontro scientifico Oltre la morte. Testamenti di Greci e Veneziani redatti a Venezia o in territorio greco-veneziano nei sec. XIV-XVIII, Venezia, 22-23 gennaio 2007*, eds Ch. Maltezou – G. Vartzelioti, Venice 2008, 64-65.

<sup>70</sup> Khvalkov, *The Colonies*, op.cit. (n. 49), 240-241.

<sup>71</sup> Heers, *Gênes au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Activité économique*, op.cit. (n. 49), 365; Heers, *Gênes au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Civilisation*, op.cit. (n. 58), 260.

<sup>72</sup> Khvalkov, *The Colonies*, op.cit. (n. 49), 137-139.

<sup>73</sup> See, as an example: Maslovskiy, "East Crimean Imported Glazed Ceramics", op.cit. (n. 18), 455-489.

<sup>74</sup> Khvalkov, *The Colonies*, op.cit. (n. 49), 75.

<sup>75</sup> Khvalkov, *The Colonies*, op.cit. (n. 49), 137-139; A. Tzavara, "Nunc habitator Tane. Venetian Merchants as Long-Term Residents in Tana (Fourteenth to Fifteenth Centuries)", G. Christ – F.-J. Morche – R. Zaugg – W. Kaiser – S. Burkhardt – A. D. Beihammer (eds), *Union in Separation. Diasporic Groups and Identities in the Eastern Mediterranean (1100-1800)*, (Viella Historical Research 1), Szczecin 2015, 329-332.

<sup>76</sup> I. Khvalkov, "Ethnic and Religious Composition of the Population of Venetian Tana in the 1430s", *Union in Separation*, op.cit., 314-315. For Venetians in Tana, see also: Tzavara, "Nunc habitator Tane", op.cit. (n. 75), 332-347.

<sup>77</sup> Khvalkov, *The Colonies*, op.cit. (n. 49), 314-315. For the contract and further details: A. Tzavara, "À propos du commerce vénitien des 'schienali' (schinalia) (première moitié du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle)", D. Coulon – C. Otten-Froux – P. Pagès – D. Valérian (eds), *Chemins d'outre-mer. Études d'histoire sur la Méditerranée médiévale offertes à Michel Balard*, (Byzantina Sorbonensia 20), Paris 2004, 814 with note 11, 815.

tute a case-study of considerable relevance to the arrival of the particular categories of pottery in Crete. While a merchant in Tana and travelling with the caravans into the interior of Asia, he was at the same time in contact with both Bartolomeo Contarini, resident of Candia, and with Cristoforo da Molin from Candia (Crete), concerning his trading activities on the island<sup>78</sup>.

The above short, if convoluted, presentation exemplifies in its own way the equally complex network of trade relations that developed within the Latin-dominated areas during the Late Medieval period. Within this network, the glazed pottery of the 14th and the 15th c. from the South Crimea offers tangible evidence of a network of trade connections, on which the written sources remain mute and in which Venetians did participate, alongside, in this case, the more powerful Genoese merchants.

## Concluding remarks

Through the systematic study of the immured vessels, numerous matters on their provenance, spread, use, the *how* and *where* they were set into the walls, let alone the chronological relationship between the vessels and the monuments, can all be explored. Moreover, and perhaps of even more interest as the previous presentation highlights, their secure attribution to specific ceramic wares can offer valuable information for the circulation in regions of the Aegean of categories of finds which had not

<sup>78</sup> Tzavara, “*Nunc habitator Tane*”, op.cit. (n. 75), 332, 334, 340-341. While residing there, Marco Cicogna had a son with his companion Cristina Cicogna who later married Giovanni Bragadin, a former slave of a member of the Bragadin family [Tzavara, “*Nunc habitator Tane*” op.cit. (n. 75), 334-335, 341]. One cannot but remark that the arms of the families of Cicogna, Loredan and Bragadin may be seen together on a marble slab fragment in Candia (Herakleion), dating from the third quarter of the 16th c., at the time when Pasquale Cicogna was Duke of Candia (he was later Doge of Venice). This carving constitutes of course a much later piece of evidence, but implies the family’s particular interests in the island [G. Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti nell’isola di Creta*, IV, Venice 1932-1940, 215-216, no. 134, 284, 287, 290; D. Calabi, “Città ed edilizia pubblica nel dominio veneziano da mare: modelli, significato civile, linguaggio architettonico”, *D’une ville à l’autre. Structures matérielles et organisation de l’espace dans les villes européennes (XIIIe-XVIe siècles)*, *Actes du colloque de Rome (1er-4 décembre 1986)* (Collection de l’École Française de Rome, 122), Rome 1989, 841, fig. 23].

previously been visible in the archaeological record. The distribution of these vessels reflects the various mechanisms which were responsible for their diffusion not only in coastal but also in inland locations.

Here, the pottery from Islamic lands and that from South Crimea constitute but two representative examples. The former implies the contacts of the southern Peloponnese with the Islamic lands offering additional evidence to that deriving from Corinth, in the north-eastern Peloponnese, suggesting the existence of direct or indirect trade contacts during the 10th and 11th c. between Byzantium and Egypt, Ifrīqiya and Sicily. Ceramics from Crimea reinforce Crete’s importance as a transit hub for the transport and redistribution of products from and to various regions in and around the Mediterranean during the early Venetian period<sup>79</sup>. The former sheds light on a particular aspect of the material culture of the Peloponnese during the Middle-Byzantine period and the latter on that of Crete during the early Venetian period<sup>80</sup>.

<sup>79</sup> For the role of Crete in the international trade network of the period, see typically: Gasparis, “The Trade of Agricultural Products”, op.cit. (n. 58), 98. See also the remarks deriving from the study of the circulation of pottery from the Iberian peninsula in Crete: Yangaki, “A First Overview”, op.cit. (n. 7), 310.

<sup>80</sup> See more in detail: Yangaki, “The Immured Vessels”, op.cit. (n. 3), 12.

## Illustration credits

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## ΝΕΑ ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ ΓΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΕΙΣΗΓΜΕΝΗ ΚΕΡΑΜΙΚΗ ΣΤΟ ΑΙΓΑΙΟ: ΙΣΛΑΜΙΚΗ ΚΕΡΑΜΙΚΗ ΣΤΗ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΗ ΜΕΣΑ ΜΑΝΗ, ΚΕΡΑΜΙ- ΚΗ ΑΠΟ ΤΗΝ ΚΡΙΜΑΙΑ ΣΤΗ ΒΕΝΕΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΥΜΕΝΗ ΚΡΗΤΗ

**Η** έρευνα για την κεραμική που παραγόταν και κυκλοφορούσε κατά τη βυζαντινή εποχή σε περιοχές της Μεσογείου, και ειδικότερα στο Αιγαίο, έχει γνωρίσει σημαντική άνθηση τα τελευταία δεκαπέντε χρόνια του 20ού αι., ενώ από τις αρχές του 21ου οι σχετικές μελέτες είναι πολυάριθμες. Ένας ιδιαίτερος τομέας έρευνας, ο οποίος αποδεικνύεται αρκετά ελπιδοφόρος για την παροχή πληροφοριών σχετικά με τις διαφορετικές κατηγορίες κεραμικής που κυκλοφορούσαν κατά τη διάρκεια της μεσοβυζαντινής και υστεροβυζαντινής περιόδου σε περιοχές του Αιγαίου, είναι η μελέτη των αγγείων που κοσμούν τις εξωτερικές πλευρές πολλών ναών, των γνωστών και ως *bacini*. Προηγούμενες μελέτες για τα εντοιχισμένα σε βυζαντινούς και μεταβυζαντινούς ναούς αγγεία είχαν ήδη παρουσιάσει ορισμένα προκαταρκτικά στοιχεία για τις μέχρι τότε μη αναγνωρισμένες κατηγορίες εφυαλωμένων κεραμικών, που πάντως κυκλοφορούσαν στον ελλαδικό χώρο.

Επιπλέον, η έρευνα που διεξήχθη κατά τη διάρκεια ενός σχετικού ερευνητικού προγράμματος, οδήγησε στον εντοπισμό ορισμένων κατηγοριών κεραμικής, για τις οποίες από τα αρχαιολογικά δεδομένα δεν υπήρχαν μέχρι πρότινος στοιχεία. Δύο αντιπροσωπευτικές μελέτες περίπτωσης αποτελούν δύο συγκεκριμένες κατηγορίες ισλαμικής εφυαλωμένης κεραμικής, παραδείγματα των οποίων εξακολουθούν να είναι εντοιχισμένα στις όψεις αρκετών ναών στην περιοχή της Μέσα Μάνης, στην Πελοπόννησο, και ειδικότερα στην περιοχή Οιτύλου. Η πρώτη κατηγορία, γνωστή μέχρι πρότινος στη βιβλιογραφία με την παραπλανητική ονομασία «Fayyumi Ware», περιλαμβάνει πολύχρωμα εφυαλωμένα κεραμικά αιγυπτιακής προέλευσης που χρονολογούνται στη φατιμιδική περίοδο. Η δεύτερη κατηγορία αποτελείται από αγγεία με γραπτό πολύχρωμο διάκοσμο («*invetriate dipinte polychrome*»), γνωστά επίσης στη βιβλιογραφία ως «*ceramica siculo-maghrebina*», που παράγονταν σε πολλές περιοχές της Σικελίας και της Βόρειας Αφρικής, και πιο συγκεκριμένα στην Ifriqiya.

Αγγεία και των δύο κατηγοριών βρίσκονται εντοιχισμένα σε ναούς της Μέσα Μάνης και χρονολογούνται στον 11ο αι., για τα παραδείγματα της πρώτης κατηγορίας, και στον 11ο αι. κυρίως, για εκείνα της δεύτερης. Οι δύο κατηγορίες ισλαμικής κεραμικής αποκαλύπτουν τη διάχυση αυτών των αντικειμένων σε περιοχές της Πελοποννήσου κατά τη μεσοβυζαντινή περίοδο.

Η μελέτη εστιάζει όμως κυρίως στην παραγωγή εφυαλωμένης κεραμικής μιας άλλης περιοχής κατά την ύστερη μεσαιωνική περίοδο: της νοτιοανατολικής Κριμαίας. Ποικίλες κατηγορίες εφυαλωμένης κεραμικής παρήχθησαν κατά τα τέλη του 13ου, στον 14ο και στον 15ο αι. σε αρκετές από τις περιοχές της. Παραδείγματα μερικών από αυτές βρίσκονται εντοιχισμένα σε ναούς της Κρήτης. Εγχάρακτα εφυαλωμένα κεραμικά, εμπλουτισμένα με χρώμα, που έχουν εντοιχιστεί πάνω από την αψίδα στον ναό του Σωτήρος Χριστού στον οικισμό Ρωμανού (νομός Λασιθίου), είναι πιθανό ότι αποτελούν δείγματα της παραγωγής της Κριμαίας του 14ου αι. Επιπλέον στοιχεία προέρχονται από τον 15ο αι., κυρίως από το πρώτο μισό. Πρόκειται για αγγεία των οποίων η διακόσμηση αποδίδεται με τη χρήση αδρών εγχαράξεων και πρόσθετων πράσινων και πορτοκαλοκάστανων ταινιών. Όλα τα παραδείγματα εμπίπτουν στη λεγόμενη «*bicolour sgraffito*» κατηγορία. Τα αγγεία προέρχονται από τους ναούς της Αγίας Κυριακής στη Μέση, του Αγίου Νικολάου στους Λαμπιώτες, της Παναγίας στον Πρίνο (νομός Ρεθύμνου) και της Παναγίας Χανουτιάς στη Γέφυρη (νομός Ηρακλείου). Μέσα από την αναλυτική περιγραφή της διακόσμησης γίνεται φανερό ότι σε όλα τα παραδείγματα αυτής της τελευταίας κατηγορίας το κύριο θέμα παρουσιάζει τέσσερις διαφορετικές παραλλαγές ενός αστέρα με έξι, επτά ή οκτώ ακτίνες. Λαμβάνοντας υπόψη τους ποικίλους συμβολισμούς που εμπεριέχονται σε αυτό το θέμα, σε συνδυασμό με την παρατήρηση ότι σε όλες τις περιπτώσεις τα αγγεία εντάσσονται στον σχηματισμό που κοσμεί την κύρια

είσοδο των ναών, η επιλογή των συγκεκριμένων αντικειμένων δύσκολα μπορεί να ήταν τυχαία.

Διαφορετικές ιστορικές και πολιτιστικές συνθήκες απαντούν στις περιοχές της νότιας Κριμαίας, που αποτελούσαν κέντρα παραγωγής αντίστοιχων κεραμικών κατά τη διάρκεια της εξεταζόμενης περιόδου, με ορισμένες από αυτές να αποτελούν μέρος της Χρυσής Ορδής, άλλες να περιλαμβάνονται στο Πριγκιπάτο της Θεοδορούς ή να αποτελούν αποικίες ιταλικών δυνάμεων. Τα εν λόγω κεραμικά έχουν χρονολογηθεί μέσα στον 14ο και 15ο αι. και ειδικά για αυτά του 15ου αι. σημαντικό κέντρο παραγωγής ήταν ο Καφφάς (Θεοδοσία). Δεδομένου ότι αυτά γνώρισαν σαφή διάχυση στην περιοχή του Αζόφ και σε περιοχές της βορειοδυτικής και βορειοανατολικής Μαύρης θάλασσας, αλλά δεν εντοπίζονται σε πιο νότιες περιοχές και στη Μεσόγειο, η εύρεσή τους στην Κρήτη αρχικά ξενίζει και είναι ιδιαίτερα ενδιαφέρουσα. Η εισαγωγή πολλών από αυτά τα αγγεία στην Κρήτη, στη διάρκεια μιας μακράς περιόδου κατά τον 14ο και τον 15ο αι., συμπίπτει με την περίοδο άνθησης των αντίστοιχων παραγωγών στην Κριμαία. Πιστοποιεί τη διάδοσή τους ακόμη και σε νότιες περιοχές, για τις οποίες δεν υπήρχαν έως τώρα ενδείξεις. Τα αγγεία ήταν αντικείμενα που βρισκόνταν σε κυκλοφορία όταν χρησιμοποιήθηκαν ως μέρος της διακόσμησης των ναών. Επιπλέον, τα στοιχεία δεν προέρχονται από μία συγκεκριμένη θέση, αλλά εντοπίζονται σε αρκετές περιοχές του Ηρακλείου, Λασιθίου και Ρεθύμνου σε ορισμένες, μάλιστα, περιπτώσεις αντιπροσωπεύονται από περισσότερα από ένα παραδείγματα. Βάσει των παραπάνω, μπορεί να προταθεί ότι, τουλάχιστον σε ό,τι αφορά στην κεραμική του 15ου αι. από τη νοτιοανατολική Κριμαία (αλλά πιθανότατα και για τα πρωιμότερα παραδείγματα), η παρουσία της δεν πρέπει να θεωρείται ως ατυπική, δεν πρόκειται για μεμονωμένα ή τυχαία ευρήματα. Μπορεί καλύτερα να αξιολογηθεί υπό το πρίσμα του εμπορίου.

Ο Καφφάς αποτελούσε, μαζί με άλλες περιοχές, αποικία των Γενουατών, διαδραματίζοντας σημαντικό

ρόλο στο εμπορικό τους δίκτυο. Επιπλέον, η δραστηριότητα των Γενουατών εμπόρων στην Κρήτη φαίνεται αδιαμφισβήτητη. Ωστόσο, δεν θα πρέπει να θεωρηθεί αυταπόδεικτο ότι η κυκλοφορία της κεραμικής από την Κριμαία στην Κρήτη είναι άμεση αντανάκλαση των γενουατικών εμπορικών δραστηριοτήτων στο Αιγαίο. Ο ρόλος των Βενετών εμπόρων χρειάζεται να ληφθεί σοβαρά υπόψη, δεδομένου ότι επισκέπτονταν αρκετά λιμάνια της Κριμαίας και, παρά τη μεταξύ τους αντιπαλότητα, Γενουάτες και Βενετοί ανέπτυξαν αμοιβαίες σχέσεις και συμπράξεις. Η εφυλαωμένη κεραμική του 14ου και του 15ου αι. από τη νότια Κριμαία προσφέρει απτά στοιχεία για ένα συγκεκριμένο δίκτυο εμπορικών δεσμών, για το οποίο οι γραπτές πηγές μέχρι στιγμής παραμένουν σιωπηρές.

Οι δύο κατηγορίες εφυλαωμένων ισλαμικών αγγείων και τα κεραμικά που αποδίδονται στην παραγωγή της νοτιοανατολικής Κριμαίας αποτελούν μόνο δύο αντιπροσωπευτικά παραδείγματα για τις πληροφορίες που μπορεί να προσφέρει η μελέτη των εντοιχισμένων αγγείων ως προς την κυκλοφορία στην περιοχή του Αιγαίου κατηγοριών κεραμικής οι οποίες δεν έχουν μέχρι τώρα αναδειχθεί από τα ανασκαφικά δεδομένα. Οι πρώτες υποδηλώνουν τις επαφές της νότιας Πελοποννήσου με ισλαμικές περιοχές, προσφέροντας πρόσθετα στοιχεία στα ήδη υπάρχοντα από την Κόρινθο στη βορειοανατολική Πελοπόννησο, υποδηλώνοντας την ύπαρξη άμεσων ή έμμεσων εμπορικών επαφών κατά τον 10ο και 11ο αι. μεταξύ του Βυζαντίου και της Αιγύπτου, της Ifrīqiya και της Σικελίας. Τα τελευταία ενισχύουν τη σημασία της Κρήτης ως διαμετακομιστικού κόμβου για τη μεταφορά και την ανακατανομή των προϊόντων από και προς ποικίλες περιοχές της Μεσογείου στη διάρκεια της περιόδου της βενετοκρατίας.

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