

MEDIEVAL AND POST-MEDIEVAL CERAMICS

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MEDIEVAL AND POST-MEDIEVAL  
MEDITERRANEAN ARCHAEOLOGY SERIES



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MEDIEVAL AND POST-MEDIEVAL CERAMICS

IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN

– FACT AND FICTION –

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*Proceedings of the First International Conference*

*on Byzantine and Ottoman Archaeology,*

*Amsterdam, 21-23 October 2011*

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EDITED BY

JOANITA VROOM

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MEDIEVAL AND POST-MEDIEVAL  
MEDITERRANEAN ARCHAEOLOGY SERIES – I

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# Contents

<i>List of contributors</i>	7
JOANITA VROOM – <i>Preface</i>	11
*	
JOHN BENNET & DEBORAH HARLAN <i>Academic Bilingualism: Combining textual and material data to understand the post-medieval Mediterranean</i>	17
BEATE BÖHLENDORF-ARSLAN <i>Surveying the Troad: Byzantine sites and their pottery</i>	47
VÉRONIQUE FRANÇOIS <i>‘Occidentalisation’ des vaisseliers des classes populaires dans l’Empire ottoman au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle</i>	91
ALEXANDRA GABA-VAN DONGEN <i>ALMA, where Art meets Artefacts: A case study of a Syrian jar in ‘The Three Marys at the Tomb’ by Jan van Eyck</i>	117
RUTH SMADAR GABRIELI <i>Specialisation and Development in the Handmade Pottery Industries of Cyprus and the Levant</i>	131
SAURO GELICHI <i>‘A ciascuno il suo’: Pottery and social contexts in a Montenegrin town</i>	155
NIKOS D. KONTOGIANNIS <i>Marbled Ware in Ottoman Greece: Pottery that doesn’t like itself, or pre-industrial kitsch?</i>	173

PAGONA PAPADOPOULOU	199
<i>Coins and Pots: Numismatic and ceramic evidence in the economic history of the Middle Ages</i>	
DEMETRA PAPANIKOLA-BAKIRTZI & YONA WAKSMAN	227
<i>Thessaloniki Ware Reconsidered</i>	
SCOTT REDFORD	249
<i>Ceramics and Society in Medieval Anatolia</i>	
LARISSA SEDIKOVA	273
<i>Glazed Ware from the Mid Thirteenth-Century Destruction Layer of Chersonesos</i>	
EDNA J. STERN	287
<i>Pottery and Identity in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: A case study of Acre and Western Galilee</i>	
JOANITA VROOM & FOTINI KONDYLI	317
<i>'Dark Age' Butrint and Athens: Rewriting the history of two Early Byzantine towns</i>	
RICHARD HODGES	343
<i>Fact and Fiction in Byzantine and Ottoman Archaeology: Some concluding remarks</i>	
*	
LIST OF FIGURES & COLOUR PLATES	351
ABSTRACTS	361
<i>Abstracts of papers submitted to the First International Conference on Byzantine and Ottoman Archaeology, Amsterdam 2011, not included in this volume.</i>	
INDEX OF WARES	365
	
COLOUR PLATES	367

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# Preface

Joanita Vroom

\*

When I started my academic career in Medieval and Post-Medieval archaeology in the eastern Mediterranean (with a specialisation in pottery finds from excavations and surveys), I was perhaps somewhat more than slightly worried about the outcome of my endeavours. The subject was little studied, and publications in this field were likewise rare, as I noted with a mixture of amazement and apprehension in a 1999-book review in the *American Journal of Archaeology*.<sup>1</sup> In this review I stated that ‘as the traditional focus of archaeologists working in the Aegean has been on the remains of Antiquity, the material culture of the Medieval and Post-Medieval inhabitants – such as the Byzantines, Franks, Venetians, Catalans, Albanians and Ottomans – has not received the attention it deserves<sup>2</sup> – and I did not even dare to speak optimistic words on the research of the pots and pans of those inhabitants in the eastern Mediterranean!

A laudable exception at that time and indeed one of the first attempts of a scholarly approach to the study of Post-Classical ceramics was, according to me, undertaken by David Talbot Rice, a British specialist on Byzantine and Near Eastern art. In 1930 he published his pioneering book *Byzantine Glazed Pottery*.<sup>3</sup> In this study Talbot Rice presented what was then known about the subject. He tried to use archaeological finds from the 1927-28 British Academy Archaeological Expedition to Constantinople (modern Istanbul) as basis for his classification of the material, but the solid evidence available at the time was rather pitiful. I considered his book then as a bible, and I was therefore very happy to find a second-hand copy in an antiquarian bookshop in Amsterdam – a book that I have often consulted myself since.

Over the last two decades, the situation for Byzantine and Ottoman archaeology has, of course, changed quite dramatically for the better – not least because of the contributions on the material culture of these periods by the scholars present in this volume. In addition, archaeologists in other fields and of other periods – Greek, French, German, British, and also Dutch – gradually opened their eyes to the wealth of historical and cultural information represented by the material remains of twelve centuries of Post-Classical history in the eastern Mediterranean.<sup>4</sup>

It is now quite clear that research on the Medieval and Post-Medieval pottery finds in the eastern Mediterranean has moved towards new directions. It became possible to explore these new directions by three factors: firstly, by first-hand results from recent stratigraphic excavations and geophysical research undertaken in large urban sites; secondly by the reappraisal of finds recovered from old excavations (especially of artefacts which were well documented but mostly never published); and thirdly by new results from surface surveys, which have been taking place all over the Mediterranean in the last decades, and often had a focus on rural landscapes and rural settlements throughout all periods of occupation ranging from Prehistory to more recent times.

Nowadays, at most excavations as well as in most surveys the Medieval and Post-Medieval layers, remains and finds are no longer pushed aside. On the contrary, the attention for these later periods is rapidly increasing among academics, authorities and a larger public alike, as one may notice for instance from the recent Byzantine and Ottoman revival in museum exhibitions and in tourist shops in modern Greece and Turkey (most notably in Istanbul).<sup>5</sup> The academic world is aware of this, as is shown by the establishment of new departments at universities, the organisation of huge conferences and exhibitions, as well as the publication of quite some new books.<sup>6</sup>

It is no coincidence that in recent years Medieval and Post-Medieval archaeology in the Mediterranean is – on an international level – really one of the flourishing, and exciting sectors in our field of study. Not bad for the new kid on the block. Consequently, we think, it was quite well-timed to organize the conference with the title *First Amsterdam Meeting on Byzantine and Ottoman Archaeology* in 2011 at the University of Amsterdam in order to discuss the ‘state of the art’ of our research discipline.

The initiative for this conference came from the VIDI project financed by NWO, the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research, that is currently based at the University of Leiden. This VIDI project carries the title *Material Culture, Consumption and Social Change: New Approaches to Understanding the Eastern Mediterranean during Byzantine and Ottoman Times*, and it aims at a better understanding of historical and socio-economic developments in the eastern Mediterranean during Byzantine and Ottoman times.<sup>7</sup> As project leader, I study with a small research team the material

culture of these two empires in a long-term perspective and explore economic and social changes, as well as cultural continuities and discontinuities in the period between the 7th and 20th centuries. We study in detail the material culture from four urban sites, chosen on the basis of their geographic location, their long history of occupation and the variety of socio-economic and political development that they experienced. These four sites are Butrint in Albania, Athens in Greece, Ephesus in western Turkey and Tarsus in eastern Turkey.

The VIDI project employs a multidisciplinary approach, combining archaeological artefacts, written sources and pictorial evidence as sources of information. However, emphasis is placed on the study of ceramics as indicators of production and consumption, of economic conditions and of social change. Advocating the use of pottery beyond a simple dating tool, we also study, for example, the changing forms and functions of ceramics in relation to changing cooking and eating habits that were potentially stimulated by social and political changes.

However, in archaeology it is always wise to remain cautious, modest, and careful with interpretations. That is why we have chosen for this volume the title *Medieval and Post-Medieval Ceramics in the Eastern Mediterranean – Fact and Fiction*. Are we indeed entering a new phase in Medieval and Post-Medieval archaeology in the Mediterranean since the days of David Talbot Rice? Are we indeed moving towards new directions in our discipline? And are we indeed using new methodologies, new approaches and new technologies to tell new stories about the past to a wider audience?

The title has perhaps more than a little to do with the ambiguous feelings we sometimes experience when reading publications on Byzantine and Ottoman pottery finds. Some are awe-inspiring, especially when they honestly acknowledge the problems involved in diagnosing the often disquieting difficult data (*fact*), but somehow manage to point to the many possibilities still offered by the studied material. Others are less inspiring, specially when they head straight for the all too familiar pit-falls of archaeology, such as the reluctance to admit lack of knowledge, the willingness to push data over the edge of conceptual models, or even the urge to formulate theories without any solid data to back them up (*fiction*). Unfortunately, our age seems to yearn for neat models and flashy theories, and when produced by archaeologists they seem to make their way much easier into mainstream publications than hesitations and caveats. The aim of this meeting, however, was to give the specialists the opportunity to discuss pottery in appropriate ways, to survey the difficulties involved in using archaeological data, and to relentlessly separate facts from fiction!

The focus of the conference was on the material culture in the eastern Mediterranean during Medieval and Post-Medieval times (with a special emphasis on ceramics) and in particular on the archaeological remains of the Byzantines, Crusaders, Muslims

and Ottomans. Even without fairy tales this is an exciting field of research, though too often still only hesitantly explored in international archaeology. We hope these proceedings present the freshness and the inspiring directness of the contributions as they were spoken during the conference.

This volume includes fourteen articles. They cover a wide spectrum, with subjects ranging from (the successful or not so successful) art of linking pottery finds and coins, the complex junction between pottery and identity, the problem how to jump from excavated contexts to developments of economy and society, the question how to combine in a meaningful way material culture and other sources of information (such as written texts and GIS data), the possibilities and pitfalls of using survey material and landscape studies, to the challenge of making the step from ceramic fragments to patterns of production and distribution patterns in the eastern Mediterranean.

John Bennet and Deborah Harlan (University of Sheffield) explore in their article 'Academic Bilingualism: Combining textual and material data to understand the post-medieval Mediterranean' the potential of survey pottery fragments and documentary data from the community of Kyriakadika in order to elucidate the history and broader context of this small community on the island of Kythera. Likewise, Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan (University of Mainz) focusses on survey material in her 'Surveying the Troad: Byzantine sites and their pottery'. By mapping the ceramic finds from 198 sites (among which 154 new ones) in the southern Troad, she shows a densely populated region in western Turkey throughout the entire Byzantine period.

Larissa Sedikova (National Preserve of Tauric Chersonesos) discusses the existence of various thirteenth-century glazed wares in an important destruction layer from excavations in Chersonesos (Crimea) in her article 'Glazed Ware from the Mid Thirteenth-Century Destruction Layer of Chersonesos'. Of the same period, Demetra Papanikola-Bakirtzi (Leventis Municipal Museum of Nicosia) and Yona Waksman (Laboratoire de Céramologie, CNRS, University of Lyon) investigate the production of Late Medieval glazed wares from Thessaloniki and Istanbul in their article 'Thessaloniki Ware Reconsidered'.

Edna J. Stern (Israel Antiquities Authority) reviews twelfth and thirteenth-century material culture (including metal objects, tombstones, glazed and unglazed wares) from the Latin east in her article 'Pottery and Identity in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: A case study of Acre and Western Galilee'. Smadar Gabrieli (University of Sydney and University of Western Australia) discusses in 'Specialization and Development in the Handmade Pottery Industries of Cyprus and the Levant' an often underestimated category in later ceramics from the East; that is to say, Late Medieval and Ottoman handmade pottery in various painted and undecorated modifications.

Scott Redford (School of Oriental and African Studies, London) draws our attention to the material culture of Muslim and Christian states in his article ‘Ceramics and Society in Medieval Anatolia’, using both Arabic written documents (such as the *waqfiyya* of the Karatay caravanserai near Kayseri), bronze candlesticks, glass mosque lamps and glazed ceramics. A similar methodological approach is taken by Véronique François (CNRS-LA3M, Aix-en-Provence). She discusses in her article ‘Occidentalisation des vaisseliers des classes populaires dans l’Empire ottoman au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle’ the diversity and ‘westernisation’ of eighteenth-century Ottoman ceramics in combination with written sources (including port lists from Marseilles, Sidon and Tripoli).

Sauro Gelichi (Dipartimento di Studi Umanistici, Università Ca’ Foscari, Venice) explains Late Medieval to Ottoman garbage disposal models from excavations in Stari Bar (Montenegro) in his article ‘*A ciascuno il suo*: Pottery and social contexts in a Montenegrin town’. In addition, Nikos D. Kontogiannis (23rd Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities in Chalkida) discusses the intriguing Ottoman Marbled Wares from Greece in his article ‘Marbled Ware in Ottoman Greece: Pottery that doesn’t like itself, or pre-industrial kitsch?’. Alexandra Gaba-van Dongen (Museum Boijmans-van Beuningen in Rotterdam) offers an art-historical perspective as she connects Medieval artefacts (including ceramic vessels) with depictions of pre-industrial objects from the museum collection in her article ‘ALMA, where Art meets Artefacts: A case-study of a Syrian jar in ‘The Three Marys at the Tomb’ by Jan van Eck’.

The complicated combination of ceramic and coin finds from excavations in the Mediterranean, ranging in date from the Early Byzantine period to the thirteenth century, is discussed by Pagona Papadopoulou (University of Thessaloniki) in her contribution ‘Coins and Pots: Numismatic and ceramic evidence in the economic history of the Middle Ages’. In the article “‘Dark Age’ Butrint and Athens: Rewriting the history of two Early Byzantine towns’ I try with Fotini Kondyli (currently University of Virginia) to explore the possibilities of quantitative analysis of recent ceramic finds from Butrint (Albania) and of older finds from Athens (Greece).

Finally, Richard Hodges (American University in Rome) presents some concluding remarks on the papers in this volume, as well as a stimulating discussion of the state-of-the-art in Medieval archaeology of the Mediterranean and a survey of the potential of Byzantine archaeology in general, showing the ‘Great Divide’ between contemporary archaeology on the one hand and art, architectural and Medieval history on the other. So, in the end, what remains is the hope and intention to have made a book on Medieval and Post-Medieval archaeology in the eastern Mediterranean that is as exciting and encouraging as David Talbot Rice’s *Byzantine Glazed Pottery* was in the 1930s!<sup>8</sup>

*Leiden, March 2014*

NOTES

- 1 Joanita Vroom, 'Book review of P. Lock and G.D.R. Sanders (eds.), "The Archaeology of Medieval Greece"', *American Journal of Archaeology* 103 (1999), pp. 165-66.
- 2 Vroom, 'Book review', p. 165.
- 3 David Talbot Rice, *Byzantine Glazed Pottery* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930).
- 4 For the Dutch angle, see the pottery fragments of 16th- and 17th-century Iznik Ware which were excavated in the Dutch city of Enkhuizen and which are now in display in the Museum Boijmans-van Beuningen in Rotterdam. In addition, a jug from Küthaya was found at excavations in the city of Amsterdam; see Jerry Gawronski (ed.), *Amsterdam Ceramics. A City's History and an Archaeological Ceramics Catalogue 1175-2011* (Amsterdam: Bas Lubberhuizen, 2012), p. 305, no. 1190. So, apart from Saint Nicolas, the tulip, carpets, slaves and the so-known Turkish 'gaper' (a wooden sign outside Dutch chemist's shops) also ceramics and tobacco pipes apparently came all the way from the Ottoman Empire to the Low Countries.
- 5 In my home country we were treated in the same year on two large exhibitions on Byzantine art: one in Utrecht on Macedonian icons (from FYROM) and one in the Hermitage Amsterdam on Russian Orthodox Art. Cf. *Unimagined Beauty. Icons from Macedonia*, catalogue for the exhibition from 9 February to 11 May 2011, organised by Museum Catharijneconvent Utrecht (Utrecht, 2011); *Splendour and Glory: Art of the Russian Orthodox Church*, catalogue for the exhibition from 19 March to 16 September 2011, organised by the State Hermitage Museum St. Petersburg and the Hermitage Amsterdam (Amsterdam: Hermitage, 2011).
- 6 One example is the 2011 publication by the Dutch learned society Ex Oriente Lux: D. Burgersdijk and W. Waal (eds.), *Constantinopel. Een mozaïek van de Byzantijnse metropool (Mededelingen en Verhandelingen van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap 'Ex Oriente Lux'/Mémoires de la Société d'Études Orientales 'Ex Oriente Lux' 36)* (Leuven: Peeters, 2011).
- 7 Joanita Vroom, 'Digging for the 'Byz''. Adventures into Byzantine and Ottoman archaeology in the eastern Mediterranean', *Pharos* 19.1 (2013), pp. 79-110.
- 8 I would like to express my gratitude to Elli Tzavella for her invaluable help with copy-editing, as well as to Sebastiaan Bommeljé and Steven Boland for their editorial advices and their guidance in the field of book design. Furthermore, Bart Janssens of Brepols Publishers is much thanked for his patience and confidence.





# *‘A ciascuno il suo’*: Pottery and social contexts in a Montenegrin town

Sauro Gelichi

\*

## INTRODUCTION

Stari Bar (old Antivari) is a deserted town on the coast of Montenegro (Fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> An archaeological project has been in operation since 2004, run by the Ca’ Foscari University of Venice.<sup>2</sup> This project involved the excavation of several trenches within the town, with many contexts dating from the Bronze Age to the Ottoman period being recovered. However, the contexts that produced the best ceramic documentation can be dated between the 12th and the 19th century. This allowed us to compare pottery in relation to social contexts over a long period of time.

The first consideration here will be to see how the pottery has changed over time. As almost all the pottery found in Stari Bar is imported, studying these ceramics also means analysing the problem from a commercial point of view. This subject will be analysed within the following time periods: the Slavic period (twelfth to early fifteenth century), when local rulers consolidated their power and the town was born; the Venetian period (1443-1571), when the town was under the control of Venice; and finally the Ottoman period (1571-1878), which corresponds to the long period of Turkish rule.

Before studying the distribution of the ceramics, I will discuss the methods of waste disposal in the town. These methods are one of the reasons that archaeological deposits accumulated (and consequently they affect the degree of conservation of the pottery). I will then analyze the topographical distribution of ceramics in relation to the different functional characteristics of the places of origin: public (religious, military and civilian) and private. First of all, however, I will give a brief introduction to the history of Antivari (Stari Bar).

A BRIEF HISTORY OF STARI BAR

The first written mention of Antivari dates back to Late Antiquity, although the identification is not certain. A place named *Ἀντιβαρεός* is mentioned in 8th century sources as a bishopric and in the 10th century as a *castrum* in the *Theme of Dyrrhachium*.<sup>3</sup> The first archaeological remains in Antivari are from the Byzantine period and relate to a gate with two semicircular towers. Excavations in 2005 near this gate provided some information about its chronology (8th-9th century?).<sup>4</sup> Written sources also confirm the presence of a bishop in Antivari in the same period. The remains of an initial curtain wall are probably connected with a small church in the upper part of the town.

During the 11th century Antivari became the seat of the archbishopric of Zeta. In the same period the region fell into the hands of the first local rulers (the Nemanjić and Balšić dynasties).<sup>5</sup> From this moment on, the Byzantine fortified settlement changed in nature – a new curtain wall was erected, new residential buildings were built in stone, and new churches and monasteries appeared. The settlement became a small town with a socially stratified population.

In the first half of the 15th century (and finally in 1443) Antivari was conquered once and for all by the Venetians. A new residential quarter grew up outside the old curtain wall, and at the end of the 15th century a new, stronger town wall was built.

The Turks conquered Antivari in 1571 and held the town until 1878 (Fig. 2), when the town was liberated by the Montenegrin Army. However, the town was damaged during the war and was slowly deserted.

POTTERY AND RUBBISH: DIFFERENT WAYS TO DISCARD  
CERAMICS AND WASTE IN STARI BAR

In archaeological deposits the conservation of pottery depends on the different ways it was discarded. Rubbish is preserved in specific archaeological contexts, most of which in Stari Bar consist of layers of levelling or filling (90 per cent) (Fig. 3). Deposits of very fragmented pottery are therefore predominant. The sherds are rarely linked to the building where they were recovered (but it is hypothesised that they belong to the general context of the building's location). It is difficult to count the precise individual number of ceramics, and there is a high level of residuality.

We can pinpoint four main waste disposal methods used since the 13th century in the town.

The first model (Fig. 4) involves the following steps (from the dining table to the production of waste [the remains of food, ceramics, glass, etc.]): the waste is kept in one place, before being used to fertilize the soil (in orchards/gardens). The result is

a dark coloured earth (with a high organic content). From this point there are two possibilities – either the ground is not removed again for a long time, or this dark soil is later used on building sites as fill. Finally, the earth and sherds of ceramics were levelled in tabular layers.

This is a complex model. The result is very fragmentary pottery, the distance of which from the original place of use cannot be precisely known (although it can be assumed to be closely linked to the property). It is also possible that a lot of time passed between the time the waste was produced and its use in building.

The second model (Fig. 5) involves the following steps: the waste is kept in one place (private or public) and then removed and taken outside the town walls. Unlike the previous model, this is very simple. The result, however, is a total loss of artefacts.

The third model (Fig. 6) involves the following steps: after the steps previously mentioned, parts of the waste, probably specially selected, were dumped in specific pits, like refuse pits or disused latrines. These refuse pits were temporarily emptied (and therefore, from this point, they could fall within the first or second model). However, in some cases the last portion of waste was left inside. The result is the presence of objects that can be fully or almost fully reassembled. In addition, there is little time difference between the objects, and, in the most fortunate cases, almost complete sets of domestic equipment made of ceramic, glass and sometimes metal and wood can be reconstructed.

The fourth and last model (Fig. 7) involves the direct dumping of waste inside the house, for instance in the cellars.

Although one cannot generalize, there is some variation in the use of these models over time. The first model seems to have been used particularly during the Slavic period (Fig. 8). The third model, meanwhile, is currently only documented in the Venetian period. We cannot assess how, and indeed if, the second model was used. All of these first three models, however, indicate the need to either use the waste or to keep it away from the town (or use it outside the town). This is a clear sign of sophistication, though it is bad news for archaeologists. This way of treating waste is fully compatible with the attitudes of late-medieval western society, where the urban community felt the need to keep the town clean and maintain decorum. Proof of the attention devoted to these problems is provided by the Statutes. In 1407, for example, the streets of the town of Hēraklion (Candia) were full of rubbish. The local population was obliged to collect the waste at specific points and to remove it from the town.<sup>6</sup> The Statutes of Budva, a town very close to Antivari, expressly prohibited dropping litter in the streets.<sup>7</sup> The Statutes of Antivari have not been preserved. However, indirect evidence of the existence of provisions of the same type can be derived from the widespread paving of roads and the good sewerage system.

The last model is only recorded in the Ottoman period, although not everywhere. This system seems to be documented particularly frequently in cases where a house was equipped with a cellar.<sup>8</sup> This does not mean that the cellars were used as rubbish dumps – rather they were not kept clean, so over time waste deposits formed naturally inside them. A situation of this nature produces good stratified sequences of materials and well-preserved ceramics.

CHANGING TIME – CHANGING POTTERY – CHANGING PLACES

As mentioned earlier, no local production of tableware is known to have occurred in Antivari or the surrounding area.<sup>9</sup> All tableware sherds discovered in Antivari from the Late Medieval to the Modern Age were therefore of imported ceramics. Glazed pottery imports (tin glazed or lead glazed pottery, and slip glazed pottery), sometimes coloured and with decorations, started in the second half of the 13th century and continued until the Modern Age. However, over time the typology as well as the provenance of the pottery clearly changes (Fig. 9). Studying the transformations of the tablewares in Antivari therefore also means analysing both the town's commercial relations during the Medieval and Modern Age and the social behaviour of its inhabitants.

SLAVIC PERIOD – We have good archaeological sequences relating to this period in UTS 8 and 9 (residential buildings inside the medieval curtain wall),<sup>10</sup> in UTS 161 (Citadel and military settlement)<sup>11</sup> and in UTS 136 (a tower of the late medieval Curtain Wall, and later a residential building).

In the first Phase (from the mid-13th century to the 14th century) pottery came mostly from Apulia ('Protomaiolica', 'RMR' and 'Monochrome Glazed Ware'). At the same time, some sherds from the Venetian Area (such as 'Monochrome Ware' with or without roulette decoration and 'San Bartolo Type') and from Marche/Emilia-Romagna ('Archaic Maiolica') are also preserved.

Whilst the previous period of turbulent and partial autonomy from Byzantium (10th-11th century) at present seems to have left a lack of meaningful archaeological markers and seems to have coincided with a negligible change in the dimension of the settlement and in the society that inhabited it, the following phase (i.e. the Slavic period) appears very different. This emerges very clearly from the pottery.

Gaining full autonomy under the Nemanjić and Balšić dynasties coincided, in fact, with the first true large-scale building activity, reflected in the construction of a new curtain wall, the rebuilding of the archbishop's church and the beginning of the widespread use of stone in houses. This means that the birth of a local, strong and stable aristocracy connected with the previous Lords also acted as the engine for a wider

social transformation. This economic dynamism and social vitality were also the result of the renewed institutional function of the site, which from the 11th century became the seat of the archbishopric of Doclea-Zeta.

Imported pottery from Italy not only shows an economic alignment with the Italian peninsula, but also confirms a change in attitude and in social behaviour, of which there was previously no trace. New social groups appeared, which as well as living in stone houses were particularly aware of the novelty represented by tin and lead glazed polychrome wares.

VENETIAN PERIOD – From the second half of the 14th century there was a significant change in imports. In some archaeological contexts, such as Building 136, the amount of ‘Archaic Maiolica’ pottery from northern Italy increases. However, pottery from Apulia (such as ‘Double Dipped Ware’, ‘Bari Type’ and monochrome glazed pottery) is still arriving into Antivari. In this period, two main ceramic supply lines become better defined. The first relates to a direct connection between Antivari and the coast opposite (i.e. Bari and Apulia in general). The second one involves a wider market, driven by the Venetians.

However, a real change occurred during the second half of the 15th century. From this period until the second half of the 16th century, in various archaeological contexts in the town, pottery produced in Venice (‘Sgraffito Ware’ and lead glazed pottery) or probably traded by the Venetians (Renaissance Maiolica from Emilia-Romagna) was most common (Figs. 10-11).

However, the situation was not as clear as it seems. In some archaeological contexts, this pottery is almost entirely absent (for example UTS 8a), including residual sherds. Conversely, there are places (like UTS 161, in the Citadel area, or block 140) where Venetian products were predominant.<sup>12</sup> Block 140 was built, not without reason, in a new part of the town, which had expanded during the 15th century. At the same time, other groups (e.g. the people who lived in house 8a, inside the medieval town) preferred to use Apulian products rather than products from Venice. Because the function was the same and the features of the ceramics were very similar, this could be explained by economic reasons. But another hypothesis is that it was selective use, linked to specific social groups that wanted to use just those objects with specific goals. Social groups which were direct representatives of Venetian rule, or were closely related to that rule; Venetians themselves, for example, or local aristocrats with ties to Venice.

There are other signs that refer to a sort of Venetian fashion that defined the town in this same period. These are represented by a specific group of houses with well-defined architectural characteristics (Fig. 12).<sup>13</sup> However, closer analysis of the distri-

bution of these houses has shown that they were few in number and not necessarily located in the newer part of town. This is therefore a very modest phenomenon, not connected closely with the urbanization of new areas.<sup>14</sup>

It would be interesting to analyze further the close relationship between these houses and the use of Venetian pottery, but this is only currently possible for block 140, where one of these houses is located. Two refuse pits (Fig. 13) related to a family from a high social level show us the ambiguous composition of their dinner set – they had simple Venetian bowls and plates (undecorated or decorated with sgraffito motifs) along with a normal glass set (also of a Venetian type) (Fig. 14).<sup>15</sup> However, the same family possessed four plates with lustre decoration from the workshops of Deruta (a production centre in central Italy, famous during the Renaissance Period) (Figs. 15-16). These are rare products, probably very expensive. Moreover, one of these plates, decorated with the lion of Saint Mark (Fig. 17) was commissioned by the owners of the house (or was given as a gift to the owners).

We do not know if the people who lived in these houses were Venetians or not. Nevertheless, they wanted to look like Venetians (by using normal Venetian pottery and glasses and living in a ‘Venetian house’) and they wished to underline their political and social relations or alliance using special objects like the pottery from Deruta.

**OTTOMAN PERIOD** – The final period, the Ottoman period, can be divided into three phases. In a first phase (late 16th-17th century) pottery from southern Italy still appears, and perhaps also ceramics from the Venetian area. In a second phase (17th-18th century) products from the Balkans become increasingly predominant. In the third and final phase (19th century) northern European ceramics begin to appear.

This trend related to pottery reflects not only a political change, but also a change in the economic functions of the town. During the Venetian period, the colonies of Dalmatia and Albania were exporting raw materials from their territories, but they were also important economic trading hubs with the Balkan hinterland. Antivari was producing mainly oil (and to a lesser extent wine and cereals) and was trading fish from Lake Skodar, timber and in particular silver and lead from Serbia.

During the Ottoman period the situation changed. Antivari’s external relationships closed down or reduced drastically. It would of course be premature to define this development as a total internal closure of the town, but a series of markers certainly seem to direct us towards this interpretation. The first of these is the widespread presence of agricultural production equipment on the ground floors of the houses (Fig. 18). Olive presses and oil vats of course confirm that this kind of agricultural production also continued during the Ottoman period. It is, however, their position inside the core of the settlement and inside almost every housing unit that now reveals

their significance at a social and cultural level, showing a sort of ruralisation of the town and thus of the economy.

Objects that become more and more frequent in the Ottoman deposits are clay pipes (mainly from 18th and especially 19th century contexts) (Fig. 19) and coffee cups (Fig. 20).

However, in this case, there is very scarce archaeological evidence of Anatolian types of production (Iznik and then Küthaya). This could be due to economic and commercial reasons. The town of Stari Bar lay on the border of the Ottoman Empire and so was not penetrated by major Anatolian pottery products. But whilst this explanation may be right for Iznik ceramics, it is less convincing for those of later periods. The small number of coffee cups coming from Küthaya seems more related to a late standardization in coffee intake, and the same seems to have occurred for tobacco use.<sup>16</sup> The archaeological deposits from the 17th and 18th centuries yielded scant finds of clay pipes, in contrast to those occurring during the late 18th and 19th century. In this last period there is also an increase in imported coffee cups from northern Europe or China (porcelain).

#### CONCLUSION

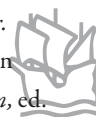
Antivari is a good place to analyse relationships between pottery and people over the ‘longue durée’: the place was not a large city, but was a town, with a stratified society. From the 12th century onwards, ceramics changed quickly and in various ways depending on the different places inside the settlement. We can therefore study this phenomenon at a town level, analysing the differences between the various typology of the settled areas.

Because every place has a different history (and different archaeological stratigraphic deposits), the situation changes at the level of single buildings or series of buildings. A specific example in a specific area (UTS 8a) is a good example of this phenomenon.

Comparing these different archaeological restitutions through time and in the context of the space explains a lot about the social life of this town’s past, and pottery is a very good way to understand it.

NOTES

- 1 For general information on Stari Bar see: Dusan Bošković, *Stari Bar* (Belgrade: Zavesti Institut za Zaštitu Spomenika Kulture, 1962); Mladen Zagarčanin, *Stari Grad Bar. The Old Town of Bar. A Guide through the Centuries* (Cetjnie: Bar Cultural Centre, 2008).
- 2 This is the main literature on the archaeological projects: Sauro Gelichi and Mitja Guštin (eds.), *Stari Bar. The Archaeological Project 2004. Preliminary Report* (Florence: All'Insegna del Giglio, 2005); Sauro Gelichi (ed.), *The Archaeology of an Abandoned Town. The 2005 Project in Stari Bar* (Florence: All'Insegna del Giglio, 2006); Sauro Gelichi (ed.), *A Town through the Ages. The 2006-2007 Archaeological Project in Stari Bar* (Florence: All'Insegna del Giglio, 2008); Sauro Gelichi (ed.), *Analizzare lo spazio Analizzare il tempo. La storia di un isolato di Stari Bar* (Florence: All'Insegna del Giglio, 2011). Sauro Gelichi and Mladen Zagarčanin (eds.), *Storie di una città. Stari Bar tra antichità ed epoca moderna attraverso le ricerche archeologiche* (Florence: All'Insegna del Giglio, 2013).
- 3 Mladen Zagarčanin, *Short historical overview of the town of Stari Bar*, in Gelichi and Gustin (eds.), *Stari Bar*, p. 16.
- 4 On these excavations see Fulvio Baudo, Elena Grandi, Corinna Bagato and Speranza Fresia, *The fortification of Bar. Archaeological evidence from Gate 112*, in *The Archaeology of an Abandoned Town*, ed. by Sauro Gelichi (Florence: All'Insegna del Giglio, 2006), pp. 33-54.
- 5 Živko Andrijašević and Šerbo Rastoder, *The History of Montenegro from Ancient Times to 2003* (Podgorica: Montenegro Diaspora Centre, 2006), pp. 13-21; Elizabeth Roberts, *Realm of the Black Mountain. A History of Montenegro* (London: C. Hurst & Co. Publisher, 2007), pp. 50-71.
- 6 Ennio Concina, *Tempo novo. Venezia e il Quattrocento* (Venice: Marsilio, 2006), p. 20.
- 7 *The Medieval Statute of Budva*, ed. by Nicola Vučković (Budva: Istorijske arkhiv, 1988), cap. XXIV, p. 97: 'Ordinemo, che nissuna persona non debbi gettar immonditie nissuna ne de portelo, o de solaro, o de zetar in via publica et in ogni via della città, sotto pena di denari 12, la mità alla corte e la mità al commun'. On the lost statues of medieval Bar see: Savo Marčević, *Studia Antibarensia* (Perast: Gospa od Škrpjela, 2006), pp. 35-117.
- 8 An example in room 8a: Corinna Bagato, Cristina Falla and Alessandro Gasparin, 'The Excavation of an Ottoman House: The Archaeological Sequence of Room 8a', in Gelichi (ed.), *A Town through the Ages*, pp. 33-41.
- 9 An overview on the pottery in Antivari is found in: Mladen Zagarčanin, *Stari Bar. Keramika Venecijanskog Doba. Pottery from the Venetian Period* (Koper: Annales Mediterranea, 2004). Especially on Ottoman pottery see: Mitja Guštin, Vesna Bikić and Zrinka Mileusić, *Ottoman Times/Osmanaska vremena* (Koper: Založba Annales, 2008).





- 10 On the excavation of these rooms see Diego Calaon, Erica D'Amico and S. Fresia, *Archaeological Sequences and Pottery: a Case Study (UTS 8B)*, in Gelichi (ed.), *The Archaeology of an Abandoned Town*, pp. 55-82; Diego Calaon and Silvia Cadamuro, 'From the Medieval to the Ottoman Towns. The Archaeological Sequences in Rooms 8c and 9a and 9b', in Gelichi (ed.), *A Town through the Ages*, pp. 16-28.
- 11 Diego Calaon, *The Excavation of UTS 161. The sequence*, in Gelichi and Gustin (eds.), *Stari Bar*, pp. 49-60.
- 12 On the 140 see in general Sauro Gelichi (ed.), *Analizzare lo spazio. Analizzare il tempo*.
- 13 Particularly Michela Babbini, Annamaria Delmonte, 'L'isolato 140 nelle sue componenti strutturali e funzionali' and Riccardo Belcari, 'Elementi architettonici dall'isolato 140', in Gelichi (ed.), *Analizzare lo spazio. Analizzare il tempo*, pp. 13-41 and 56-77.
- 14 Sauro Gelichi, 'Dall'isolato alla città', in Gelichi (ed.), *Analizzare lo spazio. Analizzare il tempo*, pp. 100-104.
- 15 Erica D'Amico, Margherita Ferri and Speranza Fresia, 'Le scariche di un isolato del XVI secolo a Stari Bar: testimonianze di una famiglia benestante', in Gelichi (ed.), *Analizzare lo spazio. Analizzare il tempo*, pp. 78-93.
- 16 Sauro Gelichi and Lara Sabbionesi, *Bere e fumare ai confini dell'Impero. Caffè e tabacco a Stari Bar nel periodo ottomano* (Florence: All'Insegna del Giglio, 2014).

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- Gelichi, S. and L. Sabbionesi, *Bere e fumare ai confini dell'Impero. Caffè e tabacco a Stari Bar nel periodo ottomano* (Florence: All'Insegna del Giglio, 2014).
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FIG. 1 – Location of Stari Bar (Laboratorio di Archeologia Medievale, Università Ca' Foscari di Venezia).

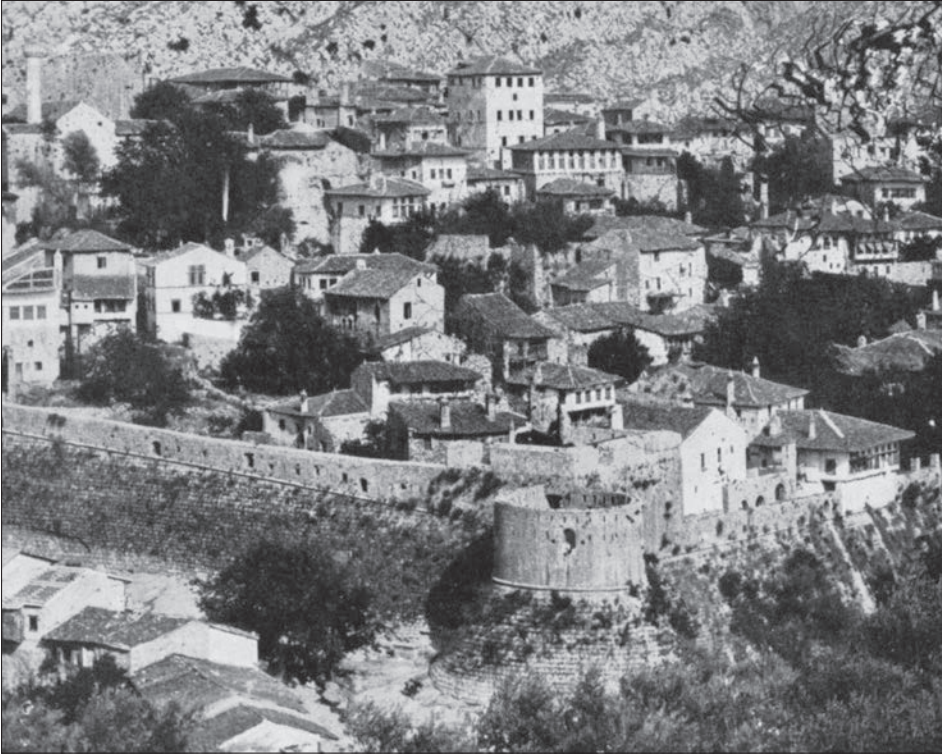


FIG. 2 – Stari Bar before 1878 (Laboratorio di Archeologia Medievale, Università Ca' Foscari di Venezia).



FIG. 3 – Stari Bar, Building 136: layers of levelling or filling (Late Medieval and Ottoman Period) (Laboratorio di Archeologia Medievale, Università Ca' Foscari di Venezia).

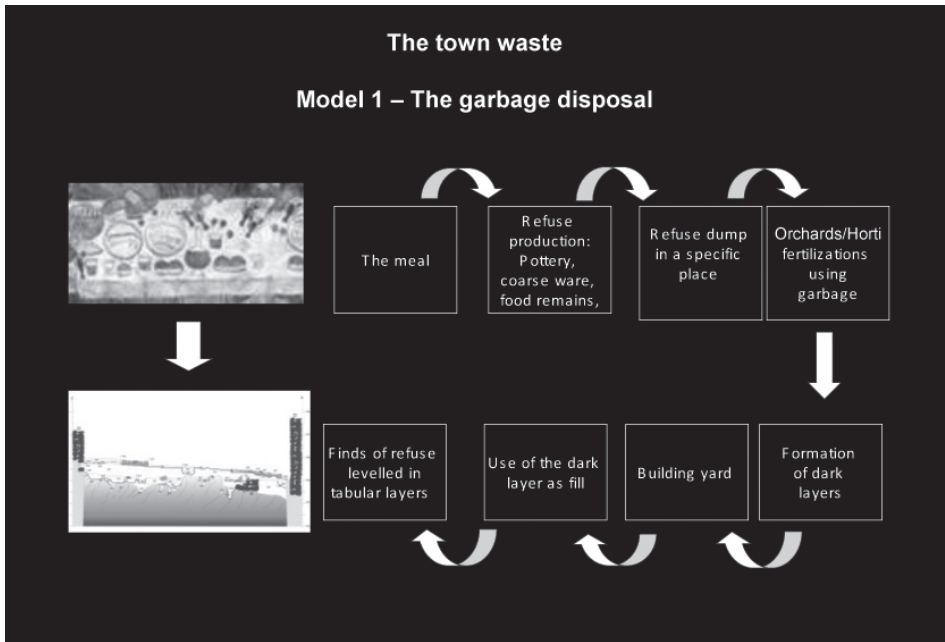


FIG. 4 – Town Waste. Garbage disposal – Model 1 (Laboratorio di Archeologia Medievale, Università Ca' Foscari di Venezia).

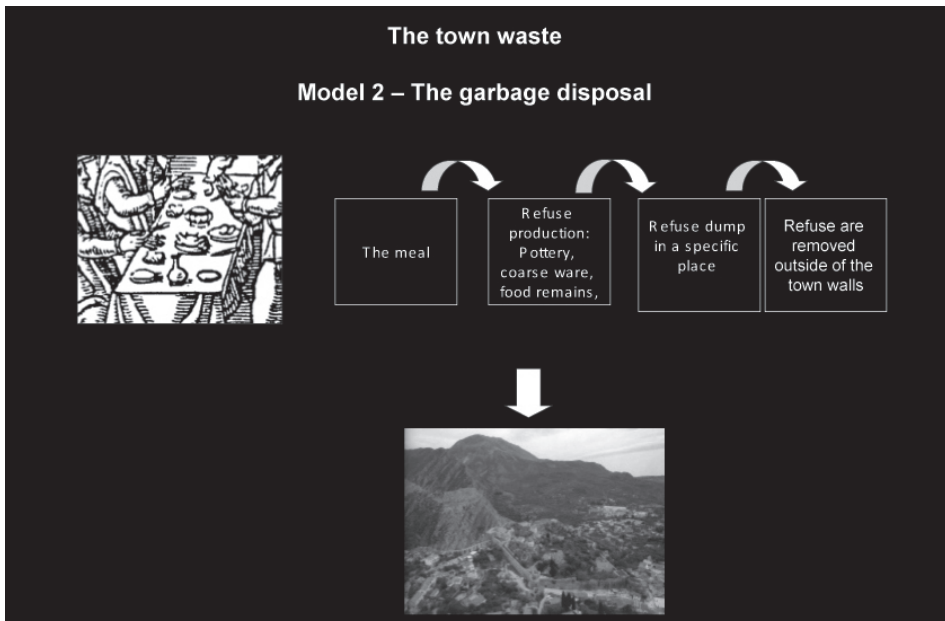


FIG. 5 – Town Waste. Garbage disposal – Model 2 (Laboratorio di Archeologia Medievale, Università Ca' Foscari di Venezia).

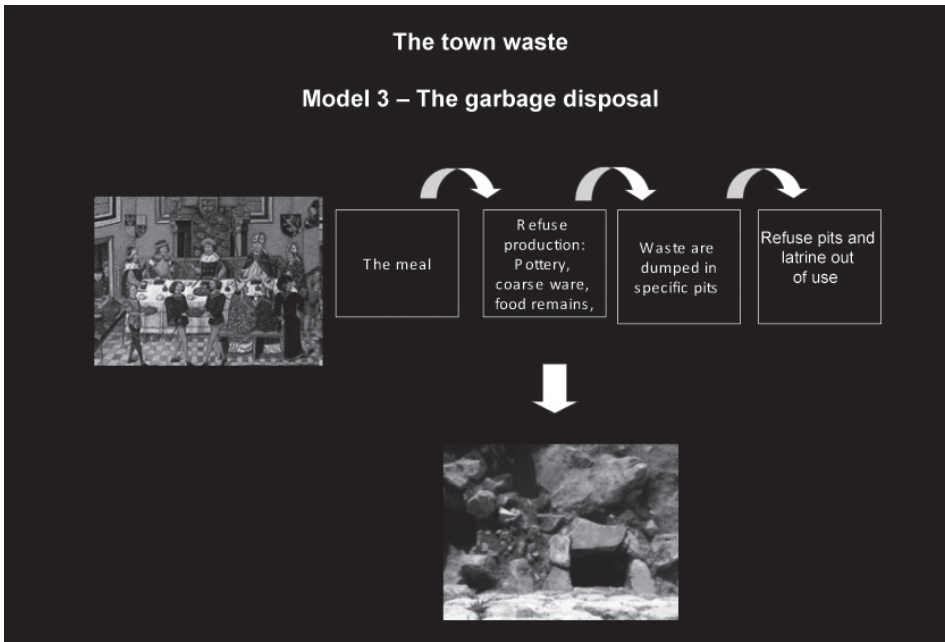


FIG. 6 – Town Waste. Garbage disposal – Model 3 (Laboratorio di Archeologia Medievale, Università Ca' Foscari di Venezia).

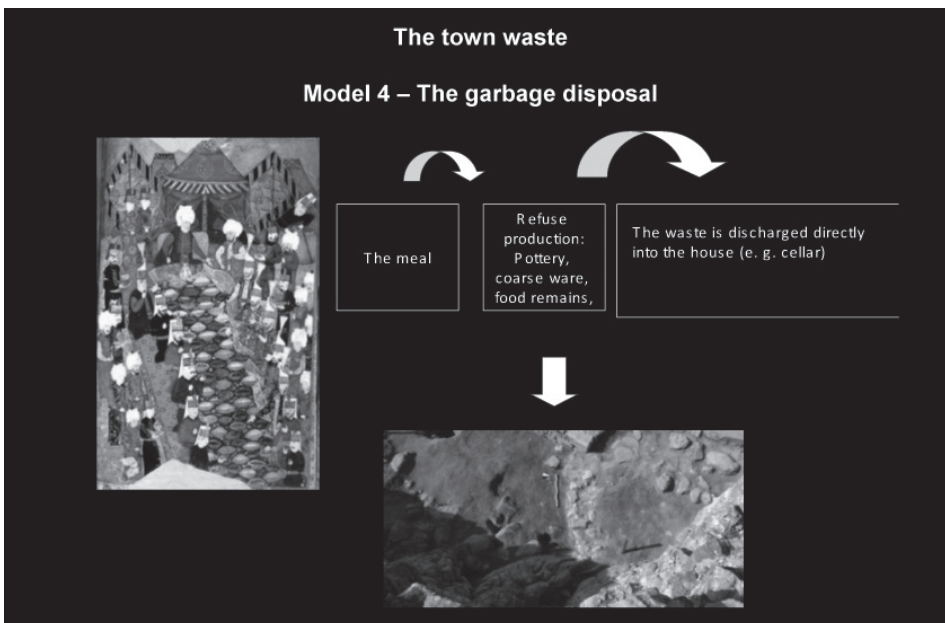


FIG. 7 – Town Waste. Garbage disposal – Model 4 (Laboratorio di Archeologia Medievale, Università Ca' Foscari di Venezia).



FIG. 8 – Sherds of the Slavic Period (Laboratorio di Archeologia Medievale, Università Ca' Foscari di Venezia).

FIG. 9 – *See colour plates page 376.*

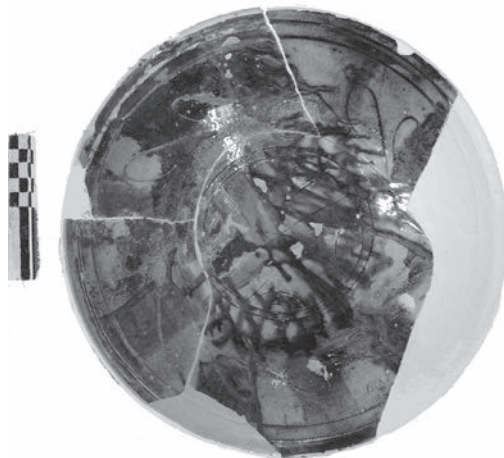


FIG. 10 – 'Sgraffito Ware' plate (Venetian area, late 15th century) (Laboratorio di Archeologia Medievale, Università Ca' Foscari di Venezia).





FIG. 11 – ‘Renaissance Maiolica’ jug (Romagna, early 16th century) (Laboratorio di Archeologia Medievale, Università Ca’ Foscari di Venezia).

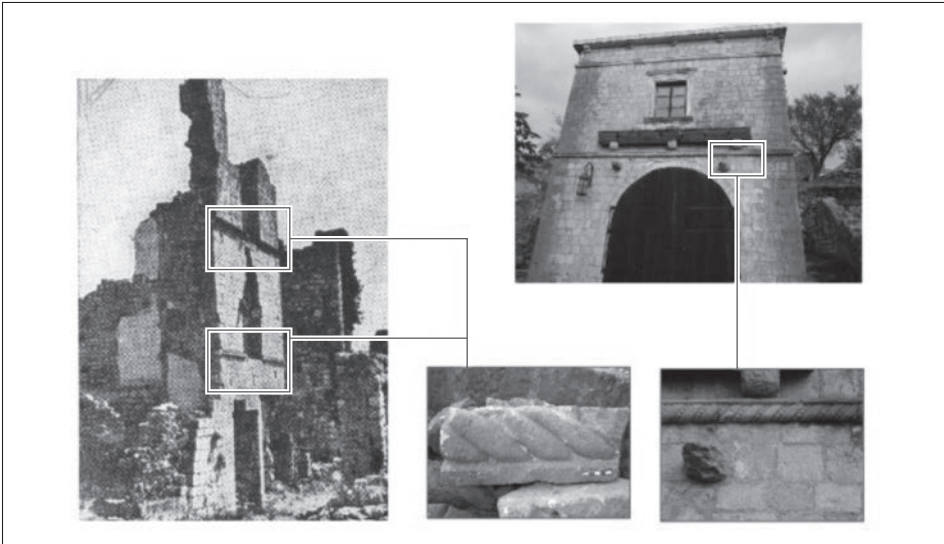


FIG. 12 – ‘Venetian fashion’ in houses: typical architectural and decorative motifs (Laboratorio di Archeologia Medievale, Università Ca’ Foscari di Venezia).

FIG. 13 – See colour plates page 376.

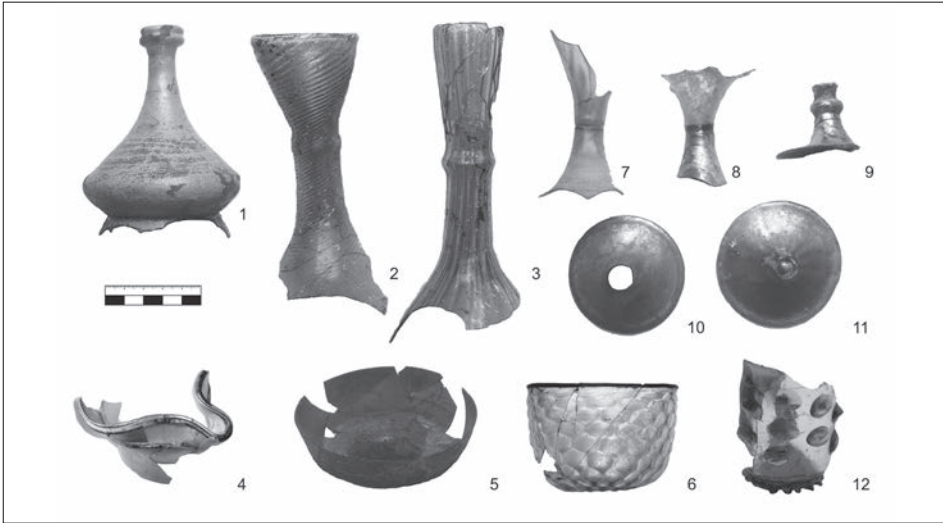


FIG. 14 – Glass set from the refuse-pits of the block 140 (Laboratorio di Archeologia Medievale, Università Ca' Foscari di Venezia).

FIGS. 15, 16, 17 – See colour plates pages 377-378.



FIG. 18 – Olive press in house (Ottoman period) (Laboratorio di Archeologia Medievale, Università Ca' Foscari di Venezia).

FIGS. 19, 20 – See colour plates pages 379-380.