

# Conventual pottery in Sarzana (eastern Liguria) between the Middle Ages and the early Modern age

## A comparison between documentary and archaeological sources

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### Summary

*In Liguria, the archaeological methodology applied in the excavation of monastery sites, both male and female, poses significant problems involving integration and comparison within what is certainly a more complex framework that emerges from the documentary sources. Obviously, these sources refer to specific meanings for particular objects and, at the same time, describe the presence of entire categories of products that, for preservation reasons, are rarely or never included in the excavation documentation. The analysis of the objects*

*providing evidence of the communal behaviour in relation to usage and individual ownership of the material culture, so elaborate from written sources, must be limited solely to ceramic pieces. In this paper the author intends on examining such materials in order to reconstruct the economic trends in the religious communities, to determine the supply sources and therefore, through pottery objects, to propose a social and not just an archaeological interpretation of the religious context.*

### Introduction

The pottery presented in this contribution represents the most numerous type of manufactured objects coming from the excavations in Sarzana, a town located in the extreme eastern part of Liguria (Figure 1), from Piazza Garibaldi, Via Mazzini (Figure 2) and adjacent streets (Frondoni *et al* 2000, 107–108), an area occupied in medieval times by the convent of S. Domenico and later by that of the Franciscan nuns of St Chiara (de Vingo 2001, 183–184).

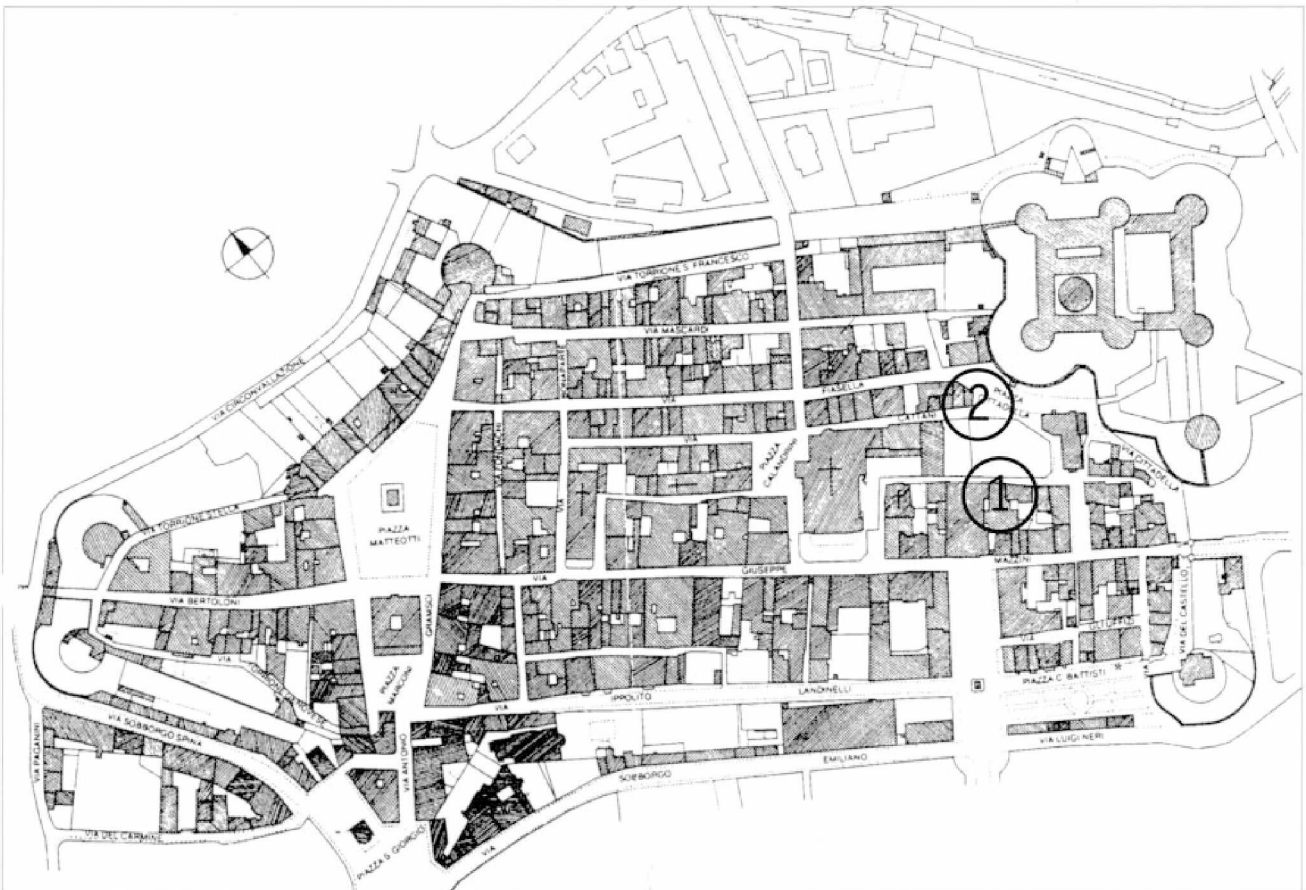
The materials are in an excellent state of preservation, even if fragmented. Owing to the quality of the finds, the nature of their context and the methodology adopted during the excavation, the materials can be analysed while focusing on various objectives: to improve the chronology of conventual pottery, to analyse its circulation in a Ligurian town of medium size and importance, and to understand the ways in which a specific social nucleus received supplies during a very complex historical-political period.

This last aspect is of particular importance because it enables us to delve even further into those mechanisms and economic-cultural processes that would seem to define the ‘material culture’ of the monastic communities, both male and female and, naturally, to compare them. This will gradually lead us away from what is essentially or exclusively a taxonomic approach and permit us to reconstruct significant relationships between the consumption of pottery and its socio-economic contexts. However, owing to the incomplete nature of the excavations and the discovery of a relatively small quantity of material, we cannot reach



**Figure 1**  
Western Liguria, showing the location of Sarzana on the margins of the Ligurian territory

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**Figure 2**

Map of Sarzana, indicating the two excavations carried out in 2001, **1** the convent of St Domenico and **2** the monastery of the Clarisse

those absolute and quantitative conclusions that have been hypothesised instead by the documentary sources but cannot be verified directly on the basis of our current knowledge.

### **Pottery in convents and conventual pottery** An introduction

In recent years in the archaeological literature, and in pottery studies in general, the definitions of 'conventual' or 'monastic' pottery have appeared together with that of 'religious' pottery, but in a sporadic and less distinctive manner. These definitions indicate all the pottery items that because of formal components or decorative motifs or owing to the location of the finds can be linked directly to convents or monasteries. The potential of this vocabulary is however rather vague and at times imprecise, and in any case has been used to define categories of products that are often quite diverse. On the basis of these considerations it will be necessary, therefore, to elucidate what exactly is intended by this definition, whether its usage has been more or less improper, and when and under what circumstances it might still be useful to employ the term conventual pottery (Gelichi 1998, 107).

The first use of the term is the traditional one, *ie* to indicate manufactured objects that document religious subjects through diverse iconography. The presence of decorations that refer to the themes of the Passion or to depictions of saints and others who have been beatified does not appear to define specific social environments, not even after 1500, a period that underwent a generalised 'religiousization' of the motifs on majolica and 'graffita' pottery (Nepoti 1991, 139). Moreover, pottery acquired by monasteries and convents was not always and not everywhere decorated with religious subjects, just like the secular use of recipients decorated with iconography of an ecclesiastical nature also should not be excluded. Therefore, the iconographical component, however important it may be, does not seem to be able to exclusively define a category of products in terms of their use in the social sphere.

A second use of the definition refers to the location of the finds: the provenance, and often a certain 'homogeneity' (Farris 1968, 267), would distinguish them as 'conventual'. In any event, it is easy to understand how in this case the use of the term is improper or rather vague, and completely ineffectual in characterising the recipients in any specific manner. If instead we intend on who commissioned the pieces, *i.e.* containers specifically ordered by a religious institution (Soave *et al* 1982, 115),

then we must explain how the phenomenon is linked to secular realms and vice versa how it is not always present in ecclesiastical areas. This occurs rather frequently in those cases involving objects found without any particular markings that might indicate ownership or possession, such as monograms, family crests or coats of arms.

A third possible use of this terminology can be linked to a specific class of products. This refers to the use proposed by Tiziano Mannoni (Mannoni 1975, types 71–72, 96–97) for a particular category of ‘graffita’ pottery, until recently defined as ‘pavesi’ (Mannoni 1968), that because of its particular decorations – but it is important to recall that most of the subjects are of a religious character – and, obviously, because these types are so frequently found within monastic environments, have been redefined using this term (Gelichi 1998, 108). In this case it is important to note the lack of a single provenance or distribution, as well as the absence of a homogeneity in terms of the objects’ style: the objects, in fact, were produced and distributed in Pavia (Nepoti 1978, 185–188) and more generally throughout Lombardy (Nepoti 1978, 188) and in Liguria (Mannoni 1975, 96–97; 53–54; Gardini *et al* 1994, 53–54), where it is not even clear whether they should be considered exclusively as imports.

There is little doubt therefore that the ‘conventual’ pottery category, regardless of the significance that has been attributed to it, does not define a homogeneous product class in an unequivocal manner: consequently, it seems rather futile to define a very specific pottery group such as that of the ‘graffita pavesi’. Hence, it might be more useful to attempt to trace the channels that, over the centuries, have characterised the monastic supply lines. Perhaps we will not be able to use a term that has become familiar to us, but at least it may be possible to begin to reconstruct a phenomenon that is much more complex than what might have been expected.

It’s obvious that cenobies have particular needs for which supply models will be different than those in secular contexts. If anything, because of the numbers involved, when switching from the generalised use of individual wood recipients to those in ceramic, the quantity of individual objects that had to be acquired notably increased within a short period of time. An initial problem, that for the moment we are unable to resolve, is to determine exactly when this transition phase occurred.

Toward the mid 14th century, for example, there are very few pottery bowl items recorded in the expense registers of San Domenico, an important convent in Savona (while there is still a large number of wooden bowls). Furthermore, open forms amongst the materials found in the excavations of the cemetery at the same convent in the St Domenico district (Ramagli *et al* 1999, 222) are also rather rare. In the same period another convent, Saint Francis of Assisi, certainly no less

committed to the vows of poverty, offers, according to the same type of documentation, what are certainly more significant data regarding the purchase of individual pottery products (Blake 1981, 30–31).

It is therefore evident how other motives, more cultural by nature or involving a simplification of the supply methods rather than what is strictly a religious content, piloted and influenced the behaviour models which, in the initial phase, were the same as those utilised by the secular community. It seems, however, that only from the last quarter of the 14th century the number of individual pottery recipients increased in convents as well, as is indicated, amongst other things, by the finds from the convent of San Domenico in Bologna (Gelichi 1987; Gelichi 1998, 108), or in Liguria from St Margherita in Carignano (Milanese 1985, 120) and St Silvestro, both in Genoa (Pringle 1977, 126–130).

The pottery found at the monastic or conventual complexes of the 14th and a good part of the 15th century does not seem to have particularly distinctive formal or figurative features; the reference markets for quality coated wares (glazed, enamelled, ‘engobed’) would seem basically to be those of the various secular communities, with a single difference that generated very important consequences at a quantitative and often a qualitative level. In fact, it is evident that when the production of pottery bowls was authorised, products with similar forms and dimensions were purchased on a large scale.

A second problem is the lack of documentary sources that would allow us to refer to ‘commissions’. In fact, even if they existed, we would not have resolved anything of importance because, despite having this interesting fact at our disposal, we would still not have any additional or more precise information about the characteristics of individual pottery objects. To have documented instead the morphology and dimensions of every recipient ordered and purchased, which obviously vary according to the different production areas, would permit us to evaluate the number of individual typologies and their standardisation, comparing sequences of chronologically homogeneous finds from convents.

Based on our current state of knowledge, it would seem irrefutable that ‘graffita pavesi’ appeared in the second half of the 15th century. Defined as ‘conventual graffiti’, these standardised products also had austere and simple iconography and, in some cases, a strong religious element. These factors would seem to exclude a specific type of user (Gelichi 1998, 108–109).

In Tuscany, an initial phase of marking with ‘signs of ownership’ engraved after firing under the base of the container, and homogeneous consignments of recipients featuring the monogram of the relevant convent took place immediately prior to this period: I’m referring to the monastery of St Maria in Siena, where pottery with these characteristics already appeared in the first half of the 15th century (Francovich 1982, 276–322).

In Genoa, small hemispherical or carinated cups with disc bases and double opposing vertical handles, subdivided in two types based upon distinct decorative styles, were unearthed amongst the materials from the convent of St Silvestro. The first iconographical subject, identified as the 'crucifix' type, presents the symbols of the Passion of Christ and has been dated to the second half of the 15th century, although it might also come from a slightly earlier period (Pringle 1977, 126–128). In both the examples proposed it should be emphasised that this is in reference to women's monastic settlements. From this moment on not only were recipients with religious symbols and emblems of the relevant convent appearing with increasing frequency throughout the peninsula, but also products with monograms of ownership, family crests and, in numerous cases, complete names. The diffusion of products with a high degree of personalisation, therefore clearly carried out on commission, does not imply that we must exclude all other types of supplies, that can be considered as a more anonymous category of products, that nonetheless were also subject to marking or signing (Gelichi 1998, 109).

This phenomenon needs to be examined more thoroughly, and not necessarily solely in order to recognise, as is possible, the result of a profound ideological and religious transformation that must have influenced even the most marginal aspects of the 'material culture' of the period in discussion. It is not only a question of investigating the eventual 'conventuality' of certain pottery as much as understanding if there were diversified mechanisms that influenced the composition of the furnishings of the different communities: an initial and fundamental level of comparison should be carried out between the men's and women's institutions. At this point it might be possible to verify if the phenomenon developed in different directions, also because it must be considered in relation to the most secular forms relating to the composition of dowries (Gelichi 1998, 109).

### **Dowries in women's monasteries between the 16th and 17th centuries**

A fundamental factor in the economic life of the monastery and its interaction with the social fabric in which it was inserted consisted of the institution of the dowry, i.e. the amount in money or in equivalent goods that the family or other private individuals were obliged to pay to the convent to cover the costs of maintaining the novice and eventually the future nun. It should be remembered that the cost was quite low, and that it was a small sum compared to that necessary for a wedding, the reason for which it became a convenient, and conventional, choice for parents who didn't wish to subdivide the family's property owing to the marriage of their daughters (Zarri 1986). The perverse element of this mechanism was acknowledged on diverse occasions by the religious authorities and achieved its most

extreme expression, in human and personal terms, between the late Middle Ages and the early Modern Age, when enrolment in the convents was normal also for girls with relatives already installed as nuns.

The dowries contemplated various types of emoluments to maintain the woman who would become a nun. In addition to cash, it was also expected that the family would provide a set of furniture that could vary notably in size. In the course of the 16th century, also due to the economic reconstruction necessitated by the 'tridentine' normatives against the poverty of the nuns and the desire to make monasteries economically self-sufficient, the dowry price was notably increased, to the point that it was very difficult to undertake the monastic life for those without substantial financial backing. In the documentary sources relative to the monastery of the Clarisse in Sarzana, starting from the mid 1500s, the dowry was increased from five hundred to a thousand lire to sums of between four to six thousand lire in the mid 1600s.

The women welcomed into the convents with various levels of insertion came from families of diverse social standing, but in general in those urban institutions of greater prestige the relatives of the richest families entered at the highest levels. This difference in economic means is often reflected in the extraordinary quantity of objects that might be needed in everyday life – often conducted at a qualitatively high level – which were consequently included in the dowry. And yet, under the influence of the council of Trento, the prescriptions of the late fifteen hundreds envisaged a truly minimal number of personal objects, which focused almost exclusively on bed sheets and the personal clothing essential for hygienic reasons. Everything that was forbidden – money, gifts, vegetable or animal products – was placed in the communal coffers, with the single exception of the 'things necessary for the cell'. However, the real situation implied by the dowry lists is often much richer and extensive than what might have been expected. Even though the expression 'things necessary for the cell' remained rather imprecise, the infractions must have been very frequent and quite significant. Besides pictures and other devotional objects, this definition included furniture and handicraft tools, in particular cloth and all that was needed for sewing, a very common activity amongst the nuns. Certainly less essential were fine clothes and jewellery, cutlery made of precious metals and various undefined 'extravagances'.

In any case, it is difficult to assess what might have been the real value of the dowry lists and in particular of those very numerous examples dating from the first half of the 17th century considered a primary source for understanding the true entity of these patrimonies. This is because they seem to lack generalised information regarding what the nuns in the convents owned, apart from some interesting exceptions.

For example, in one of the few complete financial balances carried out inside a monastic community, the property of all the nuns of the Clarisse convent

in Sarzana was registered in 1570. The nuns waived their rights to said property but requested to retain the right to use it in order to provide for their daily needs. From all this it appears evident that the retained effects consisted mainly of what was strictly necessary to live in a dignified manner, except for a few cases of manifest wealth. The nuns had at their disposal clothing, bed-sheets, furniture, metal cauldrons for cooking food or for washing garments, lanterns, rosaries and holy books, rarely paintings or products of high artistic quality, while personal plates, cutlery or cooking implements are never mentioned. This situation seems to only partially match other documented cases – that are never based upon such extensive documentation of the available assets – in particular with regard to the poverty or the scarce consideration for the table service. It is a fact that can probably be attributed to the precociousness of the form that was previously seen, under the initial impulse of the conciliatory years. We should also not ignore the differences between the various convents that attracted women belonging to very different social strata.

In the second half of the seventeenth century the nuns in Sarzana also seemed to have an internal economy reduced to the most essential items, in which debts were established only with the coppersmith, the lantern maker, the tinker and the vase maker, to remain within the sphere of estimated costs for non-food items. This leaves us with an image of their daily life in which there was room only for the most essential things, a situation probably falsified by the different methods of purchasing other items, including pottery.

## The pottery

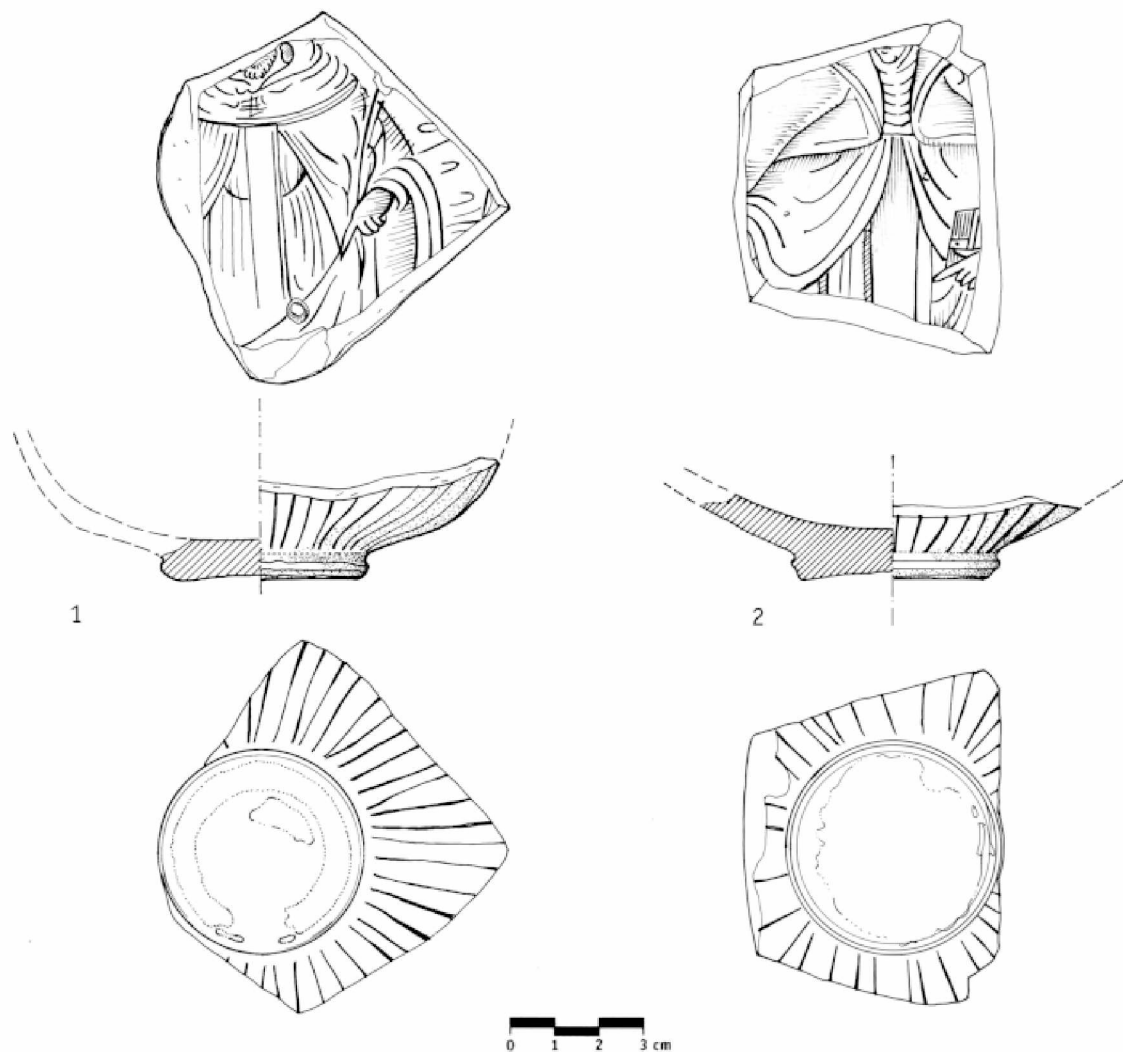
The pottery items presented in this paper consist of two bowls made in tawny monochrome, without variations in colour shades, with a compact and uniform earthenware glaze decorated with double engravings on the surfaces: internally with distinct human figures, in a full profile, depicting two individuals, one male the other female, both portrayed in religious habits, and externally with a kind of motif of equidistant radial lines originating from the upper profile of the disc base. On the basis of iconographical comparisons, the two personages (Figure 3) can be provisionally identified as St Domenico and St Chiara (de Vingo 2001, 183–184). In fact, in Sarzana it is no coincidence that from the beginning of the 1300s two different religious settlements appear, traceable to those of the Dominican friars and the Franciscan nuns of St Chiara (Bonatti 1988, 121–137). The materials found in Sarzana that can be linked to the products forming the communal endowment of the religious institute are expressions of a refined technological culture (Morra 1996, 173–176). That's because the stylistic level of the figures represented presupposes advanced creative ability, considering the artistic result of the product in which

these two components are perfectly harmonised.

The technical interpretation of these objects and their potential stylistic comparison, that should permit a specific and non-generalised chronological analysis, can be found directly in Liguria, where this type of pottery is very common, and not only in Genoa, in the monastery of St Maria in Passione (Gardini *et al* 1982, 66) and of St Margherita in Carignano (Milanese 1985, 46), in SS Concezione (Farris *et al* 1971, 130–131) and in that of the Santissima Annunziata in Levanto (Gardini 1993, 143–144). Such pottery is also found in the urban centres of the adjacent western Liguria, in Albisola (Bernat *et al* 1986, 133–137), in Savona (Ramagli 1996, 60) and in Albenga (Gardini *et al* 1994, 53).

It can be suggested that the initial production phase began in the second half of the 1400s, based on the dates that emerged from an analysis of the materials found in the excavations of the church of St Silvestro, on the castle hill of the Ligurian provincial capital (Gardini *et al* 1997, 309) and in contexts immediately following the foundation of the women's Dominican monastery of the Corpo di Cristo (Benente *et al* 1994, 53), the building that from 1452 replaced the previous Episcopal residence (Gardini 1996, 167). The iconographical repertory is rather varied and reproduces, using both simple and complex compositions, the traditional elements of the Christian faith, often with a deliberately symbolic intention, in which references to episodes of the New Testament are quite evident. In fact a basic motif appears, that of the centrally placed cross, reproduced on bowls, cups, hemispherical cups and drinking flasks with a spherical body, in all possible variations: surmounted by a Christian ornamental inscription and accompanied by three nails – symbols of the Passion; with the base of the cross resting on three bridges that represent the Calvary; with the insertion of the crown of thorns, drops of blood gushing from the side arms of the cross, a stylised skull at the base of the cross, a ladder symbolising the deposition and finally a chalice surmounted by the Host (Pringle 1977, 126–128; Benente *et al.* 1994, 54–55).

Amongst the materials from St Silvestro in Genoa the depictions of men and women are less frequent (Pringle 1977, 128–131) and, in any case, are not casual finds. While the preceding decorative themes, without diminishing their quality, are not to be linked to specific types of production, because they were distinctive of the generalised purchases by institutes and religious organisations, the representation of the complete figure of personages corresponds to much more precise criteria and intentions. In fact, they depict founders of orders and therefore do not have a symbolic value, but a much deeper significance, because they conveyed descent and memory and would have had a much more dynamic effect upon communal life: in this sense they were carriers of ideas and subject matter. One of these pottery pieces decorated with a female iconographic motif, comes from the collective burial in a crypt of the church of St Silvestro, and is to be considered a personal



**Figure 3**  
Conventional pottery originating from the context of  
**1** St Domenico and **2** the monastery of the Clarisse

object, that belonged to one of the nuns, who was probably killed by the plague of 1656–1657 (Presotto 1965, 370–420). The materials found in Sarzana can be linked to this same example, because they share the same cultural motives, morphology, technological characteristics and decorative schemes (de Vingo 2001, 186).

### Discussion and conclusions

The possibility of applying archaeological methods to conventual contexts, both male and female, generates significant problems of integration and comparison with the situation, certainly more variable, reported by the archival sources. These, as it is obvious that they should be, refer to specific significances for determined objects and, at the same time, describe the presence of

entire categories of objects that, for reasons of preservation, rarely or never appear in the data registered from excavations (Gelichi *et al.* 1998, 136). The examination of the objects that provide evidence of community behaviours, in relation to the consumption and the individual properties that together make up the “material culture”, so variable in the written sources, must be restricted to the pottery. These are the only objects consistently present and in sufficient quantities in archaeological deposits. Their representativeness permits us to reconstruct how they were used in an individual community and, at the same time, to compare those objects with the materials from other contexts. It should be recalled however that, from this point of view, there are still only limited conventual contexts in which a complex and lasting sequence, with a discussion of quantitative production indices, is available for study. Usually, the conventual pottery, when

it is recognised, ends up being analysed exclusively at a typological level based on what is indubitably a legitimate approach but of little use, however, for understanding the mechanisms through which such contexts were formed within a specific social nucleus. Basically, in this situation, one reproduces and amplifies a social approach to the history of production and the usage of post-classical pottery that, in general, has always characterised, in a negative sense, our study methods.

With the aim of formulating a hypothesis concerning the formation of these pottery centres, it would be useful to restate some of the considerations that were formulated earlier with regard to the pottery present in convents, to identify those product categories that influenced their supply over time and in relation to other social contexts (Gelichi *et al* 1998, 136).

- Undifferentiated pottery, of daily use also in secular contexts. The only items present up to the mid 15th century, they are continually found in considerable numbers even in the modern era.
- Pottery decorated with subjects of a religious nature or generalised iconography, such as the cross, symbols of the Passion, the lamb, the chalice or the trigram 'IHS' of St Bernardino of Siena. These are all objects present with some continuity within monastic contexts in the Po Valley area, between the 15th and the 19th centuries. Sometimes they are also present with the same characters in secular contexts.
- Pottery with markings relative to monasteries or portraits of specific saints. In this case the finds are concentrated between the 15th and the 16th centuries.
- Undifferentiated pottery, typical also of secular contexts, featuring monograms engraved on the piece after purchase.
- Pottery produced *ad personam*, featuring monograms, names, family crests with monograms or dates. This phenomenon seems to develop mainly during the 1600s.
- Pottery with monograms related to their place of use – cellars, kitchens, refectories, infirmaries, or at the table – soup plates, salad bowls – some of which, however, are not exclusive to religious contexts.

Based on the published examples of Ligurian monastic contexts we can suggest that the men's monasteries utilised almost exclusively materials from the first three groups. Besides the current types of pottery, the excavation of St Domenico in Savona, for example, has produced only shards with the monogram SD, with the trigram IHS or with dates associated to symbols.

In contrast with the women's convents, the previously described categories almost always appear together with the exclusion (or at least in a truly modest quantity) of pottery with monograms engraved on the piece, or items specially produced with engravings that allow them to be easily and immediately identified. The production of pieces with a specific iconographic scheme, therefore,

seems to receive a significant impulse during the same 25 years in which the Council of Trento began its work. Therefore, if on the one hand the *praxis* can be considered the result of a different type of pressure, in that a certain level of personalization was already present in the late fifteenth century, on the other it can be said that successively diversified needs and tastes came together (Gelichi *et al* 1998, 137).

Let's attempt to summarise: the general framework of the finds from women's convents in Liguria is, after the mid 16th century, certainly more complex. Such complexity is, in my opinion, clearly linked to the diverse methods for supplying materials, also considering how influential and determinant the institution of the dowry has been shown to be. A preliminary and incomplete verification of the written sources has revealed how common in the women's monasteries was the practise of donating large quantities of those objects that exceeded the needs of the individual. These consistent donations of materials by the *sore morte* (literally the 'deceased sisters'), periodically provided an indispensable support for sustaining the community. Amongst these donations there are also indications that refer explicitly to the presence of pottery.

Communal purchases of recipients must have been made in rather modest quantities because the needs of the women's convents were to a great extent probably already satisfied by the dowry gifts. In the Ligurian territory pottery personalised for 'private use' (before or after the purchase) would not seem to be very common, but in particular there is a significant amount of pottery personalised for 'community use' that becomes part of the dowry given to the convent together with the novice. Despite the fact that the study of this phenomenon is only in the early stages and more complete and precise archaeological data are not yet available, documents do exist (and in the process of being transcribed) that provide evidence of the purchase of numerous quantities of pottery for use in communal life and brought to the monastery with the individual nuns in the form of a dowry, and naturally in such large quantities that a strictly personal use can, to all intents and purposes, be excluded (Gelichi *et al* 1998, 138).

When the doctrinal religious reforms began to bring back within the limits of the communal life what was previously a complex social panorama within each individual convent, one notes the development of a countertrend that attempted to facilitate the recovery of personal donations. This countertrend was confined to the women's monasteries, where the situation could be interpreted as a clear response by the family – which obviously had an interest in maintaining the differentiation within the monastic structure – and by the same nuns whose duty it was to carry forward such interests and privileges. If the available archaeological data has been interpreted correctly this phenomenon had already begun during the Council of Trento and it is likely that it was affected by the first practical results of the Reform initiated at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

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## Résumé

En Ligurie les méthodes archéologiques utilisées lors de fouille de sites monastiques, pour moines et religieuses, limitent les possibilités d'intégration et de comparaison avec les données recueillies dans les sources écrites sur ces structures complexes. De toute évidence ces sources parlent de symbolique particulière pour chaque objet et, en même temps, décrivent la présence de catégories entières d'objets qui pour des raisons de mauvaise conservation, sont rarement ou jamais inclus dans le matériel archéologique. L'analyse du matériel donnant des informations sur l'usage communautaire et la propriété privée des objets, si élaborés dans les sources écrites, doit malheureusement se limiter au matériel céramique. Par cette contribution, l'auteur espère reconstituer les fluctuations économiques des communautés religieuses, déterminer les sources d'approvisionnement et, grâce aux objets céramiques proposer à la fois une interprétation archéologique et sociale du milieu religieux.

## Zusammenfassung

In Ligurien wirft die archäologische Methodik, die bei der Ausgrabung sowohl männlicher als weiblicher Klöster verwendet wird, bedeutende Schwierigkeiten auf, was die Einbindung und den Vergleich innerhalb des sicherlich weit komplizierteren Rahmens angeht, wie er uns aus dokumentären Quellen bekannt ist. Offensichtlich beziehen sich diese Quellen auf die besondere Bedeutung bestimmter Gegenstände, beschreiben aber gleichzeitig die Existenz ganzer Produktgruppen, die aus Gründen der Erhaltung selten oder nie in eine Ausgrabungsdokumentation eingehen. Die Analyse von Gegenständen, die Beweismaterial für das gesellschaftliche Verhalten in Bezug auf deren Gebrauch und des persönlichen Eigentums daran liefern, wie sie so sorgfältig ausgearbeitet in schriftlichen Quellen erscheint, muß hier allein auf keramische Stücke begrenzt bleiben.

In diesem Beitrag beabsichtigt der Autor bei der Untersuchung solcher Materialien die wirtschaftlichen Entwicklungen in religiösen Gemeinschaften zu rekonstruieren und die Herkunftsquellen zu bestimmen, das heißt durch Töpfereigegenstände eine soziale und nicht nur archäologische Interpretation des religiösen Zusammenhangs zu geben.



**Figure 1**  
Excavation of a wooden staved bucket at Kirk Close in Perth.  
Courtesy of SUAT Ltd