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CLAY TOYS OF EARLY MODERN TIMES (ON THE MATERIALS OF POLTAVA CITY)

Abstract. The article deals with a group of ceramic toys originating from the archaeological excavations of Poltava city of the Early Modern period. The results of researches of urban centers in Ukraine show an interesting material, which differ depending on the region, social and economic development and other factors. The things, which related to the world of childhood in the Hetmanate, are very important. Such finds represented mainly by clay toys. They are dividing into several categories.

The compiling of the source base for this article began in the 1990s, when excavations within modern Poltava became systematic. Also there is considered the fact, that the collection of clay toys from Poltava is large, compared to other cities of Early Modern Europe.

Archaeological materials have created a foundation for the study of various aspects of everyday life of citizens, including children. In Early Modern times, clay toys represented mainly by figures of animals (including birds), people, and small copies of household vessels. Most of them belongs to the miniature dishes, which was represented mainly by pots-"monetka". There are also bowls, jugs, mugs and lids. Such products repeated mainly all forms of traditional ceramics, differing only in size. Miniature pottery probably reflected some part of the "adult" life of the Early Modern time. Musical instruments represent another group of clay toys. These were mostly zoomorphic whistles, which differed in technique and sound. The third category of toys includes anthropomorphic ceramic figurines, among which the image of a lady («bốrynia») or a rider predominates. They can be used in children's figurative play.

There is a suggestion that toys helped younger generation to get some skills in using household items or future social roles. Therefore, archaeological researches made it possible to shed some light on the life of the citizens of Early Modern Poltava.

Keywords: Early Modern times, Hetmanate, Poltava, clay toy, miniature vessel, whistle, ceramic figurine.

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ГЛИНЯНІ ІГРАШКИ РАННЬОМОДЕРНОЇ ДОБИ (ЗА МАТЕРІАЛАМИ ПОЛТАВИ)

Анотація. У статті розглядається група керамічних іграшок, що походять з археологічних розкопок Полтави ранньомодерної доби. Результати досліджень урбаністичних центрів на території України представлені цікавими матеріалами, які відрізняються залежало від регіону, соціально-економічного розвитку та інших чинників. Особливий інтерес викликають речі, пов'язані зі світом дитинства на території Гетьманщини. Такі знахідки представлені переважно глиняними іграшками. Вони розподіляються на кілька категорій.

Формування джерельної бази для даної статті почалося в 1990-х роках, коли розкопки в межах сучасної Полтави стали систематичними. Як з'ясувалося у статті, колекція глиняних іграшок з Полтави є великою, у порівнянні з іншими містами ранньомодерної Європи.

Археологічні матеріали створили надійне підтрунтя для вивчення різноманітних аспектів повсякденності містян, в тому числі і дітей. У ранньомодерний час глиняні іграшки були представлені переважно образами тварин (включаючи птахів), людей, зменшеними копіями господарського посуду. Кількісна перевага належить мініатюрним посудинам, які представлені переважно горщиками-монетками. Також зустрічаються мисочки, глечики, кухлики, покришки. Такі вироби повторювали практично всі форми традиційної кераміки, відрізняючись лише за розмірами. Мініатюрний посуд, ймовірно, відображав частину "дорослого" побуту ранньомодерної доби. Інша група глиняних іграшок представлена музичними інструментами. Це були переважно зооморфні свистунці, які різнилися технікою виконання та звучанням. Третя категорія іграшок включає антропоморфні керамічні фігурки, серед яких переважає зображення барині чи вершника. Можливо, вони використовувалися в образних чи рольових іграх дітей.

У статті робиться припущення, що за допомогою іграшок молоде покоління набувало навичок використання предметів домашнього вжитку або ж опановувало майбутні соціальні ролі. Тому археологічні дослідження дали можливість проливаючи світло на побут містян ранньомодерної Полтави.

Ключові слова: ранньомодерний час, Гетьманщина, Полтава, глиняна іграшка, мініатюрний посуд, свистунець, керамічна фігурка.

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The study of late medieval cities on the territory of Ukraine shows a remarkable diversity of material culture of their inhabitants, which depended on the region, social and economic development and other factors. The history of everyday citizen's life opens a new layer of information for modern urbanistics, which should be study based on certain categories of artifacts. Given the age and property stratification of society, the moment of organizing a child's life is interesting. The most popular finds in this regard are ceramics. The inhabitants of Early Modern Poltava city were surround by a variety of clay products in their daily lives: from architectural and building ceramics, which clearly indicated the wealth of the owner of the house, to the small, personal things such as tobacco pipes or clay toys. According to archaeological research, there is the presence of powerful pottery production clearly recorded in Poltava of this historical stage, which also correlates with written sources.

Mass archaeological materials create a solid basis for studying various aspects for studying of citizens' everyday life, including children. After all, the "archaeology of childhood" is not so widely spread in the Ukrainian humanities. At the same time, archaeologists explore the world of the Early Modern child, and even the medieval one, mostly by studying funerary monuments. This is understandable because they are easily distinguished from other categories of finds. They provides some evidence of the causes of infant mortality, health and disease. However, the life and culture of the child during the life left out of such studies. Today, a group of products that are defined as children's toys stand out from the archaeological finds of the Early Modern period. Their introduction into scientific circulation and research allow to create a complex picture of the childhood of Early Modern Ukraine.

Clay toys represented mainly by images of animals (including birds), people and reduced copies of household dishes in the described chronological period. The most common category were

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the whistlers. Such products were hollow and had holes for blowing air and changing the tone of the sound in several places. Some of these toys could hold up to a dozen holes, which fill with water and used to change the sound. They decorated with colour glaze and engobes, sometimes there were detailing the specific elements of the images. Figures, which depicting people, represent the different type and do not belong to the number of whistles. These products conventionally divided into female and male images, which well known as "ladies" ("bárynia") and "riders". Functionally, they can be attribute to dolls, because the figure embodied some image or was the personification of a character. Miniature dishes, which also belong to the number of toys, are quite similar in their morphology and decor to the tableware or kitchenware. Moreover, being a reduced copy of kitchenware such products were fully functional, for example, they contained liquid. All these toys can be conditionally attribute to the "unconditional" organization of spare time, when the player could create rules, give things certain abilities himself, and the game does not provide a competitive basis.

Clay toys of the Early Modern period from Poltava didn't study as the subject of special scientific research. Preference given to descriptive papers and publications related to the introduction of new archaeological material into scientific circulation. In general, the collection began complete from time of independence of Ukraine, due to a change in the historical paradigm. O.B. Suprunenko paid attention to the toys of the Cossacks time from Poltava for the first time in the early 1990s (Suprunenko, 1993). He described a small collection of clay toys of the second quarter – the middle of the 18th century, obtained during rescue excavation on Mykolaivska Hirka, in the central part of Poltava. In total, there are were found four figures and three of them presented by whistles and one – by "lady" ("bárynia") (Suprunenko, 1993: 62-65). In the future, mentions of the findings of such products will found in the reporting documentation and publications on archaeological researches in Poltava. Fragments of three whistle toys and a small pot-"monetka" were found near the probable location of the estate of Poltava colonel Martyn Pushkar on the territory of Pushkarivka (now part of the city) in the mid-1990s (Sokolova, 1997: 93).

Some finds of small ceramic toys come from the excavations in New town in 1997-1998. In total, there are 7 toys in this collection, including five zoomorphic whistlers and two pots-"monetka" (Khanko, 2000: 63-64; Kovalenko, 2002: 183). In 1999, a zoomorphic toy whistle founded in cultural layer on the territory of the suburbs (Suprunenko, 2016: 56). In addition, a fragment of a zoomorphic whistle founded in the city centre during excavations on the territory of the Poltava Museum of Local Lore in 2005 (Kovalenko, 2018: 328).

In the suburbs of Poltava there were found two anthropomorphic figures and five zoomorphic whistles in the lower part of house (2007) (Tkachenko, 2008: 116). There are two pots -"monetka" in the materials from archaeological researches of 2007 on the Mykolaivska Hirka. They are originating from a building, which interpreted as a tavern (Doslidzhennia, 2008: 60).

An expressive collection of clay toys originates from the excavation site in the centre of Poltava (2008). The subtype of zoomorphic toys is the most numerous, it consist of five units. Two of them founded in the filling of the lower parts of houses and one was in the filling of the underground. Two any products come from cultural layers. These are two fragments of ornithomorphic toys represented by fragments and pot-"monetka" with high bottom, high neck and a preserved handle (Puholovok, 2008: 53, 76, 82, 96).

Six zoomorphic whistles and three pots-"monetka" came from the excavations of New town in 2010. Most of them founded in the cultural layer. Part of the small pot was found in a house excavated in 2013 (Puholovok, 2014). In 2014, a part of the pot-"monetka" and an ornithomorphic whistle founded in cultural strata on the territory of the Old city. There are six zoomorphic products, five miniature pots, a fragment of an anthropomorphic figurine and two miniature vessels of import origin on the territory of Poltava suburbs in 2019. In object 1 (dwelling) there are two pots- "monetka", two whistles and a part of the anthropomorphic figurine; in object 8 (dwelling) there are three whistles and one small pot; in object 5 there are two miniature pots, and other come from the cultural layer.

The location of clay toys in Poltava associated with the territory occupied by the city in the 18th century. Chronologically, the most of finds belong to this time. Toy finds are unknown among the explored deposits of the 17th century. Territorially, the finds of toys are distributed as follows: within the Old city, there are eleven finds; within the New city there are twenty-three finds; in the northern suburbs there are twenty finds and in the other suburbs there are four finds. This distribution of finds reflects the study of the urban area and indicates their almost alike distribution in the city. About a third of the products founded in the filling of the lower parts of houses and household buildings. This, of course, may indicate that the toys belong to the occupants or owners of these buildings.

Therefore, according to the archaeological sources, we have the following number of clay toys: thirty-eight zoomorphic (ornitho-, ichthyo-) products, sixteen pots- "monetka" and five anthropomorphic figurines. The total number of clay toys, which were found in Poltava, is fifty-eight. Of course, this amount is not complete, and, obviously, it will increase after the reviewing of museum collections and future excavations. In addition, products related to games such as "kremiakhy" and chess are not included. They belong to another type of spare time organization: there were rules of the game, the duration of the game process was limited and provided for the winner.

This amount of clay toys is quite representative and large not only within the Hetmanate, but also in Europe. For example, in urban archaeology of Poland of the $17^{th} - 18^{th}$ centuries there is one of the largest collections of toys founded in Gdansk. It consists of twenty-nine finds, including gaming chips. Toys from excavation are also known in the cities of Wroclaw, Strzelno, Elblag, Starograd-Gdansk, Kolobrzeg, but their amount is relatively small (Dabal, 2016: 136). This review of the source base shows that the archaeological finds which are associated with the world of the childhood, represented by several categories in Poltava. These are musical instruments (aerophones)–"whistles" and "nightingales", ceramic figurines (dolls) and miniature dishes.



Fig. 1. Common types of clay toys from Early Modern Poltava

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Musical instruments. For a long time it was considered that clay aerophones was the most popular among toys. These were the musical instruments, which make a sound caused by the vibration of the air. We preliminarily refer whistles, which have four holes for air and sound regulation, and "nightingales", in which the number of openings varied from six to seventeen, to this category of things. A typical form for such products is zoomorphic (fig. 1: 1-5). Images for the creation of such toys were real animals surrounding adults and children. Domestic animals dominated among them. These are horses, lambs, dogs, ducks, geese, etc. (Poshyvailo, 1993: 219). The products in the form of horses dominated in Poltava materials. Some of them are unornamented, and some have a painted linear ornament or detailed fragments of bridles and the like. Ornithomorphic products less known, they mostly made in shapes of ducks/geese, cocks/hens, pigeons. We meet a rhymed ornament on these toys and it highlights some characteristics of a birds. There are products covered with colour glaze, painted with engobes or no ornament at all. The fragments of whistles in the form of fish (ichthyomorphic) are less known.

Among the products, there are figures of exotic animals for the Poltava environment. This is a whistle in the form of a lion from the excavations of 2008. The images of a mane and a face were detailed and represented the characteristics of this animal (fig. 1:1). The details applied with a sharp object. Its dimensions: length 11.5 cm, height 7.1 cm. The appearance of such an "animal" in the toy collection of Poltava is a unique phenomenon. In this context, it is worth mentioning Eugenia Spaska's report on a camel toy made by a boy in Nizhyn in the 1920s under the influence of an amazing beast, which was seen in the city (Poshyvailo, 1993: 219). It is possible that the toy lion was also made under the influence of children's impressions in Early Modern Poltava.

Among the "whistles", there are some anthropomorphic products, amount of which is too small for generalizations. In particular, they include a rider on a horse (the rider has not survived), marked by detailing the elements of horse harness.

Ornithomorphic products belonging to the so-called "nightingales" are rare finds (fig. 1: 5). "Nightingales" are whistles that are filled with water. Air was blown through the spout, which came out through the holes. The result was a nightingale-like sound, which was a favourite bird in Ukraine. Two such products are known in Poltava, the first of them comes from the territory of New city. On its surface, there are seventeen holes for air traffic; the toy painted with white engobe. The second product is smaller, comes from excavations in the Old city. On its surface, there are six holes for air and the toy is unornamented.

Ceramic figurines. Anthroporphic products presented in small amount in the Poltava finds. Some of them are very schematic images of people with marked facial features. Among others, there is a part of the head of a female figurine, headdress (hat with three corners). The most detailed figures are "ladies" ("bárynia") and "riders", which belong to the circle of toys with clearly defined gender.

Miniature tableware. The findings of miniature pottery are very representative. Today we can talk about the dominance of this type of product among the toys of Early Modern Poltava. A popular find is a miniature pot. According to ethnographic materials, its name mentioned as a "monetka" ("coin") and associates with the cost of the vessel, which was quite low. Other forms include bowls, mugs, jugs and lids (fig. 1:6). Such products copied practically all forms of traditional ceramics, differing only in size. Imitation of "adult" vessels can be associated with the educational role of miniature ceramics. In addition, the miniature pots probably reflected a part of "adult" life, where a woman spent a long time with kitchenware and raised children. Therefore, this play can be belong to imitation of adult behaviour.

Therefore, issues, which related to the manufacture of these items, are important. The production of these toys required specific pottery skills, especially modelling the products, decoration and firing. In contrast to utilitarian dishes, in $17^{th} - 18^{th}$ centuries clay toys still belonged to specific things and such manufacture was popular due to the demand at that time. For example, in Horodyshche town of Lokhvytsya district (Poltava province) local potters contrary did not make whistles and

horses at all (Lysenko, 1904: 180). However, if we compare an amount of clay toys with such a seemingly common type of pottery as pipes, we will show that toys was more popular in Early Modern Poltava. Based on the ethnoarchaeological researches of pottery kilns on the territory of Opishnya town in 2019, we can say that potters did not use it specifically for the manufacturing of toys. This demonstrated an amount of clay toys, founded in one of the kilns, in relation to other products. According to the ethnographers of the late 19^{th} – first third of the 20th centuries, we can say that the toys were made mainly by children who were pupils or relative of the potter, aged 10 to 15 years (Lysenko, 1900: 360-362). Moreover, according to ethnographic evidence, there is some association of such products with the world of childhood (Rusov, 1905: 54; Poshyvailo, 1993: 119-120). But in the previous period, 17^{th} – 18^{th} centuries, the clay toy was not a common attribute of childhood, and children were considered by parents as additional manpower (Kovalenko, 2018: 334-335; Serdyuk, 2018: 297).

However, the role and place of a clay toy in the environment of the Early Modern city not explored and understood enough. Of course, the described things are strongly associated with the child's world. Their spread and appearance should be associated primarily with the urban culture of the Hetmanate, because such products could not appear in an environment that was not able to consume them. The manufacture of these products was organized in the households of professional potters. Children and pupils of the master lived there and probably made such small things (Kovalenko, 2018: 335).

According to the described source base, it is possible to characterize the use of Early Modern toys in Poltava in general. Most of the things belong to locally production and probably intended for the markets in the cities or in their nearest districts. However, among the findings of the 18th century, there were some imported things that indicate to the international trade. Most likely, the toys in such trade was the concomitant products to the main category of goods.

Most of the toys, founded during archaeological excavation, associated with an educational role in the process of cultural development. Players socialized through game actions and rules and formed female and male types of behaviour (Poshyvailo, 2015: 245).

Because children's games reflect the world of adults, adapted to children's worldview, we can say that the younger generation has the skills to use household items or future social roles. In this way, the idea of game training, according to the analysed artefacts, embodied in miniature vessels and in different types of clay figures. These toys are miniature images of the attributes of the adult world and used in social training. Thus, play with dolls, including ceramic, for girls were a step towards their preparation for motherhood (Kis, 2003: 156–162). As for miniature dishes, it is logical to see it as an instrument for training girls in cook. Therefore, such miniaturization could be the oldest way to demonstrate the social roles assigned to women who grew up in an Early Modern city. It is important to note that the study of miniature vessels should be continue in the context of urban social customs, expanding the source base, because archaeological sources are limited.

Musical instruments had a different function than the previous ones. Well known, that the higher field of intellectual and emotional upbringing of children related to music education (Nechai 2013: 163–167). According to research, playing or listening to music develops the concentration abilities and broadens the worldview. Music is also closely associated with the movement, which supports the integration abilities. Therefore, small ceramic musical instruments are material reflections of such processes in Early Modern Poltava. Despite the simplicity of forms and trivial functions, clay whistles aroused some interest and a desire to play music. It indicated by their amount in the archaeological materials.

Considering children's toys, there is also the question of their gender distribution. Today we can state that gender studies do not often use into the archaeological research of the Early Modern period. Therefore, only a few general remarks can be made on the materials received from Poltava. There are no toys, which exactly belong to boys. Clay figurines ("bárynia" and

the like), as well as miniature clay vessels, more associated with girls. Both boys and girls obviously used whistles, pots-"monetka" and bells.

Thus, the toys known from archaeological excavations of Poltava for almost thirty years of researches gave the opportunity to draw the following conclusions. Urban culture of the Hetmanate in Early Modern times is a bright and an original phenomenon. Society at this time was actively developing in several ways, one of which was related to the socialization of children. A toy has always been a kind of instrument in this process. According to the reviewed materials, the largest number of toys represented by miniature copies of pottery, which can used by a child to imitate adult behaviour in everyday life. Other categories of things represented by figures of people and animals and by products that could make a sound.

Excavations of houses in Poltava have shown that a child's life in an Early Modern city provided with some set of specific children's things, which clearly separated from the world of adults. This fact is not always possible to verify with written sources, the specifics of which limited by subjectivity in text: toys were not the subject of property law, were not a separate category of goods, were not inherited, and so on. Being an everyday element of children's life, they did not represented in the sphere of interests of adults, which automatically left them out of documents circulation. Instead, archaeological researches allow to fixed toys more often within the living space, shedding light on the life of the citizens of Early Modern Poltava.

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