

OTTOMAN CERAMICS IN EUROPEAN CONTEXTS

Since the early periods of human history, ceramics have been an important part of material culture, either consumed as functional objects necessary for everyday—including ritual—use, or appreciated as works of art because of their aesthetic value. Within the Mediterranean region, where layers and layers of pottery have accumulated through the ages, ceramics are crucial references of intercourse between cultures and societies, leading to an understanding of social systems and trade relations as well as the diffusion of fashions and tastes. Where archival documentation fails, archeological evidence or collections of ceramics provide the path to understanding specific interaction between cultures. Being portable yet fragile commodities, ceramics could be transported from one country or region to another, cutting across cultural boundaries. Artists fleeing foreign occupations or captured and taken to new lands, and itinerant workers looking for more lucrative markets all played an important part in the transfer of traditions and the translation of common expressions. As a result, similar forms, production techniques, and ornamental motifs appear in different geographical areas within a given period.

Another means of distributing forms and styles in ceramic art is by reproduction. The reproduction of an artistic form and its expression in different periods of history and different parts of the world can at times be considered as stylistic revival. At other times it can be viewed as anachronism: an unexpected continuity, depending sometimes on market value, sometimes on the subtle continuation of an ideology. In both cases, what initiates the act of reproduction is either an economic or a social process.¹ Conspicuous consumption activates the need to acquire and to possess objects of value, in their original form when possible or as reproductions when the originals cannot be attained. This desire to possess is of course related to the fact that objects of conspicuous consumption confer a special social status on their owner.

European responses to encounters with Ottoman

ceramics start from the fourteenth century. Examples are abundant in Italy between then and the present day; in Holland they are evident in Delft production of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; they occur in France and England in the nineteenth century, in central Europe between the seventeenth and twentieth centuries, and in Moscow during the first decades of the twentieth century. The causes of this large distribution were of course various and changed according to country and circumstance. Sometimes the European ceramics were direct copies and imitations of original examples; sometimes the original features were reinterpreted and recreated in a different production technique; sometimes the circulation of both the originals and their reproductions generated new and hybrid stylistic features among craftsmen of different cultural milieux.

European ceramics also had an impact on Ottoman ceramic production, but in different ways. This can be traced to the sixteenth century, when special Italian ceramic forms were reproduced on Iznik plates. Unfamiliar in Ottoman ceramic traditions, these must have been introduced to the repertoire of the Ottoman ceramicist by special Italian orders placed with Iznik workshops. The *tondino* form was the most popular among them.² A unique example of an Italian-style portrait placed in the middle of a large Iznik plate evidences another type of production (fig. 15).³ Similar commercial orders can also be inferred from the existence of Iznik plates with unique heraldry of European origin incorporated within classical Ottoman ornamental schemes (figs. 16–17).⁴ Relations between Italy and the Ottoman Empire from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century could easily foster the exchange of products. Documents show that Italian merchants ordered textiles from workshops in Bursa.⁵ Italian glass was imported to Istanbul.⁶ Albeit few in number, examples of Italian majolica shards dating from the sixteenth century have been found in the Saraçhane⁷ and Tekfur Palace excavations⁸ in Istanbul.

The second phase of European impact on Ottoman ceramics occurred after the mid-nineteenth century. *Eser-i İstanbul*⁹ productions of the nineteenth century reproduced English and French creamware of the same period, and the Yıldız porcelain factory,¹⁰ founded at the beginning of the twentieth century, was constructed with French expertise from the Sèvres porcelain factory. Ottoman merchants placed special porcelain orders from French and German factories at this time.

Thus, within European and Ottoman relations, networks necessary for ceramic production and distribution seem to have initiated a lively, creative, and lucrative market that has been underestimated in terms of economic history although widely exposed to art historical and archeological research.

Within this framework we can distinguish three periods in European encounters with Ottoman ceramics, which can be classified according to changes in technique or style of ornamentation. The first period covers pottery production of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; the second period extends from the end of the fifteenth century to the eighteenth, and the last phase is the industrial era, which will not be covered in this paper.

The first period¹¹ is characterized by the use, in both Anatolia and Italy, of similar motifs on glazed red-paste pottery. The thickly potted, coarse, red-bodied ceramics, called Miletus wares in the case of the Ottoman production,¹² used a white slip to coat the body, which was freely painted with brushstrokes and splashes and then covered with a transparent lead glaze. The red body of the proto-majolica production in Italy, however, was covered with a thin layer of opaque tin glaze and painted over. Such ceramics were considered by Waagé to be early examples of the majolica wares for which Italian ceramic production is famous.¹³

Even though the technique of glazing and painting is different, both Miletus and proto-majolica wares have similar decorative motifs in their ornamentation that in certain cases have prototypes in Chinese porcelains that were on the market in the Middle East.¹⁴ Oak leaves, zigzags, and spirals in free strokes, as well as series of downward strokes between the bands dividing zones, reminiscent of silverwork, are among these motifs. In neither case were stencils or cartoons used for the compositions.¹⁵ Although the ornaments chosen to decorate the ceramics are similar, the overall conception of the composition is different, relating each one respectively to its own creative tradition and milieu. Proto-majolica wares, according to their pattern of dis-

tribution, were made in Sicily, Apulia, and Naples.¹⁶ Miletus wares, even though found in large quantities in Iznik,¹⁷ also appear in archeological sites in western Anatolia,¹⁸ suggesting a geographical closeness to proto-majolica production. In fact, both wares have been found in excavations in Anatolia and Italy.¹⁹

What can be concluded from this first phase of interchange? Is it possible that in a given historical period and geographical region two different groups of craftsmen would choose for their repertory the same type of motifs? Or is one the reinterpretation or translation of the other? In fact, archeological evidence and similarities between Miletus ware and proto-majolica in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries show that each ware could be found in the other country, thus encouraging its reception by the other country's potters. The techniques of production are different, yet each production uses similar quotations, in the form of motifs or colors from another culture, but reintroduces them in a different context, the overall concept of the composition. This feature is characteristic of shards found only in Anatolia and Italy;²⁰ it cannot be found in other Mediterranean-region productions of the same period, e.g., those of Tunisia or Syria.²¹ Therefore, even though one cannot assess specific points of patronage, it can be suggested that the free choice of similar motifs and compositions, which were not controlled by stencils or pre-designed cartoons imposed on the potter by a patron or a centralized institution such as the palace artistic studio, contributed to the private competitiveness of craftsmen in search of a more lucrative market.

But which market? Ottoman historians have not yet been interested in combining archival material with that of archeological finds or architecture: thus the study of the everyday life of Ottoman towns is nonexistent or very limited. In the case of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, written documents are very scarce. Therefore, one could perhaps suggest by analogy. Venetian coins being the money used internationally around the Mediterranean and Aegean Seas in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries,²² they were also minted at sites outside Italy, including western Anatolia near Miletus. Pottery was probably the medium in which these coins could be transferred from one place to another, carrying with it the decorative quotations under discussion. This could explain why such distinctive similarities could be observed in pottery produced in separate geographical areas at a certain period and could also illustrate a concept of interchangeable production networks.

The second period of European encounters with Ana-

tolian ceramics corresponds to the classical period of Ottoman art and to the Italian Renaissance, with its luxurious way of living. At this stage Chinese porcelains were the mediator. The Ottoman ceramicist wanted to achieve a technical standard by which his motifs and designs would be reflected in lively polychrome colors that did not overflow their contours, fixed over a white ground and under a colorless, vitreous, brilliant glaze that would show by its translucence what was underneath. But before he could technically achieve this polychrome phase, the potter first tried to imitate Chinese blue-and-white porcelain objects.²³ As documented by excavated shards, there are in fact exact copies of Chinese porcelain plates from the end of the fifteenth century in the blue-and-white period of Iznik production (fig. 2). In this case the Iznik examples have a hard, white body because of an increase in the use of kaolin, the clay necessary for white wares, and the decoration was painted on the surface underneath the glaze. The paste had a certain percent of glaze in it that made it harder and brought it closer to porcelain.²⁴ This phase of Iznik production covered the years from the mid-fifteenth to the mid-seventeenth century.

The Medici family in Italy, great patrons of art, wanted to introduce porcelain production in Italy in response to Chinese porcelains. The first successful attempt occurred between 1575 and 1587, much later than in Iznik.²⁵ Medici “soft-paste porcelain” was not true or hard-paste porcelain as had been perfected in China, but was near to it. The forms and decoration were varied and showed the influence of Chinese and Middle Eastern wares. Most pieces have imperfections brought about during firing. There were no further attempts to make true porcelain in Europe until the end of the seventeenth century. The production of Medici porcelain was not successful; a few pieces are conserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum (fig. 1) and the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

Blue-and-white production in Iznik included another group of ceramics called “Golden Horn,” a name coined at the beginning of the twentieth century for wares characterized by spirals and scrolls with no large-scale flowers attached (fig. 5).²⁶ Quite common in book illumination and miniatures, this style was used to ornament ceramics and, rarely, tiles. This type of decoration seems also to have been popular in Italy (fig. 6), decorating mainly albarelli produced in majolica technique. Albarelli were the receptacles in which spices were kept for pharmacological use and exported to other European countries by Italian merchants. An example



Fig. 1. Medici porcelain, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Fig. 2. Iznik blue-and-white ceramic plate, Iznik Museum, Iznik.



Fig. 3. Drawing from C. Piccolpasso, *I tre libri dell'arte del vasaio*. (After *The Three Books of the Potter's Art*, a facsimile of the Piccolpasso manuscript in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, translated and compiled by R. Lightbown and A. Caiger-Smith, 2 vols. [London, 1980])

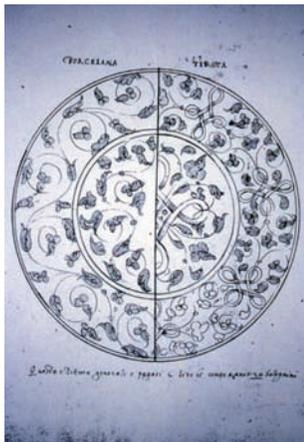


Fig. 4. Drawing from C. Piccolpasso, *I tre libri dell'arte del vasaio*. (After *The Three Books of the Potter's Art*)



Fig. 7. Ottoman ceramic plate, Museum of Islamic Art, Berlin.



Fig. 5. Blue-and-white Ottoman bottle ("Golden Horn" type), British Museum, London.



Fig. 8. Delft majolica plate with Iznik decoration, Leeuwarden Ceramic Museum.



Fig. 6. Italian majolicas decorated in "Golden Horn" style.



Fig. 9. Ottoman ceramic plate, National Museum of the Bargello, Florence.



Fig. 10. Italian majolica plate, National Museum of the Bargello, Florence.



Fig. 13. Seventeenth-century Ottoman tile, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 91.1.94.



Fig. 11. Italian majolica plate, State Hermitage Museum, Russia.



Fig. 14. Seventeenth-century British earthenware, Victoria and Albert Museum.



Fig. 12. Delft majolica plate, Leeuwarden Ceramic Museum.



Fig. 15. Ottoman ceramic plate with an Italian portrait, Victoria and Albert Museum.



Fig. 16. Ottoman ceramic plate with European heraldry, British Museum.



Fig. 19. Tile detail, Nevers.



Fig. 17. Ottoman ceramic plate with European heraldry, Museum of Islamic Art, Berlin.



Fig. 20. Majolica stove tile, Arianna Museum, Geneva.



Fig. 18. Panel of Italian majolica tiles, Musée municipale Frédéric Blandin, Nevers, nf 17.



Fig. 21. Detail of tile panel, Nevers.

of such an Italian alberello with “Golden Horn” decoration has been found on a shipwreck in Southampton and is conserved in the city museum.²⁷

The peak of the Ottoman potter’s technical achievement occurred during the sixteenth century and the first quarter of the seventeenth—that is, during the classical period of Ottoman art. Ceramic production during this period is of the best quality not only in its technical standards but also in its intrinsic plastic values. The sources of the designs and drawings for ceramics of this period can be traced to the artists of the Ottoman court working in the *nakkashane* (palace workshop).²⁸ Ottoman ceramics of the sixteenth century flourished under court patronage and developed according to a court style. Ceramic workshops in Iznik and Kutahya were obliged to produce primarily commissions of the palace, where the court artists, on their part, were encouraged to innovate new styles.

Thus, sixteenth-century Ottoman ceramic art is not just a common craft but a highly developed form defined and nourished by courtly taste, and as such it becomes a mediator to convey the sumptuous majesty of the Ottoman sultan²⁹ and his court, which was arousing considerable curiosity in sixteenth-century Europe.

At the same time, the conspicuous consumption that was part of the Renaissance lifestyle³⁰ encouraged the production of majolica ceramics in Italy.³¹ The new merchant class was happy to acquire unusual objects and innovate similar ones for their use; such luxurious possessions conferred social prestige on their owners. In England, where it was rare to find Ottoman ceramics in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the few examples of ewers that found their way to aristocratic circles were given luxurious mounts for their use as tableware.³²

In Italy, centers like Derruta, Faenza, Florence, Doccia, and Naples either imitated or made exact copies of Ottoman plates; sixteenth-century Ottoman ceramic plates in Italian collections (fig. 9) constituted the genuine exemplars from which reproduction could be made. The composition of flowers placed on both sides of a central leaf seems to have been a popular decorative scheme imitated on many majolica plates (figs. 8, 10, 11, and 12) Focusing on a specific type of floral decoration reminiscent of the *saz* style initiated by Nakkaş Şahkulu,³³ this composition seems to illustrate what was distinctively intended for the Italian market, since compositions with human and animal figures, geometric patterns, or stylized palmette or half-palmette ornamentation were not reproduced. Such a specific choice



Fig. 22. Detail of tile panel, Nevers.



Fig. 23. Two illustrations from Nicolas de Nicolay, *Les navigations, pègrinations et voyages, faits en la Turquie* (1567–68).

was influential in European perception of the “pure” Ottoman style as the floral style of the classical period. The “Baba Nakkaş style,” for example, although very common in the same period on Christian metalwork from the Balkans,³⁴ is completely absent from these ceramic reproductions. It is interesting to note how the understanding of what constitutes “Ottoman style” could so differ from one society to another, or from a dominant culture to its subgroups.

The Italian reproductions are later in date than the Ottoman originals, which date from the second half of the sixteenth century. In Italy, the compilation of

design books and of crafts from the East encouraged the introduction and continuity of designs in Italian production. Piccolpasso's study of ceramic designs is such an example;³⁵ it introduces ornamental styles including the arabesque and the porcelain style (figs. 3, 4), but one does not encounter in it the Ottoman flowers of the second half of the sixteenth century, thus suggesting that this style was introduced in Italy at a time after the Piccolpasso manuscript was compiled.

Similar variations of the *saz*-leaf and flower composition mentioned above were reproduced by Italian potters as they moved to other countries and promoted its distribution in Europe. In the early 1500s, Italian potters started to emigrate and set up workshops in Spain, France, Belgium, and, eventually, in Switzerland. From Belgium, the technique traveled to Holland, Germany, and England. From Switzerland, it moved eastwards to Austria, Bohemia, Moravia, Slovakia, and Hungary. Thus from different versions in majolica of the same Ottoman plate (fig. 7), one can follow the route of these Italian potters or the taste for Ottoman ceramic reproductions initiated by them (fig. 8). Another variant of the design can be traced from an Ottoman example in the Bargello Museum in Florence (fig. 9) to Delft productions in the Leeuwarden Museum in Holland (fig. 10) and a similar, probably European, example in the Hermitage Museum (fig. 11).

Flowers bunched in a vase was another Ottoman motif popular in Europe. Used by the Ottomans mainly on tiles made after 1575 (fig. 13), this composition was later taken up and reinterpreted, with tulips, by Delft ceramists and became popular on Dutch tiles.³⁶ From Holland it moved to England in the seventeenth century and was reinterpreted on tin-glazed earthenware (fig. 14).³⁷

On their majolica, Italian ceramists not only reproduced exact copies of Ottoman plates but, following the tradition of Italian Renaissance painting, also included figural compositions as a decorative theme in itself—mainly portraits of turbaned men or equestrian figures in Ottoman costume. These were popular subjects on albarellos produced in Sicily.³⁸ Such new interpretations were of course compatible with Italian painting of the period as well as with Italian majolica production nourished by the drawings of Italian painters; Ottoman or oriental figures were a part of both of these.

A tile panel conserved in Musée de Nevers, France, is unique (fig. 18); in both museum and private collections, representations of Ottoman figures are more

commonly found on Italian majolica plates and albarellos than on tiles. On the Nevers panel, the figures are not imaginary but have been taken from the illustrations of a printed book and thus can be authenticated as Ottoman or Middle Eastern (figs. 19, 21, 22). They are, in fact, copied from the engravings of Nicolas de Nicolay (1517–83), whose illustrations are among the earliest European representations of Ottoman subjects (fig. 23). Nicolas de Nicolay, sovereign of Auvergne and count of Artefeuille, was the geographer of the French kings Henry II, Charles IX, and Henry III. His book *Les navigations, pérégrinations et voyages, faits en la Turquie* was first published in 1567–68 in Lyons under the title *Les quatre premiers livres des navigations et pérégrinations orientales ... avec les figures au naturel, tant d'hommes que de femmes...* and further editions were made in Anvers in 1576 and in Venice in 1580. Nicolay was in Istanbul in 1551.³⁹

According to the information given by Françoise Reginster, curator of the Musée Municipale Frédéric Blandin in Nevers:

The engravings of the book were made after Titian's drawings representing figures with different Turkish or Middle Eastern costumes and certain professions. The tile panel was part of the collection of Jacques Gallois, one of the first donors of the Museum in Nevers in 1847. The panel was given to him in 1845 by a certain Bonnot, who had a bookshop in Nevers; it was then mounted as it is today, but contemporary research showed that the mounting is completely artificial and needs a more coherent compiling. The figures are framed by a border illustrating *putti* with classical divinities like Bacchus and nymphs painted in between. The composition is inspired by an engraving of Louis Elle, known as Ferdinand (1612–89), after a drawing by Tetelin (1615–55). For a very long time the tile panel was considered to have come from "La Gloriette," the second Palace of the Duc de Nevers, Louis de Gonzague. This hypothesis, which is challenged in our days by archeological excavations on the site, was due to the writings of G. F. L. du Broc de Segange in 1863 giving the biography of ceramic production in Nevers. Louis de Gonzague was brought up in the court of King Henry II and could have met Nicolas de Nicolay. However, nothing seems to prove that these tiles decorated the castle he built between 1601 and 1637. Recent archeological excavations have not revealed anything even similar to these tiles. Nevers during the time of Gonzague had illustrious houses and monuments. The tiles date from the first half of the seventeenth century.⁴⁰

Italian potters had emigrated after 1500 to various

parts of Europe and set up ceramic workshops introducing majolica production locally. These emigrations continued in the following centuries as well, and it is generally accepted that glazed pottery production in Nevers had been introduced by such a group from Italy.⁴¹ On the tile panel, which dates from the first half of the seventeenth century, the quality of the drawing is reminiscent of the Italian tradition with some local interpretation. Four of the figures have written explanations as in the book of Nicolas de Nicolay. Among the seven figures represented, six are women; a man in the top left corner sports a turban and a moustache. A figure very similar to this one is painted on a majolica stove tile preserved in the Ariana Museum in Geneva (fig. 20), although in the latter the turban is much more spectacular and its wearer carries in his hand a European-style scepter as a sign of sovereignty. He is in fact identified in writing as Sultan Mehmet II, the conqueror of Istanbul, and is represented as an old man with a beard and moustache. His costume is not Ottoman, and his turban is folded in an imaginative fashion. What influenced the choice of this fifteenth-century sultan on a stove tile would of course be an interesting iconographic issue to study further—not forgetting, however, that image and inscription may not necessarily be mutually explanatory.⁴²

Unlike Portugal and Spain, France had no tradition of using tiles as part of the decorative programme of buildings. Therefore it is no surprise that further tiles were not found during the excavation of the duke's palace in Nevers. Yet Ottoman tiles were ordered for eastern European palaces in Jassy (Iași), Romania,⁴³ and Sárospatak, Hungary,⁴⁴ in these cases for limited use in decorating only specific parts of the buildings—at least one or two rooms. Similarly in Nevers, the tiles could have been made as a special order, since their subject is so specific, and used in only one part of the palace.

One might add further examples of European productions imitating or reinterpreting Ottoman ceramics or introducing Ottoman themes. Archeological research in Iznik may in time reveal further examples of Italian influence on Ottoman ceramics. More exhaustive study could be made of the routes of iconographic exchange between Europe and the Ottoman Empire before the nineteenth century—that is, before the industrial era, when technology changed the means of ceramic production. This paper has attempted to summarize the main lines by which one can trace European encounters with Ottoman ceramics and demonstrate how such

a relationship can be observed when specific written sources are not available.

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NOTES

Author's note: This article is based on my research for the Europa-Exhibition, which was to take place in Lille, France, in 1996 but which, with other exhibitions on Turkish culture in Belgium and Holland, was canceled. Since then this research has been presented in papers given at various academic occasions. The large number of illustrations from many museums in Europe and the time needed to coordinate the project has precluded its publication until now. I took the majority of the photographs during my visits to these museums since 1987, and I would like to thank all that have allowed me to publish this material. I hope that this article will in the future form the core of the exhibition for which the research was initially undertaken.

1. "Phénomène d'imitation dans la production de vaisselle de table aux époques médiévales et modernes" was the theme explored by scholars in February 2004 during an international doctoral seminar organized by Véronique François in Damascus at the Institut Français du Proche-Orient.
2. See Nurhan Atasoy and Julian Raby, *Iznik: The Pottery of Ottoman Turkey* (London, 1989), figs. 326–29.
3. In the Victoria and Albert Museum: see Atasoy and Raby, *Iznik*, p. 119, fig. 179.
4. Small plates of this kind are in a number of museums in Europe: see Atasoy and Raby, *Iznik*, p. 263, figs. 575–86. Fig. 577 on p. 263 depicts a broken piece of the same type found during excavations in Iznik. See F. Kırmlı, "Iznik çinileri ve Cenovalı çini tüccarları," *Antika* 27 (1983): 50–51.
5. T. Öz, *Türk kumaş ve kadifeleri*, vol. 1, 14–16. yüzyıl (Istanbul, 1946); N. Atasoy et al., *İpek: Imperial Ottoman Silks and Velvets* (Istanbul, 2001).
6. Ö. Bakırcı, "Tekfur Sarayı cam buluntuları," *V. Ortaçağ ve Türk Dönemi Kazı ve Araştırmaları Sempozyumu*, Hacettepe Üniversitesi (Ankara, 2001), pp. 41–56.
7. J. Hayes, *Excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul*, 2 vols. (Princeton and Washington, DC, 1992), vol. 2.
8. The shard was found in 1999 outside the excavation site in a nearby street during the installation of natural gas pipes by the Istanbul Municipality.
9. Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu, "Eser-i İstanbul," in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 1993–), vol. 3., p. 2000.
10. *Yıldız Çini ve Porselen* (Ankara: Sümerbank, 1981); Sadi Bayram, "Yıldız Çini Fabrikasına ait birkaç vesika," *Suut Kemal Yetkin armağanı* (Ankara: Hacettepe Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1984), pp. 101–5.
11. This period has been discussed in greater detail in Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu, "Ceramics: Intercourse between Italy and the Ottoman Empire," in *Memory, History and Critique: European Identity at the Millennium*, proceedings of the fifth conference of the International Society for the Study of European Ideas, Aug. 19–24, 1996, Utrecht (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1998, on CD-ROM).

12. F. Sarre, "The Seljuk and Early Ottoman Pottery of Miletus," *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society* (1931): 27–30; F. Sarre, K. Wulzinger, and P. Wittek, *Das islamische Milet* (Berlin, 1935).
13. F. O. Waagé, "Preliminary Report on the Medieval Pottery from Corinth: I. The Prototype of the Archaic Italian Majolica," *Hesperia* 3 (1934): 129–39; D. Whitehouse, "Medieval Pottery in Italy: The Present State of Research," *La céramique médiévale en Méditerranée occidentale*, Actes du Colloque international no. 584, CNRS (Paris, 1980), pp. 65–83.
14. There is no substantial study on the impact of Chinese porcelain on Miletus ware or on proto-majolica.
15. The use of stencils and cartoons represents a more organized network of production. This issue can be discussed both for majolica production in Italy and for the production of Iznik wares during the classical period in the Ottoman Empire. For the latter, see W. Denny, "Turkish Ceramics and Turkish Painting: The Role of the Paper Cartoon in Turkish Ceramic Production," *Essays in Islamic Art and Architecture in Honor of Katherine Otto-Dorn*, ed. A. Daneshvari (Malibu, 1981), pp. 29–35.
16. D. Whitehouse, "The Medieval Glazed Pottery of Lazio," *Papers of the British School in Rome* 35 (1967): 40–86.
17. O. Aslanapa, "Kırmızı hamurlu ilk Osmanlı keramikleri," *Türk Kültürü* 3 (1965): 35–43; N. Özkul, "Milet işi seramiklerinden bir grup örnekleme: Iznik Roma tiyatrosu kazı buluntuları" (MPhil diss., Hacettepe University, Ankara, 1991); N. Özkul Fındık, *Iznik Roma Tiyatrosu Kazı Buluntuları: 1980–1995 arasındaki Osmanlı seramikleri* (Ankara: T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı Yayını, 2001): for Miletus ware, see p. 38, figs. 13, 28, 48, 51.
18. M. Paker, "Anadolu Beylikler devri keramik sanatı," *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı* 1 (1964–65): 155–82; F. Şahin, "Kütahya çini ve keramik sanatı ve tarihinin yeni buluntular açısından değerlendirilmesi," *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı* 9–10 (1979–80): 259–73.
19. F. Sarre, "The Connexion Between the Pottery of Miletus and Florentine Majolica of the Fifteenth Century" *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society* (1933): 16–19.
20. Miletus ware in fact had a long period of production in Anatolia—from the fourteenth to the mid-sixteenth century. Now that the number of archaeological excavations has increased and more and more experts study the medieval period of these sites, a study should be taken to differentiate between the phases of production of this ware and determine its local variations.
21. D. Pringle, "Some More Proto-Majolica from Athlit (Pilgrim's Castle) and a Discussion of Its Distribution in the Levant," *Levant* 14 (1982): 104–17.
22. Robert-Henri Bautier, "Les grands problèmes politiques et économiques de la Méditerranée médiévale," *Commerce méditerranéen et banquiers italiens au Moyen Âge* (Hampshire, UK, and Brookfield, VT: Variorum, 1992), pp. 1–28.
23. J. Carswell, *Blue and White: Chinese Porcelain and Its Impact on the Western World* (Chicago, 1985); Y. Crowe, "The Islamic Potter and China," *Apollo* 103, 170 (1976): 296–301; Y. Crowe, "Iznik and the Chinese Manner: Waves and Vines," *Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art* (Budapest, 1978), pp. 207–14; J. Pope, "Chinese Influences on Iznik Pottery: A Reexamination of an Old Problem," *Islamic Art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, ed. R. Ettinghausen (New York, 1972), pp. 125–39; J. Raby and Ü. Yücel, "Blue and White Celadon and White Wares: Iznik's Debt to China," *Oriental Art* 29, 1 (1983): 38–48; N. Özkul Fındık, *Iznik Roma tiyatrosu kazı buluntuları*: for shards similar to Chinese porcelain, see figs. 173–76, 186, 200, 201.
24. J. Raby and J. Henderson, "The Technology of Fifteenth-Century Turkish Tiles: An Interim Statement on the Origins of the Iznik Industry," *World Archeology* 21 (1989): 115–32.
25. T. Wilson, *Ceramic Art of the Italian Renaissance* (London, 1989).
26. "Tuğrakeş style" was later proposed by Atasoy and Raby, *Iznik*, due to the resemblance of the motifs to the ornamentation of tughras of the same period.
27. See also Atasoy and Raby, *Iznik*, p. 267, fig. 589.
28. F. Çağman, "Mimar Sinan döneminde Saray'ın ehli-hiref teşkilatı, in *Mimar Sinan dönemi Türk mimarlığı* (Istanbul, 1988), pp. 73–77.
29. Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu, "Imperial Ideology and Ottoman Art," in *The Great Ottoman-Turkish Civilisation*, 4 vols. (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Dergisi, 2000), vol. 4.
30. Lisa Jardine, *Wordly Goods* (London, 1996).
31. G. Ballardini, *La maiolica italiana dalle origini alla fine del Cinquecento* (Florence, 1938); G. Ballardini, *Corpus della maiolica italiana*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1933), vol. 1: *Le maioliche datate fino al 1530*; Alan Caiger-Smith, *Tin-Glazed Pottery* (London: Faber and Faber, 1973).
32. See Atasoy and Raby, *Iznik*, p. 271, figs. 594, 597, 599, 600, 601, 605.
33. B. Mahir, "Osmanlı sanatında saz uslubundan anlaşılan," *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Yıllığı* 2 (1986): 123–40.
34. S. Alp, "Balkan'larda Osmanlı dönemi maden sanatı" (PhD diss., Hacettepe University, Ankara, n.d.).
35. C. Piccolpasso, *I tre libri dell'arte del vasaio = The Three Books of the Potter's Art*, facsimile of the manuscript in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, trans. and compiled by R. Lightbown and A. Caiger-Smith, 2 vols. (London, 1980).
36. Jan Daniël van Dam et al., *Dutch Tiles in the Philadelphia Museum of Art*, exh. cat. (Philadelphia, 1984); Caiger-Smith, *Tin-Glazed Pottery*, pp. 127–41.
37. For English tin-glazed earthenware, see Caiger-Smith, *Tin-Glazed Pottery*, pp. 161–79.
38. Antonello Governale, *La maiolica siciliana, secolo XVI e XVII* (Palermo, 1986).
39. Stephane Yérasimos, *Les voyageurs dans l'empire ottomane (XIVe–XVIIe siècles)* (Ankara, 1991), pp. 224–25.
40. My special thanks goes to Françoise Reginster, curator of the Musée municipale Frédéric Blandin in Nevers, who has shared this information.
41. Caiger-Smith, *Tin-Glazed Pottery*, p. 106.
42. For a comparison of the figures on these tiles, see *Padişahın Portresi: Tesavir-i Âli Osman*, cat. of an exh. at the Topkapı Sarayı Museum, Istanbul, June 6–Sept. 6, 2000 (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayını, 2000).
43. V. Gervers-Molnár, "Turkish Tiles of the 17th Century and Their Export," *Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art*, ed. G. Fehér (Budapest, 1978), pp. 363–84.
44. The design and composition of these tiles could have been sent from Hungary, since the pomegranate motif is uncommon on Ottoman ceramics and tiles. Yet this design was reinterpreted by the Ottoman ceramists on a tile now conserved at the Çinili Köşk Museum in Istanbul: see Alpay Pasinli and Saliha Balaman, *Türk çini ve keramikleri, Çinili Köşk* (Istanbul: İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri, 1992), p. 86.