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**The Ceramics of the Mosque
of Rüstem Pasha
and the Environment of Change**

Walter B. Denny

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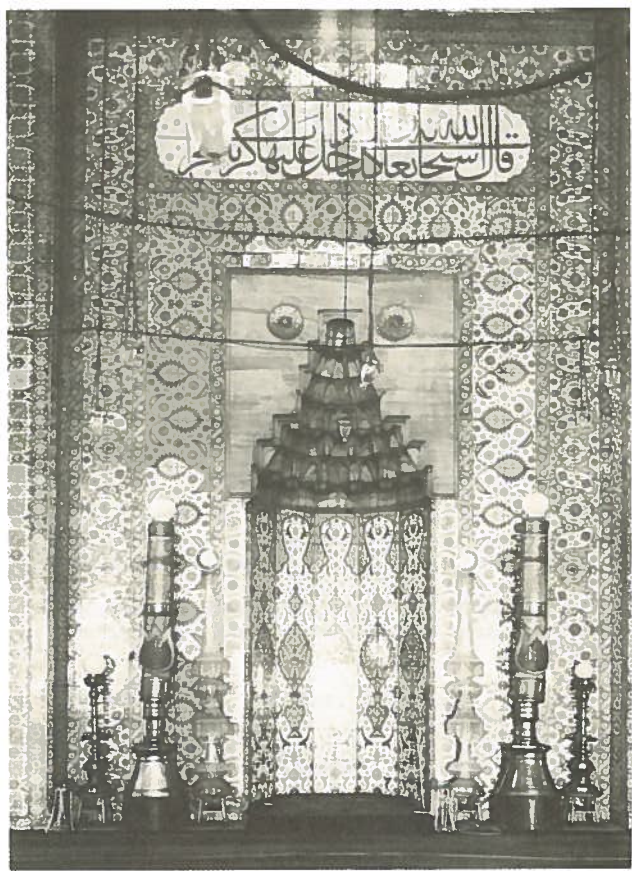
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Mihrap of the Mosque of Rüstem Pasha, İstanbul; ca. 1561.

THE CERAMICS OF THE MOSQUE OF RÜSTEM PASHA
AND THE ENVIRONMENT OF CHANGE

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A NEW STYLE IN OTTOMAN
TURKISH ART IN THE MID-SIXTEENTH CENTURY

A thesis presented

by

WALTER BELL DENNY

to

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in partial fulfillment of the requirements

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PREFACE TO THE GARLAND EDITION

The opportunity to publish one's Ph.D. dissertation after six years must necessarily be viewed with a mixture of positive and negative feelings. On the positive side, publication of the dissertation as a whole obviates the need to convert it chapter by chapter into a series of complicated articles, none of which makes any sense whatsoever by itself. On the negative side, the process involves facing up to the mistakes one made six years ago, accompanied by the haunting worry about what today's work will look like six years hence.

The present volume is generally speaking a summation of the author's ideas on the history of Turkish ceramics as these ideas had evolved over six years and a dozen articles ago. Despite some changes of opinion in the interval, this dissertation has within its own severe limits survived six years of subsequent research relatively unscathed. For this Garland edition, the text of the dissertation has been retyped with only a few editorial changes; on the other hand, the Bibliography has been brought up to date with the addition of over ninety new entries, and the Notes have been expanded to take into account these new publications and the author's recent research. In order to make the Bibliography as useful as possible, a number of works still awaiting publication at the time of this writing have been included. Most of the photographs accompanying the text are newer, better versions of the original illustrations, many taken within the last few years. For this edition all of the line figures in the original dissertation have been redrawn, two line figures have been added, and certain technical data not included in the original dissertation have been added in new Appendices to the

text; to ensure a complete photographic record, illustrations 234-252 have been added, keyed to Appendix A.

Transliteration, always a problem in works dealing with Islamic art, has been kept as uncomplicated as possible. Wherever possible, Modern Turkish versions of words have been used, and in the case of the most commonly-used architectural terms, they have been typed without underlining. For the non-initiate into Islamic linguistic mysteries, it is important to recall that Modern Turkish is a completely phonetic language, and one must pronounce every vowel, resisting the temptation to rhyme "kible" with "bible." A Note on transliteration and pronunciation of the Modern Turkish alphabet has been added. The "points" on the Modern Turkish alphabet have been added by hand by the author. Underlining has been on the whole restricted to the more esoteric terminology in Turkish and in other languages. For all of the peculiarities of style which will be apparent in this manuscript, the author takes full responsibility, noting that in most cases there is some sort of common-sense explanation for what may appear to be eccentric quirks in style.

This dissertation, like many dissertations, is particularly distinguished by what was left out. What were the techniques which produced these marvelous ceramics? Who were the artists, and what were the economic circumstances surrounding production? How were these ceramics marketed, and whose taste did they reflect? What are the relationships between Turkish ceramics and those of China? What is the meaning and the symbolism of decorative forms? Who were the artists who created the album paintings so frequently mentioned in the text? What were the social and economic conditions bearing on the profession of artist and artisan in these times? What is the "iconographical" disposition of inscriptions and styles of decoration in revetment programs? What, in detail, was the impact of

the Rüstem Pasha mosque experience on later Turkish architectural decoration? What is the course of pottery ware production after 1560? All of these questions have occupied the attention of the author for six years, and as the Bibliography indicates, these efforts have begun in a modest way to bear fruit. It is hoped that these questions, and many more, will be encompassed in a large overview of this subject in a book currently being completed, to be entitled The Turkish Ceramic Tradition. For the present, however, they remain provocative, and in the broadest sense unanswered.

A full set of acknowledgments to all of those who helped in the completion of this work would undoubtedly double the length of the book. Ralph Carlson, Senior Editor at Garland Publishing, has suffered through barrages of questions involved in the resurrection of this dissertation. David Stansbury of Amherst, Massachusetts, has labored long with sometimes less-than-perfect negatives to print most of the photographs which illustrate the text. To Oleg Grabar, John Rosenfield, and Cary Welch, of Harvard University and the Fogg Museum, go my grateful thanks for moral and intellectual support during the original writing of the dissertation. In İstanbul, the Directorate of Pious Foundations and its former Director İhsan Erzi have generously granted permission for the author's research over the past decade. At the Topkapı Saray Museum, this work has been aided by Kemal Çıgı, Filiz Çağman, and Zeren Akalay. To Marie L. Swietochowski of the Metropolitan Museum, R.J. Charleston of the Victoria and Albert Museum, Ralph Pinder-Wilson of the British Museum, Miss Edith Godman of Horsham, Jan Fontein of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Sheila Canby of the Fogg Museum, and Marthe Bernus-Taylor of the Louvre I wish to express my thanks for help in past research and in obtaining illustrations for the present edition. I would also like to acknowledge an enormous debt to Mrs. Nerime Gürdoğan, who suggested to

a fifteen-year-old American in the fall of 1958 that he might find a visit to the Rüstem Pasha mosque to be quite interesting.

Finally, a brief, informal, and heart-felt dedication, to two scholars whom the author has never met, whose tragically early deaths ended careers of great discoveries in this field: Kurt Erdmann and Arthur Lane.

July, 1976
Amherst, Massachusetts

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A NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION AND PRONUNCIATION

In general, where a common equivalent for a Turkish, Persian, or Arabic word exists in the English language (such as "Pasha"), the English spelling is used.

Otherwise, the standard practice has been to use the modern Turkish version of terms, whether the words themselves are Turkish (güze), Arabic (mihrap), or Persian (hatayî) in origin. The one exception has been the substitution of the transliteration "GH" for the soft Turkish Ğ (ğ) in the word tughra.

The following table of equivalents will help in the pronunciation of the Modern Turkish words included in this work. Modern Turkish, it must be remembered, is a strictly phonetic language with one symbol for every sound and one sound for every symbol.

A. VOWELS (a circumflex lengthens the vowel it accompanies)

- a as in father
- e as in educate
- ı roughly as the double-o in good
- i as in fit
- o as in lotus
- ö as in German (k**ö**nig)
- u roughly as the double-o in loom
- ü as in German (f**ü**hrer)

B. CONSONANTS

Most Modern Turkish consonants are pronounced as in English, with the following exceptions and clarifications:

- ş as the sh in shall
- ç as the ch in church
- c as the j in jam
- ğ lengthens a preceding vowel
- j as in French journal
- g as in get

INTRODUCTION

Turkish ceramics, the famous İznik wares and tiles, have occupied the attention of a number of leading Islamic scholars and art historians in this century. The publications resulting from the study of Turkish ceramics are many, and varied hypotheses have been proposed concerning their provenance, their dating, and their relationship to the other arts of the Ottoman Turks.

The present study deals with the same basic problems on three different levels of analysis. The first level is that of some of the monuments and art works themselves, and involves the careful and orderly description of objects. The second deals with the conceptual schemae proposed in the scholarly literature, and consequently involves the critical evaluation of scholarly research. The third level of enquiry involves more broadly-defined categories and concepts, such as a "classical" Ottoman style, and the relationship of the first two levels to such a style.

It has long been observed that a very important change in the stylistic and technical basis of Turkish ceramic art took place some time in the middle of the sixteenth century. Because the dating of certain key monuments in this change has been the subject of some controversy, and because the vital data, in the form of ceramic wares and building revetments, is spread over a vast geographical area, the exact nature of this change in ceramic art has not been completely defined in the scholarly literature.

It is the argument of the present study that the mosque of Rûstem Pasha, built by the Grand Vezir of Süleyman I around the year 1561 at Tahtakale in İstanbul, is the one monument which, because it was completed with lavish ceramic revetments at a vital moment in the mid-sixteenth century, provides

us not only with the key to the problem of a far-reaching change in Turkish ceramic art, but also with a new understanding of that synthesis in Ottoman art which led to the "classical" Ottoman Turkish style of the later sixteenth century.

Moreover, the study of ceramic revetments, which in many cases can be accurately dated, and about which there exist important documentary source materials, provides the basis for a broader study of Ottoman Turkish court art, the art of the draughtsmen and designers working in İstanbul, who set the styles and made the designs which were translated by artisans into the diverse media of Islamic decorative arts, from stone-carving to textiles, and from miniature paintings to paintings on ceramic.

We propose to approach the basic problem not only from the point of view of the three levels mentioned, but also in the context of a cultural development, exploring, as fully as the available data allow, the various analytical and structural variables acting upon the formation of a new style, and bringing about a period of change and innovation. We feel that a definable methodology and a careful chronological survey of historical development must logically precede the close examination of the central monument itself. Following such an examination, the analysis will deal with the undated and problematical objects surrounding the key monument, in order more clearly to perceive the dynamics of the long-term change under scrutiny. We then propose to show some of the short-term and long-term effects of the moment of change in a wide and inclusive context.

Our critical survey of the literature will emphasize the necessity of taking as little as possible for granted; for this reason, even the basic terminology of the literature, including the nomenclature "İznik Ceramics," will be used only where some direct proof of its accuracy can be offered for

the particular object under scrutiny, unless directly paraphrasing the published literature. By making the fewest possible assumptions, and by proceeding in turn deductively and inductively from a fresh appraisal of both art works and art-historical studies, we hope to offer both substantive and methodological insights into the study of a series of beautiful objects which have been long appreciated, but only rarely understood.

CHAPTER ONE THE PROBLEM IN A METHODOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The study of pottery, a category of objects usually grouped among the "minor arts" in western Europe, is of major importance in dealing with the arts of Islamic civilizations. Because of their resistance to fire, corrosion, and decay, fragments of pottery are of vital importance in archaeological enquiry, and frequently pottery constitutes virtually the only surviving art of a given period or culture. It is from fragments of pottery that we see the first impact of the art of China on the Islamic world, while pottery and occasionally glass remain our primary indications of the art of many a city or culture long since burned, sacked, or otherwise obliterated by the passage of time.

However, the question of pottery being a "minor art" remains; the mere survival of an object is no indication of its importance at the time of its making, nor do our contemporary artistic judgments necessarily reflect the opinions of those for whom pottery objects were originally made. The rather commonplace and utilitarian function of pottery wares, as vessels for food, drink, and storage, is however frequently contradicted by the evidence of the time, effort, and expense which went into their decoration; we make the distinction between "fine art" and "folk art" in attempting to differentiate between a product in which the major importance was its appearance, and whose designs reflect other arts in the upper social classes of a society, and a product or object whose decoration was merely incidental to its function as a container for food, drink, or various provisions.

Tiles made of pottery were also used for building revetments, and here the visual function was obviously paramount. Only infrequently in the arts of

Islam, however, do we find a close correspondence in a given period between pottery tile revetments on the one hand, and pottery wares on the other. Where parallels in style of decoration do exist, there is frequently great disparity in the types of techniques employed. It is for this reason, among others, that the ceramics produced during the sixteenth century within the Ottoman Turkish Empire, with their close correspondence between revetments and wares, have been dealt with so frequently in the scholarly literature. A further factor affecting the great interest of scholars in Ottoman pottery and revetments has been the availability of such wares and tiles to European collectors over a long period, independent of any excavations, or unhampered by governmental policies on export of art objects. Such pottery was exported to Europe during the times in which it was made, and along with other luxury items from the East, such as carpets and spices, may have been valued more highly in the West than in the land of its origins.

The Ottoman Turkish ceramics would also appear to bear a close relationship to the other "fine arts" of their civilization. Ottoman wares and revetments frequently reflect the types of designs used in painting on paper, in weaving, and in all of the other court arts of the time. Because of the well-documented patronage of pottery manufacture by the ruling Sultan and high court officials, the creative influence from a court art establishment upon the design and manufacture of ceramic wares and tiles was unusually high; due to the relationships between tiles, frequently dateable and found in dateable buildings, and the pottery wares, which are only rarely inscribed with dates, it has become possible to deduce not only a fairly detailed chronology, but a definite provenance, for many if not all of the ceramic objects produced under the Ottomans. The availability of documents relating to wall revetments, the existence of a partially-documented export trade to western Europe, and a volume of production

of vast proportions, have naturally excited the interest of historians of art; the result has been an amount of publication probably unparalleled in any other comparable area of study in Islamic art.¹

This great mass of published material would tend to create the impression that such ceramics have been carefully studied in nearly all of their aspects, whether historical, stylistic, technical, or epigraphical. The recent publication of three major studies on the subject by Arthur Lane, Katharina Otto-Dorn, and Oktay Aslanapa² has given us an established periodization, an apparently coherent grouping of objects, archaeological evidence for the origins of at least some of the objects, and descriptions of the major tile revetments; the work of Charles Kiefer dealing with technique, Robert Anhegger and Tahsin Öz dealing with archival documentation, and Kurt Erdmann dealing with criticism of the literature,³ has provided both the groundwork for a synthesis, and the important qualifications of that synthesis.

However, the late Kurt Erdmann, in what is perhaps the most incisive and important article written in recent years on the problem of Turkish ceramics, called attention to many of the problems remaining unsolved by published research, and pointed out the methodological deficiencies of two of the most recent monographs on the subject.⁴ Erdmann's criticisms, among which the lack of a survey uniting close research with both tiles and wares was among the most important, provide important grounds for further enquiry into a field where the most complete bibliography to date lists well over a hundred published titles. The present enquiry seeks to provide, within certain chronological limits, a critical analysis of both major categories of ceramics at a time of the emergence of a major new stylistic direction in Ottoman art; in order to focus on this moment of change, one series of building revetments, created under unusual circumstances at the very center of this major change, will be subjected to a

detailed description and analysis.

As we have indicated, there is at present what we choose to term an Established Periodization which governs many of our basic judgments on Ottoman ceramics; this is the result of a long chain of scholarly discoveries and rectifications of past mistakes which is fully discussed by Arthur Lane in his important article on the subject,⁵ an article which has provided us with both the terminology and the periodization most fully accepted today. This synthesis will be outlined shortly; it is important at this point to state that we accept a priori its basic assumption of the existence of Ottoman Turkish ceramics, that is, ceramics produced in the lands ruled by the Ottoman Turkish Sultans, irrespective of the origins, race, or religion of those individuals who actually made, designed, or bought them. Despite the arbitrary use of terms such as "Damascus" and "Golden Horn," or "Kütahya" and "Rhodian" to denote major groupings of these ceramics, the provincial Bithynian town of İznik, old Nicaea, has been generally accepted in the literature as their place of manufacture. For the vast majority of objects termed "İznik Ceramics" or "Ottoman Turkish Ceramics" by museums and by scholars, there is universal agreement on this basic postulate of their place of origin, and on its resultant broad chronological implications.

A. BASIC METHODOLOGY

The approach to the problem to be taken in the present study involves the following methodological steps. First, irrespective of the particular problem of ceramics to be studied, it is important to delineate the specific variables which will form the building-blocks of scholarly analysis, as they might apply to any study of ceramics. Second, it is important to indicate the present level of knowledge of the problem as revealed in published studies, and to determine

its strengths and weaknesses insofar as possible. Third, it will be necessary to determine the relationships between variables in the context of the present level of knowledge, which will involve a detailed study of many of the objects in question themselves. The major pivot around which this study will revolve is the mosque of Rüstem Pasha in İstanbul, whose extensive wall revetments were created in what we believe to be a particularly important moment of change in the evolution of Turkish ceramics, a moment whose importance can be determined both from the consensus of published scholarship, and from the analysis of the "raw" historical evidence of the building's date in relationship to the dates of other buildings. With these revetments as a pivot, other problems of importance will be related to the concepts and data derived from a detailed study of them. The result, it is hoped, will be new light on the basic matters of art-historical importance delineated for our purposes in eight analytical or structural variables.

In somewhat arbitrary order, these eight variables may be defined in the following manner:

1. Technique, involving the physical and chemical analysis of objects, and the methods by which they are formed, is the most basic of the variables, defining as it does the physical medium (siliceous pottery) and the method of decoration (polychrome underglaze painting), together with such factors as the types of colors used, their adaptability to methods of production, and the basic necessities of capital goods and personnel necessary to such production (kilns, fuel, transportation, skilled artisans).

2. Genre, in this case the distinction between wall tiles and pottery vessels, determines the basic form and hence the use of the finished product. The relationship between genres over a chronological span, with reference to such variables as technique, style, and economic value, is of vital importance to our analysis.

3. Shape, size, and scale, the factors constituting together the third basic variable of descriptive analysis, are related to style, technique, and genre; they involve the practical use of an object, and the intended effect on the beholder, frequently with visual implications revealing the origins of a particular form or shape. Thus the forms of some early Ottoman pottery vessels suggest metal-work was used as a model, while the size of an object might reflect certain technical limitations involved in its making or transport. When the scale of an object is inappropriate to its use as revealed by other variables, such disproportion may reveal a symbolic as well as a utilitarian function for the object.

4. Style, and its resultant groupings with their implications for chronological development, is one of the most important tools of the art historian; this variable relates directly to all of the others, and it forms the central focus of the present art-historical enquiry.

5. Location and provenance of an object are frequently of great importance, especially in the case of wall tiles firmly affixed to the walls of dateable buildings. Such information sometimes reveals information not only of the origin of an object, but of its economic value at a given time.

6. Place and mode of production have the utmost importance for our analysis; it can be very important to determine whether a given object was the result of mass-production by a ceramic atelier in a provincial Anatolian town, made along with hundreds of similar objects from a basic design provided by a higher agency; or created singly in the capital city by an artist trained in the arts of book illumination, miniature painting, or calligraphy.

7. The economic or market variable deals with the buying and selling of objects, and the individuals and groups who undertook both tasks. This variable frequently provides a reliable index of the aesthetic as well as the monetary value of an object at a given time; the type of market existing, the price charged, and the relationship of supply and demand are also of obvious importance in the creation of many art works. Also important are the types of individuals whose taste is reflected in the objects, and their influence through the market on various aspects of the creation of an object.

8. The period, time, or chronological context in which an object is created have obvious relationships to all of the other variables. The dynamic interrelation of each variable with other variables over a period of time is of course one of the basic subjects of the art historian's study. However, especially with regard to the time variable, it may be wise to isolate the element of period from that of stylistic or technical group until other links are established. In short, similarities among two groups of objects in technique or style do not necessarily posit that they were made at the same time, nor does difference between groups determined by style, technique, or any other variable, automatically mean that they were made at different times.

B. THE ESTABLISHED PERIODIZATION

The major groupings which, when placed in order, form the basic periods of stylistic and chronological cohesiveness in the development of Turkish ceramics, as outlined in the scholarly literature, have received their most carefully delineated exposition in the work of Arthur Lane, especially in a long article entitled "The Ottoman Pottery of İznik" which appeared in the second volume of Ars Orientalis.⁶ Lane was working mainly with wares in forming the finer distinctions of his analysis, but his work was built upon important earlier publications which dealt in some detail with wall tiles as well.

The basic groups, all of which Lane attributed to İznik, due to their basic technical and stylistic parallels with wall tiles and inscribed wares known to have been made in that city by documentary evidence, are essentially three, with minor subdivisions and small groups of anomalous wares placed in the general chronology also. The first group, which Lane dated between 1490 and 1525, is called the "Abraham of Kütahya" group, after a ewer in the Godman collection inscribed with a dedication in Armenian mentioning that name. The dating of most of the pieces in the group is fairly secure, being based on

several dateable revetments, the above-mentioned Godman ewer dated 1510,⁷ and a number of mosque lamps of known provenance coming from buildings built during the period in question. All of these objects share the technical characteristics of blue decoration in underglaze-painting on a white slip, the body being a fairly hard white siliceous clay. The decoration, in a dark cobalt blue and a lighter value of the same hue, with some touches of turquoise in the later pieces, consists in the main of vegetal arabesques of leaves, palmettes, and vines, occasionally with calligraphic inscriptions, of a scale usually rather small, while at the same time allowing for a fair degree of freedom and variety in the designs. Frequently another form of decorative motif, called rumî in Turkish and consisting of a highly stylized split-leaf and vine motif (figure 1), is introduced into the vegetal designs of leaves and palmettes. The latter are termed hatayî or "Chinese" because of the origins of the lotus-palmette motifs.⁸ Both types of decoration found wide acceptance across the Turanian part of the Islamic world during the fifteenth century, and appear in other arts in Iran and Anatolia before the pottery in question came into being. An important characteristic of the hatayî designs in the early İznik pottery is peculiar curling-in of the ends of leaves and palmettes (figure 2), lending a roundness of silhouette to palmettes and other elements of decoration. Such designs are sometimes termed "Timurid" in the literature--we prefer to use the term "international style" to describe them, since they appear in both the Turkish and Iranian areas of the Islamic world at this time, and indeed since the beginning of the fifteenth century.

There are three subvariants of this type of blue-and-white decoration to be seen; the first is the so-called "Golden Horn" style, consisting of blue-line spiral decorations, once thought to have originated in pottery ateliers on the famous inner harbour of İstanbul; this decoration type again shows a

blue decoration on white, consisting of fine, tight spirals in small whorls across the object (figure 3). The occurrence of this type of decoration side by side with more conventional "Kütahya" designs on the same piece of pottery in certain cases argues against assigning "Golden Horn" objects to a separate chronological niche (figure 4); the weight of the evidence shows such designs overlap in time with those of the "Kütahya" type, although another variant, using black rather than blue line, may be dated later. The lack of evidence of any sort of internal stylistic development within the "Golden Horn" objects further suggests that they may be a variant of the general type of blue-and-white pottery under discussion.

Two other minor categories within the general "Kütahya" grouping as outlined by Lane are both related to Chinese blue-and-white porcelain; the first consists of direct Ottoman paraphrases of blue-and-white Ming wares (figures 5 and 6), while the second consists of a single object, a large dish in the Metropolitan Museum, with hatayî decorations in blue, turquoise, and light blue, which is quite unlike any other Ottoman blue-and-white pottery in the style of its decoration (figure 7). In the case of the latter, there is some doubt as to its belonging to the same period as the others, a doubt we shall examine in a later part of this analysis.

According to Lane's outline, the blue-and-white wares are superseded around 1525 by another group, the so-called "Damascus" group, which exhibits the basic technical characteristics of the blue-and-white wares, but which introduces new colors and a new range of designs into the decoration; originally thought to have been made in Damascus, the group has retained the name in the literature, while generally being ascribed again to İznik. The wares in the group exhibit considerable variety, and are characterized, according to Lane, by "freer, larger, and eventually quite naturalistic designs; while the range of colors

is expanded from blue and turquoise to include purple, gray-green or olive-green, and black (mainly for outlines)."⁹ These wares (figure 8) show a definite influence in many examples of court designers accustomed to working on paper, and even include among their designs the saz leaves, stylized clouds, and occasionally animals, familiar from the so-called "dragon school" black-pen album drawings. Other designs found in the "Damascus" group include stylized floral designs, stylized artichokes, and various experiments with blue-ground compositions. The relatively few tiles, apparently none of which is left in an original location, are restricted in palette to cobalt-blue and turquoise; their affinity with the wares, as well as the homogeneity of the "Damascus" wares as a stylistic category, is open to some question.

The entire group is anchored in the chronology by a single dated object, a mosque lamp dated 1549 and now in the British Museum, which exhibits few of the uniting stylistic characteristics ascribed to the "Damascus" category, a category already seen to be somewhat diverse; the sage-green and purple are not in evidence, nor are the designs either naturalistic or particularly close to any of the major subgroups within the "Damascus ware" purview (figure 9).

The third major group, and by far the largest, is the so-called "Rhodian" group, again named from an early mis-attribution of such wares and tiles. Found in large numbers in museum collections, and still appearing fairly frequently on the market, the "Rhodian" objects can be linked with İznik by numerous building documents and royal commands dealing with building revetments; there are many inscribed wares in Arabic, Turkish, Greek, Armenian, and even Hebrew, which may reflect a multi-national force of artisans or patrons, while giving little information on provenance, and only occasionally giving dates. The group is again defined in the main by the presence of a single color, a red variously compared to sealing-wax, tomatoes, or coral; it appears in the most fully-

developed objects alongside two values of blue, turquoise, and a bright green, with a black line. Lane speculates that the new palette, which he deems more appropriate to wall tile decoration than that of the "Damascus" objects, may have resulted from a resurgence of tile-revetment production at the time of the restoration of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem by Süleyman the Magnificent, beginning the later forties of the sixteenth century; supposedly the new style of tile decoration then affected the production of wares. Since there are many problems remaining unsolved regarding the Dome of the Rock revetments, this entire analysis, forming one of the foundations of the Established Periodization, must be subjected to very close scrutiny.¹⁰

The style of the "Rhodian" objects may be characterized by immense variety in the motifs employed in decoration, a great range in both technical and artistic quality of the products, and what appears as a perceptible decline in both of the latter following the turn of the seventeenth century. Although the motifs employed range over a wide variety of types already seen in earlier groups as defined in the Established Periodization, perhaps the most famous and the most characteristic type of decoration to be found in the "Rhodian" objects involves the use of brightly colored stylized flowers, including tulips, carnations, roses, peonies, and hyacinths. The decline in the originality of these floral designs, which as we have noted parallels a decline in technical quality, apparently accompanied the gradual extinction of the İznik ceramic industry by the last quarter of the seventeenth century.

C. EARLY COLOR-GLAZE BUILDING REVETMENTS

Although we do not propose to offer in this study a detailed critique of the Established Periodization, a task already undertaken in part by the late Kurt Erdmann,¹¹ it is important to establish the main postulates which we can

accept from this very large mass of published studies. In order to establish a basis for our study of mid-sixteenth century objects, it is necessary to re-view the development of ceramic art in the Ottoman Empire both from the point of view of ceramic wares and that of tile building revetments, insofar as we can place each in a clearly reliable historical sequence.

The most important early Ottoman ceramic revetments are those of the mosque and tomb of Mehmet I in Bursa.¹² While there are important Turkish tile revetments in Anatolia from the thirteenth century onward, these two Bursa buildings, completed around 1421, represent the first large-scale use of ceramics in buildings constructed by the Ottomans, and the technique and style of decoration can be shown to relate far more closely to monuments existing in the eastern part of Iran at that time than to monuments in Anatolia. For this reason, we choose to omit any earlier Anatolian ceramic art from our present analysis; the overwhelming weight of the evidence against any clearly definable continuity, on the basis of presently known archaeological and documentary data, between Anatolian ceramics before the year 1400 and those produced afterward, makes the general variable of geographic location and origin of little importance for the present study until the Bursa buildings. The category "Turkish Ceramics" indeed would appear to have little art-historical meaning if applied broadly to both the Seljuks of Anatolia and to the Ottomans.

For the buildings of Mehmet I the main weight of the evidence, as noted in numerous studies, points to sources and inspirations outside of Anatolia; the color-glaze cuerda seca tiles of the mosque and tomb of Mehmet I represent the work of the famous "Masters of Tabriz" who signed their names to the tile revetments in the mosque.¹³

The color-glaze tiles of which we speak are technically speaking a sort

of pre-fabricated tile-mosaic made in standard-sized units. Tiles used for tile-mosaic in Iran and Anatolia were also color-glaze tiles; that is, they were baked clay tiles on which a colored vitreous glaze had been fired. The completed tiles were then laboriously chipped into shapes which were combined on the surface of a wall in order to form the overall design; the technique took a great deal of time, it required a high degree of skill of artisans working out-of-doors on the building site, and the resultant designs were large in scale due both to the physical and to the economic limitations of covering vast areas of wall with a small detailed design, each element of which had been cut from a larger piece of tile. The element of line in such designs was a nul element, formed by the meeting of pieces of tile of different colors.¹⁴

Color-glaze cuerdas seca tiles allowed the use of a modular rectangular or polygonal tile, on which several colors could be applied. The colors were prevented from running into each other by the so-called cuerdas seca or "dry cord," actually a line of greasy black matter which kept the colors from running together in the firing (figure 10). The advantages of this form of tiling for revetments were many--the whole design could be plotted out on the modular tiles at the place of manufacture; the function of creating the designs could be differentiated from that of applying them to the building, or even executing them in ceramic. The specialization also resulted in other economic gains, especially in the weight of material to be transported to the building site. It required, on the other hand, a more highly coordinated organization and more careful methods of measurement and planning. The tiles could be formed in molds and in architectural shapes, and their "fit" to the building became more critical.

The resultant designs could be finer, more meticulous and on a smaller scale; the element of line, however, was essentially a negative one, being the

absence of color between two colored areas. Like the closely allied technique of tile-mosaic, the color glaze polychrome tiles can be termed color-dominated; it is areas of color, rather than lines, which form the independent elements of the design used.

Of the spread of the color-glaze polychrome technique over Iran during the fourteenth century we know relatively little; its climax in west Iran is not reached until 1465 in the revetments of the Blue Mosque of Tabriz. However, it must have been in use in the early fifteenth century when the "Masters of Tabriz" left northwest Iran for Bursa to work on the buildings of Mehmet I.

That Sultan, sometimes called Çelebi--"Gentleman"--was one of the sons of Beyazit I Yıldırım, who was defeated by Timur near Ankara in 1401. Mehmet finally succeeded in reestablishing most of his father's empire following a period of interregnum resolved by the defeat of his brothers. Perhaps as an affirmation of his rule, the decorations in tile of his mosque and tomb in Bursa are among the most spectacular existing anywhere in the Islamic world, not only in the richness of their decoration, but in the extent of their use. The mosque is heavily tiled on the kible (the wall facing Mecca), on the lower parts of the side walls of the mosque chamber itself, and in the two back eyvans or recesses of the lower level of the building. In addition, the Sultan's balcony in the back of the mosque on the second story is completely covered with tiles, including an unusually rich ceiling decoration (figure 11). The tomb is tiled not only with interior revetment-tiles to a height of over two meters, but has a mihrap (prayerniche) and a sandıka (symbolic coffin) completely executed in tiles also (figures 12 and 15), while the exterior of the tomb is covered up to the drum of the dome with turquoise color-glaze tiles, and the windows are surrounded with polychrome borders and surmounted by calligraphic lunettes in tile (figure 13). It is clear from fragments found at the site that

the imaret (alms-kitchen) and the medrese (school) of the mosque, while perhaps not tiled to the same lavish extent, were also decorated on the exterior with similar ceramics.

The colors employed on the tiles of the two buildings consist of white, black, blue, turquoise, and a brilliant yellow, combined in dazzling arabesques and often used in conjunction with tiles moulded in heavy relief (figure 14), imparting an even richer overall effect. The designs all form part of the repertoire of the fifteenth-century "international style" with its rumî arabesques, hatayî herbal and floral designs, and both kufic and naskhî variants of Arabic calligraphy combined in elaborate inscription-friezes and borders. In the niche of the mihrap in the tomb occurs a remarkable unified design across a field of tiles, with a lamp hanging in the center flanked by tapers, and suspended in the middle of a floral composition springing from a vase (figure 16).

The sandîka or symbolic sarcophagus in the tomb (figure 12) is executed in tiles with an expanded color-range, apparently representing a technical advance over the other revetments; the thuluth inscription in high relief is a bright yellow, and a purple-violet is seen in some of the floral designs. The conch over the portal of the tomb is perhaps most reminiscent of the Timurid buildings of Samarkand, with their bulbous ribbed domes. On certain parts of the building appear lacy moulded ceramic borders with only the raised parts glazed, and in other borders the use of a black glaze is occasionally seen. On the doorway occurs a single border executed in a charming arabesque in tile-mosaic technique (figure 1).

The tiles of the mosque are basically the same style as those of the tomb, although a close analysis shows those of the tomb to be technically perhaps more complex, and stylistically more delicate and original. The chief glory of the

mosque, aside from the enormous tiled mihrap, is the above-mentioned Sultan's loge or balcony, whose intricate geometric ceiling in moulded tiles recalls the well-known Mamluk "kassettenstil" wood-carving; the ceiling is bordered with moulded tile mukarnas, the curious geometric "stalactites," and in places gold-leaf appears to have been applied to the tiles (figures 11 and 14). Also noteworthy in the mosque are the fields of hexagonal monochrome dark-blue tiles covering the side walls of the raised chamber; evidently the name of Yeşil Cami or "Green Mosque" comes from these tiles, although perhaps deriving also from the turquoise exterior revetments of the Yeşil Türbe or "Green Tomb."

At this point it would seem unimportant to our major objectives, involving the discussion of objects created over a century after the Battle of Ankara, to discuss the question of "Timurid" influence on the new artistic establishment being formed around the court of a new and rapidly expanding Ottoman power; it can indeed be argued that in art the influences moved in both directions, but for our purposes it suffices to recognize in the tile decorations of the buildings of Mehmet I an important aspect of an international style of decoration extending from the Sea of Marmara to the Oxus and beyond, but whose roots would appear to be in the East.¹⁵

With the Bursa buildings of Mehmet I the use of color-glaze polychrome tiles became accepted as the primary form of architectural revetment decoration, at least insofar as the interiors of buildings were concerned; the color-glaze type of revetment remained in use up until the middle of the sixteenth century in the Ottoman Empire, and the style changed rather little over the long span of its use. However, from the earliest instances of color-glaze revetments following the Green Mosque and the Green Tomb, there appear occasionally among color-glaze revetments some hexagonal white-ground tiles in an underglaze technique (figure 17). They are used very sparingly, as occasional accents to a

wall covered with monochrome hexagonal tiles; this may indicate that they were treasured as rare and expensive objects. By the time of the building of the mosque of Murad II, Mehmet's son, in Edirne in the year 1433, there were large numbers of such underglaze tiles being used at various places in the mosque (figure 18), although the great bulk of the decoration was executed in color-glaze polychrome tiles.

There have been several theories regarding the origin of these anomalous tiles and their makers; it would appear that despite their stylistic affinities with certain blue-and-white tiles of Syrian provenance (figure 19), their technique does not closely resemble that of the Syrian examples.¹⁶ On the other hand, there are resemblances in some of the designs, although by no means all of them, to the contemporary Ottoman pottery wares, the so-called "Miletus-wares," which employ a similar palette and a roughly similar technique. In the broader context of our analysis, this question of actual and stylistic provenance is secondary to the other question presented by the blue-and-white tiles, why, given their basic incongruity in a setting of the powerfully-ornamented color-glaze tiles, were they employed at all in the buildings in question? This question is even more pertinent in the case of several of the Bursa tombs, where they appear in smaller numbers than in Edirne. The implied aesthetic, and the evident value of such tiles in those times, are of far greater importance to the history of Ottoman art than the origins of the designs, which would appear to have had very little effect on those of later Ottoman ceramics. The hexagonal tiles appearing in several tombs near the mosque of Murad II in Bursa, moreover, are quite different in their technical details from the Edirne examples; what is important is that they were in fact used at all, given their "oddness."

The color-glaze revetments in the mosque of Murad II in Edirne represent

technical advances over those of the Mehmet I buildings in Bursa. Blue-and-white tiles are incorporated into the mihrap in a powerful geometric border and in the stalactites or mukarnas of the niche (figures 20 and 21); the rich and varied effect created by the juxtaposition of the two types of ceramics in the mihrap shows a type of sophisticated experimentation apparent also in the color-glaze tiles alone (figure 22). With more purple used in the designs, a smaller and more delicately scaled decoration, and the attempt in several places to place a black line on the surface of the revetments (figure 23), the color-glaze revetments of Edirne represent an even richer and more technically complicated development of the ceramic art.

The two sets of buildings, those in Bursa and that in Edirne, are only a few years apart in time, but the development in the few intervening years has been very rapid. It is moving toward a style of more delicate, linear, and complex designs, while retaining the basic vocabulary of forms; the limitations of the color-glaze technique are being approached, and there is a willingness to experiment with a mixture of techniques. One could say that the development is pointing toward an aesthetic ideal typified in the developments of the mid-sixteenth century, but it had to wait until that time for the technical breakthrough which could accommodate polychrome decoration, linear designs, and an underglaze technique, in the same tile. At the same time, the fascination with blue-and-white tiles evident by the time of the Muradiye in Edirne, and the evident importance and value attached to these tiles, were to lead eventually to the production of white-ground blue-design revetment tiles in a new underglaze technique by the fourth quarter of the fifteenth century.

D. EARLY CERAMIC WARES

It would appear that contemporary with these color-glaze revetments of the

fifteenth century there was no fine art of pottery ware decoration in the Ottoman empire; the wares previously known as "Miletus" wares, characterized by rough underglaze-painting on a white slip, and by a body of red terra-cotta similar to that of the color-glaze revetment tiles, evidently constitute the only ceramic table wares produced within the Ottoman dominions for at least the first three quarters of the fifteenth century, although their dating is by no means securely established.¹⁷ Because of the alleged inferior artistic quality of these wares, and the lack until recently of firm information on their place of manufacture, they have not been studied in any detail, nor has there been any effort to arrange them in stylistic groups. Since the recent excavations by Professor Aslanapa in İznik, it has become possible on the basis of kiln wasters and various evidences of potting materials found in close conjunction with fragments of "Miletus" ware, to assign the production of at least some of these wares to that city, where their production was evidently discontinued about the time that the first major underglaze wares of İznik began to appear in the fourth quarter of the fifteenth century.¹⁸

Although it is entirely possible that wares of this general type may have been produced in several locations in Anatolia over the fifteenth century, the excavations in İznik definitely establish certain types of these wares as having originated within the Ottoman dominions. Technically, they consist, as remarked, of rough red clay with a thin white wash, on which the designs are painted in black and blue. The designs usually follow the shape of the vessel, and consist in the main of vegetal designs in the bottom center of a plate or bowl, with a radiating design on the rim; stylized lotuses, floral and geometric rosettes, and occasional repeating geometric patterns are part of the repertoire of central-medallion designs. Most interesting for our study are those with a decoration of tight spiral forms on the rim, a device of Chinese origin fre-

quently seen on the "Rhodian" wares of the later sixteenth century. Used as field decoration in some of the "Miletus" shards found at İznik,¹⁹ it would appear to provide at least one evidence of continuity from the fifteenth through the sixteenth centuries, providing of course that the fifteenth-century dating for the shards in question is accepted. Such "fragmentary" evidence as this, plus the similarity in palette to the "Abraham of Kütahya" wares, makes us view with some doubt the assertion that the latter in some cases marked a sudden new desire to imitate Ming blue-and-white wares in the late fifteenth century.

The existence of a production of "Miletus" wares alongside a production of color-glaze polychrome revetments is not as incongruous as it may seem, although it must be emphasized that there is no evidence, either documentary or archaeological, that the latter were produced at İznik; their provenance is as yet unknown. It would appear that the artisans from northwest Iran may have used the local Anatolian clay and local kilns for their wall-revetments in Bursa; they may eventually have settled in İznik or in some other Ottoman town in order to supply a continuing if somewhat sporadic demand for color-glaze revetment tiles in the Ottoman domains. The artisans who created the Bursa revetments may have moved to Edirne in order to work on the mosque of Murad II there; however, although it is clear that a tradition of color-glaze polychrome architectural tile revetments did continue in Ottoman architecture until the middle of the sixteenth century, there was no continuing demand for tiles and for architectural revetment projects comparable to those in Bursa and Edirne.

Perhaps some accommodation was arranged between two groups of artisans, to the extent that we see no color-glaze wares produced in Ottoman realms, and in only one case, the lunettes of the Üç Şerefeli mosque in Edirne, do we see

the possible impact of "Miletus" wares on wall revetments (figure 24). Those tiles cannot positively be ascertained to have been made at the time of the completion of the building in the year 851/1447, but in the border of one panel can be seen a marked resemblance in design to some of the "Miletus" shards found at İznik (figures 25 and 26). Certainly the Edirne lunette panels bear no resemblance, except in the very broadest sense, to any blue-and-white revetments seen so far in our analysis. For this reason, it seems probable that they represent an effort on the part of the fifteenth-century İznik potters to create wall revetments, an effort which cannot be termed completely successful. Such lunettes are from this time on almost invariably executed in color-glaze tiles, the "appropriate" medium for wall-revetment tiles, until the underglaze panels of the Süleymaniye mosque in the late fifties of the sixteenth century.

Whatever the reason for this division of genre, labor, and technique in ceramics, it is apparent that such a division existed. Whether it was a division between two groups of artisans working in a single town, or whether the different types of objects were produced in different locations, is not yet known.

Perhaps the most important implications of the discovery of fragments and wasters of "Miletus" wares at İznik are those relating to the later siliceous wares. It is difficult to explain, without this evidence, why İznik, of all the towns in Asia Minor, not to mention those in Europe under Ottoman dominion, should be the location in the sixteenth century of an enormous production of tiles and wares in an underglaze-painted technique manufactured from an artificially-constituted white siliceous material, a material evidently not found anywhere in the immediate vicinity, but, along with many of the materials used in the making of "İznik" pottery, evidently imported from other locations in Asia Minor. The existence of a prior production of ceramics in

İznik, however, would explain this occurrence; the presence in İznik of a community of ceramic artisans with its own kilns and with a preestablished method of obtaining fuel from the Bythinian forests, and a means of transporting and perhaps even marketing its ceramic production, would justify the later importation of raw materials, and would explain why İznik became the origin of many of the wares and tiles of the sixteenth century. Thus the "interim period" in Turkish pottery, that of the fifteenth century "Miletus" wares, assumes for our present analysis importance beyond the limitations of artistic quality ascribed to its products.

E. THE "ABRAHAM OF KÜTAHYA" CERAMICS AND THEIR VARIANTS

The blue-and-white wares and tiles known as the "Abraham of Kütahya" ceramics, evidently produced from about 1495 to 1525 in Lane's view, form the first of three major groups of siliceous underglaze-painted pottery of high standards in the Established Periodization.²⁰ Arthur Lane, in discussing this group, emphasizes the basic homogeneity of style existing between the tiles and wares of the group, and offers convincing arguments for the dating of the majority of blue-and-white wares in the group. The confusion surrounding the inscribed ewer in the Godman collection, with its dedication to one "Abraham of Kütahya," was discussed by Lane in some detail; despite the mention of Kütahya on this and on a similar piece in the Godman collection, Lane felt that the ewer originated in İznik, as did the entire group.²¹ Within the group Lane noted a certain stylistic development from earlier designs with primarily rumî forms, to later designs using hatayî designs with a turquoise added to the two values of cobalt-blue. There is another group of wares, the "Golden Horn" group, which we have already categorized as a variant of the main "Kütahya" herbal decoration, and contemporary for the most part with it.

In these blue-and-white wares and tiles we encounter for the first time fine siliceous ceramics in Asia Minor. Technically they are for the most part of high quality, having a pure white slip or wash over the body, and blue designs with little or no running under a clear alkaline glaze. The designs can be termed again a part of what we have observed as an international "Turco-Iranian" style with Timurid origins; in the bulk of the objects in the "Kütahya" group, the decorations consist of curling leaves and vines, frequently found with a "curled-in" type of leaf (figure 2). It is a line-dominated style, with the designs applied like blue ink on the white slip. There are certain strong parallels to be drawn between these wares and other arts of the time, although Lane's observation that the shapes recall metalwork²² is derived from the basic nature of the shapes, rather than from comparison with contemporary Ottoman metal-work, none of which has been identified. One must remember also that the group of "Abraham of Kütahya" wares is primarily founded on a style of decoration, and not on a palette; blue, white and turquoise-painted wares are not confined in Turkish ceramics to any particular chronological niche.

The extremely high technical quality, and in some cases the unusually large size of these wares, would appear to be important aspects of the "Abraham of Kütahya" wares and their variants. From a background of the comparatively rough and mass-produced "Miletus" wares, there suddenly appears a group of large siliceous objects with exquisite finish, closely adhering to the shapes of Ming porcelain or to metal vessels in many cases (figure 27), and numbering relatively few. From such evidence we might extrapolate a limited production for a very restricted market; this market was probably acquainted to begin with the expensive and highly-valued Chinese porcelain, and consisted of the very highest state officials. We hypothesize that a larger market might have been impossible to achieve, given the standard of craftsmanship required in the

finished product, its probably very high price, and the fact that it was a comparatively recent innovation. Certainly there are few examples in the world's museums, when compared with the later "Rhodian" wares; similarly there are very few examples of "Kütahya" wall-tiles to be found. Such facts support the theory that the blue-and-white wares and tiles under discussion were a totally new type of ware, perhaps produced by new supervisory artisans, using designs which may have related to court art, and using colors (cobalt) and materials (silica clay and flint) evidently not available at the supposed place of production.

The second factor, that of provenance, is also important, because it establishes the first foundations of a tradition of underglaze siliceous pottery at İznik, a site well-documented as being the place of origin of the "Rhodian" tiles of the same basic technical type. Lane's establishment of the provenance of the "Abraham of Kütahya" wares and tiles is by inference, both from documents such as early court inventories listing objects of "İznik pottery," which was therefore in court use at this time, and from the technical similarities to later groups of "İznik pottery" whose İznik origins are beyond doubt. The archaeological evidence published so far unfortunately does not throw any further illumination on this point. Although large quantities of "Miletus" shards were unearthed by Aslanapa in the close vicinity of kilns, the blue-and-white shards assignable to the "Kütahya" group are fairly few; it might be noted however that these excavations have yet to be properly published in any detail, and that future findings at İznik may yet corroborate what would appear to be a logical theory constructed by Arthur Lane of İznik origins for the blue-and-white pottery of the "Kütahya" group and its variants.²³

The factors of size and shape offer further insights into the "Kütahya" group; there are several very large and fine bowls and plates in the group which

may have been intended for very wealthy and important patrons. Lane observes from his analogy with metal-work shapes that the makers of these ceramic wares had relative little experience in pottery-making,²⁴ from the high technical level observable in the best pieces, it might be safer to assume that the makers were experienced potters, but were working in the context of a new technique, a new style, and a new market, perhaps partially imposed by the will of the patron-class. This would explain the new shapes, sizes, technique, style, and quality all coming from a town in which pottery of a lesser standard had been produced for some time.

The question of the stylistic and chronological limits of the "Abraham of Kütahya" group forms a problem of greater complexity. The wares and tiles catalogued by Lane do have certain broad stylistic and technical common factors, but the existence of anomalous objects, and the existence of some very interesting blue-and-white tiles, presents cause for reexamination of the extent to which certain of these objects can be said to fall within the purview of a style typified by the Godman ewer.

There would appear to be agreement in virtually all of the published literature on the origin of the "Kütahya" type of decoration, and we need not concern ourselves with the problem in any detail; the existence of a pan-Turanian international style has already been mentioned. The hatayî type of design found on many "Kütahya" wares is seen as far east as Kokend, in the form of a well-known carved wooden door now in the Metropolitan Museum.²⁵ The palmette with a small cockade-leaf, and the "curled-in leaf" decoration, also form an element of herbal and floral decoration of the Turkoman style of painting in Tabriz toward the end of the fifteenth century.²⁶

The existence of parallels in other Ottoman Turkish production of art is more important to ascertain. Among the few Ottoman objects from the period with

close parallels are the wooden doors of the kiosk of Mehmet II Fâtih in the Topkapı Palace, a building which now houses the Hazine or treasury of the Topkapı Museum (figure 28). The small carved panels on the doors, which from all appearances are original, show curled-leaf arabesques of the same sort as those of the "Kütahya" wares, and make possible an earlier terminus for production of those ceramics. It is entirely possible, on the basis of close similarities between the Hazine panels and some of the "Kütahya" objects of lesser technical quality (figure 2), that the tentative beginnings of the "Kütahya" style in ceramics may date from the 'seventies or 'eighties of the fifteenth century, a dating which might be supported by the date of the tomb in which some possibly contemporary "Kütahya" revetment tiles appear (figure 29). This tomb, that of Mustafa b. Mehmet in the Muradiye precinct in Bursa, evidently dates from that prince's death in 879/1475, but the revetments are certainly later, probably around 1510.²⁷ Further, the similarity between these tiles, the Hazine panels, and two small bowls in the "Kütahya" style, one of which includes "Golden Horn" spiral decorations in its interior (figure 4), opens up the possibility that the "Golden Horn" variant itself may date from the earliest period of blue-and-white siliceous ceramic production; the spiral rinceaux are seen as the background to many a calligraphic illumination and in both ceramic inscription-friezes and blue-and-white wares in the fifteenth century (figure 31).

The sequence of the development of the "Kütahya" style through its span of use is discussed by Lane, and given the relatively small amount of firm evidence, would appear to be quite valid. However, in the case of objects with anomalous decoration, those which represent efforts on the part of Turkish (Ottoman) potters to duplicate Ming blue-and-white porcelain, and in the case of the wall-tiles, there are further points of interest for our study.

The imitations of Ming ware are among the most interesting documents of

the development of a technique. Palace inventories of the beginning of the sixteenth century show very few pieces of Ming blue-and-white porcelain at the Ottoman court.²⁸ One may assume from this fact that the economic value of such porcelain was increased by its rarity; one knows also from miniatures of both Ottoman and Safavid courts in the sixteenth century that blue-and-white Ming ware was highly regarded in the courts, and used along with gold and silver vessels at royal banquets.²⁹ Thus it would appear that there was an economic incentive for the Ottoman court to patronize local ceramic artisans who could duplicate the rare and costly Chinese wares. Although due to the limitations of the pottery medium one cannot say that the Ottoman artisans in fact "duplicated" Chinese porcelains, it can be said that their "paraphrases" rank among the most beautiful products of Ottoman blue-and-white pottery. Some examples, such as a plate in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (figure 6), used a warmer blue, and did not capture the feathery delicacy of the original; what we feel is a more technically advanced copy, made later in time, a plate in the Metropolitan Museum (figure 5), more nearly duplicates the feeling of the porcelain original in its blackish-blue decoration. The so-called "wave and foam" Ming border, which is perhaps the most frequently-encountered Chinese motif in the later "Rhodian" wares, is seen in a number of blue-and-white pieces (figure 30), but these can for the most part be dated substantially later than the "Kütahya" wares and their variants.

Among the most spectacular of the "Kütahya" variants are the blue-ground pieces with rumî decoration, placed by Lane among the earliest in the chronology (figure 32). While their relative sophistication may place them later than Lane supposes, their designs do suggest, especially in the radiating rim motives, the type of beaten ribbed metalwork frequently encountered in Turkey even today; the design, in which the rumî elements usually predominate, is often more com-

plex than those found on the white-ground pieces.

Another well-known group of blue-and-white wares, of less certain date, includes the plates with decorations of bunches of grapes in blue and turquoise, a design with demonstrable Chinese antecedents (figure 30). This type of design appears to have been popular over a long period of time, and appears in wall tiles as well as wares; because of its uncertain dating, it will be discussed in a later section of the present study.

One of the best-known pieces of pottery grouped with the "Kütahya" style is the dish in the Metropolitan Museum mentioned above; virtually unique in its decoration, it poses a number of problems because of the lack of close parallels (figures 7 and 33). Without the cusped edge of many of the larger and better blue-and-white pieces, which derives from Chinese shapes, it is formed of a flat center and a curbed side rising to a rimless edge. The decoration of the center is a sort of interlocking reciprocal grid, with no close parallel in Ottoman ceramic decoration; that of the curve is blue-and-turquoise, in the form of a meandering vine on a dark-blue ground with leaves and lotus palmettes springing from the vine. The latter forms five lobes of unequal size in its progress around the plate, suggesting that the design may have been executed virtually free-hand by a major artist, without recourse to a sketch of preliminary drawing. The shading, the relative coarseness of the design, and the relation to the above-mentioned Turkoman painting of Iran, all suggest that the artist may have been a painter rather than a ceramics specialist accustomed to working with pigments on pottery; certainly there is nothing else like this remarkable and beautiful plate in the history of Turkish ceramics. The design on the reverse, by contrast, would appear to be in the clear and crisp "Kütahya" style (figure 34), formed of small rosettes alternately dark and light blue, again on a vine. The exact place of the dish in the chronology is uncertain, but

Lane's arguments for its being fairly late in the "Kütahya" style seem well-founded. This dish may have been a unique object from the beginning, created especially for the ruler or his court. It forms what is certainly one of the most intriguing mysteries of Turkish ceramics in its uniqueness and in the beauty of its design.³⁰

One might question the "royalness" of many of these objects described so far, when one realizes that tiles in the "Kütahya" style were also made, and used as wall revetments, in several minor buildings at the time. If blue-and-white wares were so extremely costly and highly valued, why was a part of the production effort reserved for the apparently more mundane purposes of wall-revetments, especially when there appears to have been a living tradition of color-glaze wall revetments?

The answer to such a question must lie in our earlier observations on the use of blue-and-white ceramics in building revetments; they were usually put in places of great prominence, and were very sparingly used, the one exception being the mosque of Murad II in Edirne. The latter, however, was an important royal foundation in a city newly selected as the Ottoman military capital, and the use of blue-and-white tiles, possibly imported, on such a large scale, bespeaks royal patronage and a high valuation on such tiles. By contrast, blue-and-white tiles appear neither in the mosque of Mehmet II in İstanbul, nor in the mosque of Beyazıt II in that city, each being a primary royal foundation of Murad's son and grandson respectively. When siliceous blue-and-white tiles in the "Kütahya" style do appear, they appear in smaller buildings; two tombs of Ottoman princes in Bursa, dating from about 1475 and 1506,³¹ and a mosque and a tomb in Manisa (1520) and Gebze (1533) respectively, are the only known examples of "Kütahya" style tiles still in situ.³² A great number of blue-and-

white tiles in the Sünnet Odası area of the Topkapı Palace, evidently not in their original locations, will be discussed in some detail later in this study, as they have been placed by Lane in the "Damascus" group of ceramics; none of these can be shown to be stylistically close to the "Kütahya" style or its variants, despite a similar palette.

The four smaller buildings mentioned include three tombs, all of which were built in what were provincial centers of the Ottoman empire, and a small mosque founded by a Sultan's mother in what was at that time a provincial garrison town where Ottoman princes were posted to learn statecraft. In three of four cases, the decoration in blue-and-white tiles is relatively limited, being confined to a few borders in each of the Bursa tombs, and two lunettes in the Manisa mosque; the Gebze tomb of Çoban Mustafa Pasha exhibits the most lavish use of "Kütahya" blue-and-white tiles, and also what we believe to be the most advanced style. Before considering the matter of stylistic development, we might draw the following hypothesis from the evidence introduced so far; the production of blue-and-white tiles, being quite limited, was confined to use in small numbers in smaller buildings, not for any aesthetic reasons, but because a volume of production suitable for larger buildings did not exist.

The earlier tiles, those from the two tombs in Bursa (figure 29), are different in some significant aspects from the examples in Manisa and Gebze. The only hue used in the Bursa tiles is cobalt-blue in two values. The motif of the "curled-in leaf" is clearly seen, and the overall design is one of great simplicity, being a repeating vine with rumî leaves, forming small cartouches along a narrow white border. In Manisa and Gebze, by contrast, the tiles are used not for borders, but for fields; in the latter building, turquoise is introduced into the palette. Lane has remarked on some of the problems of the lunettes in Manisa;³³ they are evidently tentative attempts by potters, whose previous

concern had been with the decoration of wares, to provide a unified-field design for the space under an arch. In Gebze (figure 35), the latest of the buildings, and probably the latest of the revetments as well, one finds repeating-fields of square tiles, each one mass-produced from a basic design or a master-stencil or pounced drawing; this decoration anticipates the mass-produced repeat-field tiles of the later sixteenth century, and marks an important advance in the organization of production of such underglaze tiles; further, the disposition of the designs on the square tiles, with four axes of symmetry and continuity in four directions, anticipates by its topological arrangement the repeat-field designs of the later sixteenth century. On each individual tile, four major and four minor lotus palmettes surround an eight-pointed central star, with eight leaves of the rumî type forming the other major elements of the design; the delicate arabesques in the corners form lacy rosettes where four tiles meet; the field is an infinite design, and yet there is a focus on each individual tile. It would appear that the success of the Gebze tiles lies in the fact that their design has been adapted from radial-design types found on polygonal, specifically hexagonal tiles from repeat-fields; there are several well-known examples of this type which evidently pre-date the Gebze tiles and which show certain affinities with them (figure 36). As we have seen, such hexagonal tiles formed the traditional components of repeat-fields in Turkish ceramics, and one must consider the rectangular repeat-field tiles of the Gebze tomb as a major change.

The stylistic and technical development implicit in the four revetments discussed is congruent with the relative dating of the buildings themselves. Lane has expressed reservations about the tiles in the tomb of Mustafa in Bursa being contemporary with the 1475 dating for the building,³⁴ and has expressed belief that they may have originated in a later restoration. However, given

the evidence of the Fatih Kiosk wooden panels, it would appear that the roots of the style were present in Turkish art long before its first appearance in ceramics around 1500.

F. THE SO-CALLED "DAMASCUS" WARES

We now come to the problem of the so-called "Damascus" wares, which fill the next chronological slot in the Established Periodization developed by Lane and others. Because of the insecure dating of the entire group, and because of other problems outlined above in our brief summary of Lane's argument, we propose to postpone a major discussion of these very important objects to a later section of the present study, restricting our discussion in this chapter to an analysis of the major premise upon which a dating for the group is based. The methodological justification for this approach may be expressed as follows: having dealt with a more or less securely dated and otherwise documented group of ceramics (the "Abraham of Kütahya" group and its variants dated from ca. 1500 to 1535), we propose to deal with the next firmly dateable monuments in the chronology through the emergence of the "Rhodian" group in the 'sixties; in a subsequent part of this study, we will then attempt to examine the problem of the intervening twenty-five years, for which there is only one firmly dated object.

The wares forming the "Damascus" category as set forth by published scholarship can be separated into several extremely disparate groups. Among the unifying characteristics of the group as a whole, we find mentioned a very high technical quality, the presence in many instances of sage-green and manganese-purple in the palette, and a quality of execution which suggests in some instances the direct participation of a ressam or nakkaş, a court designer, in the ceramic

decoration itself. There has been some controversy over the position of the various types of "Damascus" objects in a stylistic development, but the prevailing view, one originated by Bernard Rackham and clarified by Lane,³⁵ is that they develop out of the "Kütahya" style and point the way in the latter pieces toward the "Rhodian" style of the second half of the sixteenth century.

Aside from the lack of homogeneity of style among the various types of wares forming the group, and the lack of any tiles exhibiting the major defining characteristics of the best-known wares, the group has only one dated object, the above-mentioned lamp from the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem now in the British Museum (figure 9), whose inscription bears a date (956/1549) and an evocation of Hazreti Eşref, the patron-saint of İznik. The lamp however has no sage-green or purple, nor does it show the stylized flowers, the saz feathery leaves, or indeed any of the other stylistic hallmarks which define the "Damascus" style, while exhibiting marked similarities to a few objects forming a group hitherto only vaguely mentioned in the literature.

Around the foot of the lamp is the semi-literate inscription:

دریا پیرکم از نقره اشرف زان در فی سنه ۹۵۶
فی شهر جمازیل اولاً نقاش الفقیر الحقر مصا.....

which can be roughly transliterated into modern Turkish as follows:

. . . der ya pir kim İznik'te

Eşref Zade dir

fi ~~sanatı~~ ^{Seni} 956

fi şehir cemazil evvelâ

nakkaş el fakir el hakir Mustafa (or Musli). . . .³⁶

Regardless of the stylistic divisions within the "Damascus" group, this inscription establishes several very important facts. First, the lamp is almost certainly a product of İznik, establishing positively what at least one type of

İznik ware of around 1549 actually looked like. Second, the maker is a Moslem, invoking a Moslem saint; the inscribed wares mentioned so far have had Armenian inscriptions. Third, the painter of the decoration has signed his title nakkaş, indicating both a division of labor between those who shaped the clay and those who decorated the pottery, and a certain affinity between the painter of pottery and one who painted on paper, the same title being used for the "man of the pen" at the court.

It is with these facts as our basic a priori evidence that we will return to the problem of the "Damascus" wares in Chapter Three of this study.

G. COLOR-GLAZE REVETMENTS IN İSTANBUL

In our previous discussion of revetment tiles, we noted that the relatively rare but important underglaze tiles were exceptions to a general rule of color-glaze polychrome revetments. What is more interesting is that the color-glaze revetments survive well into the middle of the sixteenth century, or over fifty years after the first introduction of the "Kütahya" style tiles in Bursa, by the most conservative estimates. The style of the sixteenth-century color-glaze revetments, found for the most part in İstanbul, differs in some ways from that of the monuments we have already discussed, but retains the same basic elements of the "international style" seen at Bursa and Edirne. However, in all cases except one, the later color-glaze revetments are quite small, used generally as lunette panels over windows and doors, while the complicated effects of moulded tiles and the use of a black line over the colors is not seen, possibly dying out along with the first-generation Tabriz artists themselves. The gradual reduction in the extent of color-glaze revetments parallels a general reduction in the amount of architectural ornament found on Ottoman buildings; the very rich ceramic and carved-stone decorations of Bursa give way over the rest

of the fifteenth century toward a more discrete type of ornament which begins to emphasize the growing archetectonic and muscular quality of the ever larger and more impressive Ottoman buildings.

It is all the more strange, in the context of this development, that the very last important color-glaze decoration should be the most lavish since the very first examples in Bursa over a hundred and fifteen years before. The building is a tomb for Şehzade Mehmet, son of Süleyman the Magnificent, who died in 1548; a mosque and tomb were commissioned for the dead prince by Süleyman, and formed one of the first major projects of the great architect Sinan. The tomb is covered on the interior up to the springing of the dome with incredibly rich and beautiful revetments (figure 37), in which yellow and green predominate. After the tomb of Şehzade Mehmet, there is no major use of color-glaze ceramics for revetments in the Ottoman world; moreover, with the exception of the revetments of the Ahmet Pasha mosque of 1551, and the re-use of various color-glaze tiles in the seventeenth century, the technique apparently disappears after 1550. After having seen no underglaze revetments since the tomb at Gebze (with the possible exception of some undated tiles in the Topkapı Palace), the Ottomans suddenly adopted this technique as the sole form for building revetments; this happened only shortly after the completion of what from our point of view is not only one of the most lavish, but artistically successful color-glaze revetments to be found in Turkey. The obvious questions raised by this unusual circumstance are many; with specific regard to the later color-glaze revetments it might be important to determine: (a) any stylistic trends which may point the way toward the designs of the underglaze tiles, and (b) any evidence that the color-glaze technique was no longer fulfilling the aims of architects and designers at the Ottoman court.

The color-glaze and related ceramic revetments of post-Conquest buildings in İstanbul are generally confined to small revetment areas, as we have noted. They consist in the main of a series of tile lunette panels, and are found in the following buildings:

1470 The Mosque of Mehmet II Fâtih in İstanbul (figure 38).

There are two tiled lunettes in the courtyard. These lunettes appear at first to be color-glaze tiles, but in fact are executed in underglaze technique with strong resemblances to the Üç Şerefeli lunettes in Edirne described above. They have variously been described as original color-glaze ceramics, as later imitations in underglaze tile done at the time of the restoration of the building in the eighteenth century, and as original underglaze revetments. In our opinion, the ashlar laying of the tiles and the parallels with the Edirne ceramics suggest the third of these alternatives as the most probable.³⁷

1522 The Mosque of Sultan Selim I Yavuz in İstanbul (figure 39).

On the courtyard walls under the revak are lovely tiled lunettes, predominately green and blue, in the color-glaze technique. The designs are the traditional rumî leaves and lotus palmettes seen before, here actively adapted to the shape of the lunette panel, and conceived of as field decorations rather than as borders or ornaments to a monochrome field.³⁸

1539 The İmaret or public kitchen of Hürrem Sultan, wife of Süleyman the Magnificent, in İstanbul.

The lunettes from this building have been removed to the section of tiles in the Topkapı Museum, housed in the Çinili Kiosk. A rather poor photograph taken thirteen years ago, and too poor to reproduce for this study, shows a blue-ground color-glaze lunette with white thuluth inscriptions, and a border of green and yellow. This would appear to be the first instance of such a color-glaze inscription-lunette in İstanbul, and suggests an amalgamation of the type of lunette seen in the Üç Şerefeli in Edirne and that of the mosque of Sultan Selim in İstanbul.³⁹

1548 The Tomb of Şehzade Mehmet, son of Süleyman the Magnificent, at Şehzedebaşı in İstanbul (figures 37 and 40).

At once the zenith and virtually the last of the monuments using color-glaze tiles in any extensive way, the tomb of Prince Mehmet is lavishly tiled up to the springing of the dome. Among the designs, in which yellow, blue, and green predominate, appear several motives new to color-glaze tiles; leaves decorated with sprays of flowers, rose-buds, and other stylized flowers, together with much livelier and less rigidly-symmetrical forms, contribute a feeling of great richness and color to the revetments of this buildings. Particularly interesting are some of the rumî forms in the decoration, where the "curling-leaf" motif is seen again. The Chinese cloud-band, a device not seen before in revetment-tiles, but occurring on the Dome of the Rock mosque lamp of this same time, is also used frequently in the designs. There is clearly a radically new spirit at work in these revetments, which, using an older technique, is still remarkably effective. The innovations in style apparent here herald the new underglaze style to emerge in the later 'fifties and in the 'sixties.

Among the more interesting features of these revetments we note a separation into panels of various types of designs; rumî designs are kept separate from geometric compositions, which in turn are separated from the predominately hatayî designs, with their arabesques of vines and lotuses. The revetments have been elaborately planned to fit the architectural setting, and virtually the entire tile covering of the building, with the exception of some of the upper friezes, is composed of unified-field designs, rather than repeat-field designs. Each element has been conceived of as part of the larger design of the building, and has been planned across the field of tiles accordingly; the separation of the various panels of decoration occurs purely in the design, as the square tiles are laid out uniformly across the wall surface. The level of technical achievement of this building is clearly very high; much higher in terms of the revetments than even those at Bursa and Edirne; those revetments, while in themselves sophisticated combinations of techniques and designs, existed essentially as units applied individually to the building, whether as window lunettes or as a mihrap; the field tiles were essentially uniform hexagons. The art of matching the tiles to the building in an effective manner is not completely mastered until the Şehzade Mehmet tomb, and few revetments of later years equal it in this respect.⁴⁰

1551 The Mosque of Kara Ahmet Pasha at Topkapı in İstanbul (figure 41). Here small lunettes in green and yellow appear in the courtyard, and rectangular

inscription panels were placed above the windows on the interior. The designs are much closer in feeling to those of the Selim I lunettes than to the chronologically closer tiles of the Şehzade Mehmet tomb of 1548.⁴¹

1551 The Mosque of Hadım İbrahim Pasha at Silivri Kapı in İstanbul (figure 42). The lunette in underglaze technique over the mihrap is somewhat of a problem; it may date from a later restoration, or might possibly be an inferior variant of the type seen on the Üç Şerefeli in Edirne and the Fâtih in İstanbul. Because of the insecure dating, we do not propose to discuss this lunette in any detail at present.⁴²

The buildings we have enumerated are buildings of Sultans and their close associates, whether ministers or family. With only one exception, the tomb of Prince Mehmet, they are sparingly decorated with ceramics. These buildings further demonstrate that color-glaze polychrome ceramics were deemed appropriate for building embellishment; the designs are for the most part rather conservative, when contrasted with the few "Kütahya" revetments discussed, but it would appear that they were more easily accepted, and perhaps more easily obtained, for building decorations. In the tiles of the Şehzade Mehmet tomb, the color-glaze technique, possibly under the influence of direction from the court artistic establishment, begins to adopt some of the more graceful and movemented forms of the new underglaze ceramics. Clearly the production of tiles at this time is not unified; tiles are being produced in at least two basic types, in greater and lesser quantities. It may be argued, however, that the style of designs executed in both techniques begins to show common factors, and that this unifying of style, possibly under court direction, will eventually result in the selection of one technique, that of the siliceous underglaze-painted tiles, as that most appropriate to express the spirit of the new style.

Before discussing the emergence of the new technique in the mosque of

Süleyman I, however, it is important to note certain color-glaze revetments in İstanbul which, although they are presently found on later buildings, probably date to the first part of the sixteenth century, and form a part of the material under discussion in the present section of this study. On the facade of the seventeenth-century Sünnet Odası in the Topkapı Palace, there are two mouldings formed of color-glaze tiles belonging to the general period of the first half of the sixteenth century, with aubergine, green, and yellow present along with blue and turquoise in the palette. On the interior of the same buildings appear lunettes basically similar to those of the Selim I mosque, but whose borders, with their "Chinese cloud" designs, suggest the new spirit of the Mehmet tomb (figure 43). In the porch of the Arz Odası or throne room in the Topkapı Palace, there appear two large polychrome panels, one on each side of the main door; the repeat-field design in square tiles is clearly a sixteenth-century product, and the palette again features a manganese purple, and a dark green as well (figure 44).

Similar tiles appear in the backs of cupboards in the Revan and Baghdad Kiosks in the fourth courtyard of the Topkapı Palace, both again later seventeenth-century buildings. Somewhat more lively designs are present on tiles of the same general period found on the tomb of Hürrem Sultan, wife of Süleyman, behind the Sultan's mosque in İstanbul. Here again, there are very few tiles, and they appear to have been taken from some other building for use in the tomb.

H. THE FIRST DATED "RHODIAN" REVETMENTS

The first major mosque built by Süleyman the Magnificent, omitting the problematical mosque of Selim I, was that built to the memory of Şehzade Mehmet, whose mausoleum we have discussed in some detail. By the fifties of the sixteenth century, the Sultan ordered the architect Sinan, architect of the Şehzade

mosque, to begin preparations for the building of the Sultan's own mosque on a site high above the Golden Horn. The building was finished by the year 1558-9, and in about the same time Sinan completed the basic structures for the tombs of Sultan Süleyman and his wife Hürrem Sultan.⁴³

If we compare the Süleymaniye to the Şehzade mosque built a decade earlier, we become aware of a new style emerging in Ottoman building; structural, muscular, and austere, with exterior ornament confined to those cornices and mouldings emphasizing the tectonic and the massy elements of the building, the underlying structure of the Süleymaniye in many ways dictates the exterior form of the building. This concentration on structure and its forms results in an exterior without the ornamental richness of carved stone seen on the Şehzade mosque's mouldings and richly carved ornaments; the basic aesthetic appears to have changed from one of rich surfaces to one of bare structural forms, with a beauty derived from their logical interrelationships and their proportions.

It would seem that at the time of the building of the Süleymaniye, by far the largest mosque erected by the Ottomans up to that time, the collectivities producing the various components of architectural decoration were not sufficiently geared to decorate such a vast building. The great calligrapher Karahisarî himself designed the calligraphic inscriptions of the kible, which are among the largest and most beautiful in İstanbul;⁴⁴ yet one finds them with difficulty on the kible wall, overwhelmed as one is by the vastness of the interior. The celebrated Sarhoş İbrahim designed the stained-glass windows of the kible (figure 45), but a lifetime of the work of this artist would scarcely have sufficed to fill in the hundreds of windows in the mosque. On the kible wall appear tiles of a radically new style and palette, underglaze tiles with a red color in the decoration, using a black outline as an important element of this design. Important as these tiles are, the casual visitor scarcely

notices them in the vast building; their significance is lost along with their designs in the space under Sinan's great dome.

In these tiles the technical innovations are obvious upon a close look; to the blue and turquoise have been added a black line and a red color. To the basic rumî and hatayî forms have been added Chinese cloud-bands, which have already made an appearance in the tomb of Prince Mehmet. Like the "Kütahya" tiles these are underglaze-painted on a white slip applied to a siliceous body, and like those tiles they also use two values of blue in the design.

Two currents appear in the rather limited designs of these tiles in the Süleymaniye mosque. One relates to the color-glaze tiles in its use of strictly stylized and symmetrical compositions in which dark-value colored areas are set on the slip in stencil-like fashion; separated by areas of white from each other, they form the main elements of the design (figure 46). This "stencil-type" of decoration uses the stylistic vocabulary of the color-glaze tiles, and characterizes the bulk of the kible tiles in the Süleymaniye. In its regular hatayî spirals and rumî rinceaux it harmonizes well with the inscriptions, and is used in the fields around them. The kible tiles in the Süleymaniye usually have a single diagonal axis of symmetry, and four square tiles used together form a sort of medallion repeating-unit; even such a large stylistic module in a repeat-field is however lost in the space of the mosque. The same basically conservative current is reflected in the inscriptions themselves, especially in the two great thuluth roundels flanking the mihrap (figures 47 and 48), and in their spandrels. The decoration is clearly related to the koran-illuminating art of Karahisarî, and may indeed be characterized as book-illumination on a vast scale. Rumî split-leaf forms and stencil-like floral palmettes dominate the designs, with blue and turquoise predominating.

The second stylistic current visible in the Süleymaniye tiles occurs only

in one border, that used throughout the kible (figure 46). It consists of symmetrically arranged arabesques of white cloud-bands on a turquoise ground, confined by a red guard-stripe on either side, and accented by tiny flecks of red throughout the design. The remarkable feature of this border is that the clouds themselves are drawn on the slip in a fine black line, and the line itself has become an independent element in the design, rather than simply an outline.

With the exception of the border, which itself has parallels in earlier blue-and-white tiles to be discussed in Chapter Three of this study, the innovative aspect of the Süleymaniye tiles must be generally classed as technical rather than stylistic. It would appear that the new technique was not to be fully exploited for several more years, and the stylistic revolution which the new technique helped to create comes at the beginning of the next decade, in the revetments of Süleyman's Sadrazâm or Grand Vezir, Rüstem Pasha.

Rüstem Pasha, Grand Vezir to Süleyman I from 1540 to 1553, and from 1555 until his death in 1561, built the mosque bearing his name on the right bank of the Golden Horn around the year 963/1561.¹ Listed in both the Tezkeret-ül Ebniye and the Tezkeret-ül Bunyan of Mustafa Saî as a work of the architect Sinan,² the mosque is a small building built on an upper level over numerous shops forming part of its endowment; its plan consists of a dome on an octagon over a rectangular floor, preceded by a revak of five domes and a small open courtyard on the same upper level as the mosque (figure A).

The lavish and extremely varied tile revetments of both the interior and the revak of the mosque have given rise to numerous stories about the building and its founder. A story evidently current in Turkey for years told of a miserly Rüstem who built the mosque to house his treasured collection of Persian tiles; it is interesting to note from this anecdote both a lack of consciousness of their own art by Ottomans of recent centuries, and the curious paradox that the patron of these rich and joyous revetments was popularly remembered as a dour and humorless miser. Whatever the actual facts of the patron's temperament, the tiles in the mosque are Turkish; that is, they are an important part of the Ottoman artistic tradition of underglaze ceramic revetments with which we are concerned.

For various reasons, the revetments can in large part be attributed to around the year 1561, the date both of the completion of the mosque and of Rüstem's death. Stylistically, many of the revetments can be shown to post-date those of the Süleymaniye, while they anticipate some of the developments

of the later 'sixties. There has however been some changing of the original revetments, and a number of additions to the tiles of the building have been made in later times, to fill in spaces either left empty originally, or resulting from prior removal or destruction of the original revetments. The tiles of the revak or porch have undergone the most extensive modification, and numerous changes have been made in the left gallery. In addition, a lunette over the left entrance to the building appears to be anomalous with regard to the rest of the revetments. There have been several gratuitous repairs in various places using miscellaneous pieces of tile gleaned from various sources. Despite these modifications, the largest part of the present revetments appears to be original, specifically manufactured for the building and dating from the original building epoch.

We will discuss the revetments in three groups; those of the interior excepting the left gallery will be discussed first, followed by those of the left gallery with their particular problems and those of the revak and exterior walls of the mosque.

A. THE INTERIOR TILES, EXCEPTING THOSE OF THE LEFT GALLERY

The overall impression of the kible wall of the mosque is one of blueness. Indeed, blue, light-blue, and turquoise, with light touches of red and a black outlining on the white slip, constitute the entire range of colors used on the kible wall. Red is used here primarily as an accent, in much the same way as the illuminator used flecks of gold leaf, while the two values of cobalt-blue set the general tone of the entire wall (figures 49 and 50).

The mihrap itself is composed of three parts; they are the niche, the stalactites at the top of the niche with their spandrels, and the surrounding frame (figure 50). In later buildings, moulded tiles were frequently used in

the stalactites of the niche, but in the Rüstem Pasha mosque only the niche itself is tiled, with five panels and two half-panels indicating half a dodecagon in plan; the spandrels and stalactites are carved in marble. The frame of the mihrap consists of a number of tile borders in varying widths, and the ensemble is surmounted by a large calligraphic panel set between the two main borders of the frame. It is the mihrap with its frame which in a sense determines the height of the revetments of the entire mosque; itself a unified composition, the mihrap frame's exact height is met elsewhere in the mosque by revetments of repeating tile modules, often arbitrarily cut in order to fit the panel-space defined by the architecture and the height of the mihrap-frame.

The mihrap-frame itself is surmounted by three small windows, which also limit the height of the tiling; at other places on the kible wall, thermal-type lunettes also limit the height of the revetments. With the exception of a calligraphic panel over each of the two floor-level windows flanking the mihrap, all of the tiles on the kible wall aside from the mihrap are repeating modules, with no evidence of their having been specifically tailored to this building; the spandrels of the upper windows are not covered with tile.

Our basic premises regarding the kible revetments can be set forth as follows: the mihrap and the mihrap-frame have been specifically designed to fit a well-defined wall space in the mosque; the width of the borders, the articulation of the corners, and the width and to an extent the height of the niche itself are all part of a carefully planned whole; the rest of the kible revetments, with the exception of the calligraphic panels over the flanking windows, and a small panel under the baldachin of the minber, are composed of mass-produced tiles with repeating designs, frequently arbitrarily cut at the edges of panels in order to fit the spaces defined by the architecture itself. The mass-produced repeat-border, which appears everywhere in the mosque as a unifying

theme, consists in each tile of a white rosace in reserve on cobalt blue, with half a turquoise-ground medallion with cloud-bands in reserve on each end (figure 51, hereafter called the "Rüstem Pasha Border"); it appears only across the top and bottom of the mihrap frame, while a different blue-ground border tile, appearing only in the mihrap, acts as a guard-stripe for the two principal white-ground borders of the mihrap frame.

This basic consideration of type, topography, and plan being remembered, we turn to the subject-matter of the kible revetments, and the style and technique of their execution. Floral and vegetal motives, arranged in monaxial symmetrical compositions, and occasionally abstracted to mildly geometric forms, constitute the whole of the kible decoration, with the exception of the calligraphic inscription panels. Within the mihrap frame itself, the palette employed is simple, consisting as we have noted of two blues, turquoise, and accents of red. On one border, that specially moulded for the forty-five degree camber between the frame and the niche, the red color is markedly different from that used elsewhere within the mihrap frame, being a bright red in contrast to the darker red used within the niche and on the main borders of the frame.

The object of such a minute analysis becomes apparent when we look at the style of the decorations painted on the tiles of the kible wall; the impression of a basic dichotomy within the mosque gained from a typological and topographical analysis are confirmed by an analysis of the types of designs selected, and the smaller characteristics of the execution of the designs. We remark first a dryness in the design, caused by the painting of leaves and palmettes in two values of the same hue of blue, using the darker cobalt for outlines and occasionally for stippling as well; the lighter blue is used to fill in the forms, augmented by touches of turquoise and dark red as accents. This "two-blue" type of painting, used throughout the mihrap, is seen in illuminated fermans and

korans produced during this period by Ottoman calligraphers and illuminators;³ the extremely close parallel between this illumination style for paper, and the revetments of the mosque, serve to justify one aspect of the term "chancery style" used hereafter to describe a particular type of ceramic decoration using leaves, stems, and palmettes in a two-blue type of execution.

The other decorations of the mihrap include blue-ground cartouches acting as backgrounds to white floral sprays, which issue with rigid symmetry from vases on each of the panels of the mihrap niche (figure 52). Recognizable floral forms within the mihrap itself are two only; rose-buds appear in the blue-ground cartouches, while lotus palmettes of the familiar hatayî designs appear in the borders of the frame. The sprays of white flowers, clearly an attempt at naturalism, utilize turquoise for the stems and sepals, suggesting that turquoise was the closest color to green that the limited palette allowed. The vases show a rumî design in white reserve on blue⁴ while larger rumî leaves and small cartouches with cloud-bands in white reserve on blue punctuate the niche panels; a dry arabesque of two-blue leaves and palmettes on a tiny and delicate scale fills the rest of the white ground. The decorative lobed arches which surmount each of the niche panels consist again of white rumî arabesques in reserve on blue. These two modes of execution, the rumî and the hatayî two-blue, exhibit remarkable parallels with contemporary book illumination and binding. The larger-scaled rumî designs appear more frequently in reserve, while the hatayî designs virtually never do, as their more complex forms must be expressed by the element of line afforded only by the use of a darker pigment on a lighter ground. While the two types of designs appear side by side in book illumination, and in many an Ottoman tughra, they are never mixed, but are partitioned off by the dividing elements of the illumination or the tughra form; the same rule is applied in all of the media in which this style is used, whenever

a design is first drawn on paper, and then recreated in wood, woolen pile, metal, stone, or ceramic.

The camber between the mihrap-niche and its flanking column-like border is faced with a special border (figure 53) designed with cambered edges in order to be used across ninety-degree corners. We have already remarked that its red pigment contrasts with that used elsewhere on the mihrap. This cambered border is not exclusive to the mihrap, but is used throughout the mosque on similar cambered corners; its design, an elongated palmette in white reserve on blue, with a plaited knot of stems between each palmette, contrasts with the more austere two-blue designs flanking it.

Flanking the niche on each side (figure 54) is a border, occupying the place where an engaged column would be expected in a mihrap constructed of stone; its decorations consist of palmettes and leaves in an especially dry two-blue mode. Visually, the two borders serve the column function of "support" for the arch of the niche. Springing, as do the niche panels, directly from the raised floor without a dado or socle, each border is surmounted by a tiny lobed arch where one would expect a capital, again suggesting that these borders were designed each as a unified whole. But the fact that the design is arbitrarily cut at the bottom makes necessary a qualification to our general premises on topography set forth above.

The mihrap, where the top of each panel is finished so exquisitely, has no bottom at all. That is, the design has a culmination at the top of each element, but no foundation at the bottom; all borders and panels are arbitrarily cut at the bottom where they meet the Rüstem Pasha border, which forms a dado for all of the elements of the mihrap but the niche itself, with its raised floor.

From this, we may tentatively conclude that although the design itself is

unified and coherent, in one aspect at least, that of height, it was not necessarily designed to fit the architectural wall space exactly.

Surrounding the niche and its borders as already enumerated is the mihrap frame itself. The frame consists of two very wide white-ground borders, with a blue guard-stripe flanking each, which enclose on the top of the mihrap a large calligraphic panel on white ground done in thuluth script. The frame is interesting from several points of view. First, the scale of its designs is very large, with eight tiles composing the repeating portion of the design in each; that is, each border is two tiles in width, and repeats its design every four tiles along its length. The inner border (figure 55) consists of very large palmettes and leaves on white, with the intervals filled with small palmettes and leaves in the chancery style. Here however, in contrast to the extremely dry two-blue decoration of the "column borders," the two-blue decoration includes a "stippling" of many dark cobalt dots on the light-blue ground, producing a much richer texture in the leaves and palmettes. As insignificant as these designs may seem in the context of the entire mihrap, this may well be the first appearance in modular tilework of the two-blue stippled type of execution, a stylistic device which in the latter part of the century will form one of the main currents in Ottoman tile-painting.

The great palmettes of this inner border are filled with rumî designs in a dull red, rather thinly applied over the slip. One of the peculiarities of Ottoman tile painting is that the red very rarely appears by itself in complex designs on a white ground; indeed, these motives executed exclusively in red, and a few others elsewhere in the mosque, would appear to be unique.

The outer border (figure 56) consists of huge overlapping rumî forms, alternately white clouds and white flowers in reserve on a blue ground, which themselves constitute the frames for white-ground cartouches and mouchette forms.

The white-ground forms are again filled with leaves and palmettes in the stippled technique. This type of design is not exclusive to Ottoman art, but is seen throughout the Turco-Iranian world in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, occurring in its best-known form in the borders of many great Safavid sixteenth and seventeenth century carpets.⁵ In such carpets, the field frequently consists of an arabesque of palmettes and leaves in repeat, while the bolder forms are reserved for the border; not only the forms but the stylistic context in which they are used can be seen to be part of what we have called an international court style of the sixteenth century. Its two major modes of decoration, the rumî and the hatayî, were already well-established from Herat to İstanbul by mid-century; the latter type of design, frequently occurring in forms called "Heratî" or "aux quatre fleurs," became the basis of repeat-field designs which characterize so many of the mass-produced tiles of the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in Turkey. What is the most significant aspect of the Rüstem Pasha mihrap, from our point of view, is the relative freedom with which these elements of design are used; this freedom is allowed by the unified-field format, unrestricted by the demands of a repeating-modular system on a small scale.

Separating the main borders is a blue-ground guard-stripe border with designs in reserve on blue, which, as we have noted, is unique to the mihrap. Its design consists of a turquoise-ground mouchette alternating with white palmettes, a graceful counterpoint to the inner of the major borders. The entire ensemble of the mihrap frame is crowned with a large white-ground cartouche in which the traditional inscription⁶ is written in cobalt-blue thuluth script. This panel, and the others like it in the mosque, have clearly been designed with great exactness in order to fit a preconceived plan. A document from later in the decade⁷ suggests that a master-calligrapher may have inspected the building once

the walls were erected, and then decided on the placement of the inscriptions, and indeed perhaps of all of the decorations of the building. The inscription designs were evidently then executed either in paper on a 1/1 scale and subsequently pounced by the tile-makers, or perhaps even drawn by the calligrapher himself on the white-ground tiles. In the particular case of the Rüstem Pasha mosque, it seems likely that a master-calligrapher, perhaps Molla "Çerkes" Hasan, leading pupil of Karahisarî, may have been responsible not only for the inscriptions but for the designs of the entire mihrap, either personally executing the entire design or directly superintending its production. If this is indeed so, our use of the term "chancery style" has even greater meaning.

The specific features which make the mihrap a separate stylistic entity within the mosque will become even more apparent when the rest of the revetments of the interior are examined in some detail. We will first examine some of the other unified-field designs of the interior; these are the spandrels of the arcades supporting the galleries, and the spandrels of the arch over the interior of the main portal.

There are nine separate compositions here, three on each side of the mosque (two double arches and one single arch) and three on the back wall (a double arch on each side and the spandrels of the door arch). The difference in style among these compositions leaves little doubt of the collaborative nature of the decoration of the mosque; they are so striking in their differences, and their implications for the future course of the development of style in wall tiles are so important, that one might indeed hypothesize that the entire building served as the background of what was in fact a major designing competition; deemed too large a project for one designer, the mosque became a proving-ground in which the established style was pitted against new experimental trends. In the span-

drels, we see this contest between old and new in a variety of designs; some are executed in a strict chancery style (figure 57), with rumî forms and stencil-like palmettes deriving ultimately from the tradition seen in the kible of the Süleymaniye; others, showing disturbing hiatuses between tiles, contain dark stencil-type palmettes on a much larger scale. Still others, using the basic format of the chancery stencil-type decorations, employ the two-blue type without stippling, and others use a heavy stippled texture with crowded designs (figure 59). As on the palmette border of the mihrap frame, small designs executed exclusively in red appear on several spandrels (figure 58); the designs follow strict traditions of chancery illumination, employing whorls of vines with rumî leaves and stenciled flowers.

The revetments in the Rüstem Pasha mosque, following the lines of our general typology, can be classified in two categories: repeat-module fields and unified-fields. For the purposes of convenience, we can further divide each of these categories into groups based on subject-matter, namely, those designs which can be characterized as floral-dominated, and those which do not include recognizable floral types, but which contain abstracted floral forms such as rosettes and palmettes. Although for the main purpose of this analysis a stylistic division is more useful, such an arbitrary division by subject has certain advantages in the description of the material to follow.

The four octagonal piers provide an interesting case in point. The two back piers, that is, those farthest from the kible, are covered with a revetment of repeat-field tiles (figure 60) whose oblong shape indicates their having been made specifically to fit the pier, three tile-widths to a pier face. The design consists of a bold central rosette on each tile, surrounded by four mouchettes containing cloud-bands, with quarter-rosettes in each corner forming secondary

unsurrounded rosettes in the field.

The other two piers contain tiles of the same size (figure 61) in which the repeated design consists of an elaborate central palmette, with two flanking red tulips on turquoise stems with turquoise leaves, decorated with five and six-petaled flowers. It is interesting in comparing the two designs to note that the style is more or less the same in each--that is, the designs are color-dominated and bold, with very little of the crisp and linear quality of the mihrap revetments. More interesting is the fact that very few visitors to the mosque remember the rosette design, but the tulip design has been reproduced numerous times in publications and invariably attracts the close attention of visitors to the building. However, the greater number of revetment panels on the floor level are not floral in nature, but are composed of vegetal networks in varying degrees of intricacy. Such are the panels on the back wall (figure 62), or the more abstract and bolder panel seen in figure 63, which is found on the kible. But there are also the great roundels (figure 64) on the kible, and the ascending losenge patterns seen in other places (figure 65), with their designs closely related to those used in brocaded silks and velvets, utilizing thick vines enclosing elaborate palmettes, sometimes with tiny flowers inside them.

The exceptions to this general rule also prove interesting in a longer-term view of this art. Perhaps the most famous⁸ are the two panels of two-blue stippled leaves located on each of the side walls of the mosque (figure 66). Asymmetrical and continuous in only two directions, these tiles are radically different from the two-blue tiles of the mihrap, and indeed have no parallels elsewhere in the mosque. The design is wild and movemented, with close affinities to the so-called "dragon school" of virtuoso black-pen drawing, and the genre of leaf designs called saz.⁹ Perhaps the most interesting aspect of these

tiles is that there is no other revetment design in the mosque which could be said to resemble them in anything more than a superficial manner, while their relation to a particular style of "paper art" which itself formed an important variant in the mainstream of Turkish decorative art makes them from our point of view among the most important in the building in demonstrating the relationship among the arts emerging at this time.

Another important exception, again occurring in two panels, one on the left and one on the right (figure 67), is the appearance of a design of one huge flower crowning a unified-field composition. In fact, except for the crowning arch and its large tulip, these narrow panels are repeating designs. Again, we note the tiles were applied from the top down to the bottom along the wall; as a result, the cutting-off on the panel was unobtrusively accomplished at floor level. These panels, again among the boldest to be found in the mosque, utilize a floral design, and the border of overlapping disks integral to the composition is, like the floral design, unusual to a point approaching the bizarre.

For the specific purposes of our analysis, the most interesting tiles of the floor level are those which are less likely to be remarked by the casual visitor. On the kible wall, for example, the minber projects from the surface of an engaged pier; on the projecting surfaces 5, 5a, 5b of this pier (see line figure A) is a tile border (figure 68) containing a design of red tulips and blue carnations and buds, framed in a red cartouche, with a guard-stripe on either side of çintamani clouds in white reserve on blue. This debut of the carnations is remarkable enough--together with the tulip the carnation becomes the most frequently seen flower in sixteenth century Turkish art;¹⁰ the few appearances of this popular flower in the Rüstem Pasha mosque include this one border and the spandrels of the arches at the top of each pier face, where they

are difficult to see. More remarkable is the fact that in this group of tiles with predominately floral designs, the level of technique is appreciably higher than elsewhere in the mosque. The red, elsewhere dark and muddy, and frequently thin enough to show the slip beneath it, is instead a uniform crimson, thickly applied under the glaze.¹¹ The slip itself is appreciably whiter and clearer than anywhere else on the floor level. This association of color-dominated floral designs with a superior level of technique may have strong implications for the circumstances of the emergence of the new types of tile design.

One should not get the impression, however, from a study of the exceptional designs, that our two-part classification of tiles implies a sort of uniformity among the more prosaic "majority" of tiles within the mosque. On the contrary, the other designs, although perhaps less distinguished artistically, and with less of an impact on later building revetments, show an astonishing variety which one must again attribute to a number of designers and an atmosphere of competition within the building, a parallel with the Italian notion of paragone. For example, the panels shown in figures 69 through 76 all contain repeat-field vegetal networks, but that in figure 69 has a diagonal axis of symmetry, causing four tiles to form one repeat-unit; another (figure 70) presents the same general scheme in a drier manner. Another (figure 71), again using a four-tile module, employs a busy and involved design with stencil-type palmettes. The panel shown in figure 72 is a stiffer design of four palmettes, returning to a vertical axis of symmetry; panels seen in figures 73 and 74 all present other variations on the same basic type of theme.

Those of figures 75 and 76 present variations on the losenge theme, with massive palmettes framed in losenges formed by thick ascending vines. A panel on the back wall (figure 62) uses a simple design of rumî tendrils around a

rosette, which imparts a whirling motion to the forms. There is some evidence that this particular design may have elicited later copies. Among the other floral designs that of figure 77 is particularly intriguing, showing an ascending design of small tulips bobbing to the right and left; technically, this particular field is superior to the others. The Rüstem Pasha border itself uses tulips as part of the design along with small cartouches of Chinese clouds (figure 51).

The panel seen in figure 79 is perhaps one of the most striking floral designs to be found in the interior of the mosque; each tile is dominated by a great central tulip framed by two long and jagged leaves, with a quarter of a similar tulip in each corner forming the secondary element in the repeating field. The intervening space is filled with dark-blue cloud designs. This design is rigidly symmetrical, in contrast to a movemented quality found in many of the floral designs; as a type it is never again repeated in the history of Turkish tile-painting. Also noteworthy is the panel of figure 78, consisting of specially designed oblong tiles in which tulips appear as accents to a design formed by the intersection of two double cloud-band motives; this basic type of design recurs frequently in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as a favorite design, but curiously has few sixteenth-century descendants.

The more daring and more abstract designs, such as those of figures 80 and 81 again have later descendants, although the former, with its echoes of the famous "bird rugs," has a red color of remarkably poor quality, and the slip is badly flawed. The panel seen in figure 82, on the back wall, with its tiny tulips among cartouches and rosettes, is of the same technical quality as that seen in figure 68 behind the minber, and its designs show a kindred spirit. From this panel and others like it, we have seen that the red color, to which problem we shall turn in a subsequent chapter, does not show any slow genesis

toward a better level of technique in the kible wall; rather, tiles with a "good" red color occur more or less randomly around the floor-level revetments of the mosque.

The right gallery of the interior is tiled from floor to vault level, and the tiles used there are all repeat-field types such as those seen on the floor level, with the exception of calligraphic panels over the windows, here with a design in which blue serves for the ground and reserve-white for the letters. In addition to repeat-fields of the type seen on the floor, and the calligraphic panels (figure 83), the particular exigencies of the architectural surfaces of the right gallery wall sometimes necessitate very small panels, sometimes composed of a single cut fragment of tile (figure 84); the particular placing of such "panels" would appear to support our theory that tiles were added to the wall from the top down, with adjustments being made at the bottoms of panels.

We now turn to the other revetments of the building, where more difficult problems are presented. The reason for separating discussion of the revetments into three groups--the interior minus the left gallery, the left gallery, and the revak revetments--is that, whereas the first group may for the most part be safely presumed to be in original locations of the walls, there has been considerable change in many of the others since the completion of the building. Two possibilities may account for this. The left gallery may have been partially stripped of some of its tiles in order to repair other areas in the mosque, and many of the present tiles substituted later; likewise, the right revak may have undergone the same treatment, with tiles being taken from the right side to repair the left side. Yet there is another possibility; it might be that the left gallery and right revak were left unfinished at the time of Rüstem's death

in 1561. While in our opinion neither of these possibilities offers a wholly convincing explanation of all of the facts, it might be wise to keep both in mind.¹²

B. REVETMENT TILES OF THE LEFT GALLERY OF THE INTERIOR

For the archaeologist, the most fascinating part of the Rüstem Pasha mosque is the left gallery. This gallery, closed to the public, is in architectural plan a mirror-image of the gallery to the right. The revetments, however, pose many problems (line figure B). Certain panels are composed of random tiles of greatly varying design and style, while other panels, although appearing to be composed of homogeneous types of tiles, are either incomplete or incorrectly assembled.

Moreover, there are numerous individual tiles and types which give interesting information of a technical nature, due to various imperfections which they evidence. Finally, there are definitely some tiles which were not part of the original revetments, but which were in all likelihood scavenged from other monuments. These tiles are in some cases pertinent to our understanding of later developments in Turkish ceramics.

Faces G and H of pier I (figure 85; all letter references are to line figure B) are clad on the gallery level with panels of miscellaneous tiles randomly cemented together side by side on the surface of the pier. Some of these tiles can be positively identified as having come from the Rüstem Pasha mosque itself; such are the seven blue-ground tiles seen in figures 85 and 86. These tiles formed part of a blue-ground panel formerly to the right of the main entrance of the mosque, and since dispersed. The panel was one of a pair, the other of which (figure 104) now remains to the left of the main entrance; some other tiles from the missing right panel have been used to repair the left panel

now in situ. We can deduce from this and from the seven tiles in the left gallery that the two panels flanking the door were in most respects identical. The location of the rest of the tiles from the missing blue-ground panel is a mystery; whether destroyed, in storage, or sold into a private collection, their present whereabouts is unknown.

The style of the blue-ground panels will be discussed in some detail subsequently; at this point, however, it is interesting to note that their size is somewhat larger than the 24 cm² format of most repeat-field tiles in the mosque.

The extra space on face H of pier I where an eighth blue-ground tile would have been placed had one been available, is filled with a number of interesting fragments (figure 86). In the lower right is a tile with four tulips, exactly like the tiles in a panel on the back wall of the mosque illustrated in figure 82; these tiles have already been noted for their excellent color. The two fragments to the left have been cut from a piece of the Rüstem Pasha border (figure 51); the fragment in the upper right contains both a carnation and a tulip, and was originally part of a spandrel over the shallow arch at the very top of each pier-face in the mosque.

Above and below the band of blue-ground tiles on faces G and H of pier I (figure 85) appears a border of three colors only--blue, turquoise, and white. Tiles with this palette occur in several locations in the Rüstem Pasha mosque; these would appear to be roughly similar in style with the other revetments of the mosque, some of which (figure 86) use so little red as to be very close in general feeling; the design, of rosettes alternating with mouchette-shaped leaves, is remarkably similar to the border below the next lower band of tiles on the pier, although this lower border includes a red accent coloration.

Below the band of blue-ground tiles, and on the same faces of pier I, occurs

another band of related tiles, again randomly cemented to the surface. These tiles formed part of a large panel whose field design consisted of an extraordinarily large and powerful composition of rumî leaves and vines, with a self-contained border of swirling leaves in white reserve on blue ground, each leaf enclosing a tulip. These tiles belong to the same group as those found on panels T and W (figure B) of the left gallery; again, this design is evidently part of a unified-field composition seen nowhere else in the mosque but in the left gallery, and there in disorganized and fragmentary form.

At the bottom of faces G and H of pier I, just above the dado of Rüstem Pasha border tiles, is a band of tiles each of which has two red tulips and four half-medallions in its design, continuous in four directions. These tiles are identical to those forming a larger field on pier III in the left gallery (figure B) and have been used in several places in the mosque to fill in empty spaces. For example, the lunette over the left door into the mosque from the revak (figure 43) is repaired with identical tiles. The design is the conventional "aux quatre fleurs" design frequently associated with mass-produced repeat-field tiles of the 'seventies, and the size is the "standard" 24 cm² format. The presence of a true green along with the turquoise, blue, and red, establishes these tiles in our view as at least ten years later than the original revetments of the mosque; they were evidently taken from another building and used for repairs in the Rüstem Pasha mosque.

Above the blue-ground band and its borders on pier I is yet another group of tiles which does not belong with the original revetments of the mosque. With a repeating design of a central palmette flanked by two leaves, executed in blue and turquoise and continuous in four directions, these tiles have a remarkably sophisticated and movemented design, and may well post-date the construction of the mosque, despite the more restricted palette.

Pier III also presents some anomalous tiles. Face F (figure 87) and face G are covered with tiles of the two types discussed immediately above. The left wall of the mosque on gallery level also contains a number of interesting tile panels, fragments, and miscellaneous tiles. Face Z, opposite pier I (figure 89) has a large field of the now-familiar blue-turquoise tiles at the bottom, followed by a band of miscellaneous tiles between two borders. The two borders have counterparts on pier I (figure 85); the miscellaneous tiles forming the band can be classified into three groups. The first includes tiles with the massive rumî designs and the self-contained border of leaves and tulips; these tiles are seen on each end of the band (figure 89). Among those on the middle of the band, we find more evidence for the appearance of the original panel, whose constituent tiles, as remarked, are found in various parts of the left gallery (figure 90). The segment of border on the right tile in figure 89 is curved, indicating a segment of an arch, while below the border, still on the same tile, is part of a composition in red and white on a turquoise ground (figure 89). Evidently, the original rumî panel was crowned by an arch composed of an extension of its border; while the spandrels above the arch, by contrast, were executed in a turquoise-ground composition. Interestingly enough, the only other instance of such a turquoise-ground spandrel known to me occurs on the revak of the Rüstem Pasha mosque (figure 112), but the fine quality of the red in the left-gallery fragment is not matched in the latter example.

The second group of tiles in the band under discussion includes only one tile, that just to the right of the middle of the band (figure 91). As can be seen by comparing with the field of central-rosette tiles just above the band (figure 89) this tile forms the apex of an arch, which formerly crowned one face of a pier in the mosque; the beginnings of two spandrels can also be seen.

This tile probably belonged originally with a similar fragment with a carnation and a tulip noted on face H of pier J (figure 86).

If the first two groups in the band on face Z can be related to other tiles in the interior of the mosque, the third is in a different category. Comparing the blue-ground border of the tiles in the first group just discussed above (figure 89), one immediately notices a finer, more subtle and calligraphic line on the group three tiles (figure 92). The leaves are not shown with sharp edges, but are lobed instead; a near-green appears in the palette, and the colors are superb. Looking at the white-ground field, the fine, linear impression on the border is borne out. Two-blue delicately stippled palmettes on curling stems make up the design, with no flowers to be seen in this fragment. Here, in contrast to the other tiles, is a different style, a style which evidently developed out of the art of pen and paper, and which bears little relation to most of the designs of the Rüstem Pasha revetments. It can be determined that this tile may have been originally intended for the Rüstem Pasha mosque, however, as the border and the general style of the field are identical with those of the lunette over the left door into the mosque from the revak (figure 93). The fragment under discussion, however, is not one of the two missing from that lunette; we may conjecture that it is all that remains from a similar lunette which may have crowned the right entrance to the mosque at some earlier date. When we discuss the left lunette in some detail below the puzzling matter of the style of this fragment will be discussed in full. At this point it may be noted that the empty space presently over the right entrance to the mosque is in conventional two-centered lunette shape, comparable to the springing of the arch-border on the tile fragment. The absence of any other fragments of this lunette must remain a puzzle.

Crowning the very top of the revetments on face thirteen on the left wall

is a cornice of acroteria shapes. While these are similar in design to the cornice used elsewhere in the mosque (figure 95), they are probably copies dateable to the later seventeenth century in this particular instance, due to the poor colors, lack of red, and flawed slip.

Apertures 3, 4, and 5 (line figure B) on the left wall (figures 94 and 95) are crowned with calligraphic panels on a blue ground. The flanking smaller panels are filled with a variety of tiles; in most cases, such as those flanking the calligraphic panel over aperture 3 (figure 95) these are four-tulip tiles such as those seen on face H of pier I (figure 86) and on the back wall near the door on floor level (figure 32). The calligraphic panels are framed with the Rüstem Pasha border, and appear to be in their original positions, although those in figure 46 may possibly be reversed. The tiles over apertures 4 and 5 (figure 96) are types seen before; A is crowned by particularly dry herbal spirals, while the space over 5 is formed of the irregular wind-blown leaves noted at some length before (figure 66).¹³ Again, the use of the Rüstem Pasha border for framing suggests that the tiles may be original.

Without describing every inch of the walls in the left gallery, a few more observations are relevant to our main lines of enquiry. Face V is a mirror-image of its rough counterpart in the right gallery (figure 84), an ascending pattern of tulips on a curving vine, belonging to that group of tiles in the mosque utilizing tulips in the design and an exceptionally fine red color. Face U (figure 97 left), only a few inches wide, is composed of a number of fragments; it contains one fragment of the "twisted-leaf" type, and several of the "aux quatre fleurs" type found on piers I and III in the left gallery. But the most interesting fragment is that with the thick double vine; this is a fragment of another panel such as those two on the ground floor (figure 119) which seem to have been designed so as to fill the space between two windows;

the fragment in the left may have been a leftover part cut off at the bottom, like the small piece of cloth left after cuffing a trouser leg.

The part of the gallery flanking the back wall of the mosque appears to be largely intact. Here, in addition to types of designs already seen, occur two distinctive types of design (figures 98 and 99). Both employ wavy cloud-forms executed in meticulous black line as their principal elements; the black line is traced over in a darker value of blue to make the outlines more pronounced. The two revetments are probably the work of the same designer; found nowhere else in the mosque, they might be described as among the "losers" in the design competition, as the use of such cloud-forms in repeat-field tiles is never again seen in Ottoman tile-work, although found in borders from the time of the Süleymaniye onward.

C. TILES OF THE REVAK OF THE MOSQUE

We now turn to the descriptive analysis of the third major area of revetments in the mosque, the exterior facade under the revak. Tiled exteriors are rarely found on Ottoman buildings for a variety of reasons. The Ottoman architectural aesthetic as it had evolved by the mid-sixteenth century had no place for elaborately decorated surface areas on the exterior; being an architectonic and structurally-oriented architecture in its exterior design, it achieved its effects by its proportions and masses, and by the contrasts inherent in its elements of lead, brick, and stone, rather than through elaborately-decorated plane-surface areas. The earlier Ottoman attempts at color-glaze exterior revetments, especially the revetments of the Green Tomb in Bursa, forecast this aesthetic by being overwhelmingly of one color.

Moreover, the inclement weather of Anatolia, especially in the province of Bithynia with its rainfall and frequent transition from freezing to warmer

temperatures on the mountain-sides, proved uncongenial to earlier color-glaze exterior revetments and caused their destruction. The original exterior color-glaze revetments of the Green Tomb, in fact, were almost totally destroyed by the time of their restoration in the later nineteenth century.¹⁴ In İstanbul, the exteriors of a few smaller buildings, such as the tomb of Mahmut Pasha, were executed in tile-mosaic,¹⁵ and Fâtih Sultan Mehmet built in the New Palace area on Saray Point a building of essentially Timurid form, the Çinili or Tiled Kiosk, with exterior revetments of tile mosaic.¹⁶ However, most of these revetments were evidently under a cornice or porch, which mitigated somewhat the effects of the weather.

In İstanbul, there are a number of exterior tile revetments to be found, but, as in the case of the Rüstem Pasha mosque revak, they are almost always of limited scale and found under porches.

The Ottoman architectural aesthetic, which during the career of the architect Sinan showed a tendency to become more austere and simplified with regard to exterior ornamentation, was part of an architecture which dealt on the exterior with the effect of elevation, silhouette, and the interplay of form and mass. The tiles of the revak of a mosque such as that of Rüstem Pasha were only visible from the immediate vicinity, which in this case consists of the raised platform constituting the precincts or avlu of the mosque. For this reason, the denotation "exterior" is purely a semantic one, as for practical purposes the tiles follow an Ottoman interior aesthetic scheme, that of surfaces defining a space, rather than the exterior architecture aesthetic with its structural emphasis.

That part of the revak wall to the left of the main door (line figure C) appears to have more nearly preserved its original revetments, although there are several problems inherent in the disposition of its tiles. Framed everywhere

by the Rüstem Pasha border except for the panel to the left, and crowned by the familiar Rüstem Pasha cornice, the revetments of the left revak are composed of the following panels, keyed to line figures A and C.

Panel 1 is filled with a repeat-field of later seventeenth-century blue-and-white tiles, and is surrounded by a border in the same style; the whole panel is crowned with a contemporary cornice, fragments of which were seen in the left gallery.

Immediately to the right of panel 1, we would appear to encounter original revetments. Panels with the number 3, including those flanking the mihrap and the frame of the main door, are all repeat-fields of oblong rectangular tiles containing a sort of reticulated design of small palmettes connected by diagonal blue lines (figure 101). The forms are color-dominated, simple, and repetitive, closely resembling the style of the revetments of piers III and IV in the interior of the building; the design has a diagonal movement.

Panel 2, crowning a window, is a calligraphic unified-field white-ground composition. It is not certain whether its composition, similar to that seen on the kible, connects it to the interior panels, but it would appear to be an extension of the inscription in a similar panel in a comparable position on the right side of the revak.

Panel 4 is in fact a mihrap (figure 102), with the niche completely tiled and the spandrels and mukarnas in stone. The revak or porch of a mosque such as this is frequently termed a son cemaat yeri or "late worshippers' place" because it forms a place for late-comers to pray without entering the prayer-hall of the interior. Mihraps such as this are frequently found on the porches of mosques, allowing those who arrive late to prayers, and those who pray during hours when the mosque is closed, an open-air covered area with a slightly raised platform covered with rush mats for their prayers.

As a kible wall, the "exterior kible wall" of the mosque, the wall bears religious inscriptions in the window lunettes, and is provided with a mihrap to each side of the door. The tiles of these mihraps are interesting for several reasons (figure 103). Again oblong rectangles, they would appear to be specifically made for their present location, and each panel of the polygonal niche is crowned by an arch. Stylistically the design would appear to combine elements of the stencil-like designs stemming from color-glaze ceramics, and the two-blue calligraphic type of execution, with its stippling and its curving, calligraphic, and animated line. The expanded palette includes turquoise, red, two values of blue, and a true green; it is apparently the only place in the entire mosque where a true green is found; the "advanced" use of color is paired with an advanced use of line, with the long and twisted leaves recalling the "twisted-leaf" panels of the interior, although occurring in a more symmetrical composition with a single vertical axis of symmetry.

The spandrels of the tiny arches at the top of each niche-panel contain a white cloud-design in reserve on a blue ground. The black line is spontaneous and well-handled, and a certain quick freedom, a "free-hand" effect, is noticeable in the drawing. Although rosebuds are present as cockades to the two-blue palmettes, one cannot term these panels in any way part of the group of floral or color-dominated designs.

Immediately to the left of the frame of the main door is a large blue-ground panel (figure 104) which has been mentioned above in connection with seven tiles found on pier IV in the left gallery. This panel, the first major revetment panel greeting a visitor to the mosque as he is about to enter, is in many ways the most exciting and interesting of the entire building. As a painting on tile it ranks with the best creations of the sixteenth century, and many consider it a masterpiece never surpassed in subsequent years. That such a panel should be

created at what appears to be the beginning of a period of great architectural tile revetments makes it all the more curious for the art historian; without readily discernible antecedents, it stands as one of the most original of Ottoman art works.

The basic composition consists of a blue-ground field under an intricately lobed arch; the major elements of the field design are two flower-bearing trees. The design is only roughly symmetrical, and the entire field is filled with an astonishing variety of flowers. The arch itself is delineated by a thick red line (figure 105) which undulates and curves, sometimes tying itself in decorative knots reminiscent of metal-work ornament. The spandrels are filled with palmettes and rumî forms on a turquoise ground; integrally a part of the field of tiles, they show a contrasting mode of decoration.

The entire composition is executed on tiles slightly larger than the "standard" 24 cm² format, and is five tiles wide and nine tiles high. It is entirely original with the exception of four tiles; at the bottom of the composition, the second and third tiles from the right in the first and second rows have a darker blue-ground color, and formerly belonged to the now-dispersed blue-ground panel of similar design formerly to the right of the main door, as do the seven tiles described on pier I of the left gallery (figure 85). It will further be noticed that the design of this dispersed panel, while virtually identical to that of the left panel, was slightly different in detail; the four tiles used as repairs to the left panel do not completely match up in their design (figure 106). The left and right panels, while basically identical, cannot therefore be assumed to have been made from the same pounced design on paper; in fact, we should admit the possibility that the basic design was sketched free-hand on the white slip by the artist himself, and subsequently copied on another panel.

The left panel also evidences one other repair, half of a tile in the upper left corner having been replaced with a half-tile of similar coloration but obviously different design. The piece of tile used for the repair is curiously also from a turquoise-ground spandrel in another missing tile composition, other fragments of which we have noted on face thirteen in the left gallery (figure 89).

The composition shows one other basic characteristic worthy of mention; the spandrel design, despite the fact that it is a unified-field design, is continuous in three directions; that is, the design is arbitrarily cut off by the border on the top and both sides, being an "arabesque" or infinite design in those directions. The design of the floral composition, on the other hand, is more of a "picture," being contained within its frame. Seemingly a minor distinction, this fact is actually of the utmost importance for our basic stylistic typology. We frequently read of the infinite nature of the arabesque as a form of Islamic surface decoration; whether vegetal or geometric, it is intrinsically infinite, much as a repeat-field of tiles is in theory infinitely extendable, formed of repeating and repeatable units. The decorations falling into this category, although usually very sophisticated and complex, are essentially background decorations which, as it were, could be cut out of an infinite sheet of such a design, and then placed onto whatever size and shape of surface needed decoration. The most familiar of these repeat-field types, as we have noted, are the "aux quatre fleurs" design or "herati" design, the latter being frequently associated with carpet designs as well. For our purposes it is important to note that such a tradition of an infinite arabesque leaves its influence on Ottoman ceramic painting even in so-called "unified-field" compositions, where there is no repeating module.

One should imagine that when a panel of surface decoration shows a unified

design, the infinite characteristic of the arabesque would be discarded. This not being the case, how do we account for the apparent discrepancy? It would appear that certain types of designs continue an arabesque tradition, while others do not. The former would include the stencil-type designs, the two-blue designs, and the rumî designs, such as those on the turquoise-ground spandrels under discussion. The latter includes the stylized-floral style as we see it in the same panel. Indeed, this floral composition on a blue-ground, with its obvious attempts at naturalism, was not conceived of as a flat surface decoration, as were the spandrel designs. Rather, branches have been bent and broken to contain them under the arch, and in no place is a flower cut off by the arch. It would seem that the artist quite simply wanted to paint a picture with flowers in it--a picture in the conventional Western sense of the word. He tried for a three-dimensional and naturalistic effect, evidenced by the scale of the design, by the crossing and coherent interlacing of the branches, and the spiraling of the leaves at the springing of the two trees (figure 110). The broken branches and the twisted leaves call several parallels into mind--the saz or dragon-school drawings exhibit such stylistic tricks, as do some of the very best of the "Damascus" wares.¹⁷ It is clear that this panel is related to both, and especially the latter, a relation we shall examine later in some detail.

The design itself, as we have noted, is basically that of two more or less symmetrical intertwining floral trees, the branches of which are an irregularly-fired manganese-purple. At the very bottom of the panel, between the tree trunks, springs forth from a single point a symmetrical composition of large white curved leaves decorated with tiny hyacinths. This springing-forth of a group of leaves from a single point again recalls the dragon-drawings, the "Damascus" wares of the related group, and of course the "twisted-leaf" panel

of the interior of the Rústem Pasha mosque. The particular use of the motif is unusual because this small clump of leaves at the very bottom of the composition is the only appearance of such leaves in the entire composition. Elsewhere the sawtooth-edged sinuous leaf form is abandoned for flowers en face or in profile.

The flowers exist in a great profusion of types, many of them readily identifiable. To the lower left is a large spray of white hyacinths (figure 107, left), while the characteristic white tulips appear randomly throughout the composition. To the lower right appear several bulbous round flowers (figure 104), sometimes arbitrarily decorated in almost heraldic designs (figure 108); these would appear to be either poppies or peony buds. Elsewhere, rosebuds and white flowers en face constitute the rest of the composition. A number of intriguing rosettes are also to be seen in the middle and lower parts of the right of the composition (figure 109); these are decorative fantasies, not representing any particular type of flower. In the lower left and in the very apex of the composition small red Chinese cloud-bands (figure 110) add an animated touch, while a few twining vines, small turquoise leaves, and two white carnations complete the decorative repertoire.

The overall effect is one of great richness and movement, due to the disposition of the designs in an asymmetrical pattern. While the complexity of the panel almost defies any attempt of the eye to create a coherent spatial order, the constant intertwining and interpenetrating of forms creates a definite sense of texture and depth. This effect is not caused entirely by the composition of the floral and herbal designs themselves, however. A close look at the blue ground itself reveals a remarkable texture, almost like feathers, following the outlines of the floral forms, subtly varying in shade, and lending a soft and velvety feeling to the background (figure 112). Obviously caused by the brush-

strokes with which the translucent blue pigment was applied, it would appear that the effect was deliberately exploited by the artist. Indeed, one might conjecture that we have here a background related to the background rock-designs of many contemporary Persian paintings, with their subtle innuendoes of human and plant forms lurking in rocks and hills; the blue color denotes a vaguely vegetal, slightly out-of-focus jungle background in depth behind the floral composition; the same effect can be seen in the turquoise ground of the spandrels (figure 112).

The implication of this effect is even more interesting--while one might suggest with some assurance that this design was done from a sketch or model of some sort, it is also evident that a large part of its total effect is due not merely to the design, but to the actual execution of the design on the ceramic medium. It is entirely possible that the actual execution was done by the creator of the design; he might have not only sketched the black line designs, but may have actually either personally executed or directly superintended the application of the colors themselves to the tiles. If the effort was indeed a collaborative one, we have clear evidence of a ceramic artisan who did not merely copy a court design, but who through such things as the texture of the background actually contributed considerably to the final effect of the painting. Again, we may stress that this panel is not merely a unified-field design on a tile revetment, but a painting in the fullest sense of the word. Such painting on tile, with counterparts elsewhere in Ottoman art,¹⁸ forms the contemporary Ottoman equivalent of the wall paintings of the Safavid palaces. It also forms one of the major creative efforts of Ottoman court artists at the time.

The spandrels of the panel, by contrast, are executed in a design of large rumî forms, stencil-type palmettes, and rosettes on a spiral vine background

(figure 112). The scale of the designs is even larger than those on the blue-ground field, and because of the arbitrary cutting-off of the design, few of the forms are seen in their entirety, with the exception of four large two-lobed leaves of the rumî sort. In a few instances, however, small elements of the spandrel design appear to pass under the red line forming the arch, to intrude slightly into the blue-ground field. The effect of these tiny leaves and tendrils is to lend a less restricted and more three-dimensional note to the entire composition. The red line of the arch itself, rather than serving as a formal separation of two areas of composition utilizing different modes of decoration, has a life and animation of its own, as it leaps and twists through the leaves and flowers, tying itself into curved or rectangular knots, and occasionally being captured by a tendril or leaf from the spandrels.

Before discussing the right half of the revak facade, we note one interior revetment which was not discussed previously which relates to the great blue-ground picture panel on the revak. This is a small blue-ground panel under the baldachin of the minber; again with two purple trees and a palette of blue, turquoise, red, and manganese-purple, it is a flower design with tulips and white flowers on the same type of blue background. One must indeed posit the same artist for this small panel as for the revak panel.¹⁹

The right half of the revak facade has undergone a number of serious changes since the completion of the mosque in 1561. The surface originally covered with a blue-ground floral panel, to the immediate right of the door, is presently covered with a repeat-field of "aux quatre fleurs" tiles of exceptional quality in blue and turquoise (figure 113), of a type already seen in several places in the left gallery (figure 88). Inserted gratuitously into the field is a tile showing the Holy Precincts at Mecca, which dates from considerably later than the mosque.²⁰ The panel, and the entire right revak wall area with

the exception of the panel on the extreme right (line figure D) evidently occupy their present location as a result of twentieth-century "restoration" work, but are framed by the Rüstem Pasha border and crowned by the usual cornice. The interior division of panel 6, the panel under discussion, is accomplished in the upper part with a blue-turquoise border of the type observed in the left gallery, suggesting that the present condition of both wall areas dates from the same "restoration." The two smaller panels created in the upper part of panel 6 are filled with blue-turquoise tiles; one contains the same type found below (figure 113), while the other contains tiles with a small central medallion, belonging stylistically and technically to the later seventeenth century.²¹

To the right of the great window, which is surrounded by the Rustem Pasha border, is a mihrap identical to the one already described on the left wall of the revak (figure 102). Beyond this is a panel of the reticulate palmette type (figure 101), which as we have seen forms a sort of leitmotif for the revak, filling many areas (keyed as "3" in line figures A, C, and D). Beyond this to the right is a smaller window again crowned with a thuluth inscription panel of blue on white. The Rüstem Pasha border and cornice are used to frame this panel to the right edge of the window, where they abruptly terminate; the rest of the wall to the extreme right is filled by a large panel (keyed as "8" in line figures A and D) 253 centimeters wide (figure 114), containing miscellaneous tiles of many different provenances, periods, and techniques, which are randomly cemented to the wall.

While in our opinion there are only a few fragments, most of them pieces of the Rüstem Pasha border, which can be ascertained positively to have originated in the Rüstem Pasha mosque revetments of 1561, there are fragments in the field of sufficient interest to merit a discussion. Also, it may be wise, in order

to evolve the most accurate possible appraisal of the original revetments of the mosque, to eliminate conclusively from the original revetments many of these tiles, some of which have been erroneously attributed to the year 1561.

The first four rows of tiles in the bottom of the field are identical to those of the far left of the revak, thought to date from around the third quarter of the seventeenth century. Above these tiles appear two almost complete rows of tiles of the same style and period; each tile contains a small central medallion, and the type is identical to those noted on one of the upper subdivisions of panel 6. Above these two rows, in incredible disorder, appears a great variety of tiles. Eliminating those with dark-blue designs on white, and those with yellow, which may be of European origin, and the various fragments of later blue-turquoise tiles analogous to those already mentioned, we are left with a number of fragments showing an elaborate design in the two-blue stippled mode on a very large scale (figure 115 and 116), with a palette of blue, gray (manganese?), turquoise, and a particularly brown and thinly-applied red. These tiles come in three morphological types--fragments of a wide border about 35 centimeters in width, pieces of a narrower border about 31 centimeters in width (both in figure 115), and a number of fragments of a white-ground field with two-blue palmettes and leaves (figure 116), several with self-contained narrow borders, some of which are curbed and suggest an original panel in the form of an arch with spandrels; such panels, as we have seen are invariably unified-field designs. There are eleven border fragments in the various sizes, and about thirty-six field fragments; those field fragments which have survived as complete tiles are of the unusual size of 22 by 28 centimeters.

In dealing with these fragments, we have two main questions; what was the form of the original panel, and for what building was it intended? It is apparent from the great width of the border fragments, which are comprised of blue-ground

guard stripes flanking a white-ground border of alternating twisting leaves and elaborate palmettes, that a panel surrounded by such a border was probably of unusually large size. Further, the enormous scale of the field fragments supports this contention. Unusual in that the main border to a white-ground field is itself white-ground in design, and unusual in the Rüstem Pasha context in the complex and detailed design, the original panel bore little resemblance to other revetments seen in the mosque; only the column-borders of the mihrap (figure 54) show a similar disposition of forms, although in a markedly different style and scale. But dissimilarity itself is not a convincing argument for these tiles not having originally a part of a building with such varied revetments, and there is the evidence of the brownish-red color and the general palette with which to contend. The fact that so few tiles remain is again not in itself evidence for their having been brought to the mosque from elsewhere; only eleven tiles remain from the blue-ground panel formerly to the right of the main entrance.

From the available fragments we can extrapolate the following facts about the form of the original panel. First, it was large and consisted of what we call a unified-field design on a white ground. As with most unified-field designs of this type, the border was contained in the total composition, interrupting the field design. The existence of two large tiles in mirror-reverse of each other (figure 116) is evidence for the panel having been symmetrical, as are most other panels of this type. The evidence of their having been an arched form to the panel is slightly more difficult to establish. In the first place, the fragments appearing to contain curved borders are presently at the very top of the wall, and consequently difficult to examine. In the second place, the curved segment is only the blue-ground guard stripe in every instance, as the basic design of the border is the same as that of the field. Third, there

is no evidence of their having been spandrels to the arch; as far as we can determine from the meager evidence, the tiles have either been cut or shaped to fit under an arch. Were the latter the case, we would have a panel with borders at least thirty-one centimeters wide, topped by an arch formed only of a guard stripe a few centimeters wide; such a composition would have looked rather curious by Ottoman artistic standards.

Despite this ambiguity, it would appear that the original panel either had an arch in the composition, or was cut to fit under an arch. Whether another border was added on top of the panel must remain unknown. The thirty-five centimeter border tiles were probably across the bottom of the panel, and the narrower borders were probably used on the sides. Because of the palette, and its relation, along with the twisted leaves and stippling, to the "wind-blown" panels of the interior (figure 66), the panel must be dated close to the time of the Rüstem Pasha mosque revetments, if actually not a part of them; it represents a level of technique which was definitely surpassed by the mid-'sixties. Of the closely dateable material, the revetments of the Rüstem Pasha han in Galata have disappeared; the two-blue revetments of the tomb of Rüstem Pasha at Şehzadebaşı (figure 117) have a contemporary date; although on a much smaller scale, and by a different hand, they do show similarities in the very brilliant turquoise and muddy red.

The borders surrounding the miscellaneous field 8 on the revak contain fragments from many borders, spanning well over a century of Ottoman tile-making. The only fragments worthy of note are those, also found in the field at the top of the panel, showing a symmetrical design of white clouds in reserve on a turquoise ground. A single fragment of this type is found in the interior of the mosque on the right side (figure 118), where it has been used to replace a missing forty-five degree border tile on the kible wall. The general design, as

we have seen, appears in the kible revetments of the Süleymaniye mosque, and is seen in several other Ottoman monuments as late as 1595.²²

The left revak door (K2 in line figure A) into the mosque is crowned with a lunette of irregular shape (figure 93), which as we have noted consists of a large-scale two-blue palmette design on a white ground, and surrounded by a blue-ground border with white lobed leaves in reserve, a similar fragment of which (figure 92) was seen in the left gallery. As we have noted, that fragment suggests that there may have been a corresponding lunette originally over the right door to the mosque, as the fragment does not correspond to any tiles missing from the left lunette. The design of that lunette is of large scale for such a small space; both technically and stylistically, the panel is closer to the later revak panels of the Süleymaniye tomb (see Chapter Three below) than it is to the fragments from large-scale panels of the Rüstem Pasha right revak (figure 116).

D. THE VARIABLE OF LOCATION

The information we have presented in describing and comparing the various tile revetments of the Rüstem Pasha mosque is in itself inadequate for a definitive attempt at determining conclusively the original state of the revetments of the building. However, there are some tentative conclusions which can be reached on the basis of the available evidence.

For the revak, there can be no doubt that there were originally two blue-ground panels, one to the right and one to the left of the main door. The right one has disappeared; it had a darker blue ground and may have been the second of the two panels manufactured, and only eleven individual tiles are left to show us what it must have looked like. From this evidence we further know that the blue-turquoise panel to the right of the main door, panel 6, does not originate

with the mosque, but has been added at a later time.

The left and right extremities of the revak wall, lacking as they do the Rüstem Pasha border and cornice, can be stated to be later additions also. It is not certain whether these places were originally covered with tiles or not; if not, they may have been casualties of Rüstem Pasha's demise in 1561. The tiles presently in these spaces are almost without exception from other sources, with the exception of those noted on the right panel, panel 1. A second possibility concerning these areas, although certainly less probable, was that each space originally contained a large unified-field panel of some sort. The obvious "candidates" would be the large-scale rumî panel, fragments of which are now found in the left gallery (figure 90), and a large-scale two-blue stippled panel, remains of which are to be found in the panel 1 of the right revak (figure 115). The technique of both panels is consistent with the year 1561, and the unusual features of each would appear to be more probably explained as occurring in a period of great flux and change, as there is nothing similar in later Ottoman tile art.

We may with confidence assume an original lunette in tile over the right revak door, one fragment of which is to be found in the left gallery (figure 92). Such a lunette would have been very similar to that found today over the left revak door (figure 93); neither, however, can positively be dated to the year of the completion of the mosque, and both might be later additions of ca. 1565. The outer structures of the mosque, including the staircases and lower doors, and the various dependencies, may also have evidenced some tile decoration formerly, although none remains.

The interior of the mosque would appear to be substantially in its original form, with the exception of the left gallery. In that case, there are two possibilities to explain its condition. The first is that it was stripped of certain

tiles in order to repair the rest of the mosque, and later tiles were then randomly substituted; this event would have taken place in all probability early in the present century. The second is that the gallery was left unfinished in 1561. The key to these problems lies in records of recent restorations of the building; unfortunately, detailed records and photographic evidence do not appear to exist. With some certainty, however, we know that the blue-turquoise tiles of the left gallery, and those with two tulips (figures 87 and 88), are not original to the mosque. Further, there is no surface in the left gallery which could have contained the large-scale rumî panel in its original state, and all fragments of this type must be assumed to have originated elsewhere.

The fragment of a double-vine panel (figure 97) presently in the left gallery suggests the former existence of another complete panel of this type (figure 119), which is used in the mosque in certain narrow high areas between apertures such as windows and doors.

The tulip-tiles of the left gallery (figure 87), as remarked, are by their arrangement of forms, their size, and their green color, dateable to the late 'sixties or 'seventies. Virtually all of the other types of tiles found in the left gallery, however, belong either to types clearly belonging to the mosque, and found in other locations in the mosque, or to homogeneous groups of tiles known definitely not to have been part of the original revetments.

The occurrence of earthquake damage to the mosque, and the subsequent plundering of the left gallery to repair it, is a possibility; the repairs to the main piers in the left gallery all occur on the non-visible parts of the pier, as viewed from below; one must assume that the revetments for these piers were originally manufactured at the same time; further they had been designed specifically to fit the piers. It would hardly seem possible that the tiles "ran out" before finishing the faces of piers I and III in the left gallery.

Further, the existence of many original revetments in the left gallery suggests that it probably contained many original revetment tiles which have since disappeared.

E. THE VARIABLE OF TECHNIQUE, AND THAT OF STYLE

In our analysis of the Rüstem Pasha revetments, we now come to the matter of technique, which as we have seen is one of the most important variables governing a study of Turkish ceramics in the sixteenth century, and which is for the Established Periodization an absolutely crucial variable in dating these ceramics. We cannot in this analysis separate the variables of style and technique, as the different stylistic trends which we have seen differentiated in the Rüstem Pasha revetments have different technical antecedents, different technical requirements, and a different set of technical demands for their creators.

The underglaze polychrome medium, as we have seen, had four marked advantages over the color-glaze ceramics used as wall tiles during the first half of the sixteenth century. First, it was a technique adapted to a more spontaneous, more linear style of decoration, where line could exist in its own right. Second, there were more colors possible, and colors could be separated from each other on the white slip; this brought about a finer and more meticulous type of design. Third, it allowed for a white ground, which like paper provided an ideal background to a linear and calligraphic type of decoration, while still accommodating the rumî, hatayî, and stencil-type decorations of the older technique. These first three advantages, it will be noticed, have the effect of broadening not only the types of designs which could be used, but the base of artistic labor as well; that is, designers from the court establishment, men accustomed to working with pen on paper, could now in theory partici-

pate in the creation of wall revetments in a direct fashion. The fourth advantage of the underglaze technique is one which accrued from its practical advantages when used in wares. Underglaze pottery is not only colorful, but in addition has a non-porous glazed surface, with a high gloss and water-resistant qualities. The shiny hard surface by itself imparted a quality of opulence and richness, which with the white ground added to the lightness of building interiors, a quality sought by Ottoman architects, who were beginning to experiment with great numbers of windows.

It would seem, as the Established Periodization has maintained, that the underglaze technique probably began in ware production, both for practical and aesthetic reasons. The international tradition of color-glaze and mosaic-tile revetments was very strong in the Ottoman empire, having been firmly established in Bursa by the first quarter of the fifteenth century. Color-glaze ceramic was unusable in fine wares because of its porous qualities and rough potting, but color-glaze revetments were used, as we have seen, up to the middle of the sixteenth century.

The grand climax of the color-glaze tradition, as we have seen, was the tomb of Prince Mehmet, built by Süleyman for his son in 1548.²³ The revetments are lavish, beautiful, and effective in their architectural setting, and it is difficult to imagine why the building is the last of a tradition. Difficult, that is, until one looks at the Rüstem Pasha revetments, with their aesthetic and practical advantages. At this general time, a court style originating in paper art was beginning to affect the production of brocades, carpets, tablewares, wood-carving, stone-carving, and all of the arts. Its impact on wall tiles would be a certainty.

From a technical point of view, the new technique was not only more adaptable, but it was probably quicker to produce and as a result somewhat cheaper,

although the cost of the raw materials may have offset this advantage. Remembering, however, that the first manifestations of the new technique were in blue and turquoise only, the parallel development of style and technique is probably best explained in the following way.

Supposedly, the cobalt-blue underglaze-painting not only successfully imitates the Ming palette, but the cobalt color would appear from all indications to be the easiest to use in the underglaze technique, as it could be thinned to give different values, did not tend to run, and sufficed both as line and as ground color. The turquoise, with its slightly greater propensity to run under the glaze, is also an easy color to use, and as its name indicates, was available in the copper-rich areas of central Asia Minor. Supposedly, the addition of the technically more complex and unreliable manganese-purple, sage-green, true-green, red, and black then laid the groundwork for a floral style, which subsequently erupted in the Rüstem Pasha mosque. We have already cast some doubt on this theory of development in our preliminary discussion of the "Damascus" wares, and will return to the problem in Chapter Three. We have also demonstrated that the observation of a perceptible "improvement" in the red color from the revak toward the mihrap of the Rüstem Pasha mosque, together with its gross chronological implications, is inaccurate. In fact, we have observed in the mosque considerable variation in this single color, which would appear to relate far more to the type of design than to any specific location within the building.

We can state with some certainty several unifying themes appearing in the tiles of the Rüstem Pasha mosque. First, there is not as yet any definitely accepted size for the mass-produced tile. There is a great deal of attention to the proposed surface in the construction of the basic tile itself. Second, the general palette, with few exceptions, consists of blue, light blue, tur-

quoise, and red, with a black line. We cannot at this point term this palette the end result of the dropping of sage-green and manganese-purple from the repertoire, whether due to economic considerations or to any inappropriateness of those colors to mosque revetments. The red is generally, with some rather significant exceptions, thinly applied to the slip, rather than forming little mounds of color under the glaze familiar from ceramics of the 'seventies and 'eighties. Further, the brownish-red appears primarily on the tiles with court designs, where it is used as an accent to the design. Some floral designs (figure 79) do also show a brownish red color, however. The tiles with a "good" red, much fewer in number, show not only a floral decoration, but have a whiter and clearer slip as well. Since the "better" technique will eventually come to dominate Ottoman tile production, regardless of the type of design used, we can in the case of the Rüstem Pasha mosque denote it as "forward-looking" without being forced to call it "later" than the other tiles. In a building such as this, with so many different trends, it is to be assumed that the "new" and the "old" may exist side by side in time and place.

With only a few exceptions, red is never used as the linear component of a design, as a stem, tendril, or outline. And where red is used in larger amounts, it is invariably in connection with a floral design, and specifically with those designs featuring stylized tulips. Finally, it is never used as a ground color in the Rüstem Pasha mosque.

This set of observations in itself can lead to inaccurate generalizations, however. The red color was exceptionally difficult to fire, and its color was affected not only by the ingredients used, but by the firing process itself, during which it evidently reacted with the overglaze. Coupled with this is the probability that contemporary measurements were none too accurate, with the result that no two batches of color were exactly alike, with the possible excep-

tion of the cobalt-blue. The result is that at any given time there is liable to be great variance in the red color. This can clearly be seen within the Rüstem Pasha revetments, where the red color on a repeat-field will sometimes vary considerably. Further, the same differences are observable in the blue color, in that case probably attributable to different hands applying the color in thicker or thinner lines, and more or less pronounced stippling.

From this we can determine that, in contrast to the design itself, stemming from one drawing or model, the technique is directly related to the factors of mass-production; we are dealing with modular objects, produced in vast quantities by uncertain numbers of men. Further, it is evident from a close observation of the black-line drawings on the tiles that there was a division of labor between the persons drawing the lines on the tile, and the person who subsequently added the colors; presumably, a third category of artisan actually fired the tile. There is yet another possibility to consider; that certain ateliers in İznik (or wherever the tiles were manufactured) received certain types of commissions, due to certain skills of their skilled craftsmen, and that from such a practice there may have been technical consequences. Thus it could be that the ateliers who had the most capable draughtsmen for the execution of the involved court-type designs were not using the most advanced techniques of applying the red color, while other ateliers, while not employing draughtsmen capable of copying the involved court designs on tiles, produced simpler floral tiles of surpassing technical brilliance. Such distinctions as this are the logical ones to be made in dealing with any mass-produced but hand-made product; without detracting in any way from the artistic merits of the Rüstem Pasha revetments, we believe that they strongly support our basic hypothesis. That is, they demonstrate not only a stylistic variance reflecting on the origins of the designs, but a technical variance which reflects on the production of the ceramics them-

selves.

Another technical feature of the Rüstem Pasha revetments which we have noted is the almost complete absence of a true green. Without factoring out the differences between coloration in tiles and wares, and without a specific assessment of the wares of the "Damascus" palette, one must necessarily view the absence of a green color in the mosque not only as a technical factor, but one perhaps of stylistic choice as well. For example, if we accept the Established view of "Damascus" wares in the chronology, it is hard to believe that sage-green would not have been used somewhere in the mosque, unless something drastic had happened to the supply of ingredients by the early 'sixties. If the color was "unsuitable" for wall tiles, so was the purple seen in several places in the mosque. If the eventual appearance of a true green was to replace the sage-green, how does one explain the absence of either in the Rüstem Pasha mosque? If versimilitude was a factor in the emergence of a true green, it seems peculiar that the favored color for leaves up to the end of the century remained a stippled blue.

The same considerations may be seen in the use in the Rüstem Pasha mosque of a manganese-purple in the picture-panel of the revak. The idea of the sudden discovery of a new color, which then bursts like a bomb-shell upon an artistic medium, is easy to understand. But such knowledge seldom disappears quickly; rather, if sage-green disappears, it is due either to trouble in finding supplies of the color, or as the result of a conscious choice, whether aesthetic or economic. The same goes for the purple; its absence in later revetments implies neither a "lost secret" nor a dwindling supply; it is due to a conscious choice, whether on the part of a court designer or because of a canon of color-use not known to us, to use the coloring only sparingly in tile-work, especially with the red color in close proximity. In fact, whatever the circumstances sur-

rounding the use of this color in wares, it was never used extensively in tiles, but continued in sparing use throughout the second half of the sixteenth century.

It is perfectly clear, in the case of the true green, that large-scale use of the color in tile work begins about the time of the completion of the Rüstem Pasha mosque; by the beginning of the next decade, in the Selimiye mosque in Edirne, the color is in widespread use. However, it is also plain that the Rüstem Pasha mosque, which supposedly stands at the beginning of the "Rhodian" period, marks the first dateable use of the manganese purple in tile work. Clearly, the Established Periodization must be carefully evaluated in this light.

As for the black line, the Rüstem Pasha mosque also marks a turning point in its use. From what we can determine, the drawing on the tile in a black line occurs in all types of designs within the mosque. In color-dominant designs, the dark colors used tend to obscure it entirely, suggesting that it was intended as an outline for the colors, rather than as an integral part of the finished design. In the "two-blue" style it appears as an outline, but as we have noted, a heavy blue line is drawn over it in many cases. But in a number of designs, including some of the floral designs, it begins to exist in its own right. Because of the large scale of the tile designs, the thin black line never attains the prominence in tile designs that it does in the frequently more detailed and meticulously-executed wares, but in the Rüstem Pasha mosque, together with the Süleymaniye, it can be said to have first found an importance of its own in dateable tile revetments.

Another aspect or technique to be considered is that of the final assembly of finished tile products on the building. An observation of the Rüstem Pasha revetments reveals the following basic process for application of revetment to

wall area. First, the general wall area to contain a specific panel was outlined with a "frame" of border tiles. The strict verticals were probably aligned with a plumb-line, and the horizontals by means of a string stretched between two points of known elevation.²⁴ The frame was then, in the case of repeat-field designs, filled with tiles, almost always starting at the top of a panel with a row of whole tiles, cutting off tiles where necessary at one edge and at the bottom, as inconspicuously as possible.

However, there are several cases in the Rüstem Pasha mosque of unified-field or large-scale designs where the overall design does not match exactly from tile to tile (figure 55). Such instances make it clear that various methods were employed in making the designs on such panels. Generally speaking, in the case of unified-field designs, it would appear that the entire field of tiles, with the slip probably already fired, was laid out on the ground and the basic design then sketched on the slip, with no attention paid to the joints between modules. Such a process was definitely followed, for example, in the case of the floral panel on the revak (figure 104). The tiles were then individually colored, and fired in lots of various sizes, depending on the capacity of the kiln used. They were then shipped to the building site, where the edges were bevelled and they were then reassembled on the ground like a jigsaw puzzle, before being cemented to the wall. The difficulties of cutting down such a field probably dictated that the frame was added after the field had been put on the wall; alternately, such fields were frequently constructed with very specific dimensions in mind, in order to avoid "fudging" at the building site. The type of hiatus observable in figure 55 is in all probability a result of an error in putting the puzzle together, rather than a result of any cutting and "fudging" of the tiles to fit the wall. If there was ever any necessity of cutting a unified-field, we may safely assume it was done at both sides and

the bottom, to preserve symmetry and make the cutting inconspicuous.

Evidently the craftsmen who assembled the Rüstem Pasha revetment tiles encountered some difficulties with a few of the unified-field compositions. The large-palmette border of the mihrap (figure 55) is only one example of this difficulty. On the whole, however, adjustments were made at the site to accommodate difficulties. Such an example is seen in one of the gallery-arch spandrels (figure 58), where a very large-scale stencil-type design evidences an extremely bad fit in its assigned space; the border as well as the field evidence serious cutting in order to fit the wall surface. Such instances point out the practical difficulties of covering a building with revetments prefabricated at some distant site, frequently with unreliable measurements, and then shipped many miles with inadequate assembly instructions to the building site. Such are the problems one would expect in a building early in the chronology of tiled buildings and yet clad with such an abundance of tiles. Such difficulties appear infrequently in later revetments, suggesting that such problems were eventually resolved. On the face of it, considering the number and complexity of the Rüstem Pasha revetments, one must credit the collectivities responsible for the building with a high degree of organization and the finished product with a high degree of technical success.

F. THE VARIABLE OF STYLE IN ITS IMMEDIATE CONTEXT

We are now prepared to deal more carefully with what is still the most important aspect of the mosque of Rüstem Pasha as it relates to a broader context of Ottoman art in the 'sixties. We have observed in the Rüstem Pasha revetments a number of types of ornament; these types provide a convenient general categorization into which to divide the revetments, and they correlate in varying degrees with variables of technique, quality, location in the building, and subject-

matter of designs. But to talk of style in the narrow context of the mosque requires considerable qualification at this point; from now on the use of the terms "style" and "type" will be used to differentiate the types of execution, such as the "stencil-type" designs or the "two-blue-type" designs, as stylistic and technical variations within a given style, "style" being understood as a broader category comprising different types of designs.

In another sense we have noticed that an artist was evidently expected to be conversant in a number of these "types" of decoration, which were frequently combined in a single composition according to certain rules of propriety. Thus we never see a rumî field arched over with two-blue spandrels, while the converse is frequently seen. When we talk of an "Ottoman style" in a larger sense, we are referring not only to a group of types of design, as it were, but to the implicit or explicit rules governing the uses of these various types of designs. The types, let us remember, are of varied origin, and several of them were in use over a very wide geographical span in the Islamic world before an Ottoman art could be distinguished. Indeed, in the matter of sixteenth-century book-binding, or even of carpets, it is sometimes only a technical examination which enables us to differentiate between Safavid and Ottoman examples, so much had the variables of style come to be held in common for these genres of art.

With this in mind, then, we can begin a differentiation of the design types within the style. Basically, there are three seen in the mosque of Rüstem Pasha, although we can break these down further to make finer distinctions. Calling them the rumî, hatayî, and floral types of decorations is to make a distinction on the basis of subject-matter. The rumî motif may either be extremely bold and massive, as in the forms of the outer mihrap-border (figure 56), or extremely fine, as in figure 62, with a number of degrees in between. It is seen in spandrels of the gallery arches (figure 57) and as a part of complex network

patterns (figure 69). It is not a form originating in Turkish art per se, but is found as early as the fifteenth century in eastern Iran. The term as we use it covers an extremely wide variety of designs, but the basic defining characteristics are the split-leaf form, and its larged cusped and tentacled variants.

The hatayî or "Chinese" designs, which are occasionally combined with either rumî or floral designs, will again be defined very broadly for our purposes. These designs feature curved leaves and lotus palmettes as their basic defining characteristics, again with a background of connecting vines. Such designs are most perfectly typified by the blue-and-white tiles in the Sünnet Odası of the Topkapı Palace, to be discussed in Chapter Three; examples of it in the mosque include a stencil-like decoration (figure 58), a two-blue type (figure 54), a two-blue stippled type (figure 59), and various smaller-scale arabesques (figure 71).

In this context, it is important to note that the fragments on the right revak of a large white-ground hatayî panel may well constitute the remains of the first panel of this sort in Ottoman tile art, a type of design which in later decades of the sixteenth century comes to dominate the types of designs used in revetments. It is a type of design conceivably originated in this scale and boldness in the atmosphere of competition and freedom which we have hypothesized existed at the time of the creation of the original Rüstem Pasha tiles; in addition to the importance of its scale, the border width, and the probable dating, is its possible place at the head of a long line of similar panels which follow it in the Süleymaniye tomb, the Selimiye mosque in Edirne, the mosque of Sokullu Mehmet Pasha, and the tomb of Murad III, to mention only a very few examples.²⁵ If the Rüstem Pasha fragments can be succinctly characterized in any way, it is as the large-scale realization, in a form suitable for mosque wall-revetments, of a type of court design originally intended for

the medium of paper, and probably, as we shall see, first appearing in the ceramic medium in a small scale in the tiles of the *Sünnet Odası* of the Topkapı Palace.

The third major type of design, the floral type, quite specifically employs stylized flowers--not the stylized and abstracted palmettes and rosettes of the *hatayî* style found throughout Islam, but recognizable flowers with leaves, stems, sepals, and petals, such as tulips, hyacinths, roses, rose-buds, peonies, carnations, and poppies--a phenomenon unique at this time to Turkish art. When these flowers are used in a repeat-field, they take on the topological aspects of the infinite arabesque, and sometimes adopt the spiraling and whirling networks of rinceaux of the *rumî* and *hatayî* designs; only rarely will such flowers be seen intruding in the other types of designs, however.

In their first appearance in the Rüstem Pasha mosque, flowers, and above all tulips, appear either single or in pairs in individual tile modules, with a vertical axis of symmetry in most cases, or in unified-field compositions where they have their own integral and rational stems and leaves, and show a higher degree of realism. They are also employed as color-accents to other types of designs in some instances, and frequently appear in border and cornice tiles.

In addition to these three basic types of designs, there are others which can be noted in the building. There are several peculiar types of designs stemming from motifs with a long and frequently obscure lineage in Islamic art; such are the "tiger stripe" or *çintamani* designs, or others of Chinese provenance, such as the cloud designs. There are also designs which would appear to be compositions of pure inventiveness, such as the spirals of *mouchette* forms (figure 63), or the bold and bizarre border to one of the single-flower unified-field panels (figure 100). Such bizarre types of designs spring up occasionally

throughout the rest of the century, perhaps in their most original and peculiar forms in the series of tile panels now found on the Altın Yol or "Golden Way" of the Topkapı Palace.

Another way of classifying the compositions in the Rüstem Pasha mosque is by means of their aspects of topology or symmetry. While this is a fascinating exercise, it would appear to be of little value to our general analysis beyond a few generalizations. We might want to speculate, however, in a later part of the present study, on the implications for mass-production of various arrangements of symmetries in repeat-field mass-production modules. Finally, there is the grosser morphological characterization of designs; whether they in fact form nets or reticulate patterns over the surface, or whether the elements are basically separate on the surface, or whether there are axial, spiral, or diagonal structures underlying the disposition of the elements of the design. To this can be added the variable of scale; what is the significance in a given repeat-field, for example, of the number of tiles in a basic repeatable unit? Why, when the individual tile has one axis of symmetry across it diagonally, are four such tiles arranged together to form the basic repeating unit (figures 69 and 70)? In such fields, there is no general diagonal emphasis; perhaps such lack of symmetry over the entire wall surface was abhorrent at the time; the reasons or implied reasons may be of some significance.

In the Rüstem Pasha mosque, moreover, the basic "types" occur separately, rather than in the same panel. The separation of the different types of decoration implies, as we have noted, not only a division of artistic labor, but a sense of propriety forming one of the main characteristics of a style in the broader sense. While it would seem impossible to derive any formal "rules" from the observation of the ceramics themselves in this one building, we might want

to keep in mind the basic repeating types of use of various designs and the sense of propriety that they imply.

With the exception of placement of inscriptions, there does not appear to be any specific iconography to the mosque. That is, reasons other than the subject matter of individual tile panels probably account for the particular placement of each individual panel in the mosque, although it is interesting to note that the very naturalistic picture panels were placed outside the sanctuary of the mosque. We have already stated our belief that the style in the mihrap of the mosque reflects the style of an older and more prestigious designer, whose status in the artistic establishment of the court, rather than the actual designs he created, allowed him the most prominent part of the mosque for his project.

G. THE EMERGING STYLISTIC SYNTHESIS

Our most reliable index for the evolution of a style in Ottoman decorative arts as they apply to paper (which in our contention is frequently the "cutting edge" medium for stylistic change due to its use by court artists), is the style used in illuminating Ottoman tughras, the decorative symbol of imperial authority appearing at the head of decrees of state.²⁶ The later tughras of Süleyman the Magnificent demonstrate that by the middle of the sixteenth century, all three of the basic design types we have delineated, the rumî, hatayî, and floral designs, were being used side by side in tughra illumination (figure 121). The evidence seems to indicate that the rumî and hatayî designs were used for some time in tughra illumination while the use of flowers began around the late 'fifties of the century. But the original emergence of the floral designs may well have been in ceramics, a medium better-suited to their color-dominant designs, and we cannot rule out the possibility that this component of the style may have

originated not at the court itself, but from the ceramic ateliers, as a result of experimentation in style and technique by the potters themselves.

It is important to remember, however, that even in the ceramic decorations, the floral type of design is only one current comprising the greater style. The revetments of the Rüstem Pasha mosque have been described in the literature as overwhelmingly floral in their design, and Ottoman ceramics themselves are often thought of as being floral in their decoration. In fact, from the Rüstem Pasha revetments and their evidence, we see that the floral designs are only one facet of the Ottoman tile decoration; with their bold stylized flowers they are among the most successful and striking of tile designs, however, and they first appear in the Rüstem Pasha mosque. If we are considering the mosque to be a proving ground for new designs, the floral designs tend to come out the winners.

By contrast, the revetments of the mosque do not show any dramatic new variations on the rumî and hatayî themes, except for the novelty of some of the topological arrangements of forms, especially in the repeat-fields. The major innovation in the hatayî types of designs is the two-blue stippling, which although not as arresting an innovation as the floral forms, was perhaps to affect the ultimate course of Ottoman ceramics more strongly. The major importance of the Rüstem Pasha revetments is in our view not the innovations in each category of designs, but the use of all three categories side by side, and the implications of this fact for what we shall be calling a "classical moment" in Turkish art in the later sixteenth century.

The chronological implications of the building are clear; the mihrap designs, while extremely good from any standard, represent, at the very beginning of Ottoman ceramic production of underglaze tiles, the end of a purely paper-derived style in Ottoman tile decoration. The linear and dry designs give way in the

rest of the building to new ideas of scale, to new techniques of execution more clearly adaptable to ceramics, and more effective visually; artistic innovation, which is a phenomenon frequently restrained by the hierarchical structure of Islamic institutions, appears here to be prized to a degree seldom encountered in Islamic art. There would appear to be no other explanation for this sudden explosion of the floral designs into so many genres of art in such a short time, in so prominent a fashion.

The reasons for this relate in some ways to the specific circumstances surrounding the Rüstem Pasha mosque. A new technique being used on an unprecedented scale, possibly with the revetments of the tomb of Şehzade Mehmet as paragone, subsidized by a patron who evidently decided to spend a great deal of money, under an artistic system where upward mobility was relatively easy, and where an atmosphere of achievement and competition prevailed, undoubtedly helped allow the emergence of new and daring designs. Because of the sheer size of the project, many court artists and tile-makers participated in the design and execution of the tiles. The older and more conservative master, working in a style of illumination which he helped establish as a leading calligrapher, created the designs of the mihrap, its surrounding revetments on the kible, and the blue-on-white calligraphic panels over the mihrap and kible windows. In other parts of the mosque the younger designers, with their varied backgrounds, competed with one another to create designs which might attract the attention either of their master, or of the patron himself, through whose favors advancement was possible and pecuniary reward assured. The movement outward from the center of gravity of the chancery style, with its variety of designs of all types, was eventually to lead to a new coalescing and congealing of a new stylistic synthesis in Ottoman art, a "classical moment" of the later part of the sixteenth century.

The implications of a collaborative effort for our knowledge of other variables is also important to determine. For example, it is possible that the Rüstem Pasha mosque may have been considered an anomaly in its time, an eccentric and over-decorated building, if only in the sense of the variety, and not the quantity, of its revetments. Certain types of designs appearing there never emerge again in Ottoman art; the implications might be that once the basic technical problem of large revetments had been overcome, once the labor and transportation collectivities had been organized, once a standardized size of module had been determined, and all of the basic preferences and structures had been established, the art of ceramic revetments, while continuing to show original trends, became in some aspects more of a standardized process, and mass-production of certain ever-popular themes gradually replaced the variety and experimentalism of the mosque.

H. SUMMARY

To summarize, there would appear to be eight main points which have emerged from our examination of the revetments of the Rüstem Pasha mosque:

The first is a basic stylistic dichotomy between an older designer and a group of younger ones, as we have noted.

The second is that in the Rüstem Pasha mosque certain technical problems, most importantly that of the red color, are encountered on a large scale for the first time.

Third, a large number of floral designs appear for the first time in tile-decoration, but emerge as an apparently sophisticated and well-developed phenomenon from the beginning.

Fourth, there becomes evident a secondary stylistic dichotomy between color-

dominated and line-dominated designs, the Ottoman equivalent of "painterly" and "linear," which may suggest a division of labor in the creation of designs between ceramic artisans and court artists.

Fifth, there is no agreed-upon module size for tiles as yet, but tiles are carefully manufactured in some instances to conform to the dimensions of the walls to be covered.

Sixth, there would appear to be no iconographical programme in the building; the artists were moreover offered comparatively free rein in their choice of designs. Although the placement of designs in some cases, those of the repeat-field panels, may have been the result of a conscious choice by a "planner," it seems possible that in certain cases, those where the unified-field panels are concerned, the artist may have been assigned a particular wall area and left to his own originality to fill it with a tile panel. In almost all cases, however, the artists worked within the certain implied rules of propriety regarding mixing of design types, color use, and scale.

Seventh, in the light of historical hindsight, the Rüstem Pasha revetments were a proving ground for the 'sixties and 'seventies, a sort of work-book of designs, some of which mark the beginning of important traditions in Ottoman tile art.

Eighth, the revetments definitely cast some doubt on certain aspects of the Established Periodization as we have discussed it.

The building stands therefore as a pivot on which the broader study of Ottoman art and ceramics can rotate, due to the circumstances of its date in the overall chronology of Ottoman art. If the observations we have made are to be validated, however, they must be tested in the context of the development of underglaze ceramics up to the year 1561; this involves filling in a "hole" in the Established Periodization centering on the undated revetments of the "Damascus" group. They must also be tested against the hypothetical concept of a "classical" style in Ottoman art which we have proposed, involving a broader look at Ottoman art in the second half of the sixteenth century.

CHAPTER THREE UNDATED WARES AND REVETMENTS: THEIR PLACE IN THE
DEVELOPMENT OF TURKISH CERAMIC ART

In Chapters I and II of this study we have dealt with objects within the broad framework of the Established Periodization which dominates so much of the recent literature. In so doing, we have formed the basic skeleton of the chronological development for Turkish ceramics from the first quarter of the fifteenth century through the completion of the Rüstem Pasha mosque in the early sixties of the sixteenth century, relying primarily on clearly dateable monuments, such as wall tiles and inscribed wares, or on other objects which can be closely related to them in time. Within the framework, however, there are several problems, some of which have been briefly noted. The place of the so-called "Damascus" wares in the general chronology is not without its difficulties; in addition, the larger group of blue-and-white wares and tiles with few affinities in style to the various "Kütahya" and "Golden Horn" objects already discussed must be examined in some detail. Two building revetments also present problems; those on the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem and those of the Ramazan Oğlu mosque in Adana have an ambiguous place in the chronological development, and it is with these two buildings that we shall first concern ourselves.

A. REVETMENTS OF THE DOME OF THE ROCK IN JERUSALEM

In the years around 1545, Süleyman I undertook the restoration of the exterior and interior of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, which involved covering a large part of the exterior with revetment tiles. The origins of the types of tile-work presently found on the building, the nationality of the craftsmen

who created them, and their implications for the overall development of Turkish ceramics, have been the subject of some discussion in the literature.

Perhaps the boldest theory dealing with the revetments of the Dome of the Rock is again that of Arthur Lane.¹ Lane, who had access to important information on the condition of the building before the recent restorations, felt that the large-scale use of tiles on that monument provided the impetus for the expansion of İznik tile manufactories which made possible the great revetments of İstanbul and the Ottoman Empire in later years. However, there are important defects in Lane's argument; some of these were pointed out by Professor Erdmann,² while others become apparent in the context of the development of the present analysis.

The larger part of the tiles on the Dome of the Rock are apparently either tile-mosaic or color-glaze tiles, generally of the type we have called cuerdaseca tiles, the colors being separated by a "dry line." The provenance of such tiles has not been established with regard to any of the Ottoman monuments studied up to now; those in Jerusalem would further appear to have no relationship either technically or stylistically to the Ottoman color-glaze tiles, beyond the general resemblance of color-glaze technique.

The inscription around the drum of the Dome from which van Berchem obtained the date 952/1545-46 is executed in tile mosaic. It occurs at the very highest part of the drum, at the cornice above which the (formerly) wooden frame of the bonnet-dome began. There would appear to be no evidence in this inscription, however, for Lane's assertion that work must have started at this, the highest point on the building; in fact, it would appear that the more logical process of adding tile revetments to a building would have commenced with the "frames" and fields, before proceeding to the cornice-mouldings and inscriptions.³ Whatever the case, however, there would appear to be no evidence that this tile-

mosaic inscription was necessarily among the first of the revetments added under Süleyman. Further, it will be remembered that no tile-mosaic work had been done in the Ottoman realms on any scale since the reign of Mehmet II Fâtih.

A part of the remaining revetments was of the color-glaze type; Lane, using an unpublished report by A.H. Megaw,⁴ remarks that these revetments were of two types; the conventional cuerda seca polychrome tiles, with the colors strictly separated, and an "intermediate type in which the glaze overflows the cuerda seca outlines."⁵ Whether this type of tile is that which we have observed in Edirne in the mosque of Murad II or not is unclear.

Lane then remarks that

. . . it appears that in the course of the job the tilemakers worked out for themselves a technique of underglaze painting which is used for the majority of tiles. A tile on the architrave of the North Porch signed "'Abd Allah of Tabriz" and dated 959 H./A.D.1552 is painted blue, turquoise, and black on a white ground, and is technically similar to the Isnik tiles.⁶

Evidence gathered by Megaw, according to Lane, confirmed that many of the tiles were made locally, although the technical characteristics of these tiles are not specified. Lane continues, "In the later stages tiles were imported from Isnik, and these have the typical 'sealing-wax red.' The earlier cuerda seca tiles are of types peculiar to this building, and are not found elsewhere."⁷

The evidence presented in this argument, and its ambiguities, present a number of problems. First, the techniques used in the Dome of the Rock revetments were several; whether they represent a chronological succession, is not clear. The dated inscription on an underglaze tile mentioned by Lane, involving the name of an artist of uncertain nationality with the nisbah "al-Tabrizi," and the date of the drum cornice inscription in tile-mosaic, are the only definite dates presented to us in the argument. They also represent in the latter instance the only case in the sixteenth-century Ottoman world of an artist sign-

ing his name to a tile revetment. There is no dating offered for the "Rhodian" tiles with the sealing-wax red, nor is there any linking of them in time with the dated revetments. The presence of several techniques side by side does not a priori mean that a technical discovery has been made; monuments already discussed in Bursa, Edirne, and İstanbul all show both underglaze and color-glaze tile work in their revetments, and underglaze tile work had been used, as we have seen, since around the year 1500 in the Ottoman domains.

The solution to these problems is only to be undertaken through extensive in situ examination of the Dome of the Rock, now made more difficult because of the recent extensive restoration of the monument.⁸ A very brief examination undertaken on the exterior of the building in the summer of 1969, and a careful scrutiny of the extremely limited published information on the revetments, leads however to some tentative conclusions.

First and foremost, this brief examination of the building disclosed remarkably few tiles which could be said to have either technical or stylistic affinities with any Ottoman ceramics examined in the present study to this point (figures 1 and 2). The present exterior revetments appear to be in some substantial part recent products, manufactured expressly for the building. The only underglaze revetments comprise the wide blue-ground inscription band just under the cavetto cornice of the ambulatory, the spandrels of the portico arches, showing blue, turquoise, black and white underglaze designs of flowering trees not far removed in style from those of the Rüstem Pasha revak panel, and large fields of blue-and-white or blue-and-yellow repeat-field tiles with a rumî decoration and a single diagonal axis of symmetry, arranged in groups of four. A close examination in situ to determine craquelure, quality of drawing and colors, and potting materials, has not been possible.

Analysis of fragments of color-glaze tiles said to have come from the Dome

of the Rock has been possible in two instances. The first group of fragments, presently preserved in the YMCA in (New) Jerusalem, and said to have come from the Dome before the formation of the state of Israel, is composed of a dirty-buff clay body of somewhat coarse appearance, and decorations with no close affinities to known Anatolian revetments. The other group, consisting of shiny glazes on a brilliant white chalky body, again would appear to have little relationship with known Ottoman ceramics.⁹

Therefore, if a link between the Dome of the Rock revetments and Ottoman ceramics is to be found, it will probably involve those types of underglaze tiles already noted. While the building may have undergone extensive modifications since the restorations under Süleyman I, we must question Lane's argument that the underglaze revetments on the building were of sufficient quantity to have had an important impact on the organization of İznik production, even assuming that they may have been made in İznik. The contemporary Ottoman tile-work, at least that contemporary to the dated drum-cornice, is the color-glaze tile work of the tomb of Şehzade Mehmet in İstanbul, which has no parallels with the Jerusalem revetments; we have no evidence for either revetment type having originated in İznik.

The panels on the doorway spandrels of the Dome of the Rock, for which we have at present insufficient technical information, remain a more intriguing problem. Should the tiles of the doorway spandrels be close in technique to the underglaze İznik ceramics, and if their date can be established as around 1552, they may be counted as among the earliest of Ottoman tiles with a floral decoration (figure 2). Another possible origin for these panels is suggested by the nisbah of the artist, 'Abd Allah of Tabriz; still another, and more probable, locale for their manufacture may have been the city of Damascus. In the second half of the sixteenth century there was an important production of blue-

ground underglaze polychrome revetment panels quite similar to the Dome of the Rock panels, which although stylistically and technically related to the Ottoman products, were made near Damascus, if not in that city. The relationship between Damascus tile-work and that of İznik will be briefly discussed in a subsequent section of this analysis; the existence of panels of tiles with both İznik and Damascus characteristics makes this problem a somewhat complicated one.¹⁰

The strongest link between the Anatolian tile revetments and those of the Dome of the Rock is the group of blue-and-white tiles with rumî designs and a single diagonal axis of symmetry, seen in large quantities all over the exterior of the Jerusalem building. Tiles with a single diagonal axis of symmetry, forming what we have called a "reticulate network" type of design, are generally used in fours in Ottoman revetments; they appear in the Süleymaniye kible revetments and in the Rüstem Pasha mosque (figures 177, 69, and 70), but are seldom found after 1561 in Ottoman buildings; they are of a pattern which is typical of Ottoman revetments of the late 'fifties and early 'sixties. Even more interesting, however, is the fact that tiles of the identical design as those in the Dome of the Rock can be seen in the mosque of the Ramazan Ođlu in Adana, a building which also contains many tiles of the "Rhodian" palette (figures 184 and 185). The Adana building is of course closer to Jerusalem than to İznik in distance, and we shall return to a discussion of this particular type of tile, and its significance, in the context of a fuller discussion of the Adana building and its revetments.

A third group of underglaze tiles on the Dome of the Rock includes the friezes of inscriptions (figure 123), with their white thuluth calligraphy on blue ground. These are indeed reminiscent of the inscription panels in the Süleymaniye (figure 196) and the Rüstem Pasha mosque (figure 94). Limited in

their basic palette, they represent no technical advance over earlier Ottoman underglaze revetments (if they do indeed represent Ottoman work), except in the matter of their large scale; pending a detailed examination, their exact relationship to dateable Ottoman Turkish revetments cannot be determined.

The last group of underglaze tiles in the Dome of the Rock includes the revetments with the "sealing-wax red" mentioned by Arthur Lane.¹¹ Occurring in small numbers in the interior of the building only, they have never been reproduced in publications, and there is no certainty that they must date to the year of either the cornice inscription or that of the doorway spandrels.

It becomes clear, then, that the relationship of the Dome of the Rock revetments to a "breakthrough" in Ottoman ceramic development, whether stylistic, technical, or related to the means of production, cannot be ascertained in any way. In fact, we have been able to show only very limited parallels between the Jerusalem tiles and any found in Anatolia or İstanbul; in the cases where parallels do indeed exist, there would appear to be no evidence connecting the objects either to İznik, or to the overall development of Ottoman ceramics, in any definite manner.

B. THE RAMAZAN OĞLU MOSQUE IN ADANA

The mosque of the Ramazan Oğlu in Adana, the Ulu Cami or main mosque of that city, was mentioned quite prominently in Katharina Otto-Dorn's monograph on Turkish ceramics¹² as the first building to use İznik ceramics of the "Rhodian" type on a large scale. Subsequent criticism of that theory by Erdmann has called its dating into question, but there has been no more recent follow-up in the literature, and there is virtually no published material on the building and its revetments.¹³

The building itself was built by accretion over some time; it is of the

typical southeast Anatolian or Cilician type, with a prayer hall of greater width than depth, consisting of ten vaulted bays (line figure E). To the left or eastern side of the prayer hall are a tomb chamber and a vaulted eyvan with a mihrap and a small Ottoman portico, while the courtyard to the north is surrounded by a large open revak of the Ottoman period. The west portal of this revak bears an inscription with the date 1541; the east portal bears an undated religious inscription.¹⁴

Tile revetments are found in the tomb chamber, the east eyvan, and in the prayer hall itself, with none present on the revak or facade of the building; beginning with those of the prayer hall, and referring to line figure E, we may classify the revetments in the following manner.

Wall A is covered to a height of approximately two meters with hexagonal tiles (figure 131) of small size, executed with a dry greenish-black line and decorations in blue, light-blue, and manganese-purple, while the surrounding border uses the same colors.

Wall B is framed by a border of turquoise-ground tiles with a cloud design in reserve white (figure 125) similar to that seen in the Süleymaniye mosque (figure 46); on the outer edge of this border is a dark-red crenellated cornice. The field tiles are 16.5 centimeters square, an unusually small size for mass-produced Ottoman field tiles, and exhibit an aux quatre fleurs design in a stencil-type execution, again with a palette of blue, turquoise, and red with black outlines on the white slip.

Wall C shows a field of the same type as Wall B, but with darker and richer colors (figure 127); the tiles are quite large, being roughly twenty-six centimeters square, a module rarely if ever encountered elsewhere in Ottoman ceramics. The border shows a design of white leaves and rosettes in reserve on a dark-blue ground with red crenellations along one edge. Walls D, F, and G have simi-

lar revetments, again to the same roughly two-meter height.

Wall E contains the mihrap, its frame, and a tiled lunette above it under the vault (figures 126, 128, and 129). The tiles of the mihrap niche exhibit a large floral composition, with palmettes, tulips, and hyacinths, of a style whose only parallel seen so far in this study is that of the lunette above the left portal of the Rüstem Pasha mosque (figure 93). Above the floral design in the niche is a blue-ground panel with a religious inscription; the whole is surrounded by a border of leaves and rosettes. The mihrap tiles are markedly less dry in their execution than other revetments in the mosque; their two-blue execution has a freer, almost sloppy quality in the drawing. This factor, and the fact that they have a size (24 cm²) familiar in later İznik tile production, may mean that the tiles of the mihrap niche post-date those of the rest of the kible wall, if only by a few years.¹⁵

The lunette over the mihrap (figure 126) is exactly the same in style and quality as the tiles on walls C, D, F, and G (figure 127). Its border, virtually unique in the history of İznik ceramics, is a dark-red and dark-blue rumî design with no white slip visible. Above the lunette is an arch faced with a specially-designed tile border, which fits the curve of the arch, and echoes the style of the field of the lunette.

Wall I is the same as Wall B, with small-module stencil-type designs inside a turquoise-ground cloud border.

The open eyvan to the left of the prayer hall is tiled on all walls except the kible wall, to a height of around two meters. Three types of tile are used here; all with the turquoise ground cloud border seen on Walls B and I of the interior. The first two field-tile types are hexagons with manganese-purple, one being identical to that of Wall A of the prayer hall (figure 131) and the other similar in style. The third type is a small square blue-and-white tile

(figure 133) with a dark-blue rumî design in a large scale on the white slip, with a single diagonal axis of symmetry, arranged in groups of four in the field. The overglaze on these tiles has a tendency to a very broad craquelure, and the slip is a slightly off-white color; as we have mentioned, this type of tile is identical to that seen in great numbers on the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem (figure 122).

In the tomb chamber are three catafalques or sandıka (figure 132) covered with tiles. Inscriptions on the larger end of each, executed in blue-ground compositions with white thuluth letters in reserve, and including small touches of red, name the burials as those of three members of the Ramazan Oglu family, the hereditary Beys of Cilicia.¹⁶ That on the right commemorates Emir Halil ibn Davud, who died in 196/1510. The other two mark the graves of two of the Emir Halil's grandsons by his son Piri Pasha, the change in title from Emir to Pasha marking the transition to Ottoman rule. The inscriptions, all obviously executed at the same time, would appear to give a terminus for the earliest possible dates for the prayer-hall kible revetments as well, as the smaller end of each sandıka is covered with a pentagonal field of tiles of exactly the same design, style, and technique as the tiles of Walls C, D, F, and G of the prayer hall, and the latest death recorded in the inscriptions (and thus the earliest possible date for all of the revetments mentioned) is the year of the death of Mustafa ibn Piri Pasha in 951/1552. Positing some delay, perhaps several years, from the death of Mustafa to the creation of the tiles, we find ourselves confronted with revetments which at their very earliest must be roughly contemporary with the tiles of the Süleymaniye mosque in İstanbul, and which like the latter show a stencil-type symmetrical hatayî design and the use of a turquoise-ground cloud-border.

The walls of the tomb chamber contain two types of field tiles both of which

are small hexagons. The first, with an aubergine or manganese-purple color (figure 131) has already been observed in the prayer hall of the mosque and in the eyvan. The second (figure 130), using the same basic design, includes a bright, lustrous red of the very highest quality; this is to my knowledge the only appearance of the red color in a hexagonal repeat-field tile in the entire history of Ottoman ceramics. The primary technical difference between the two types of hexagonal tiles, besides that of color, is a markedly inferior overglaze and craquelure and an off-white slip on the manganese-purple tiles; those with the red are of the highest technical quality.

Such an examination of the revetments of the Ramazan Ođlu mosque points out a number of relationships with other monuments which have been mentioned up to this point in the present study. Through these parallels, and with the realization that the date of 1541 on the west portal of the building may denote a restoration of the fabric of the building, but not necessarily a date for any of the tile revetments,¹⁷ we arrive at a chronological placement of the building revetments in the later 'fifties or later; in addition, the presence of hexagonal tiles with the red color suggests the revetments of the building as a possible "bridge" between the earlier hexagonal field-tiles, and the almost invariably square field-tiles of the later sixteenth century.

As we have already seen, the existence of certain anomalies and unique objects punctuates the analysis of Turkish ceramics at irregular intervals. The appearance of so many tiles of unusual and varied types in a building so far away from İznik, the supposed place of their manufacture, is very confusing at first sight, especially as they involve shapes, colors, styles, and types of decoration not seen before, and parallels with distant and problematical monuments.

Our chronological placement of the bulk of the Adana tiles, those with the

blue, light-blue, turquoise and red designs of a stencil-type, and the turquoise-ground borders, must on the grounds of parallels with the Süleymaniye and the evidence of the dating on the sandıka of Mustafa ibn Piri Pasha have as its earliest terminus a date in the later 'fifties. The Adana tiles do however exhibit a certain dryness of execution, an extensive use of a thinner and lighter cobalt-blue, and a large amount of red, which are factors one tends to associate with later years, such as those immediately following the Rüstem Pasha revetments. While nothing definite can be determined from this parallel, our initial impression is that these particular tiles must post-date the Süleymaniye tiles, if only by a short time.

The mihrap tiles (figures 128 and 129) appear at first glance to be later than the rest of the Ramazan Oğlu revetments. Two-blue stippling, which appears for the first time in dateable form in the Rüstem Pasha revetments (figure 93), and a rather uneven technical quality as far as uniformity of colors is concerned, tend to suggest that we have here a product of the early 'sixties, of a quality thought acceptable for a small provincial mosque in a distant city. We suggest that the mihrap may have formerly had the flattened form and alternating courses of dark and light stone typical of Cilician mosques, and was at a date slightly later than 1561 rebuilt and tiled with polychrome tiles.

The lunette over the mihrap, of a date closer to that of the other prayer-hall revetments (figure 126 and 127) and to the tiles of the sandıka as well (figure 132) contrasts strongly in style with the tiles of the mihrap niche below it, in the perfection of its execution. The kible wall tiles which form close parallels with this lunette (figure 127) have a single diagonal axis of symmetry, and four tiles form a repeating unit on the wall; this again suggests a date for both the fields and the lunette close to those of the Süleymaniye and the Rüstem Pasha mosque, with their designs of similar topographical layout.

The technical superiority of the Adana tiles, and their use of a lighter-value blue, together with their stylistic similarities to later hatayî field tiles of the sixteenth century (figures 198 and 207) suggest a date in the mid-'sixties.

Quite possibly, the sequence of remodeling of the Adana mosque proceeded in the following manner. Upon the death of Muhammad Şah ibn Piri Pasha, older brother of Mustafa, in 1541, a certain amount of reconstruction took place in the mosque, possibly including the revak, with its characteristic Ottoman repeating-dome structure, and the west portico bearing the above date.¹⁸ Upon the death of Muhammad Şah's brother Mustafa eleven years later, a new ruler may have decided to embellish the mosque further by adding tile revetments. Subsequently, the tiles for the sandıka, and those of the kible wall of the mosque, with the exception of the mihrap niche, were produced in İznik around 1562, brought to the mosque, and installed. Perhaps at the same time the hexagonal tiles for the tomb chamber walls, those with the red color, were also made. At this time, a definite modular unit for mass-produced field-tiles had not yet been standardized at İznik (evidenced by the Rüstem Pasha tiles), and the hexagonal tiles, small in size and without sharp corners, might be easier to ship to a distant site. Extrapolating purely from the red color, these hexagonal tiles could be roughly contemporary with some of the Rüstem Pasha revetments with a similarly high technical quality (figures 68 and 82); alternately, they may have been made by the same workshop.

It would seem that the tiles of the kible of the prayer hall and those of the south, east, and north walls of the tomb chamber, with their technical and in some cases stylistic common features, would be the earlier of the "Rhodian" type tiles in the building; further, these walls would appear logically to be among the most important places in the building to be covered with tiles. The

side walls of the prayer hall, the back or west wall of the tomb chamber, and the eyvan with its corridor communicating with the tomb chamber, might be supposed to be of lesser importance. For this reason, we suggest that the aubergine hexagonal tiles, despite their color resemblance to the so-called "Damascus" wares which are placed prior to 1550 in the Established Periodization, are considerably later than the rest of the tiles in the mosque; they may be products of ceramic ateliers of Damascus in the later sixteenth or even the seventeenth century. Their slip, drawing, coloration, and slightly crackled overglaze, all suggest a provenance different from that of the other tiles; they are probably copies of the hexagonal tiles with red coloration, designed at a later date to harmonize with the earlier revetments in the mosque.

The mihrap tiles, while probably not added as late as the tiles with the manganese-purple color, would appear to be products of İznik in the later decades of the sixteenth century, due to their close parallels with some tiles of the 'seventies known to have been produced in that city. We suggest that their stylistic and technical resemblance to tile-work of the reign of Murad III in the later 'seventies may mean that they were added to the mihrap around that date.

The blue-and-white tiles with one diagonal axis of symmetry found in the left eyvan (figure 133) are among the most puzzling tiles in the mosque, given their close parallels with the facade field-tiles of the Dome of the Rock. They occur on either side of the mihrap in the eyvan, and are enclosed by turquoise-ground borders with white clouds in reserve identical to those seen in the prayer hall. The presence of this border around the blue-and-white fields suggests to us that the revetment panels were installed at roughly the same time as the kible revetments of the interior; that is, in the late 'fifties or early 'sixties. The blue-and-white tiles themselves are small, being roughly eighteen

centimeters square, and have a craquelure and a slightly off-white slip seldom seen in İznik tile-work of the "Rhodian" type. The vital clues in determining the sequence of these revetments lie in two factors. First, the panels of blue-and-white tiles are completely surrounded with the cloud-border, making it rather unlikely that the border was added at a later time. Second, the blue-and-white tiles do not completely fill the frame of the border, a frame which like all others in the mosque and tomb outlines a wall area about two meters high. In fact, the last row and a half of tiles within the frame at the top are not blue-and-white tiles of the type in the rest of the field, the type also seen at Jerusalem (figure 184). They are in fact copies of these tiles, which were necessary in order to fill in the field to the two-meter height defined by the border. These copies, with a marked bluish cast to the overglaze, use a black line and lighter values of blue in their designs. Further, contrary to the practice observed in the Rüstem Pasha mosque, the "fudging" with cut copies has been done in a rather conspicuous manner at the top of the field, rather than at the bottom; evidently the copies are then used to supplement the tiles with the darker-blue, which were no longer in supply. We suggest that these copies, whether made in İznik or elsewhere, were specifically made to augment a fixed supply of earlier tiles, at the time that the eyvan was revetted sometime in the second half of the sixteenth century. The dark-blue design tiles may have been leftovers from the Dome of the Rock which were made available for the Adana building; they probably date from Süleyman's restoration of the Jerusalem monument.

The constituent elements of this progression, revetment periods I ("Rhodian" tiles of the tomb chamber, sandıka, and mosque kible), II (cloud-borders and blue-and-white tiles of the kible wall of the eyvan, together with the copies), III (tiles of the mihrap niche), and IV (tiles with manganese-purple designs),

would appear to be consistent with not only the building itself, but with the larger outlines of this study. We have rejected the possibility of the manganese-purple tiles being earlier primarily because of their location in the mosque and their inferior technique.

As for the blue-and-white tiles, whether "left over" or not from the Dome of the Rock, and whether İznik products or not, they would appear to have a date close to mid-century judged both on the basis of their style and the topography of their design; their size is unusually small when compared to tiles of known İznik provenance, suggesting again that their chronological placement may be at the tentative and experimental beginnings of the period of production of square repeat-field underglaze tiles in the Ottoman domains.¹⁹ Their very close similarities in design to certain color-glaze tiles belonging to the first half of the sixteenth century (figure 44) and their appearance in two demonstrably early underglaze revetments underlines their place in the general chronology, although their place of manufacture cannot be positively ascertained.

C. BLUE AND WHITE TILES: THE SÜNNET ODASI REVETMENTS

Two important problems left out of the chronological development as discussed in Chapters One and Two of the present study both concern the so-called "Damascus" group of wares and tiles, a group of considerable diversity which is anchored in the chronology by a single dated mosque lamp in the British Museum. In the Established Periodization "Damascus" wares and tiles do not closely correspond, in contrast to the stylistic parallels seen in "Kütahya" and "Rhodian" objects; Lane indicates as tile products of the thirties, forties, and fifties of the sixteenth century a number of blue-and-white or blue-turquoise-and-white tiles, many of which are presently to be found on the walls of the Sunnet Odasi

or Circumcision Room in the Topkapı Palace, and other examples in various museum collections. We have a well-established group of "Kütahya" tiles in our chronology, and a definite later terminus for such revetments in the emergence of polychrome underglaze revetments in the Süleymaniye mosque of 1557. But between the tomb of Çoban Mustafa Pasha in Gebze of 1533, and the Süleymaniye kible of ca. 1559, there are no dateable underglaze revetments; the Sünnet Odası is from all indications a seventeenth-century building built by the eccentric Sultan İbrahim in 1641,²⁰ and the blue-and-white tiles on its exterior facade, and those similar tiles found in so many of the world's museums, cannot be dated through association with a single firmly dateable architectural monument.

A detailed description of the Sünnet Odası tiles, and of several other groups corresponding to them in style and palette, constitutes a necessary first step in attempting to fill the quarter-century "hole" in the chronology. Certain blue-and-white wares may also have some bearing on the general development of our argument. Because we feel, however, that some blue-and-white tiles can definitely be dated to the later part of the century, and hence do not belong in time with those presently under consideration, we must stress that the answers to the problems of the "Damascus" tiles lie mainly in the questions of style and technique, and not in their color scheme.

The tiles presently on the facade of the Sünnet Odası, and those on the nearby facade of the Hırka-i Şerif Dairesi in the Topkapı Palace, have already been discussed at some length by Kurt Erdmann in a very important article.²¹ However, Erdmann's article lacked a comprehensive description of the entire group of revetments, without which the fullest understanding of their peculiarities cannot be ascertained. Our description of the Sünnet Odası revetments will be

keyed to line figure F, which presents in roughly schematic form an elevation of the facade of the building, with proportion and relative size of the panels being only very roughly accurate. It should be stressed immediately that many of these revetments assumed their places on the wall in quite recent times; a photograph dating from not later than the 'twenties of this century, for example, shows a number of the same tiles in an entirely different disposition and location.²²

Panels A through E (figures 135 and 136) are the well-known single-tile blue-and-white compositions with birds and animals, illustrated frequently in the literature and referred to henceforth as the "picture-tiles." B and D are identical designs, while C and E are the mirror-reverse of B and D; the taller and thinner panel A, without animals and of a slightly coarser technical execution, has no pendant. Apparently, the design for panels B-E was taken from a single pounced cartoon, used first on one side and then the other, but the fineness and delicacy of the actual execution leaves no doubt that a master painter personally executed the final compositions directly on the slip-covered tile, using the outlines of a pounced cartoon. The execution is of great virtuosity, with subtleties of shading and brush-work (figure 138) far more akin to the famous "dragon drawings" than to any tile-work observed so far.²³

Panel I and the long strip of border II on the top right (figure 135) are color-glaze tiles, similar to field tiles of the facade of the Arz Odası also within the Topkapı precincts (figure 44).

Panel 1 is a blue-ground "Rhodian" composition in the form of an arch, with a green-ground border, depicting a flowering tree (figures 136 and 220). In another part of this study it will be examined in the context of similar tile compositions of the "Rhodian" group, such as the blue-ground panel from the revak of the Rüstem Pasha mosque.

Flanking this arched panel on either side are narrow borders about five centimeters in width, made from cut pieces of aux quatre fleurs "Rhodian" tiles probably dating from the 'seventies; the use of these cut-up pieces of tile to complete the composition is a sad commentary on the aesthetic values of those who arranged the tiles in their present positions on the Sünnet Odası walls.

Border 3 is the standard border used everywhere on the Sünnet Odası facade unless otherwise noted. It consists of underglaze blue rosettes on a turquoise ground, sometimes alternating with small curved leaves but generally not.

Panels 4, 10, 15, and 12 have as their main constituent hexagonal blue-and-white tiles (figure 135) with a design of hatayî rosettes, palmettes, and leaves in dark blue silhouetted against the white slip, upon which they show an apparent clockwise rotation around the central rosette. In panels 4, 10, and 12 the tiles are set in staggered rows, with small triangular turquoise or cobalt-blue underglaze tiles filling the intervals; these small tiles recall color-glaze tiles seen in Bursa tombs;²⁴ as with the latter, they have designs of gold-leaf applied over the glaze, the best-preserved examples occurring on panel 10.

Panels 5 and 23 (figure 140) contain tiles with white clouds in reserve on a blue ground, in a very meticulous execution. As with all of the blue-and-white tiles on the Sünnet Odası facade, the element of line in these tiles is of a cobalt-blue color, and the thin, wiry black line of the Süleymaniye and Rüstem Pasha tiles is not seen.

Panels 6 and 11, both frames for other compositions, show a design which is in effect a number of blue-ground cartouches of white clouds in reserve on blue, with the intervals decorated with tiny figures of a rosette flanked by two leaves (figure 141). The affectation of a broken stem, already observed in

the blue-ground panel of the Rüstem Pasha revak, is used to make the design fit the irregular space. The appearance of tiles of this type in another location in a photograph evidently taken somewhere in the Saray in the 'twenties of this century leaves open the probability that neither frame 6 nor frame 11 has been in its present location for very long.²⁵

Panels 7 and 27 consist of another type of blue-ground design with white clouds in reserve, with panel 7 composed in its entirety of only two huge pieces of tile, and panel 27 consisting of a single, evidently cut-down, fragment (figure 176). The quality of execution of these panels is perhaps somewhat inferior to the other tiles of related design (figure 146), those of panels 5 and 6, but they would appear to be contemporary with the others.

Panel 8, the doorway frame, consists of small cartouches in blue-and-white tile set into the stone of the doorway (figure 134). Executed in two values of cobalt-blue, and of the very finest technical quality (figures 144 and 145), the designs are composed of arabesques of rosettes and palmettes of a stencil-like appearance, together with small leaves and rumî forms; a close resemblance to the hexagonal tiles of panel 4 (figure 135) is at once remarked. There is also, in the small cartouches with a radiating design, an obvious comparison with the tiles in Gebze (figure 34), although the latter are more linear and textured, while the Sünnet Odası cartouches, with their dark blue-black forms in silhouette, are perhaps somewhat more forceful as wall decoration.

Border 9 is a blue-ground border, exactly like that seen on several panels of the adjacent Hırka-i Şerif Dairesi (figure 151).

The remaining tiles of the Sünnet Odası are of later date, probably corresponding in time to the erection of the building itself, although by no means necessarily in their original locations. Panel 13 is evidently a tile of "Kütahya" manufacture²⁶ and panel 14 is composed of tiles of extremely uneven

quality, probably of the later sixteenth century. Panels 16 and 18 are later-seventeenth century blue-and-green repeat-field tiles; borders 17, 19, and 24 are cornices from the same period.

Border 20 is a later seventeenth-century moulding, and panels 21 and 22 are filled with field tiles which, although probably Turkish, are so coarse and so poorly executed as to suggest only the barest kinship with tiles studied elsewhere in this analysis. Panel 25 is filled with tiles each showing a tiny bouquet of carnations, a very common type of tile used for socles in the seventeenth century.²⁷

The blue-and-white Sünnet Odası tiles form the nucleus of a larger group of tiles known primarily in museum collections around the world.²⁸ Two of the best-known types, each with turquoise in the palette, are seen in examples from the Victoria and Albert Museum (figure 142), whose general design recalls the forms of the hexagonal tiles in the mosque in Adana, and the designs of other blue-turquoise-and-white tiles in many collections (figure 146). The former type is not associated with any particular building, while the latter may have been designed for a Bursa building. Tiles of a similar type include the border tile of figure 147; this tile, and others like it, frequently show a decayed over-glaze, suggesting either exposure to the weather or burial for some length of time. In a similar color-scheme and condition, but stylistically perhaps closer to the Sünnet Odası picture-tiles, is the tile with two ducks from the Victoria and Albert Museum (figure 143). In every case except for the duck-tile, the designs tend toward a stencil-like effect, while in the hexagonal examples they show a basically simple and symmetrical design of radiating palmettes, leaves, and rumî forms, sometimes continuous (figure 142) and sometimes contained within the module (figure 146). When used in fields, these hexagonal tiles could be used either with or without the small turquoise or

cobalt-blue triangular tiles seen on the Sünnet Odası facade (figures 135 and 142).

One important iconographical element appearing in a number of these tiles is a large double-jawed rumî form, which occurs at the juncture of two vines. Such a form, it will be recalled, appears not only in these Sünnet Odası tiles (figure 145 and 146) but in the Dome of the Rock and Adana blue-and-white tiles (figures 123, 130 and 133) and in early "Rhodian" tiles of the Rüstem Pasha mosque (figure 70 and figure 177) as well, and would appear to be a characteristic motif with some importance for rough dating of all of these objects.

What all of these tiles share is a more or less similar palette. This, and the accident of many of them being found together on a particular wall in İstanbul, should not blind us to the differences present in the group, nor can we a priori assume a common date or period for all of them.

We can, however, group the tiles of the Sünnet Odası facade into three basic categories of blue-and-white objects. The first, and by far the most significant in our view, are the five panels A-E, with their possible place in the history of Ottoman painting as well as Ottoman ceramic art. Second are the tiles with cloud designs, seen in panels 5, 6, and 7 (figures 140 and 141), which must belong to a tradition of similar linear designs such as those of the left gallery of the Rüstem Pasha mosque (figure 48) and the border-tiles seen in several locations. Third are the stencil- or silhouette-type designs, such as the hexagonal tiles of the Sünnet Odası, and the cartouches of the door-frame, together with their counterparts in museums (figures 135, 144, 145, and 146).

Because of their position in relation to both the radiating designs seen in the Gebze tiles of ca. 1533, and the later tiles of the Ramazan Ođlu mosque

(figures 34 and 70), this group can be placed with some confidence in the second quarter of the sixteenth century.

The second group, the tiles with the cloud designs, shows again relationships to the tiles with similar designs in the "Rhodian" group, both in the choice of subject-matter and in the linear quality of the designs. They represent a more calligraphic type of design, freer and more movemented, a design stemming from the pen, and not from the potter. They contrast with the silhouetted effect of the bulk of the hexagonal tiles, with which they share a color scheme. Neither group of tiles discussed so far has any counterparts in wares; the first appears to belong to the pan-Islamic "international style" with its vocabulary of hatayî and rumî designs, while the second is more a part of the improvisation and use of linear forms which we see in the Rustem Pasha mosque.²⁹

The first group, that of the large tiles, is certainly the latest of the three groups of blue-and-white tiles on the Sünnet Odası facade, although in technique and palette it is identical with the others. Given the technical attainment of the very first "Kütahya" objects, such tiles were probably technically possible from the first decade of the sixteenth century, although there may have been no kilns large enough to fire them; however, their style points toward parallels with many important objects in other media which we associate with Ottoman court art in the middle and later part of the century. In our view, the entire group of five tiles, together with many of the so-called "dragon drawings" and certain well-known brocades, textiles, and prayer-rugs, belongs generally to the second half of the sixteenth century, and to the reigns of the aged Süleyman (d. 1566), his son Selim II (reigned 1566-1574), and his grandson Murad III (reigned 1574-1595). The designs of serrated leaves and animated vegetal designs may have been important well before this time in Ottoman court

art, and may find their origins in Türkmen painting in Tabriz in the early sixteenth century, but the penetration of this style into Ottoman art before the 'sixties would appear to have been confined mainly to the arts of book-illumination, book-binding, and album-painting, in media traditionally oriented more toward an international Turco-Iranian style. The complete absence of saz leaves and the influence of the "dragon" album-drawings, with their lack of axial symmetry and their lively and almost three-dimensional vegetal forms, in Ottoman wall revetments until the Rüstem Pasha mosque, and there in only limited use, would appear to constitute one of the most reliable indices of dating the blue-and-white picture tiles at the earliest, to the late 'fifties or early 'sixties of the sixteenth century. We will attempt to show how this great "dragon style" at first had a direct impact on tiles, and then later became part of a more rigidified, formalized and static synthesis in Ottoman art; such an effort must, however, await the accumulation of more evidence, involving several additional problems. With this in mind, we shall attempt to fill in the rest of the chronological "hole" in the development of ceramics; the conclusions to be drawn from this analysis of ceramic development will in our opinion have profound implications for a further discussion of the evolution of the animated "dragon style" and its variants.

D. BLUE AND WHITE TILES: THE HIRKA-İ ŞERİF DAİRESİ REVETMENTS

Immediately adjacent to the Sünnet Odası facade, under the same revak or portico, is the long facade of the Hirka-i Şerif Dairesi, a building which presently contains those relics of the Prophet and his followers captured in Cairo by Selim I in 1517. The facade of the building is decorated with a number of panels of marble and tiles, which include a variety of styles and epochs. Our figure G indicates, in a very rough schematic diagram, the position of the

various panels on the north facade of the building, a facade punctuated by four windows, a door, and a large fountain of the baroque period of Ottoman art.

Panels 2, 5, 8, and 11 consist of strips of blue-and-white tiles, with designs of European origin, surmounted by very late calligraphic panels (figures 148 and 149); these ceramics are not part of the broader tradition of Turkish ceramics as it pertains to our analysis. Panels 3, 6, 9, 12, 13, and 14 are apparently later seventeenth-century calligraphic panels, with decayed and lusterless overglaze and a yellowish slip. Panel 15 is similar to panel 2, except for a strip of Kütahya tiling of the eighteenth century in place of the blue-and-white border. The central field of panel 10 appears to be of the same style and period as the tiles of panel 3 and its group, as the central field of panel 16.

The frames of panels 10 and 16, and the frames surrounding the porphery revetments forming panels 1, 4, and 7, are formed of blue-and-white tiles, with both technical and stylistic relationships to some of those already seen on the Sünnet Odası, and it is with these ceramics that we shall concern the bulk of our scrutiny of the Hırka-i Şerif Dairesi.³⁰

It will be noticed that the five panels under examination are all at the same level on the wall, and that in each case the tiles under examination form only a frame, but not the field, of the panels in question. In panels 1, 4, and 7, as we have noted, the field is formed by a large slab of porphery; such a use of colored marble revetment in Ottoman art, apparently in part a result of contact with the Mamluk tradition of Egypt, can be seen in other Ottoman buildings, including the mosque of Çoban Mustafa Pasha in Gebze, and the Süleymaniye in İstanbul. Although we can in no way assume that the present location of these panels with borders is an original location, there are some grounds for believing that the marble and tiles do belong together.³¹

The borders on panels 1, 4, 7, and 10 are identical, consisting of three elements (see line figure H). The guard stripe A, a little over two centimeters wide, consists of a braided repeat in blue and white, with a blue line (figure 151). The losenge border B shows small turquoise-ground losenges with small cobalt-blue triangles in the intervals; the design of the losenges, executed in some tiles in a blue line, and in others in a black line, is a symmetrical composition of rosettes and palmettes in a stencil-like form, connected by the now-familiar broken-stem (figure 151) as we have seen it on the Sünnet Odası cloud-losenge tiles (figure 141).

The inner border C (figures 148, 149, and 152) on panels 1, 4, 7, and 10, about sixteen centimeters in width, shows a similar design in blue and turquoise on a white ground, again with the broken stem or vine forming an element of the design. Two other affectations in execution, the small leaf which twists over, and the stencil-like drawing of the palmettes, are also apparent; the forms are all connected in a graceful arabesque, but the design is not cut by the limitations of the tile, being rather contained within the dimensions of the tile.

In fact, what we see here are designs which remind us very strongly of those on the Sünnet Odası (figures 144 and 145) in both style and technique, except for one difference. All of the blue and turquoise hatayî designs on these border tiles show a greenish-black outlining around all of the forms, rather than the silhouetted dark-blue of the Sünnet Odası. In fact, this element of execution links them with the black-line "Rhodian" tiles of the Süleymaniye and the Rüstem Pasha mosque; a black line has not been seen in any blue-and-white tiles discussed in this analysis up to this point, with the exception of a later panel on the Rüstem Pasha revak, and some copies of blue-and-white tiles in Adana.

The borders to panel 16, while the same design, width, colors and impact

of those of the four other panels (figures 151 and 153), are by contrast executed entirely with blue line, no black appearing in their designs. The car-touche-border B on panel 16 is indeed identical to border 9 on the Sünnet Odası facade (see figures 148 and 151). According to the rough outlines of our chronology, tiles with the black line generally post-date tiles with the blue line, and the border of panel 16 should from this reasoning logically predate the borders of the other panels. In fact, we would appear to have another instance in these revetments of a later (black-line) copying of an earlier (blue-line) design, a phenomenon already noted in the Ramazan Oğlu mosque, and one which occurs in several instances in the later course of Ottoman Turkish art.³²

This matter brings into question the overall dating of the placement of the revetments on this particular wall, the variable of location. If the borders of panels 1, 4, 7, and 10 are specifically made copies of the border on panel 16, would it not be logical to assume that these black-line borders were made specifically for the present location, beside the blue-line border, as well? This being the case, how do we explain the very late field tiles in panels 10 and 16?

Evidently a building was built by Sultan Mehmet II Fâtih between 1474 and 1478, on the site presently occupied by the Hırka-i Şerif Dairesi, being used by that sovereign for important state ceremonies such as the receiving of homage and the circumcisions of royal princes; it may indeed be that domed building in the far court depicted in the well-known Mecmu-ı Menazil miniature of the city of İstanbul, painted in 1537.³³ In 1517, Selim I Yavuz returned from Cairo with the title of Caliph and a number of relics of the Prophet plundered from that city; these relics were stored in the Topkapı Palace, which at that time was nowhere near its present size and complexity.

In the reign of Sultan Ahmet I (1603-1617), the Holy Relics, which in the year 1595 had been augmented by the acquisition of the Prophet's Standard from the Great Mosque in Damascus, were placed in the present edifice, which was evidently known at that time, and indeed up until the nineteenth century, as the "Imperial Hall" rather than as the "Hırka-i Şerif Dairesi" or "Place of the Prophet's Mantle."³⁴ The purpose of this action has been explained as "symboliquement allier la grandeur et l'honneur de l'Empire à la gloire de l'Islam."³⁵ While the present tiles of the interior of the building are a very mixed group, those in the chamber of the Holy Mantle itself may definitely date from the last great flowering of Ottoman ceramic art of İznik under Sultan Ahmet. However, none of the historical information appears to cast much light on the exterior revetments of the building.

Nothing in our analysis to this point would support a suggestion that the blue-and-white frames of panels 1, 4, 7, 10, and 16 could have been created as early as the year 1517 and the reign of Selim I. Although the borders with the greenish-black line could well have been within the technical competence of craftsmen of the epoch of Ahmet I, the excellent polychrome tile-work of that reign would appear to give little reason why so many copies of tiles of an earlier period should have been made.

Another rationale for the copies might have been to create blue-and-white revetments to complement the blue-and-white tiles of the Sünnet Odası, the Baghdad Kiosk, and the Revan Kiosk, which form the sides of the quadrangle abutting the Hırka-i Şerif Dairesi. However, these buildings were from all evidence constructed in the years 1641, 1638, and 1635, respectively, by which time tiles of the quality of those on the Hırka-i Şerif Dairesi frames were evidently beyond the capacity of Ottoman craftsmen.³⁶

We are left, then, with the internal evidence of the tiles themselves as

the only possible way of reaching even a tentative dating; by this evidence, it is fairly certain that the blue-and-white tiles with a greenish-black outlining belong with a group of tiles and wares, including a plate in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (figure 165) and the British Museum mosque lamp (figure 168) which in our opinion formed a link between the blue-and-white tiles and wares of the earlier part of the century, and the polychrome ceramics of the 'fifties and onward.

This group is characterized by a greenish-black line, a very translucent, pale, almost greyish blue, and designs with rapports both to the later polychrome ceramics and to the earlier blue-and-white ceramics. Its affinities with the dated mosque lamp, including a line of sketchy and "feathery" quality, and a very high degree of technical finish, would appear to place it around the middle of the century.

With this evidence, what of the original use of these borders and panels? The tiles of the buildings in the fourth courtyard of the Palace may give us some insight into the relative datings of their respective buildings. The two kiosks, the Revan and Baghdad Kiosks, were build in the thirties of the seventeenth century to commemorate the conquests of those two cities by the warlike Murad IV. Erected only two decades after the completion of the brilliant polychrome revetments of the mosque of Sultan Ahmet I, their tiles exhibit a palette almost exclusively restricted to blue, light-blue, and turquoise, with a black line; in the Baghdad Kiosk some of the revetments include copies of the great picture tiles of the Sünnet Odası, although the level of technique is immeasurably poorer.³⁷

This fact should suggest to us that the earlier blue-and-white tiles, those with the blue line seen on the Sünnet Odası, were regarded in this period as the most superb works of an earlier age, worthy of being copied in order to grace

the walls of the new pavillions of the Sultan himself; moreover, the interior and exterior field tiles of the Baghdad and Revan Kiosks were again covered with repeat-field blue-and-white tiles.

It could be that these revetments were consciously chosen in order to harmonize with earlier blue-and-white revetments on an adjacent building; although the present Sünnet Odası is dated to the year 1641, its tiles may have been present in the Fourth Court near the site as revetments of an earlier building now destroyed.³⁸ The presence of animals (figure 137) as subject-matter on the five great picture-tiles, together with their high artistic quality and their great size, may indicate that they were secular and royal objects created to grace the ceremonial quarters of the Sultan; these tiles, along with other blue-and-white tiles of the Sünnet Odası and the Hırka-i Şerif Dairesi, were in our opinion created during the reign of Süleyman I, or, in the case of the picture-tiles, possibly early in the reign of Süleyman's son Selim II. Although possibly moved from their original locations, they were in all probability originally intended to decorate the walls of buildings added to the Palace by Süleyman I.

We rank the blue-and-white tiles of the Hırka-i Şerif Dairesi and the Sünnet Odası in three successive groups, several of which help to fill the "hole" in the chronology which we have described elsewhere in this analysis. The first group, probably made from around 1530 to 1540, includes the frame of panel 16 on the Hırka-i Şerif Dairesi (figures 151 and 153) and the blue-and-white tiles of panels three through eleven on the Sünnet Odası (figures 176, 140, 141, 144, and 145). These blue-line tiles of the 'thirties and early 'forties, probably made for additions to the Saray complex built by Süleyman I, show certain affinities with the hatayî "Abraham of Kütahya" designs, but reflect an attempt, as do the Gebze tiles (figure 34) to adapt these designs specifically for use on modular

repeating-field revetments. The quality of these tiles is uniformly high; stylistically, the designs range from the more traditional types, such as those of the hexagonal tiles, toward more advanced conceptions, including the large cloud-tiles of the Sünnet Odası (figures 136, 140, and 181), and those designs with both the "broken-stem" and the "curled-over leaf" motifs (figures 141 and 151) which may indicate the influence of the "dragon drawings" and an attempt at three-dimensionality and movement.³⁹

The second group, which in our opinion completes the remainder of the "hole" in the chronology, includes the black-line borders of the frames of panels 1, 4, 7, and 10 (figures 148, 150, and 152) on the Hırka-i Şerif Dairesi, as well as a number of wares (figure 165) and the mosque lamp in the British Museum (figure 168) which is dated to the late 'forties. The greenish-black line on these objects, the light-blue ground color, and the sketchy, "feathery" designs serve to unify the group stylistically, and also suggest these ceramics as the product of a small and highly individualized production atelier. Technically, the quality of the entire group is very high, while the black line, in what we believe to be its first, tentative use, marks an important change in ceramic-making allowing for much freer designs, and eventually makes possible a division of labor between the artist who drew designs on the slip and the artisan who then proceeded to add the colors, greatly facilitating the mass-production of tiles.

The third group, which we believe to date from the early 'sixties, or possibly the later 'fifties, includes the five picture-tiles A-E on the Sünnet Odası facade, which we see as part of the general experimentalism of the later 'fifties. Our reasons as the present point for placing the large picture-tiles at a moment more or less immediately prior to the Rüstem Pasha revetments, but not considerably earlier, may be delineated as follows. It would seem clear

that these huge tiles had some considerable impact on tile-painting in Turkey. Their size and the exquisite finish and detail of their designs could not have failed to excite considerable interest at the time of their creation, and we believe that their location in the Saray was such that they could be seen by court artists. We feel that the "two-blue stippling" which we have noted as appearing for the first time in the early 'sixties in the Rüstem Pasha mosque, and slightly later in the tomb revetments of the tomb of Süleyman I (figure 179) is an attempt on a mass-production or large-scale production level to re-create the texture (figure 138) of the large palmettes in the Sünnet Odası tiles. The apparent lack of any attempts to copy these tiles or their particular stylistic "tricks" and characteristics in modular revetment tiles before the early 'sixties might conceivably mean that until that time the models did not exist.⁴⁰ A fragment of a bowl with both the "Rhodian" red and the greenish-black line and transparent blue of the second group,⁴¹ which includes a bird as part of its design (figure 185), is again some evidence for the great picture-tiles having been created "on the edge" or the beginning of the "Rhodian" style in the later 'fifties or early 'sixties.

The evidence from the "dragon drawings" themselves will be developed, along with other material, in the next section of this analysis, that dealing with the so-called "Damascus" wares.

E. THE "DAMASCUS" WARES AND THEIR PLACE IN THE CHRONOLOGY

The main difficulty revolving around the "Damascus" wares in the chronology of the Established Periodization is the fact that the group gathered together under this rubric is composed of a great number of technically and stylistically diverse objects, both wares and tiles. We have already mentioned the mosque lamp from the Dome of the Rock which stands alone in the succession of wares between

the "Kütahya" wares with their dateable tile parallels and the "Rhodian" wares, with their tile parallels linked by documents to the city of İznik. Many objects of fine quality with strong resemblances to either the "Kütahya" or the "Rhodian" groups, but differing in design, color, or shape from the bulk of objects in the group, have been placed alongside the mosque lamp in the "Damascus" category without any distinctions being made among them.

The "Damascus" wares were originally so named because they exhibited colors, especially a sage-green and a manganese-purple, with analogies to certain tiles on the walls of Damascus mosques of the Ottoman period. Other wares have joined the "Damascus" category because they, like the tile panels in the Damascus mosques (figures 227 and 228), used a dark-blue ground in their composition; still others, bearing no resemblance to either the Damascus tiles or the "Damascus" wares, were consigned to the "hole" in the chronology because they showed designs in a somewhat broad execution using only blue and turquoise (figures 226, 227, and 229) and were therefore simply "later" types of "Kütahya" designs. The term "Damascus" in quotation marks will continue to be used in this analysis to describe that broad and varying group of wares and tiles thought by Lane to have been produced in İznik between the demise of the "Kütahya" style and the rise of the "Rhodian" style and palette; that is, between about 1530 and 1555. Use of the established term, however, does not imply a priori that all objects under this rubric are indeed homogeneous in the sense of any of the eight basic variables which we have outlined, especially that of time.

In our view, the larger group of "Damascus" wares can be divided into the following major groups, remembering that in some cases there are of course "borderline" objects with characteristics of more than one group.

Type A, the rarest and perhaps the finest, is typified by an extraordinary

plate (figures 169 and 170) presently in a Cambridge, Massachusetts, private collection, and includes a number of well-known examples.⁴² A very limited group of such wares, consisting in the main of plates, with a very few deep bowls, would appear in our view to have been created with the direct participation of court designers, who may have painted the designs directly on the pottery slip. Such objects very seldom show a border on the rim, and the design flows evenly over the curves and angles of the pottery (figure 174). The designs are invariably of the hatayî type, with lotus palmettes, rosettes, and leaves as the main elements of the decoration; in contrast to the earlier essentially two-dimensional hatayî designs, however, there is a new animation and freedom stemming from the influence of the virtuoso "dragon drawings" which were evidently being created around this time at the Ottoman court. The entire composition usually springs from one source, and by the use of the broken or bent vine motif then eventually fills the space to be decorated, while always being contained within that space. One never has the feeling, however, that the forms are in fact limited by the circular format of a plate, as in many "Rhodian" wares (figure 178), but rather a freedom apparent in the designs actually suggests that the plate itself has conformed to the designs; there are further a three-dimensionality and a pictorial aspect to these designs, going beyond mere surface decoration, which are heightened by the use of twisted leaves (figure 170) and small cockade-leaves on the palmettes. Cobalt-blue in a dark value, light-blue, manganese-purple, turquoise, sage-green, and a greenish-black line constitute the colors employed.

Type B consists of a closely related group, in which the quality of drawing is somewhat less careful, and in which stylized flowers, including hyacinths and tulips, are frequently incorporated into the design (figures 8, 171, and 172). Using exactly the same colors, this group frequently exhibits the Ottoman equi-

valent of the Ming "wave and rock" border (figure 172 and 8); compositions tend to be symmetrical, and the drawing is not as lively as that of the Type A objects. Perhaps the most striking difference between groups A and B is the lack of leaves as important elements of the design in many of the latter objects. It would appear that in the Type B objects we have a "lower-art" production, in what appear to be greater numbers, of the extremely rare "higher-art" style of Type A objects, objects which may well have been intended for the highest patrons in the Empire.⁴³

A third type, Type C, is closely related to these two groups; it could be described as iconographically identical with Type A, but with no evidence of the influence of the "dragon drawings" and their three-dimensional and movemented forms.⁴⁴ These objects, executed in the same colors, and using pure hatayî designs with only occasional intrusion of rosebuds (figure 167), rarely exhibit either the "broken vine" or the "twisted leaf" motifs we associate with the mannered "dragon drawings," and their designs are flat and comparatively repetitious, generally with rather strict attention to radial symmetry, as in the case of the hexagonal tiles on the facade of the Sünnet Odası. They show some attention to the natural divisions of the pottery object, and in the case of a number of extremely large footed bowls (figure 167) show borders filled with small bunches of tiny spiky white tulips in reserve on blue, a motif also characteristic of the British Museum mosque lamp (figure 9) and on other objects in the broader "Damascus" category (figure 174d). None of the modelling or three-dimensionality of the very few Type A objects is seen in this category, and we may consider them to be "conservative" variants of the basic type, just as the Type B objects, more akin to the floral "Rhodian" wares, in their choice of floral decoration, might be termed "radical" variants of the basic hatayî type.

The objects which we classify as Type D are again variants of the same basic

type seen in the three groups already discussed; they show predominately vegetal compositions, usually stylized flowers and occasionally artichoke-like forms (figure 166) again springing from a single point on the plate or bowl.⁴⁵ The drawing which characterizes the group from the other types is much broader and less refined than that of groups A and C (figures 173, 174d, 174e, 162, 163, and 181) and the green and purple sometimes do not appear (figures 162 and 181); a blue ground is found on many of these pieces (figures 162, 163, 174e, and 181). The designs show considerable variety, and the expanded and experimental vocabulary of forms is used in ways that are frequently quite sophisticated (figure 166) and yet often very naive (figure 163). These objects are all of a superb technical quality; long recognized and sought after by collectors and museums, they represent a high mark of the Turkish potter's art. Some, especially those with the "artichoke" designs, continue the use of an all-over design unrestricted by the divisions of the pottery object, suggesting that the pottery object was being used as a sheet of paper might be; others, especially those with a blue ground color, show stricter adherence to the shape of the vessel (figure 162). There is little apart from the palette to distinguish some of these objects (figure 173) from some objects of the "Rhodian" palette (figure 178), especially when the "Rhodian" object in question continues to display the sage-green color in its decoration.

Type E objects, a category which we have already mentioned in connection with some tiles on the Hırka-i Şerif facade, includes the mosque lamp from the Dome of the Rock (figures 168 and 8), a number of plates with a restricted palette, a very sketchy drawing in green-black line, and a transparent blue color (figure 165). There are many affinities to the "Rhodian" group among these objects; they are not to be confused, however, with another minor group of underglaze Turkish pottery, that with a greyish color, which was recognized by Lane

and has been the subject of a recent unpublished study.⁴⁶

The last of the groups of objects to be placed within the "Damascus" purview, our Type F objects, includes a number of wares which can perhaps best be described as rather modest and unsophisticated. While showing some forms from the Type D iconography and color-scheme (figure 175) they are, generally speaking, simple in shape, small in size, and exhibit a very broad and simple decoration, bespeaking a quick execution of the design on the pottery object (figures 182 and 183). While possibly simply variants of the Type D group, we prefer to list them separately for the present.

The various groups A through F having been entered in evidence, we can now turn to an attempt to find some order and some rational development within the broader "Damascus" category. The far-ranging influence of court designs on paper in objects of the "Kütahya" style has already been demonstrated. We find that particular type of hatayî variant in ceramic wares (figures 158 and 160), in wood-carving (figures 28 and 29), in stone-carving (figure 159) and in building revetments in tile; it can also be seen in certain drawings in some of the albums in the Topkapı Palace, while parallel examples of the style far to the east have established it as an international style as well;⁴⁷ its possible origins either in Turkoman art of western Iran, or in Timurid art of Central Asia are for us not as important as its basic vocabulary of frequently calligraphic rumî and hatayî forms which show definite relationships to the art of the designer or nakkash.

In a similar fashion, it can be shown that the elements of the "Rhodian" style in ceramics are seen in various aspects of Ottoman art, from tughra illumination to rugs, and from textiles to stone-carving;⁴⁸ however, the "Rhodian" style, as far as we can determine, has survived in only a very few drawings or designs on paper.

Given these examples, it might be reasonable to expect a similar broad diffusion of the various "Damascus" designs which we have seen. However, the "Damascus" designs never formed a cohesive and easily definable "style" appearing throughout the various media of Ottoman art; the period was rather one of rapidly changing and diverse artistic experimentation, and the evidence at our disposal should be examined with such a premise in mind. For the purposes of this study it would appear most beneficial to examine the various "Damascus" objects and their setting in the context of the time variable at the present point, recognizing that broader and more general conclusions must await the examination of both "Rhodian" wares and "Rhodian" wall revetments in Chapter Four of this study.

The evidence of the *Sünnet Odası* and *Hırka-i Şerif Dairesi* revetments in its broad outlines would appear to coincide with the view of the Established Periodization, at least in the sense that the objects we have described appear to predate the ceramic revetments of the *Rüstem Pasha* mosque. For example, we have observed in the "*Kütahya*" revetments a blue line, and in the "Rhodian" objects a black line; evidence presented from the revetments of the *Hırka-i Şerif Dairesi* indicates what may have been the moment of change occurring in the context of "Damascus" objects. Similarly, we find ample evidence of the gradual emergence from a blue-and-white decoration into a polychrome decoration within the context of the "Damascus" objects examined. We have observed what appears to be the emergence of the use of stylized flowers in some of the "Damascus" wares, motifs which are quite commonly seen in the bulk of the "Rhodian" wares. The existence of "bridge" objects between the "Damascus" and "Rhodian" groups of wares, such as the plate in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (figure 178), and of objects of "Damascus" palette reflecting a pure *hatayî* design and

pottery shapes akin to that of the "Kütahya" objects (figure 167) emphasizes even further the importance of these objects in a period of far-reaching change in Ottoman art.

The impetus for a breaking away from the international "Kütahya" style in Turkish ceramics, and from the strictures of the rumî and hatayî vocabulary, might have originated from a number of sources. The capture of Mamluk Cairo in 1517 by Selim I, and the addition of Syria with its rich artistic traditions to the Ottoman domains by that same sovereign, undoubtedly led to new inputs in the Ottoman court's artistic and cultural establishment. That same Sultan's policy of settling talented elements of subjugated peoples in the Anatolian homeland of the Ottomans or in İstanbul, the capital, resulted in the impressment of a number of court artists from Tabriz into the services of the Ottoman Sultans in the year 1514.⁴⁹ The impact of such influxes of artists does not appear to have been instantaneous, especially in the reign of a Sultan whose energies and expenses were channeled to a great degree in the direction of making war. But such inputs undoubtedly did have some influence bearing on our period of change, adding to the confrontation of styles and techniques, and the experimentalist tendencies, which we have observed as late as the early 'sixties in the Rustem Pasha mosque. The continuing process of interchange between the Ottoman and Safavid courts, punctuated at intervals by wars, was not to be confined to Selim's reign, and indeed it is only after the ascension of his son Süleyman, and the sudden expansion of the court artistic collectivities under that Sultan, that the Safavid inputs into a period of change become most evident.⁵⁰

In such a context, assuming that the fine art of pottery- and tile-painting in the Ottoman Empire reflected a court art and court designs, the rich mixture of Turkish, Persian, and European artists in the court establishment might result in a great variety of ceramic designs, all produced during the same general time.

In a similar vein, given the evidence of the revetments of the Rüstem Pasha mosque, it would appear that an element of competition was included in this atmosphere of change. We will eventually attempt to show how, in parallel with not only other sectors of Ottoman culture, but indeed with the very institutions and structures of the society and government itself, this period of change ended in a gradual rigidifying and formalizing of the artistic process, as the competition produced "winners."

From the Mamluk art of Egypt those influences which can be established with no qualifications are few indeed. The so-called kassetenstil of geometric designs manifested itself in Ottoman art by the early fifteenth century; Mamluk glass lamps and metal-work which came into the Ottoman realms probably made their impact well before the period under discussion.⁵¹ Mamluk cut-marble wall-revetments did strongly influence one Ottoman building, the mosque of Çoban Mustafa Pasha in Gebze, but in the ceramic decorations of the founder's tomb in Gebze there is no evidence whatsoever of Egyptian influence.⁵² The Mamluk carpets and textiles did influence some Ottoman textile designs, but the "Cairene" carpets would appear to have had little influence on the Ottoman commercial-type carpeting of the Ushak manufactories, although in technique and palette influencing some of the "court" design rugs; the colors of the "Cairene" rugs, especially those using blue, sage-green, and purple, may be distantly reflected in the coloration of the "Damascus" wares.⁵³

On the other hand, we have seen the definite pattern of interchange developing between the Ottomans and the Safavids; these two dynasties, both of Turkic origin, and both with polyglot courts, developed cultural contacts heightened by the acquisition of plunder by the Ottomans from their periodic Persian campaigns, by the presents exchanged between sovereigns at the conclusion of periodic peace treaties, and by the adoption of Persian "high culture" at the Ottoman court.

It can be seen that these interchanges tended, at least in the light of the present-day level of knowledge, to flow in the western direction, and this has unfortunately tempted a number of scholars to cast the Ottomans as "Romans" opposite the Safavid "Greeks."⁵⁴

By the second quarter of the sixteenth century one may assume that the rumî and hatayî types of decorative designs were held in common by Ottoman and Safavid artistic establishments; the art of miniature painting, encouraged by the lavish patronage of Shah Tahmasp, reached great heights in Iran, while the decorative arts of illumination and calligraphy showed strikingly parallel developments under both dynasties.⁵⁵ It would appear that by the second or possibly the third decade of the sixteenth century, there developed in this illuminating style a type of decoration depending heavily on designs consisting of rosettes and curved leaves, arranged in patterns among which the heratî design is perhaps the best known. These variants of the basic hatayî vocabulary included not only the familiar lotus palmettes, but cloud-bands and other Chinese devices then current in Islamic art.⁵⁶ The first appearance of this type of design in Ottoman Turkish art, especially in its manifestation of the saz or curved-leaf drawings, cannot be positively ascertained, but it would seem that the "Damascus" ceramics are among its first manifestations, while the blue-and-white tiles of the Sünnet Odası show some of its essential elements.

By the 'forties several artists from the Safavid court, including Shah Quli, a pupil of Aqa Mirak, were established at the Ottoman court, and Shah Quli was appointed chief of the Ottoman court artistic establishment.⁵⁷ The name of this artist is frequently linked in various album-drawings with the "black-pen" depictions of leaves, dragons, and peri or angels.⁵⁸

The entire problem of the development of the "dragon style" with its eccentricities and affectations is a very complex one, and indeed the study of ceramics

appears to cast more light on the dating of at least some of the drawings than a study of the drawings casts on ceramics. What is apparent, however, is the mannered nature of these drawings, and their departure from the symmetrical and repetitive nature of the bulk of Islamic decorative art in the hatayî type of decoration. For this reason, we believe the "dragon style" to be an outgrowth of the basic vocabulary of the hatayî decoration current as early as the 'twenties in Iran; both the mannered variant, and the basic type, may have existed alongside one another for some time.

These two currents are seen in the "Damascus" wares in Types A and C as we have outlined them. Type A, occurring in very small numbers, is the eccentric variant, the asymmetrical, exciting, movemented, and technically dazzling efforts of highly skilled artists applied to ceramic art; the designs are difficult to copy, not well-suited for mass-production or for what we might assume to be the mass taste of the time, and the small number of objects which have survived were almost certainly objects created for highly-placed patrons with an exquisitely refined taste. The Type C objects, by contrast, although often conscious in their designs of the affectations of the Type A works, which after all must have served as paragone in some way, adhere more closely to the hatayî style as seen in the chancery or illuminating tradition; the forms tend to be flat rather than textured, the leaves are silhouetted rather than being twisted, the vines curve rather than being broken in bold, new directions, and the design is evenly and repetitively laid out over the surface of the object, with both the surface and the object and its shape very much in evidence.

Certain important objects, besides the drawings themselves, which also reflect the "dragon style" include the celebrated kaftans erroneously attributed to Beyazî II in the Topkapı Palace (figure 139), and the blue-and-white tiles of the Sünnet Odası (figure 138), as well as the small group of ceramic wares

under discussion. The problem of the dating of the kaftans involves dated wrappers in which they were found;⁵⁹ there are strong ground for believing that the wrappers and kaftans did not belong together, and that the kaftans must date from the period under discussion, most probably to the early 'sixties or late 'fifties.

Objects reflecting the "chancery" style of Type C objects are extremely numerous, including a number of Ottoman court-type rugs, book-bindings, illumination, stone-carvings, and a tremendous number of "Rhodian" large unified-field tile compositions found in monuments of the 'sixties and onwards. In addition, we believe that the bulk of the blue-and-white tiles on the Sünnet Odası reflect this style in an earlier phase.

Evidences of both Type A and Type C ceramic designs appear in the Rüstem Pasha mosque. It must be remembered that the "chancery" designs, like colorful floral designs, were better-suited to mass-production, which may explain their prominence in the revetments of that mosque. But the textured type of tile-painting seen in the Sünnet Odası tiles (figure 138), makes itself felt in the mass-produced tiles through the "trick" of blue-on-blue stippling, which first appears in dateable form in the Rüstem Pasha revetments, notably in those with relationships to the "dragon style" (figures 66, 103, and 116). In our opinion this stippling represents an attempt by less skilled artisans to reproduce the subtle textures attained in the Sünnet Odası tiles by the brush-work of a painter of the first rank. The fact that these two currents, so separate in the "Damascus" objects, finally amalgamate in the mass-produced Rüstem Pasha revetments, must serve as our most convincing argument for the Type A and Type C objects dating just prior to the creation of the Rüstem Pasha revetments of 1561; their complete absence in spirit in the Süleymaniye revetments suggests that the influence of court designs on large-scale production of revetment tiles had not

been felt to any extent as late as 1557. One might assume a certain "time lag" between media, but it seems that the existence of the large picture-tiles presently on the Sünnet Odası in the Palace precincts, a product of court artists, and probably accessible to view by younger artists within the palace artistic establishment, would have been impossible to ignore; for this reason, although we can allow a reasonable, broad time span for the production of Type A and Type C wares, even into the 'sixties or beyond, we must place the most probable date of the large Sünnet Odası picture-tiles between the date of the Süleymaniye revetments (1557) and those of the Rüstem Pasha mosque (1561).

The very striking similarities between Type A wares and Type B wares (figures 170 and 171) also must lead us to assume that they were produced concurrently in time. One cannot imagine the Type A designs being imitations or variants of the Type B designs, however; both would appear to be products with a specific market in mind, with the rarer and more prized Type A wares intended for important patrons, and the mass-produced Type B wares, products of potters rather than court artists, destined for export or the free market. The small number of Type A wares leads to another question: if we have here, as it appears, the first truly polychrome Turkish pottery, why does it appear in such small numbers, in both the Type A and the Type B varieties, while the slightly later "Rhodian" wares seem to appear in such vast numbers?

We can only suggest that a market for polychrome pottery wares may have been created in the upper reaches of Ottoman society in part by an action of Süleyman I late in his reign, about the time that the "Rhodian" wares first began to appear. Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, ambassador from the Habsburgs to the Ottoman court in the mid-sixteenth century, observes in a letter of the early 'sixties that the Sultan in his old age had grown increasingly mindful of his mortality, and, in an action seen in several well-known and fateful moments in

the history of Islamic art, had terminated his patronage of some of the more sumptuous and ostentatious forms of art, such as that of gold and silver vessels. Busbecq wrote:

Solyman grows every day more and more superstitious in his religion . . . whereas he formerly ate his meat out of silver dishes, now he was persuaded to use none but earthen platters.⁶⁰

Whether or not such an action on the part of the Sultan actually provided the impetus for the creation of a new type of polychrome pottery, it is entirely possible that a momentary de-emphasis on the sumptuous arts of metal-work, ~~pro-~~ grades, and the like turned some substantial artistic energies in the direction of the medium of ceramics.⁶¹

Wares of the B and D types, both using stylized flowers, would appear given their relationship to the A and C types to have also appeared in the fifties of the sixteenth century. These two categories, the B and D type wares, both exhibit certain similarities with the "Rhodian" objects of various sorts, and serve again to suggest the "Damascus" group as a link with the later "Rhodian" wares. However, there is no reason to suppose that wares of this type could not have been produced well into the 'sixties or later. The continuation of the motifs of the D type objects well into the "Rhodian" period, if there actually was a "Rhodian" period, is not only seen in the objects with color-characteristics of both groups (figure 178), but by a few objects, such as a blue-ground plate in the Metropolitan Museum (figure 186) which in its ground color, its particular type of tulip, and the rather thin red color, shows not only similarities to the Type D dishes with the manganese color (figure 163) but to the blue-ground panels of the Rüstem Pasha mosque as well (figure 110). That panel likewise shows the manganese purple color, the twisted leaves (figure 108 and 110) and the asymmetrical vivacity and broken-vine motifs we have associated with

various of the "Damascus" groups of pottery.

The Type E objects must be the evidence of the mosque lamp (figure 168) date in at least some cases from the 'forties as well as from the 'fifties, possibly representing a stage between the blue-line "Kütahya" pottery and the polychrome "Damascus" pottery of groups A-D. The Boston Museum plate (figure 165) definitely parallels the "Rhodian" group in its use of the "wave and rock" border, while the tiles of the Hırka-i Şerif Dairesi may predate the lamp. The more limited palette and the variability of style, with its calligraphic line and use of Chinese cloud motives suggests that we have a gradual growing out of the "Kütahya" style indicated in the Type E objects.

Finally, the Type F objects represent, in our opinion, a continuation of the palette, and in a very general way the style, of the "Damascus" wares of groups A-D into the later part of the sixteenth century. We have noted that great variety is present in the types of designs used in wares of the "Rhodian" group of wares, and the existence of the manganese-purple used occasionally in tile-work almost certainly a product of the last decades of the sixteenth century (figure 157) provides ample evidence that the technical capacity to create a purple color remained perhaps long after the color itself had gone out of fashion.

One might also suggest that the continuation of the prestige and importance attached to objects of the Type A group may have continually influenced a production of "Rhodian" wares either in roughly similar designs (figures 182 and 183) and in a similar palette (figure 175) over a period of time. New evidence raising the possibility of a revival of the "dragon style" later in the sixteenth century,⁶² and subsequent revivals of this style in the Baghdad Kiosk tiles of 1636, suggest that these fascinating designs were to have a continuous impact on the production of art in the Ottoman empire long after their first impulse

had subsided. The size and diversity of the ceramic-producing collectivities certainly would have allowed for a number of tendencies to continue side by side, in response to various parts of the market.⁶³

F. SUMMARY

The implications of our attempts to fill in the "hole" in the chronology of the Established Periodization for the broader outlines of the present study may be summarized as follows.

A. Many of the "Damascus" objects help us to construct a continuous development in Ottoman ceramics, in both wares and tiles, from the dated "Kütahya" objects through the dated "Rhodian" objects.

B. Neither the Dome of the Rock revetments nor the revetments of the Ramazan Ođlu mosque in Adana would appear to mark a significant moment of change in Ottoman art leading to the emergence of "Rhodian" ceramics. The emergence of "Rhodian" ceramics in full force occurs in the mosque of Rüstem Pasha in 1561.

C. Certain extremely fine and rare objects, the Sünnet Odası picture-tiles and the Type A wares among them, created by leading artists for a very particular and discerning level of patronage, were at once the "models" and the paragone for the various types of mass-produced wares which represented efforts on the part of ceramic artisans to follow the "high art" court models.

D. The Sünnet Odası picture-tiles in all probability provided the model for one of the most familiar technical features of later Ottoman wall revetments, the familiar "two-blue stippling" texture.

In every case, these conclusions serve to emphasize the importance of the Rüstem Pasha revetments in the general chronological scheme. We have seen in the "Damascus" objects the emergence of two currents, the floral designs, and the "dragon-style"-influenced hatayî designs, which as we will presently see will come to dominate and restrict the designing of tile wall-revetments.

CHAPTER FOUR THE DEVELOPMENT OF A CLASSICAL SYNTHESIS IN OTTOMAN
TURKISH ART

We have in the present analysis set forth a series of important and for the most part dateable (if not actually dated) objects, in the long and sometimes tortuous context of what we believe to be their stylistic development, both in the narrower area of ceramic art, and to a limited extent in the broader context of "court" designs, which as we have seen encompasses a wide range in the decorative arts. In order to complete our assessment of the Rüstem Pasha revetments, and more fully to explain what we have described as a period of far-reaching change in Ottoman Turkish art occurring shortly after the middle of the sixteenth century, there are three basic questions which remain to be discussed.

The first question, given the mass of accumulated date, is the emergence of a "Rhodian" style and palette in wares, parallel to that development seen in the mosque tiles. The examination of "Rhodian" wares in the context of all of the analytical variables defined in Chapter One is of utmost importance in understanding the later course of Ottoman ceramic art.

The second question is that of the immediate impact of the Rüstem Pasha mosque revetments on later tile revetments; in the 'sixties, such revetments include those of the tombs of Süleyman I and his wife Hürrem Sultan, those of Rüstem's own tomb at Şehzadebaşı in İstanbul, and those of the mosque of Selim II at Edirne, a building begun in the later 'sixties.

The third, and culminating focus of enquiry, is the concept of a classical Ottoman style; the definition of the concept, its validity, and the possible

role of both the Rüstem Pasha revetments and Ottoman ceramic art as a whole, in forming such a synthesis, are matters with which we shall attempt to deal on the basis of the total accumulated data examined in this study.

A. "RHODIAN" WARES AND CONTEMPORARY GROUPS OF WARES

In our discussion of the "Damascus" wares we have seen the existence of various "borderline" objects which appear to have the characteristics of the "Damascus" group (manganese-purple or sage-green, spiky bunches of tulips, high technical quality), and in addition exhibit those of the "Rhodian" group ("sealing-wax" red, true green, "wave-and-rock" border, floral designs). The "Rhodian" ceramics, if they can be assumed to have been preceded in the chronology by the "Damascus" wares, would appear to emerge chiefly from that group of "Damascus" wares which we have called Type D objects, that is, those with the somewhat broader execution, frequently floral designs, and a style less strongly related to the formal hatayî court-type designs of the Type A and Type C wares.

The extremely close correspondence of some "Rhodian" objects with the Rüstem Pasha revetments (figure 186), and the existence of "borderline" objects (figure 178), provide us with what might be among the earliest ceramic wares of the "Rhodian" group. The positive dating of the group's emergence, while difficult, might be developed out of such information, plus the existence of the mosque lamp in the Victoria and Albert Museum, said to date the completion of the Süleymaniye mosque in 1557/58 (figure 190).

But the "Rhodian" group of ceramics is not distinguished alone by the use of certain colors or by a floral decoration. If we use the term to describe ceramics of a certain period, we must include in that period several other types of wares, including some interesting experiments in slip-painting on a blue or rose ground (figure 192) and a number of blue-and-white objects (figures 193

and 195) which are considerably later than those of the "Kütahya" or "Damascus" groups (another example in figure 131). Although the existence of such "eccentric" wares, and a quite astonishing variety of designs and quality of workmanship, would appear to confuse the question, there are a number of factors which we can isolate as peculiar to, or characteristic of, the majority of the Ottoman ceramic wares of the later sixteenth century.

1. Technique. The great bulk of "Rhodian" wares is distinguished by polychrome underglaze painting on a white slip; the use of a ground color other than the white slip is only very rarely encountered. The overglaze is free from craquelure, but full of millions of tiny bubbles; the body is hard, off-white, and compact, consisting of the same sort of mixture of quartz and clay found in the "Kütahya" wares and the "Damascus" wares. The use of a black line, and the frequent appearance in what we may safely assume to be some of the later pieces of a true green, in addition to turquoise, blue, and red, form the elements of design. The red color in the best pieces forms mounds in relief under the glaze, but its color varies from a true scarlet to a color closer to true orange than any other. In some inferior pieces, the red presents a blackish or brownish appearance where the glaze has not covered it adequately during the firing; likewise, in some pieces there is to be observed a running under the glaze of the cobalt and copper-based colors, the blue, turquoise, and above all the green. Such pieces are usually deemed indicative of a decline in quality of İznik production which took place in the seventeenth century, and the presence of objects of inferior design in great numbers among those with poor technique, together with a number of seventeenth-century dated objects with inscriptions in Greek, underlines the fact that many of these inferior objects were made in the seventeenth century. On the other hand, some

discrimination must be exercised, as there are definitely some objects of inferior technical quality appearing as early as the mosque of Rüstem Pasha itself.

2. Genre. The overwhelming mass of "Rhodian" objects coming down to us are either tiles or "table wares," although pen-boxes and mosque lamps are known. The relationship between tiles and wares is best examined in the context of the stylistic and chronological variables.

3. Size, shape, and scale. In the production of wares, there are many shapes found among "Rhodian" objects not to be found in other groups, paralleling the great variety of designs also seen within the group. Among these are bowls (liğen), bottles and ewers (ibrik) with very long necks, small jugs (güze) usually decorated in very original and colorful designs, large cylindrical mugs known as hanap, small and rimless plates (tabak), and only a very few examples of the characteristic cusped plate-rim seen so frequently in the earlier groups. In scale, there are very few pieces as large as the great "Damascus" and "Golden Horn" blue-and-white bowls (figures 158 and 167) while virtually no "Rhodian" objects in this shape are known. Several technically outstanding forgeries of "Rhodian" wares have indeed been distinguishable immediately by their disproportionate scale or their inappropriate shape; the vast majority of "Rhodian" wares are of relatively small and standardized scale and size, with only the few large mosque lamps as exceptions to the rule.

4. Style. The tremendously varied designs seen in the "Rhodian" wares virtually defy any generalizations as to style. The broad and sometimes careless execution of the designs, with its strong suggestions that we have in the bulk of the "Rhodian" wares a potter's art far removed from the court center and

its designs, is adaptable to a great number of designs, chief among which are the well-known floral plates, with designs of boats, abstract and geometrical designs, and traditional rumî and hatayî designs appearing less frequently. But the basic characterization can be viewed in two perspectives; the first is that of the features and motifs lacking in the wares when compared to tiles, and vice versa, while the second is that of the stylistic development of the "Rhodian" group.

For example, while the rose or peony (figure 178) is a very common element of floral designs on "Rhodian" wares, even becoming in later examples the dominant flower seen, it virtually never appears in wall-tiles. The "two-blue" hatayî designs of wall-tiles are virtually never seen in wares; indeed, the hatayî designs which come to dominate unified-field wall-tile production in the later sixteenth century have a minimal effect on wares.

The importance of these facts, which serve as examples of the many such divisions between ware and tile production, cannot be overemphasized. They imply a strong division between the mode of production of tiles on the one hand, and that of wares on the other. They also raise the possibility that many of the Type B and Type C "Damascus" designs, reflecting an emerging style in court art, may indeed parallel the less-sophisticated "Rhodian" objects in time, and that the two groups may have been intended for different markets at roughly the same chronological span.

In this study we cannot discuss fully the total picture of development of "Rhodian" ware style, which extends well into the seventeenth century. However, with direct pertinence to our analysis there are several important objects and factors showing the first impact of the style, roughly parallel with the "Rhodian" revetments of the Rûstem Pasha mosque, and the period of change in the later 'sixties.

Two vessels made in the form of mosque lamps, of known provenance, will perhaps most effectively demonstrate for our purposes the evolution in "Rhodian" ware production from an early phase to a later, more mature phase of production in the 'seventies. The first lamp (figure 190) was found in the Süleymaniye mosque in İstanbul, and is presently in the Victoria and Albert Museum.¹ Although it cannot be positively dated on the basis of documents to the years 1557-59, it must on the basis of style date fairly close to the Rüstem Pasha and Süleymaniye tiles, and may very well have been placed before the mihrap of the Süleymaniye when that mosque was completed.

The lamp is of rather large size (almost 60 centimeters high) and shows the three handles also seen in the lamp from the Dome of the Rock in the British Museum (figure 9). Also similar to the Dome of the Rock lamp are the proportions, and the division into a number of bands of decoration, although the Süleymaniye lamp has but one inscription, on the flare, and adds three projecting bosses on the haunch of the lamp. Its design is executed in red, blue, turquoise, and white in reserve, a palette familiar to us as that of the Rüstem Pasha tiles, together with a black line and occasional black design elements. The design consists of rumî and hatayî forms, and includes the familiar stencil-type palmettes and small cusped white-in-reserve flowers in a blue ground. The red is thin and brownish everywhere, and the blue ground shows the translucent "texturing" due to brush-strokes which we have observed in the Rüstem Pasha mosque floral revak panel. The division between "haunch" and "belly" of the lamp is marked by a thin white line which arbitrarily cuts off the compositions in each area; there is no correspondence in symmetry or disposition of motifs between these two areas of the design; both strongly recall contemporary book-illumination designs.

The one factor which might indicate that this lamp does not date to the

late 'fifties is the large amount of red color, in contrast to the very small amount of red color seen in the revetments of Süleyman's mosque itself. On the other hand, it may well be that the red color on the lamp serves to emphasize another difference at this time between ware production and a more conservative tile production, with the cutting edge of technical innovation, and perhaps stylistic innovation as well, occurring in the ware production.

The second lamp, removed from the mosque of Sokullu Mehmet Pasha at Kadırga (completed in 1572) to the Topkapı Palace in İstanbul (figure 191), may with some confidence be dated to the same time as the mosque.² It shows the loftier and more graceful proportions which have been developed from the earlier lamps, while preserving the three handles and three bosses of the Süleymaniye lamp. Its design is drawn in a black line on two bands only, the bottom being a design of large floral-decorated palmettes, while the top band contains, in white reserve on blue, an unusually graceful thuluth inscription.

Although the basic palette is similar to that of the Süleymaniye lamp, the red is lighter, thicker, and more even, and the cobalt ground-color more opaque. The designs are not closely related to any type seen in the Rüstem Pasha mosque; rather, they include a type of decorated palmette first seen in the wall tiles of the tomb of Süleyman I (figure 205), with designs of rosebuds and decorated lancet-leaves completing the design. As with the Süleymaniye lamp, there is no close correspondence with the tiles of the building in which the lamp was found, but the Sokullu lamp has a freer and more spontaneous design further removed from the "chancery style" variants of the earlier lamp.

The two lamps demonstrate the basic direction of the changes of style in the first two decades of "Rhodian" ware production, from the "high art" designs related to the court designs in a more or less direct fashion, to the paraphrases of such designs to emerge in the later wares. The typical "Rhodian" plates of

the best quality, which in our view were produced from the mid-'sixties onward, were generally characterized by a "wave-and-rock" border (figures 187 and 188), by a cusped line replacing a cusped edge stemming from Ming porcelain, and by a floral composition usually springing from one point in the design; in two of these three features they have strong resemblances to their sister-objects in the other major groups; in the third, that of the "wave-and-rock" border, we have a stylized version of a Ming feature, a feature which in our view appears first in Turkish ceramics, along with the cloud-bands, in objects of the Type E category, typified by the Dome of the Rock mosque lamp. The technical quality of the earlier "Rhodian" objects is quite high, and by the mid-'seventies, or possibly earlier, green is included in the palette (figure 188). In our view it is entirely possible that some of the best blue-and-white pieces, especially those with a design stemming from Ming porcelain and employing bunches of grapes (figure 194), may come from this first "Rhodian" production as well, along with a number of unusual blue-and-white objects (figures 195 and 161, for example).

5. Location and provenance. The known provenance of the Süleymaniye, Sokullu, and Dome of the Rock mosque lamps has of course been of great importance in our attempts to construct a stylistic development for Turkish ceramic wares, even though the mosque lamps are in most cases somewhat removed in style from the main ware development. Not only does the presence of such large and splendid objects in important buildings evidence the importance and value attached to them, but the presence of İznik ceramics in a number of important European collections from an early time emphasizes in a similar fashion both the export of such wares in the sixteenth century, and the esteem which they enjoyed in Europe.

6. Place and mode of production. The assigning of a place of manufacture

to the "Rhodian" wares is supported by numerous documents of diverse sorts naming İznik (Nicaea) in Asia Minor as the site of manufactories. Research undertaken by C. Kiefer of the Musée de Sèvres has indicated the possibility of some of the latest and technically most inferior objects (figure 184) originating in Rhodes itself;³ the basis for this theory involves certain technical differences observable by chemical and physical analysis, including what appears to be a slightly different body clay. This question is far from being settled, however, and awaits analysis in detail of objects presently still found in houses in the village of Lindos on Rhodes. We can with some assurance name İznik as the place of origin of those objects close in time to our period of study, such as those shown in figures 186-188.

The disparity in designs between tiles and wares may give us some insights into the mode of production of wares. It is certain that the İznik "manufactories" were only roughly controlled by the court establishment, and many documents indicate the difficulties with which the Sultans obtained tiles for their mosques and other buildings.⁴ The documented existence of an export trade in the latter sixteenth century,⁵ together with the evidence of the great number of "Rhodian" wares extant today, suggests that there was a conflict between the court needs and the free-market demand in the İznik shops; furthermore, the great number of individual ateliers may well help account for the tremendous variety of designs appearing in wares, which were of course not under close central court control. Apparently, tiles were ordered by the court in specific numbers, made to order to specific designs sent to İznik by court artists working under the direction of the nakkaş başı or perhaps the mimar başı or head architect, while wares were for the most part, after the 'sixties, designed by the artisans in İznik. On the other hand, these designs were usually in some way reflections of the "high style" of the court, while evidencing the simpler and gayer floral

tastes of the artisan's own social milieu and the middle class market. Further, a division between tile-makers, line-painters, and colorists which we have observed in tile production may have been paralleled in ware production, with the most highly skilled job being that of the artisan drawing the designs.⁶

7. The market. The question of the forces of economics and taste surrounding the marketing of İznik ceramics is one for which we have to date little concrete data, but is a field of the richest potential yield for historical and art-historical enquiry, due to the existence of so many account-books and defters of various sorts yet to be exhumed from various archives in Turkey. The tiles were produced in the main for buildings erected for high officials of state; the tiles were ordered from the shops, and were paid for in cash, but the Sultan was able to employ certain sanctions to ensure production and delivery, and fixed prices were paid on a per-tile basis, probably originally determined through the age-old manner of bargaining. The wares, on the other hand, were destined in some large part for sale in a free market, or for export, where prices were evidently not fixed by governmental decree; the export may have been supported by the state as a means of gaining the mercantilist-bullionist ends of accumulation of gold and silver then being imported into the western European countries from the New World. Moreover, the adherence by the government to fixed or ih̄tisāb prices for tiles, prices established in the middle of the century, during a time-span (the later sixteenth century) marked by pronounced inflation all over Europe (the so-called "price revolution"), certainly eventually contributed to the marked decline of the İznik factories, although wares continued to be produced in large numbers through the second half of the seventeenth century.

As a result of the dichotomy between fixed-price tile production and free-

market ware production we might expect to see broader variations in style and quality in the wares of a given period than in tile production of the same period. The tiles, as we have remarked, were produced in the main for monuments built by a certain social class, and the designs, of a sophisticated nature, were created by a highly organized court artistic establishment. The wares, as we have pointed out in our discussion of some of the finest "Damascus" pieces, could evidently be varied to meet the needs of various social groups, from the highly refined tastes of the upper court officials, many of whom came up through the Palace School and were in fact slaves of the Sultan, and whose great wealth enabled them to pay for highly individual objects executed with the greatest degree of artistic excellence, to the lower middle classes of Ottoman and European society, who were content to pay less for mass-produced wares with colorful designs of tulips, roses, and carnations. We have seen much evidence suggesting this to be the case; its logical corollary, especially as far as the bulk of the "Rhodian" group is concerned, is that such "Rhodian" wares probably fall into the latter category. By the later decades of the sixteenth century, especially after 1570, Ming porcelain came into wider use in the Topkapı Palace,⁷ and one might find in this a factor contributing both to the decline in quality of the later İznik wares, and to a disappearance of the more sophisticated designs.

Supporting data for these hypotheses is at present rather meager; however, the real prices paid for tiles would appear to decline markedly as the century progressed, both as a result of mass-production, and probably for other reasons as well, such as rigid adherence to a system of fixed prices (*ihtisâb*) by the court, which was becoming in later years of the sixteenth century chronically short of money, and was like other absolutist European powers resorting to practices such as the sale of offices to augment its income.⁸ We believe the basic

validity of these hypotheses to be supported by the very fact of the easily discernable variations present in the objects themselves, and from the relative numbers of objects in the various categories which have survived.

B. TILES OF THE LATE 'FIFTIES AND EARLY 'SIXTIES

Süleyman the Magnificent, whose reign encompassed parts of the three basic periods of ware production described in the Established Periodization, died in the year 1566, nine years after the completion of his mosque, and five years after the completion of Rüstem Pasha's mosque, and that Vezir's death, around 1561. Süleyman's wife Hürrem Sultan, mother of his successor Selim II, had died in 1558; the tombs of the Sultan, his Vezir, and his wife were all constructed within a span of about six years, and all have tile revetments of the utmost importance for our study.

The dates of the deaths of these three figures in Ottoman history suggest that the earliest revetments in the series may be those of the tomb of Hürrem Sultan, the famous Roxelane (figures 198-200). When Melchior Lorichs, the German artist from Flensburg, made his celebrated panorama drawing of İstanbul in 1558, the forms of both the tomb of Süleyman and that of Roxelane could be seen behind the mosque;⁹ in an engraving made from a drawing of the same year, and in a woodcut showing the mosque, Lorichs clearly indicates two domed buildings in the cemetery garden behind the mosque. We cannot, however, assume *a priori*, as several scholars do, that the tiles of both tombs date therefore around the year 1558; indeed, a close look at the tiles suggests otherwise.

The Hürrem Sultan tomb is lavishly tiled in the interior with square tiles in the usual 24 cm² size, with a variety of designs. In the mihrap-like niches (figure 198) are found stencil-like aux quatre fleurs designs with two recti-

linear axes of symmetry, forming what we have termed a "reticulate net" over the wall surface. The colors used are dark-blue, turquoise, and a black line, with small touches of red, thin and dark. Clearly, we have here tiles with close affinities to those of the interior of the Süleymaniye mosque (figures 46-48), to the Süleymaniye lamp (figure 190), and to many of the field tiles seen in the Rüstem Pasha mosque. The palmettes, including the round lotus-palmette and the deeply serrated variety, are of the type frequently seen in color-glaze tile work in the second quarter of the sixteenth century, and, except for the small curving leaves, which themselves are the only elements of the design without an axis of symmetry, the design is little different in its individual elements from those of a building such as the tomb of Şehzade Mehmet of 1548 (figures 37 and 39).

The frame of the mihrap-like niche on each wall again shows a conservative style, consisting of alternating lotus-palmettes and serrated-palmettes framed in split rumî leaves (figure 199). The top border of the niches, and the niche-spandrels, on the other hand, show stylized flowers on a blue ground; in the former, tulips, leaves and rosettes are seen, while in the latter, flowering tree designs on manganese-purple stems, and occasional white tulips in reserve on the blue ground decorate the composition. The two rectangular panels above each cupboard consist of a blue-ground calligraphic composition on top, and below, a white-ground lunette in hatayî style, with large palmettes and spandrels in three colors, red, blue, and turquoise, with virtually no white slip showing. The arch-like border above the lunette, again part of the overall rectangular composition rather than being painted on separate tiles, is the familiar rosette alternating with mouchette-leaves.

Clearly in this building we see three different types of designs: chancery-designs, floral designs, and formal hatayî designs in the lunettes. They exist

side by side as we have observed them in the Rüstem Pasha mosque. The close parallels between the niche field-tiles and those of the Süleymaniye kible (figures 46 and 48), and the equally remarkable parallels in palette between the spandrels and palmettes of the lunettes, and the Victoria and Albert mosque lamp (figure 190), strongly suggest that the tiles of the Hürrem Sultan tomb date close to the completion of the Süleymaniye in 1558, while anticipating in a tentative way the bolder innovations of the Rüstem Pasha revetments. Nowhere in the interior of the tomb do we see a light value of blue employed, nor do we see any indication of the "two-blue" mode or its stippled variant. However, in its blue-ground compositions and in the lunette compositions, the Hürrem Sultan tomb brings us right up to the style and designs of the Rüstem Pasha mosque.

The tiny revak of the tomb contains on the left wall a narrow panel (figure 201) three tiles wide of a black-stemmed flowering tree on a blue ground, analogous both to the blue-ground spandrels of the interior of the tomb and to the blue-ground panel on the revak of the Rüstem Pasha mosque. The composition is strictly symmetrical, and uses, together with the black, blue, turquoise and red, a slightly greyish manganese-purple. In the leaves there is no evidence of the influence of the "dragon style" movement and twisting seen in the Rüstem Pasha panel (figure 215), and the borders contained in the composition use stencil-like forms comparable to those of the niche-tiles of the interior (figure 198). The field design uses carnations in white reserve, curious bunches of flowers resembling clusters of phlox, and rosettes composed of tiny white flowers radiating out from a central point on spoke-like panels; more severe and less imaginative, it nevertheless has the same quality of thin and brownish red, the same "brushwork" on the blue ground, and shows in its border ties to the tiles of the Süleymaniye kible wall.

The logical next building in the series, the tomb of Süleyman's son-in-law Rüstem Pasha, can with some confidence be dated very close to 1561, the year of the completion of the Rüstem Pasha mosque, and of the death of Rüstem himself. Because the death of a slave of the Sultan saw his wealth immediately revert to his master, one might assume that Rüstem's rather modest tomb was completed just prior to his death, after which no money would have been available to finish the project,¹⁰ were it not for the fact that his wife, Süleyman's daughter Mihrimah, survived him.

The tomb itself stands in the gardens behind the Şehzade mosque, only a few meters from the splendid tomb of Şehzade Mehmet; its location here, and not near any of the important architectural foundations established by Rüstem in İstanbul, is somewhat of a mystery. The tomb has no exterior tiles, but its octagonal interior is heavily decorated up to the springing of the dome. Eight large medallion panels, bent in the middle across the corners of the octagon, are found between the seven windows and the door which fill the middle of each wall. Above each of the windows is a blue-ground frieze with thuluth inscriptions in white reserve, above which are eight more bent panels with repeat-field tiles, while the windows are surrounded with tiles in the form of alternate blue and white interlocking marble voussoirs.

The field tiles are unusually large, being about thirty-four centimeters square. The designs of the eight medallion-panels do not include an integral border; that is, the border is composed of separate tiles, and has bevelled guard-stripes on either side in a black and white design (figure 69). The medallions, on a light-blue ground, bear a design of large palmettes, twisted leaves, and rosettes, while the field consists likewise of two-blue stippled lotus-palmettes and leaves on a white ground. The black outlining is particularly dry and crisp, while the composition has a strict single vertical axis

of symmetry around which the various forms are arranged.

Here we have one of the earliest, if not the earliest, such medallion-panels in the history of Ottoman tile-work, the forerunner of a rich lineage throughout the rest of the century. The design is composed of strict hatayî forms, with small touches from the "dragon style" appearing here and there. The two-blue stippling is exceptionally dry, with no diffusion of the spots of dark-blue into the light-blue ground, while the red is dark and thin, perhaps the poorest red seen so far in this study. The overall effect is very formal and very rich; nowhere are there any stylized flowers such as those of the mosque of Rüstem Pasha, nor are there any vestiges of the stencil-like forms of the late 'fifties.

Only in the border tiles do we find again a note of variety in both style and technique. The remarkable black bevelled-edges enclose a blue-ground design of tiny rosettes, palmettes, and leaves, alternating with extremely simple, almost amorphous, turquoise-ground medallions. But the red is bright and thick under the glaze, far better in quality than the red of the panels themselves. The blue ground of both border and medallion show the brush strokes, but in the former, all colors, especially the blue, are less translucent; that is, they have darker values.

In the tiles of the Rüstem Pasha tomb, we see a stylistic current which only rarely appeared in the Rüstem Pasha mosque; the old stencil-type hatayî and rumî designs, under the influence of a new spirit, have been used in large and carefully-planned unified-field panels, and the compositions are formal, symmetrical, and highly refined. Under the influence of the great blue-and-white tiles of the Sünnet Odası in the Topkapı Palace, the strictly flat two-blue designs of the Rüstem Pasha mihrap (figure 54) have been given a stippled texture, and the drawing is livelier and the disposition of its motifs on the white ground

richer by far. Despite the tentative aspects of the technique, such as the poor red color and the dry dot-like stippled blue, we can clearly see the same spirit of innovation observed in the unified-field formal hatayî designs of the gallery spandrels of the Rüstem Pasha mosque (figure 59). The tomb must be considered with the mosque as an example of the bold innovation in tile-work and in court designs emerging in the early 'sixties.

Süleyman died during the siege of Szigetvár in 1566, and his body was brought back from Hungary to İstanbul for burial, his death having been kept a secret from the army until his son Selim had firmly established himself on the throne. The tomb, as noted, was structurally substantially completed almost a decade before his death, but the inscription over the door bears a date corresponding to A.D. 1566, and the tile-work must post-date the Rüstem Pasha tomb and mosque by at least a few years.¹¹

The tile-work of the interior of the tomb, which in our opinion slightly predates that of the two panels of the revak, consists of vertical mullions between the windows, composed of a distinctive border of alternating rosettes and rumî leaves, and a field of aux quatre fleurs tiles (figure 204). The arrangement of four leaves in the field tiles imparts a counterclockwise movement to each composition, accented by the spiral arrangement of the stems and the numerous small cockade-leaves ornamenting the palmettes and rosettes. The agility of the composition is complemented by the use of two-blue stippling; in our chronological development only a few field tiles of the Rüstem Pasha mosque (figure 66), together with some of the gallery arch spandrels in that building, and the tiles of the Rüstem Pasha tomb (figure 117) have shown this stippling effect. In the Süleymaniye tomb, indicative of what we believe to be further development, the red color is quite uniform and thick, and displays

none of the brownish or blackish cast seen in the other, earlier, revetments.

The spandrels of the main doorway into the tomb (figure 197) are again framed by the distinctive white-ground border, and have as a field design the now-familiar combination of white clouds in reserve on a turquoise ground; the cornice of the interior (figure 197 again) shows the same use of turquoise and red together seen in the Rüstem Pasha tomb; this use of two colors together without any white is again indicative, along with the border of the mihrap lunette in the Ramazan Ođlu mosque (figure 126) of tile-work of this particular period, not being found after the 'sixties except in very rare instances.

Finally, it would appear that the tile panels over the windows in the revak of the Süleymaniye mosque itself (figure 196) are contemporary with the tomb interior revetments, due to the use of the same border tiles. Due to the definite differences present in all of these tiles when compared to the bulk of the tiles in the kible wall of the mosque, we suggest that all of the tiles of the Süleyman I tomb interior and the Süleymaniye mosque revak date from the early or mid-'sixties; they were added to the Süleymaniye complex of buildings as the quality of tile art improved. On the other hand, the dichotomy between the tiles of the Süleymaniye kible and those of the Süleymaniye tomb might again serve as supporting evidence for the documents mentioning different provenances for tiles of the mosque and tomb, a matter to be discussed in some detail below.

On the porch or revak of the tomb, above the door of which appears the 1566 date, are two large white-ground medallion-center unified-field hatayî panels flanking the door (figures 202, 203, and 216) whose technique and design definitely suggest that they postdate not only the tiles of the interior of the tomb and those of the mosque, but those of the Rüstem Pasha tomb of 1561 as well. The basic design is the same as that of the similar panels in the Rüstem

Pasha tomb, although each panel on the Süleymaniye tomb revak lies on a single plane. An arched-over white-ground field with two-blue stippled hatayî designs, showing in several details mannerisms of the "dragon style," surrounds a blue-ground medallion, itself filled with both lotus-palmettes and serrated palmettes, and including a smaller medallion filled with rumî motifs.

Technically the black line is smoother and more assured than anything seen before; the brush-strokes found in the blue ground of earlier compositions are barely visible. The stippling of blue on blue is softer (figure 179), and diffuses more into the light-blue ground. But the most striking feature of these two large medallion-panels is the quality of the red color; thick and uniformly bright, it approaches an intensity only found in a few of the Rüstem Pasha mosque tiles up to this point (figure 68). It is used lavishly and effectively throughout the composition.

The blue-ground border consists of lotus-palmettes and rosettes alternating with large white tulips each flanked by small decorated leaves. The border is integrally part of the tiles of the entire composition; the square tiles have been cut at the sides, top, and bottom to fit the wall space before the design was drawn upon them. As in the Rüstem Pasha mosque, and in accordance with what we have seen as implicit rules of propriety, the various elements of design have their proper places in the whole composition. Stylized flowers appear only on the border; rumî designs appear in the spandrels of the arch, and in smaller turquoise-ground medallions contained within the central medallion. Hatayî stippled two-blue designs appear only in the white-ground field, while the hatayî forms of the blue-ground medallion, in red and white, do not use the two-blue type of decoration.

In certain isolated parts of the compositions (figure 203) can be seen instances of a hiatus in the design, where one element is inexplicably cut off

by the tile next to it. Also, there is in the drawing a certain spontaneous sketchiness unlike the meticulous and dry designs of the Rüstem Pasha tomb, or those of the Ramazan Ođlu mosque in Adana. These technical factors may be explained in two ways. The hiatuses observable in the two large panels may be partially due to a slight cutting-down of the tiles to place them in the wall space, although it may have resulted from a mistake in the sketching of the design on the tiles at the place of manufacture. The rougher quality of the black lines forming the design can probably be attributed to the fact that they were executed by craftsmen from large-scale pounced drawings created at the court; the meticulousness of the original, which served as a model for both of the tile panels, was not reproduced by the artisan responsible for the execution, although he exhibits a remarkably sure and controlled hand. We have seen similar evidence of mass-production techniques in the wind-blown designs of the Rüstem Pasha mosque (figure 66), where a design of brilliant originality was executed with varying degrees of technical competence and care by workers in the kilns.

The discovery in the Topkapı Palace archives of the inşaat defteri or book of construction accounts of the Süleymaniye mosque and its külliye or complex gives some interesting if baffling information on the tiles of the tomb of Süleyman. The defter refers to the "İznik tiles" used in the mosque and the "İstanbul type" of tile used in the tomb and minaret;¹² there has been some confused discussion on this topic in the literature, some speculating that the "Istanbul tiles" may have been color-glaze monochrome tiles used in tile-mosaic compositions, none of which is in evidence today.¹³ The defter apparently does not specify as to the Süleyman tomb or the Hürrem Sultan tomb, and although at least one published work lists these defter entries as being between 961/1553 and 966/1559, their date cannot be considered certain, given the other confusion

in the sources in question.

It does seem possible, however, that the denotations "İstanbul" and "İznik" might be referring not to the place of origin of the tiles themselves, but to the point of origins of the designs. In such a context, the İstanbul tiles mentioned might be the two-blue stippled court-type designs of the tomb of Süleyman, created by establishment artists of the court, while the tiles of the mosque would be the İznik tiles of a perhaps more conservative İznik tradition, developing out of the late blue-and-white underglaze tiles, and using, like the tiles of the Ramazan Oğlu mosque and the Hürrem Sultan tomb, stencil-type hatayî designs. Such a hypothesis must however be reserved for the present until a detailed examination of the defter itself becomes possible.

As there is a clearly discernable difference between the two groups of tiles, we must not rule out the possibility that some of the tiles used in the Süleymaniye complex may have been made in İstanbul. It would seem quite pointless to assume a priori a necessary technical difference between underglaze tiles produced in İznik, and similar tiles produced in İstanbul. The two locations are not far apart, nor were they a great distance in time from each other in Ottoman times, and the materials used in the potting appear to be indigenous to neither location. We have scrupulously avoided use of the term "İznik" pottery in the present analysis for this reason, excepting only those instances where we are paraphrasing the Established Periodization, or where secure documentation exists. There exists the possibility that some tiles very close in technique to the "İznik" tiles were produced in the nearby city of Kütahya in both the early sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and the pottery-producing tradition of that city has been insufficiently explored.¹⁴ At any rate, given the complexity, wealth, and relative sophistication of the Ottoman state organization, there is no reason to suppose that polychrome underglaze tile-work could

not, on occasion, be produced at locations other than the well-documented city of İznik, especially if the transportation of large numbers of finished products, or the difficulties in obtaining accurate building measurements, proved more difficult than the transportation of artisans, raw materials, and fuel to a location close to the building site.¹⁵

As we have suggested, the production of tiles, as well as the production of steel in our century, would appear to rest economically more on the proximity to fuel sources than to sources of the raw materials themselves; the weight of fuel required to fire a given object far exceeded the weight of the object. For this reason, İznik, with its proximity to the Bithynian forests and their supply of wood, must still be considered the most probable source for all of these ceramics, as well as the only one for which there exists any reliable documentation.

C. BLUE-AND-WHITE TILES OF THE LATER SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Another problem involving the descriptive analysis of objects, which for various reasons has been postponed from discussion earlier in this analysis, is that of the blue-and-white tiles with a black line frequently found alongside tiles with the "Rhodian" palette in a few later Ottoman buildings. We have already noted the tiles of the Rüstem Pasha revak and left gallery (figures 113 and 154-155), which evidently are not part of the original revetments of that building; similar tiles are found in various museum collections, and in the exterior revetments of the tomb of Eyup near İstanbul,¹⁶ the latter having been assembled from a great variety of sources, including tiles from the eighteenth-century Tekfur Saray manufactories.¹⁷ As with the considerable number of "orphaned" hexagonal blue-and-white tiles discussed under the "Damascus" heading in Chapter Three, these blue-and-white tiles, while appearing in so many places, cannot

be found on any monument which may have been their original intended location. We date these blue, turquoise, and white tiles to the 'sixties and later; they are executed with a fine black line (figure 155), while the various elements of the design, such as the leaves decorated with small white flowers (figure 154) and the deeply serrated leaves, together with the movement imparted by spiraling stems, small cockade-leaves, and similar elements, all suggest an early 'sixties date. A stencil-like effect is preserved in some cases by the outlining of all elements of a motif in black line, and isolating them on the white ground (figure 155).

Other blue-and-white tiles, this time with no black line, are seen in a few locations in the mosque of Sultan Ahmet, whose completion dates to the year 1616 (figure 156). For various reasons, among which is their similarity to the "grape" wares derived from Ming models, and the parallels in the use of grapes in tile designs, we prefer to date these tiles also to the later part of the sixteenth century. While not possible to go into the problem in detail within the purview of the present analysis, it may be seen that the topographical arrangement of the designs, the sophisticated use of the "two-blue" mode of execution, the 24 cm² format of the tiles, and the iconographical elements of the grapes and the serrated palmettes, all point to a later sixteenth-century date for these objects.

Both types of blue-and-white tiles discussed, those we date to the 'sixties, and the "grape" tiles of the 'eighties or later, underline at least one important point about the "Rhodian" ceramic products. The polychrome tiles and wares produced after 1560 were only one element, admittedly the major element, in Ottoman ceramic art of the later sixteenth century. Just as the black-line "dragon drawings" evidently continued to be created over the later half of the sixteenth century alongside the less lyrical and more realistic Ottoman histori-

cal miniatures, so the blue-and-white type of ceramic, and the "Rhodian" polychrome ceramics with the red color, existed side by side, with designs ranging from sophisticated court creations to the more humble potters' products. In the same fashion, the "Damascus" wares, together with the most sophisticated of the "Rhodian" wares, may be contemporary with a larger group of less sophisticated "Rhodian" floral wares, those without the cusped edge and with the less calligraphic designs. As we have demonstrated, the colors used in these ceramic objects are only one factor among several to be used in the dating of the objects; the later sixteenth-century Ottoman ceramics, while exhibiting several major internal divisions, with major implications for the origins of the designs, the intended market, and perhaps even the origins of the objects themselves, cannot be dated by groups denoted on the basis of palette alone.

D. THE EMERGENCE OF A SYNTHESIS IN CERAMIC STYLE

The bulk of the present study has been concerned with descriptive analysis of a great number of objects and tile revetments within the broad tradition of Turkish ceramics. In the context of eight analytical variables, we have attempted to construct both the typologies and the historical background necessary to an understanding of the changes taking place over time in the production of these objects, as well as the differences and similarities within the broader category at any particular moment in its development. The purpose of this lengthy analysis has been two-fold. First, we have attempted to place the revolutionary revetment designs of a single monument, the mosque of Rüstem Pasha, in an historical perspective; we have shown how the revetments of this building mark a moment of most important change in Ottoman ceramic art. The second goal of the present study is a determination and evaluation of the Rüstem Pasha revetments in the context of Ottoman Turkish art as it evolved through the second half of the six-

teenth century. We have already seen, in the tombs of Hürrem Sultan, Süleyman I, and of Rüstem Pasha himself, that the innovations observed in the Rüstem Pasha ceramics began to have an immediate impact, and that they were part of a broader change occurring at about this time in Ottoman art. We would now like to examine in some detail the concept of a "classical" style in Ottoman Turkish art, and the relationship of the Rüstem Pasha ceramics to such a "classical" synthesis, should one indeed exist in the second half of the sixteenth century.

When we speak in this study of a "classical style" in Ottoman decorative arts, we are referring to a rather strictly-defined phenomenon, quite different in its chronological limitations and its structural components from what many authors have referred to as "classical" or "klâsik" Ottoman art. In architecture, the traditional view has been that the mosque of Beyazit II in İstanbul, constructed around 1504 by the architect Yakub Shah, was the first "classical" Ottoman mosque; given the meaning of the word, and the peculiar features of the mosque itself, we consider the use of the term in this case nothing short of absurd.¹⁸ Then again, both the rumî and the hatayî types of designs, in their Turco-Iranian manifestations which we have termed the "international" or "chancery" style of the later fifteenth and earlier sixteenth century, could be termed a classical style, representing as they did a universally accepted artistic synthesis in the book arts and in certain other decorative arts as well.

Neither the architectural definition nor the decorative-art definitive given above is fully satisfactory, for a number of reasons. Ottoman architecture did not begin to come of age until the maturity of Sinan, a maturity which that great master himself dated at the time of his construction of the Süleymaniye mosque in İstanbul, reaching its climax in the mosque of Selim II (1572) in

Edirne.¹⁹ Until the 'sixties and Sinan's maturity, the fullest exploitation of the potentials of the Ottoman mosque had not taken place; significantly, in the later "classical revivals" in Ottoman art of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and late nineteenth centuries, it is the works of the second half of the sixteenth century which serve as the models. Later Ottoman decorative art as well, from tiles to miniature painting, looks back in a similar fashion to the examples of the second half of the sixteenth century, and the reigns of Süleyman, Selim II, and Murad III. By the same token, the "international style" of the first half of the sixteenth century, although in many respects a classical style, is not specifically Ottoman in any of its characteristics, and thus not a phenomenon specifically within the purview of our interest in either time or space. The powerful inputs of Selim's captive artists from Tabriz in the second decade of the century, the impact of the Turco-Iranian "dragon style" in all the arts, and the new technical developments in ceramics, architecture, and the other arts, occurring over the century, did not in fact cause the fragmentation of any preexisting "classical" synthesis. Rather, they laid the groundwork for a new synthesis, a phenomenon as syncretic as the political and social institutions that supported it, a synthesis born of the rapid changes at mid-century manifested most clearly in the Rüstem Pasha revetments.

In ceramics, we may best describe this phenomenon as a final coalescing and pulling-together of the various centrifugal forces operating in the early 'sixties; out of a period of experimentation, competition, innovation, and wide diffusion of artistic control, there gradually emerged a set of canons of usage, style, propriety and color, together with a carefully observed rule of orchestration of new motives, which gradually commanded adherence throughout the artistic community. We might make the analogy with Ottoman architecture; the earlier

Ottoman architecture experimented with a great range of structures, ground-plans, and decorative schemes, derived from all over the Islamic world, producing in buildings such as the mosque of Beyazit II, or the Çinili Kiosk in the Topkapı Palace, exciting mixtures of Byzantine, Timurid, and Anatolian form, structure, and decoration. But by the time of the Süleymaniye mosque, although there was still tremendously innovative exploration of new forms and variations within them, the vocabulary, grammar, and syntax, as it were, had been definitely established; the usage of materials, the propriety of certain types of decoration, and the general rules of form, were all implicitly recognized.

In ceramics, the elements of the classical synthesis may be defined in the following manner. In unified-field revetment panels, the hatayî designs, occasionally with touches of the "dragon drawings" influence, predominated after 1561, with their first manifestations in the Rüstem Pasha tomb and the Süleymaniye tomb. The two-blue stippled mode of execution became standard, and the elements of the designs, including the two basic palmettes, and the various rosettes and leaf-forms, around a central dark-blue-ground medallion, on a white field, and under an arch, became the standard "vocabulary" of the new building revetments. Furthermore, this basic composition, in all of its features, was used for prayer rugs of the period, and was reflected in book-binding, manuscript illumination, wall-paintings, metal-work, textiles, and embroideries.

However, along with the dominance of these unified-field compositions, the work of court artists, there were two other strong elements of the style. The most important was of course the floral decoration; in some cases, flowering trees, usually on a dark-blue ground under an arch, rivalled and even surpassed the white-ground hatayî panels, through their naturalism and their richness of

color; we have seen the panels of this type in the Hürrem Sultan tomb revak and the Rüstem Pasha mosque revak, which appear to stand at the head of this tradition. The second element of design was the familiar rumî repertoire of split-leaf forms and vines; this element, together with the many minor decorative elements such as the çintamani forms, chi Chinese cloud-bands, and other motives derived either from other cultures or from the fertile imagination of Ottoman artists, observed the general rules of the overall style, however. The floral designs were generally confined to borders, spandrels, or repeat-field tiles. The rumî designs were separated from the other designs, usually occurring only as elements in unified-field compositions. There is only one example of a white-ground flowering-tree panel, and none of a blue-ground hatayî panel, and we only rarely see pure rumî designs as the main element of unified-field or repeat-field revetments. All of these "rules" form the "style" as we see it.

It can be seen that the new synthesis in ceramic art emerging from the diverse currents in the Rüstem Pasha revetment, that synthesis we might call an amalgamation of the "winners" in the Rüstem Pasha mosque, was primarily a court-oriented style where tile revetments were concerned, whose elements coalesced according to the rules we have briefly described (figures 216, 217, 221, 222). In the matter of repeat-field tiles, however, there were important advances made after the 'sixties; evidently a demand for mass-produced tiles from sources outside the court establishment, such as the revetments for the mosque of the Hacı Hüsrev Efendi, now called that of Ramazan Efendi, or the mosque of the felt-cap magnate Takiçi İbrahim Ağa, resulted in new experimentation unrestricted by the canons governing the unified-field panels. The earlier repeat-field types of design, with their stencil-like forms, and the primarily "reticulate net" form of layout, gave way to the more sophisticated topographical arrangements, whose ancestors were also visible in the Rüstem Pasha mosque; design elements

unthinkable in unified-field panels of the orthodox variety were used in these repeat-field tiles in great profusion.²⁰ This trend was as we have suggested probably destined for a different market; perhaps these tiles were indeed a response to the economic pressures of fixed prices from court-originated projects on the part of the İznik tile-makers; the repeat-field tiles could probably be bought on the open market in İstanbul, could be adapted to a building of any size or shape, and probably were not as difficult to obtain, as the lengthy process of measurement of the building, drawing of designs, and custom-making of the tiles, was not involved. In this respect, many of the repeat-field tiles of the later part of the century, with their bright and sometimes even brash floral designs, might be called the equivalents of the similar later floral "Rhodian" wares, although the latter continued to be produced long after the production of tiles had waned.

The unified-field panels, as reflections of court art, parallel closely the development and gradual rigidification of that art over the latter half of the sixteenth century. The panels of the Süleymaniye revak of 1566 (figure 216) are under an arch of simple profile, and consist of basically simple forms disposed over a panel of fairly small size. The panels of the Selimiye mosque in Edirne, dating to the early 'seventies (figure 217), are more complex, but again under a two-centered arch; the pendants to the medallions are larger, while rumî designs decorate the medallion and spandrels and floral designs are found on the blue-ground border.

218 X The panels of the mahfil-i-hümâyûn or "Sultan's pew" of that mosque (figure 32), in a departure from one of the stricter canons of the style, exhibit remarkable designs of asymmetrical flowering trees on a white ground, which in their lack of symmetry and their twisted leaves owe a considerable debt to the

similar panel in the Rüstem Pasha mosque (figures 215 and 218).

Two later blue-ground flowering-tree panels show the gradual rigidifying of the original impulse. The earlier,²¹ probably dating from the later 'sixties, is presently on the Sünnet Odası facade in the Topkapı Palace (figure 220). Although the symmetry is more pronounced, however, it has not become entirely perfect, and the occasional overlapping of forms is still visible. The later example (figure 219), dating from 982/1574, and also in the Topkapı Palace, once formed a part of a wall covered with three huge unified-field panels in the so-called Altın Yol or "golden way" from the harem quarters to the Sultan's bedroom.²² The general designs here are completely symmetrical, but there has been an astounding inventiveness in individual forms in the fields, in the mass-produced border, and in the vivid color-combinations used; this group of three panels in some ways represents a reaction of color against the tyranny of line, an exuberant release of artistic inhibitions. However, although all of the field compositions are of extremely high technical quality the mass-produced borders, dating to the 'seventies, occasionally exhibit disconcerting differences in the firing of colors (figure 224), especially the red color.

In the tomb of Selim II at Aya Sofya, finished around 1574, one can see a combination of the blue-ground floral and the white-ground hatayî designs (figure 211). Under an arch with a decorated profile, the white-ground field, with its pronounced debts to the blue-and-white picture-tiles on the Sünnet Odası, encloses a large medallion with a strictly symmetrical flowering tree in white reserve on a blue ground. The adjacent tomb of Murad III, completed in 1595, shows the further development of the design (figure 222). Not only is the entire composition higher in relation to its width, but lower spandrels have been added, and the upper spandrels expanded. The central medallion, with its large pendants, takes up a larger part of the field proportionally, when

compared to the earlier panels. But the total effect of the panel, while graceful, has weakened; the designs, with their closer resemblance to book covers, are becoming clichés, and the technical quality of the tiles is inferior to the more careless, but infinitely more exuberant repeat-field tiles of contemporary buildings. Line is becoming dominant over color, or so these examples would appear to indicate. The design of the Murad III panel is graceful and well-proportioned however; indeed, it is the basic design of the best-known "court" prayer rugs produced by the Ottomans, which can with some confidence be dated, in part through their resemblance to this panel, to the later part of the sixteenth century.²³ But the limitations in its rigidity were evidently plain even to its contemporaries, for together with the revetments of the tomb of Mehmet III a few years later, it forms the last example of this tradition, before the anti-classical last "flowering" of revetment tiles in the mosque of Sultan Ahmet in 1616 (figure 223).

E. THE CLASSICAL OTTOMAN STYLE IN A BROADER PERSPECTIVE

We have described what we feel may be called the "classical" Ottoman style as manifested in revetment tiles of the later sixteenth century. For four decades, two main design types, the hatayî two-blue-designs, and the floral designs, appear to dominate large unified-field compositions in tiles Ottoman buildings. This style, and especially the hatayî element within it, has strong links to the "chancery" style of the first half of the century. Its first manifestations, along with its rules of propriety and usage, evidently occur around mid-century. The "Damascus" wares, stone-carving such as the pure hatayî designs of the minber of the İbrahim Pasha mosque of 1551 (figure 229), the "dragon drawings" (figure 230), the great picture-tiles of the Topkapı Palace, and the later tughras of Süleyman I, must be numbered among its earliest appearances.²⁴ In the Rüstem

Pasha mosque, we see the classicism vying with other types of designs by the dozen; by the following decade, it dominates only to become gradually more and more sterile. As it declines in importance, other types of designs which also made their debuts in the Rüstem Pasha "competition" gradually emerge to take its place. In what is certainly the most remarkable regenerative effort in the history of Turkish art, the spirit of the Rüstem Pasha mosque is revived in the second decade of the seventeenth century for the revetments of the Sultan Ahmet mosque (figure 223); whether due to economic reasons or in the "burning-out" of the artistic impulse, this last great flareup of tile-making creativity in the Ottoman realms was followed by a precipitous decline.²⁵ The regeneration of the artistic establishment at this late date is also confined largely to tiles; just as the variety of designs seen in the Rüstem Pasha mosque is not reflected immediately in other arts, so it was with the Sultan Ahmet mosque revetments, suggesting that it was in the area of revetments that the central control of designs was weakest. The contemporary prayer rug of Sultan Ahmet (figure 231), on the other hand, stands as a product of the strictest Ottoman classical tradition;²⁶ in the spandrels of the Sultan Ahmet mihrap (figure 232), and in the spandrels of the arches of the shadırvan fountain of the mosque's courtyard do show among the hatayî foliage a few carnations bravely carrying on the tradition of stylized floral designs.

Examination of two individual types of elements may show us how the "classical" Ottoman style became entrenched. The first, a basic element of hatayî designs since the fifteenth century, is the lotus-palmette, with its butterfly-like cluster of leaves at the juncture of stem and palmette. We saw it first in the "Abraham of Kütahya" wares and tiles, and in the color-glaze tiles of the first half of the sixteenth century (figures 34 and 37). In the Rüstem Pasha mosque, it appears only in the chancery-type designs, as yet relatively unin-

fluenced by the textures and stippling stemming from the "dragon style." We see small freckled versions of it on the mihrap frame (figure 55) and in stencil-like form in the various gallery spandrels (figures 57-59). It is also seen in the mihraps of the revak (figure 103), and in the spandrels, but not the field, of the floral panel of the revak (figure 104). In all of these cases, it preserves the stencil-like form it inherited from the tradition of color-glaze tiles. The blue, turquoise, and white tiles dating from this period (figures 154-155) also show it in this form, as do the tiles of the Ramazan Ođlu mosque (figures 125, 127).

But shortly after 1561, probably under the impact of the "dragon style" and the picture-tiles now on the Sünnet Odası facade, the palmette became an organic whole, a three-dimensional rather than two-dimensional design. The fragments of a destroyed panel now on the Rüstem Pasha revak (figure 116), and the unified-field panels of the Rüstem Pasha tomb (figure 117) show the palmette becoming complex, with rosebuds decorating its center; stippling in two values of blue, and accents of turquoise, white, and red, have replaced the white stencil-like outlines.

In the panels of the Süleymaniye tomb of ca. 1566 (figure 205) the palmette, decorated with rosebuds and a cockade-leaf, shows its classical form. The slightly later revetments of the Selim II mosque in Edirne (figure 206) are similar, but the design is crisper, red is used in greater abundance, and the sub-elements, including three flowers in reserve-white on a red ground, are becoming more complex. In the contemporary kible panels of the Sokullu Mehmet Pasha mosque (figure 207), which represent perhaps the greatest attainment of the Ottoman tile-makers, the palmette is even more complex, green is added to the palette, and the three-dimensional effect is enhanced by the extreme thickness of the red pigment.

Finally, an example present in the Victoria and Albert Museum (figure 208), which probably dates to the later 'seventies, shows the ultimately complex evolution of the palmette, into a form garlanded with rosebuds, twisted leaves, and tiny subsidiary compartments, in which the clarity of the Selim II or Süleyman I palmettes is completely lost in a mass of complex detail.

The appearance of the palmette in the other arts can also be catalogued. The obvious parallels in wall-painting are many, and are easily dateable. The Sokullu Mehmet Pasha mosque ceiling paintings of the early 'seventies, with their pure hatayî designs (figure 209); wall-paintings in the mosques of Takiçci İbrahim Ağa and Kılıç Ali Pasha, from the last two decades of the century, illustrate the pervasiveness of the style.²⁷ We have already mentioned the impact of the classical designs on rug design; the McMullan carpet in the Metropolitan Museum, the Benguiat carpet in the Textile Museum, and the Ahmet I carpet in the Topkapı Museum, to mention only three examples, all reflect the same court designs and the palmette forms characteristic of the later part of the century.²⁸

Stone-carving, from the earlier examples such as the minber of the İbrahim Pasha mosque of 1551 (figure 229), to the mihrap of the mosque of Sultan Ahmet of 1616 (figure 232), also reflects the standardization of hatayî type designs with their palmette-motifs, used in conjunction with stylized flowers, cloud-bands, rumî arabesques, and the rest of the classical Ottoman decorative repertoire. More importantly, tughra decoration in the later tughras of Süleyman I, and in the tughras of Selim II and Murad III, reflect the entire development of the decorative style in a more easily dateable form, providing us with the only examples in paper arts with close parallels to the tile designs, and illustrating the general development we have outlined with a remarkable degree of congruence.²⁹

Another subsidiary motif, with its origins in the Rüstem Pasha tiles, this time suited to repeat-field mass-produced tiles, is the cartouche design with a central palmette or flower (figure 212). This motif again begins rather crowded and complex, and then reaches its most satisfactory form in the tiles of the mihrap of the Piyale Pasha mosque in İstanbul (ca. 1574), where small hyacinths decorate the field of each cartouche (figure 211). With a large tulip in the center, the design was used for brocades and velvets; a famous miniature of Selim II by Nigarî (figure 210) shows the Sultan dressed in a kaftan with the cartouche design.³⁰ Turkish velvets of the seventeenth century continued to use this motif, and it is also seen in many Italian velvets and textiles.³¹

A more complicated variant of the design occurs in the ceiling and soffit-paintings of the Selim II mosque in Edirne (figure 213); here, larger and smaller cartouches contain different types of designs. Even into the eighteenth century, in some very corrupt and badly-executed commercial Ottoman rugs from Ushak, the cartouche design, with its attendant tulips, carnations, and hyacinths, continued to be used (figure 214), a pale reflection of the vitality of the design as seen in the Piyale Pasha mosque.

One further testament to the importance of the ceramic designs and the classical style of the particular period under discussion is the later revival of these designs and styles in the various "classical revivals" of the later seventeenth, early eighteenth, and late nineteenth centuries. The tiles of the Hekimoğlu Ali Pasha mosque of 1734, itself a paraphrase of a later-sixteenth century mosque, were manufactured at Tekfur Saray outside the walls of İstanbul, in a factory set up by Damad İbrahim Pasha, the Grand Vezir of Ahmet III, in an attempt to revive the glories of İznik production of the later sixteenth century; the tiles themselves are virtually all descendants of designs seen in

the Rüstem Pasha mosque, some of which indeed were not used since 1561. In the same vein, the neo-classical Young Turk architecture of the early twentieth century, and its neo-classical predecessors of the last decades of the nineteenth, borrowed their ornament in large part from the second half of the sixteenth century, attempting to reflect the past glories of the Ottoman Empire at its greatest.³²

Contemporary with the Ottoman classical style of the later sixteenth century, reflections were seen in a number of outposts of the Empire. We have referred to the existence of a local ceramic production in Damascus; the blue-ground floral panels from the Damascus mosques owe a direct debt to the Rüstem Pasha floral panels and their successors (see figures 227 and 228), although in their use of a vase for the compositions, they show the influence of the later classicizing bent of the 'seventies and 'eighties. The revival of ceramic decoration in the Sultan Ahmet mosque revetments likewise looked back to the 'sixties, whether in the roundel-tiles of the Rüstem Pasha mosque (figures 226 and 64), or indeed in the vestigial stencil-style designs of the early 'sixties.

Certain other designs seen in the later sixteenth century and beyond in Ottoman art become comprehensible only in terms of ceramic designs. Such designs are the "bird carpets" thought to come from Ushak (figure 233); the basic topography of the aux quatre fleurs format presents a design of rosettes in a stencil-like style, together with curious mouchette-like forms.³³ Indeed, as seen in the Rüstem Pasha mosque (figure 81), or in later borders of the 'eighties in the Topkapı Palace (figure 224), we perceive that the design is indeed a mouchette form, rather than the stylized leaf suggested by some sources. This fact confirms that the "bird rugs" are indeed heavily stylized, and not to be considered court products, but rather commercial products. Their use of a white

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ground, together with the other factors mentioned, leaves little doubt however that they were modelled after tile revetments.

An important distinction to be made in discussing the diffusion of such designs throughout the various arts in the Ottoman Empire is the degree of control and centralization of each unit of artistic production. We frequently read in the literature of the "royal workshops" of the Ottoman Sultan, whether they be for the production of rugs, ceramics, or of textiles.³⁴ In the strictest sense, however, the evidence points to their being only one "royal" workshop; that was the court artistic establishment or nakkaşhane in the Topkapı Palace in the capital. Both the lists of artisans available to us from this period, and the evidence of the monuments such as the Rüstem Pasha mosque, suggest to us that even this workshop itself was an extremely heterogeneous organization, both in the nationality and training of its artisans, and in the types of designs which it produced.³⁵

In fact, within the mosque of Rüstem Pasha, we have seen not only designs of a classicizing bent, anticipating the "classical" synthesis which we have discussed immediately above, but also designs with a strong anti-classical bias, using strange shapes and bright colors for their own effects. The two currents, as we have seen, continue to exist side by side for four decades and more, and although one might say that in the Sultan Ahmet mosque revetments of 1616 the "anticlassical" tendencies triumphed, by the fourth decade of the century the classical revival of Murad IV, with a greatly weakened technique, again dominated tile production.

But if such questions are beyond the immediate purview of this study, the impact of these designs on other artistic collectivities, and the types of control of production existing among these collectivities are of much greater im-

portance. The manufacture of tiles, rugs, and textiles, to mention but three examples, was evidently a commercial enterprise of the first magnitude, if the example of ceramics is to be believed. The Sultans, as we have noted, often had to fight the free-market impulse of İznik potters to get tiles for their mosques.³⁶ The "court rugs" of the Ottomans may reflect court designs, but in only rare instances can we be sure that they were actually manufactured for court use; in the same way, sometimes under the aegis of Venetian entrepreneurs, Ottoman labor and Ottoman designs were used in the manufacture of textiles for the European market.³⁷

The point of this exposition is to emphasize that it becomes useless beyond a point to speak of an all-encompassing and monolithic Style in Ottoman Turkish art; even the classical style of the later sixteenth century, as we have seen it, is pervaded by internal conflicts not only within the stylistic variable, but among the other seven variables as well. The "synthesis" of the 'seventies and 'eighties is quite real, and its debt to the "moment of change" of 1561 is also quite real and important, but at the same time it is sharply limited; it is born in a period of almost tumultuous change, seen dramatically in the Rüstem Pasha revetments, and as long as the vitality of Ottoman political and social institutions was maintained, and as long as their economic vigor was high, and as long as the tradition of upward mobility preserved in the society and in the court establishments at the capital, the possibility of innovation within the artistic establishment was preserved. There is from its most mobile and free epoch a spirit of freedom and spontaneity which is probably not seen in any other period in the history of Islamic art; the revetments of the Rüstem Pasha mosque form one of the most important and convincing testaments to the vitality of the Ottoman artistic milieu at mid-century; the older and younger designers

who participated in the creation of these designs, and the admixture of traditions which took place there, represent not only the gradual synthesis of a complex and varied set of historical traditions in ceramic art, but a paradigm of what was best in the Ottoman artistic and social tradition at mid-century.

Drawing from the color-glaze oriented stencil-type designs, the dry rumî and hatayî traditions of the book-illuminators and calligraphers, and the virtuoso Ottoman album drawings with their three-dimensionality and texture, all designs which had previously been expressed in various forms in Ottoman ceramic art, the artists were free to employ Chinese designs, to use naturalistic forms of plants and trees, and best of all, to use their fertile imaginations, in an atmosphere of competition and change. Their fortunate congruence in time with new developments in ceramic technique, production, and builder's techniques, together with a patron who despite his reputation as a miser was somehow liberal enough to provide the economic basis for a bold experiment such as this, produced not only a giant step forward toward a new classical synthesis, but a monument to everything that was vital and creative in the artistic traditions of the Ottoman Turkish society in the mid-sixteenth century.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS IN SUMMARY FORM

The conclusions we can draw from the present study can be grouped in two areas. The first are those conclusions which can be considered empirically proven in a more or less scientific fashion from the data. The second group includes those which are strongly suggested by the accumulated evidence, and which may provide useful working hypotheses for future studies in the area of Ottoman ceramics; in some cases, documentary evidence may be eventually found in the Topkapi archives which will move these working hypotheses to the status of "proven" conclusions.

We believe that the importance of the Rüstem Pasha mosque and its varied tile revetments for the development of Ottoman ceramic art, and Ottoman decorative arts in general, has been proven beyond a doubt. It appears that the decorations of this building were the work of a great number of designers under the guidance of the older Master who executed the inscriptions of the kible and the mihrap tiles, and that an element of competition existed in the creation of all of the designs used in the mosque. We have shown that various techniques were used side by side throughout the history of Ottoman ceramics in the sixteenth century, and that the limitations of certain techniques carried over into designs of other techniques at times. The underglaze technique developed gradually, with a gradually expanding palette, from the last years of the fifteenth century onwards, and the introduction of the red color coincided with the use of new types of designs around the year 1560. The uniformity of technique and coloration characterizes some of the finest works, but there is variance depending on

the organization of production, on the intended market, and with some affinities to the variable of style. The technique in question evolved partially in response to an admiration of Chinese porcelain, and partially, in the case of tiles, in an attempt to create a paper-like white surface for designs.

The relationship between wall tiles and wares is very complex, and within each category there are both mass-produced and "high art" objects, some of which were intended for a free market, and others made especially to order. The use of dateable tiles to date wares, and vice versa, is an enterprise to be undertaken with great caution.

The shapes and sizes of objects vary according to their style, their period, and their location. Certain wall tiles of unusual shape and size indicate either a specifically-tailored revetment made-to-measure for a particular building, or a period of various tile-sizes which eventually gave way to a uniform mass-produced tile approximately 24 centimeters square, which could be sold on the open market and cut down to fit individual wall surfaces. The hexagonal tiles of earlier periods, with their long ancestry in Islamic art, gradually gave way to rectangular and eventually to square tiles.

Certain ware shapes and sizes are found in specific types of wares; the largest and most impressive pieces are the blue-and-white bowls in the "Kütahya" and "Golden Horn" styles, while the "Rhodian" pieces, especially the later ones, tend to be smaller; this later group also includes a variety of small mugs and jugs not seen in the earlier wares. Some of the earlier wares do have shapes suggesting they copied metal-work, but this does not necessarily mean that their creators had little experience in pottery-making. The finest pieces of the "Damascus" and "Rhodian" wares frequently show a cusped edge deriving from Ming porcelain; we believe these objects to date primarily from the early and mid-

'sixties of the century.

We have seen the many inputs into an important change in style, from a pan-Islamic "international style" manifested in the earlier blue-and-white wares and tiles, to a classical Ottoman style consisting of several different types of decoration orchestrated into a harmonious whole. The accumulated evidence strongly suggests that tile designs and ware designs formed one of the most important vectors in the change and spreading of this new style, and the presence of dateable ceramic revetments makes it possible to understand better changes of style in Ottoman rugs, textiles, and other arts.

We have found that the location of tile revetments is no assurance of their dating; we have seen that revetments were frequently changed, moved, mutilated, and rearranged in the walls of buildings. The use of this variable in analysis is to be undertaken only with the greatest caution.

We have determined that İznik is the most probable place of manufacture of the bulk of the underglaze Ottoman wares and tiles, but the recent excavations there, presently incomplete, raise some disturbing questions about İznik as the origin of certain types of pottery. İznik was an established center of ceramic production before the emergence of the underglaze wares forming the focus of our enquiry, but there is no evidence to link it with the earlier color-glaze Ottoman revetments. We would like to reserve the possibility that polychrome underglaze tiles and wares were also made in locations other than İznik.

We have established that both potters and court artists participated in the manufacture of Ottoman ceramic products, and further have seen that a division of labor existed in the production of these objects, depending on the nature of the project, the type of design employed, and the particular time in which an

object was produced. Some objects were produced with the aid of pounced drawings created at the court, others were painted on the tile by court artists, and still others were the spontaneous creation of relatively unsophisticated workmen in ceramic ateliers. The ateliers were not under strict court control, but produced tiles and wares both on commission from the court, and for the free market and export market.

The two types of market influenced the designs, while the adherence to a fixed pricing system over a period of inflation by court patrons probably resulted, in the immense projects for the Sultan Ahmet mosque in 1616, in the precipitous decline of the İznik manufactories. The manufacture of mass-produced wares for a wide distribution affected the quality of designs involved, while the very finest pieces, in technique and in design, were in all probability especially commissioned, and executed from designs created by professional designers.

We have seen that various groups of ceramics, groups predicated on the different variables of our analysis, frequently exist side by side in time, and that differences in style, technique, size, genre, provenance, and cost relate to the chronological variable in complex ways. The great diversity of the Ottoman collectivities engaged in all phases of the production and use of ceramics make the handling of the time variable the most complex task of the scholar. We do consider that we have established the years around 1560 and the completion of the ^PRustem Pasha mosque as the years of a far-reaching change in the entire spectrum of Ottoman artistic endeavor; it was a time when the fortuitous congruence of a great and wealthy patron, an unprecedented freedom in the artistic establishment, a new technical development in ceramics, a healthy and vigorous state, and an upwardly mobile society, enabled artists and artisans of imagina-

tion to effect a rapid and sweeping change in the style of Ottoman art. This was a change of dimensions and quickness seldom seen before or since in Islamic art across such a wide span in the arts, and it endures as testament to the Ottoman Turkish artistic tradition at its best.

APPENDIX A

TILE REVETMENTS OF THE MOSQUE OF RÜSTEM PASHA

The term "face" is used for a wall surface delineated on the plans in the line figures, referenced in the first column. Within a face there may be one or more panels of tiles; the term "panel" is used to describe an integral planned surface covered with tiles. All dimensions given are approximate. Dimensions may vary slightly from tile to tile within a given panel of "identical" tiles, and certain "standard" tiles used in many places in the mosque may also demonstrate variances in size. In the case of windows and doors, the dimensions given include the stone frame-mouldings as well as the aperture itself. On the plans, there has been no indication of standard borders, standard corner-borders, and cornices, but these will be found mentioned in the listing of this Appendix. This Appendix proceeds on the basis of plan rather than elevation; unless otherwise mentioned, all panels may be assumed to be surrounded on all four sides with the standard Rüstem Pasha border, and crowned at the top with the standard Rüstem Pasha cornice. When the term "45-degree corner border" is used, an acute or outside 90-degree corner will be noted on the plan; the term "inside corner" is self-descriptive. The descriptions in column two have been kept as brief as possible, with some cross-referencing. Dimensions of individual tiles in a panel are given in column two, while the dimensions of the entire face or panel, often only the width, are given in column three. In column four are references to illustrations, not of the particular face or panel in most instances, but rather to identical types of tiles. This Appendix is divided into four sections. The first, keyed to line figure A, describes the ground-floor revetments of the interior of the mosque. The second, keyed to line figure J, describes the revet-

ments of the right gallery. The third, keyed to line figure B, describes the revetments of the left gallery. The fourth, keyed to figure I, describes the spandrels of the left gallery arches, which are complemented by identical mirror-opposites across the mosque. The following abbreviations are used in these sections of Appendix A:

RP	Rüstem Pasha Border	(figure 51)
m	Mihrap-kible border	(figure 54)
RPC	Rüstem Pasha Cornice	(figure 51)
h	Forty-five degree corner border	(figure 54)
K	<u>kapı</u> (doorway)	
d	<u>dolap</u> (cupboard recessed into the wall)	

PART ONE: GROUND-FLOOR REVETMENTS OF THE MOSQUE INTERIOR, BEGINNING WITH THE NICHE OF THE MIHRAP AND PROCEEDING CLOCKWISE AROUND THE MOSQUE. IN INDIVIDUAL TILE DIMENSIONS, WIDTH IS GIVEN BEFORE HEIGHT OR LENGTH.

PLAN NUMBER	DESCRIPTION	DIMENSIONS	ILLUS.
mihrap niche	5 2-tile-wide panels, vase and flowers	41.5 cm wide 283.5 cm high	49,52,50
	2 1-tile-wide panels, each 1/2 of above	20.7 cm wide 283.5 cm high	
	Each individual tile 20.5 x 29.5 cm		
	Width of entire niche, 157 cm		
h	45-degree corner border Each tile 9.5 x 24.8 cm	9.5 cm wide	54
4a	Column-border	16.6 cm wide	53,54
m	Mihrap-kible border Each tile 12.5 x 26.2 cm	12.5 cm wide	

3a	Palmette-border of mihrap frame Each tile 28.2 x 21.6 cm	56.4 cm wide	55
m	Mihrap-kible border	12.5 cm wide	
2a	Large-scale <u>rumî</u> border of mihrap frame, each tile 21.5 x 26.2 cm	42.5 cm wide	56
m	Mihrap-kible border	12.5 cm wide	
inside corner			
1a	Pinwheel <u>mouchette</u> tile panel Each tile 21.5 x 26.2 cm	31 cm wide	63
RP	Standard border Each tile 13.2 x 24.8 cm	13.2 cm wide	51
h	45-degree corner border		
5a	Tulips and carnations with inte- gral blue-ground border and excel- lent colors, each tile 30 x 29.5 cm	30 cm wide	68
projection	Vertical stone support of minber pulpit	17 cm wide	
RPC	Standard cornice, used vertically rather than horizontally, each tile 14.2 x 32.2 cm	14.2 cm wide	
5	Identical to 5a, but behind pulpit	30 cm wide	68
RPC	Standard cornice, used vertically	14.2 cm wide	
projection	Vertical stone support of minber pulpit	17 cm wide	
5b	Identical to 5a	30 cm wide	68
h	45-degree corner border		
RP	Standard border		
1b	Identical to 1a	64.5 cm wide	63
RP	Standard border		
inside corner			
RP	Standard border		
6	<u>Rumî</u> -roundel tiles, each 28 cm ²	83 cm wide	64

RP	Standard border		
window A	Calligraphic white-ground panel over	182.5 cm wide	49
RP	Standard border		
6a	Tiles identical to those of panel 6	82.5 cm wide	64
RP	Standard border		
inside corner			
RP	Standard border		
5c	Tiles identical to those of 1b	70 cm wide	63
RP	Standard border		
h	45-degree corner border		
floor rises approximately 16.5 cm under right gallery			
RP	Standard border		
7	Small-scale stencil-style reticulate <u>hatayî</u> design, each tile 26.5 cm square	158 cm wide	71
RP	Standard border		
h	45-degree corner border		
RP	Standard border		
8	Symmetrical <u>rumî</u> forms around star, each tile 29 cm square, some cut smaller	68 cm wide	72
inside corner			
8a	Tiles identical to those of panel 8	42 cm wide	72
RP	Standard border		
window B	RP and RPC above	181 cm wide	
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
8b	Mixed tiles	31 cm wide	72,234

inside corner

8c	Tiles identical to those of panel 8, some other tiles mixed in	55 cm wide	72,234
RP	Standard border		
h	45-degree corner border		
9	Rosette network, tiles identical to those of panels 3 of revak	25 cm wide	101

inside corner

10	Face ten contains one window (C) and two <u>dolaps</u> . Begins l. with <u>dolap</u> dl with tile panel below door within RP of tiles with design of four palmettes around star, each tile 28 x 26.5 cm	97 cm wide 53.6 cm wide	234
	Window C	186.5 cm wide	
	Panel under d identical to that under dl but slightly less wide	94 cm wide	234

inside corner

11	Mixed tiles, fragments	5.5 cm wide	
h	45-degree corner border		
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
7a	Tiles identical to those of 7	130 cm wide	71
RP	Standard border		
h	45-degree corner border		
12	Mixed tiles, fragments	13 cm wide	
inside corner			
13	Blue-and-white fragments identical to those of panel 6 of the revak	8.5 cm wide	113
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
window D		181.5 cm wide	

14	Unified-design panel of great tulip under arch, on spiraling vine, separate and unique border of overlapping circles. Each tile in field 26.5 cm wide and 26-28 cm high	50.8 cm wide 224 cm high	67,100
window E		181.5 cm wide	
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
15	Fragments of tiles identical to those of panels 3 of revak	7.5 cm wide	101
inside corner			
16	Mixed tiles and fragments	13 cm wide	
h	45-degree corner border		
RP	Standard border		
17	Waving-leaf panel, each tile 26.5 cm square	160 cm wide	66
RP	Standard border		
h	45-degree corner border		
floor level drops approximately 16.5 cm			
18	Fragments of various types	18 cm wide	
inside corner			
19	Face 19 contains <u>dolap</u> d2 and door K3	362 cm wide	
	Under <u>dolap</u> d2 is a panel of tiles with small <u>mouchettes</u> in design, each tile 27 x 26 cm	180 cm wide	80
	Between <u>dolap</u> d2 and door K3 is a panel of unified design, of double swaying vines within RP borders, each tile 18 x 30 cm	44.4 cm wide 218 cm high	119
	Door K3	182 cm wide	
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
inside corner			

20	Fragments similar to those of face 18	12.5 cm wide	
h	45-degree corner border		
	floor level rises approximately 16.5 cm		
RP	Standard border		
21	Tiles with design of four leaves, and cloud-bands, each tile 27 cm square, panel surrounded by RP, crowned by RPC	147.5 cm wide 187 cm high	235
RP	Standard border		
	inside corner, begin back wall of mosque		
21a	Tiles identical to those of 21, fragments	8.5 cm wide	235
RP	Standard border	13.5 cm wide	
window F		187 cm wide	
RP	Standard border		
22	Complex small-scale <u>rumi</u> network, each 26.3 x 26 cm	61 cm wide	236
RP	Standard border		
	inside corner		
RP	Standard border		
21b	Tiles identical to those of 21, RP sides, socle, top, crowned by RPC	160.5 cm wide 187 cm high	235
RP	Standard border		
h	45-degree corner border		
	floor level drops approximately 16.5 cm		
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
23	<u>Mouchette</u> tiles of poor technical quality, each 26.7 x 27 cm	132 cm wide	80
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	

floor level rises approximately 16.5 cm

h	45-degree corner border		
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
24	Ascending tulips in center of tile, flanked by saw-edged leaves, each tile 27.5 x 26.5 cm	135 cm wide	79
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
inside corner			
25	Network of rosettes and curly tendrils, integral border of white tulips on blue ground, each tile 33.2 x 22 cm	33.5 cm wide	237
window G			
		281 cm wide	
25a	Identical to 25	33.5 cm wide	
inside corner			
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
24a	Tiles identical to those of 24	135 cm wide	79
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
h	45-degree corner border		
floor level drops approximately 16.5 cm			
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
26	Four-module diagonal-axis network with large <u>rumi</u> forms decorated with cloud-bands, each tile 21 x 26.5 cm	135 cm wide	69
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
h	45-degree corner border		
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
28	Four bright red tulips and <u>rumi</u> leaves surrounding central rosette, very fine technical quality, each tile 23.5 x 23 cm	73.2 cm wide	82

RP	Standard border		
inside corner			
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
29	$\text{Rum}\hat{\text{I}}$ spiral around rosette, each tile 23.5 x 23 cm	74.6 cm wide	62
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
main door KI	(half-circuit of the ground floor completed) Tympanum over door tiled with tiles identical to those of panels 29, 29a	261 cm wide	62
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
29a	Tiles identical to those of 29	75 cm wide	62
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
inside corner			
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
29a	Tiles identical to those of 28	73.2 cm wide	82
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
h	45-degree corner border		
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
30	Design of diagonal central light-blue palmette, smaller stencil palmettes and curved leaves, each tile 26.5 x 27 cm, 4-module repeat	130.5 cm wide	70
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
floor rises approximately 16.5 cm			
h	45-degree corner border		
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
24b 25b	The niche containing window G' is	350 cm wide	

window G'	In its revetments it is the mirror		
25c	reverse of the niche containing		
24c	window G; all panels correspond		
	in dimensions and in designs of the		
	tiles used		
h	45-degree corner border		
floor drops approximately 16.5 cm			
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
31	<u>Mouchette</u> tiles identical to those of 23	131 cm wide	80
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
floor rises approximately 16.5 cm			
h	45-degree corner border		
RP	Standard border		
21c	Tiles identical to those of 21	163.5 cm wide	235
RP	Standard border		
inside corner			
RP	Standard border		
31b	Tiles identical to those of 31, 23	58.5 cm wide	80
RP	Standard border		
window F'		188 cm wide	
25d	Tiles identical to those of 25	25.8 cm wide	
inside corner, begin left wall of mosque			
32	Dark-blue large-scale <u>rumi</u> design on white, integral border of reserve white tulips and carnations on blue, each tile 31.1 cm square, <u>dolap</u> d7 in middle of panel	143.7 cm wide	238
h	45-degree corner border		
floor drops approximately 16.5 cm			
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	

inside corner

RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
door K2	Tympanum over the exterior of this door is tiled with a unified-field composition	181.5 cm wide	93
19a	Essentially the mirror reverse of face 19 across the building, in every respect	177.5 cm wide	80,119

inside corner

floor level rises approximately 16.5 cm

15b	Fragments of tiles identical to those of panels 3 of revak	11 cm wide	101
h	45-degree corner border		
RP	Standard border		
17a	Tiles identical to those of 17	157 cm wide	66
RP	Standard border		
h	45-degree corner border		
33a	Fragments of tiles similar to those of kible wall of right gallery (Ff, Gg)	11.5 cm wide	76

inside corner

33b	Similar to 33a	11.5 cm wide	76
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
window E'		180 cm wide	
34	Ascending great tulip on spiral vine, identical to panel 17 opposite	50.1 cm wide	67,100
window D'		183.5 cm wide	
RP	Standard border		
35	Split ascending ogival pattern tiles, each tile 25 cm high	24 cm wide	65

inside corner

204

35a	Similar to 35, fragments	10.5 cm wide	
h	45-degree corner border		
RP	Standard border		
36	Panel of tiles identical to those of 26, each tile 26.7 cm square	127 cm wide	69
RP	Standard border		
h	45-degree corner border		
37	Fragments of many kinds of tiles, each recognizable from faces in other parts of the mosque	13 cm wide	
inside corner			
38	Face 38 is comparable to face 10 on the other side of the mosque	377.5 cm wide	
	<u>Dolap</u> d3 has a panel of tiles under with each tile having four palmettes, 2 serrated, 2 stenciled, with halves of two of each type on edges; each tile 27.2 cm square, panel surrounded by RP	97.3 cm wide 53.5 cm high	240
	Window C'	179.2 cm wide	
	<u>Dolap</u> d4 has a panel of tiles under similar to that under d3	101 cm wide 56 cm high	
inside corner			
39	Fragments of tiles identical to those on revak panels 3	12 cm wide	
h	45-degree corner border		
40	Each tile has rosette in center toward which point 2 round-lobed and 2 stencil palmettes. On all four sides half of a serrated palmette. Each tile 23.7 cm square	63 cm wide	239
inside corner, commence left half of kible wall			
40a	Tiles identical to those of 40	31.8 cm wide	239
RP	Standard border		

window B'		182 cm wide	
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
40b	Tiles identical to those of 40	29 cm wide	239
inside corner			
40c	Tiles identical to those of 40	63.5 cm wide	239
h	45-degree corner border		
RP	Standard border		
39a	Tiles identical to those on two panels under <u>dolaps</u> d3 and d4 on face 38	145 cm wide	240
RP	Standard border		
h	45-degree corner border		
RP	Standard border		
41	Pinwheel <u>mouchette</u> tiles identical to those of 1, la	65 cm wide	63
RP	Standard border		
inside corner			
RP	Standard border		
42	<u>Rumi</u> [^] roundels identical to those on 6	83 cm wide	64
RP	Standard border		
window A'	White-ground calligraphic panel over	181.7 cm wide	49
RP	Standard border		
42a	Tiles identical to those on 42, 6	82.7 cm wide	64
RP	Standard border		
inside corner			
RP	Standard border		
41a	Tiles identical to those of 41	63 cm wide	63

RP	Standard border		
h	45-degree corner border		
RP	Standard border		
43	Four-module-repeat tiles identical to those of panel 30 opposite	157 cm wide	70
RP	Standard border		
h	45-degree corner border		
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
1	Tiles identical to those of 1a	30.8 cm wide	63
inside corner			
m	Mihrap-kible border	12.5 cm wide	54
2	Identical to 2a	42 cm wide	56
m	Mihrap-kible border	12.5 cm wide	
3	Identical to 3a	54.7 cm wide	55
m	Mihrap-kible border	12.5 cm wide	
4	Column-border identical to 4a	16.6 cm wide	54
h	45-degree corner border		

The entire circuit of the ground floor having been described, this corner border is followed by the niche of the mihrap itself.

Tile Revetments of the Piers of the Ground Floor:

Piers I,II	Tile design of two large red tulips flanking a complex palmette, each tile 22.5 cm wide and 30 cm high	each face 68 cm wide	61
Piers III,IV	Design of lobed rosettes in network, each tile 22.5 cm wide and 30 cm high	each face 68 cm wide	60

Each tiled face of these piers was designed with an integral arch over the face at the very top of the pier, complete with spandrels decorated with large tulip flowers. Some fragments of these spandrels, no longer in their original place, can be seen in mixed tile panels in the left gallery.

PART TWO: REVETMENTS OF THE RIGHT GALLERY, KEYED TO FIGURE 1, PROCEEDING CLOCKWISE FROM PANEL Ii. HIGHER PANELS ON EACH FACE NOT RECORDED. HEIGHT OF ALL REVETMENT FACES FROM FLOOR TO TOP OF RPC IS 328 cm.

PLAN NUMBER	DESCRIPTION	DIMENSIONS	ILLUS.
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
Ii	Ascending textile ogival pattern on white, all palmettes quartered or halved, each tile 23.8 x 34.5 cm	127.4 cm wide	76
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
h	45-degree corner border		
Hh	Ascending ogival pattern on blue ground, each tile 23.8 x 33.6 cm, but here cut down	21 cm wide	75
inside corner			
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
Gg	Ascending ogival pattern on white, each tile contains whole central palmette, each tile 23.8 x 34.5 cm	39.5 cm wide	65
RP	Standard border		
window 7	Blue-ground inscription panel over	141 cm wide	
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
Ff	Tiles identical to those of Gg	56.4 cm wide	65
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
inside corner			
Ee	Tiles identical to those of Hh	20.5 cm wide	
h	45-degree corner border		
Dd	Tiles with design of 2 honeysuckles, 2 carnations, 2 tulips, each tile 21.8 cm high	16.8 cm wide	241
inside corner			

RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
Cc	Ascending blue-ground ogival design, identical to that of panel Hh	92.1 cm wide	75
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
window 6	Blue ground inscription panel over	138.4 cm wide	
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
Bb	Ascending ogival pattern identical to that of Hh, Ee, Cc	91.2 cm wide	75
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
inside corner			
RP (face Aa)	Standard border	13.5 cm wide	
h	45-degree corner border		
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
Z	Ogival pattern identical to that of Ii	121.5 cm wide	76
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
h	45-degree corner border		
Y	Fragments of waving leaf tile identical to those of face 17, main floor	14.8 cm wide	
inside corner			
face X	On extreme left, strip of waving leaf fragments identical to those of Y	3.2 cm wide	
	RP standard border	13.2 cm wide	
	Panel of ascending tulips on zig-zag vines, with very fine colors, each tile 23.7 x 23.1 cm	23.6 cm wide	77
	Below, small panel of stencil-style network tiles, identical to those of 7		71
	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	

window 5	Blue-ground inscription panel over	137.5 cm wide	
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
W	Tiles with four palmettes, two stenciled, and two lobed, with two halved palmettes, each tile 26.6 x 26.4 cm	70.1 cm wide	240
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
window 4	Blue-ground inscription panel over	136.9 cm wide	
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
V	Tiles identical to those of face X with ascending tulips	23.6 cm wide	77
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
inside corner			
U	Fragments of waving-leaf tiles identical to those of face 17 of main floor	15 cm wide	
h	45-degree corner border		
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
T	Large panel of waving-leaf tiles identical to those of face 17 of main floor	122 cm wide	66
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
h	45-degree corner border		
S	Fragments of tiles identical to those of panels Cc and Bb	15 cm wide	
inside corner			
R	Mixed tile fragments	7.5 cm wide	
door 3	Blue-ground inscription panel over	135.3 cm wide	
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
Q	Panel with diagonally crossing "tiger stripes" and tulips, each tile 18 x 25.2 cm	36 cm wide	78
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	

<u>dolap</u>	Blue-ground inscription panel over	136.7 cm wide	
P	45-degree corner border with 45-degree edges cut off, used as regular border	7 cm wide	
inside corner			
O	Cut-down tiles with round-lobed and serrated palmettes around star of vines and rosette, height each 20.5 cm	18.4 cm wide	242
h	45-degree corner border		
N	Cut-down tiles identical to those of Cc	21.4 cm wide	
inside corner			
M	Fragments identical to tiles of face N	15.4 cm wide	
h	45-degree corner border		
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
L	Mixed panel, mostly tiles with large diagonal palmettes, each tile 25.7 x 27 cm	25.7 cm wide	70
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
<u>dolap</u>	Blue-ground inscription panel over	106 cm wide	
RP	Standard border, but some tiles much lighter in blue coloration than others	13.2 cm wide	
K	Mixed tiles, cut down	11.2 cm wide	
inside corner			
J	Design of leaves and turquoise-ground white-reserve cloud-bands, each tile 26.3 x 26.7 cm	37.7 cm wide	235
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
window 2	Large blue-ground inscription panel over	185 cm wide	
RP	Standard border		

I	Tiles identical to those of J	80 cm wide	235
	inside corner		
H	Cut-down fragments identical to tiles of J	5.6 cm wide	235
RP	Standard border in two versions, one with lighter blue colors	13.2 cm wide	
	doorway to passage inside pier	92 cm wide	
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
G	Ogival pattern identical to that of Cc	48.5 cm wide	75
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
h	45-degree corner border		
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
F	Rosette-design tiles identical to those on pier IV, each tile 22.4 x 30 cm	124.5 cm wide	60
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
h	45-degree corner border		
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
E	Large blue, turquoise and white tiles each with curved leaf in center, each tile 33 x 33.2 cm, identical to those of face 6, right revak, extending over passage door to right	49.5 cm wide	113
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
	doorway to passage inside pier	92 cm wide	
	inside corner		
D	Tendriled rosettes on tiles with integral blue-ground border, identical to those of face 25 below, forming frame of window 1, over the top of the window and down to panel C	33.5 cm wide	237

window 1		165.4 cm wide	
C	Frame identical to D	33.5 cm wide	
inside corner			
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
B	On the left, a strip of fragments filling in the composition, suggesting this face was begun on right	3.7 cm wide	
	On the right, a panel of large tiles identical to those on face E	133.5 cm wide	113
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
h	45-degree corner border		
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
A	Four-module network tiles of same design as those of face 26 of floor (of which this face is a continuation), but the value of blue used here higher on the face is noticeably darker		69

PART THREE: REVETMENTS OF THE LEFT GALLERY, KEYED TO FIGURE B, PROCEEDING CLOCKWISE FROM PANEL A. THIS GALLERY HAS BEEN EXTENSIVELY TAMPERED WITH OVER TIME.

A	A continuation vertically of face 30 of the main floor below, with identical tiles		70
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
h	45-degree corner border		
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
B	Cloud-band design in pale blue on white, each tile 21.8 x 22.8 cm	137 cm wide	98
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	

inside corner

C	Window-frame of rosette-tendrill tiles identical to those of panels 25, 25a, ground floor	33.7 cm wide	237
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window 1 286 cm wide

D	Window frame identical to C, which has continued around top of window 1	33.7 cm wide	237
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inside corner

doorway to passage inside pier 90 cm wide

RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
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E	Cloud-band design tiles identical to those of panel B, extending over door on left	43.7 cm wide	98
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RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
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F	Tiles identical to those of piers III and IV; socle of this face composed of mixed fragments	125.4 cm wide	60
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RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
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h 45-degree corner border

RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
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G	A second type of design utilizing pale blue cloud-bands, rosette in middle, each tile 23.5 x 23.5 cm	48.7 cm wide	99
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RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
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door to passage through pier (mixed tiles over) 90.5 cm wide

RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
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H	Cut-down tiles identical to those of face 21 of main floor	16.8 cm wide	235
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inside corner

I	Tiles identical to those on face H	78.1 cm wide	235
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RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
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window 2	Large blue-ground inscription panel over	137.7 cm wide	
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
J	Tiles identical to those on faces H and I	45.6 cm wide	235
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
inside corner			
<u>do</u> lap 3	Stencil-style reticulate tiles over	109 cm wide	71
RP	Standard border		
L	Below, mixed tiles; above, tiles identical to those in G	52 cm wide	99
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
h	45-degree corner border		
M	Miscellaneous fragments including waving-leaf tiles	16 cm wide	
inside corner			
P	Border tiles with carnations and tulips with integral guard-strip of white reserve "tiger stripes" on blue, each tile 29.1 cm high, identical to 5, 5a, 5b	27.5 cm wide	68
window 4	Blue-ground inscription panel over	136.7 cm wide	
Q	A border, identical to border Q in the right gallery, each tile 24 x 26.1 cm	48 cm wide	18,94
door 5	Blue-ground inscription panel over	135.2 cm wide	
R	Identical to face P above	27.6 cm wide	68
inside corner			
S	Fragments including the familiar waving-leaf tiles	20.6 cm wide	
note <u>no</u> 45-degree corner border between S and T; 90-degree outside corner			

T	Socle of tiles identical to those of piers I and II. Above this socle, in complete confusion, large tiles all seemingly from the same original panel, which had a design of huge blue rumî forms on white. Tiles from 32 to 34.5 cm in width, 33 to 34 cm in height. Original panel had integral border which formed an arch and two spandrels over	159.6 cm wide	90
note no 45-degree border between T and U; 90-degree outside corner			
U	Mixed panel, including one fragment of a double undulating-vine panel as seen on faces 19 and 19a on main floor	20 cm wide	97
inside corner			
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
V	Ascending red tulips with excellent color, identical to X and V in right gallery, each tile 22.5 x 23.7 cm	50 cm wide	77
window 6	Blue-ground inscription panel over	135.1 cm wide	
W	More fragments of the large rumî panel. Right side of this face constructed with fragments of the original panel arranged so their integral borders form a border for face W. On left is a blue-turquoise-white border with rosette designs. Most fragments of the large rumî panel on this face are 33.5 x 33.7 cm	105.1 cm wide	250
window 7	Blue-ground inscription panel over	136 cm wide	
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
X	Tiles and fragments of the type found on piers III and IV on the main floor level	23.1 cm wide	60
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
inside corner			

Y	Various fragments of tiles	21.4 cm wide	
	note <u>no</u> 45-degree corner border between Y and Z; 90-degree outside corner		
Z	Socle of tiles identical to those on face X in this gallery. Rest of panel filled with mixture of whole tiles and fragments, including fragments of the large <u>rumi</u> panel (faces W and T) and spandrels formerly found above face g or h of pier III. Upper part of face Z consists of the large blue-turquoise and white tiles identical to those of face 6 of the right revak.	160 cm wide	96
	note <u>no</u> 45-degree corner border between Z and K; 90-degree outside corner		
K	Mixed tiles	24 cm wide	
	inside corner		
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
A'	Ascending ogival pattern tiles, identical to tiles found in right gallery, each tile 23.4 x 23.1 cm	91.2 cm wide	76
window 8	Blue-ground inscription panel over	137 cm wide	
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
B'	Same arrangement and types of tiles as on face A'	93.5 cm wide	76
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
	inside corner		
C'	Tiles same in type as those of of face K in fragmentary form	17.4 cm wide	
h	45-degree corner border		
D'	Reticulate-network of small-scale <u>rumi</u> forms, each tile 28.3 x 29 cm, identical to those of face 22 on main floor	28.5 cm wide	236
	inside corner		

E'	Ascending ogival pattern tiles similar to tiles found in right gallery, each 23.8 x 35 cm. Above are tiles identical to those of piers I and II at ground level.	48.5 cm wide	65
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
window 9	Blue-ground inscription panel over	137.5 cm wide	
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
F'	Same tiles as those on panel E'	13.2 cm wide	65
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
inside corner			
G'	Same tiles on lower part of face as those of C'. Same tiles on upper part of face as those of E'. All are fragmentary.	17.4 cm wide	
h	45-degree corner border		
RP	Standard border	13.2 cm wide	
H'	Ascending ogival pattern, identical to tiles of corresponding face II in right gallery		

A note on the pier-faces of piers I and III in the left gallery: these vary between 65 and 68 cm in width. The most important aspects of these fragmentary faces are discussed in the text of Chapter Two. The seven blue-ground tiles formerly found on a panel of the right revak measure 28.5 x 29.9 cm (figure 85).

PART FOUR: OTHER REVETMENT TILES OF THE RÜSTEM PASHA MOSQUE

There are small roundel decorations on the outer revak, which indicate that this outer revak was originally a part of the building.

There are eight tiled pendentives of the main dome, with the eight Holy Names in reserve white; these are probably among the very last tiles added to the mosque in the mid-'sixties as the decoration was being finished (figure 244).

Under the soffit of the arch over the main door are rectangular tiles with facing curved leaves in the center and halved palmettes on each of the four sides. These could not be measured for this analysis (figure 243).

Gallery spandrels of the mosque interior described; keyed to figure I. The right side of the prayer hall contains spandrels identical to those of the left side, in mirror-reverse order.

- a-b Rumi designs with spiral rumi roundels in the center of each spandrel, zig-zag white leaf border on blue (figure 249).
- c-d Rumi designs with stencil-palmettes, arranged on vines in spirals, with self-contained border of zig-zag white leaves on blue ground (figure 57).
- e Red rumi roundels (sometimes left unfinished) and dark stencil-palmettes and curved leaves, border similar to that of a-d above (figure 58).
- f,j Half-roundel in dark green; two-blue saz leaves, and palmettes on white (figure 248).
- g-g' Hatay design of two-blue stippled type with close parallels to book-illumination and album-painting (figure 59).
- h,i Large turquoise escutcheon-palmette surrounded by stencil-palmettes (figure 247).

Interior spandrels of the (lower) back galleries. Also keyed to figure I.

- k1-6 Red rumi forms and vines on a white ground, dark blue border (figure 246).
- m-m' White rumi forms in reserve on a dark-blue ground, with a turquoise-ground border (figure 245).

APPENDIX B

TILE REVETMENTS OF THE SÜNNET ODASI FACADE

This Appendix, which is keyed both to the photographic illustrations of the present study and to the schematic (and only roughly in-proportion) elevation of the monument in question illustrated in line figure F, is a very brief analytical description of these complex tile revetments. In instances where there appear to be contradictions between this Appendix and views expressed in Chapter Three of the text, the views of this Appendix, as later developments from an older, and hopefully wiser, art historian, should take precedence. The Appendix is in two parts: a longer section on underglaze-painted revetments of the building in question, and a much shorter section on color-glaze (cuerda seca) polychrome revetments of the same building.

PART I: UNDERGLAZE REVETMENTS

FIGURE KEY	DESCRIPTION	DIMENSIONS	ILLUS.
Tile A	Blue-turquoise, and white painting on large tile, <u> hatayî </u> design springing from vase, birds in foliage, ca. 1535-1565.	23.9 cm wide 126 cm high	
Tile B	Blue, turquoise and white painting on large tile, <u> hatayî </u> design with birds, two <u> chilîns </u> at base, ca. 1555-1565.	47.3 cm wide 127 cm high	135
Tile C	Mirror-reverse of tile B	48 cm wide 127 cm high	135

Tile D	Identical to Tile B, but perhaps of the four tiles B-E the execution of this painting on ceramic exhibits the greatest virtuosity, subtlety, and sense of movement and texture.	48.5 cm wide 127 cm high	136-138
Tile E	Identical to Tile C	48.5 cm wide 127 cm high	136
Panel 1	Blue-ground flowering-tree polychrome composition under integral arch with integral border. Each tile 25.6 x 25 cm. Design is off-center, indicating panel was cut before design was sketched on; this panel probably made to be displayed next to tiles B-E originally, but in a different arrangement. ca. 1568-1572.		136
Panels 2	Fragments of polychrome tiles of ca. 1570-1580 filling hiatuses between panel 1 and tiles D and E.	2.5 cm wide 127 cm high	136
Border 3	Dark-blue design on turquoise ground; stencil-palmettes and rosettes, and serrated palmettes. ca. 1545-1555.	6.5 cm wide 24.5 cm long	140
Panel 4	Hexagonal tiles with design of dark blue on white, interspersed with color-glazed triangles decorated with gold-leaf. ca. 1535	diam. 24.3 cm side-to-side	140
Panel 5	Complex network of reserve-white cloud-forms on dark blue, ca. 1545-1555.		
Frame 6	Cartouches of clouds in reserve-white on blue, leaves and stencil-rosettes in blue on white in interstices. Each tile 24.8 x 18.3 cm. ca. 1545-1555.		141
Panel 7	Two unequal-sized huge tiles with white reserve clouds on blue ground. ca. 1545-1555.	111.2 cm wide 47.4 cm high	136 140

Frame 8	Around door, stone with roundels and cartouches of blue-and-white tiles set into stone. Total height of frame 234.8 cm. Door width (aperture) 105.5 cm. Frame width 60.5 cm. Cartouche tiles 19.8 cm wide and 43.8 cm long; roundels 19.8 cm in diameter. ca. 1535.	144 145
Border 9	Design of turquoise and blue palmettes on white identical with the window frames on the adjacent Hırka-i Şerif Dairesi utilizing a blue line. Each tile 24.5 cm wide, 18.2 cm high. ca. 1535-1540.	Compare 151
Panel 10	Tiles identical to those of panel 4	
Frame 11	Tiles identical to those of frame 6	
Panel 12	Tiles identical to those of panel 4	
Panel 13	13 cm square blue-and-white tiles made in Kütahya, 18th century	
Panel 14	Polychrome border of ca. 1600, each tile 16 cm wide, 26.2 cm long	
Panel 15	Tiles identical to those of panel 4, but the arrangement is different	
Border 16	Poor-quality mid-seventeenth century polychrome tiles, each 27 cm square	
Border 17	Mid-seventeenth century cornice	
Border 18	Tiles identical to those of border 16	
Cornice 19	Large cornice from middle of seventeenth century	
Border 20	Poor-quality border from first half of seventeenth century	
Panels 21,22	Poor-quality mass-produced field tiles with large curving leaves dominating center of each tile	
Panel 23	Fragment of cloud-tile cut from left-hand tile of panel 7; surrounded by border 3	

- Border 24 Poor-quality mid-seventeenth century border, possibly cornice, identical to border 17
- Panels 25,26 Mid-seventeenth century socle tiles with vases of carnations, blue, turquoise and white
- Panel 27 Large cut-down cloud-tile fragment from tile in panel 7, surrounded by border 23. 48 x 44.7 cm

PART II: COLOR-GLAZE REVETMENTS

- Panel I Panel of sixteen color-glaze tiles of the first half of the sixteenth century, each 22 x 23 cm. At the bottom, a strip of contemporary border in the same technique.
- Border II Border of color-glaze tiles from the first half of the sixteenth century.
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NOTES

CHAPTER ONE

1. The Bibliography of the present work, while not exhaustive, gives some indication of the mass of published data and its diversity.
2. Lane, Arthur, "The Ottoman Pottery of Isnik" (*sic*) in Ars Orientalis II (1957).
Otto-Dorn, Katharina, Türkische Keramik (Ankara, 1957).
Aslanapa, Oktay, Türkische Fliesen und Keramik in Anatolien (İstanbul, 1965).
3. Anhegger, Robert, "Quellen zur Osmanischen Keramik" in Otto-Dorn, Das Islamische Iznik (Istanbuler Forschungen XIII, Berlin, 1941).
Öz, Tahsin, Turkish Ceramics (Ankara, 1954).
Erdmann, Kurt, "Neue Arbeiten zur Türkischen Keramik" in Ars Orientalis III (1959).
4. Erdmann, Arbeiten, reviewing Lane and Otto-Dorn.
5. Lane, in Iznik, discusses the contributions of Hobson, Rackham, Öz, and Ashton, which led to the Established Periodization.
6. Lane, Iznik.
7. Lane (Iznik, page 255). The ewer, a gift to a church, bears a commemorative inscription to "the servant of God Abraham of Kütahya." The notation "Abraham of Kütahya" as a descriptive rubric for this group of pottery recalls the mistaken attribution of this entire group to Kütahya early in the present century. J. Carswell and C.J.F. Dowsett have recently resurrected the notion that some, if not all, of the early blue-and-white wares may actually have been made in Kütahya (Carswell, No. 165, Volume II, Chapter I); this possibility is reviewed by Denny (no. 167).
8. The terms hatayî and rumî as used in this study reflect an established terminology of Turkish scholarship, outlined by Arseven (No. 2) and other Turkish scholars. Both terms as used in this study describe Islamic decorative forms, despite the etymological implications of the terms themselves.
9. Lane, Iznik, pp. 264-265.

10. Erdmann (Arbeiten, p. 214), Ülgen (No. 84), and Lane (İznik, pp. 273-274) all discuss the building, but offer no photographic evidence of value, and present contradictory information. Megaw's study of the revetments unfortunately has never been published.
11. Erdmann (Arbeiten) notes that there has been no careful correlation of the stylistic development of tiles and wares in order for each to shed light on the development of the other.
12. The building is discussed at great length in Gabriel's monograph on Bursa (No. 257, Volume I).
13. See Gabriel (No. 257) and F. Taeschner (No. 81, pp. 166-168).
14. C. Kiefer (No. 158a, p. 15ff.) deals with all the types of techniques, and gives various chemical analyses of fragments, as well as physical tests. The best technical descriptions of this pottery in the English language are to be found in Lane's work (Nos. 42 and 8).
15. The terminology for this style is difficult to choose. Kiefer (No. 158a) and Staude (No. 78) use the term "style persan" because of the obvious parallels in style between the Ottoman color-glaze ceramics and those of Samarqand under the Timurids. The idea of a "Timurid" style is in this case equally unsatisfactory, since Timurid art is claimed today by both Persians and Turks. We have used the terms "international style" or "Turco-Iranian style" more of less interchangeably in an effort to avoid either recalling past misattributions of Ottoman ceramics (style persan) or stepping on nationalistic toes. See also on this problem Riefstahl (No. 67).
16. For the question of Syrian tile-makers and their possible influence on Turkish revetments, see Riefstahl (No. 68, p. 268) and the comments by Lane (İznik). Carswell (No. 21) has the last word at this point, and his ideas are probably the most sound.
17. The results of excavations undertaken by Aslanapa in İznik (Nos. 14, 15, 64, 88) do not establish conclusively either dating or provenance for all of the various wares grouped under the "Miletus" rubric, but they do establish İznik as a major center for the production of pottery wares in the 15th century and possibly well before.
18. Aslanapa (Fliesen) does firmly establish an İznik provenance for what in fact are the most interesting of these early provincial wares; the appearance in İznik of numerous sherds of Byzantine sgraffito pottery would seem to indicate that the Ottomans inherited an established industry when they conquered İznik in the early fourteenth century.
19. For example, the illustrations 22 and 23 in Aslanapa (Fliesen).
20. For the new-comer to this field who wonders why Ottoman Turkish ceramics have variously been ascribed to Persia, to Rhodes, to Damascus, to the Golden Horn, to İstanbul, to Kütahya, and indeed to almost every center except İznik, Arthur Lane (İznik, p. 247) gives a history of terminology

which is perhaps the most succinct exposition in print of the cumulative nature of art-historical discovery.

21. See Lane (*Isnik*, p. 247). With the publication of this article the pendulum of attribution had swung from great diversity of provenance firmly into the town of İznik. While Lane's argument is basically sound, recent publications by Carswell (No. 165), Denny (No. 167 and No. 26), Gervers-Molnár (No. 39 and No. 171), and Zick-Nissen (No. 89b) have modified Lane's conclusions.
22. Lane (*Isnik*, p. 256).
23. The preliminary reports by Aslanapa (No. 14 and No. 15) are somewhat unsatisfactory, especially in the impression left by the multiple illustration of many sherds. It appears that Aslanapa found the early fifteenth-century İznik kilns, but those which produced the famous sixteenth-century tiles may yet be undiscovered.
24. Lane (*Isnik*, p. 256) is quite convincing in his metal-work comparisons despite the lack of documented Ottoman metal-work of the period. However, his observations about the lack of experience in pottery-making seem hard to rationalize in the face of the stunning technical and artistic quality of those wares he groups among the earliest of the new production.
25. Illustrated by Dimand (No. 6, p. 120). There are many other examples of this style in Persia in its formative stages. See, for example, that discovered by Denny (No. 120, p. 6).
26. The relationship of this Ottoman style to the Turkoman style of Tabriz via the vector of Safavid painting will be discussed by S.C. Welch in his forthcoming work on the Houghton *Shahnameh*. Examples of this style in ornament in the art of the book are numerous, but one of the most striking examples is found in a *Divan* of Mir'Ali Shir Neva'i in the Topkapı Museum (R. 804) illustrated by Stchoukine (No. 212, Part I, plates 12-15).
27. Complete discussions of the Bursa tombs in which these tiles appear can be found in Gabriel's monograph (No. 257), while the tiles themselves are discussed by J. Carswell (No. 21).
28. The inventories of Chinese porcelain in the Saray demonstrate (David, No. 168; Pope, No. 175; Zimmerman, No. 180 and No. 181) that the collection was quite small, containing only 21 pieces, by 1504; the great bulk of the blue-and-white wares seems to have been acquired after production of Turkish blue-and-white wares had waned.
29. For the appearance of blue-and-white porcelain in Iranian painting, see the articles by Ashton (No. 163), Denny (No. 28), and Basil Gray, "Blue and White Vessels in Persian Miniatures of the 14th and 15th Centuries Reexamined" in *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society* (London) XXIV (1948-49), pp. 23-30.

30. See Lane (İznik, p. 264 and figures 25-26). Some of the mystery of this object has been cleared away by J.A. Pope, who notes that its design is related to Ming celadon decoration (No. 176, p. 138).
31. See Lane's discussion (İznik, p. 254). However, it is now apparent that the sophistication of these tile decorations, and comparison with the evolution of style in wares, place the tiles of these Bursa monuments at least several decades later than the earlier of the tombs, and at least fifteen years later than the later of the two.
32. The Gebze tiles are discussed by Erdmann (Arbeiten, figure 17) and Carswell (No. 165, Volume II, Chapter I), while the Manisa lunette is discussed by Erdmann (Arbeiten, p. 204) and Riefstahl (No. 263). Despite Carswell's attempts to include the Gebze tiles within the Kütahya orbit, it seems that they present designs of polygonal tiles adapted to square modules with strong analogies both to the "Damascus" style, and to the polychrome İznik production of the 'sixties and later.
33. Lane (İznik, p. 255), whose marvelous eye leads one to wish that he had been able to travel more extensively in Turkey, quite rightly marked the lack of sophistication in the Manisa tiles, which bespeaks potters attempting to adjust the scale of their work to a new ceramic genre.
34. See Lane (İznik, pp. 254-255).
35. Again, see Lane (İznik, p. 264).
36. Given by Lane (İznik, p. 269). The inscription is translated "O thou holy man who art at İznik, in the year 956, in the month of Jumadha the first (May 28-June 26, 1549); the scribe, the abject, the humble Mus(tafa)." It must be noted that the inscription is semi-literate, but the artist styles himself nakkash, or professional pen-man.
37. Illustrated by Ayverdi (No. 248, p. 148). The revak of the original mosque seems to have survived the disastrous 18th-century earthquake which destroyed the rest of the building.
38. Dating for this building is not absolutely certain (see Mamboury, No. 166; Eyice, No. 229).
39. This building is supposedly the first built in İstanbul by the architect Sinan, and is dated through the various tezkere or lists of Sinan's works (cf. Egli, No. 254; Batur, No. 252; Ayvansaraylı, No. 232).
40. There is neither a monograph nor a definitive publication in article format on this most interesting building. On the tiles, see Öz (Ceramics, pp. 19-20, figures 60-62), and Eldem (No. 255, plate 347).
41. The mosque was left unfinished by Ahmet Pasha in 1551, at the time of his death, and according to some sources was completed by his rival and successor, Rüstem Pasha (cf. Mamboury, No. 236, p. 390). The tiles almost certainly date to within a few years of 1550, but are greatly lacking in quality when compared to those of the Şehzade Mehmet tomb.

42. Listed in one of the tezkere (Batur, No. 252, p. 69), the mosque is a work of Sinan. The relationship of the tiles to the building is uncertain, the designs are archaistic, the technique poor, and the entire panel remains enigmatic.
43. The mosque is dated by inscription (cf. C. Çulpan, İstanbul Süleymaniye Camii Kitabesi, İstanbul, 1966). An enormous amount of documentation on its building has come to light (No. 247a) and the task of publishing it has begun, under the guidance of the Turkish economic historian Ömer L. Barkan (No. 225). Lorich's drawing of 1559 (cf. Oberhummer, Konstantinopel unter Suleiman dem Grossen, Munich, 1902) and the construction documents would appear to indicate that both the tomb of Süleyman himself and that of Hürrem Sultan were finished in the same year. However, it appears highly probable that the revetments of Süleyman's tomb, especially those of the revak or porch, were not completed until around 1566 (see our analysis in Chapter Four of this study).
44. Karahisarî is listed as the creator of the inscriptions in the eighteenth-century Hadikat-ül Cevami (No. 232, p. 4). He was the chief calligrapher of the court at that time (cf. Suyolcuzade Mehmet Necib, No. 213, p. 9). According to Öz (No. 62, p. 52), Karahisarî was the teacher of Molla Hasan, who executed the inscriptions in the mosque of Selim II in Edirne (cf. Anhegger, Quellen, p. 166).

NOTES

CHAPTER TWO

1. This date is that generally accepted for the completion of the mosque, being the year of Rüstem Pasha's death. However, the mosque does not possess a chronogram, and the vakfiye or endowment records left by Rüstem Pasha do not precisely record the completion. A. Gabriel (No. 256) would appear to be the source from which Egli (No. 254) and Öz (No. 63) derive their date of ca. 1561 for the completion of the building. The Batur (No. 252) suggest that 1555 may have been the date of the beginning of construction. Goodwin (No. 258) speculates that the building was completed by Mihrimah Sultan, daughter of Süleyman I and Rüstem's widow.

The vakfiyes associated with Rüstem Pasha are two: one, in the Prime Ministerial Archives (Volume 251, on page 790), is signed by the Şeyhülislâm Ebusuûd and dated 951 (1544 A.D.). The second, that of the mosque, is numbered Second Series 635, and is found in the archives of the General Directorate of Pious Foundations (Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü) in Ankara. It bears the date 968 (1561 A.D.).

According to the distinguished Turkish scholar İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı, to whom I am indebted for the above archival information, the mosque of Rüstem Pasha was begun by Süleyman I himself shortly after the death of Rüstem Pasha, and was finished in 970 (1562-63).

Perhaps due to the fact of its being written in Turkish, and very difficult to obtain, Professor Aslanapa's early work on Kütahya ceramics (No. 13) is not mentioned by Lane, nor by other scholars dealing with the

broader question of Ottoman ceramics, and the Rüstem Pasha mosque in particular.

Aslanapa maintains that the tiles for the Rüstem Pasha mosque in İstanbul were manufactured at an atelier owned by Rüstem Pasha himself, in the city of Kütahya. The thesis is interesting, and the possibility must be admitted, but in the author's view this is a remote possibility indeed. There are no documents directly linking the tile revetments of the mosque with the Kütahya ateliers, there is no documentation as to what kind of ceramic tile was made at Kütahya (it may have been simple unglazed roofing tile), and the whole question is complicated by the destruction by fire of the two historical documents which mentioned the existence of Rüstem Pasha's ateliers. Nevertheless, given the thesis of John Carswell (No. 165, Volume II, Chapter I), the Aslanapa thesis is one more reason for caution in using the İznik rubric too loosely.

2. See Batur (No. 252) for a concordance of the various lists of Sinan's work. The year 1555 marks the succession of Rüstem Pasha to the office of sadrazam or Grand Vezir upon the disgrace and execution of his rival, Kara Ahmet Pasha.
3. The comparison of tile revetments with manuscript illumination is useful as an art-historical tool, especially when the latter bear dated colophons. One of the most useful indices, however, is the comparison of decorative tile designs with dated illuminated tughras of the Sultans; Bibliographical Entries Nos. 183, 184, 186, 188, 189, 195, 196, 197, 198, 201, 203, 210, 212, 214, and 218 provide either resources for application of this method of comparative dating, or applications of the method.
4. The terms rumî and hatayî, as previously remarked, are employed according to Arseven's usage (No. 2). As they are synthetic art-historical terms in Modern Turkish, they have been underlined in this text.

Several other terms might bear amplification here. The word "palmette" is used in this study to describe a complex floral form without counterpart in nature, which forms a part of the so-called hatayî decorative style. These palmettes are of several types. The "lotus palmette" which is ultimately derived from Chinese depictions of a lotus flower, has a characteristic butterfly-wing-like arrangement of petals above the calyx. The "serrated palmette" has, as its name implies, deeply serrated edges. Illustrations 205-209 illustrate various types, some of which are extraordinarily complex. The term is used here as a term of convenience, but the form itself cannot easily be confused with the considerably more naturalistic, albeit moderately stylized, Turkish tulips, carnations, hyacinths, and roses. The term "rosette" is used to describe a complex floral form without natural counterpart which is essentially circular in form. A good example is seen in illustration 109.

5. For typical examples in a well-known published collection, see J. McMullan, Islamic Carpets (New York, 1966), illustrations 11 and 14.
6. "God (may He be exalted) said: 'Whenever one enters, let him remember Us by the mihrab.'"

There emerges by the second half of the century in Ottoman Turkey a definite iconography of religious inscriptions. These include the names of God, His Prophet, and the first six Imams (which, in an octagonal mosque, conveniently fit into the eight pendentives), and the surah al-Ikhlās (purity) number 112 of the Qur'an, shown in roundels to either side of the mihrap.

7. See Anhegger, Quellen, entry number 2. The document deals with the despatch of Molla Hasan to Edirne in 1572 to survey the mosque of Selim II, then nearing completion, for tile revetments. The Sultan directs the architect, Sinan, to cooperate with the great calligrapher in the planning and execution of tile revetments bearing the surah al-Fatiha (the opening) number 1 of the Qur'an, on the kible wall.
8. Illustrated in color by Ettinghausen (No. 1), page 189.
9. A synthetic art-historical term in Modern Turkish usage, the word refers to the curling, sinuous, dragon-like twisted leaves which form a hallmark of the Turkish album drawings of the second half of the sixteenth century. The term derives from the words saz kalem or "reed pen."
10. Arseven (No. 2) devotes some considerable space to the basic floral types, and their stylizations, permutations, and varieties. The article by F. Dayıgil (No. 25), although its purpose and rationale are difficult to imagine, represents an extreme form of this approach to ceramic subject-matter.
11. This is evidently the red discussed by Lane (Isnik, p. 275) when he speaks of a red color improving from the back to the kible wall of the mosque.
12. There are several ways in which this problem may eventually be resolved. First, there may be restoration records somewhere in the archives of the Vakıflar Umum Müdürlüğü in İstanbul. Second, there may be travelers' accounts which might describe the building in its original form. Third, there may be old photographs showing the building before restoration. None of these alternatives has to this point borne much fruit; similarly, not a single tile from the missing panel on the right revak has yet appeared in any collection known to the author.
13. See note 8 above.
14. Under the Vali of Bursa, Ahmet Vefik Pasha, the Frenchman Léon Parvillée, a follower of Viollet-le-Duc, restored the Bursa monuments in 1864. See Gabriel (No. 257) and Parvillée's own work (No. 262).
15. These buildings discussed by Öz (Ceramics) and illustrated in that work.
16. See Öz (Ceramics) for illustrations of this unusual building (plates 22-26).
17. See Rackham (No. 145), plates 1 and 29, for two of the finest extant examples.

18. Other examples will be discussed in Chapters Three and Four of this study. Ottoman wall-painting (which, paradoxically, never reaches the heights of painting on ceramics) is discussed by K. Otto-Dorn in her article which surveys painted buildings of earlier Ottoman times (No. 204).
19. Superb color reproductions of this panel and other panels discussed in the present study are to be found in the work by Sonia and Hans Seher-Thoss listed in the Bibliography (No. 266).
20. Erdmann (No. 31), p. 196, group C, No. 4, discusses this particular tile. It bears the date corresponding to A.D. 1659, and the inscription indicates that the owner of the tile was one Ekmekçizade (son of the baker) Muhammad.
21. Tiles of this later period, which are all but ignored in the present study when they occur among earlier and artistically more meritorious ceramics, are discussed and illustrated at some great length by T. Öz (Ceramics).
22. Such borders occur in the revetments of the mosque of Süleyman I, the Ramazan Oğlu mosque in Adana, the tomb of Selim II, the tomb of Murad III, and in several other monuments of the second half of the sixteenth century. Many European and American collections contain tiles of this type as well.
23. Discussed in Chapter One, section G, above.
24. According to Professor Aptullah Kuran, who has studied the mathematical basis of Turkish architecture in great detail, buildings were visualized by the architect in the form of large models, but the only measuring tool used for construction, serving as straight-edge, dividers, compass, plumb-line, and measuring tape, was a knotted string.
25. See, for example, illustrations 215-223 and the accompanying text in Chapter Four of this study.
26. Our figure 73, a gigantic tughra of Süleyman I executed around 1564, and today in the library of the Topkapı Palace, illustrates quite perfectly the separation of genres; this practice was used in the illumination of smaller examples as well. The study by McAllister (No. 201) presents examples from the reign of one Sultan in which some of the progression of style noted in the present work can be observed.

NOTES

CHAPTER THREE

1. Arthur Lane (Isnik, p. 274).
2. Kurt Erdmann (Arbeiten, p. 214).
3. Cf. our discussion of the pattern of attachment of revetment panels to the walls of the mosque of Rüstem Pasha in Chapter Two above.

4. Written in Jerusalem for the Arab Committee on Restoration in 1945-46.
5. Lane (Isnik, p. 276). See illustration 23.
6. Lane (Isnik, p. 276).
7. Lane (Isnik, p. 276).
8. The article by Ali Saim Ülgen (No. 84) unfortunately contains no readable photographic reproductions, and the points made by the author are thus equally unclear. Apart from the Megaw study, whose publication would be immensely useful to scholarship, there does not appear to be any other detailed study of the Dome of the Rock revetments, which have since that time undergone a complete restoration.
9. The long and complex history of the Dome of the Rock finally led by 1960 to a dilapidated exterior of enormous complexity as regards the style, technique, date, and provenance of its revetments. Thus the two kinds of ceramics examined by the author represent only a small fraction of the types which formerly decorated the monument.
10. This matter is further complicated by the possibility that there existed in southern Anatolia or northern Syria other provincial tile-revetment manufactories. See our discussion of the revetments of the mosque of the Ramazan Oğlu in Adana, for example (section B below).
11. Lane (Isnik, p. 274).
12. Otto-Dorn (Keramik, p. 107).
13. Erdmann (Arbeiten) offered several important criticisms of Otto-Dorn's analysis, pointing out that she had failed to demonstrate any relationship in time between certain of the tile revetments and the inscription dated to the fifteen-forties.

If Otto-Dorn's early dating of the Ramazan Oğlu mosque revetments were to be accepted, the entire thesis of the present work would be invalid. Accordingly, in 1969 a detailed examination of the revetments in Adana was made for the purpose of this work; the conclusions are set forth in section B.

In 1971 the Adana buildings was rephotographed and remeasured in preparation for a paper to be delivered at Aix-en-Provence for the Fourth International Congress of Turkish Art. The discussion which followed that presentation, in which valuable suggestions were offered by Mr. Carswell and Professor Aslanapa, led to a revision of the chronology offered in the present work. This revised chronology, which in all important respects follows the present work very closely, is shortly to be published (No. 26). The hexagonal tiles with "Damascus" colors (figure 131) have been moved from the end of the chronology to the beginning in the forthcoming article.

14. Again, see Erdmann (Arbeiten, p. 214), and Otto-Dorn (Keramik, p. 107, and No. 38).

15. Close stylistic parallels are found in the tiles of the tomb of Mustafa-yi Cedit at Bursa (Gabriel, No. 257), which date to the early seventies of the sixteenth century.
16. Professor Anne-Marie Schimmel of Harvard University kindly aided me in re-reading these inscriptions, which are also discussed by Erdmann (Arbeiten, p. 214).
17. There is a brief mention of the architectural peculiarities of the building by Otto-Dorn (No. 260). Erdmann (Arbeiten, p. 214) easily disposes of the 1541 dating, but does not distinguish among the various groups of tiles and their resultant chronological implications. The reader is cautioned that the plan included in this work (figure E) is schematic in nature, and does not purport to be an entirely accurate architectural ground plan, but rather an indication of the disposition of tile revetments.
18. On our figure E, the bottom and bottom-right portions of the ground plan.
19. Again, see Denny (No. 26). The dimensions of the major revetment groups are as follows:
 Field tiles of the kible (figure 127), ca. 26 x 26 cm.
 Side walls of the prayer hall (figure 125), ca. 17 x 17 cm.
 Hexagonal tiles with "Damascus" coloring (figure 131), diam. 17 cm.
 Blue-and-white tiles of 1. eyvan (figure 133), 18 x 18 cm.
 Tiles of the mihrap niche (figure 129), 24 x 24 cm.
20. Dated by chronogram (Erdmann, No. 32). While the present analysis again follows Erdmann in its assumption that most of the tiles of the Sünnet Odası facade date earlier than the chronogram above the door, it is unfortunate that other scholars appear not to have understood Erdmann's arguments, and have not perceived the vast differences between certain tiles of the Sünnet Odası, and inferior copies made in the 'thirties of the seventeenth century, found nearby in the Baghdad Kiosk. As a result, we believe that a very substantial number of paintings dated by Ivan Stchoukine to the seventeenth century (No. 212, part II) were instead created in the sixteenth. Once again, it is of the utmost importance to realize that the date on the door of a building has no necessary a priori connection whatsoever with the date of the revetments within or without that building.
21. Again, Erdmann (No. 32).
22. See Barnette Miller (No. 241), who illustrates the same tiles but in an entirely different arrangement, again proving most conclusively the point made in section C of this work and in note 20 above.
23. A resemblance noted by Ernst Grube (No. 195), elaborated upon by Welch (No. 218), and in effect turned upside down by Stchoukine (No. 212, part II).
24. Those of the tomb of Cem Sultan (Gabriel, No. 257); also many revetments of the Çinili Kiosk (cf. Eldem, No. 255, illus. 333, 335, 337). Eldem also publishes a wide-angle color photograph of the Sünnet Odası facade which, despite its lack of resolution, shows fewer distortions than our figure 134 (Eldem, No. 255, illus. 296-297).

25. Miller (No. 241).
26. Similar tiles are seen in the right revak of the mosque of Rüstem Pasha, and in other locations in İstanbul, where they have been rather arbitrarily used for "repairs."
27. Examples include the Yeni Cami of 1667 and the tomb of Mehmet III of 1603, as well as numerous rooms of the Harem in the Topkapı Palace.
28. Lane (*Isnik*, p. 266ff.) lists numbers of these tiles; the author has records of similar tiles in over fifteen collections.
29. Other forms appearing around this time include the Chinese cloud-bands, which appear to have migrated to İstanbul from Tabriz in the third decade of the sixteenth century.
30. Mentioned only briefly by Erdmann (No. 32). A hypothesis currently under investigation by the author stipulates that all of these blue-and-white tiles were originally in locations only a few yards from their present locations in the fourth court of the Topkapı Palace, on buildings built by Süleyman I in the early part of his reign and destroyed by fire in the fifteen-seventies.
31. This argument is based upon: (a) the complexity of the border; (b) the use of marble revetments possibly made by artisans captured by Selim I in Cairo, produced in İstanbul in the twenties of the sixteenth century (and also found on the tomb of Çoban Mustafa Pasha at Gebze from the same period); and (c) the supposition, mentioned in note 30 above, that the complex of buildings formerly in the fourth court may have shared a common sort of blue-and-white decoration, later amplified upon in the revetments of the Baghdad and Revan Kiosks in the seventeenth century.
32. Exemplified in the tiles of the Revan Kiosk in the fourth court of the Topkapı Palace.
33. While it is inappropriate in the present work to reconstruct the entire fourth courtyard of the palace, the basis for this hypothesis is found in studies of topographical painting by A. Gabriel ("*Les étapes d'un campagne dans les deux 'Iraq*" in *Syria IX*, 1928), Denny ("*A Sixteenth-century Architectural Plan of İstanbul*" in *Ars Orientalis VIII*, 1970), and Nurhan Atasoy (forthcoming in the proceedings of the V International Congress of Turkish Art, Budapest).
34. See Çiğ (No. 227), p. 1. Miller (No. 241) and Penzer (No. 244) also discuss the building and its history.
35. Çiğ (No. 227), p. 1.
36. Again, the most eloquent testimony to this fact is to be found in the nearby Baghdad and Revan Kiosks.
37. Supported by Erdmann (No. 32).

38. See notes 30 and 31 above.
39. See Grube's two articles (No. 195 and No. 196) for some of the best-known examples of these drawings. Grube did include in his "School of Turkish Painting" several drawings which are not Ottoman, however.
40. The unique "duck tile" (figure 143) can hardly be called a modular revetment tile; it probably represents one of the very first experiments in creating album-paintings on tile surfaces.
41. Formerly on the art market, İstanbul. This shard also has areas of black and manganese-purple coloration; a similar fragment is illustrated by Aslanapa (Fliesen, plate 38).
42. It might be noted that the "typing" of objects accomplished here has one flaw; frequently, two different types of decoration, probably executed by two different artists, appear on the inside and the outside of a single object.
- Other examples of the extremely rare "A" objects are illustrated by Rackham (No. 145, illus. 1), and Grube (No. 195, illus. 5a, 6a, and 29). One of the most exquisite objects of this type, which has gone largely unnoticed due to its pale coloration, is in the Victoria and Albert Museum (see our figure 174, item f).
43. Other examples of "B" objects include those illustrated by Rackham (No. 145, illus. 28).
44. The distinction between the "A" and "C" groups may seem to be both artificial and overly fine. The argument presented here is based on the supposition that the extremely rare "A" objects may have been painted by court artists, while the "C" objects, greatly similar, but presenting flat surface decoration rather than a sense of three dimensions (cf. Migeon, No. 141, plate 36), are the work of talented ceramic artisans.
45. Examples of the highly varied "D" designs, which seem to be more pre-emptory in execution, and which may have been produced well into the 'seventies, include those illustrated by Aslanapa (Fliesen, figure 78), in the Gulbenkian catalogue (No. 101, figures 30, 31, 35, and 44), and by Rackham (No. 145, illus. 31 and 36a).
46. Ms. Anita Koh of the Institute of Fine Arts, New York City, has collected photographic materials for many objects of this type, as well as for those with a grey ground-color. Other "E" objects are illustrated by I. Ünal (No. 153, figure 1) and by Rackham (No. 145, illus. 27).
47. The wooden door in the Metropolitan Museum (Dimand, No. 6, figure 67), various black-line album drawings (Grube, No. 195, figures 9, 31, and 43), and even blue-ground ceramics (No. 101, figure 47). It must be added that the same distinctions we have made in pottery apply to black-line drawings, which have their own "Damascus" (largely Ottoman) and "Kütahya" (largely Turkoman drawings from Tabriz in the so-called "Fâtiḥ" albums in the Topkapı Palace) variants.

48. "Court" carpets (Ellis, No. 191), brocaded textiles (Gulbenkian foundation, No. 101, figure 95), stone-carving (marble panels on the minber of the Rüstem Pasha mosque, unpublished), wall-painting (Eldem, No. 255, figure 376; Twair, No. 215), and other media.
49. Lane (*Isnik*, p. 265) and Stchoukine (No. 212, part I) discuss movement of artists from Iran into Anatolia and to İstanbul.
50. Recorded in some detail by Stchoukine (No. 212, part I) and Meriç (No. 239); whether the phenomenon is due to personal tastes of Sultans or high court officials, or to a broader patronage base in the expanded court bureaucracy, is not known. Certainly Ottoman wealth, and the well-known withdrawal from patronage of painting by Shah Tahmasp, contributed to the westward movement of artists by mid-century.
51. See the lamp in the niche of the mihrap of the Green Tomb in Bursa (figure 16). Complex strap-work is present in Anatolia from the thirteenth century on. Only the colors of certain rugs and the use of Mamluk-type marble revetments (as at Gebze) suggest direct relationships between late Mamluk art and Ottoman art.
52. See figure 34. ³⁵
53. See Ellis (No. 191) for a discussion of the colors of "Cairene" carpets. Whether or not Ottoman rugs were made in Cairo is a thorny question; similarities in technique between Mamluk and Ottoman Court carpets suggest the possibility that Egyptian weavers may have worked near İstanbul.
54. As noted by G.M. Meredith-Owens, in his *Turkish Miniatures* (London, 1963), p. 16. This tendency is abating as more is learned about Ottoman Turkish art.
55. See the examples discussed by Ettinghausen (No. 1, page 51).
56. Among others, Basil Gray (in *Persian Painting*, Geneva, 1961) discussed the first appearance of these motifs in Safavid art in the 'thirties (page 142). For example, the saz leaves appear in the ornament of the Safavid painter Sultan Muhammad, and the latter's angels in his painting "Ascension of the Prophet" in the British Museum (OR 2265) serve as prototypes for many an Ottoman album-painting.
57. See Lane (*Isnik*, p. 265), who noted this information from the work of F.R. Martin.
58. Discussed by Grube (No. 195 and No. 196). The bulk of attributions to Shah Quli are probably false; an example of one of his authentic early works done probably shortly after his arrival in İstanbul is in the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington (37.7) and one of his greatest, later works is to be found in Cleveland, the so-called "Wade Dragon" illustrated by Grube (No. 195, figure 6a).
59. For the matter of these wrappers, see Öz (No. 205) and the review of that work by Denny in *Textile Museum Journal* III, 2 (December 1971), pp. 38-42.

60. See Busbecq (No. 226), where the matter is mentioned in the fourth letter.
61. It is noteworthy that there are virtually no Ottoman gold objects, from the hundreds extant, dating from the reign of Süleyman I, with the exception of certain ornamented weapons and holy relics. In his last years Süleyman wore on state occasions a black silk kaftan still preserved in the Topkapı Museum, and the German artist Lorichs depicted him wearing this sumptuous but austere garment in a famous engraving (cf. Oberhammer, cited in note 43, Chapter One).
62. Erdmann (No. 17, p. 151). See also Welch (No. 218).
63. Later revivals of this style can be noted in Tekfur Saray ceramics of the eighteenth century, most notably in the mosque of Hekimoğlu Ali Pasha of 1733 in İstanbul, and even as late as the late eighteenth century in book bindings (see Çiğ, No. 187, plate 40).

NOTES

CHAPTER FOUR

1. Discussed by Arthur Lane (Isnik, p. 275).
2. Illustrated in color by Ettinghausen (No. 1, p. 193).
3. Kiefer's articles (No. 158a and 158b) have one severe methodological deficiency. He does not illustrate any of the examples tested, nor is he able to provide accurate provenance data or dating for most of his samples. The identification of the object pictured in figure 4 as possibly made in Rhodes is based both on its similarities to some works found in Lindos, and on its differences from the vast bulk of low-quality Turkish wares made either in İznik or İstanbul in the seventeenth century.
4. Especially difficult to obtain were the revetments for the mosque of Sultan Ahmet I (cf. Anhegger, Quellen, No. 18), and indeed many of the revetments today found in that building of the first quarter of the seventeenth century were in fact taken from earlier buildings of the fifteen-seventies and fifteen-eighties, especially from the fire-damaged buildings of the fourth court of the Topkapı itself.
5. Cf. Sarre (No. 72) and Lane (Isnik, section IX).
6. For the participation of court artists, cf. Anhegger (Quellen, No. 32). On the division of labor within the nakkashhane see Sevin (No. 211, p. 240) and Meriç (No. 239).
7. Sir Percival David (No. 168, quoted by Penzer, No. 244, p. 242).
8. The ihtisap or fixed-price system for state purchases had enormous impact on artistic production, and forms a substantial part of the discussion in the author's work in progress mentioned in the new Preface to this work.

The most instructive comparison is that between data from the Süleymaniye

account-books of 1559 and the Sultanahmet account-books of 1616 (Nos. 247a-b).

From Anhegger (Quellen, No. 35) and Barkan (No. 225) come the following data on the Süleymaniye: for the mosque 1249 tiles were used at a cost of 21,553 akçe, giving an average price of 17.3 akçe per tile. The tiles for the tomb numbered 2089, and cost a total of 42,887 akçe or about 20.5 akçe per tile, which is interesting given their superior technical quality. Although no figures are available for 1559, in 1525 (Anhegger, Quellen, No. 32) the most highly-paid Persian tile-maker in Turkey received a stipend of 8.5 akçe daily, while the median for such artisans was 1.5 akçe daily.

By the time of the building of the mosque of Sultan Ahmet I after 1609, the impact of the Price Revolution of the late sixteenth century had already been felt. Tile prices, on the other hand (Anhegger, Quellen, No. 41), were substantially unchanged. 21,043 tiles were purchased at a total price of 350,958 akçe, or a price of from 16 to 18 akçe each. This adherence to a rigid pricing system in the face of terrible inflation was discussed by the author in an (unpublished) paper read to the College Art Association in New York in 1971, entitled "Inflation, Price Freezes, and the Decline of Ottoman Turkish Court Art."

The Turkish court finally resorted to such practices as the selling of offices to stay solvent, but the *ihtisap* system appears to have bankrupted most of the İznik workshops by the middle of the seventeenth century, and only subsidies enabled ceramic art to survive in Turkey in the following century.

9. Cf. the Lorichs drawing reproduced by Oberhummer (note 43, Chapter One).
10. Egli offers a useful, if not completely reliable, chronological table as an Appendix to his work on Sinan (No. 254), which supports this dating.
11. See Öz (Ceramics), p. 29. The evidence offered by Anhegger (Quellen, No. 35), and Barkan (No. 255) to the contrary, the style of the ceramic revetments of the Süleyman tomb, especially the tiles of the revak, argues for a dating later than the ceramics of the interior of the Rüstem Pasha mosque.
12. Again, Anhegger (Quellen, No. 35).
13. Öz (Ceramics), p. 29.
14. Cf. the article by Öz (No. 261) on the mosque of Sultan Ahmet. Since the writing of the dissertation, the monograph by Carswell (No. 165) has substantially rectified this situation. Note also the early work on Kütahya ceramics by Aslanapa (No. 13).
15. The unusual size of the Ramazan Oğlu tiles in Adana might argue for their having been made *in situ*. Anhegger (Quellen, No. 2) offers evidence for the planning of revetments at the site, leaving open the possibility that some tiles were made near the building site as well. The kilns (Aslanapa, No. 15) were very simple structures, buried in the ground.

16. The tiles of the tomb of Eyup appear to have been placed there in the early nineteenth century, and were virtually all made for other buildings. Some are "left-overs" from the Topkapı Palace tiles also used as a quarry for the seventeenth-century mosque of Sultan Ahmet I. Others were taken from the mosque of Takkieci İbrahim Ağa near the land walls. The blue-and-white tiles at Eyup are identical to those of the Rüstem Pasha mosque revak. It is possible that the largest number of the Eyup tiles came from the mosque of Mihrimah Sultan, wife of Rüstem Pasha, which is only a mile and a half away from Eyup. The author hopes eventually to publish a detailed analysis of the Eyup revetments and their origins.
17. The eighteenth-century attempt to revive the glories of the great İznik manufactories is discussed by Öz in some detail (Ceramics, pp. 40ff.)
18. The concept of an Ottoman classical style in architecture is best articulated by Goodwin (No. 258). We prefer his articulation of the idea to that of other writers, who seem unaware of the complex meanings of the word.
19. Cf. the famous statement attributed to Sinan: that the Şehzade mosque (1548) constituted his work as an apprentice, the Süleymaniye (1559) his work as a journeyman, and the Selimiye in Edirne (1572) his work as a master. Despite this, the author joins those who feel that the second building mentioned was Sinan's great architectural masterpiece, whatever the drawbacks of its ceramic decoration.
20. The mosque of Murad III in Manisa (1585) uses an almost distractingly large amount of red color on its kible wall, while the mosque of the businessman Takkieci İbrahim Ağa in İstanbul (1592) goes even further, using nastaliq in place of the august thuluth for its inscriptions, and flaunting red grapes, source of wine forbidden by the Prophet, on its kible wall.
21. See our line figure F.
22. Pictured and discussed by Öz (Ceramics, p. 32) and Sakisian (No. 70). The tiles, formerly gracing a bath built by Selim II, have now been removed from the Altın Yol wall, demonstrating once again the tendency of tile revetments to migrate over the centuries.
23. Discussed in Ellis' (No. 33) article on the prayer rugs. The closest parallel to the Murad III panels is illustrated by L. Mackie (No. 200, plate II), but lacks the central cloud-band cartouche.
24. For an example of these designs in tughra illumination, see the work by Tayanç (No. 214), page 27.
25. See Note 8 above.
26. Illustrated in color by Ettinghausen (No. 1, figure 214).
27. Again, see Otto-Dorn's article (No. 204) for a general survey of this medium.

28. Illustrated in McMullan, Islamic Carpets (New York, 1966), figure 4; No. 191, figure 13; and No. 1, figure 214, respectively.
29. Cf. also Arseven's survey of decorative arts (No. 2), p. 309, and section following.
30. Ettinghausen (No. 1), p. 194, shows a color reproduction.
31. See Wace (No. 217) and Öz (No. 205) for a discussion of this material.
32. The neo-classical movement in Ottoman architecture is surveyed by Goodwin in his fine History of Ottoman Architecture (No. 258), pp. 425-427.
33. Cf. McMullan (op. cit., plate 76) for "bird carpet" examples in color.
34. For example, Ernst Grube, in the Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (January, 1968), pp. 204-206.
35. See the documentary evidence offered by Lane (Isnik, p. 256), Sevin (No. 211), Meriç (No. 239), and Stchoukine (No. 212, part II).
36. Again, the best evidence is offered by Anhegger (Quellen, No. 18).
37. Cf. A. Geijer (No. 194, p. 49) and Öz (No. 205), Volume II.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

All bibliographical references in the Notes will refer to each Entry by author and number, with the exception of six studies which form the basis of the Established Periodization, and which will be cited with the following abbreviations:

- | | |
|---------------------------|---|
| Lane, <u>Isnik</u> | Entry No. 42; Arthur Lane, "The Ottoman Pottery of Isnik," in <u>Ars Orientalis</u> II (1957). |
| Otto-Dorn, <u>Keramik</u> | Entry No. 54; Katharina Otto-Dorn, <u>Türkische Keramik</u> (Ankara, 1957). |
| Aslanapa, <u>Fliesen</u> | Entry No. 14; Oktay Aslanapa, <u>Türkische Fliesen und Keramik in Anatolien</u> (Istanbul, 1965). |
| Anhegger, <u>Quellen</u> | Entry 222; "Quellen zur Osmanischen Keramik," in Otto-Dorn, <u>Das Islamische Iznik</u> (Berlin, 1941). |
| Öz, <u>Ceramics</u> | Entry No. 63; Tahsin Öz, <u>Türkisch Ceramics</u> (Ankara, 1954). |
| Erdmann, <u>Arbeiten</u> | Entry No. 33; "Neue Arbeiten zur Türkischen Keramik," in <u>Ars Orientalis</u> III (1959). |

For the bibliography of this Garland edition, that of the dissertation in its original form has been brought up-to-date through the addition of over eighty entries. The result remains, however, a selective rather than an exhaustive overview of literature pertinent either directly or indirectly to the problems examined in this work. Certain categories of material, most notably sale catalogues, have been omitted entirely. The criteria for selection of material for inclusion vary; some works have been selected because of the quality of their illustrations, others because they offer significantly different perspectives than those of the present work, but in general soundness of scholarship

has been used as the primary basis for inclusion in the present listing.

The Bibliography has been arranged alphabetically by author within nine sections, as follows:

- I. General works on Turkish or Islamic art containing sections on Ottoman Turkish ceramics.
- II. Monographs and articles focusing partially or primarily on Ottoman Turkish ceramics.
- III. Section A: Collection and exhibition catalogues and museum bulletins alphabetically by city where located.
Section B: Collection and exhibition catalogues and museum bulletins alphabetically by author.
- IV. Works dealing with ceramic techniques.
- V. Works dealing with related ceramics.
- VI. Selected works dealing with related Ottoman Turkish art.
- VII. Selected works dealing with historical source materials, guidebooks.
- VIII. Selected works dealing with architectural monuments relevant to the present study.
- IX. Bibliographical works and addenda.

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154. Blue-turquoise-and-white underglaze-painted tiles with black line; London, Victoria and Albert Museum, nos. 412-180.5 and 1684.1892; ca. 1560.
155. Blue-turquoise-and-white underglaze-painted tiles with blue line; İstanbul, mosque of Rüstem Pasha, face 6 of right revak; ca. 1560.
156. Blue-and-white underglaze-painted tiles with design of grapes and vine-leaves; İstanbul, mosque of Sultan Ahmet; ca. 1585-95, taken from original location and placed in present location ca. 1616.
157. Polychrome underglaze-painted tiles with red, turquoise, blue, green, and manganese-purple coloring with a black line, with design of grapes and vine-leaves; London, Victoria and Albert Museum, no. 283-1881; ca. 1595.
158. Great blue-and-white underglaze-painted footed bowl in the "Abraham of Kütahya" style; London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Salting Bequest, no. C.1981-1910; ca. 1525.
159. Carved and gilt stone border in the "Abraham of Kütahya" style; fountain on the exterior of the Arz Odası of the Topkapı Palace Museum; probably carved in the first quarter of the 16th century although the dated chronogram forming part of the fountain seems to have been added later.
160. Small blue-and-white underglaze-painted ewer with metal mounts; in the "Abraham of Kütahya" style; London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Salting Bequest, no. C.2008-1910; ca. 1520-30.
161. Blue-and-white underglaze-painted plate with "wave-and-rock" border and blue line; London, British Museum; ca. 1555-1570.

162. Blue-turquoise-and-white underglaze-painted plate with "Damascus" design characteristics; Athens, Benaki Museum; ca. 1545-1560.
163. Detail of blue-and-white dish with touches of manganese-grey and turquoise and "Damascus" rim of spiky white tulips; New York, Metropolitan Museum, no. 14.40.732; ca. 1545-1560.
164. Blue-turquoise-and-white plate; London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Salting Bequest, no. C.2011-1910; ca. 1540-1550.
165. Blue-and-white dish with black line of "Type E" design; Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, no. 19.1187, John Pickering Lyman Collection; ca. 1550.
166. "Damascus" type polychrome underglaze-painted plate with design of artichokes and tulips; London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Salting Bequest, no. C.199-1910; ca. 1545-1565.
167. "Damascus" type polychrome underglaze-painted footed bowl with flat "Type C" decorations; London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Salting Bequest, no. C.199-1910; ca. 1545-1565.
168. Mosque lamp of "Type E" design, detail of figure 9; dated 1549.
169. Small rimless polychrome underglaze-painted dish with "Damascus" colors; private collection; mid-sixteenth century.
170. Detail of figure 169.
171. Detail of figure 172 below.
172. Polychrome underglaze-painted dish with "Damascus" colors and "Type B" decoration; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, bequest of Horace Havermeyer, no. 56.185.2; mid-sixteenth century.
173. Polychrome underglaze-painted dish with "Damascus" colors and "Type D" decoration approaching that of "Rhodian" ceramics; London, Victoria and Albert Museum; ca. 1555-1565.
174. Underglaze-painted Turkish pottery in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. From left to right, top to bottom: (a) footed blue-ground "Abraham of Kütahya" bowl; (b) ewer illustrated in figure 160; (c) "Golden Horn" black-line spiral-decorated bowl of ca. 1545-1555; (d) "Damascus" plate of "Type D;" (e) "Damascus" blue-ground plate illustrated in figure 175; (f) "Damascus" plate of "Type A."
175. Polychrome underglaze-painted plate with "Damascus" colors and "Type D" design on blue ground; London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Salting Bequest, no. C.2001-1910; ca. 1555-1565.
176. Detail, tile panel 27, white clouds in reserve on blue ground, Sünnat Odası facade.

177. Tile from a four-module repeat-field in the Rüstem Pasha mosque, illustrated in figure 69 (compare with figure 183); ca. 1561.
178. "Rhodian" polychrome underglaze-painted plate with sage-green rather than true green, and "Type D" decorations; Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, no. 16.319; ca. 1565.
179. "Rhodian" tile with dark-blue on light-blue stippling to create texture, from the revak of the tomb of Süleyman I in İstanbul, detail of figure 205; ca. 1566.
180. Early "Rhodian" polychrome underglaze-painted plate with "Type D" designs, thin red pigments, and decorated white tulips similar to those on the Rüstem Pasha mosque revak (compare with figure 110); New York, Metropolitan Museum, no. 91.1.119; ca. 1561.
181. "Damascus" polychrome underglaze-painted rimless plate with "Type F" simple decoration; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 91.1.119; ca. 1550-1560.
182. "Damascus" polychrome underglaze-painted small bowl with broadly-executed "Type F" design of white tulips and sage-green artichokes; Horsham, Godman Collection; ca. 1550-1560.
183. "Damascus" polychrome underglaze-painted plate of "Type F;" London, Victoria and Albert Museum; ca. 1545-1560.
184. Tiles from the Ramazan Oğlu mosque, Adana; detail of figure 133; upper row of tiles is a black-line copy of the blue-and-white field below.
185. Fragment of a "Rhodian" bowl with red, green, turquoise, blue, manganese-purple and grey coloration with a black line; private collection; ca. 1565-1575.
186. Detail of figure 180.
187. Early "Rhodian" polychrome underglaze-painted jar lid; Paris, Louvre; ca. 1560.
188. Early "Rhodian" polychrome underglaze-painted plate with "Type B" design; London, British Museum; ca. 1560.
189. Late "Rhodian" polychrome underglaze-painted plate with flawed slip and reddish-buff clay, possibly made in Rhodes; Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, no. 85.497; ca. 1650-1700.
190. Mosque lamp said to have come from the Süleymaniye mosque in İstanbul, "Rhodian" polychrome underglaze-painted design with black used as both line and color; London, Victoria and Albert Museum, no. 131.1885; ca. 1560.
191. Mosque lamp said to have come from the mosque of Sokullu Mehmet Pasha at Kadirga, İstanbul, "Rhodian" polychrome underglaze-painted design; İstanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum; ca. 1572.

192. Blue-ground slip-painted polychrome underglaze-painted plate; Paris, Louvre, no. Cl.8549; ca. 1550-1565.
193. Blue-turquoise-and-white underglaze-painted plate with hatayi[↑] design in center; London, Victoria and Albert Museum, no. 2019-1910; ca. 1550-1560.
194. Blue-turquoise-and-white underglaze-painted plate with grape design adapted from Ming porcelain, and black-line whorls on the rim; London, Victoria and Albert Museum, no. C.716-1902; ca. 1570.
195. Polychrome underglaze-painted plate adapted from Ming porcelain design, with blue, white, and red coloration; London, Victoria and Albert Museum, no. C.185,1902; ca. 1565-1575.
196. Polychrome underglaze-painted inscription panel from the revak of the Süleymaniye mosque, İstanbul; ca. 1559.
197. Polychrome underglaze-painted tiles from the interior of the tomb of Süleyman I, İstanbul; ca. 1566.
198. Polychrome underglaze-painted tiles from the interior of the tomb of Hürrem Sultan, İstanbul; ca. 1559.
199. Polychrome underglaze-painted tiles with stencil-palmettes and rumi[↑] forms; detail from figure 198.
200. Polychrome underglaze-painted tiles with stencil-palmettes, from interior niches; detail from figure 198.
201. Detail, blue-ground polychrome underglaze-painted panel from revak of tomb of Hürrem Sultan, İstanbul; ca. 1559.
202. Detail, polychrome underglaze-painted medallion panel from revak of tomb of Süleyman I, İstanbul (cf. figure 216); ca. 1566.
203. Detail of figure 202, showing hiatuses in design.
204. Detail, polychrome underglaze-painted revetment panel of the interior of the tomb of Süleyman I, İstanbul; ca. 1566.
205. Detail from figure 202, showing blue-on-blue stippling and characteristic "cockade" leaf of palmette.
206. Detail, polychrome underglaze-painted palmette from kible revetments of the mosque of Selim II, Edirne; ca. 1572.
207. Detail, polychrome underglaze-painted palmette from kible revetments of the mosque of Sokullu Mehmet Pasha at Kadırga, İstanbul; ca. 1572.
208. Tile with elaborate polychrome underglaze-painted palmette; London, Victoria and Albert Museum; ca. 1575-1585.

209. Ceiling painting with palmette design; İstanbul, mosque of Sokullu Mehmet Pasha at Kadırga; ca. 1572.
210. Detail from a portrait of Sultan Selim II by Nigari^î, showing ascending losenge design of robe; İstanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum; ca. 1572.
211. Polychrome underglaze-painted tiles from the mihrap of the mosque of ~~Sokullu Mehmet~~ Pasha, İstanbul; ca. 1572.
Piyale
212. Polychrome underglaze-painted tiles from the right gallery of the mosque of Rüstem Pasha, İstanbul; ca. 1561.
213. Painted soffit decoration in the mosque of Selim II, Edirne, using losenge design; ca. 1572.
214. Eighteenth-century Ottoman carpets made in Ushak using the losenge design; formerly in the Mihrimah mosque, Üsküdar; now in the Vakıflar Museum, İstanbul.
215. Polychrome underglaze-painted blue-ground flowering tree panel from the revak of the Rüstem Pasha mosque, İstanbul; ca. 1561.
216. Polychrome underglaze-painted medallion panel from the revak of the tomb of Süleyman I, İstanbul; ca. 1566.
217. Polychrome underglaze-painted medallion hatayî panel from the kible of the mosque of Selim II, Edirne; ca. 1572.
218. Polychrome underglaze-painted white-ground flowering tree panel from the Sultan's loge of the mosque of Selim II, Edirne; ca. 1574.
219. Polychrome underglaze-painted blue-ground flowering tree panel made for the baths of Selim II, Topkapı Palace, İstanbul; dated 1574. After T. Öz, Turkish Ceramics.
220. Polychrome underglaze-painted blue-ground flowering tree panel with manganese-purple, presently on the Sünnet Odası facade, Topkapı Palace, İstanbul; ca. 1565-1570.
221. Polychrome underglaze-painted hatayî medallion panel from the revak of the tomb of Selim II, İstanbul; ca. 1575.
222. Polychrome underglaze-painted hatayî medallion panel from the revak of the tomb of Murat III, İstanbul; ca. 1595.
223. Polychrome underglaze-painted floral medallion panel from the rear gallery of the mosque of Sultan Ahmet I, İstanbul; ca. 1616.
224. Border from the time of Murad III (ca. 1580-1590) with great variation in the red-ground color, formerly on the Altın Yol, Topkapı Palace Museum, İstanbul.
225. Detail of figure 219.

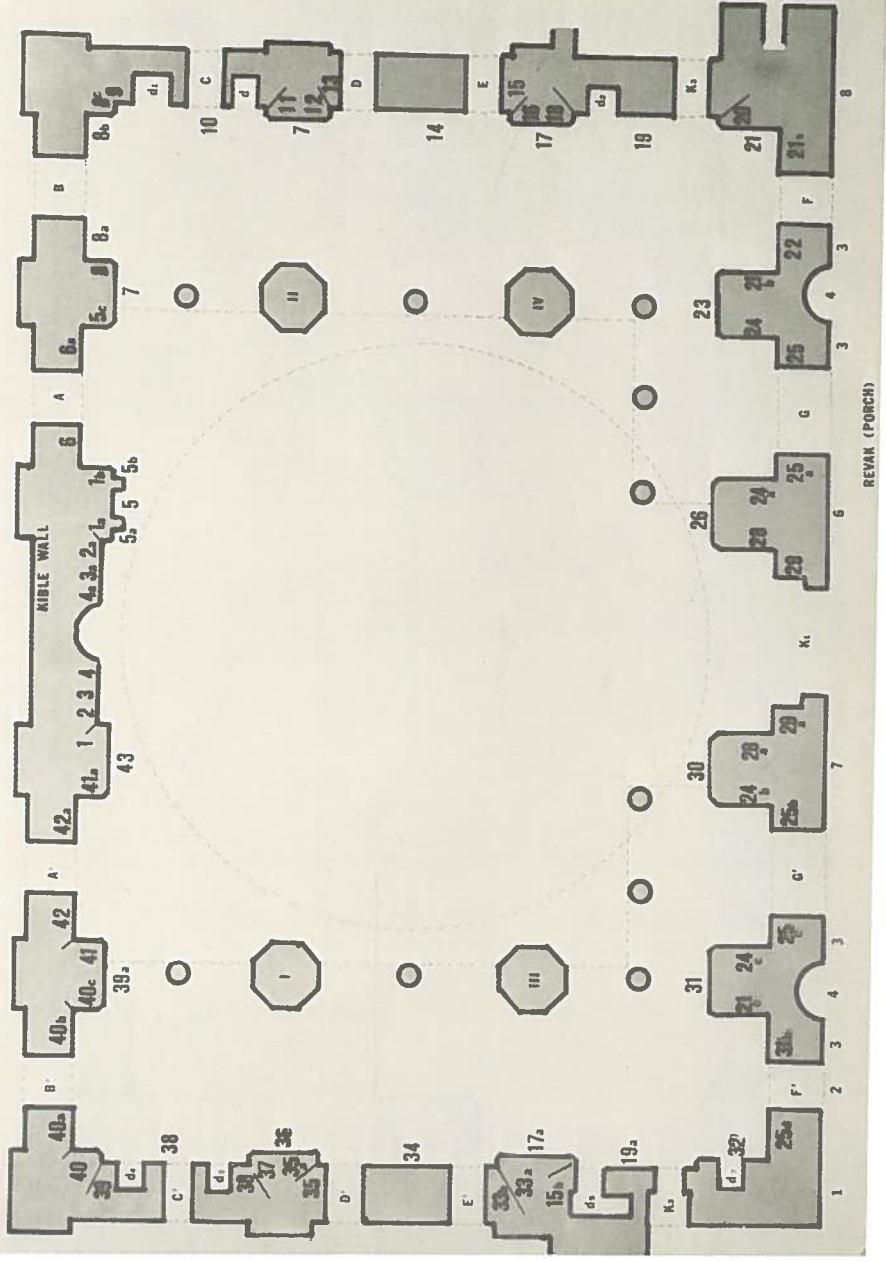
226. Polychrome underglaze-painted tiles possibly made in Kütahya, from the mosque of Sultan Ahmet I, İstanbul; ca. 1616.
227. Tiles made in Damascus, from the Sinaniyya Mosque in Damascus; London, Victoria and Albert Museum, London; ca. 1585.
228. Tile made in Damascus, showing a bunch of grapes, from a cartouche-design panel; London, Victoria and Albert Museum, no. C.524-1900; 1585-1595.
229. Hatayî design around cloud-band medallion, gilt marble, pulpit (minber) of mosque of Ibrahim Pasha, İstanbul; ca. 1551.
230. Black-pen drawing with gilt areas, album-drawing of the reign of Selim II or Murad III; Topkapı Palace Museum, İstanbul, from album Hazine 2147; ca. 1570-1580. Photograph courtesy Topkapı Museum.
231. Silk prayer rug said to have belonged to Ahmet I (1603-1616); İstanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum.
232. Hatayî design, gilt marble, mihrap of the mosque of Sultan Ahmet I, İstanbul; ca. 1616.
233. Woolen "bird carpet" probably woven near Ushak; formerly in the collection of Joseph V. McMullan, now in the Metropolitan Museum; late 16th century. Photograph by James Ufford.
234. Panel of radiating-design polychrome underglaze-painted tiles, right gallery, mosque of Rüstem Pasha, İstanbul; ca. 1561.
235. Detail, panel of polychrome underglaze-painted tiles with decorated leaves and cloud-bands, rear wall, mosque of Rüstem Pasha, İstanbul; ca. 1561.
236. Detail, panel of polychrome underglaze-painted tiles with small-scale rumî design; mosque of Rüstem Pasha, İstanbul; ca. 1561.
237. Detail, panel of polychrome underglaze-painted tiles with tendrilled rosettes and integral blue-ground border; mosque of Rüstem Pasha, İstanbul; ca. 1561.
238. Detail, panel of polychrome underglaze-painted tiles with large-scale rumî design; mosque of Rüstem Pasha, İstanbul; ca. 1561.
239. Detail, panel of polychrome underglaze-painted tiles with stencil-palmettes; mosque of Rüstem Pasha, İstanbul; ca. 1561 (face 40).
240. Detail, panel of polychrome underglaze-painted tiles with serrated and stencil-palmettes; mosque of Rüstem Pasha, İstanbul; ca. 1561 (face 38).
241. Detail, panel of polychrome underglaze-painted tiles with honeysuckles (hanımeli), carnations, and tulips; mosque of Rüstem Pasha, İstanbul; ca. 1561.

242. Detail, panel of polychrome underglaze-painted tiles with lobed and serrated palmettes around a rosette linked by knotted vines; mosque of Rüstem Pasha, İstanbul; ca. 1561.
243. Soffit of interior arch over main door; mosque of Rüstem Pasha; ca. 1561.
244. Pendantive of main dome with calligraphic medallion bearing the name of the caliph 'Umar, polychrome underglaze-painted tiles; mosque of Rüstem Pasha; ca. 1561.
245. Interior spandrels of the back gallery (m1), polychrome underglaze-painted tiles; mosque of Rüstem Pasha; ca. 1561.
246. Interior spandrels of the back gallery (k4-k5), polychrome underglaze-painted tiles; mosque of Rüstem Pasha; ca. 1561.
247. Polychrome underglaze-painted gallery spandrels (h-i); mosque of Rüstem Pasha; ca. 1561.
248. Polychrome underglaze-painted gallery spandrels (f, j); mosque of Rüstem Pasha; ca. 1561.
249. Polychrome underglaze-painted gallery spandrels (a-b); mosque of Rüstem Pasha; ca. 1561.
250. Fragments of large-scale rumî^â-design panel on face W, left gallery; mosque of Rüstem Pasha; ca. 1561-65.
251. Blue-ground flowering tree polychrome underglaze-painted panel under baldachin of minber pulpit; mosque of Rüstem Pasha; ca. 1561.
252. Spandrels of interior arch over main door; mosque of Rüstem Pasha; ca. 1561.

All photographs by Walter B. Denny unless otherwise indicated.

FIGURE A

RÜSTEM PASHA MOSQUE
PRAYER HALL



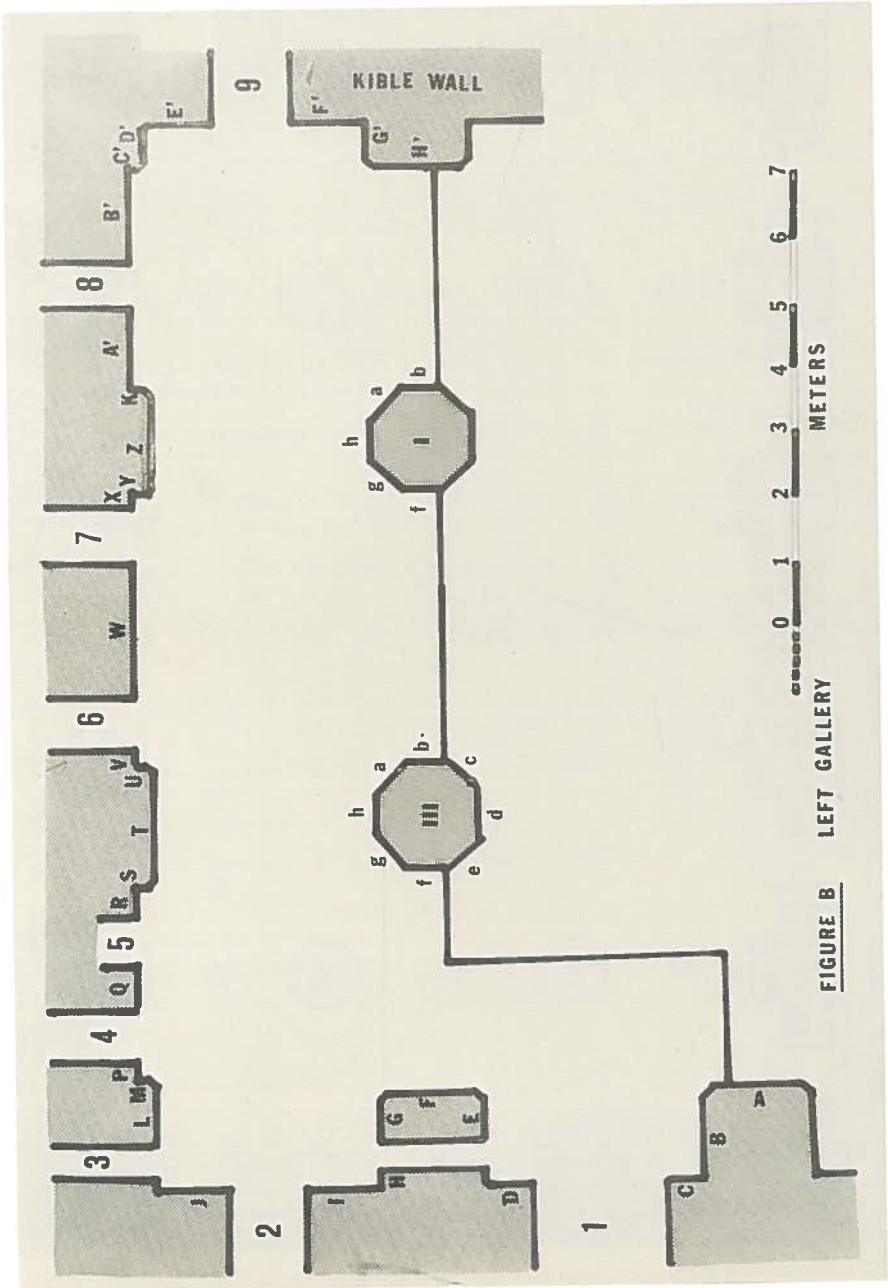


FIGURE B LEFT GALLERY

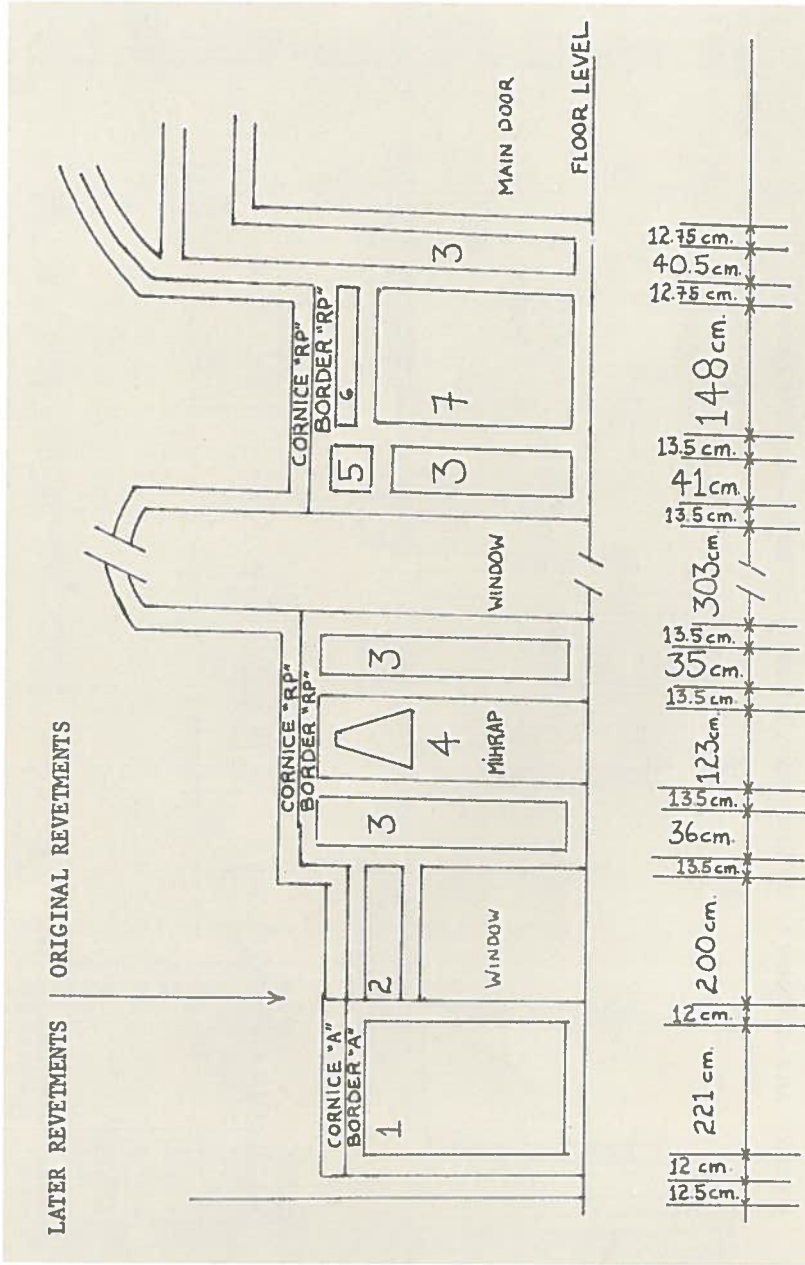


FIGURE C

SCHEMATIC HALF-ELEVATION OF THE RIGHT REVAK FACADE OF THE MOSQUE OF RÜSTEM PASHA

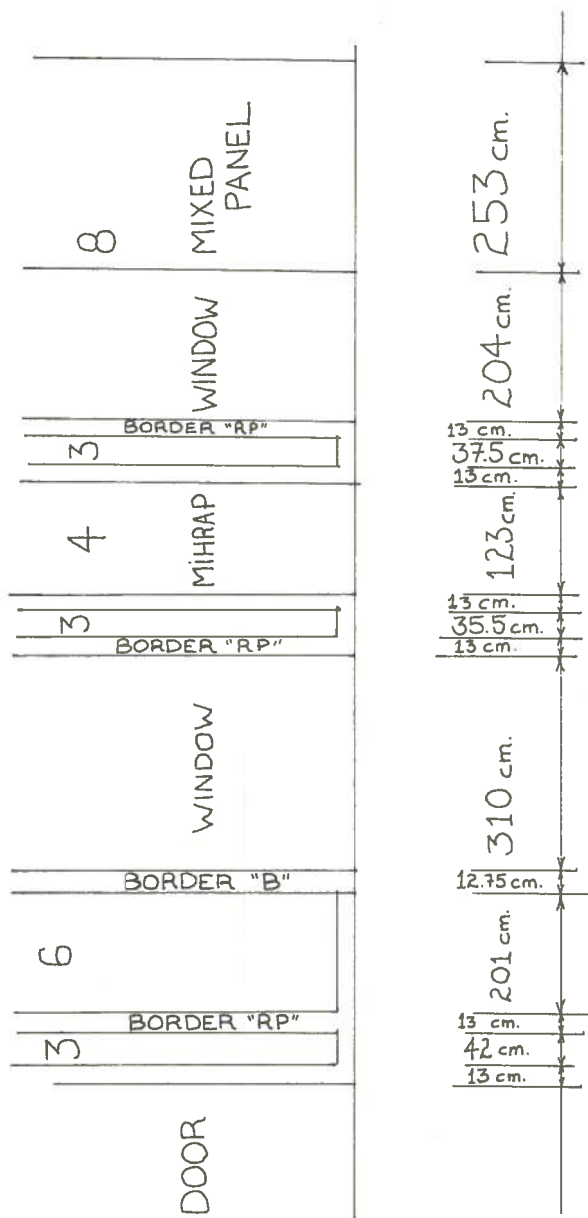
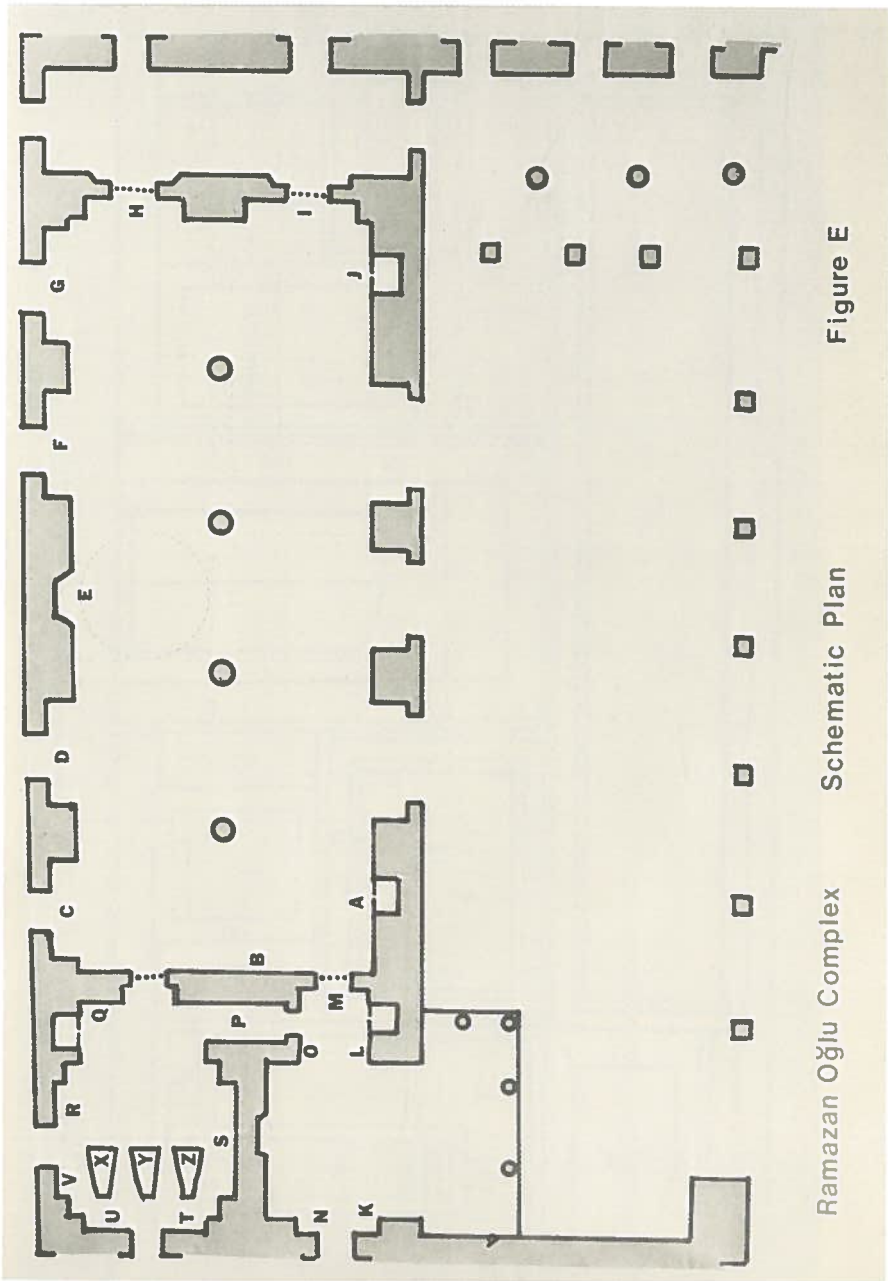
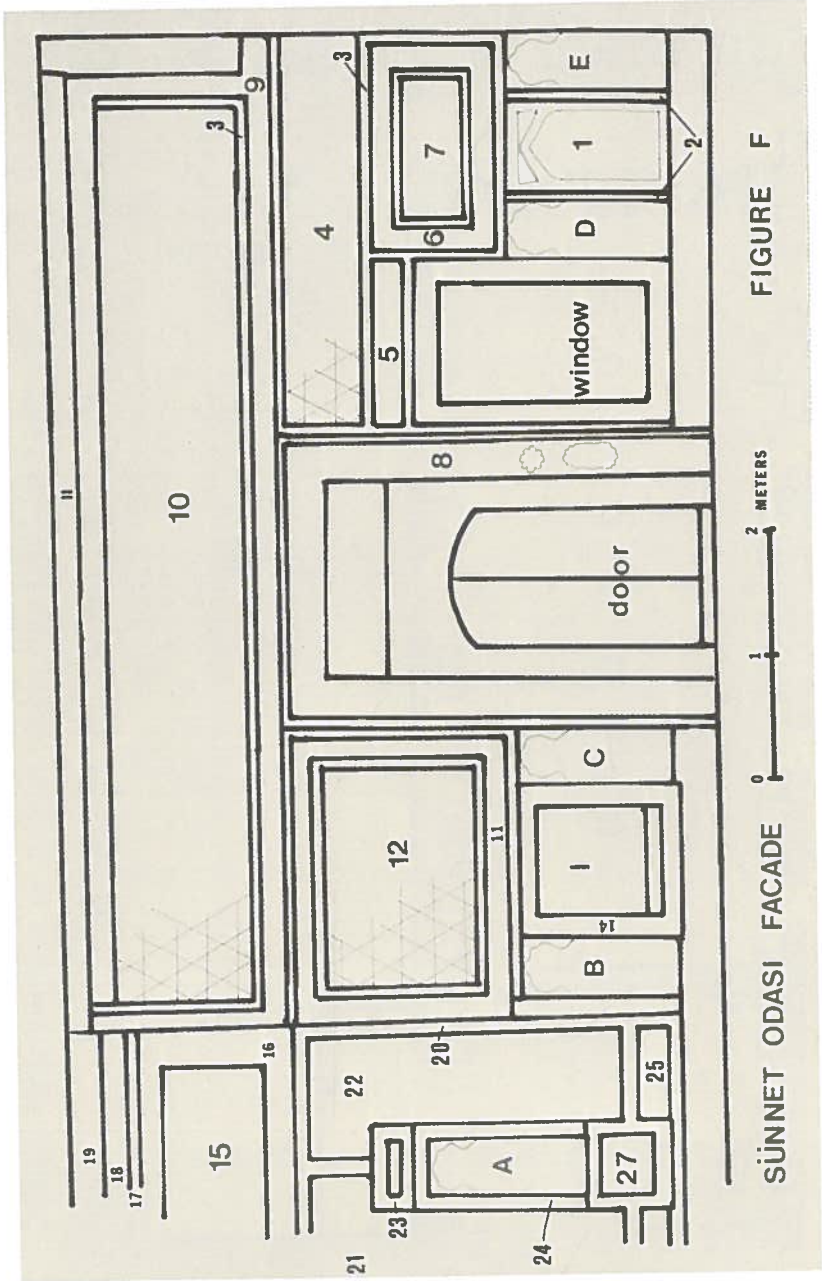


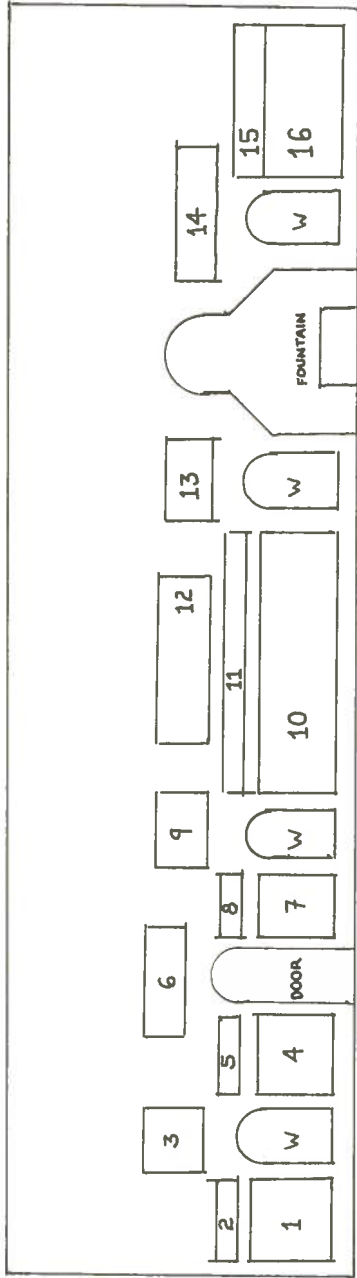
FIGURE D



Ramazan Oğlu Complex Schematic Plan Figure E



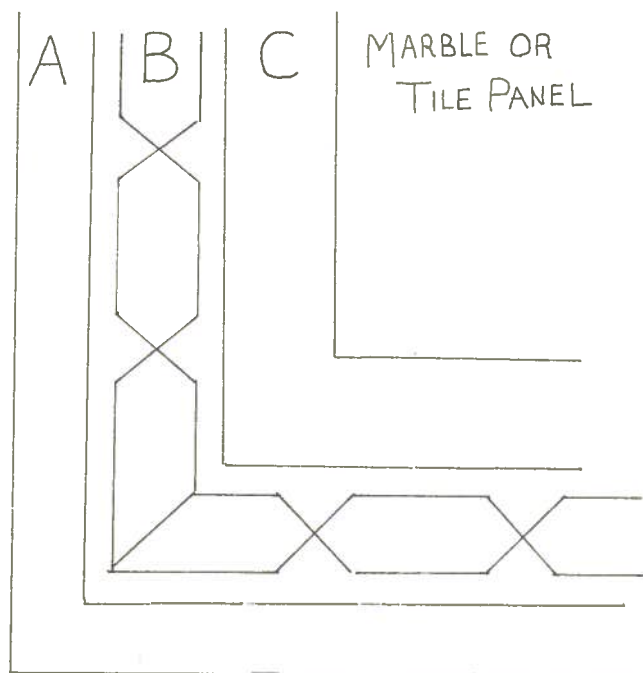
SCHEMATIC DIAGRAM EAST FACADE OF THE HIRKA-I ŞERİF DAİRESİ (PAVILION OF THE HOLY MANTLE)



NUMBERED RECTANGLES = TILE REVETMENT PANELS

W = WINDOWS

FIGURE G

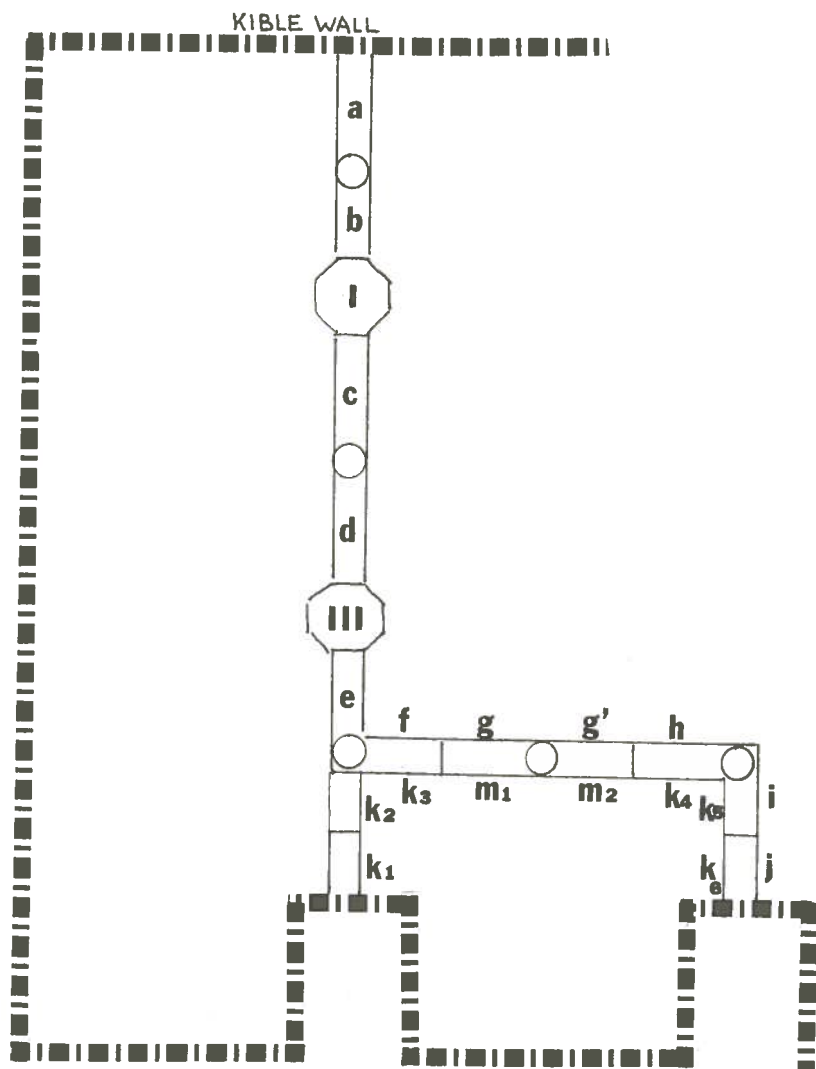


SCHEMATIC DIAGRAM TILE FRAME OF PANELS 1, 4, 7, 10, and 16 (SEE FIG. G)

HIRKA-İ ŞERİF DAİRESİ (PAVILION OF THE HOLY MANTLE)

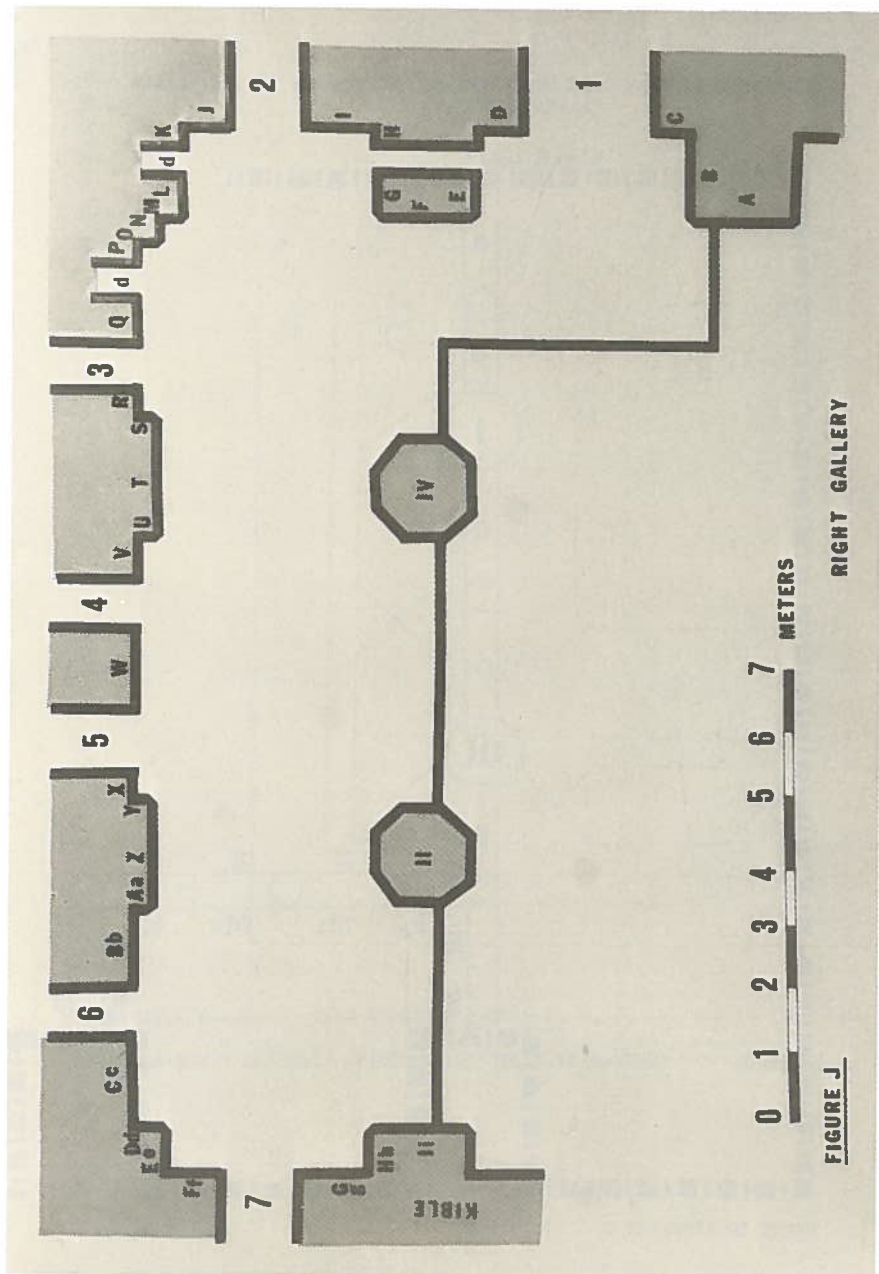
FIGURE H

SCHEMATIC DIAGRAM GALLERY SPANDREL REVETMENTS OF THE RÜSTEM
PASHA MOSQUE



KEYED TO APPENDIX C

FIGURE I



2



1



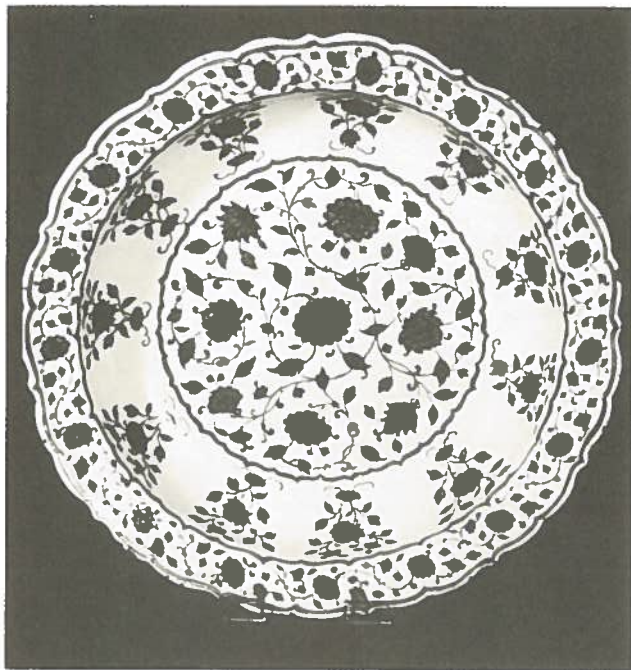


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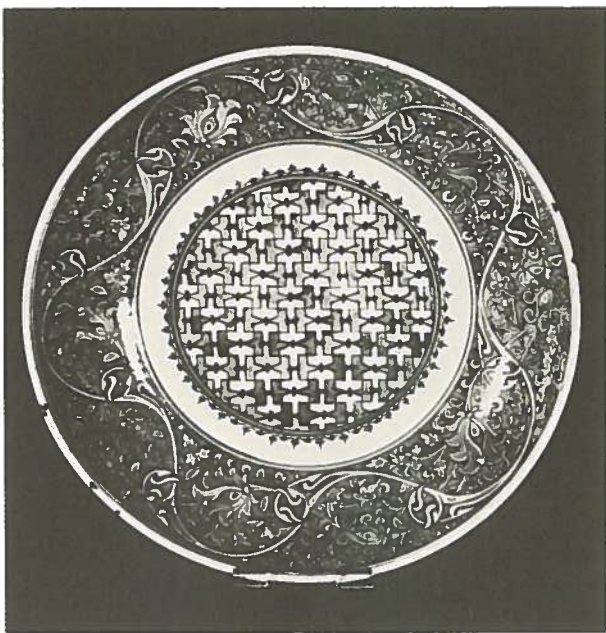
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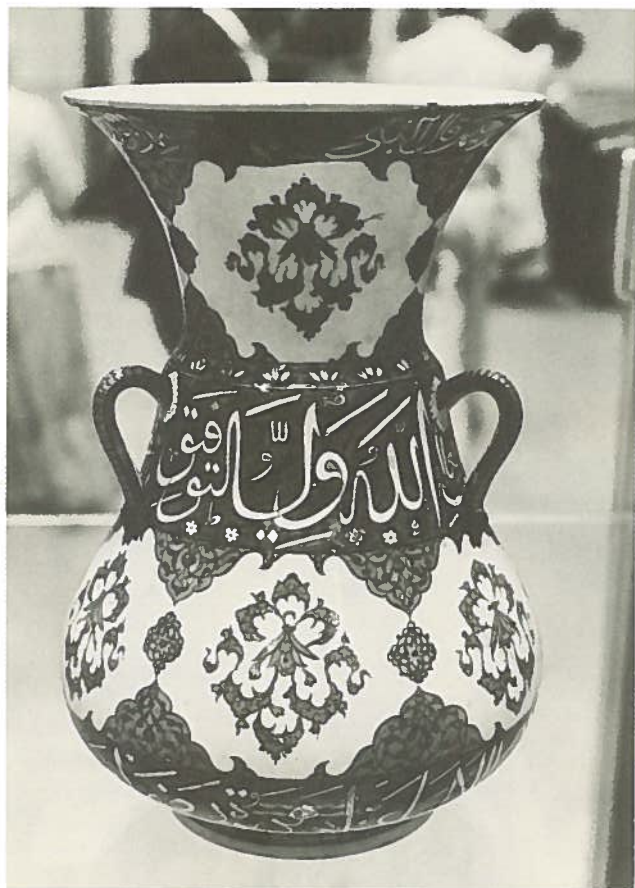


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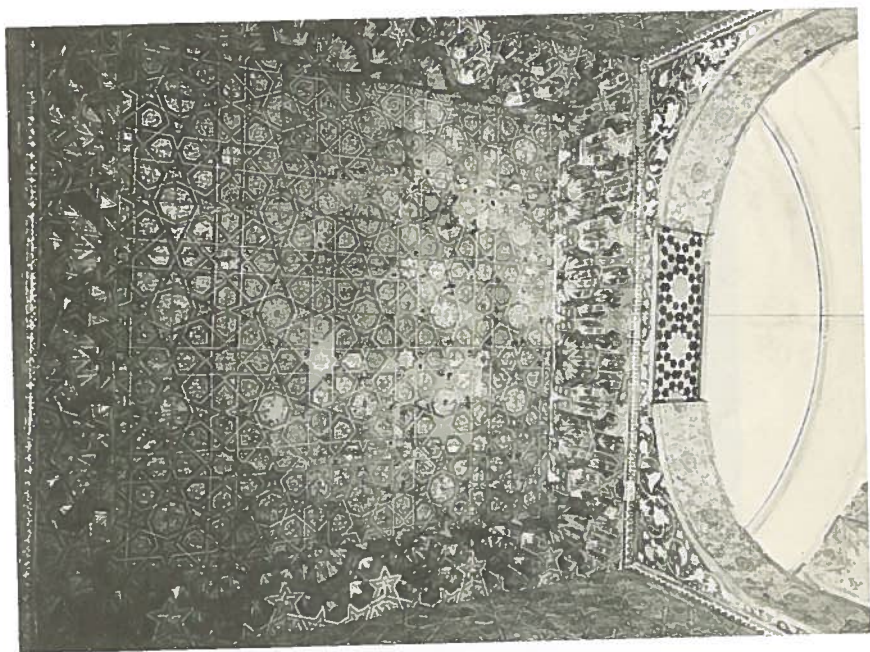
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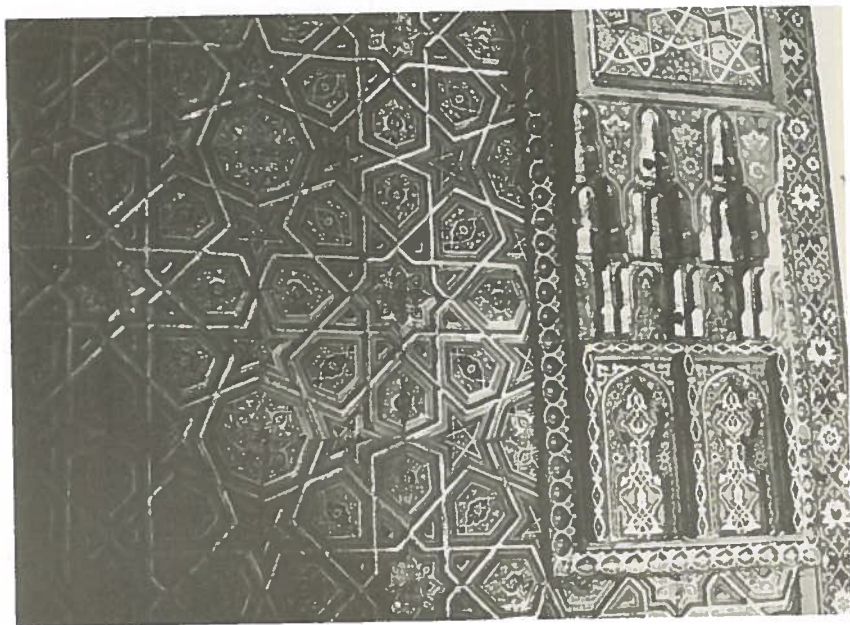


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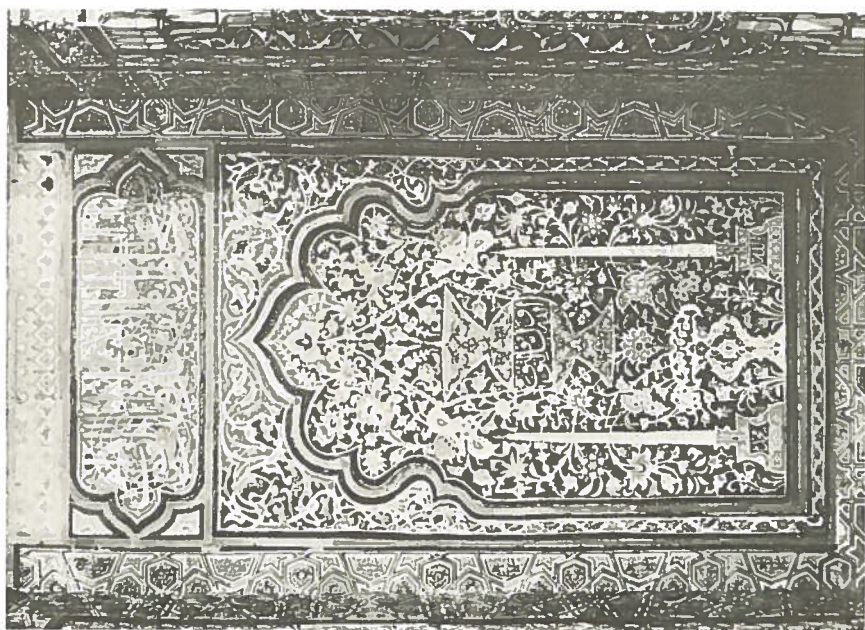


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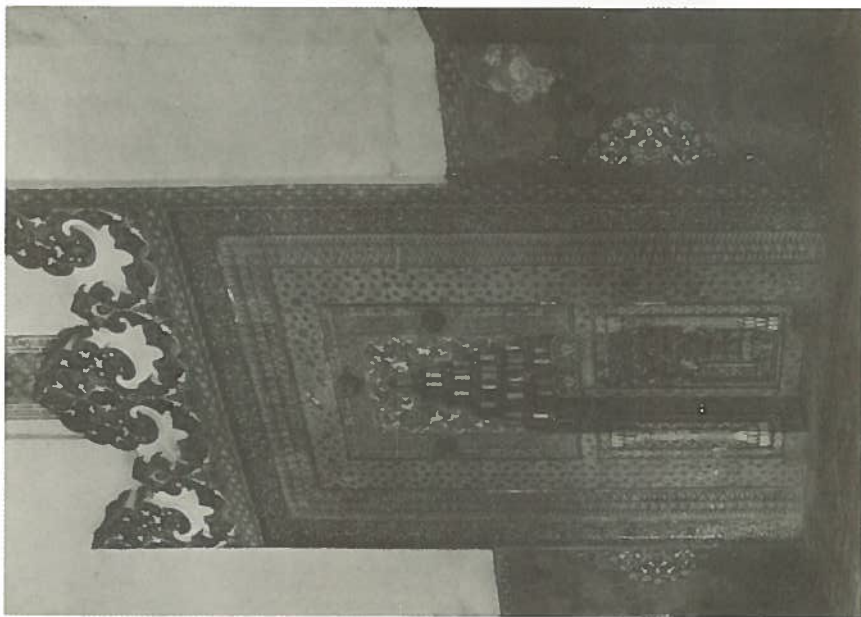


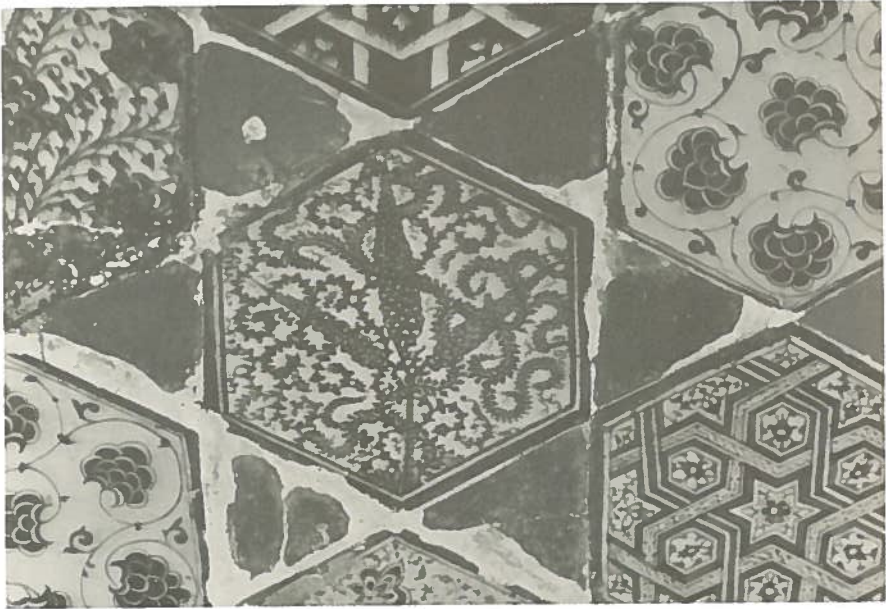
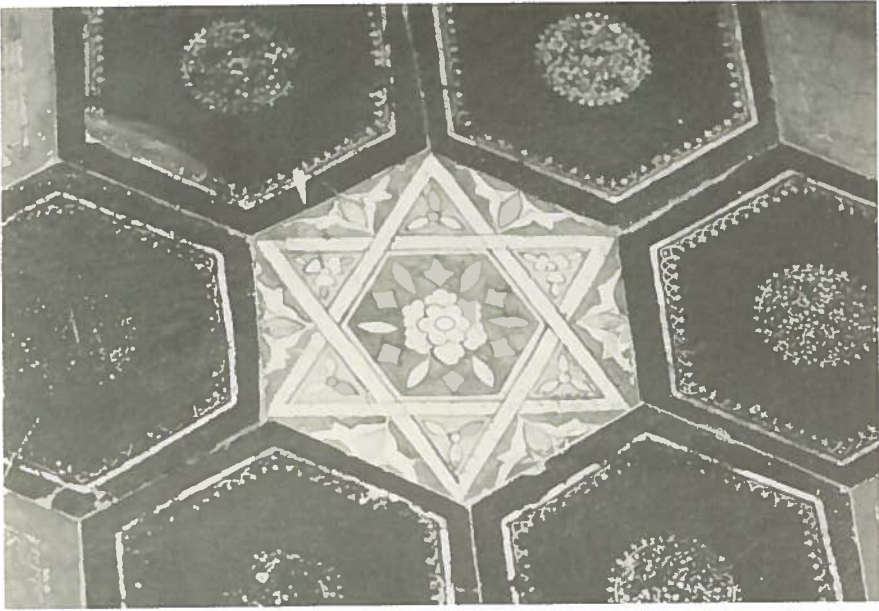
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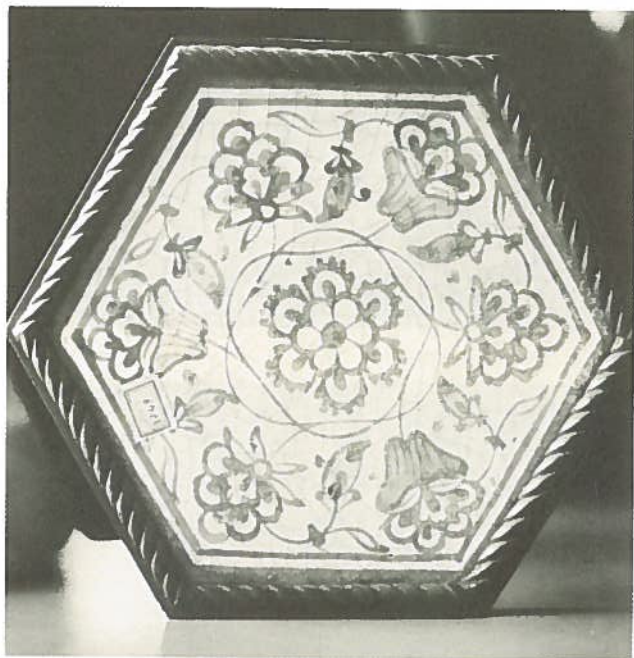


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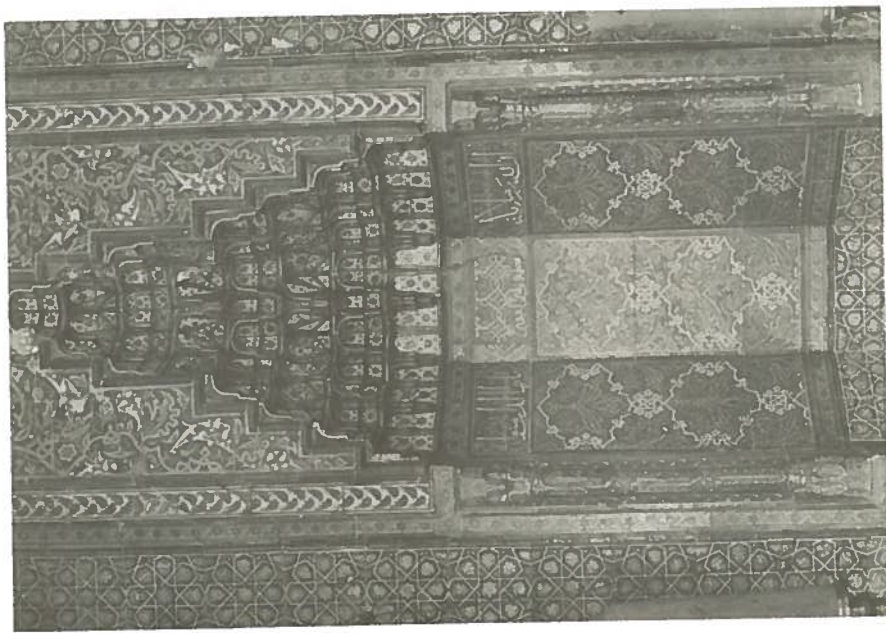




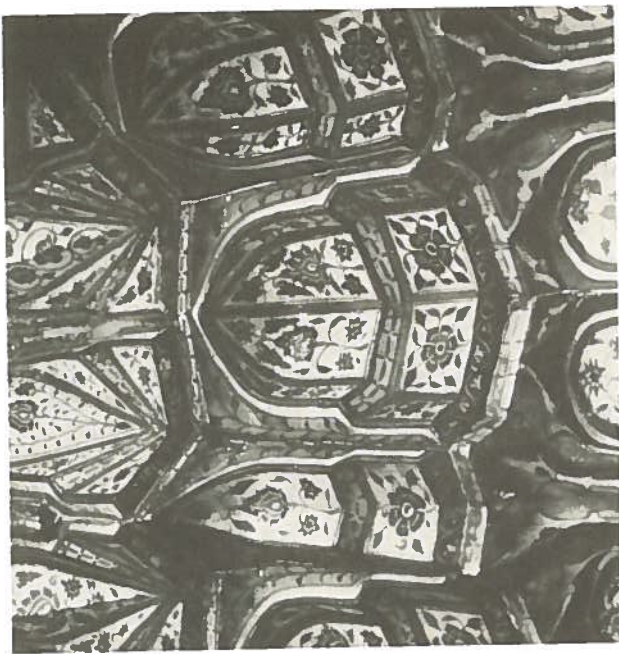
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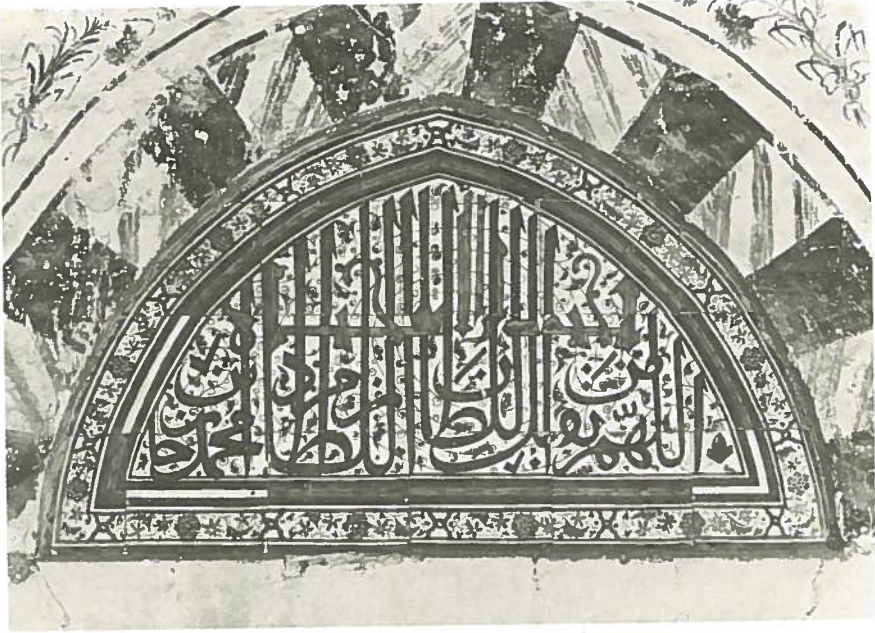


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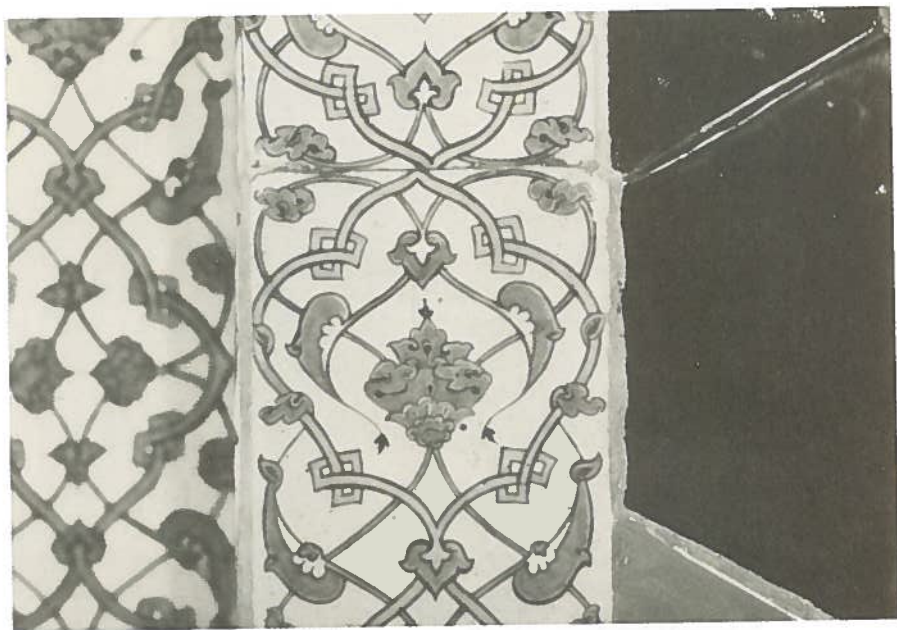


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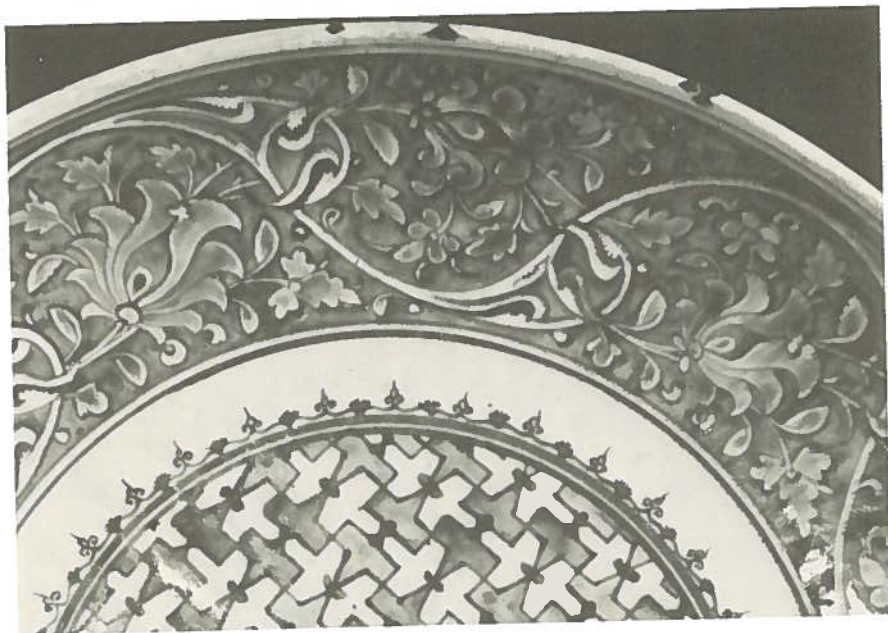
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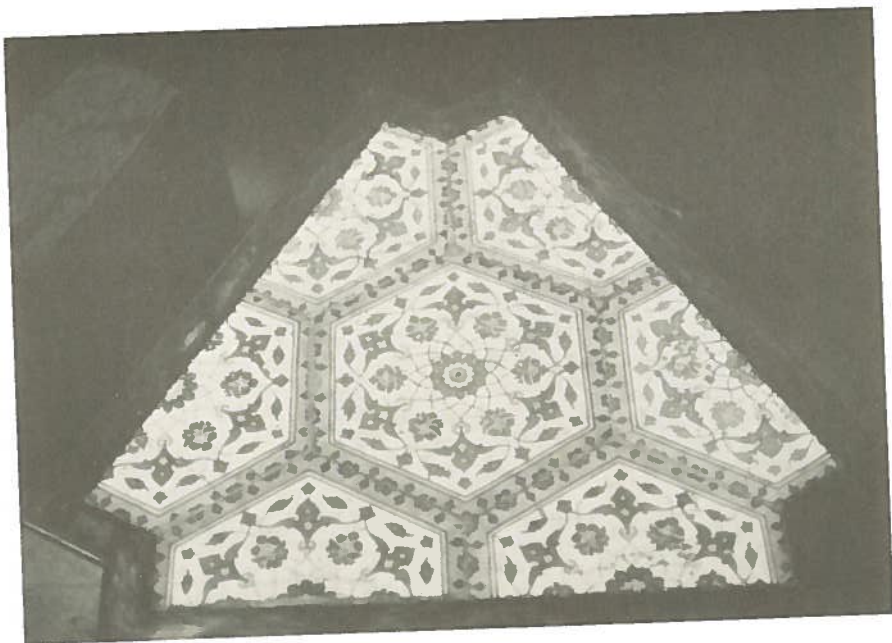
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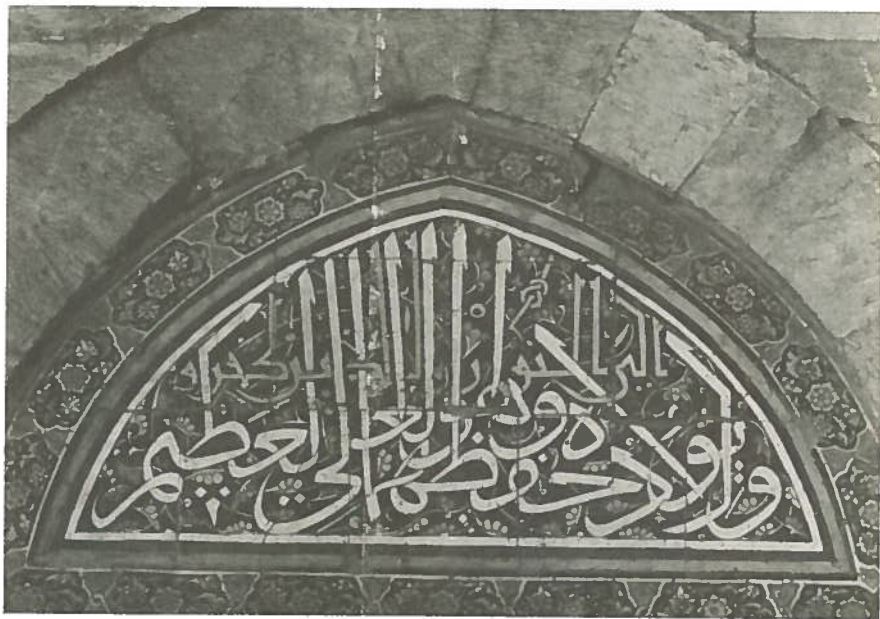
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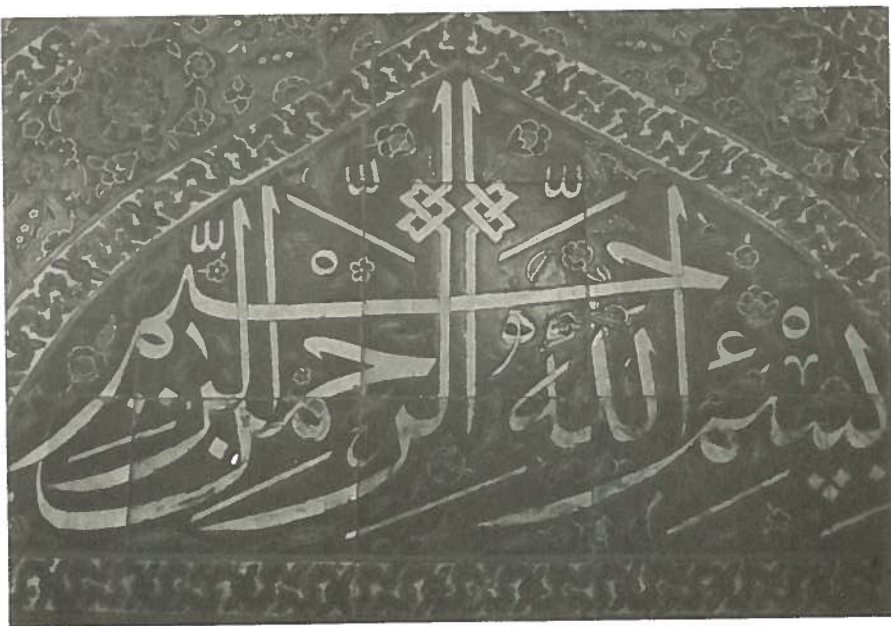
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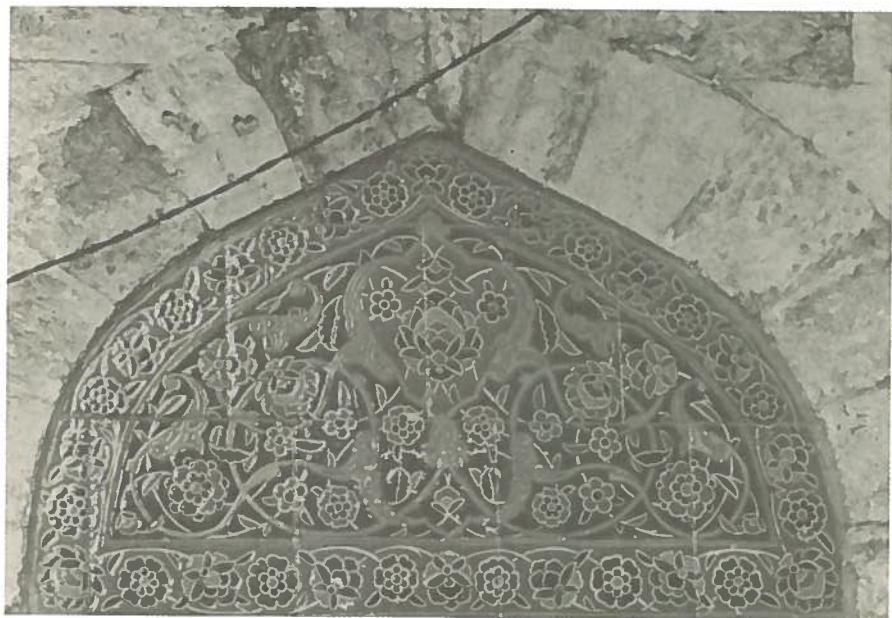
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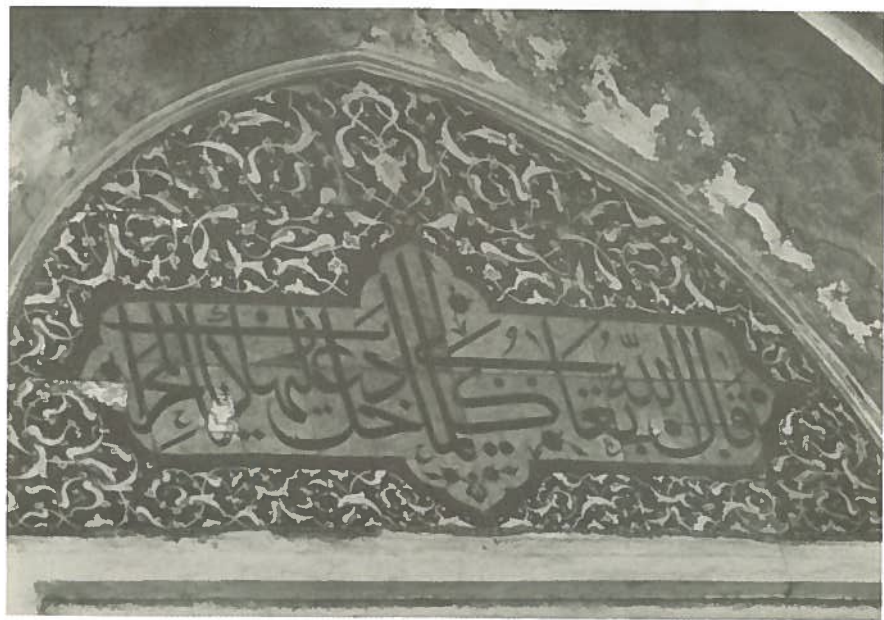
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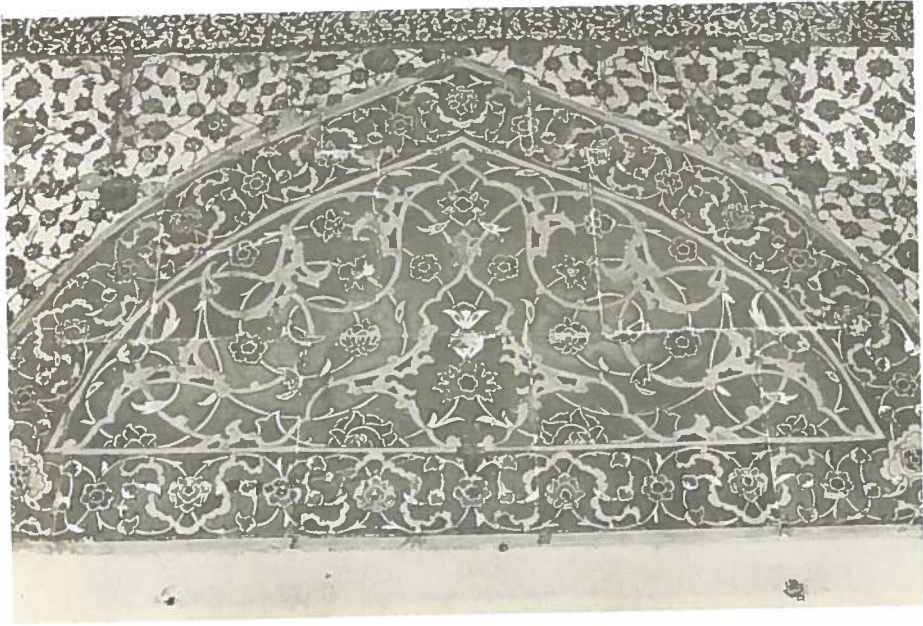


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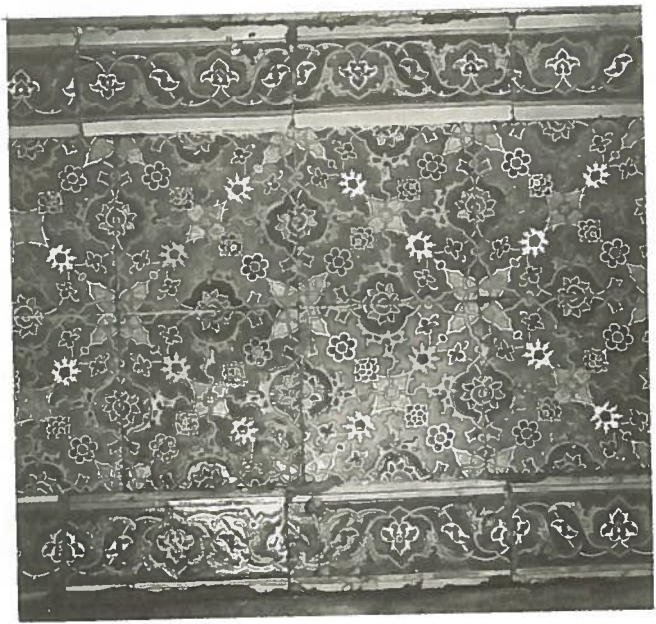


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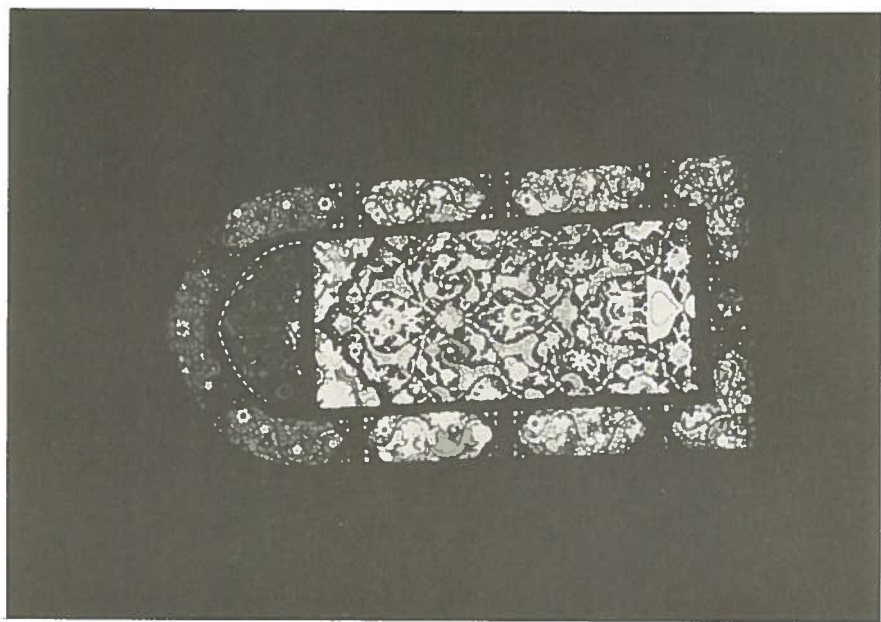
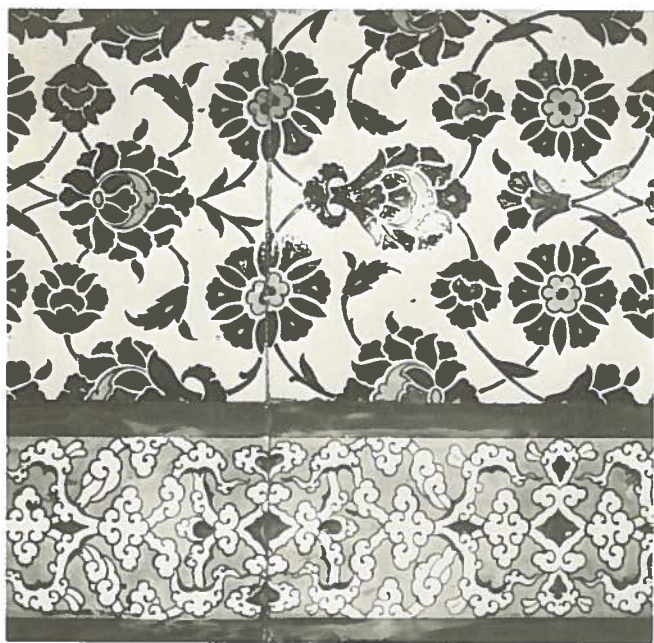




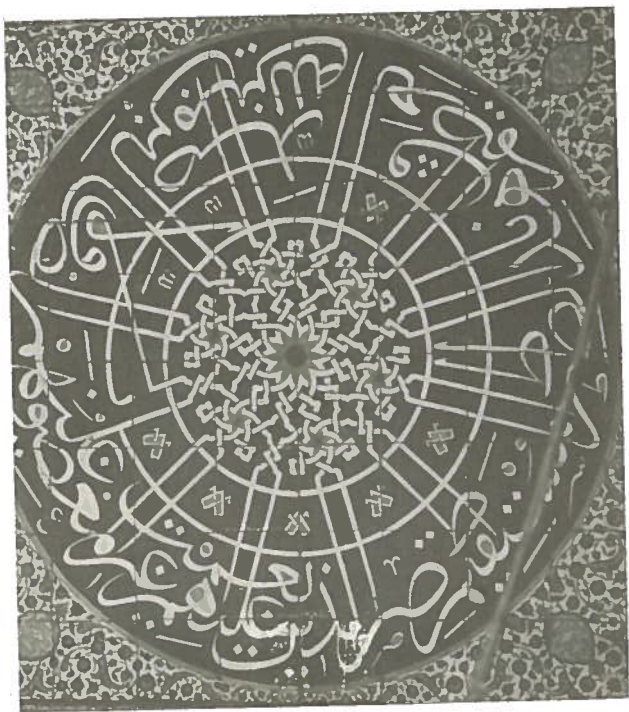
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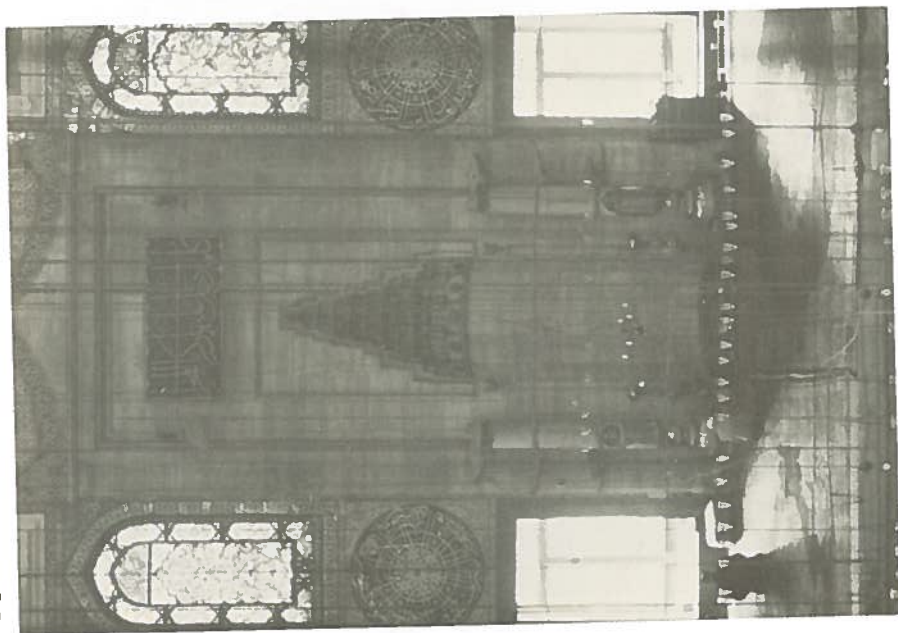
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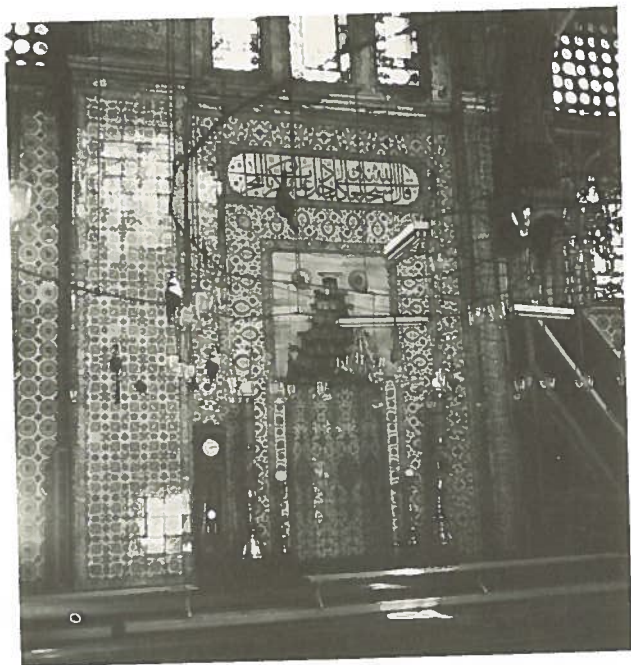
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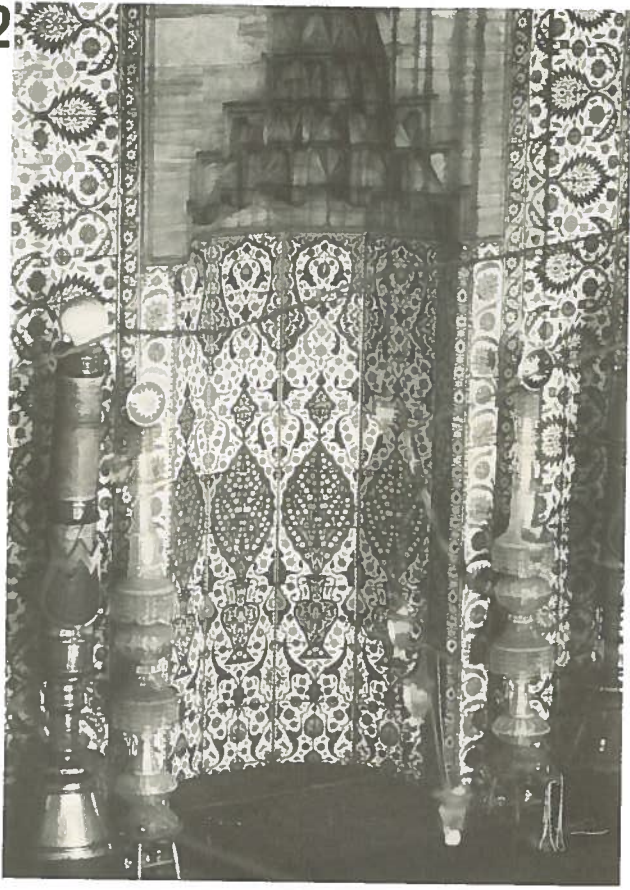
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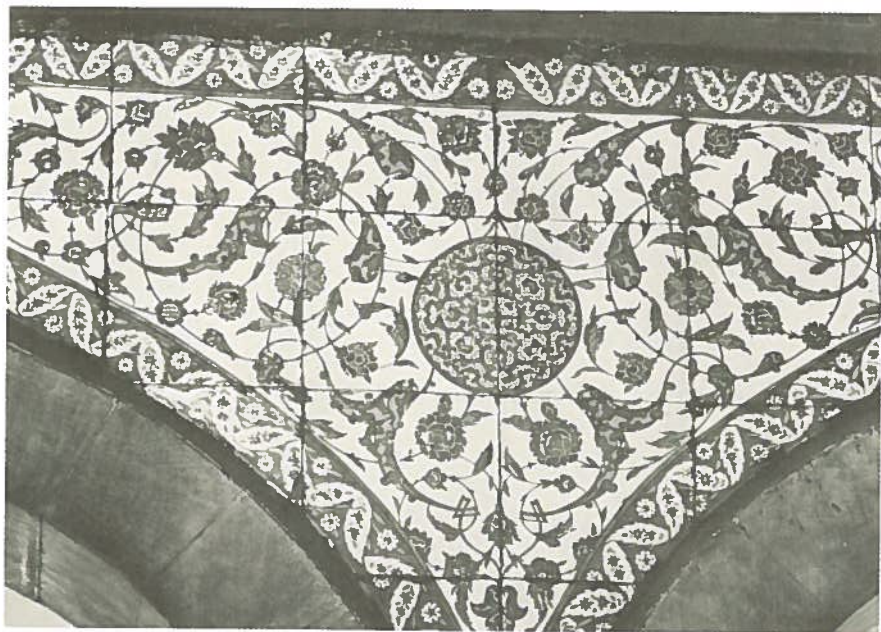


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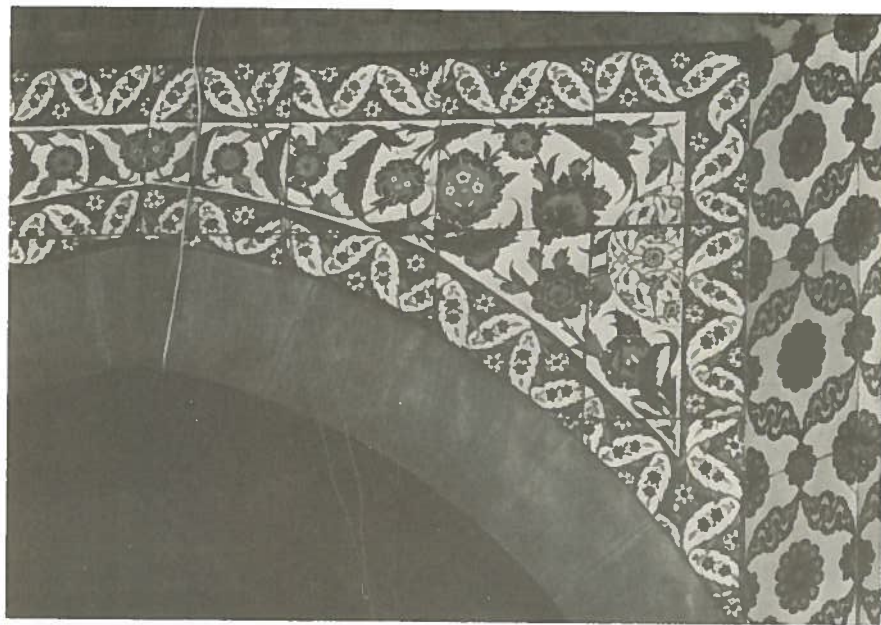


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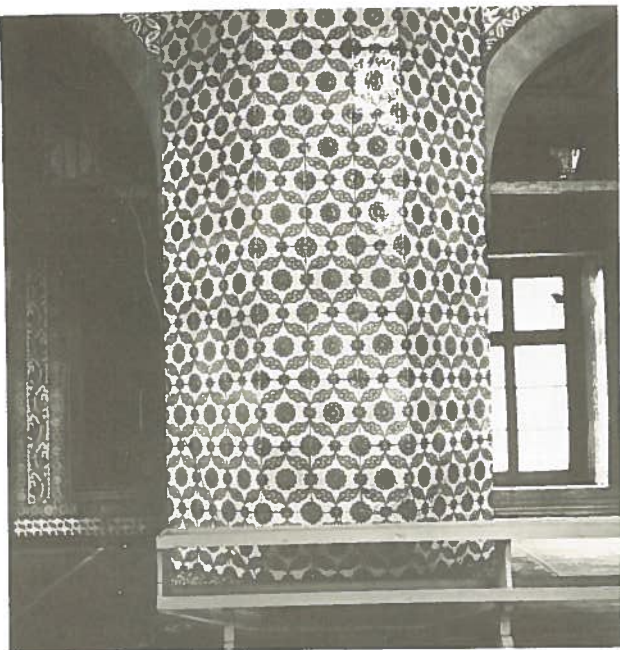
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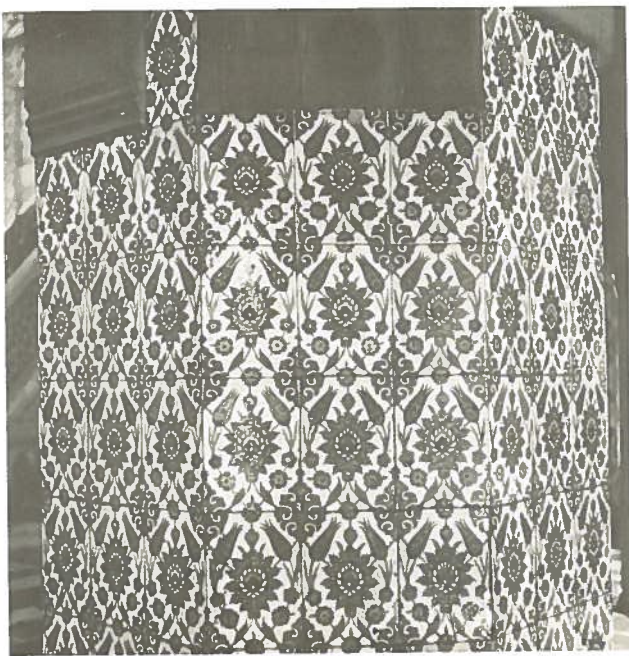
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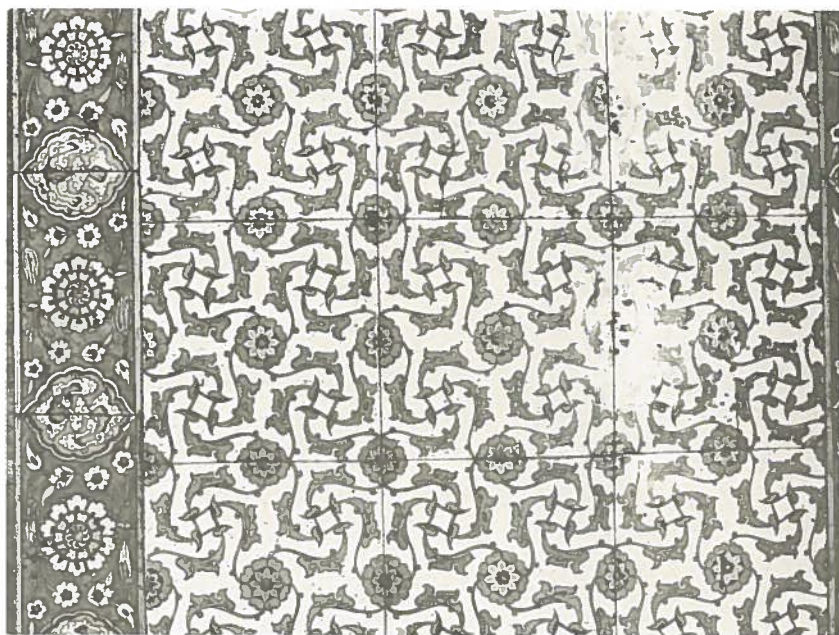
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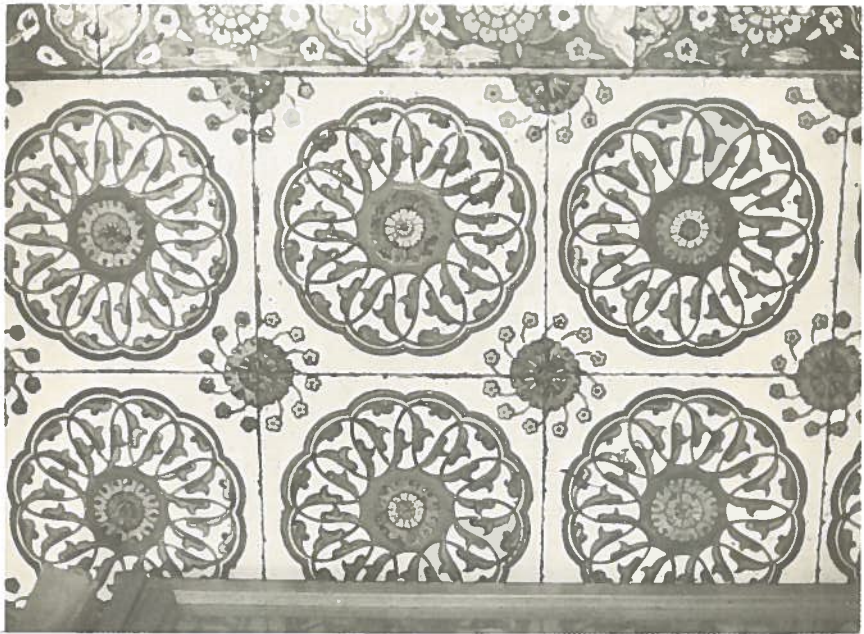
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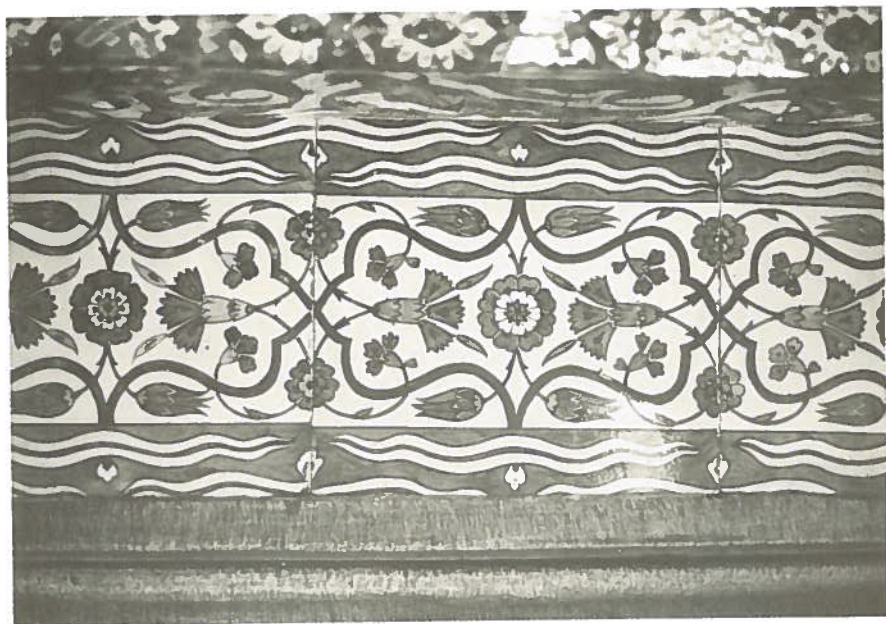
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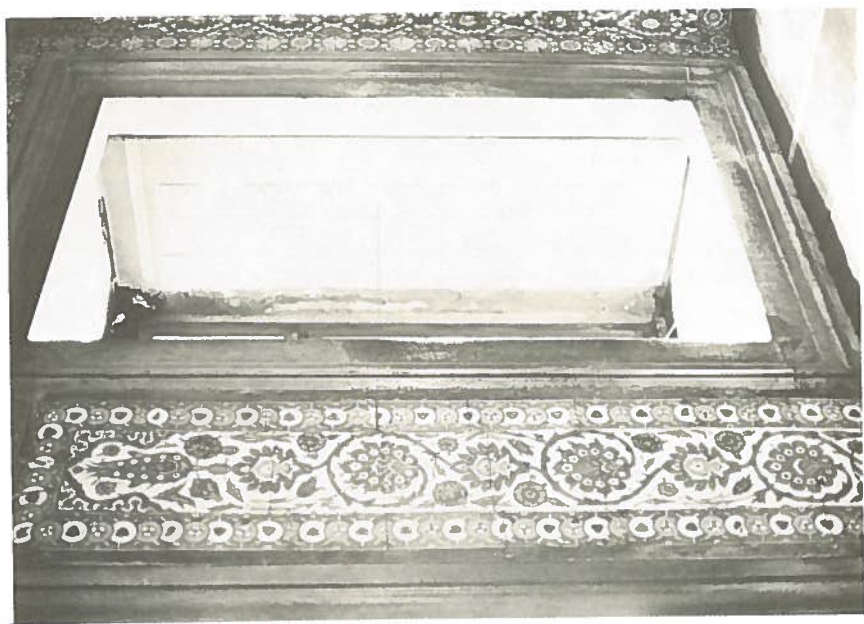
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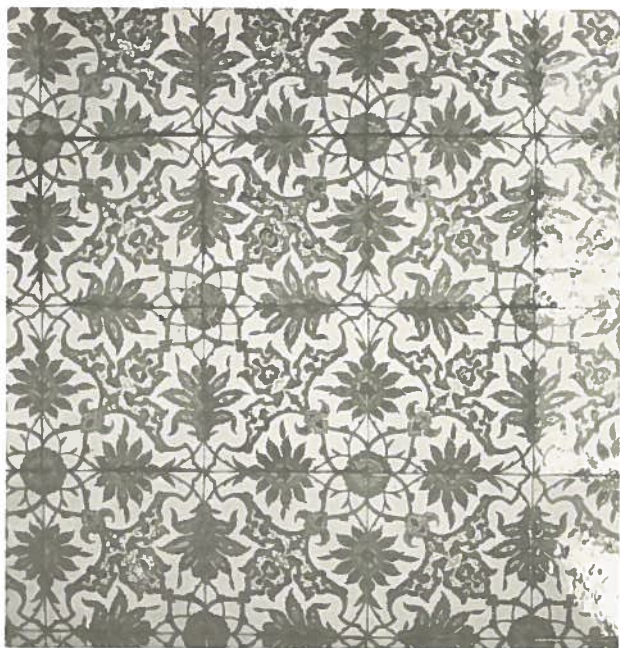
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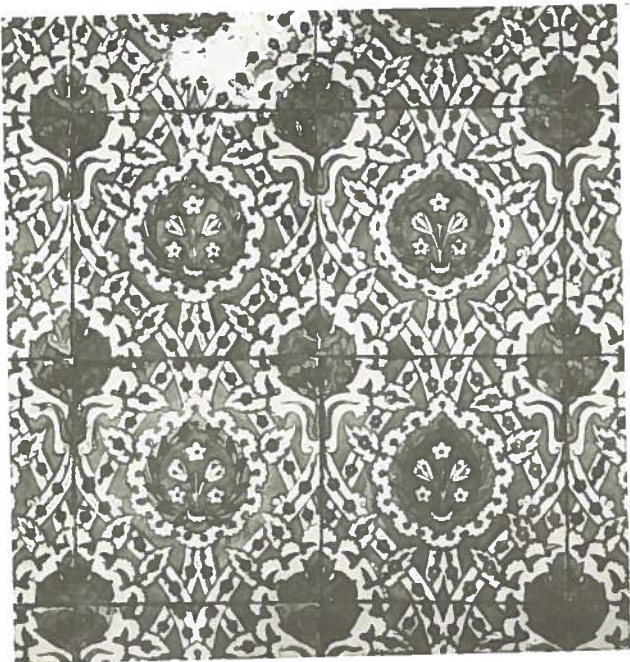
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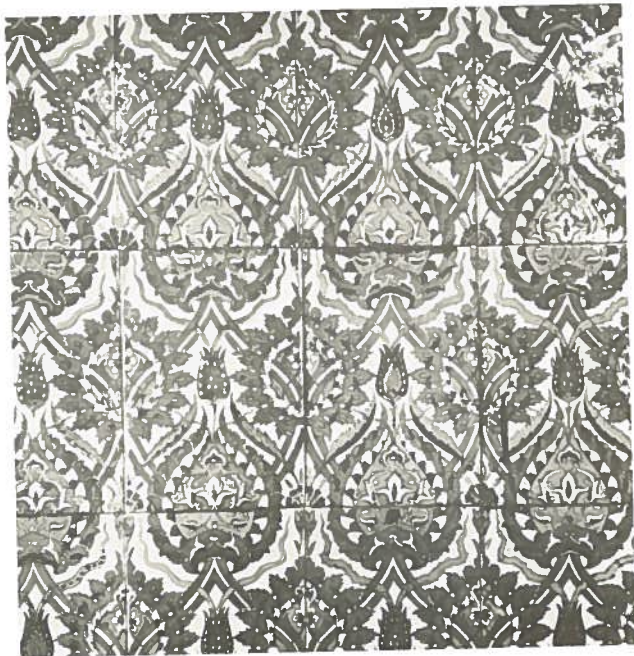
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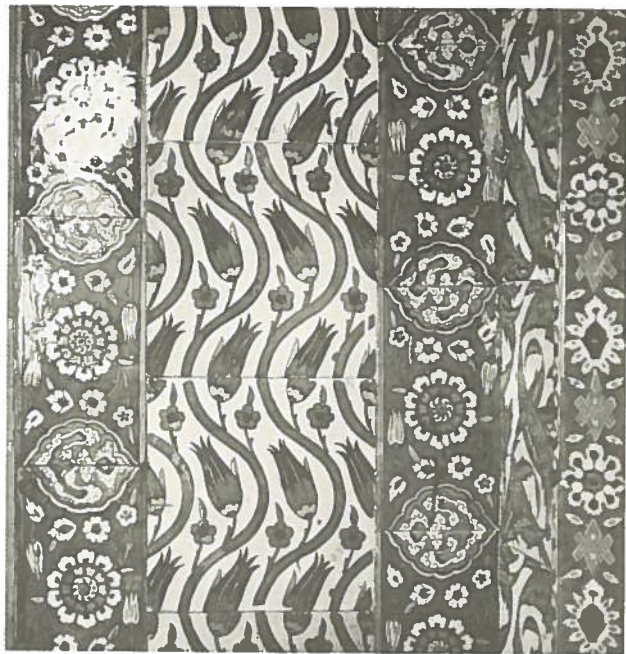
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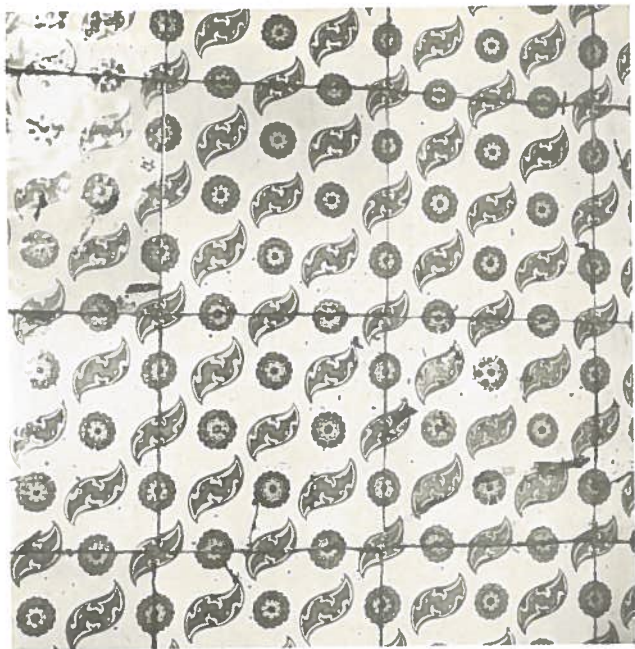
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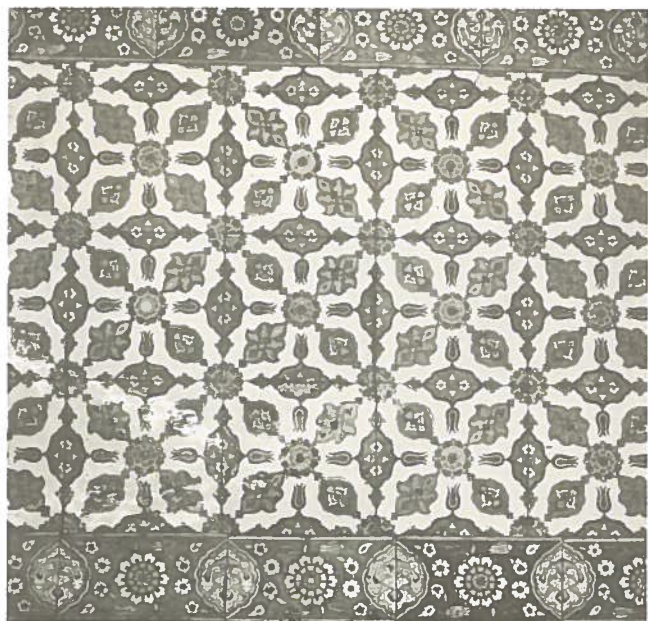


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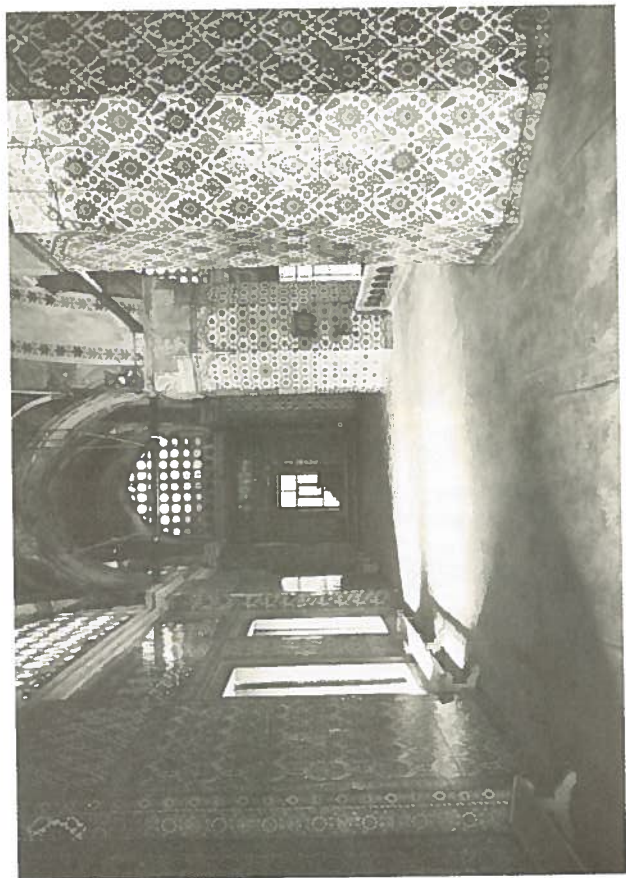


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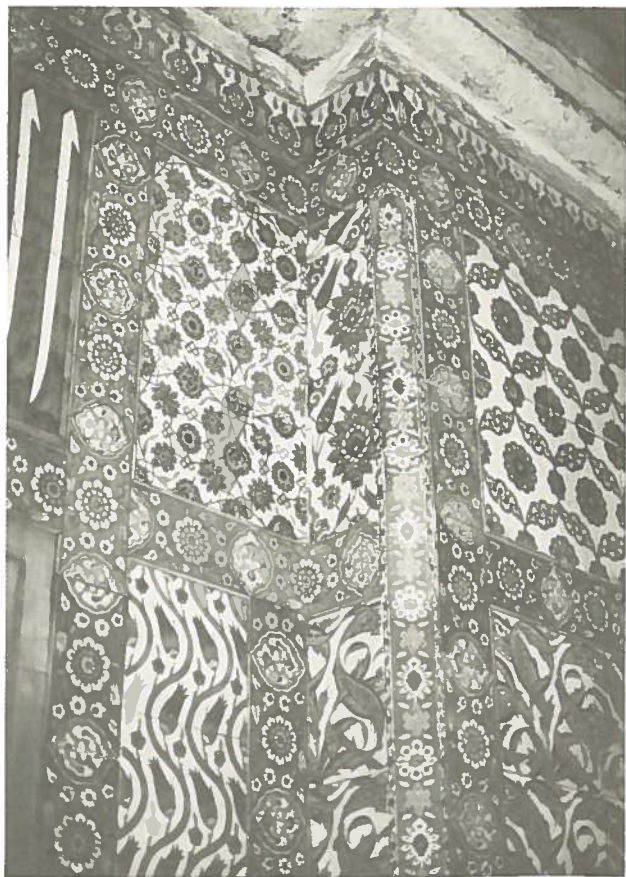


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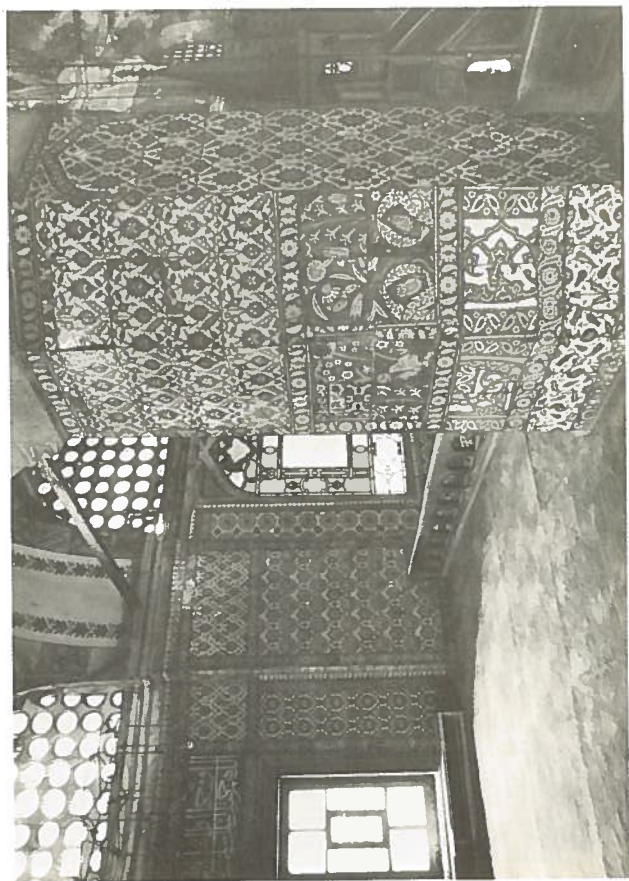
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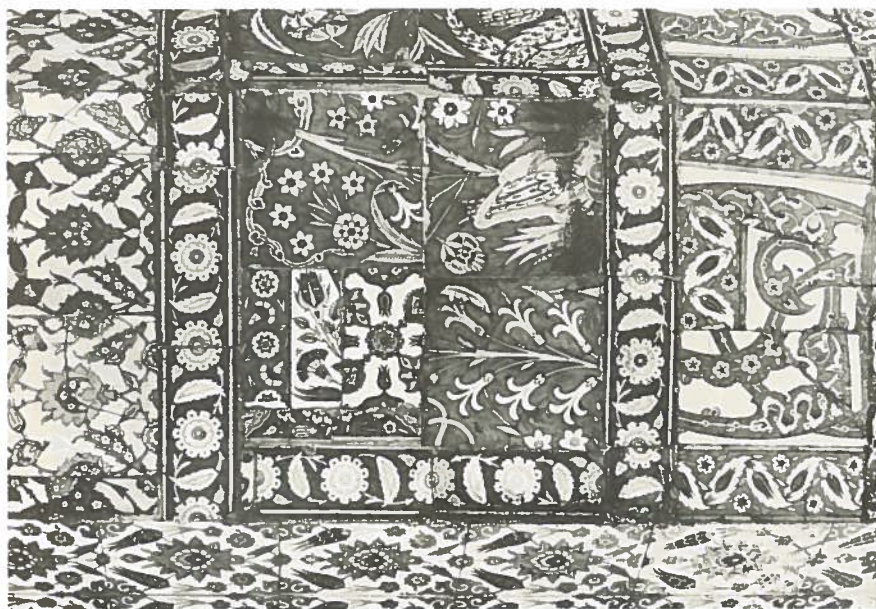
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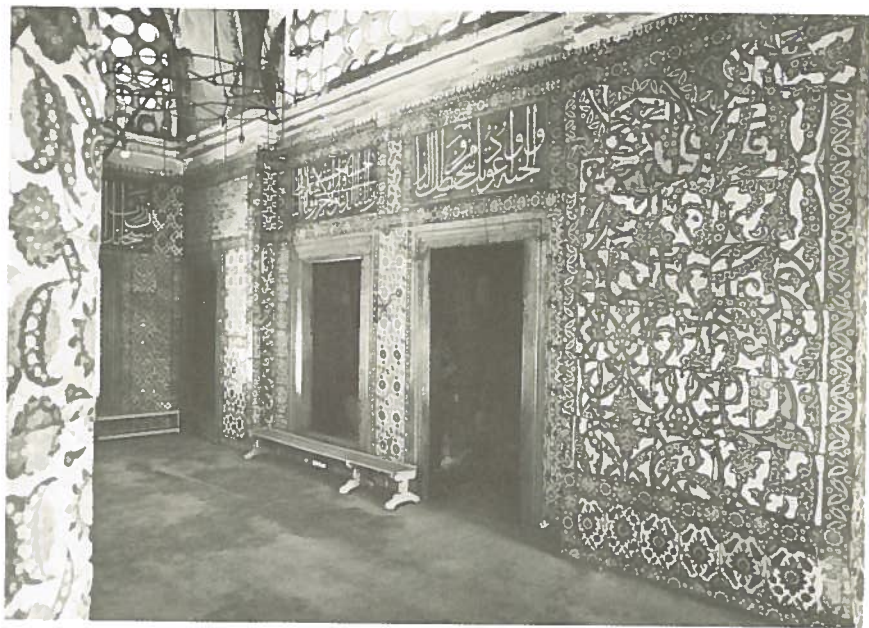
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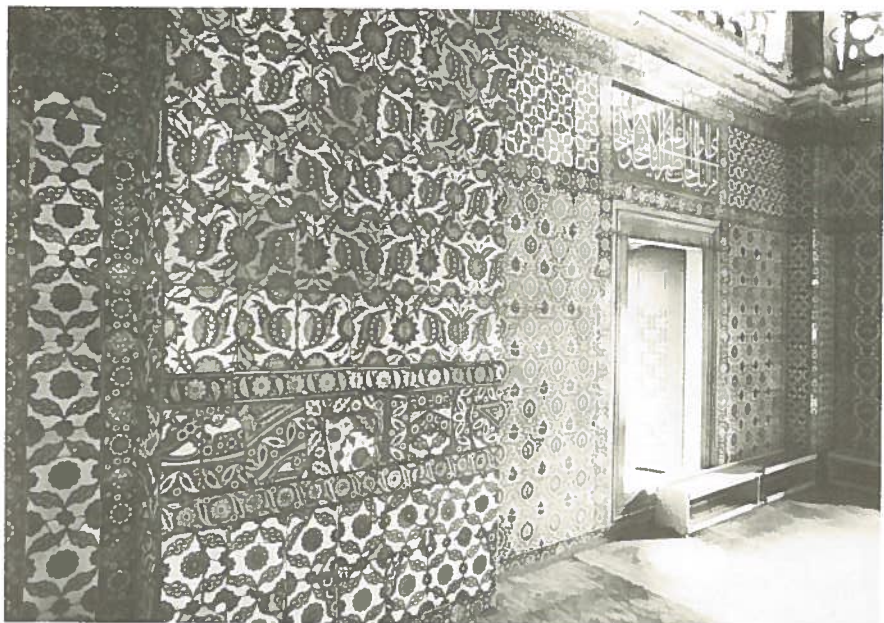
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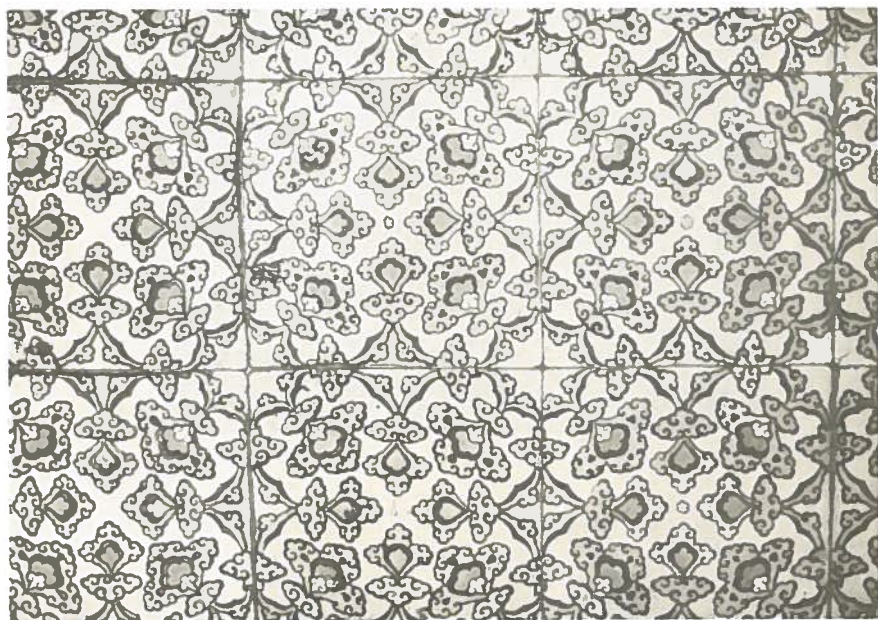
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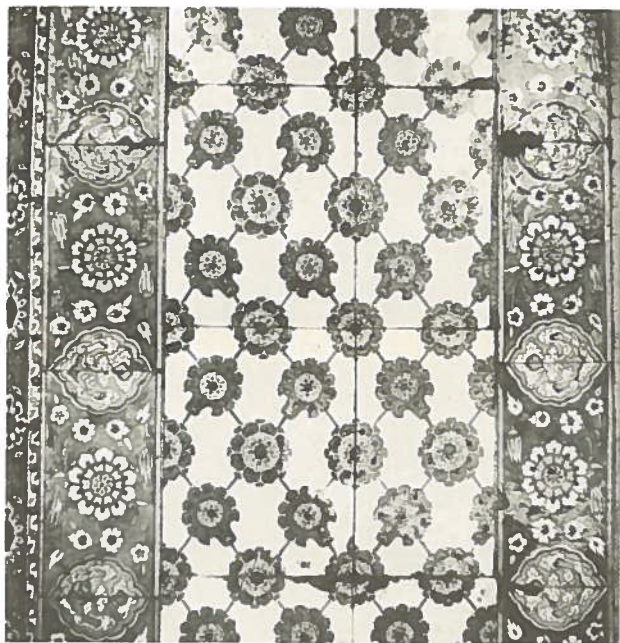
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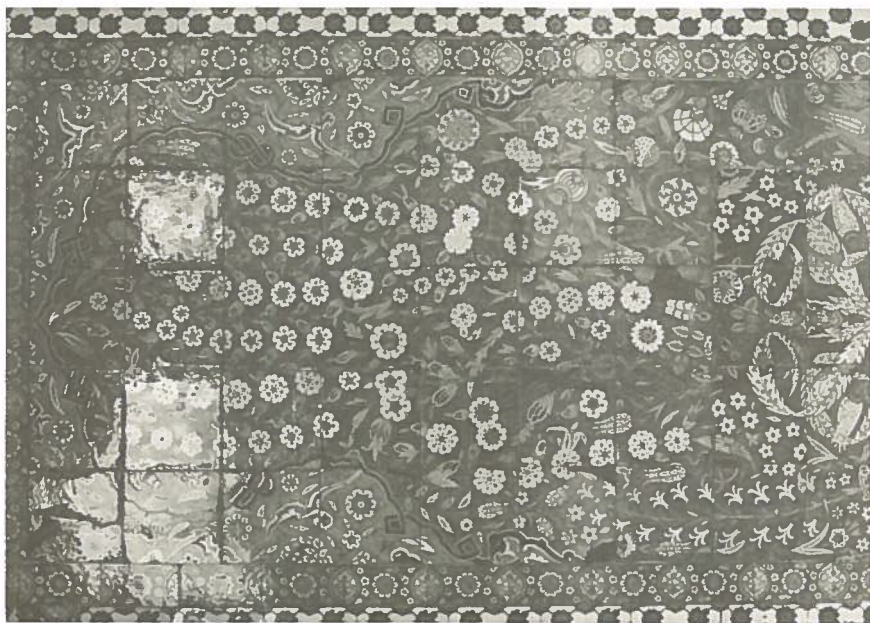


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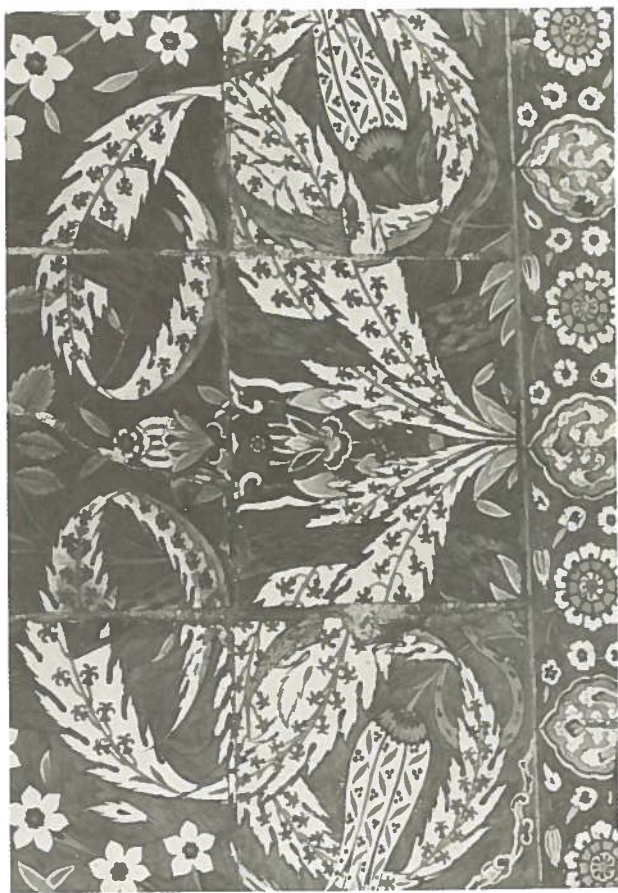


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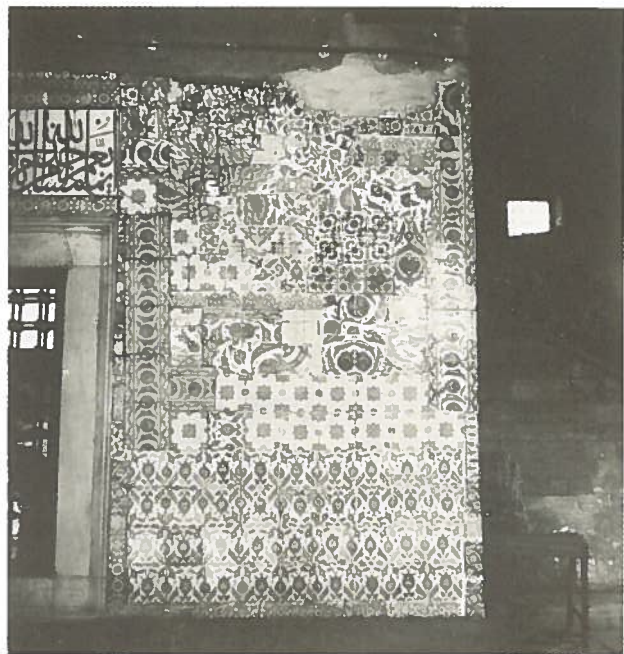
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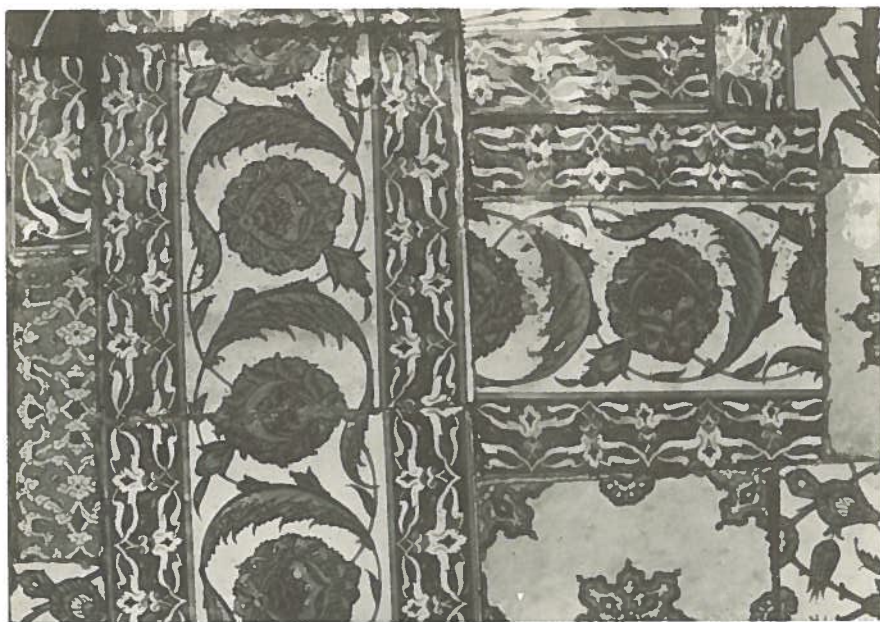


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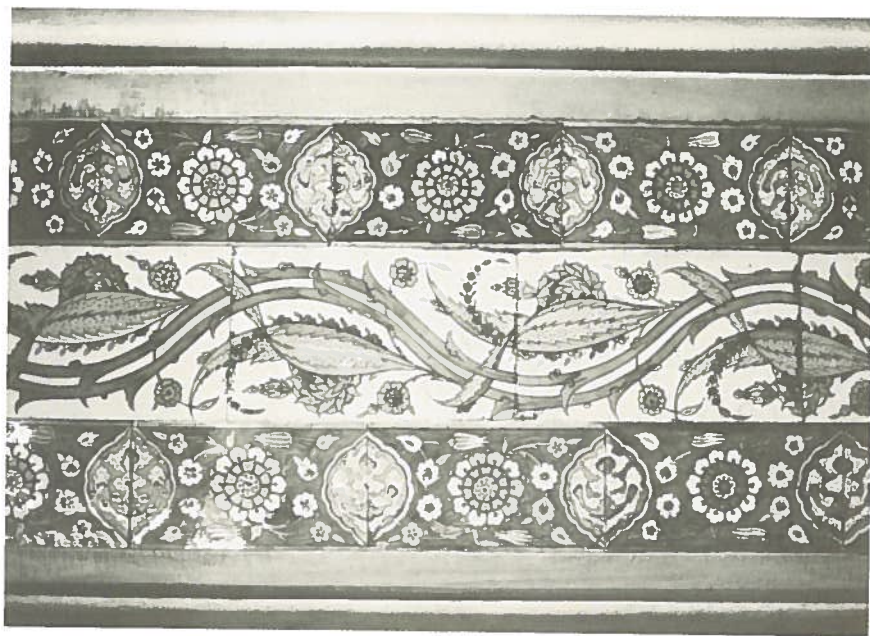
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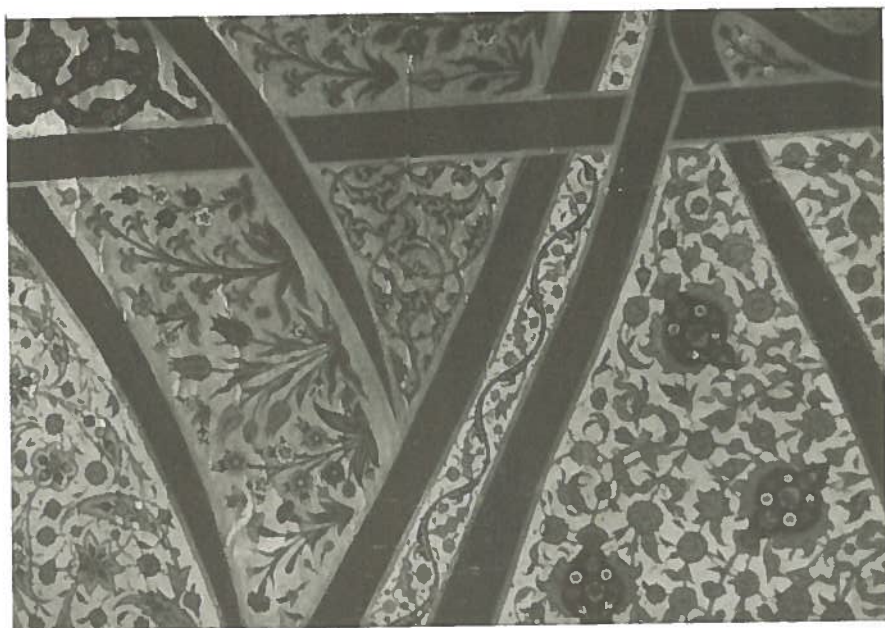
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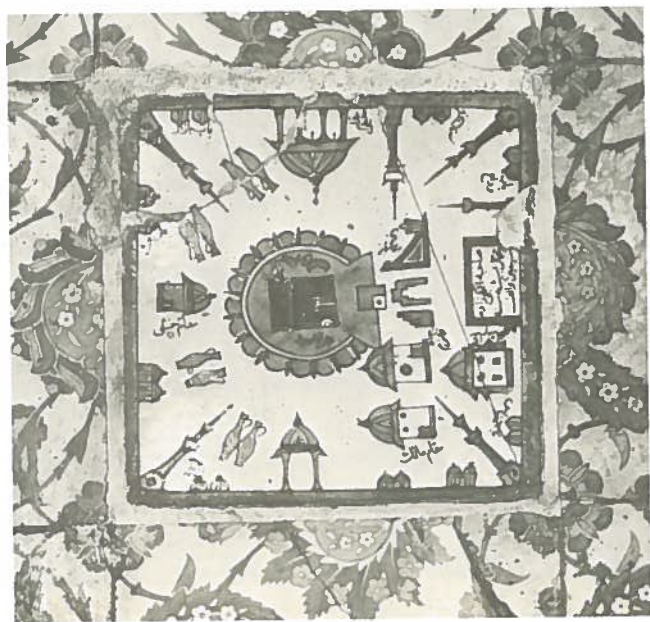
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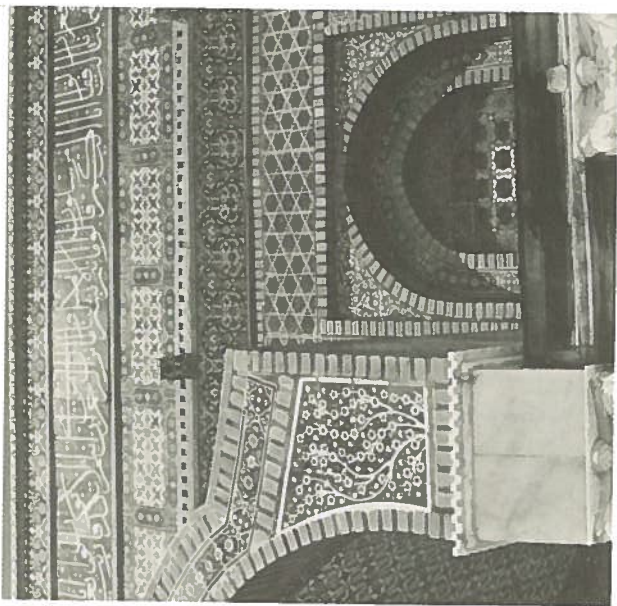
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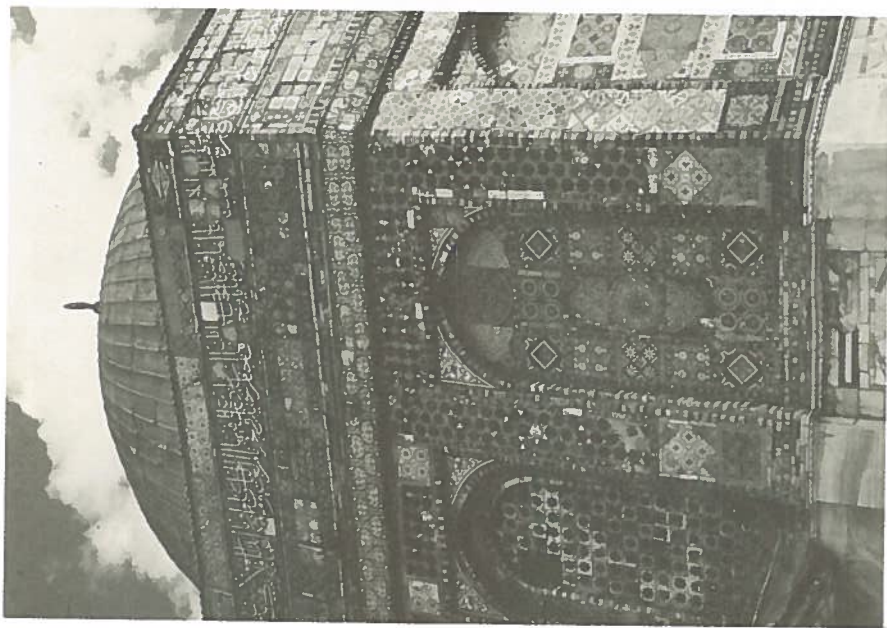
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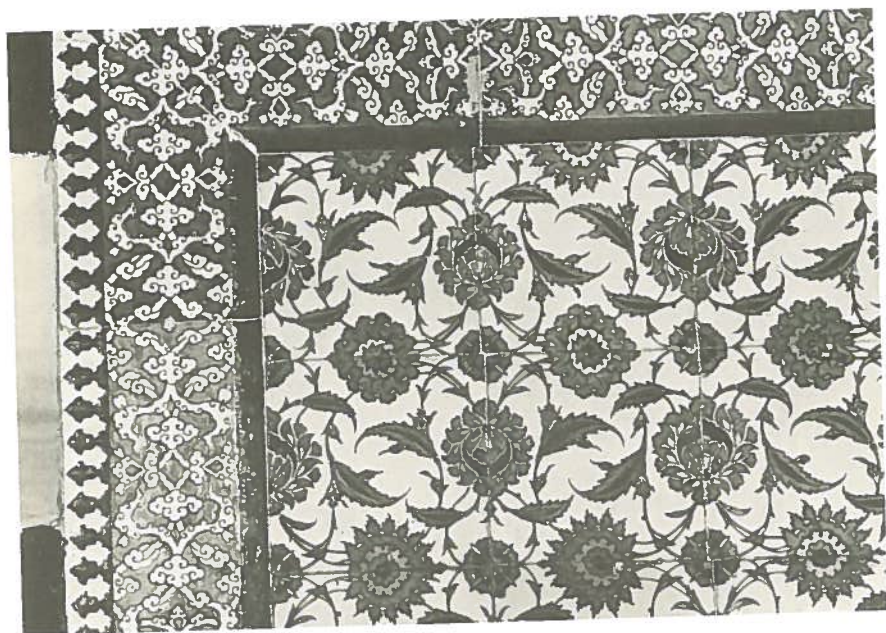


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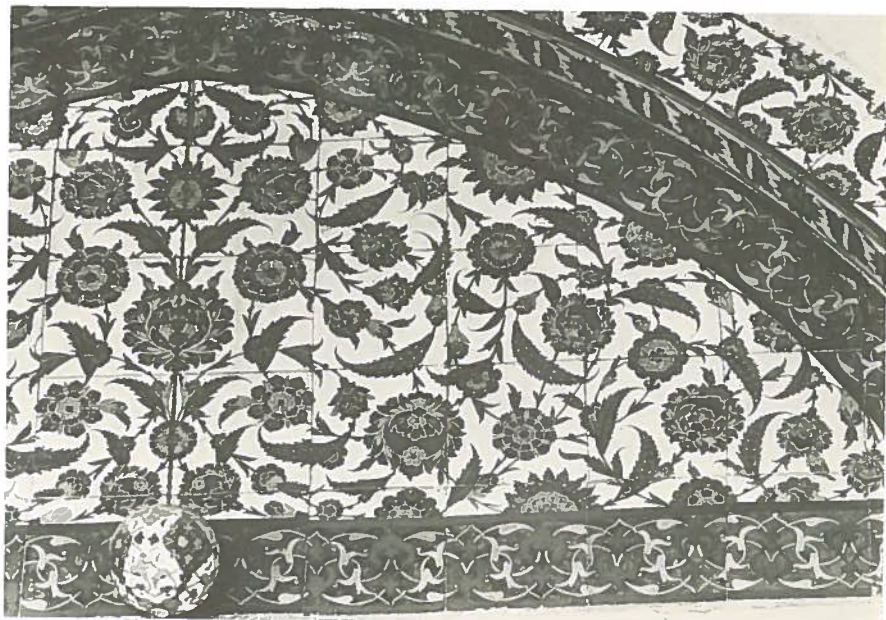




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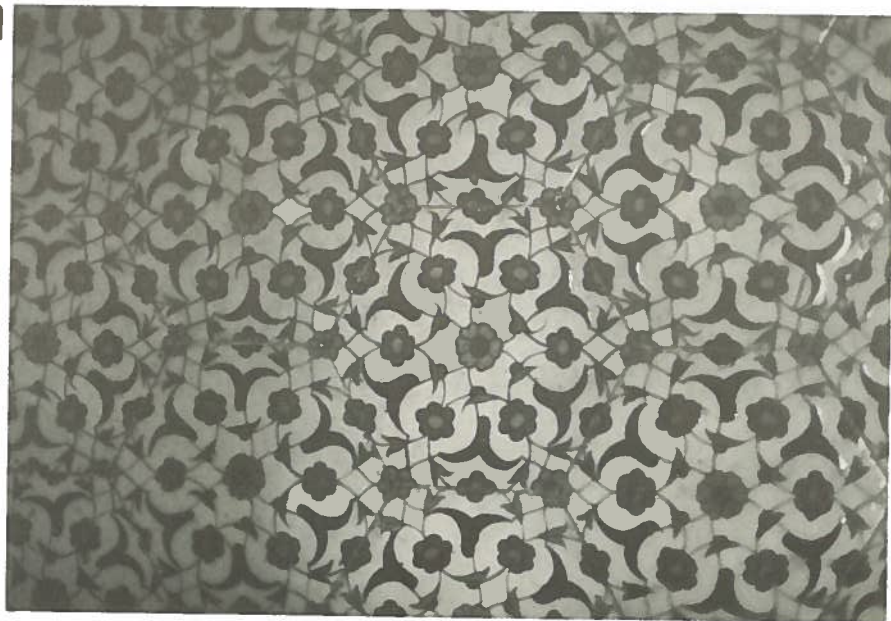


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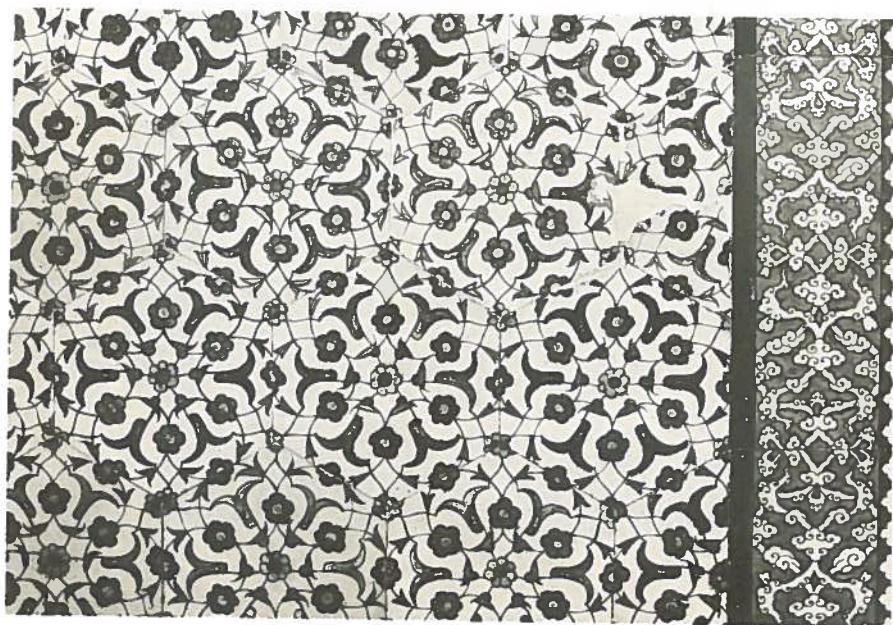


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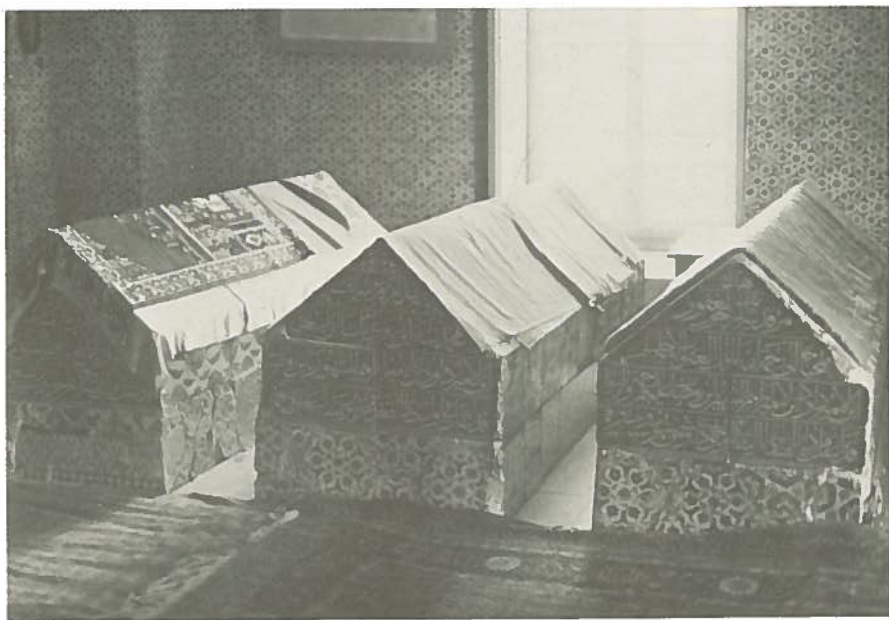
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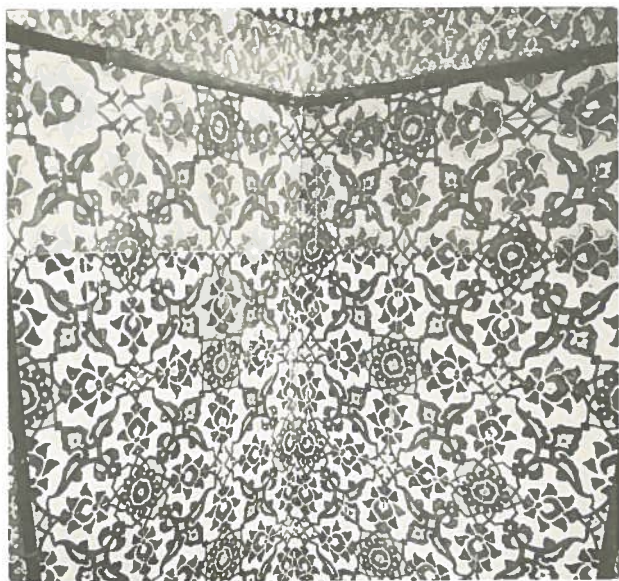
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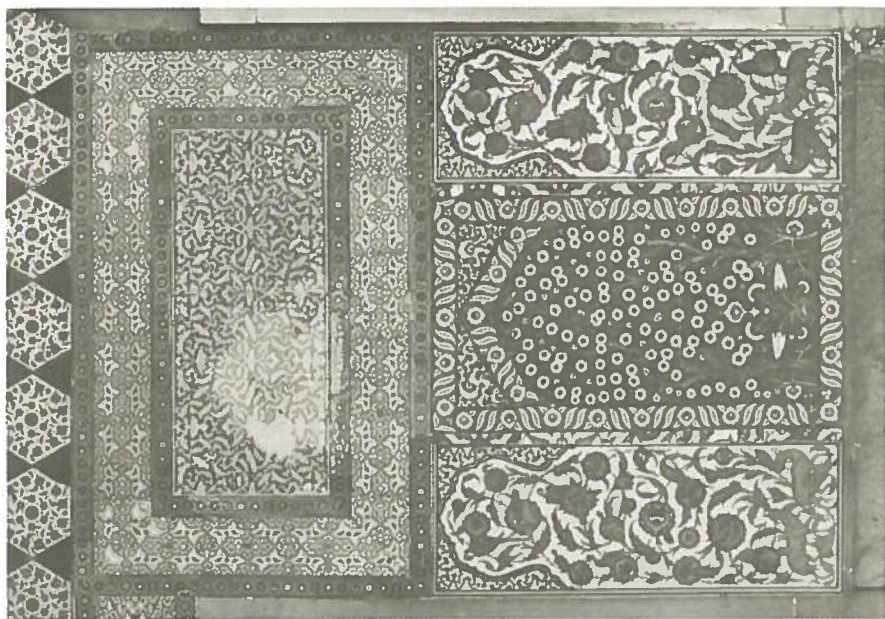
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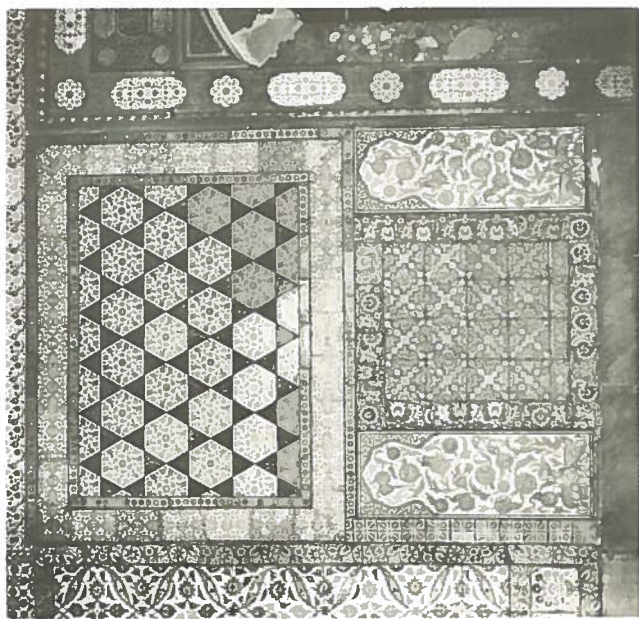
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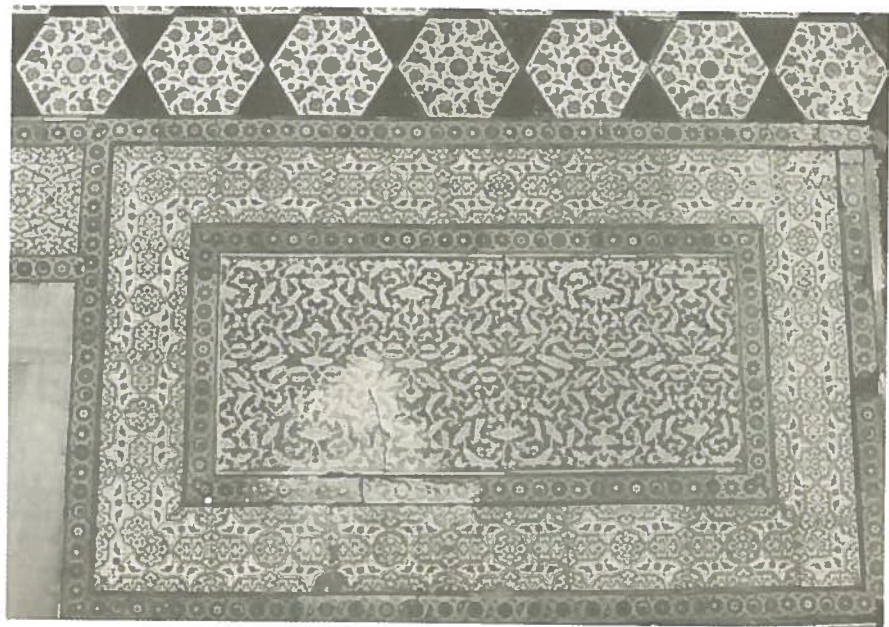


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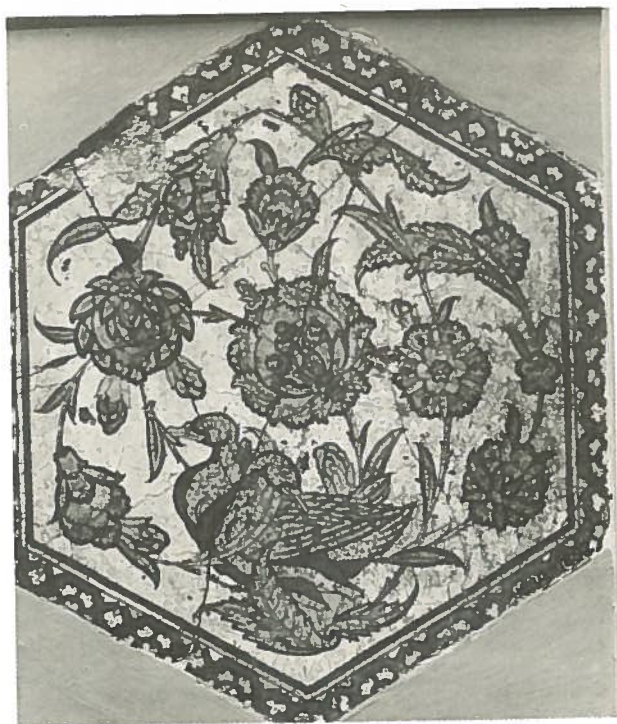




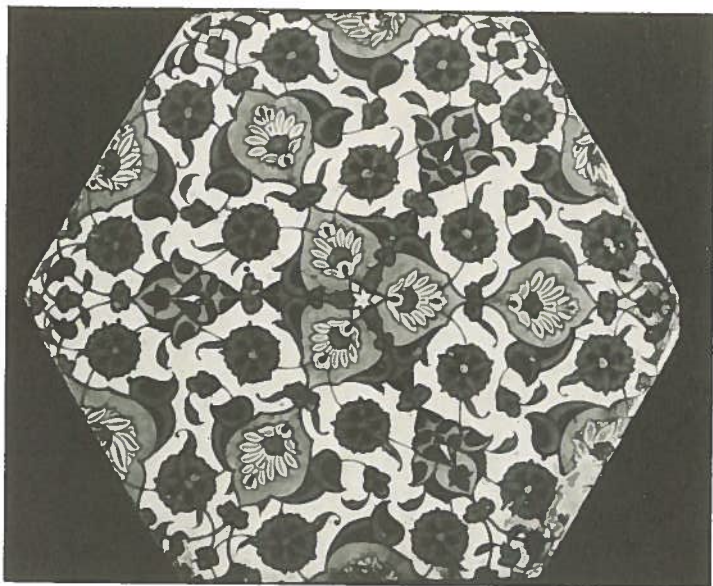
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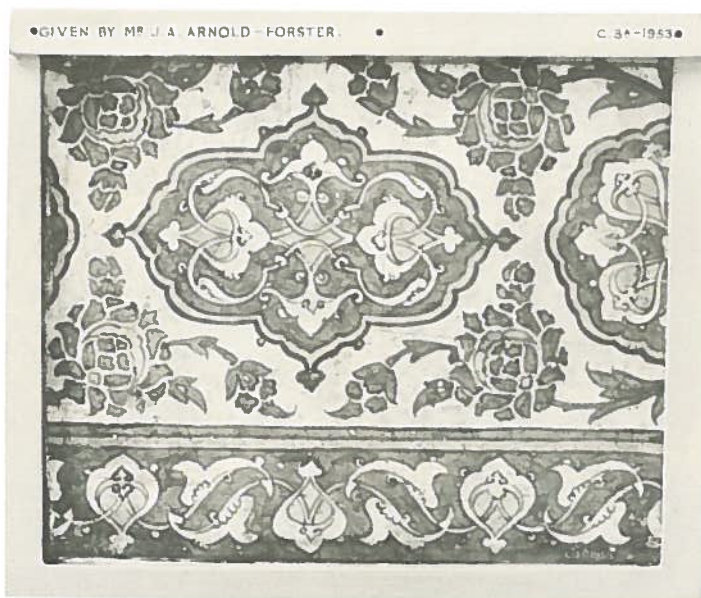
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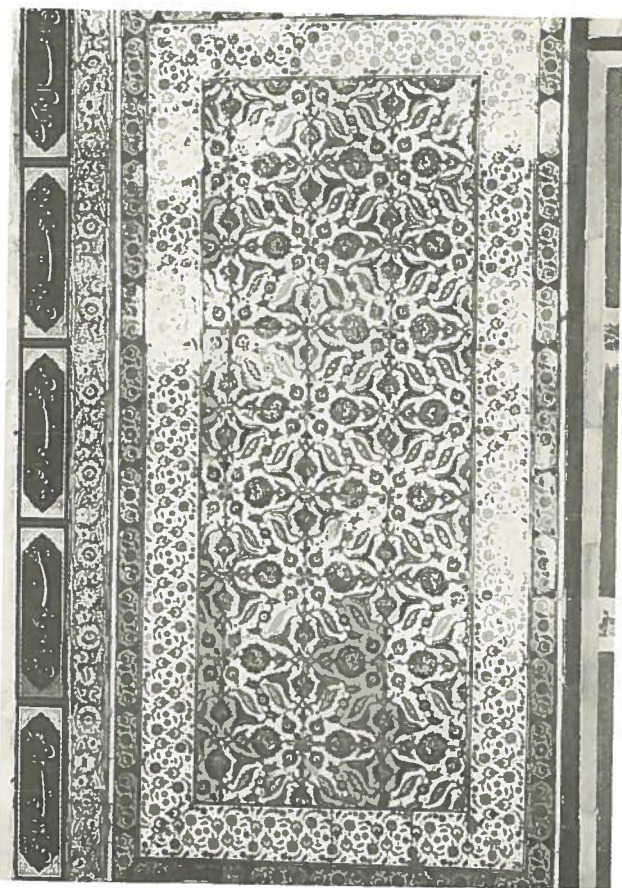
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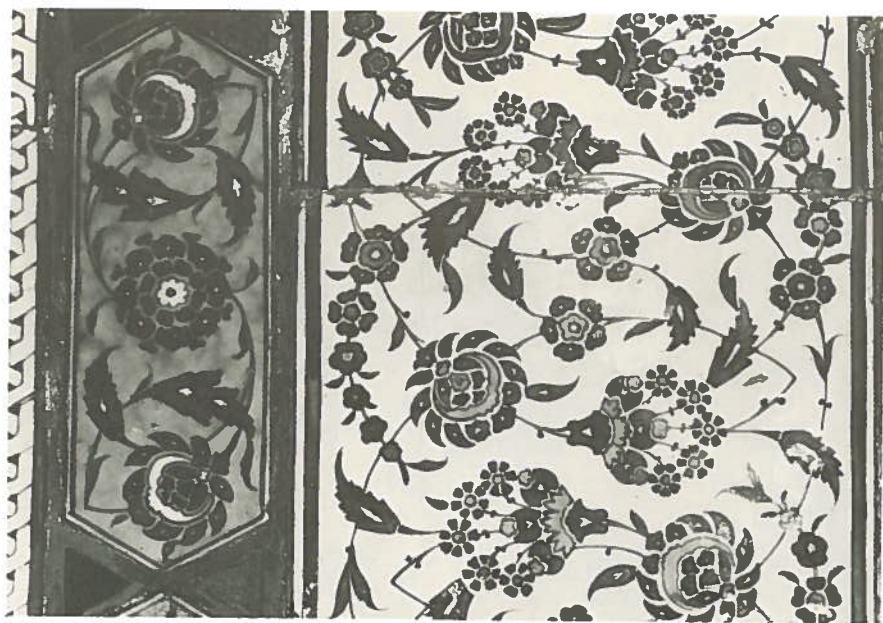
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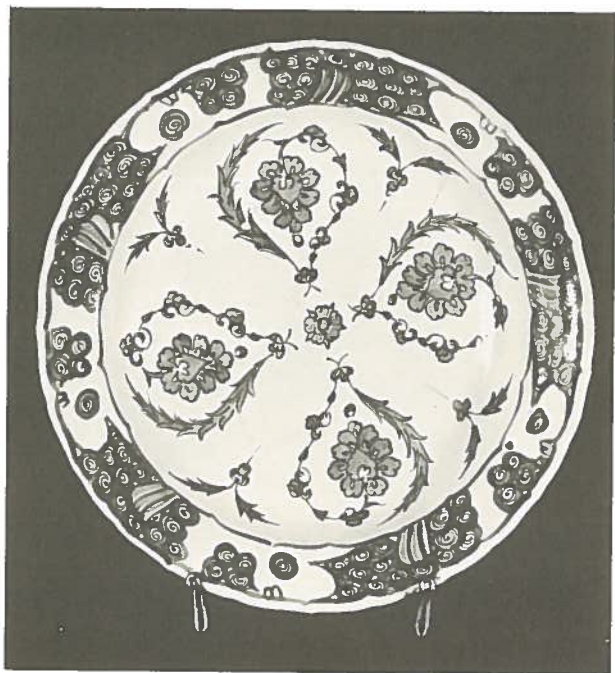


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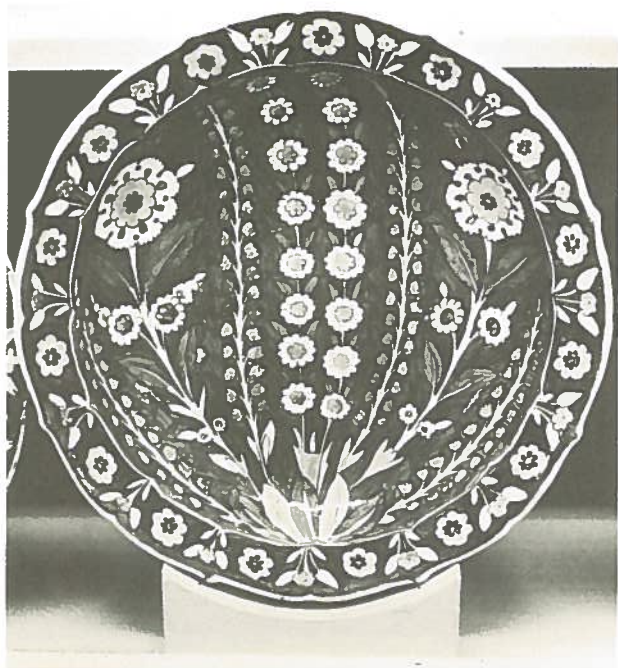
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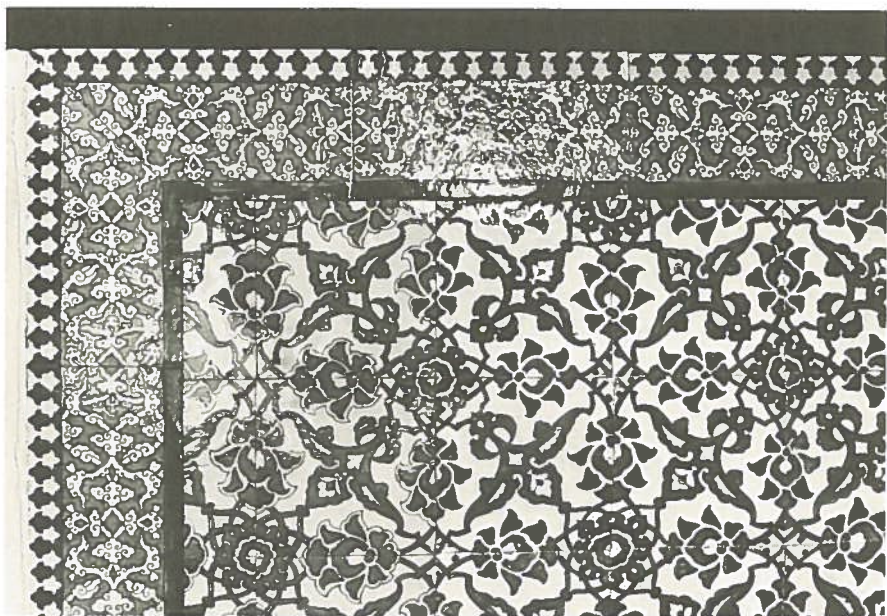
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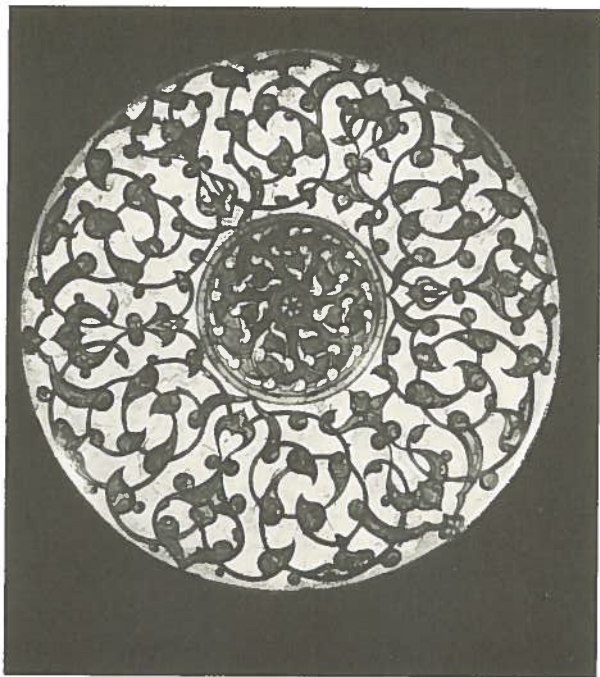


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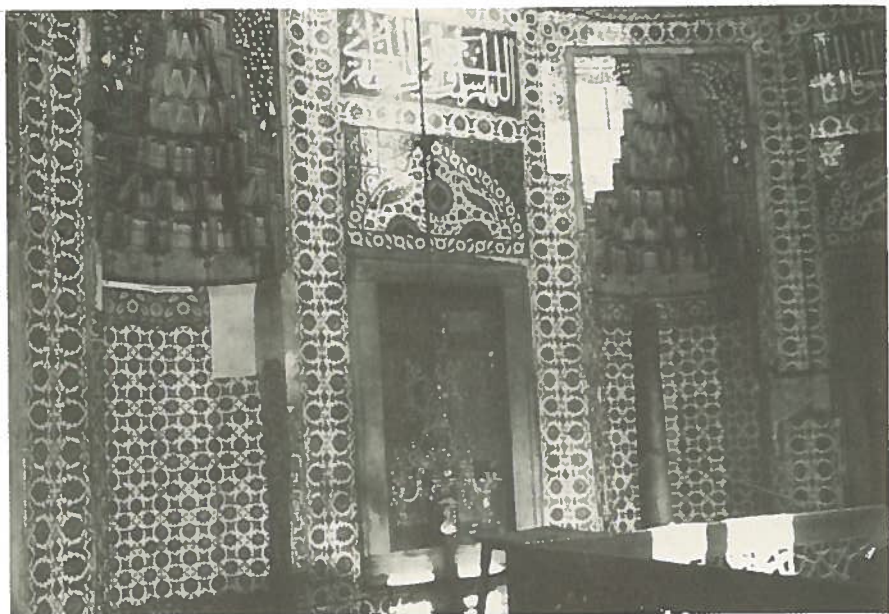
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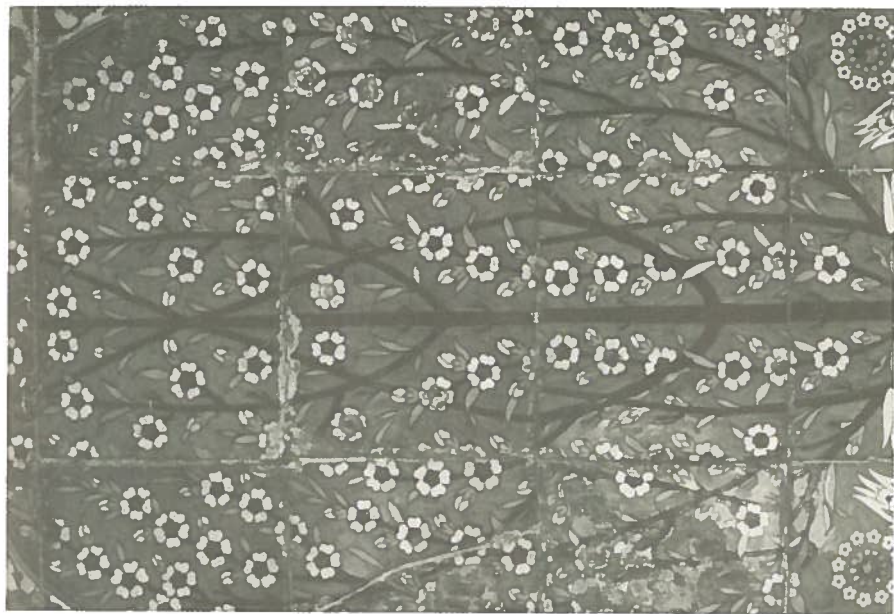


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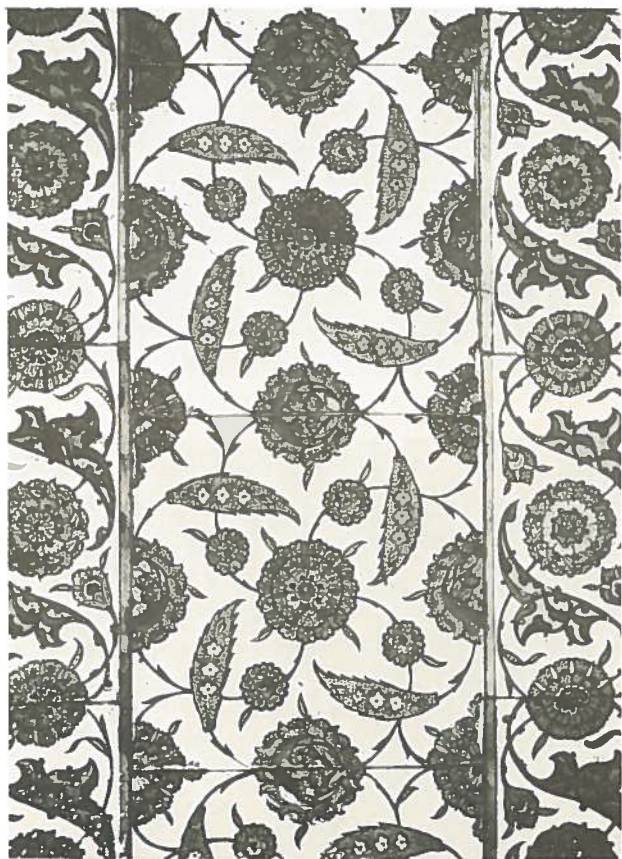
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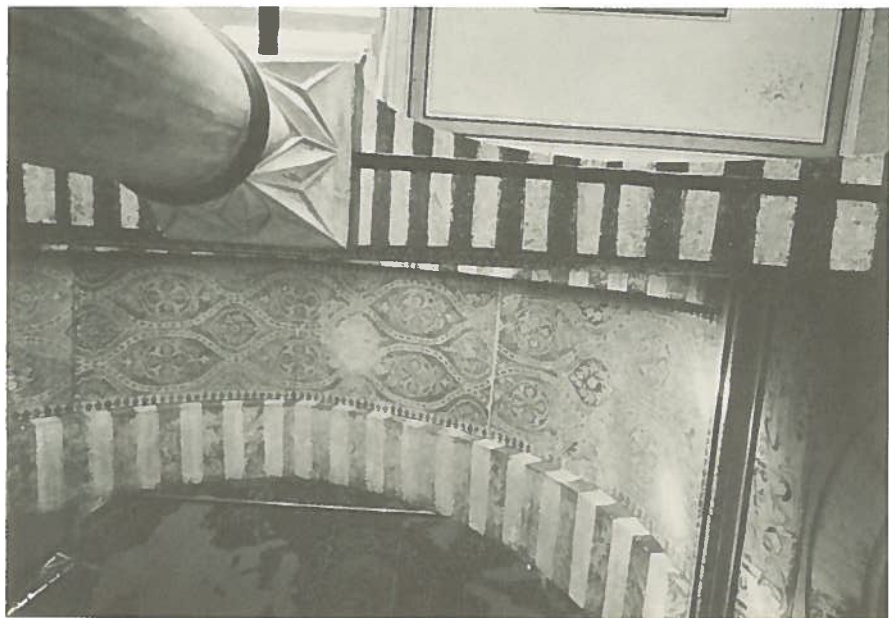


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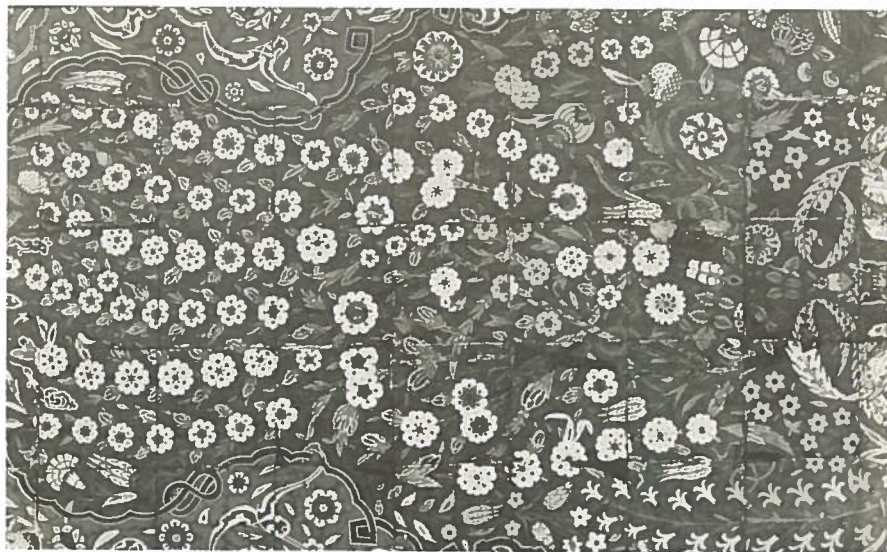




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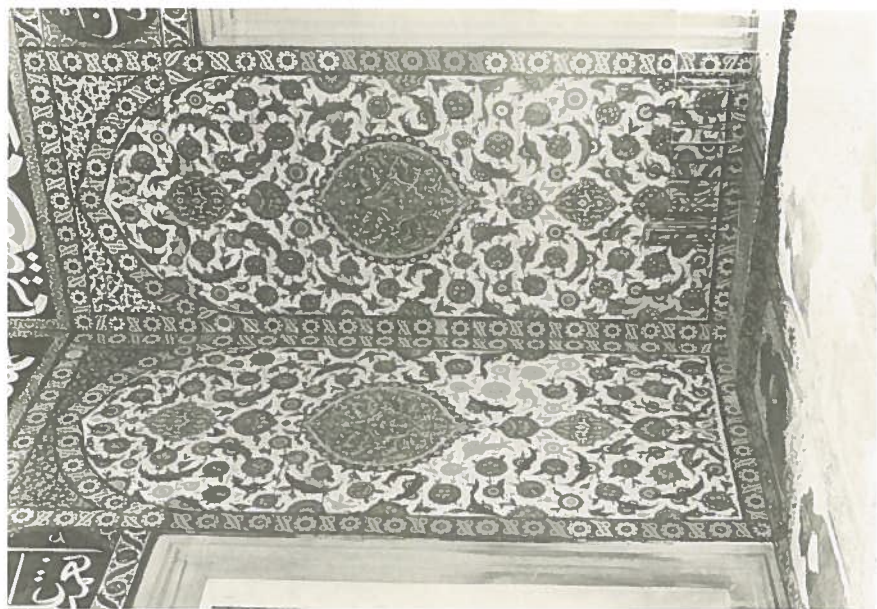
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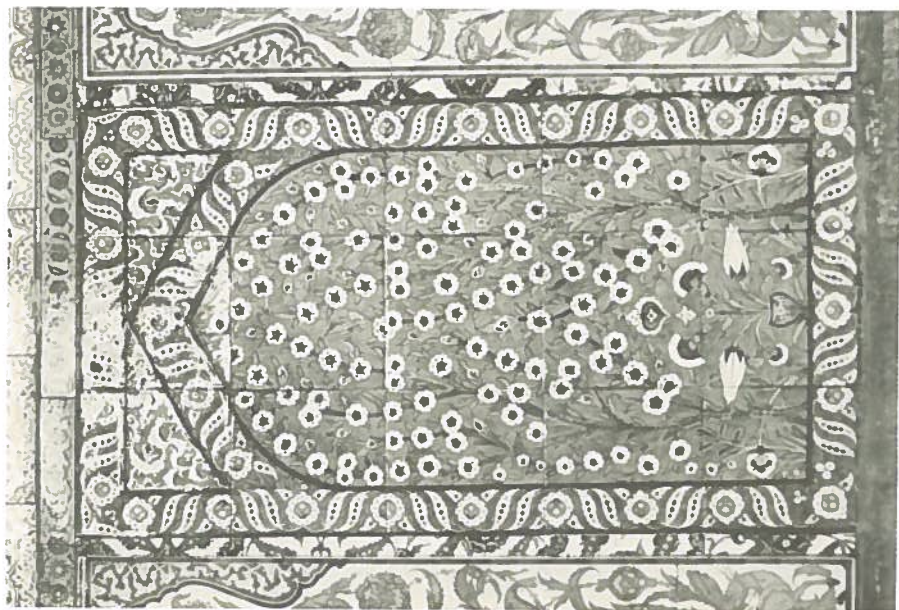
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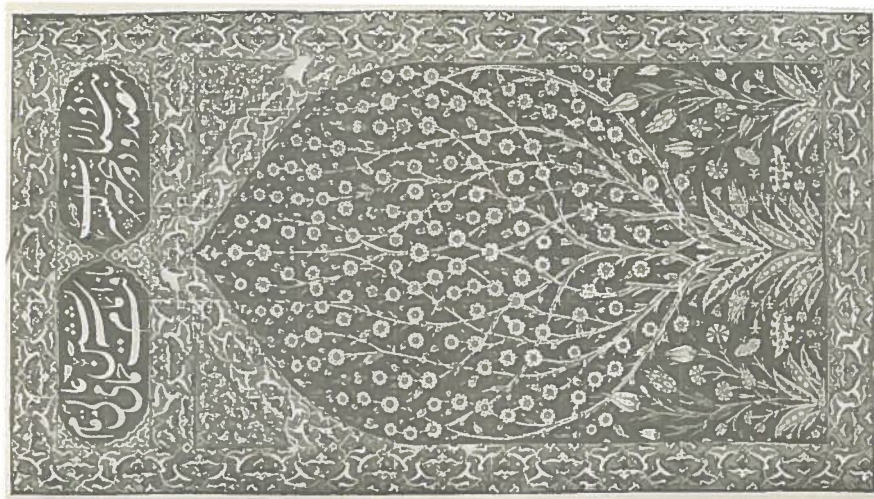
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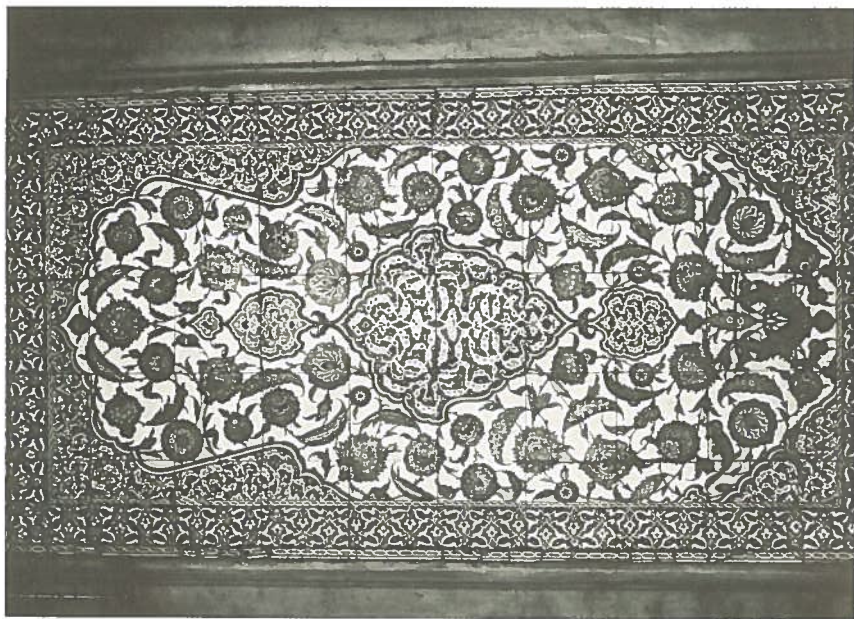
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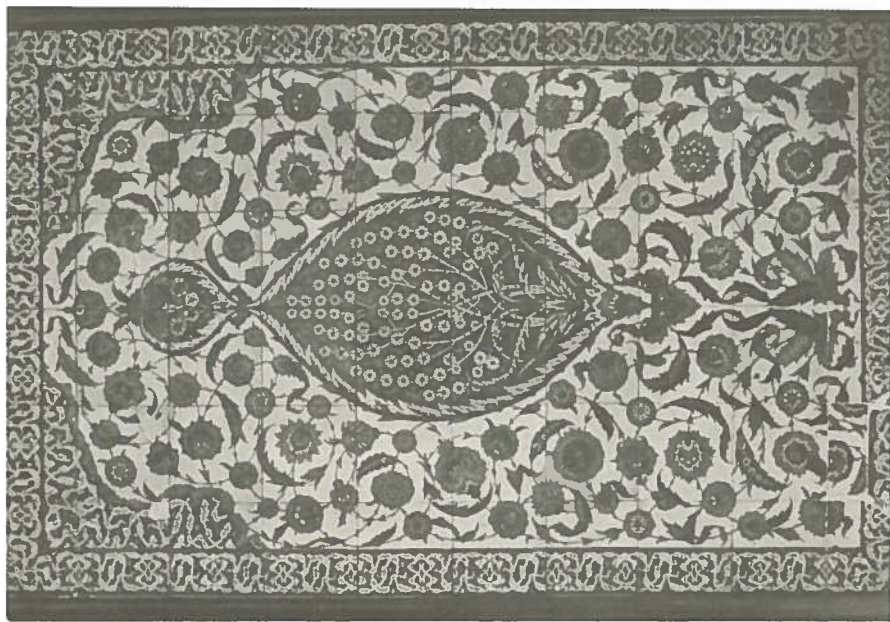
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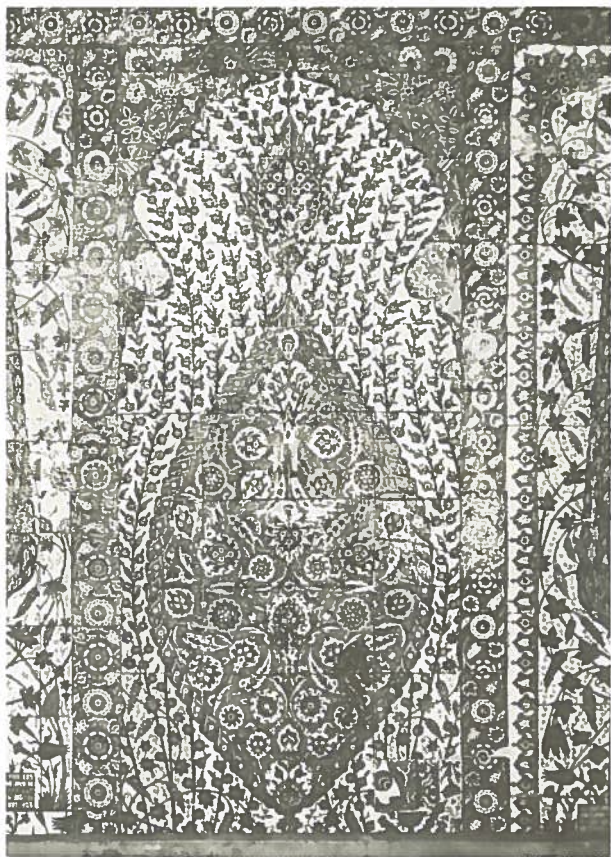
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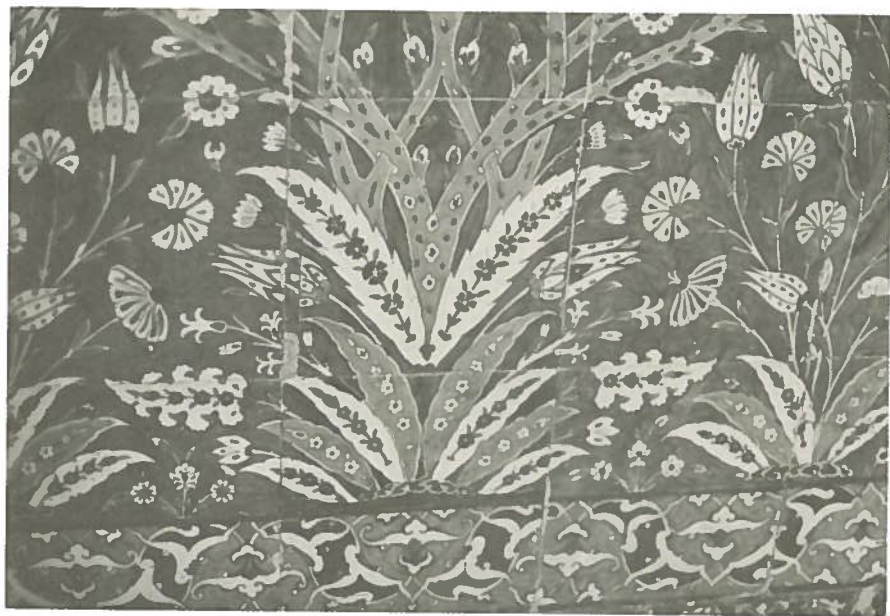
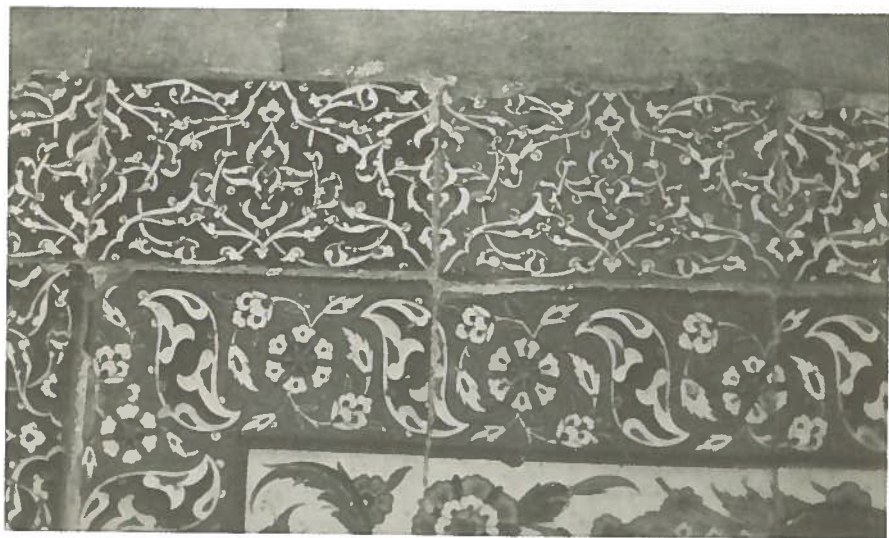


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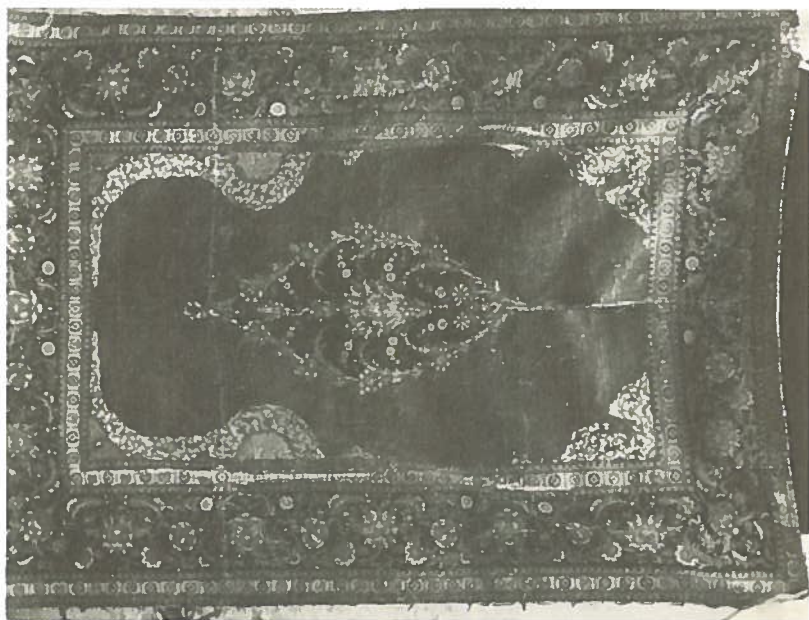
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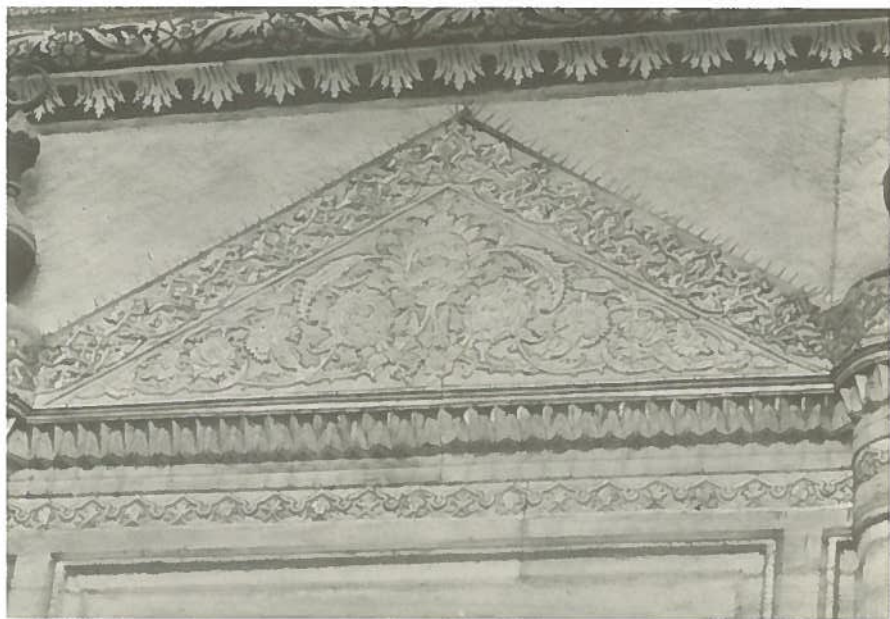
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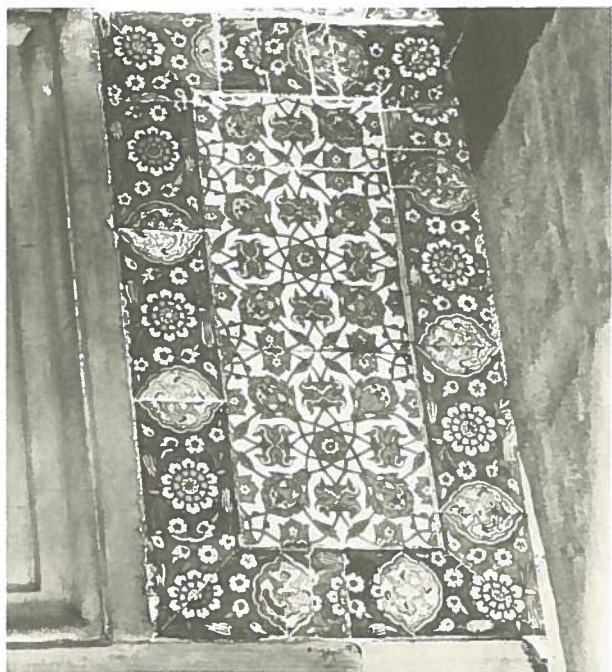
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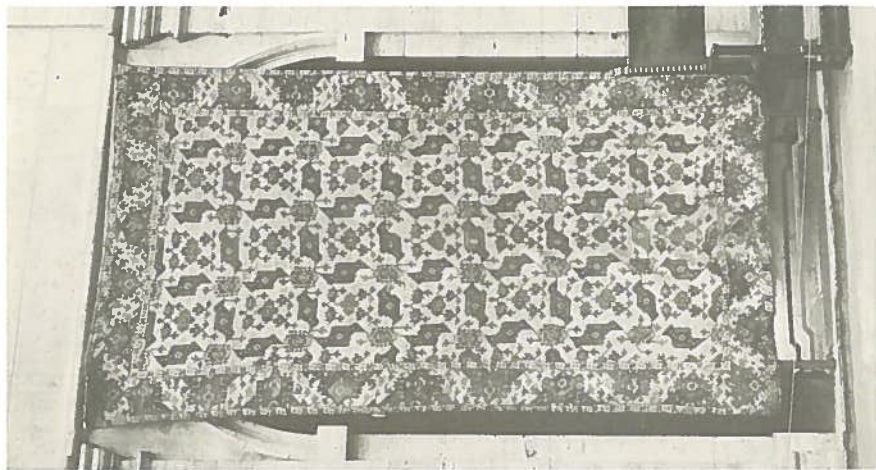
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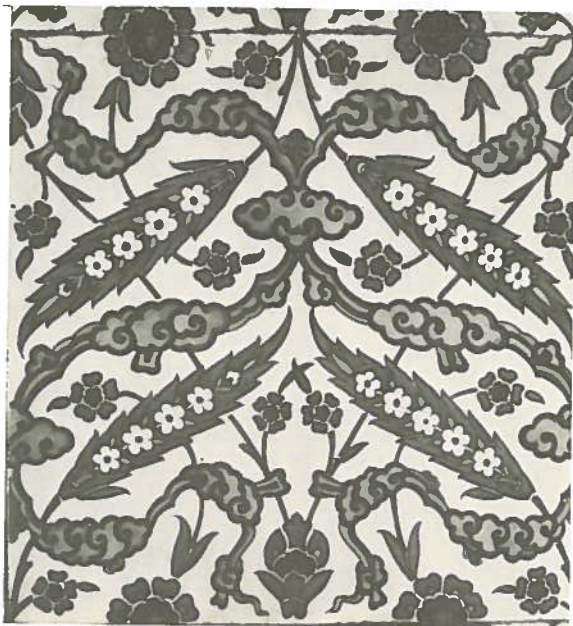
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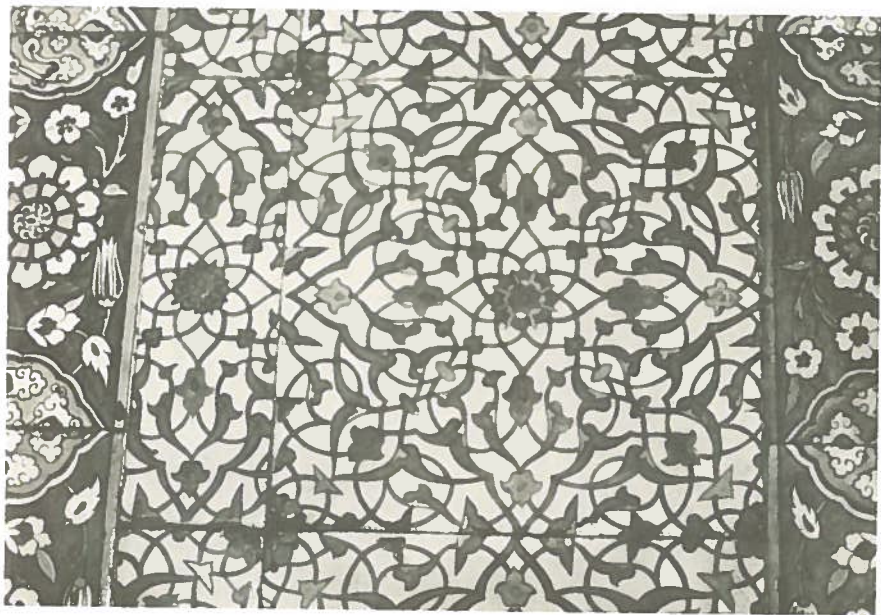
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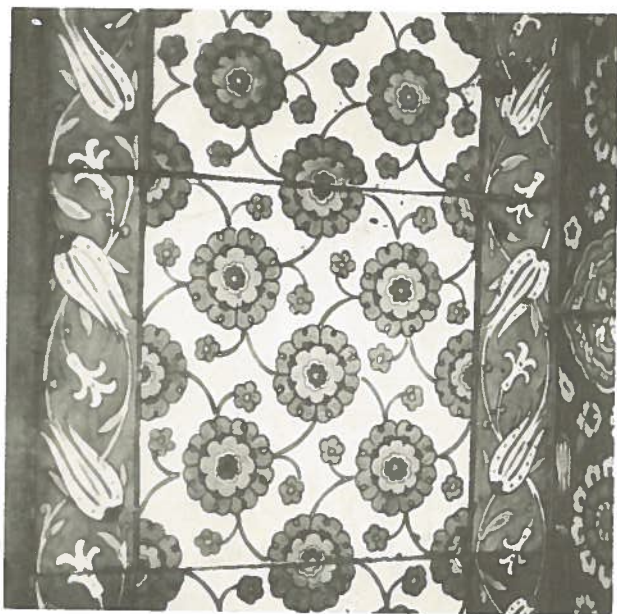
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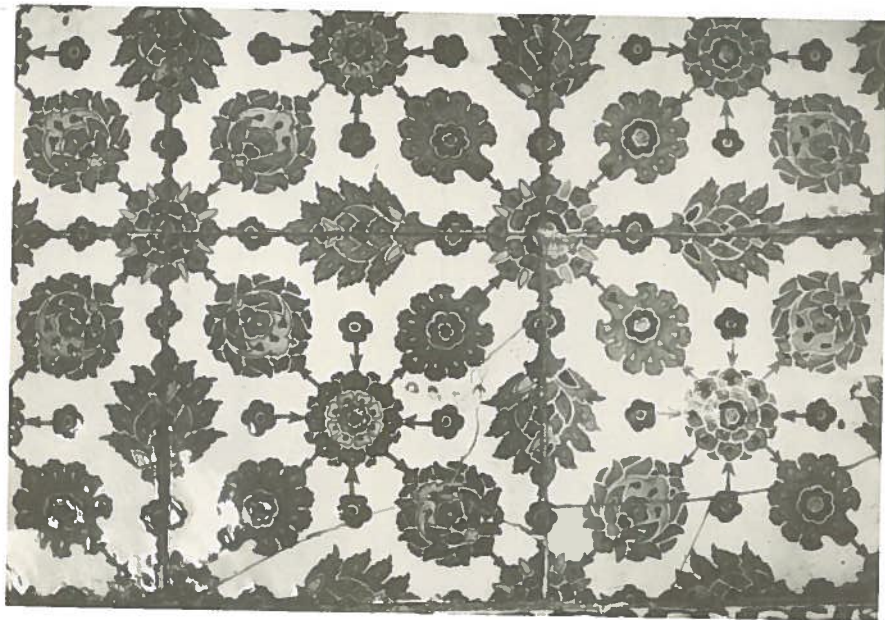
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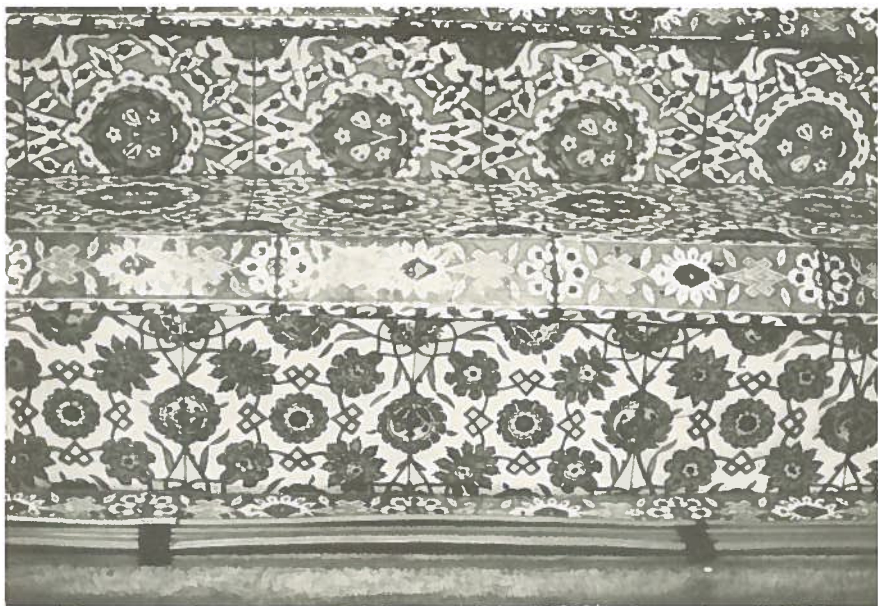
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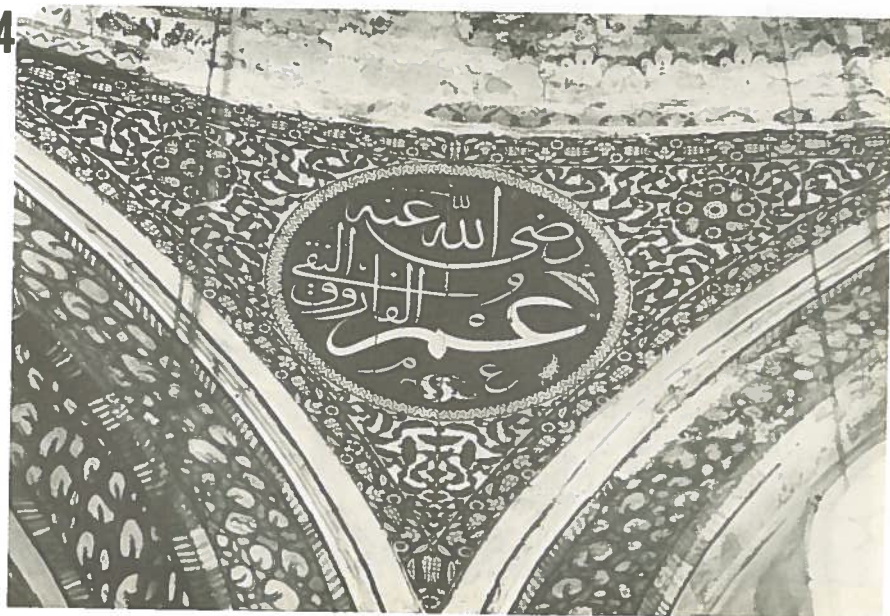


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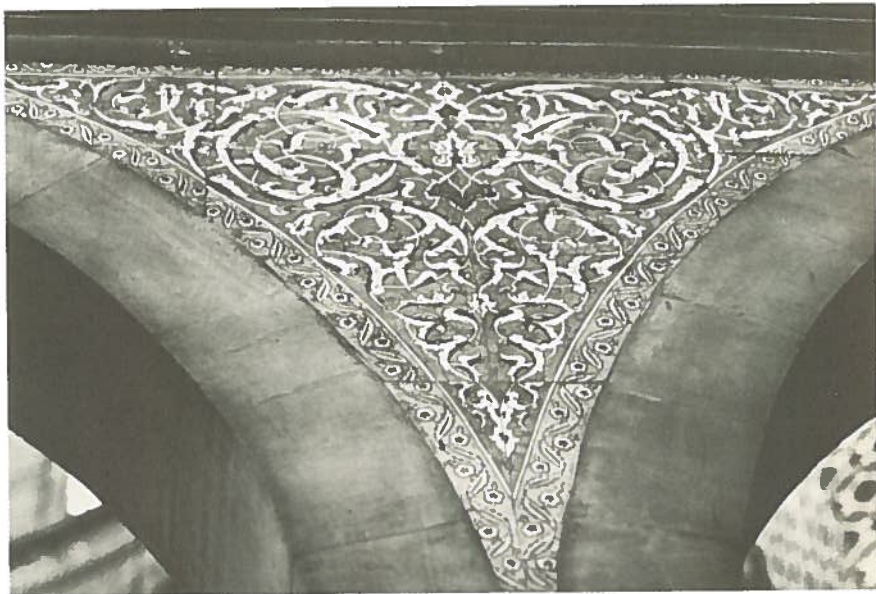


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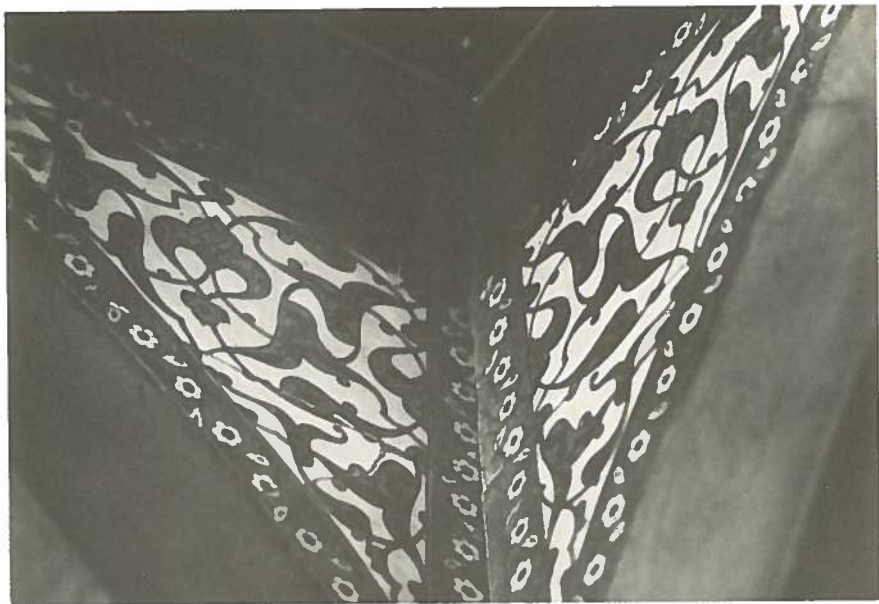




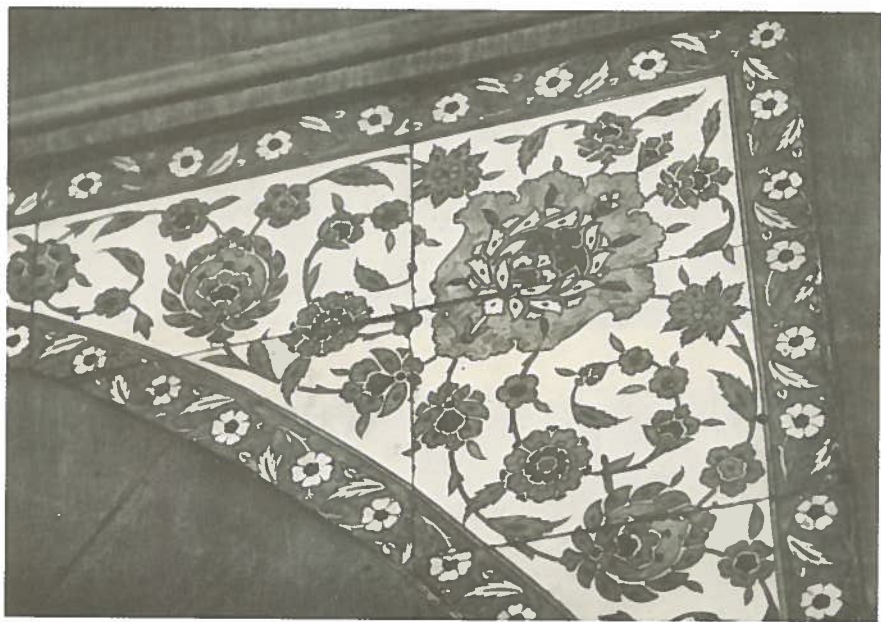
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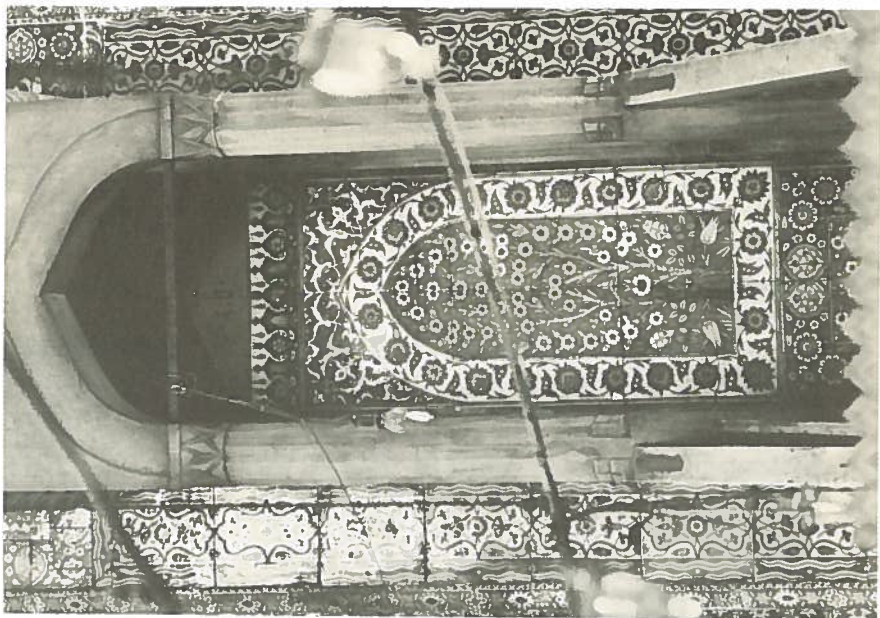


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