

Doctoral Dissertation

*A Network of Consumption: Asian Decorative Ceramics and their
Distribution in Hungary and the Balkans during the Ottoman Period*

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ABSTRACT

Chinese porcelain, Persian stonepaste, and Iznik and Kütahya faience were part of the everyday material culture of the Ottomans in the early modern period (sixteenth and seventeenth centuries). As a result, these objects, collectively called Asian decorative ceramics in the present work, also became part of the Ottoman archaeological heritage. These ceramics have been studied before, but mostly separately by type. However, no comprehensive analysis has been published that aims to understand these objects as a material culture group representing the same consumption pattern. The present dissertation analyzes the distribution of these Asian decorative ceramic sherds unearthed at archaeological sites across present-day Hungary, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Romania, connected to the Ottoman occupation of these territories. Besides the identification and dating of the sherds, the results of the analysis include the consumption patterns and social value of these objects within the Ottoman Empire, as well as the trading routes through which they traveled within the empire.

The first two chapters discuss the scholarly background and the methodologies of the work. The scholarly background summarizes the research of Ottoman archaeology in Hungary, Bulgaria, Serbia, Romania, and Turkey. This comprehensive research review draws attention to the limitations of the material analysis, demonstrating that the field of Ottoman archaeology is a recently forming field in the Balkan and East-Central European region, except for Hungary, where it has a longer tradition. Thus, identifying and interpreting these finds still raises several research questions. As a result, the dissertation relied on a complex methodological approach. Besides the archaeological survey of the finds and the analysis of their archaeological contexts, the method of historical archaeology was also implemented, focusing on material cultural history. These include the placement of the finds into a social-historical context, reconstructed from the topography of each analyzed settlement. Among the archival sources, the probate

inventories proved the most useful for determining the social value of these objects within the Ottoman Empire.

The third chapter provides the historical and archaeological background for each settlement, the porcelain and faience material of which I have studied first-hand for the dissertation. These include Buda, Eger, Esztergom, Pécs, Pest, Székesfehérvár, Szekszárd, Szolnok, and Vác in Hungary, and Plovdiv, Sofia, and Varna in Bulgaria. The chapter is organized according to the administrative level of the settlements within the Ottoman Empire. The discussion starts with the *beylerbeylik* centers, such as Plovdiv, Sofia, Buda, and Eger. Then the *sancak* centers follow with Esztergom, Pécs, Székesfehérvár, Szolnok, and Vác. After the administrative centers, two towns, Pest and Varna are discussed. The chapter closes with Szekszárd representing a palanka fortress, as the protagonist there is the Yeni Palanka fortress, yielding a significant Asian decorative ceramics material as opposed to the town of Szekszárd. The settlements are presented in the same structure: first, their Ottoman history is summarized, focusing on the social topography, wherever applicable. Then, the archaeological context of the materials follows, in varying detail, depending on the available data.

The fourth chapter presents the analysis of the material. This material is supplemented with published sherds from Romania and Belgrade in Serbia, counting c. 2,600 sherds together with the unpublished material. Such a large-scale survey brought about several new results. The typochronology of the Chinese porcelain finds has been reworked and clarified, providing a more precise dating and typology. A more significant result of the material analysis is the identification of the Kütahya types and their distinction from the Persian products. The importance of this result lies in the fact that many Kütahya types have been identified as Persian in the previous scholarship, which distorted the idea of both the distribution and the social value of these objects. The identification of Kütahya ware within the Hungarian material also raises questions regarding their chronology, which is under-researched not only in Europe, but in Turkey as well.

Within the Persian material, the Gombroon type has been identified, which has not been recognized in earlier scholarship. The reason for that is that Gombroon publications are also scarce and, in most cases, not very recent. As a result, the identification as Gombroon of certain types is preliminary, while some other types can definitely be included in this group. More in-depth research into seventeenth-century Gombroon ware is still to be done.

The fifth chapter interprets the results of the material analysis. This interpretation focuses primarily on the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and Hungary since the archaeological material unearthed in Hungary provides the main body of the analyzed sherds. In this respect, the analysis resulted in a well-articulated pattern of consumption. Based on the archaeological record, Iznik ware was an exquisite and rare "luxury", that was highly appreciated by its users during the sixteenth century. Chinese porcelain and Persian stonepaste were relatively rare in this period and mostly reached the centers of administration, such as Buda or Eger. These objects could have been diplomatic gifts or personal items brought to their place of eventual disposal by their users, but the trade of Iznik ware was also documented in the written sources; thus, their appearance in the markets is possible. By the seventeenth century, the consumption patterns changed, as reflected in the archaeological record. The number of Iznik ware declined and was replaced by a large number of mass-produced coffee cups, either Chinese porcelain or Persian stonepaste and Kütahya ware, the latter two imitating or copying the Chinese models. This change is connected to the spread of coffee culture across the Ottoman Empire and the change in global trading patterns during the seventeenth century. As a result of this change, I argue that "luxury" as an umbrella term for these objects should be revisited. To support the argument, the concept of "luxury" is briefly examined in this chapter. The argument concludes that in the case of the sixteenth century, the term "luxury" applies to Chinese porcelain and Iznik ware. In the seventeenth century, however, the mass-produced Chinese, Kütahyan, in some cases Iznik, and Persian cups should not be

attributed as “luxury” ware, merely everyday objects of a higher social group that could afford somewhat more expensive, but not luxurious ceramics. This takes the argument further and indicates that these objects, especially in the seventeenth century, were traded commodities rather than rare personal items brought to this region by their owners. They were part of the so-called “res Turcales,” the Turkish commodities as called in contemporary European sources, traded by the traders of the Ottoman Empire, who are discussed in the next chapter.

The sixth chapter discusses the possible traders and trading routes of these objects in the early modern period. The discussion is based on published results of previous scholarship regarding the trade and traders of the Ottoman Empire in this period. The distribution pattern of the analyzed material is placed in this context, based on which the possible trading routes are reconstructed. Regarding Persian stonepaste and Chinese porcelain, these items most likely reached the Ottoman Empire through the trading routes that crossed Central Asia and Asia Minor. Chinese porcelain, based on the archaeological parallels of the porcelain vessels found on shipwreck cargoes in Southeast Asia and written sources, seems to have traveled through Indonesia, the Strait of Malacca, the Maldives, and arrived in Bandar Abbas in the Persian Gulf, from where it continued through the overland routes. The Southeast Asian connection is supported by written evidence in the form of a diplomatic letter sent from the Sultan of Aceh to the Ottoman Sultan in 1567, asking for help against the Portuguese. In this letter, the merchants and pilgrims departing from Aceh are mentioned, and they are obstructed from passing through the Maldives to reach Mecca by the Portuguese. Regarding the distribution of the seventeenth century, the trading routes within the empire are reflected in the archaeological record as well: a most probable way of distribution was either through Sofia and Belgrade along the Danube to Buda and other centers within Hungary from Istanbul or through the ports of the Black Sea in Wallachia and Moldavia, and then through Transylvania into Hungary.

The traders in the sixteenth century were most likely those participating in the Levant trade, but in the majority, they were gradually replaced by Ottoman merchants. These Ottoman merchants were called “Greeks” in the East-Central European region, which meant varying ethnicities in different parts of the region. Apart from the merchants, there is sufficient evidence that some soldiers also participated in the trading business, which is strongly relevant to the studied region, especially Hungary. Hungary, a border province of the Ottoman Empire, was a highly militarized territory where a significant part of the newcomers were soldiers and their families. As a result, the participation of soldiers in the trade of the objects used by the military members is highly probable.

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ABBREVIATIONS

BBM	Balassa Bálint Museum, Esztergom
BHM	Budapest History Museum, Castle Museum
BTM RA	Budapest History Museum, Archaeological Database
CME	Castle Museum, Esztergom
DICM	Dobó István Castle Museum, Eger
DJM	Damjanich János Museum, Szolnok
JPM	Janus Pannonius Museum, Pécs
JPM RA	Janus Panonius Museum, Archaeological Database
MNM RA	Budapest History Museum, Archaeological Database
PRAM	Plovdiv Regional Archaeological Museum
SRHM	Sofia Regional Historical Museum
SZIKM	Szent István Király Museum, Székesfehérvár
TIM	Tragor Ignác Museum, Vác
VAM	Varna Archaeological Museum
WMMM	Wosinsky Mór Municipal Museum, Szekszárd

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A NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION, NAMES, AND PLACE NAMES

There are two main cultures involved in the subject of this dissertation: the Chinese and the Ottoman Empire. Since cultural and historical references appear in abundance in connection with both Chinese and Ottoman Turkish terms, names and place names appear numerous in both languages throughout the text.

Regarding Ottoman Turkish transliteration, there are several traditions, but recently, the trend has been leaning toward simplicity, and that is what this dissertation follows as well. Since original manuscripts are not dealt with in this work, and since it is aimed at a non-Ottomanist audience as well as an Ottomanist one, this direction was chosen after careful consideration. It is based on the transliteration system chosen for the *Encyclopedia of The Ottoman Empire*.¹ Words already built in the broadly understood English-language historical scholarship are used without italics but are also explained. Other terms specific to the Ottomanist scholarship are used per the Modern Turkish writing system.

In the case of Chinese terms, the unified Pinyin system with accents is used for the words appearing for the first time, supplemented with the traditional Chinese character and an English translation. After that, words that repeatedly appear are written in Pinyin without accents and in italics, with no translation added again.

Place names are used as corresponding to the period they are discussed in, with the present name in the local language added in brackets for cities, in the Latin alphabet in the case of Bulgaria, and the English language for regions or countries. In the case of cities that were part of the Ottoman Empire, the Ottoman names are also given in brackets. Chinese place names are also given in Pinyin with accents and traditional Chinese characters in brackets. Proper names are used as they are conventionally used in the English-language scholarship, with the original language added in brackets if applicable. Chinese proper names are also given in Pinyin with accents and traditional Chinese characters in brackets.

¹ Gábor Ágoston and Bruce Masters, *Encyclopedia of The Ottoman Empire* (Facts on File, 2009), xxiii–xxiv.

1. INTRODUCTION

Goals and research questions

The Ottoman Empire emerged from the expansion of a small frontier principality in Asia Minor around 1300 under a chieftain called Osman, later becoming Osman I (c. 1290-1324). As Cemal Kafadar states, Osman was the founder of a polity that offered the ultimate solution for the political instability of the Eastern Roman lands since the arrival of the Turkish tribes in the eleventh century.² The Ottoman state building was a gradual process that took more than a century and a half from Osman's first attempts at taking the Byzantine capital to Mehmed II who eventually conquered Constantinople and turned it into an empire, as Kafadar evaluates the expansion of the House of Osman.³ Before taking Constantinople, by the second half of the fourteenth century, the Ottomans managed to move into European lands and started expanding their rule over the Balkan peninsula in the 1360s. By 1385 they occupied Sofia, and from then on, they persistently kept on subduing the region, which ended – after an infamously unsuccessful siege in 1456 – with the conquest of Belgrade (Nándorfehérvár, part of the Hungarian Kingdom at that time) in 1521 (Map 1).⁴

In 1526 the Ottomans triumphed in the battle of Mohács, devastating the Hungarian Kingdom, as it resulted in constant military activity for the next two and a half decades. After many attempts in 1541, the Ottomans took Buda Castle, which, in general, marks the start of the Ottoman occupation in Hungary. These events resulted in the division of medieval Hungary's territory among three states: the western part remained the Kingdom of Hungary but was incorporated into the Habsburg Empire; the middle regions became the westernmost province of the Ottoman Empire; while in the east Transylvania, a part of the Kingdom of Hungary, became an Ottoman vassal state (Map 2). The Ottoman occupation of Hungary and the Balkans resulted in not only an administrative and political transformation, but also in significant changes in the everyday life and material culture of the inhabitants of the newly

² Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds. The Construction of the Ottoman State* (University of California Press, 1996), 8.

³ Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, 9.

⁴ For a more detailed history of the formation of the Ottoman Empire, see Halil İnalcık and Donald Quataert, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, vol. 1: 1300-1600 (Cambridge University Press, 1997), 11–25.

formed European provinces of the Ottoman Empire, called Rumeli.⁵ Part of this cultural change included the use of types of ceramics that arrived from far-away places, namely China, Anatolia (Iznik and Kütahya⁶), and Persia. This new type of material culture, as demonstrated by the archeological record, was not widespread in East-Central Europe before the expansion of the Ottoman Empire. A few late fifteenth-century Persian faience sherds, as well as some Chinese porcelain sherds that might be dated to the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, found in the Royal Palace of Buda, show that some objects might have arrived here sporadically before the Ottoman period. Their common use in Ottoman-occupied settlements is undoubtedly connected to the newly appearing conquerors, clearly shown in the archaeological data of their find contexts. Although manufactured at different places in the world, these ceramics formed a cultural unity representing the Ottoman taste and lifestyle practiced by settlers with an Ottoman-cultured background. The composition of the objects constituted a large part of coffee cups, but the pieces made in Iznik also included pitchers, jugs, dishes, and bowls. It is evident that these objects arrived with the newly settling inhabitants of Rumeli, but it is not so obvious how, through which routes, and precisely by whom they were distributed throughout the Ottoman occupation of Rumeli.

The scope of the present study is Ottoman Rumeli, with a special focus on Hungary, during the period of Ottoman occupation. This geographically means the once Ottoman-occupied territories of present-day Hungary, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Romania (Map 2). The main role in this work is for Hungary, as the main body of the analyzed material was unearthed there. The Balkan regions were added for comparison and in order to draw a broader picture of the network of consumption of the objects analyzed. Serbia, Bulgaria, and Romania were chosen primarily because these are territories closest to Hungary geographically and from where information is available regarding the studied ceramics.⁷ This information is either through recent and detailed

⁵ Rumelia was originally the first administrative and military of the Ottoman Empire established in the European lands in the late fourteenth century. It originally referred to the Balkan Ottoman lands of the Balkan region, but as the Empire expanded and more *eyalets* were established on the European side, its meaning became more and more flexible. This flexibility is reflected in the scholarship, as the name Rumelia or Rumeli is used in different ways depending on the focus of the scholarly work using it, e.g. Emese Muntán, „Negotiating Catholic Reform: Global Catholicism and Its Local Agents in Northern Ottoman Rumeli (1570s-1680s),” (PhD Central European University, 2021). Based on this precedent, I will be using the geographical term ‘Rumeli’ or ‘Ottoman Rumeli’ interchangeably to refer to the regions included in this dissertation: Ottoman Hungary, Transylvania, Wallachia, Moldavia, Serbia, and Bulgaria, all during their Ottoman-occupied periods. For a more detailed discussion of the conceptual problem of Rumelia see Halil İnalcık, “Rumeli,” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., vol. 8 (E. J. Brill, 1999), 607–11.

⁶ Iznik and Kütahya ware in this work refers to ceramics connected to the production kilns of Iznik and Kütahya, today Turkey.

⁷ Other territories of interest would be Albania and Bosnia, but the archaeological material is barely known at this point. A direction to expand this study would be to include these two territories as well.

publications of the ceramic finds (Serbia and Romania) or through available materials for study (Bulgaria).⁸ On that note, the material of Bulgaria, especially that of Sofia, is also significant in the analysis since I had the opportunity to study the material firsthand. Furthermore, the Sofia assemblage turned out to be rather important in the interpretation, especially since it is also well-researched historically. The geographical closeness of these territories to Hungary suggests that they were part of the same trading network, and thus the same products were available for the Ottoman settlers. Furthermore, their role within the Ottoman Empire is similar, for the fact that by the sixteenth century Hungary became the border province, and remained in that position throughout the seventeenth century, until the Ottomans were expelled by 1699. The temporary framework of the dissertation focuses on the period of the Ottoman occupation of Hungary in a broader sense, taking into account some decades before and after, thus broadly understanding the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Besides, since the Ottoman presence in the Balkans was longer, the wider temporary framework of the Balkan Ottoman history is taken into consideration when thus dictated by pieces of the studied ceramic material. This generally means the late fifteenth century, when Iznik ware started spreading, and the eighteenth century, when Kütahya coffee cups became widespread. In short, the timeframe is defined by the production periods of the Ottoman decorative ceramics (Iznik and Kütahya ware), up to the mid-eighteenth century. As this production is a response to the spread of Chinese porcelain in West Asia and Asia Minor, the timeframe also correlates with its appearance and dissemination in the Ottoman Empire. This timeframe can broadly be understood as early modernity (defined below) in East-Central Europe and the Ottoman Empire, thus a period that can be interpreted archaeologically and historically.

The studied material includes Chinese porcelain, Persian stonepaste, and Anatolian (Iznik and Kütahya) faience sherds unearthed at Ottoman-related archaeological sites in the above-described geographical area. The reason for including all four types is that they are related on several levels. Firstly, they all appear together in archaeological assemblages; at each studied site, there was always at least one sherd of each type (with the exception of some sites not

⁸ Here I would like to thank Snezhna Goryanova at the National Archaeological Institute with Museum in Sofia for connecting me with the material; and Lyuba Dafova at the Sofia Regional History Museum for providing the ceramics for study, and for compiling a detailed list of the archaeological contexts of each find in Sofia. I also would like to thank Elena Bozhinova at the Plovdiv Regional Archaeological Museum, and Mariya Manolova at the Varna Archaeological Museum for collecting the materials at their institutions, providing access, and assisting me in working with them. All Bulgarian colleagues were very welcoming and helpful, I am forever grateful for the experience of doing research in their beautiful country.

yielding Persian pieces⁹). Secondly, art historical scholarship has long established that Chinese porcelain served as a model for the production of the other three types. Furthermore, this influence was not one-sided, as the Chinese market aimed to cater to the demand for decorative motives not only for Western Europeans but also for the Ottomans (see Chapter 4, two large Chinese bowls from Eger). These relations not only connected the types of this group but also made the group outstanding within the material culture of the period. The distribution, use, and social value of the objects constituting this group allow for a comprehensive analysis that contributes to the understanding of the everyday life of the Ottoman settlers in the studied regions. In this dissertation, I use the umbrella term ‘Asian decorative ceramics’ for this material group for the simple reason that neither ‘import’ nor ‘luxury ceramic,’ the two most commonly used terms, are precise enough to fully cover all the types, that I consider a part of this group. A relatively wide archaeological scholarship in the region discusses these types individually, and a relatively narrow one considers them a ‘package’ or a unified group representing a consumption pattern within the early modern Ottoman Empire. This dissertation considers these ceramic types as a unified group, the analysis of which touches upon several research questions regarding the social, material cultural, and economic life of the Ottoman Empire. These questions include the level of cultural transfer among the vastly expanded areas of the empire, the composition and operation of the cultural and trade networks that moved these objects within it, and the identification of the social standing of the consumers of these ceramics.

The primary goal of the present dissertation is to analyze, date, and identify the provenance of the Asian decorative ceramic finds derived from archaeological excavations dating to the Ottoman period (1526/41-1699) of Hungary, focusing on the administrative centers, such as towns that served as *eyalet* and *sanjak* centers throughout the period.¹⁰ This analysis is broadened with the study of the published and accessible unpublished archaeological material from the Balkans to detect certain patterns in the composition of the find assemblages. The broadening of the regional scope of the study from merely the territory of present-day Hungary to the Balkans also serves as a basis for considering broader and more general questions, such as the routes through which these objects moved from their place of production to their place of disposal. The goal of this aspect is to insert the results of the analysis of the finds into the

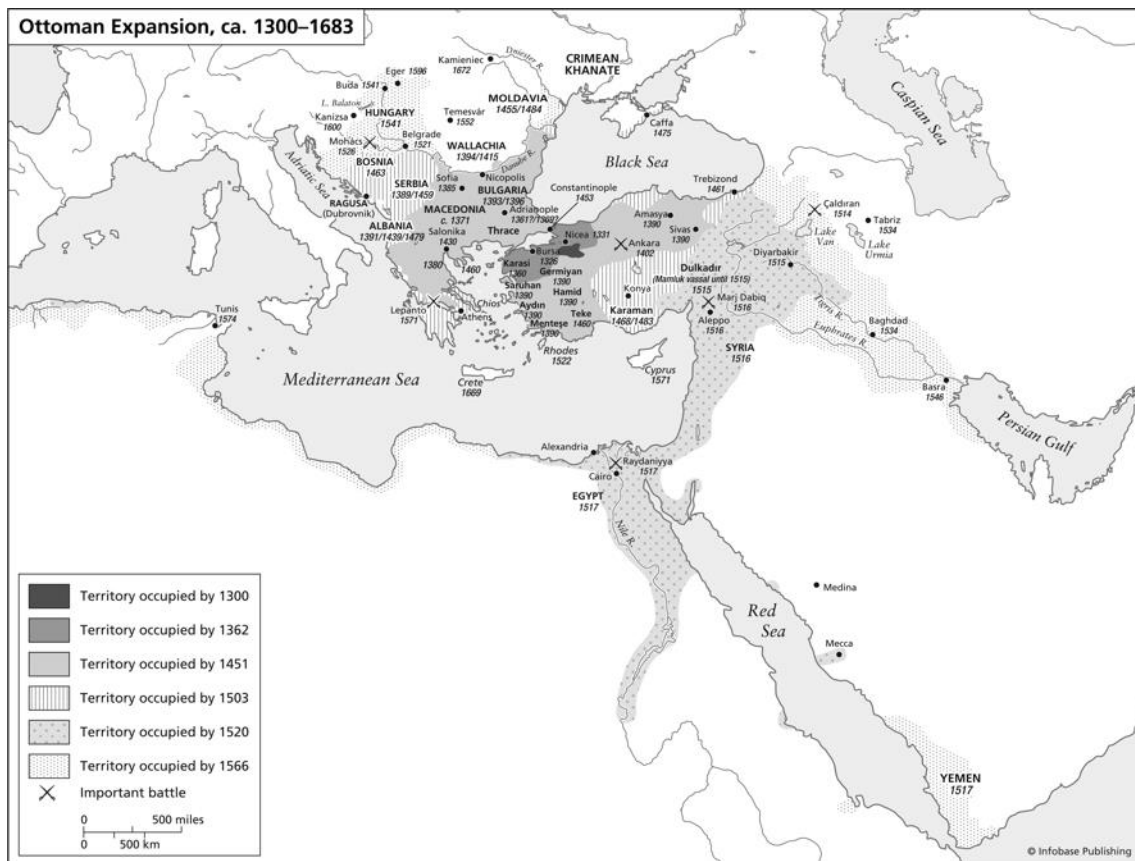
⁹ This observation is the result of the present study. Previous scholarship identified blue and white Kütahya ware as Persian, which resulted in the conclusion that all sites always yield Chinese, Iznik, and Persian ware. With the re-identification of said types, this statement does not stand in every case.

¹⁰ For a definition of these Ottoman administrative units and a description of the Ottoman administrative system, see the introduction of Chapter 3.

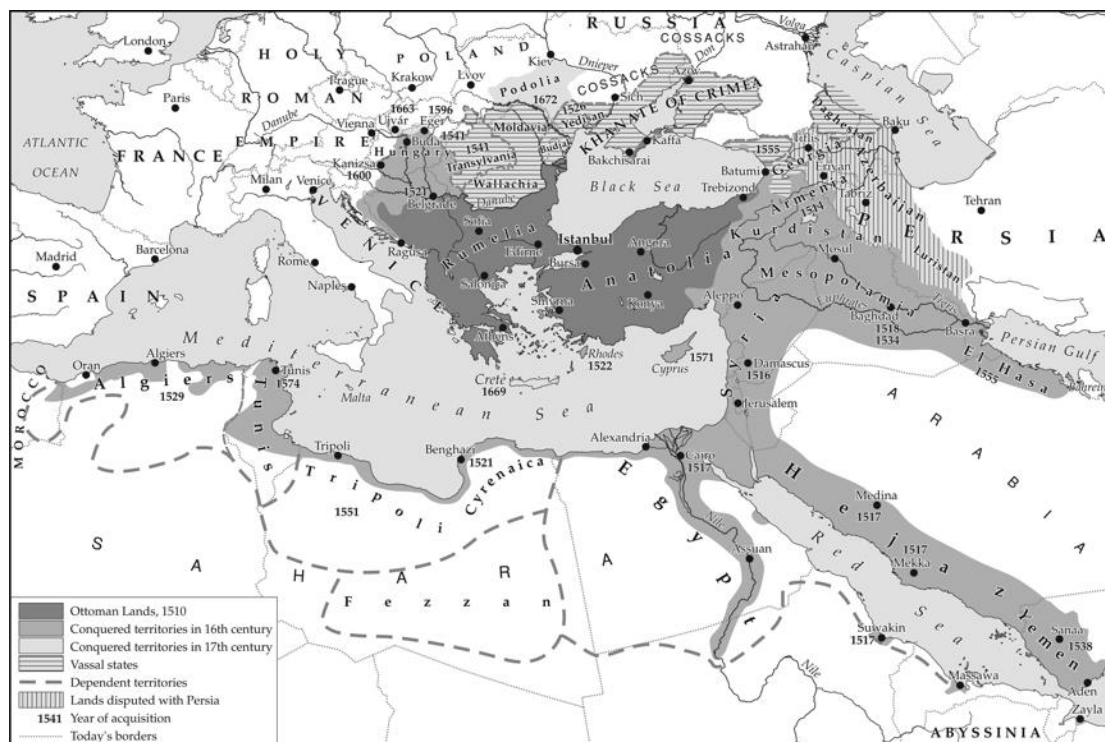
published historical knowledge regarding the trade networks that the Ottomans participated in throughout the period, and not the study of the historical sources to unveil new routes. Thus, this section of the dissertation will heavily rely on the historiography of the economy and trading activities of both the Ottoman and Chinese Empires in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, including edited and translated written sources.

Another crucial question of the thesis concerns the traders or distributors of these ceramics, which is heavily connected to the significant question of the social standing of the objects. It is generally accepted to call these types of ceramics “luxury.” The archaeological context of many of these pieces though, combined with their identification and placement within the large scale of Chinese, Anatolian, or Persian types, raises the question of what “luxury” is and whether the majority of these pieces can be called that. In the absence of relevant written sources, such as their lack of appearance in customs or price registers (which fact in itself may be considered telling), only their archaeological context and relationship to each other—i.e., the Persian copies of certain Chinese types in the seventeenth century; or the Chinese-inspired early types of blue and white Iznik—can serve as clues for answering the question whether these, in fact, were highly prized possessions or slightly nicer than ordinary, but rather everyday objects, or something in between, or perhaps both, depending on who was possessing them or when they were in use.

The challenges include the complexity and multidisciplinary of the study, as the different research questions reach for methods of different disciplines. There is no previous synthesis for this exact type of material culture and its distribution in the context of the early modern Ottoman Empire in any of these disciplines. For the identification and dating of the pieces, the method of art historical evaluation of the decorative motives and production technology is used, supplemented with the analysis of the archaeological contexts for dating. To identify the distributors and consumers, the methods and results of history and historical archaeology are implemented. For the reconstruction of the possible trade routes, the previous historical scholarship combined with geospatial analysis is used and incorporated into the results of the analysis of the distribution and composition patterns established within the analyzed find assemblages.



Map 1: Ottoman Expansion, c. 1300-1683.
Source: *Agoston and Masters, Encyclopedia of The Ottoman Empire*, xxvii.



Map 2: Expansion of the Ottoman Empire, sixteenth-seventeenth centuries.
Source: *Pálffy, Hungary Between Two Empires*, 8.

Terminology

In this section, fundamental terms of the dissertation are defined as they are used throughout the text. The clarification is justified since the exact definition of these terms is still being debated across disciplines such as archaeology and history, on the one hand, and they can be used with differing meanings depending on the region or discipline.

Early modernity in this dissertation refers to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, partly because this is the period to which the majority of the finds discussed here can be dated, and partly because this is the period in global history when trans-continental trade went through a huge transformation. This transformation also correlated with and influenced the circulation of Asian decorative ware, which went through a drastic change in West Asia and the Ottoman world during the eighteenth century. Within the European context, ‘early modernity’ is understood in a broader sense, referring to the period from 1450 to 1750, or in a narrower sense, starting with the geographical discoveries at *c.* 1500 and finishing with the end of the seventeenth century. The ‘early modern period’ in Hungarian history writing is understood from the start of the Ottoman occupation of Buda in 1541 to the end of the unsuccessful Rákóczi freedom fights against the Habsburgs in 1711 (this date also officially marks by law the end of the archaeological periods in Hungary). Concerning the Ottoman Empire, it is more difficult to define early modernity. Baki Tezcan, in his groundbreaking work, defined the period from the end of the sixteenth century to the early nineteenth century as early modern, as opposed to the patrimonial empire that lived its heyday during the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent (1520-1566).¹¹ Even though there is currently a debate regarding “early modernity” in Ottoman history,¹² the period of Ottoman occupation of Hungary is regarded as early modern in this dissertation, as its archaeological material is clearly distinct from the preceding medieval and following Habsburg periods. The seventeenth century, in general, is—in traditional history writing—interpreted as a century of crisis for the empire, a notion which has been refuted in the literature of the past two decades.¹³ This means that while the Ottoman presence marks the early modern period of Hungary, in the broader history of the Ottoman Empire, the sixteenth

¹¹ Baki Tezcan, *The Second Ottoman Empire. Political and Social Transformation in the Early Modern World* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), 10.

¹² Two recent examples of the pro and contra argument: Guy Burak, E. Natalie Rothman, and Heather Ferguson, “Toward Early Modern Archivality: The Perils of History in the Age of Neo-Eurocentrism,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 64, no. 3 (2022): 541–75., and Pál Fodor, *The Unbearable Weight of Empire. The Ottomans in Central Europe – a Failed Attempt at Universal Monarchy (1390–1566)* (Research Centre for the Humanities, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2016), 14–21.

¹³ For a short summary of this paradigm-shift and further references see Baki Tezcan, *The Second Ottoman Empire*, 2010. 9-10.

and seventeenth centuries were characterized by different political and economic structures. This fact strongly influences the interpretation of the archaeological material discussed in the present dissertation.

Geographically, Hungary was the Northwesternmost province of the Ottoman Empire. Thus, it also functioned as a **borderland**, giving it a specific role. This role was mainly defensive, causing specific demography in the Hungarian province.¹⁴ This demography and the geographical location of Hungary also arguably put it on the **periphery** of the Ottoman Empire. The definition of borderland, in this case, primarily refers to geography, while ‘periphery’ is used in a more complex sense, including the social topography and social composition of the Hungarian province. Although the social topography of the settlements is being debated among Ottomanists not only in Hungary but throughout the territory of the former Ottoman Empire, there is a clear distinction in the archaeological record regarding the material culture of present-day Hungary’s occupied and non-occupied territory. This distinction indicates a significant presence of Ottoman-cultured settlers within the occupied territories; thus, this factor can hardly be used to determine the peripheral status of Hungary. The social composition, on the other hand, might be more indicative for this assessment, and not only because it is much more well-known to history due to sufficient written evidence.¹⁵ This written evidence shows that the majority of the soldiers settled in Hungary were mercenaries of Balkan origin, in many cases not even of Muslim, but of Orthodox religion. In this sense, they were probably less Ottoman-cultured and brought with them their material cultural traits, which are also shown in the archaeological record, namely the so-called Balkanic-type hand-thrown ceramic cooking pots,¹⁶ and glass bracelets¹⁷ (Figs. 1-2). This data regarding the social composition of the occupying Ottomans allows for the interpretation of the status of the Hungarian province as not only relatively remote from the Empire’s center Istanbul, but also peripheral. This suggests that there are Ottoman-cultured officials and probably well-cultured military leaders as well, but the

¹⁴ Hegyi Klára, *A török hódoltság várjai és várkatonasága [Fortresses and garrisons of Ottoman Hungary]*, vol. 1.: Oszmán védelmi rendszer Magyarországon [Ottoman Border Defense System in Hungary], História Könyvtár Kronológiák, Adattárak [História Library Chronologies and Databases] 9 (História. MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2007).

¹⁵ See Hegyi, *A török hódoltság*, vols. 1-3.

¹⁶ E.g.: Kovács Gyöngyi, “Balkániak a hódoltságkori Dél-Dunántúlon - a régészet tanúsága / People from the Balkans in Southern Transdanubia in the Ottoman Period - The Testimony of Archaeology,” in András K. Németh and Gábor Máté eds., *A rác/balkáni népesség településtörténete és anyagi kultúrája a hódoltságkori Dél-Dunántúlon / The Settlement History and Material Culture of the Rascians/people of Balkan origin in South Transdanubia in the Ottoman Period* (Wosinsky Mór Múzeum, 2023), 88.

¹⁷ Kolláth Ágnes, “Koronázóvárosból szandzsákközpont. Székesfehérvár a kora újkorban / From Coronation Town to Sanjak Centre. Székesfehérvár in the Early Modern Age,” in Elek Benkő and Krisztina Orosz eds., *In medio regni Hungariae. Régészeti, művészettörténeti és történeti kutatások “az ország közepén” / Archaeological, art historical and historical researches ‘in the Middle of the Kingdom’* (MTA BTK Régészeti Intézet, 2015), 387.

average Ottoman subject settling here is mainly the mercenary soldier with a Balkan origin. The written evidence suggests that it was mostly administrative officials, soldiers, and traders who settled in Hungary, the latter also being of very diverse backgrounds. This indicates that those who arrived in Hungary were most likely oriented here by the center of power and not by their choice. This specific social composition might indicate the Hungarian province's peripheral role within the Ottoman Empire.

The assumed peripheral location of Hungary raises the question of the social standing of the objects studied in this dissertation. This question makes it difficult to determine the most suitable umbrella term for this specific group of objects. The most commonly used terms include **“luxury ware,” “Eastern ceramics,”** and **“decorative ceramics”** – none of which is inclusive or precise enough to properly describe them, as mentioned above. “Luxury ware” is problematic because, firstly, it is not clear whether the sherds unearthed in leveling layers did belong to luxury items; as well as their absolute value is difficult to assess; and secondly, because of the elusive and subjective character of the word ‘luxury’ in general. “Asian ceramics” and “decorative ceramics” include a broader range of vessel forms, decorative styles, and provenance than the types discussed in this work. Thus, for this dissertation's sake, I propose using **“Asian decorative ceramics,”** specifically referring to Chinese porcelain, Iznik and Kütahya ware, and Persian stonepaste produced between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries.¹⁸

¹⁸ In Hungarian and East-Central European scholarship the term “oriental” is used for objects of Asian origin, simply meaning “Eastern”. Since the present dissertation is written in English, using “oriental” is problematic, as it carries connotations of colonialism; thus, the academic language is avoiding its use more and more.



Figure 1: Balkanic-type cooking pots from Szekszárd - Yeni Palanka.
Kovács, "Balkániak," fig. 9.

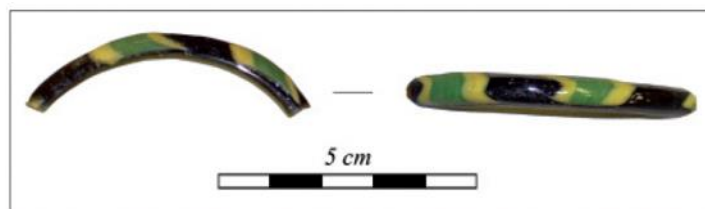


Figure 2: Glass bracelets from Székesfehérvár.
Kolláth, "Koronázóvárosból szandzsákközpont," fig. 4.

Methodology and Sources

Archaeological survey of the finds

The basis of the present dissertation is the archaeological survey of the Asian decorative ceramic finds unearthed in Hungary and the Balkans. Most of the Hungarian material consists of the collection of museums that hold the archaeological finds of the targeted settlements, such as the Budapest History Museum – Castle Museum, the Dobó István Castle Museum of Eger, the Balassa Bálint Museum of Esztergom, the Szent István Király Museum of Székesfehérvár, the Tragor Ignác Museum of Vác, the Janus Pannonius Museum of Pécs, the Wosinsky Mór Municipal Museum of Szekszárd, and the Damjanich János Museum in Szolnok. I had the opportunity to research three Bulgarian museum collections, including the Sofia Regional History Museum, the Regional Archaeological Museum of Plovdiv, and the Varna Archaeological Museum.

The archaeological survey in these collections entailed the personal handling of the finds and creation of a detailed catalog that contains information regarding the excavation site and archaeological context if available; the physical features of the sherd; a preliminary identification and dating; and the dimensions of each object. Further information may be included if available, such as publications of the object, if any, or the archaeologist's name (which could be relevant for publications in the case of Hungarian materials). Besides the catalog, a profile drawing was made, and object photos from all angles were also taken. The profile drawing is the basis of the interpretation of the sherd to identify the object type, such as cup, ewer, jug, plate, dish, or bowl. After the data collection, the photos were used for further study. Using this method, almost two thousand sherds were cataloged in the past twelve years since I started working first on Chinese porcelain, then on Iznik and Kütahya ware, and Persian stonepaste.

The published material was collected by surveying the publications and the collection of the objects, and their identification was based on my system informed by my research, which did not always align with the identification given in the publications. This added a further *c.* eight hundred sherds to the database.

The catalogue can be reached on the following link: [Asian decorative ceramics database of Hungary and the Balkans](#). The database continues to be updated. The Catalogue section in the Appendices below explains its system and how to use it.

Besides cataloging, the archaeological survey also included the analysis and interpretation of the archaeological contexts based on the archaeological documentation of the excavations and/or orally given information from the excavating archaeologists, where this information was available. In some cases, the documentation was unavailable; thus, no information could be found on the archaeological context of some of the finds.

Material culture studies and historical archaeology

Given the complexity of the questions raised by the material objects discussed in this dissertation, the traditional archaeological inquiry did not seem to be sufficient for exploring all these questions and satisfyingly answering them. Thus, material culture studies and historical archaeology methodologies are used to supplement the analysis of the archaeological contexts of the finds to place the objects into the broader context of global long-distance trade and trade within the Ottoman Empire during the early modern period. This approach turns this study from the traditional archaeological survey of a large find collection throughout a given geographical area into an object-focused historical inquiry, using the objects and their archaeological contexts as primary sources for reconstructing the network of their distribution and end users stretching from Jingdezhen in China and its Southeastern ports on the shores of the South China sea through Istanbul to Ottoman Hungary.

Since the ‘material cultural’ and ‘global turn’ in history in the 1980s and 1990s, the research of material culture, placed in a global context, has become more and more popular among scholars dealing with this type of source in many disciplines. Although it is still not particularly widespread, this phenomenon appears in art history, history, and archaeology as well. In the latter, it is manifested in historical archaeology, which aims at viewing the objects from a larger perspective than its immediate archaeological context. At the same time, the type of objects studied in this work are rarely published in this setting, especially by archaeologists. The famous Chinese porcelain and West Asian Faience collections, almost exclusively studied and published by art historians, such as the Topkapı Saray Collection or the Ardebil Collection, are in general studied with the methodology of classical art history, sometimes placed in a larger context and analyzed from the point of view of object movement. However, in the past two decades, there have been studies and edited volumes that draw attention to the need to reconsider such publications from the point of view of material cultural studies, which, I argue, should be directly accompanied by the methodology of historical archaeology.

In their introduction to their edited volume, Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello bring up anthropology and archaeology as exemplary cases for the scrutiny of object analysis, which

they render necessary in the case of historians dealing with material culture.¹⁹ This observation could be supplemented with the suggestion that curated objects are not only re-analyzed using these methods, but archaeological finds be included in the canon of curated objects. This action, that archaeological objects often appearing in the form of small fragments are included in these studies, would provide the necessary scrutiny and wider (archaeological) context desired by Gerritsen and Riello for certain types of objects such as decorative ceramics. In the present dissertation, I will aim at including the archaeological fragments into the curated collections' canon by applying the traditional analytic method of archaeology together with the methodology of historical archaeology and material culture studies in order to reconstruct the 'trajectory' of the objects as precisely as possible. The goal of this multi-layered approach is to be able to follow the biography or, rather, life cycle of these objects and reconstruct their way throughout the wide network of early modern Eurasian trading connections.

This methodology is supported by Karin Dannehl's theoretical approach to studying material culture. Dannehl argues that for object-focused history writing—which is very close to the baseline methodological approach of this dissertation, with the addition of the archaeological aspect—object biography and life cycle analysis are quite useful methods for this type of study.²⁰ In their introduction to *The Global Lives of Things*, Gerritsen and Riello also argue against a linear approach to the movement of traded goods, calling attention to the fact that this movement often consisted of broken connections, shifting meanings of objects during their journey, and physically reshaped goods.²¹ In the story of Asian ceramics in the early modern Ottoman Empire, there are examples of all three of these events that break their linear A to B movement from their production site to their final consumers and disposal. Object biography or object life cycle study offers a method that helps get around the problematic linear approach and allows for a deeper understanding of the role of these ceramics within the Ottoman material culture. The challenge in the life cycle model lies in the lack of records about the different stages in the object's life. In other words, since the finds discussed in this work are not particularly exceptional—as are, for example, curated objects—they cannot be connected to certain individuals; thus, there is no written record regarding their biography. Narrowing the assessment to historical and archaeological terms, there is little written record about them in

¹⁹ Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello, "The Global Lives of Things: Material Culture and the First Global Age," in *The Global Lives of Things. The Material Culture of Connections of the Early Modern World* (Routledge, 2016), 10.

²⁰ Karin Dannehl, "Object Biographies. From Production to Consumption," in *History and Material Culture. A Student's Guide to Approaching Alternative Sources* (Routledge, 2018), 171–86.

²¹ Gerritsen and Riello, *The Global Lives of Things*, 16.

general in the historical sources, as discussed below in the section dealing with the sources connected to these objects. Thus, context and parallels throughout broad geographical areas help assess the different stages in the life cycle of these ceramics, providing a basis for the reconstruction of their movement from production to disposal. In other words, examining a single object is combined with examining a group of objects or “the package” after establishing a typochronology of the studied material. This typochronology allows for observing patterns throughout Rumeli, which indicates trading connections and consumption patterns of these objects of certain periods within the studied timeframe.

This approach combines the traditional research methodology of archaeologically studying ceramics with the methodology of historical archaeology and material culture studies. The traditional archaeological study includes cataloging the objects and providing a detailed analysis of the archaeological context if available. Based on this information, the time and place of disposal can be determined. If parallels are available, the object can be identified, i.e., its provenance, production date, form, and function is assessed. The methodology of historical archaeology supplements this information via the written evidence, providing a historical context to the finds and the assemblages. The methodology of material culture studies places the object in the focus of the historical context and thus opens up a perspective that helps interpret the appearance of these objects more in the archaeological record than in the documentary sources.

Written sources

Even though the primary sources of the present dissertation are the archaeological finds and their contexts, there is a group of historical sources that may supplement the data derived from the archaeological record. In the following section these sources and their usefulness is discussed regarding the study conducted in this work. It should be stated here that the scope of the present dissertation, as it is primarily an archaeological work, does not allow the use of original manuscript documents, thus the discussion of their use and their analysis in the later chapters is limited to published, and in most cases also translated editions of these sources.

For studying the movement of Asian decorative ceramics, the *gümriük defteri* (customs registers kept by the Ottoman government, written in Ottoman Turkish) would be the most obvious choice of source type since these contain detailed information on the movement and quantity of the traded commodities. Unfortunately, we rarely see any of them in the customs registers, and when they do appear, faience and Chinese porcelain are not necessarily distinguished. The most common terms used for these objects are *çini*, which literally means

Chinese, but is also used for faience; *fağfurî*, referring also to China ware which comes from the term *Fağfur*, meaning the Emperor of China; *mertebanî*, mostly referring to celadon ware, but can also mean porcelain; and *hatayî*, which also means “Chinese” and is sometimes used for porcelain as well.²² A general umbrella term primarily referring to Persian stonepaste and Chinese porcelain is *finca*, which means coffee cup,²³ and rarely distinguishes between Chinese, Persian, Iznik, or Kütahya.²⁴ For example, in the published tax registers of Buda between 1550-1580, the term “porcelain” only appears once, and that one appearance is also accompanied by a question mark.²⁵ The question mark next to the term “porcelain” refers to the original term in the source, which is *çini bardak*,²⁶ literally meaning “porcelain cup”. Nurhan Atasoy and Julian Raby, while discussing the terminology of Eastern decorative ware in their fundamental work, state that the term *çini* most likely indicated Iznik faience, although it was more like an umbrella term for fine ceramics, such as the English word ‘china’ used for high-quality tableware in general.²⁷ Besides the Buda registers, “porcelain” or any other word referring to Asian decorative ceramics do not appear in the other published registers connected to Hungary. The closest references to such commodities are “ceramic vessels” or “miscellaneous objects”,²⁸ which does not bring us closer to uncovering whether these objects were frequent commodities across the customs check points and thus at the marketplaces. Considering the quality and composition of the assemblages studied below, especially in the seventeenth century, it is probable that Chinese porcelain, Persian stonepaste and Kütahya ware fell into the second category; while during the sixteenth century Iznik ware, probably together with the finer Chinese porcelain pieces, fell into the first.

²² John Alexander Pope, *Fourteenth-Century Blue-and-White. A Group of Chinese Porcelains in the Topkapu Sarayı Müzesi, Istanbul*, vol. 2, Freer Gallery of Art Occasional Papers 1 (The Lord Baltimore Press, 1952), 10. Pope’s discussion of the terms for Chinese porcelain was summarized by Kovács Gyöngyi, *Török kerámia Szolnokon [Turkish Ceramics in Szolnok]*, Szolnok Megyei Múzeumi Adattár 30–31 (Szolnok Megyei Múzeum, 1984), 52.

²³ Coffee cup in the studied material takes the same form in each type: it is a conic-shaped vessel, with a short footring and simple, vertical rim, and dimensions of 4-5 cm x 7-10 cm x 3-5 cm (height x rim diameter x footring diameter).

²⁴ Ibolya Gerelyes, “Types of Oriental Pottery in Archaeological Finds from the 16th and 17th Centuries in Hungary,” *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 1–2 (2008): 69, footnotes 8-9.

²⁵ Fekete Lajos and Káldy-Nagy Gyula, *Budai török számadáskönyvek, 1550-1580 [Turkish customs tax registers of Buda, 1550-1580]* (Akadémiai Kiadó, 1962), 216.

²⁶ Mentioned by Kovács, *Török kerámia Szolnokon*, 52.

²⁷ Nurhan Atasoy and Julian Raby, *Iznik. The Pottery of Ottoman Turkey* (Alexandra Press, 1989), 23.

²⁸ E.g.: Vass Előd, “Vác 1560. évi török vámnaplói” [Ottoman customs registers of Vác from the year 1560],” *Tanulmányok Pest Megye Múltjából (Studia Comitatus)* 3 (1975): 158–60.; Vass Előd, “A váci török vámnaplók adatai az Alföld felől nyugatra irányuló XVI. századi áruforgalomról” [Data in the Ottoman customs registers of Vác regarding the commerce from the Great Plain toward the West in the sixteenth century],” *Agrártörténeti Szemle* 14, no. 1–2 (1972): 145–50.

For reconstructing the use and distribution of these ceramics, in the sense of material culture studies, the *tereke or muhallefat defteri* (probate inventories compiled by the Ottoman government in Ottoman Turkish in the case the deceased had no heirs) are the most suitable source type, as it was demonstrated in the Hungarian context by the doctoral dissertation of Ibolya Gerelyes, who analyzed twenty-six of such sources concerning Hungary dating from the second half of the sixteenth century.²⁹ The most important characteristic of these inventories – besides containing data for the terminology of the objects – is that they are reliable sources regarding their absolute value since their prices are always listed beside them. Another source for the value of objects could be the registers of fixed prices,³⁰ but the problem with them is similar to that of the customs registers: the terminology is not obvious, making it difficult to distinguish faience from porcelain.³¹ Therefore, the main written source used in the present work will be the probate inventories, with the primary goal of establishing the value and social status of these objects within the early modern Ottoman Empire.

²⁹ Gerelyes Ibolya, “A török hódoltság életmódtörténeti forrásai: a hagyatéki leltárak [Sources for the history of lifestyle during the Ottoman occupation of Hungary: probate inventories]” (PhD, Etövös Loránd University, 1980).; Ibolya Gerelyes, “Inventories of Turkish Estates in Hungary in the Second Half of the 16th Century,” *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 39, no. 2–3 (1985AD): 275–338.; Ibolya Gerelyes, “Sixteenth-Century Probate Inventories from Tolna Town,” in Pál Fodor et al. Eds, *Şerefe. Studies in Honour of Prof. Géza Dávid on His Seventieth Birthday* (Research Center for the Humanities, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2019), 199–210.

³⁰ Mühalabat S. Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlılarda Narh Müessesesi ve 1640 Tarihli Narh Defteri [The Ottoman Institution of Fixed Prices and the Register of Fixed Prices of 1640]* (Enderun Yayınları, 1983).

³¹ See a detailed discussion of this problem in Atasoy and Raby, *Iznik*, 24–25.

2. RESEARCH REVIEW OF OTTOMAN MATERIAL CULTURE IN EAST CENTRAL AND SOUTH-EAST EUROPE (HUNGARY, BULGARIA, SERBIA, ROMANIA) AND TURKEY

This chapter aims to provide a general overview of the state of research regarding Ottoman heritage in the region, with a special focus on Asian decorative ceramics. The geographical scope of this overview expands beyond Hungary to the Balkans because the porcelain and faience material from these territories are also analyzed in the dissertation for comparative purposes. For reference, a short review of the state of research in Turkey is also included to demonstrate the current understanding of these objects as archaeological finds within the scope of early modern Ottoman material culture. A recent summary regarding Ottoman archaeology in Hungary, the Balkans, and Anatolia has been published, giving a general idea regarding the state of the art of archaeological research and its results in these regions;³² thus, the review below will focus on the ceramic studies within Ottoman archaeology. A detailed research review of the region of each Asian decorative ceramic type studied is discussed in Chapter 4 as an individual introduction to the ceramic types.

Hungary

Ottoman-period or early modern archaeology in Hungary is a young field of research compared to other periods, but the study of Ottoman archaeological heritage can be considered pioneering in the East-Central European and Balkan regions. Scholarly interest in Ottoman built heritage in Hungary started as early as the late seventeenth century, but as a field of archaeology, in the modern sense of scholarship, it developed after the Second World War due to extensive restoration works around the country.³³ Interest was still mostly on built heritage, such as the works of Győző Gerő,³⁴ among which his monograph on the Ottoman buildings in Hungary

³² Filiz Yenişehirlioglu, “Ottoman Anatolia” and Ibolya Gerelyes et al., “Ottoman Europe”, in Bethany J. Walker, Timothy Insoll, and Corisande Fenwick, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Islamic Archaeology* (Oxford University Press, 2020), 173-191. and 217-239. respectively.

³³ For a detailed history of Ottoman Archaeology in Hungary see: Győző Gerő, “The History of Ottoman-Turkish Archaeological Research in Hungary”) and József Laszlovszky and Judith Rasson, “Post-medieval or Historical Archaeology: Terminology and Discourses in the Archaeology of the Ottoman Period,” in Ibolya Gerelyes and Gyöngyi Kovács, eds., *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period in Hungary. Papers of the Conference Held at the Hungarian National Museum, Budapest, 24-26 May 2000* (Hungarian National Museum, 2003), 17-22. and 377-382. respectively.

³⁴ See: Békésiné Wellisch Márta, “Gerő Győző (1924 – [2011]) műveinek bibliográfiája [The Bibliography of Győző Gerő's (1924--[2011 – the author]) Works],” *Budapest Régiségei* 38 (2004): 317–27. For more recent publications, see the works of Gyöngyi Kovács and Adrienn Papp in the bibliography.

should be emphasized, but material culture was collected and published as well. Although he did not particularly focus on material culture, the work of Győző Gerő was fundamental for the development of Ottoman archaeology as a field in Hungary. His scholarly heritage was carried on by Ibolya Gerelyes and Gyöngyi Kovács. Furthermore, Gerő's results regarding the built heritage of the Ottoman period created a knowledge framework for interpreting the ceramic finds. The work of Gerelyes and Kovács focused on the interpretation of material culture, and their work is fundamental for further research even today. As a result, there is extensive knowledge regarding the material culture of the Ottomans, including Asian-type ceramics, such as footed bowls, jars, and even Iznik faience. A comprehensive and annotated discussion of the research history of early modern pottery in Hungary was most recently published by Ágnes Kolláth, with a detailed presentation of the development of eastern ceramic studies in Hungarian archaeological research.³⁵

A more detailed research history of the different Asian decorative ceramic types is presented in Chapter 4, in the introduction to each type. The arguably best-researched type among Asian decorative ceramics is Iznik ware. Imre Holl, the most prominent scholar of medieval archaeology and medieval material culture in post-war Hungary, published pioneering extensive research on the Buda Chinese porcelain assemblage and a comprehensive study of 'Persian' faience.³⁶ Even though most of his identifications of Chinese porcelain were accurate, his publication was selective. A new evaluation of the Buda assemblage was initiated over a decade ago by the author of this dissertation, later supplemented with the Eger assemblage.³⁷ This resulted in a new and more thorough typology, extended and, in some cases, modified in the present dissertation. Regarding Persian faience research, Holl's identifications were widely accepted in Hungarian scholarship. However, experts, such as Ibolya Gerelyes and Gyöngyi Kovács, expressed in connection with some types, rendered as 'Persian' based on Holl's identification, that they may be from Kütahya. This problem, though, has never been explored in depth. The analysis of larger material and its comparison with the Balkan finds brought about

³⁵ Ágnes Kolláth, "The Research History of Early Modern Pottery of Hungary," *Antaeus. Communicationes Ex Instituto Archaeologico* 37 (2021): 299–301.

³⁶ Imre Holl, *Fundkomplexe des 15.-17. Jahrhunderts aus dem Burgpalast von Buda [Find complexes of the 15-17th centuries from the Palace of Buda]*, *Varia Archaeologica Hungarica* 17 (Archäologisches Institut der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2005)., and Imre Holl, "Persische Fayancewaren im Ungarischen Fundmaterial (15.-17. Jh.) [Persian Faience Ware in the Hungarian Find Material (15-17th c.)]," *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 57 (2006): 475–510., respectively.

³⁷ Tünde Komori, "Comparative Study of the Chinese Porcelain Finds of Ottoman Buda and the Castle of Eger" (MA, Budapest, Central European University, 2017)., see also my publications in bibliography.

a strong argument that most of the types previously identified as ‘Persian’ are, in fact, Kütahyan (see Chapter 4, Iznik and Kütahya ware).

Bulgaria

A quite recent English-language summary of the current state of Ottoman-period archaeology in Bulgaria has been published by Andrew Petersen, discussing an important aspect regarding the study of the Bulgarian Ottoman heritage.³⁸ The five-hundred-year Ottoman rule, although it went through considerable positive change, still has a rather negative connotation today in Bulgaria (not much differently from Hungary). This also resulted in the often neglecting of Ottoman layers during excavations in order to focus more on the Bulgarian imperial, Byzantine, and classical (Antique) layers. This attitude, in many cases, resulted in preserved Ottoman-period finds but lost precise archaeological contexts of those finds.³⁹

Concerning the abovementioned aspect—except for the extensive study of the early modern ceramics of Varna⁴⁰—pottery in general from the Ottoman period has barely been studied and published.⁴¹ Valentin Pletnov’s work regarding the Ottoman household ceramics in Varna is crucial in raising awareness among Bulgarian archeologists of this under-studied group of material culture. For the sake of the present dissertation, this monograph was invaluable as it contained detailed information about the archaeological contexts of the Asian decorative ceramic collection of Varna. Sadly, Pletnov had no students continuing his research; thus, no archaeologist was left in Bulgaria to research Ottoman pottery unearthed there after his passing. Pletnov also published two small exhibition catalogues of Chinese porcelain and Iznik and Kütahya pieces.⁴² From a scholarly point of view, these merely record the objects in the exhibition, which thus could not be researched firsthand.

Another exceptional publication is Magdalina Stancheva’s article from 1960 which published a rather large Ottoman decorative ceramic assemblage unearthed during the

³⁸ Andrew Petersen, “‘Under the Yoke’: The Archaeology of the Ottoman Period in Bulgaria,” *Journal of Islamic Archaeology* 4, no. 1 (2017): 23–48.

³⁹ Petersen, “Under the Yoke”, 29.

⁴⁰ Pletnov, Valentin Валентин Плетньов, *Битовата керамика във Варна XV-XVIII век* [Household Ceramics is Varna, XV-XVIIIth Centuries] (Varna, 2004).

⁴¹ Petersen, “Under the Yoke”, 40.

⁴² Валентин Valentin Плетньов Pletnov, *Порцелан и майолика от Варна* [Porcelain and maiolica from Varna], Съкровища на Варненския Археологически музей [Treasures of the Varna Archaeological Museum] (“Slavena” Publishing, 2005).; and Валентин Valentin Плетньов Pletnov, *Турски фаянс от Варна* [Turkish Faience from Varna], Съкровища на Варненския Археологически музей [Treasures of the Varna Archaeological Museum] (“Slavena” Publishing, 2002).

construction of the Hotel Balkan in Sofia around the medieval rotunda in the center of the city.⁴³ This publication critically evaluates the unearthed sherds based on the literature available at the time, combining stylistic parallels with archaeological contexts. Stancheva's results, where dating and identification were possible, are accurate, but due to the lack of literature of the time, they are incomplete. Regardless, it also provided information about the archaeological context of some pieces, as well as valuable background information about the assemblage. Another publication on decorative ceramics in Sofia was written by Guergana Guionova, discussing the fourteenth- to seventeenth-century import of ceramics in Bulgaria, based mainly on the archaeological collection of Sofia and Kyustendil.⁴⁴ In her introduction, Guionova also mentions that imported ceramics are understudied in Bulgaria,⁴⁵ which include West Asian and Anatolian faience, and Chinese porcelain. This publication, though, is rather an overview of these types than an in-depth analysis and offers no further information or interpretation of the Ottoman-period material culture of Bulgaria. Guionova also published the Miletus ware collection excavated in Shumen,⁴⁶ contributing to the better recognition of this type among Bulgarian archaeologists.⁴⁷ Regarding pottery, clay pipes have been studied in more depth early on, making this segment of the Ottoman material culture relatively well-studied in Bulgaria.⁴⁸ Fortunately, the research of Ottoman-period ceramics has recently been included more and more in the scholarly canon of Bulgaria. New interest has risen toward a better understanding of this period, resulting in publications that expand the field of Ottoman-period ceramic research in Bulgarian archaeology.⁴⁹

⁴³ Станчева Stancheva Магдалина Magdalina, "Турски фаянс от София [Turkish Faience from Sofia]," *Известия на Археологическия институт* 23 (1960): 111–44. and Guergana Guionova, "Céramique d'importation du XIVe au XVIIe s. en Bulgarie [Imported ceramics of the 14th to 17th centuries in Bulgaria]," in *Actas do X Congresso Internacional a Cerâmica Medieval no Mediterrâneo, Silves, 22 a 27. outubro 2012* (Silvas, 2012), 681–91.

⁴⁴ Guionova, "Céramique d'importation."

⁴⁵ Guionova, "Céramique d'importation", 681.

⁴⁶ Guergana Guionova, "Miletus Ware à Choumen [Miletus Ware from Shumen]," *Archaeologia Bulgarica* 9, no. 3 (2005): 87–94. Some other publications are also available, e.g.: Росен Rosen Иванов Ivanov and Румен Rumen Иванов Ivanov, "Ранносманска керамика от Пловдив (XIV–XV в.) [Early Ottoman pottery from Plovdiv (14th – 15th c.)]," in *M. Daskalov, et al. eds., In Honorem Professoris Violetae Volkova-Nesheva ad multos annos, Annual of National Archaeological Museum* 13 (NAIM-BAS, 2016), 281–85.

⁴⁷ My personal experience at the Museum of Regional History in Sofia was that colleagues were confident in recognizing Miletus ware but were less confident in distinguishing Persian faience, Iznik and Kütahya ware, and Chinese porcelain from each other. This indicated that more research has been done on Miletus ware than the other types of Central Asian and East Asian ceramics excavated in Bulgaria.

⁴⁸ See: Magdalina Stancheva and Stephka Medarova, "Production of Clay Pipes in Bulgaria," *Muzei I Pametnitsi Na Kulturata* 3 (1968): 4–13.; Vulka Iltcheva, "Clay Pipes from Veliko Turnovo," *Jahrbuch Der Museen in Nordbulgarien* 1 (1972): 179–99.

⁴⁹ E.g.: Guergana Guionova, "Daily Material Life in Sofia through Locally Produced Ceramics, 15th–19th Centuries," *Archaeologia Bulgarica* 26, no. 2 (2022): 117–37.

Besides archaeology, historical studies of the Ottoman period in Bulgaria also need to be mentioned.⁵⁰ Although it has a much longer tradition than that of archaeology, recently, it is mostly the scholarly work of Grigor Boykov and Rossitsa Gradeva that makes this significant historical work accessible to non-Bulgarian scholars by publishing in English.⁵¹ Furthermore, their methodological approach broadens the limits of historical study from merely analyzing the textual evidence to placing it in a different context, such as GIS and the reconstruction of road systems.⁵² A multi-disciplinary approach and a widely accessible language of publication resulted in the recognition that Bulgarian Ottoman studies are not only relevant to Bulgaria but to the whole of the former territory of the Ottoman Empire, east and west of Bulgarian lands, naturally including Hungary as well.

The English-language publication of Bulgarian Ottoman history greatly contributed to my understanding of the archaeological material, as they provided a social topographical framework in which the finds could be placed (see Chapter 3). As Bulgarian Ottoman archaeology is still developing, the find assemblages cannot be interpreted without keeping in mind that the lack of material from more cities is probably not because these objects were absent, but because they were not collected or recognized as part of the archaeological heritage. With the change in the approach of Bulgarian archaeologists to the Ottoman archaeological heritage, hopefully, more assemblages may come to light either from the ground or from museum storages.

Serbia

Regarding Ottoman-period archaeology in Serbia, a recent study has pointed out and summarized the problem that becomes apparent based on researching the Serbian literature concerning Ottoman-period sites and finds in the country.⁵³ Todorović's article explains in detail the reasons behind the lack of research in Serbia, which can be applied to the entire Balkan region in different degrees, namely the lack of specialized education in Ottoman-period

⁵⁰ For a detailed summary see: Elena Grozdanova, "Bulgarian Ottoman Studies at the Turn of Two Centuries: Continuity and Innovation," *Études Balkaniques* 3 (2005): 93–146.

⁵¹ E.g.: Grigor Boykov, *Ottoman Plovdiv. Space, Architecture, and Population (14th-17th Centuries)* (Austrian Academy of Sciences, 2024)., Rossitsa Gradeva, *Rumeli under the Ottomans, 15th-18th Centuries: Institutions and Communities* (ISIS, 2004)., and Rossitsa Gradeva, *War and Peace in Rumeli, 15th to Beginning of 19th Century* (ISIS, n.d.).

⁵² M. Erdem Kabadayi, Piet Gerrits, and Grigor Boykov, "Geospatial Mapping of a 16th Century Transport Corridor for Southeast Europe," *Digital Scholarship in the Humanities* 37, no. 3 (2022): 788–812.

⁵³ Miloš Todorović, "The Problems of Studying Ottoman Heritage in Serbia," *Journal of Balkan and Black Sea Studies* 4, no. 6 (2020): 213–37.

archaeology.⁵⁴ This results in the fact that virtually there are no specialists in this topic among Serbian archaeologists, except for a few researchers such as Vesna Bikić and Jelena Živković, who recently defended her PhD dissertation regarding the local Ottoman ceramic production in and around Belgrade.⁵⁵

Belgrade is an exception from the above Serbian situation, since it has been thoroughly researched and published in the past few decades, thanks to a comprehensive excavation project related to the restoration of the Belgrade Fortress.⁵⁶ The numerous publications of Vesna Bikić—a majority of them written in English—contributed to the detailed knowledge of the Ottoman-period ceramic material of the Belgrade Fortress,⁵⁷ serving as a strong basis for comparing it to what is excavated in Buda and Eger. Vesna Bikić’s publications of the Ottoman ceramics in Belgrade are very useful for comparing the Hungarian material to the Balkans. These studies aim to identify the types of Asian decorative ware and household ceramics and interpret them within their archaeological and historical contexts. Some Serbian-language exceptions for Ottoman-period find publications do appear,⁵⁸ and it seems that in the last two decades, the above-described trend is changing for the positive. More and more short reports on such finds are being published, including surrounding states such as Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Montenegro.⁵⁹ Fortunately, in contrast to the earlier publications, these usually contain an English-language summary, making it more accessible for non-Serbian speaking researchers as well.

Serbia also has an Ottoman history school, such as Bulgaria, Romania, and Hungary; thus, there are a number of publications dealing with the Ottoman-period history of Serbia, although not as extensively as in Bulgaria.⁶⁰ The English-language works cited here demonstrate the

⁵⁴ Todorović, “The Problems of Studying Ottoman Heritage,” 2014.

⁵⁵ Jelena Živković, “Archaeology of Ottomanisation in the Middle Danube Region: Technological Perspectives on Pottery Production in Belgrade between the 14th to 17th Centuries” (PhD, UCL Qatar, 2019).

⁵⁶ Todorović, “The Problems of Studying Ottoman Heritage,” 214.

⁵⁷ See the works of Vesna Bikić in the Bibliography.

⁵⁸ Марија Марија Балајовић Balajović and Хаџи-Пешић Hadži-Pešić, “Налази турске керамике изИЗНИКА [Finds of Turkish Ceramics from Iznik],” in ВерЕНА Хан Verena Han ed., *Градска култура на Балкану (XV – XIX век) Nalazi turske keramike izIznika* [City Culture in the Balkans (XV-XIXth Centuries)] (Belgrade, 1984), 311–14.

⁵⁹ See e.g. Милица Milica Крижанац Križanac, “Европски и турски увоз Котора у 14. до 17. века (Археолошка истраживања 1987-1999) (European and Turkish Import to Kotor from 14th to 17th Century /Archaeological research 1987-1999/),” *Boka* 39 (2019): 63–84.

⁶⁰ Machiel Kiel, “The Ottoman Castle of Ram (Haram) in Serbia and the Accounts of Its Construction, 1491,” in Rudić, Srđan and Aslantaş, Selim Eds., *State and Society in the Balkans Before and After Establishment of Ottoman Rule* (Institut za Istoriju & Yunus Emre Enstitüsü Turkish Cultural Centre Belgrade, 2017), 165–90.; Ema Miljkovic, “Ottoman Heritage in the Balkans: The Ottoman Empire in Serbia, Serbia in The Ottoman Empire,” *Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, February 2009, 129–37.; for more

awareness of the lack of research, the reasons for which are well-described in an article targeted at analyzing the representation of Southeast Europe's Ottoman past in the region's touristic characteristics.⁶¹ In their article focusing on this region's relationship with its Ottoman heritage, Bryce and Čaušević argue that said relationship is largely influenced by an anxiety towards the Balkans' Europeanism. Thus, the Ottoman heritage is interpreted as something from outside, being in Europe but not being European. This notion, intertwined with the general sense of "having had been under the yoke" of the Ottomans, results in the ambivalent research and preservation of the Ottoman heritage in this region on the edge of Europe.

The most useful publication for the present work is the study of Iznik finds from the Belgrade fortress based on petrographic analysis.⁶² This paper not only provides information regarding the archaeology of the Belgrade fortress, but also brings hard evidence to a hypothesis long formulated in Iznik ware research in Hungary. It has been observed that Iznik ware was more prestigious and probably more expensive than Chinese porcelain even in the second half of the sixteenth century. Therefore, it was likely owned throughout generations. The petrographic dating of the Iznik sherds examined in the above article, compared to the well-datable contexts they were unearthed in, proved that these objects were in use for several decades, even for a century in some cases. This shows the potential of the archaeological study of these objects in understanding their social value within the Ottoman Empire, crossing modern-day national borders, since the results of the Belgrade study can also be implemented in the Hungarian context.

Romania

The field of Ottoman archaeology in Romania is a recently developing one, which is demonstrated by the lack of specialists among Romanian archaeologists on the one hand,⁶³ and by the fact that the first conference dedicated to Ottoman archaeology was organized in 2017,

see Ema Miljkovic, "Modern Serbian, Montenegrin and Croatian Historiography on the Ottoman Empire," *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 8, no. 15 (2010): 697–714.

⁶¹ Derek Bryce and Senija Čaušević, "Orientalism, Balkanism, and Europe's Ottoman Heritage," *Annals of Tourism Research* 77 (2019): 92–105.

⁶² Jelena Živković, Vesna Bikić, and Myrto Georgakopoulou, "Archaeology of Consumption in Ottoman Urban Centres: The Case Study of Iznik Ware from the Belgrade Fortress in the 16th and 17th Centuries," *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 51, no. 1 (2017): 132–44.

⁶³ Florin Mărginean, "Ottoman-Turkish Archaeological Research in Arad County. Turkish Strongholds in the Second Half of the 16th Century between Mureş and Crişul Alb (The Beginning of a Thematic Approach)," *Ziridava. Studia Archaeologica* 30 (2016): 213.

while the first PhD in Ottoman archaeology was defended in 2019.⁶⁴ At the same time, this does not mean that there is no research or publication concerning the Ottoman period in Romania. Still, these studies are more sporadic since archaeological excavations of this period were mainly connected to and thus determined by the excavations of different periods up until very recently. Adriana Gașpar's PhD project conducted the most comprehensive archaeological study, which was connected to Timișoara.⁶⁵ This research grew out of continuous urban excavation projects from the mid-2010s onwards⁶⁶ but was also preceded by several publications of the Ottoman material culture that have been unearthed earlier.⁶⁷ Apart from Timișoara, ceramic finds from Bucharest and other settlements have also been published sporadically. Although Ottoman-period archaeology is fairly young in Romania, numerous publications contain pictures of the ceramic finds, making these assemblages accessible and suitable for comparison throughout the analysis of the Hungarian collections. In-depth analysis, though, is rather lacking in these publications. However, the presence and correct identification of Kütahya ware in these works greatly contributed to the identification of Kütahya sherds in the Hungarian material, bringing about significant new results in the typology of the material.⁶⁸

Besides archaeology, historical research has also been progressing regarding the Ottoman period in Romania. In connection with the topic of the present dissertation, the work of Mária Pakucs is the most relevant, as it mainly deals with the custom registers of Sibiu.⁶⁹ Pakucs's work sheds light on the trading network of Sibiu, placing this one trading hub in the context of—among others—the Ottoman trading network in this region. This knowledge is particularly

⁶⁴ *Ottoman archaeology in Romania: challenges, realities, perspectives*, Faculty of History, University of Bucharest, 20-21 October, 2017.; Adriana Gașpar, "Timișoara În Epoca Otomană În Lumina Descoperirilor Arheologice [Timișoara in the Ottoman Period in the Light of Archaeological Discoveries]" (PhD, Vasile Pârvan Institute of Archaeology, 2019).; information published by: Radu-Alexandru Dragoman, Sorin Marghitu-Oanță, and Tiberiu Vasilescu, "Contribution to an Archaeology of the Ottoman Heritage in Romania: The Muslim Cemetery in Lanurile (Dobruja)," *Caiete ARA* 12 (2021): 116.

⁶⁵ Adriana Gașpar, "Ottoman Towns in the Light of Archaeological Finds (Ceramic Vessels): The Case of Timișoara," in *History and Society during the Mamluk Period (1250-1517)*, ed. Bethany J. Walker and Abdelkader Al Ghouz, vol. Mamluk Studies 24 (Stephan Conermann and Bethany J. Walker eds.), Studies for the Annamarie Schimmel Institute for Advanced Studies 3 (Bonn University Press, 2021), 407–86.

⁶⁶ See Adriana Gașpar's works in the Bibliography.

⁶⁷ See Daniela Tănase and Niculina Dinu, "Faianță și porțelan din epoca otomană descoperite în Timișoara, Străzile Lucian Blaga, Enrico Caruso și Radu Negru (Campania 2014) [Earthenware and porcelain from the Ottoman era discovered in Timișoara, Lucian Blaga, Enrico Caruso and Radu Negru Streets (Campaign 2014)]," *Studii Și Cercetări de Istorie Veche și Arheologie* 66, no. 1–2 (2015): 69–96.; Niculina Dinu, "Ceramică Și Obiceiuri Culinare În Timișoara Otomană (1552–1716) [Pottery and Culinary Habits in Ottoman Timișoara (1552–1716)]," in *Cercetări Arheologice În Centrul Istoric al Timișoarei – Strada Lucian Blaga, Campania 2014 [Archaeological Research in the Historical Center of Timisoara - Lucian Blaga Street, 2014 Campaign]*, ed. Alexandru Flutur, Daniela Tănase, and Hamat Cristina (Editora Mega, 2018), 95–100.

⁶⁸ See the works of Niculina Dinu in the Bibliography.

⁶⁹ See the works of Mária Pakucs-Willcocks in the Bibliography.

relevant for reconstructing one of the possible trade networks through which porcelain and faience traveled from Istanbul to Hungary.

Turkey

The Ottoman-period archaeology of Anatolia in modern-day Turkey is surprisingly similar to that of the Balkans. After the formation of the Republic of Turkey, the Seljuk and Ottoman past were overshadowed by the archaeological and historical research of earlier periods. This situation is most recently explained in detail by the comprehensive description of present-day Turkish Ottoman-period archaeology by Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu.⁷⁰ In the mid-twentieth century, the situation started to turn around; the first scientific excavations in modern Turkey were the Iznik kiln excavations in the 1960s.⁷¹ Ceramics have always been the focus of Turkish Ottoman-period archaeology. However, a comprehensive and systematic analysis of the Anatolian finds of locally produced and imported ceramics is still to be conducted.⁷² Yenişehirlioğlu's overview of present-day Ottoman archaeology in Turkey, discussing separately the different fields of archaeology within the period, demonstrates what can be concluded based on general research in the native secondary literature: excavations and publications of ceramic find assemblages and collections is uncommon and sporadic. One outstanding exception is the English-language publication of the large-scale excavations conducted at Saraçhane in Istanbul, which, among all the other periods, also yielded many sixteenth-seventeenth-century ceramics.⁷³ Later, a Turkish-language monograph was published in two editions presenting the Ottoman ceramics unearthed at the Roman Theatre site in Iznik.⁷⁴ The archaeological excavations at Iznik in the 1960s and 1980s brought a breakthrough in the

⁷⁰ Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu, "Ottoman Anatolia". Two earlier English-language works also deal with the archaeology of Ottoman Anatolia: Uzi Baram and Lynda Carroll, eds., *A Historical Archaeology of the Ottoman Empire. Breaking New Ground* (Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2002).; Zainab Bahrani, Zeynep Çelik, and Eldem Edhem, eds., *Scramble for the Past. A Story of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, 1753-1914* (Salt/Garanti Kültür A.Ş., 2011).

⁷¹ Oktay Aslanapa, *Anadolu'da Türk Çini ve Seramik Sanatı [Turkish Tile and Ceramic Art in Anatolia]* (Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü, 1965).

⁷² Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu, "Ottoman Anatolia", 189.

⁷³ R. Martin Harrison, *Excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul. Vol. 1.: Excavations, Structures, Architectural Decorations, Small Finds, Coins, Bones, and Molluscs* (Princeton University Press and Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1986, 1986).; John W. Hayes, *Excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul. Vol. 2.: The Pottery* (Princeton University Press and Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1992).

⁷⁴ Nurşen Özkul Fındık, *İznik Roma Tiyatrosu Kazı Buluntuları (1980–1995) Arasındaki Osmanlı Seramikleri [Ottoman Ceramics from the Iznik Roman Theatre Excavation Finds (1980–1995)]* (Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2001).; Nurşen Özkul Fındık, *İznik Sırlı Seramikleri - Roma Tiyatrosu Kazısı (1980-1995) [Iznik Glazed Ceramics - Roman Theatre Excavation (1980-1995)]* (Bilgin Kültür Sanat Yayınları, 2014).

typochronological research of Iznik ware, resulting in a monograph that is still fundamental to all researchers of Iznik ceramics.⁷⁵

In the past two decades, not only archaeologists but art historians also turned their attention towards Ottoman ceramics, mainly concerning pieces produced in Iznik (fifteenth-seventeenth century), Kütahya (eighteenth century), Tekfur Palace (eighteenth-century) and Çanakkale (modern period), this attention resulting in a comprehensive monograph concerning these ceramics.⁷⁶ Besides art historians, archaeologists have also begun publishing ceramic finds more and more often, mainly dealing with local productions, such as sgraffito wares and Iznik-produced vessels, but imports are also analyzed in several publications.⁷⁷ Among these publications, the archaeological research of Kütahya ware is crucial for the present dissertation, as it is strongly connected to the chronology of some Kütahya types (for more details of this problem see Chapter 4). Regarding Anatolian decorative ware, the works of Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu and Nurşen Özkul Fındık are fundamental, as they provide comprehensive interpretations of these objects, placing them in the broader context of Ottoman material heritage and social history.

The recent development of underwater archaeology also needs to be mentioned since the results of shipwreck excavations and the analysis of their cargoes can be more than relevant to future stages of research started with the present dissertation, such as the more detailed research into the trading networks of the period and the role of Asian decorative ceramics in it. The Turkish Foundation for Underwater Archaeology started its periodical called “Tina. Maritime Archaeology Periodical” in 2014.⁷⁸ The open access, Turkish-English bilingual periodical is a progressive project, making recent underwater archaeology in Turkey accessible for the non-native researchers as well. It also brings into light a field of archaeology that has rarely been mentioned in the works cited above, summarizing the current state of Turkish archaeology.

⁷⁵ Atasoy and Raby, *Iznik*.

⁷⁶ Gönül Öney and Zehra Çobanı, eds., *Anadolu’da Türk Devri Çini ve Seramik Sanatı [Turkish Era Tile and Ceramic Art in Anatolia]* (Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2007).

⁷⁷ See the relevant titles in the Bibliography.

⁷⁸ All the issues are open access online on their website: <http://www.tinaturk.org/> (Accessed: 05/03/2023)

3. SITES OF THE MATERIAL: OTTOMAN-PERIOD HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY

The goal of this chapter is to provide background information regarding the sites and the materials with which I worked firsthand. Scholarship regarding the Ottoman-period history and archaeology of these sites varies; some sites are well-studied and well-published, while others require further research from specialized scholarship to accumulate more information about their daily life. The juxtaposition of the archaeological and historical scholarship of these sites aims to paint a picture of the current understanding of the objects studied in the present work. Furthermore, it sheds light on the limitations of the current state of research regarding the available data. This data serves as the basis of the material analysis and its interpretation in the following chapters. The discussion is structured in descending order regarding their status within the Ottoman administrative system; i.e. it starts with the *beylerbeylik* centers, then discusses *sancak* centers, after that moves on to smaller towns, and finally presents an example of a *palanka* fortress (Maps 3 and 4). This structure allows for a better understanding of the different settlement types and their role within the Ottoman economic and social life, thus providing a framework for analyzing the decorative ceramics that are in the present study's focus.

Before moving on to the sites, a short introduction to the Ottoman administrative system is due. The simplified introduction will reflect the era of Sultan Süleyman (1520-1566), which is considered the golden age of Ottoman state building. The primary reason for choosing this period is that the administrative system in the early period of Ottoman state formation, especially the fourteenth century, is scarcely known to scholarship due to a lack of adequate sources. The fifteenth century is formative in this sense, and there are more sources to work with, but still not in abundance. On the other hand, the sixteenth century is well-researched and thus offers a basis for introducing the administration of the, by then, centralized Ottoman state. The seventeenth century brought several changes to this system, but the main structure of administration, based on which taxes were levied, remained largely unchanged.⁷⁹

The two largest geographical divisions of the Ottoman Empire are Anatolia (Asian lands) and Rumelia (European lands; see Chapter 1). As the empire's territory grew and state building progressed, new administrative divisions were established. The largest such division is called

⁷⁹ Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds. The Construction of the Ottoman State*, 118–50.

eyalet or *vilayet* (province),⁸⁰ overseen by the governor-general, the *beylerbeyi* (lit. “lord of the lords”). After the governor, *eyalet* or *vilayet* is also called *beylerbeylik*. In general, the use of *vilayet* in Hungarian scholarship, especially if written by non-specialists, is the most common. In this dissertation, to avoid errors, *beylerbeylik* is used as a uniform term for provinces. Another common term used in Hungarian (and other) scholarship is *paşa* (=pasha), which is a title given to *beylerbeyis* and *vezirs* (=vizier; the Sultan’s minister, a member of the Imperial council⁸¹). *Beylerbeyliks* were further divided into *sancaks* (=sanjak; flag, banner; division of a *beylerbeylik*, i.e., containing those who march under the same banner), governed by the *sancakbeyi* (governor or commander of a *sancak*).⁸² The next level of administrative division is the *nahiye* (district). By the sixteenth century, it has become a subdivision of the *kaza/kadılık*, the geographical area of the *kadı*’s jurisdiction.⁸³ A *kadı* is a judge of Islamic *şeriat* (=sharia) law, with responsibilities for the local administration of *kanun* (dynastic) law in the Ottoman context.⁸⁴

Besides administration, quarters, buildings, and documentary sources of Ottoman towns will also be mentioned in abundance below, thus here a brief introduction is provided. The social composition and topography can best be reconstructed based on the different *defters* (tax registers) compiled yearly by the Ottoman government. The types appearing in relation to the settlements discussed below include *icmal defters* (summary registers), *mufassal defters* (detailed registers), *mufassal avarız defters* (detailed property tax registers), and *cizye defters* (register of taxes payable by non-Muslims).⁸⁵

The quarters or neighborhoods are called *mahalle*, and are usually organized around streets or places of worship. The latter in the Ottoman world consist of *camis* and *mescids*, usually both translated as mosques. The difference is in function: the *cami* is a place for gathering and praying as a community, as well as this is the place of the Friday prayer, the most important prayer of the week. Furthermore, the sermons are also held here, including those held for the sake of the sultan (called *hutbe/hutba*). As opposed to the *cami*, a *mescid* is merely a place of

⁸⁰ The proper term for this division is *beylerbeylik*; *eyalet* started to appear in the documents after 1591. Before that, besides *beylerbeylik*, *vilayet* also appears. However, it has a broader meaning of governorship. See Halil İnalcık, “Eyalet,” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., vol. 2 (E. J. Brill, 1991), 720.

⁸¹ See “Glossary” in Ağoston and Masters, *Encyclopaedia of the Ottoman Empire*.

⁸² Definitions taken from the “Glossary” section of Metin Kunt and Christine Woodhead, eds., *Süleyman the Magnificent and His Age. The Ottoman Empire in the Early Modern World*, 3rd ed. (Routledge, 2013).

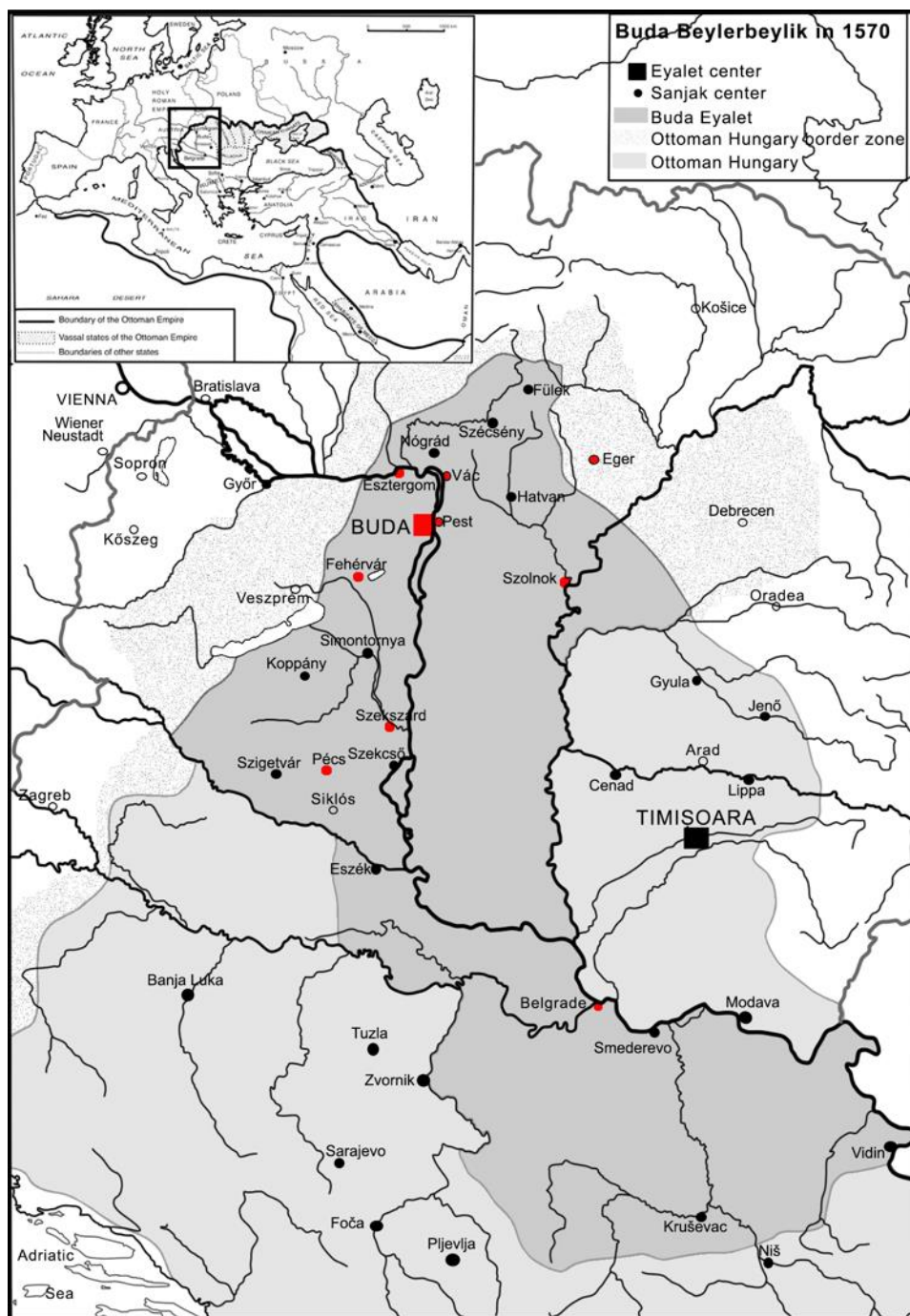
⁸³ Based on the “Glossary,” in Kunt and Woodhead, *Süleyman the Magnificent and His Age*.

⁸⁴ “Glossary,” in Kunt and Woodhead, *Süleyman the Magnificent and His Age*.

⁸⁵ Suraiya Faroqhi, *Approaching Ottoman History. An Introduction to the Sources*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge University Press, 2003).

worship, in many cases located in a non-conspicuous, simple building.⁸⁶ Places of worship, especially *camis*, were usually in the center of a *küllüye*. A *küllüye* is a building complex catering for the needs of the Muslim inhabitants, containing some or all of the following buildings and institutions: a *cami* (usually with a *minaret* – a tower from where the *müezzin* calls for prayer), a *mekteb* (elementary school), a *medrese* (school of higher education, similar to a university), an *imaret* (soup kitchen for the poor), a *hamam* (steam bath) or *ılıca* (hot water bath), a *han* (inn) or *caravanserai* (inn for traders or those traveling in a caravan), a *bedesten/bedestan* (roofed market), and a *türbe* (mausoleum). Less often a *zaviye* (monastery) was also included in the *küllüye*. The institutions of the *küllüye* are financed by a *vakıf* (waqf), a charitable foundation usually founded by wealthy members of the society, such as high-ranking administrative, military, and religious officials. The income of the *vakıf* comes from either the baths or shops owned by the endowment and rented out or from a designated part of the income produced by a land property (of the founder of the *vakıf*). These lands also served as a capital for founding a *vakıf*.

⁸⁶ Balázs Sudár, *Dzsámik és mecsetek a hódolt Magyarországon [Camis and Mosques in Ottoman Hungary]* (MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont, Történettudományi Intézet, 2014), 40.

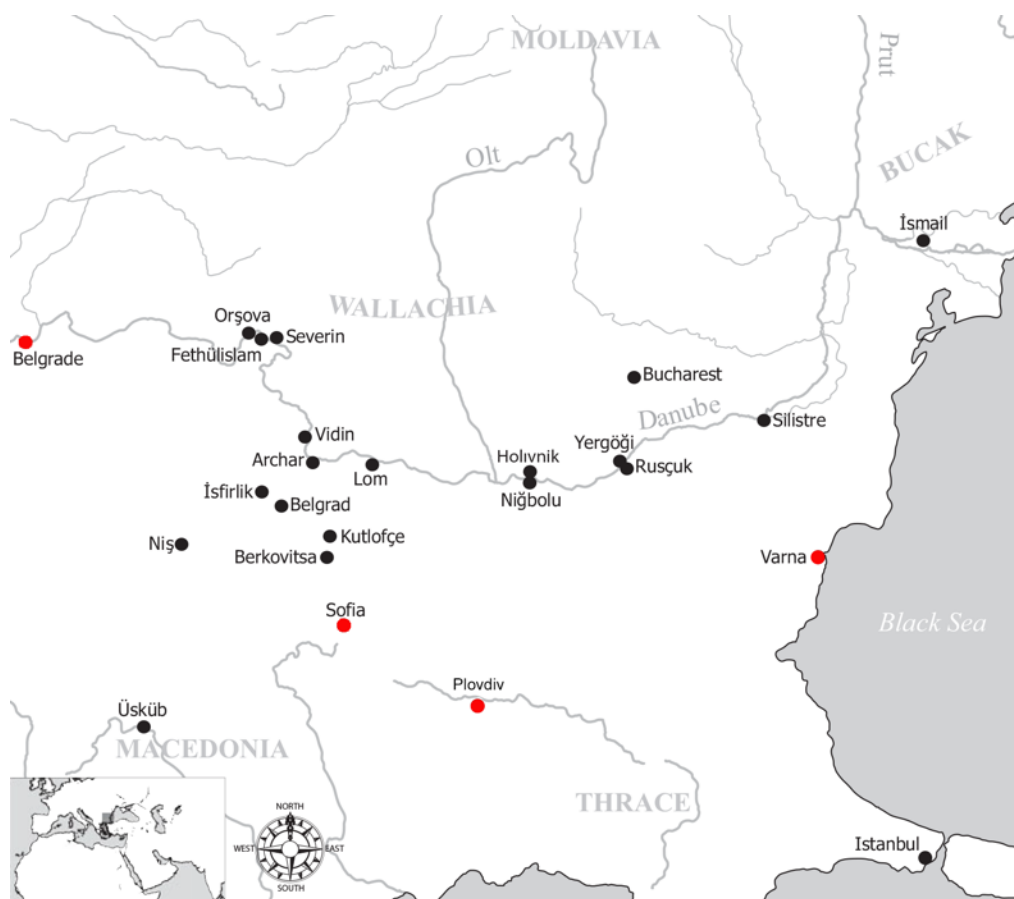


Map 3: a) Sites in the context of Ottoman Hungary in 1570 (marked with red).

Map by author based on Sudár 2014, p. 38, map 3.

b) The position of the Buda Beylerbeylik within the Ottoman Empire, c. 1550.

Map by author after İnalçık and Quataert 1994, vol. 1., map 2.



Map 4: Sites in Bulgaria (marked with red).
Map: Gradeva 2009, fig. 17.1.

Beylerbeylik centers

Plovdiv (Bulgaria)

Ottoman Plovdiv

Plovdiv (Ottoman: Filibe, Antiquity and medieval period: Philippopolis) is a spectacular example of the expansion of the Ottoman Empire within the Balkans, during which a declining medieval city was developed into one of the strategically most important cities of the empire during the Ottoman rule. It has been on the radar of Ottoman historiography for decades,⁸⁷ but the most comprehensive and methodologically novel study of its development was recently published by Grigor Boykov.⁸⁸ The novelty of this work lies in a multidisciplinary approach, combining archival data with archaeological results and the spatial visualization of the topographical development of Plovdiv during the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries. This

⁸⁷ See Grigor Boykov and Maria Kripovska, "The Ottoman Philippopolis (Filibe) During the Second Half of the 15th c.," *Bulgarian Historical Review / Revue Bulgare d'Histoire* 3–4 (2000): 112–38.

⁸⁸ Boykov, *Ottoman Plovdiv. Space, Architecture, and Population (14th-17th Centuries)*.

approach resulted in a comprehensive study of the social and topographic development of Plovdiv, providing a suitable basis for the purposes of the present work.

The exact date of the occupation of Plovdiv by the Ottomans is still a heavily debated question, but it certainly happened after the conquest of Adrianople (Ottoman: Edirne), which was in the 1360s. Grigor Boykov argues for the possibility that Edirne, and even Plovdiv, could have been occupied more than once during the 1360s,⁸⁹ although generally 1369 is accepted.⁹⁰ In parallel, Boykov argues, the first *beylerbeyi*, Lala Şahin was likely attempting to take Plovdiv for years, which according to a sixteenth-century source, probably happened in 1363-64.⁹¹ The occupation of Plovdiv was part of a general expansion of the Ottomans in the 1360s into Upper Thrace. After conquering this region, the first Ottoman administrative formation was Paşa sancağı, the *sancak* of Rumeli, within the *beylerbeylik* of Rumeli, both initially governed by Lala Şahin.⁹² The *sancaks* then were further divided into smaller units, called *kazas*, and Plovdiv belonged to the so-called Filibe *kaza*, also being its center.⁹³

After its occupation Plovdiv became a strategically crucial settlement for the Ottomans, mostly because of its position, laying in the intersection of two major roads, one of which was the Via Militaris. This road was part of the main artery leading from Istanbul to Belgrade, and has been used by the military and merchants and envoys since Antiquity (see Chapter 6). Because of its advantageous geographical location, Philippopolis was a flourishing city during the Hellenistic and Roman periods, serving as the center of Thracia since 45 CE during the latter.⁹⁴ Topographical data regarding the Byzantine period of the city is scarce, but the sporadic archaeological data indicates that the territory of the city matched that of Antiquity.⁹⁵

The Ottoman occupation brought significant changes in the city's topographical layout. The only constant was the citadel, within which the Christian quarters were formed, most likely as a result the city's surrender to the Ottomans. The peaceful conquest of Plovdiv is corroborated by several chronicles and other documentary sources. It seems that the Christians were promised protection of their lives and properties,⁹⁶ and the fact that they remained within the confines of the citadel walls during the development of Plovdiv suggests that this promise was honored by the conquerors. Apart from the citadel the Ottomans started constructing the core

⁸⁹ Boykov, *Ottoman Plovdiv*, 63.

⁹⁰ Boykov and Kiprovsk, "The Ottoman Philippopolis", 112.

⁹¹ Boykov, *Ottoman Plovdiv*, 70-71.

⁹² Boykov, *Ottoman Plovdiv*, 73.

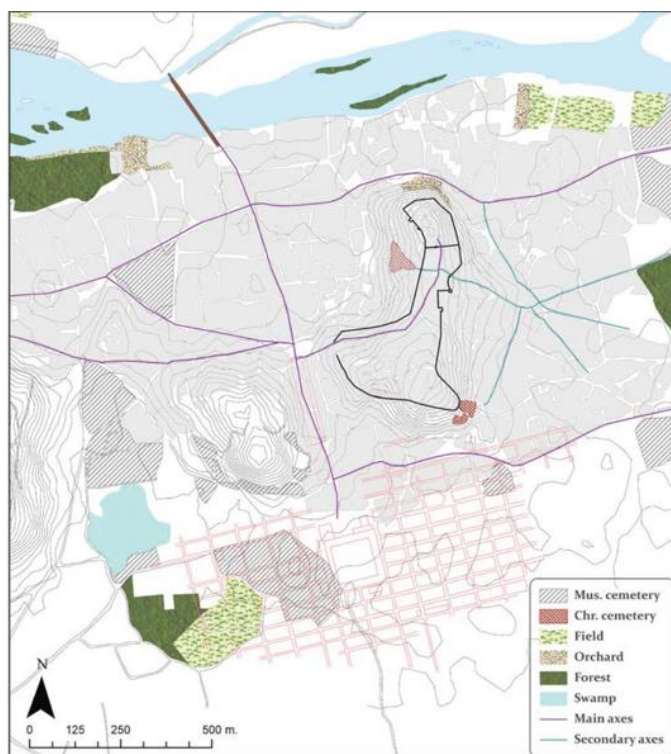
⁹³ Boykov, *Ottoman Plovdiv*, 75.

⁹⁴ Boykov, *Ottoman Plovdiv*, 77-78.

⁹⁵ Boykov, *Ottoman Plovdiv*, 81.

⁹⁶ Boykov, *Ottoman Plovdiv*, 71.

of the newly developing city not where the Antique city of Philippopolis lay, on the plains south of the citadel, but in the territory between the hills and the Maritsa river, northwest of the citadel.



Map 5: The layout of Ottoman Plovdiv, marked in grey, fifteenth-seventeenth centuries, projected on the Antique city layout and street pattern (red grid).
[Map](#) by Boykov, in *Ottoman Plovdiv*, p. 85. Map 7. (Accessed 19 July 2024)

The choice of the location for the newly forming Ottoman city was most likely driven by the vicinity of the Maritsa River, over which Lala Şahin built a wooden bridge immediately after conquering Plovdiv. This bridge made traffic on the Via Militaris much more accessible, creating a role for Plovdiv as a crucial gathering point for the Ottoman troops during the campaigns towards the West Balkans and Central Europe. At the same time, the bridge could have become a “pull factor,” in Boykov’s words, contributing to the organic development of the city’s core in this area.⁹⁷

The main road of the city forms a north-south axis through the bridge over the Maritsa River, leading straight to the Muradiye Mosque, the main Friday Mosque, the square around which the commercial core of Ottoman Plovdiv was constructed.⁹⁸ This part of the town is called the *çarşı*, meaning market, bazaar, or downtown. This core was formed during the late fourteenth century, with the patronage of Lala Şahin, although the fate of these early Ottoman buildings is unclear. Most likely, they did not survive the destruction of the Interregnum war between the

⁹⁷ Boykov, *Ottoman Plovdiv*, 86.

⁹⁸ Boykov, *Ottoman Plovdiv*, 87.

sons of Bayezid I in the early fifteenth century.⁹⁹ The next significant patron of the urban development of Plovdiv was the *beylerbeyi* of Rumeli during the reign of Murad II (r. 1421-1444 and 1446-1451), Şihabeddin paşa. His activity indicates a sultanic will to revive the postwar city. Şihabeddin most likely restored and expanded Lala Şahin's buildings, which included a public bath (Tahktakale Hamamı), a caravanserai (Kurşunlu Han), and a *bedesten* (a roofed market) (See Map 6, nos. 2-4.).¹⁰⁰ The Muradiye Mosque was constructed in the 1430s, and besides rehabilitating Lala Şahin's complex, in 1444-1445 Şihabeddin constructed his own complex half a km north from the Muradiye Camii (see Map 6, nos. 6-10). This complex consisted of a T-type *imaret/zaviye*, a public bathhouse, a *medrese*, an inn, and Şihabeddin's *türbe*.¹⁰¹ The first half of the fifteenth century also saw the patronage of İsmail Bey, whose most significant contribution to the development of Plovdiv was partly the reparation of the city's water system and partly the so-called Çifte Hamam, the largest and most beautiful bath in the city's urban landscape (See Map 5, no. 11).¹⁰² It was most likely commissioned in the late 1440s, at the end of İsmail Bey's life. Its unusual location outside of the city's commercial core indicates that its main role was to cater to the bathing needs of the tanners located in this part of Plovdiv.

These developments after the 1430s defined the urban tissue of Plovdiv, which basically remained unchanged until the end of the Ottoman period in 1878.¹⁰³ The architectural patronage in the second half of the fifteenth century did not modify it; it merely contributed to the city's rapid spatial expansion.¹⁰⁴ The *icmal* register of 1530 mentions four public baths and four inns, the latter showing the growing importance of Plovdiv in trade.¹⁰⁵ The mid-sixteenth century saw the patronage of the influential Halveti *şeyh* Nureddinzade, who commissioned the construction of a Halveti convent (*zaviye*) around the 1550s, located at the northwestern edge of the city, close to the river.¹⁰⁶

⁹⁹ Boykov, *Ottoman Plovdiv*, 96.

¹⁰⁰ Boykov, *Ottoman Plovdiv*, 111-112.

¹⁰¹ Boykov, *Ottoman Plovdiv*, 116. and 127-128.

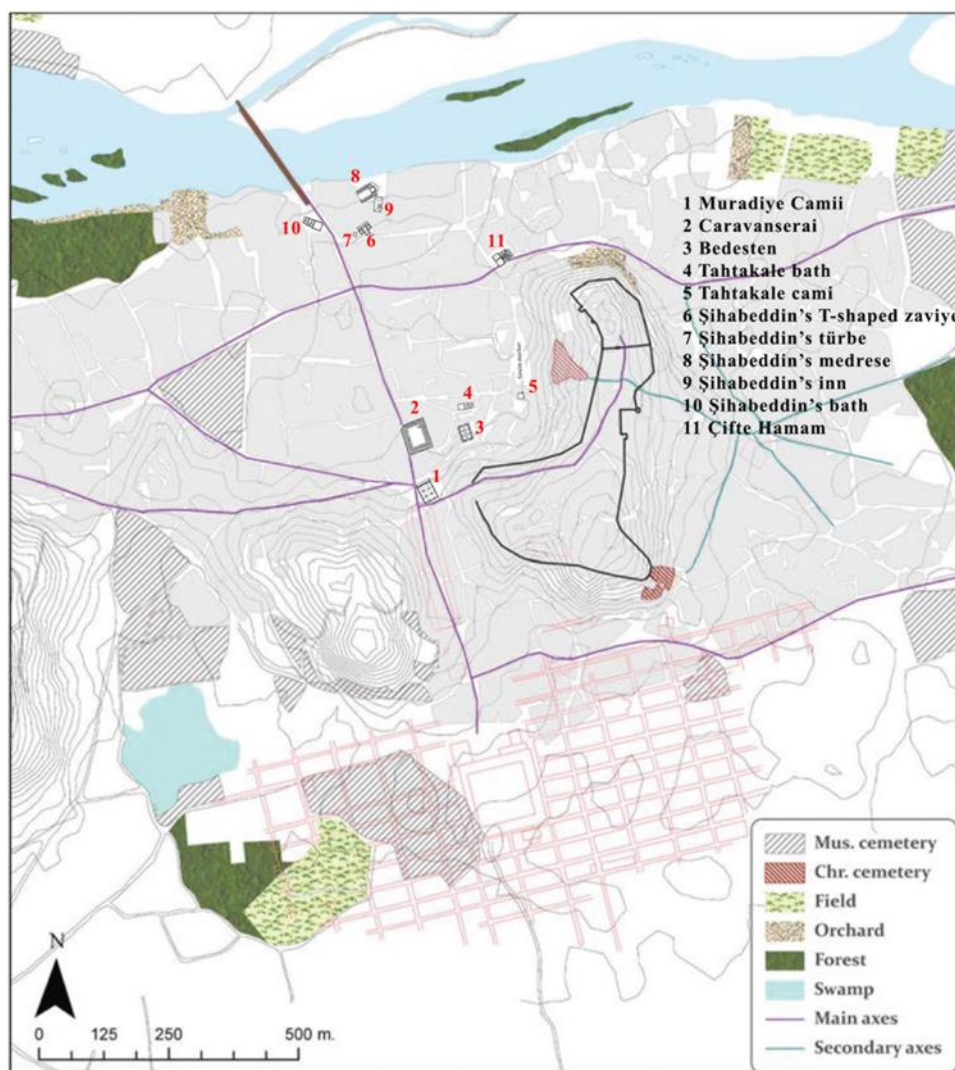
¹⁰² Boykov, *Ottoman Plovdiv*, pp. 140-155.

¹⁰³ Boykov, *Ottoman Plovdiv*, 181.

¹⁰⁴ Boykov, *Ottoman Plovdiv*, 179.

¹⁰⁵ Boykov, *Ottoman Plovdiv*, 197-198.

¹⁰⁶ Boykov, *Ottoman Plovdiv*, 201.



Map 6: The fifteenth-century public buildings of Plovdiv.
 Map by author, by combining Maps 7 and 9-11 in Boykov, *Ottoman Plovdiv*

Regarding the demographic composition of the town, a significant change occurred after the conquest of Constantinople (1453), when Murad II ordered the forced relocation (*sürgün*) of the Christian population of Istanbul in 1460. This resulted in a transformation of the demographics of Plovdiv.¹⁰⁷ Another *sürgün*, this time of the Muslims residing in Upper Thrace, occurred in the early sixteenth century during the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent (1521-1566), after the Ottoman expansion towards the western Balkans and Central Europe. This relocation removed Plovdiv's Muslim religious, scholarly, and intellectual elite, which put a hold on the city's development for a few decades.¹⁰⁸ Besides the intelligentsia, many merchants and craftsmen were also affected by the relocation, and it is hypothesized that these communities were moved to the newly conquered territories to strengthen the Muslim presence

¹⁰⁷ Boykov, *Ottoman Plovdiv*, 160.

¹⁰⁸ Boykov, *Ottoman Plovdiv*, 195.

and to lay the foundations of the new administration there.¹⁰⁹ This hypothesis is corroborated by the 1546 *mufassal* (detailed) register of Buda, which shows that several newcomers arrived in Buda from Plovdiv.¹¹⁰ In the second half of the sixteenth century the social composition of the town started to recover, and Plovdiv's development continued. An indicator of this recovery is the fact that by the 1570s a group of merchants from Dubrovnik settled near the complex of Şihabeddin paşa,¹¹¹ showing the once again growing commercial significance of the city. Besides the Muslim and Christian population, there is archival data for the presence of a Jewish population in the fifteenth century, and then again in the early sixteenth century.¹¹² The seventeenth century shows an even more diverse demographic in Plovdiv. In 1610, a group of Armenian settlers arrived in the city and settled in the area near the then-abandoned church of St George, located just below the walls of the citadel.

Throughout the seventeenth century the Armenian population grew significantly, their quarter remaining in the same location. Their significance is demonstrated by their right to use St George's church granted by Mehmed IV (r. 1648-1687).¹¹³ The presence of an Armenian population is important regarding Plovdiv's commercial life since the Armenians were mostly professional traders throughout the Ottoman Empire during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The last "classical" *tahrir* register of the population of Plovdiv dated to 1614 by Boykov¹¹⁴ does not list most of the professions of the craftsmen but contains detailed information on the *ulema* (religious intellectual elite)¹¹⁵ and the *askeri* (military elite) class. This register lists more than one hundred cavalry and infantry soldiers, four gunners, the commander of the *voynuks*, and even the retired *sancakbeyi* of Çirmen.¹¹⁶ This information is crucial for two reasons, as it will be discussed below. On the one hand, it is this military and intellectual elite that were the primary users of the objects studied in the present work; and on the other hand, it is probable that members of the military were involved in trade as a secondary income, thus the military elite's connection to Asian decorative ware seems to have been very strong.

The social topography of the town (Map 7) also remained virtually unchanged until the Christian population started rising in the late sixteenth century, and as a result gradually spread

¹⁰⁹ Boykov, *Ottoman Plovdiv*, 197.

¹¹⁰ Boykov, *Ottoman Plovdiv*, 194.

¹¹¹ Boykov, *Ottoman Plovdiv*, 206.

¹¹² Boykov, *Ottoman Plovdiv*, 182-183.

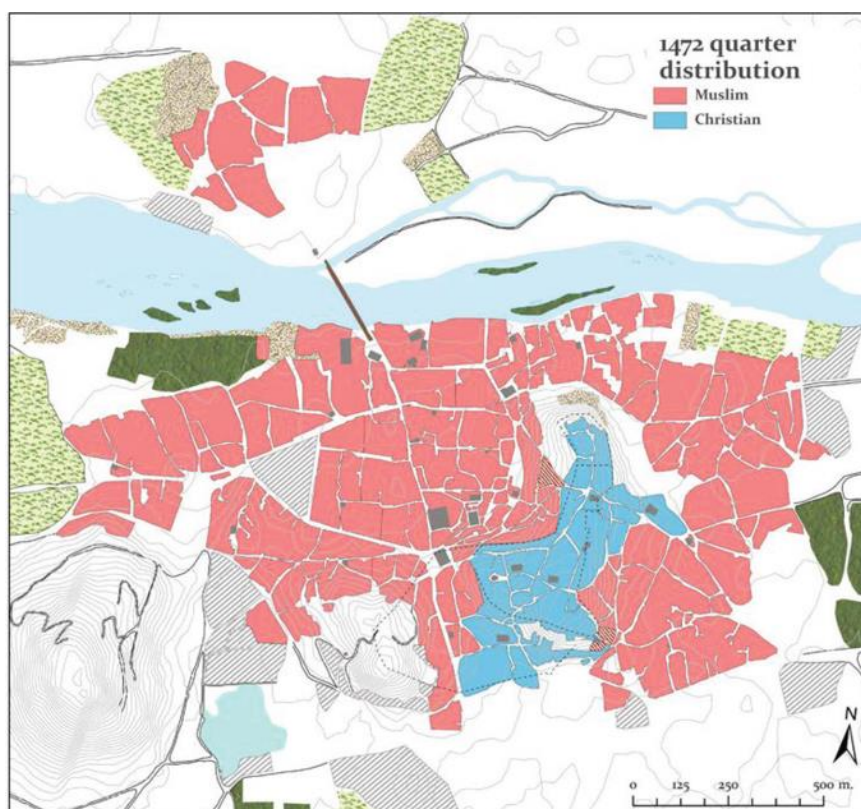
¹¹³ Boykov, *Ottoman Plovdiv*, 214.

¹¹⁴ For the problems of dating this register see Boykov, *Ottoman Plovdiv*, 212.

¹¹⁵ For a detailed definition see Ágoston, *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, 577-578.

¹¹⁶ Boykov, *Ottoman Plovdiv*, 215.

into the Muslim quarters. In 1596 the total population of Plovdiv was 5530, and the number of Christians almost doubled since 1570.¹¹⁷ By the beginning of the seventeenth century the urban fabric of Ottoman Plovdiv was fully developed, although architectural patronage continued. Sadly, the buildings of the seventeenth century patronage did not survive, and information about them is very scarce.¹¹⁸ As mentioned above, the commercial core of city also did not change, thus it can be assumed that the religious and intellectual elite remained settled in or in the vicinity of this area.



Map 7: Confessional distribution of the quarters in 1472.
Map by Boykov, *Ottoman Plovdiv*, p.162. Map 13.

Besides the commercial significance, Plovdiv's military and strategic importance is also demonstrated by the fact that there were imperial camel stables located in the open plain north of the Maritsa River. This space was a gathering point for the army during campaigns, especially toward the western Balkans and Central Europe. The stables were most likely built during the reign of Murad II and were probably reconstructed and extended by Ibrahim Pasha, Süleyman's grand *vezir*, until his execution in 1536.¹¹⁹ On the other end of the city, its territory continued to grow southward during the seventeenth century, most likely due to its relationship

¹¹⁷ Boykov, *Ottoman Plovdiv*, 207.

¹¹⁸ Boykov, *Ottoman Plovdiv*, 219.

¹¹⁹ Boykov, *Ottoman Plovdiv*, 184.

with Istanbul's roads. In conclusion, Plovdiv's geographical position determined its significant role both during campaigns toward the western Balkans and Central Europe and from the point of view of commercial traffic between Belgrade and Istanbul. As a result, the declining late medieval town became a flourishing, developed Ottoman city between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, which was a commercial and intellectual center within the European territories of the Ottoman Empire.

Archaeological context

The archaeological data regarding the Ottoman period of Plovdiv does not reflect the flourishing and developed town represented in the documentary sources. The reasons are discussed above in the research review, but regarding the Asian decorative ware, the finds reflect the historical picture of the city even less. The material available for study derives from three sites and count 14 sherds altogether. The sites include 12 Leonardo da Vinci Street (Site 1), 1 Vazrazhdane Square (Site 2), and 9 Artin Gidikov Street (Site 3) (see Map 9). Regarding the contexts, in general all pieces were found in pits, which can only be dated broadly to the Ottoman period (fourteenth to nineteenth centuries).¹²⁰

Site 1 (12 Leonardo da Vinci Street) yielded 9 out of the 14 sherds available for research.¹²¹ All sherds except one belong to seventeenth and eighteenth century Kütahya ware; the exception is one late sixteenth-century Iznik sherd representing the Rhodes style. The sherds come from four pits, although 3 sherds have no context (Figure 3). The pits can all be dated to the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, mainly dated based on Ottoman ceramic pipes, which appeared in the seventeenth century; a trade jetton dated to the seventeenth or eighteenth century; and an Ottoman bronze coin most likely minted during the reign of Süleyman II (1687-1691).¹²² This coin was found in pit no. CN 601, a large pit which also included the trade jetton, together with two decorative ceramic sherds. The two Asian decorative ceramic sherds are a Kütahya cup sherd with turquoise blue coloring, and a blue and white cup sherd which was either made in Kütahya or Iznik. This coin shows that a seventeenth-century dating of both the Kütahya and Iznik coffee cups is possible (for the dilemma see Chapter 4, Iznik and Kütahya ware). Interestingly, this site is located within Ottoman Plovdiv in a quarter, called İne hoca,

¹²⁰ Here I would like to thank Elena Bozhinova, archaeologist at the Archaeological Museum Plovdiv, for providing hosting my research in Plovdiv, providing the sherds, and the detailed contexts of the finds.

¹²¹ See Catalogue in the Appendix: Plovdiv, Plov_01-05, Plov_08, Plov_12-14.

¹²² Here I would like to thank Orsolya Gálvölgyi, archaeologist and numismatist at the Budapest History Museum, Castle Museum, for her help with identifying the coin.

that in 1614 did not exist yet, and was possibly formed during the nineteenth century, since its closest church, St. Louis cathedral was built in the 1850s.¹²³ The only Iznik sherd from this site was found in a pit dated earlier than another pit containing a polychrome Kütahya coffee cup sherd most likely dated to the eighteenth century. This is important since besides the Iznik sherd there was a Kütahya cup sherd decorated with underglaze blue and turquoise green, which could thus be dated to the seventeenth century.

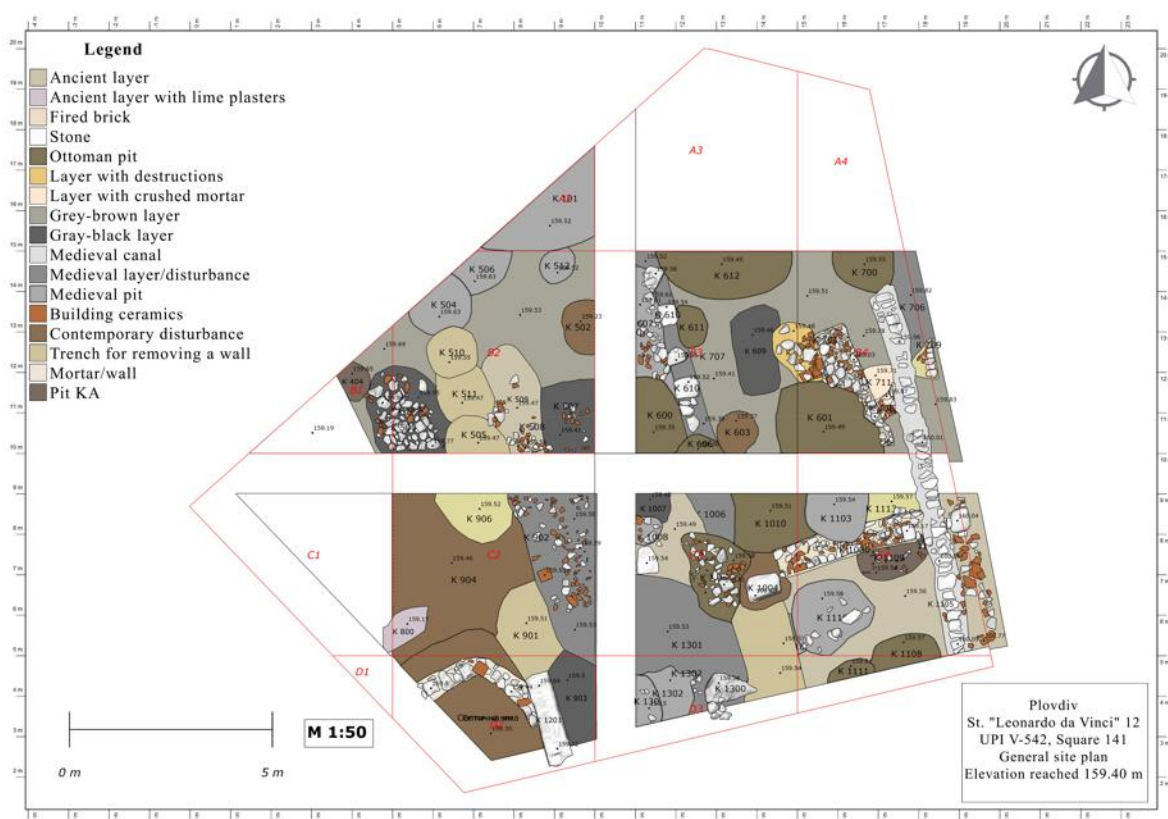


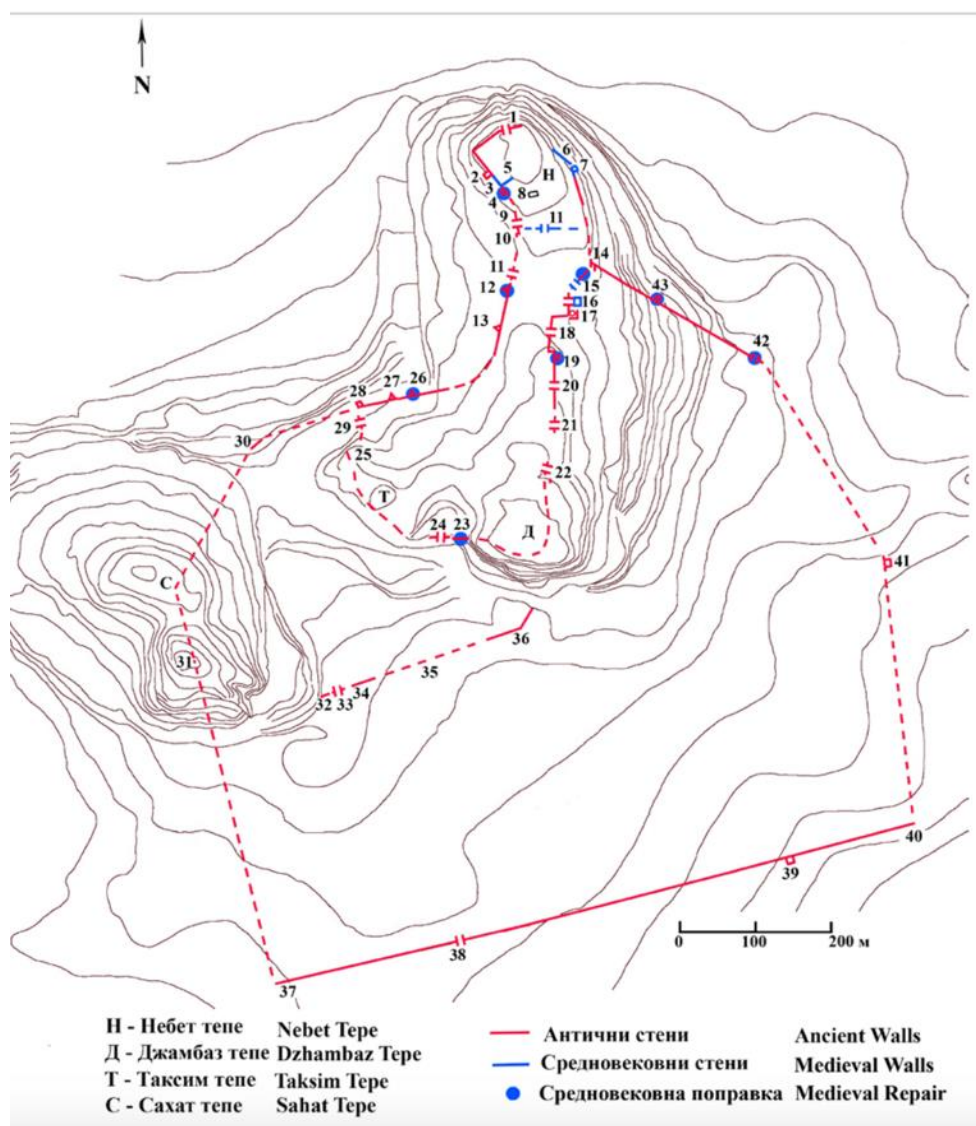
Figure 3: Plan of Site 1, courtesy of Elena Bozhinova

Site 2 (1 Vazrazhdane Square) yielded 3 sherds,¹²⁴ one of which was unidentifiable due to severe secondary burning, the other two are Kütahya coffee cups, one with an Ayvaz mark dating to the eighteenth century, and another which can be dated either to the seventeenth or the eighteenth century. This latter Kütahya sherd and the unidentifiable piece were found in a pit containing an eighteenth-century coin from Dubrovnik, suggesting that the Kütahya cup sherd may be dated to the eighteenth century, or the late seventeenth century. Curiously, this site is located in the Christian part of Plovdiv, called Hisariçi *mahalle*, in the vicinity of the

¹²³ See the map visualizations in the Appendices of Boykov, *Ottoman Plovdiv: Grigor Boykov, Ottoman Plovdiv. Space, Architecture, and Population (14th-17th Centuries)* (Austrian Academy of Sciences, 2024). (Accessed: 19 July, 2024).

¹²⁴ See Catalogue in the Appendix: Plovdiv, Plov_06-07, Plov_11.

Saint Paraskeva church and a Christian cemetery. This was the primary and largest Christian quarter, located within the citadel (see Map 9).¹²⁵ The occurrence of these finds in this part of the town suggests their use by the non-Muslim inhabitants, a phenomenon not seen in the context of Ottoman Hungary (see Chapter 5, Consumption patterns). The presence of the Dubrovnik coin indicates merchant activity, which correlates with the site being located close to the east-west main road of Plovdiv. A merchant activity is further corroborated by the fact that the southern gate of the citadel walls was also located very close to the site, opening right toward the east-west main road (see no. 24 on Map 8), which led toward Istanbul, thus was probably frequented by merchants from Dubrovnik.



Map 8: Plan of the fortress walls of Plovdiv.

Map by Stanev, "The Fortification System of of Medieval Philippopolis," p. 149. Fig. 1.

¹²⁵ Boykov, *Ottoman Plovdiv*, 164.



Figure 4: Excavation plan of Site 2, courtesy of Elena Bozhinova

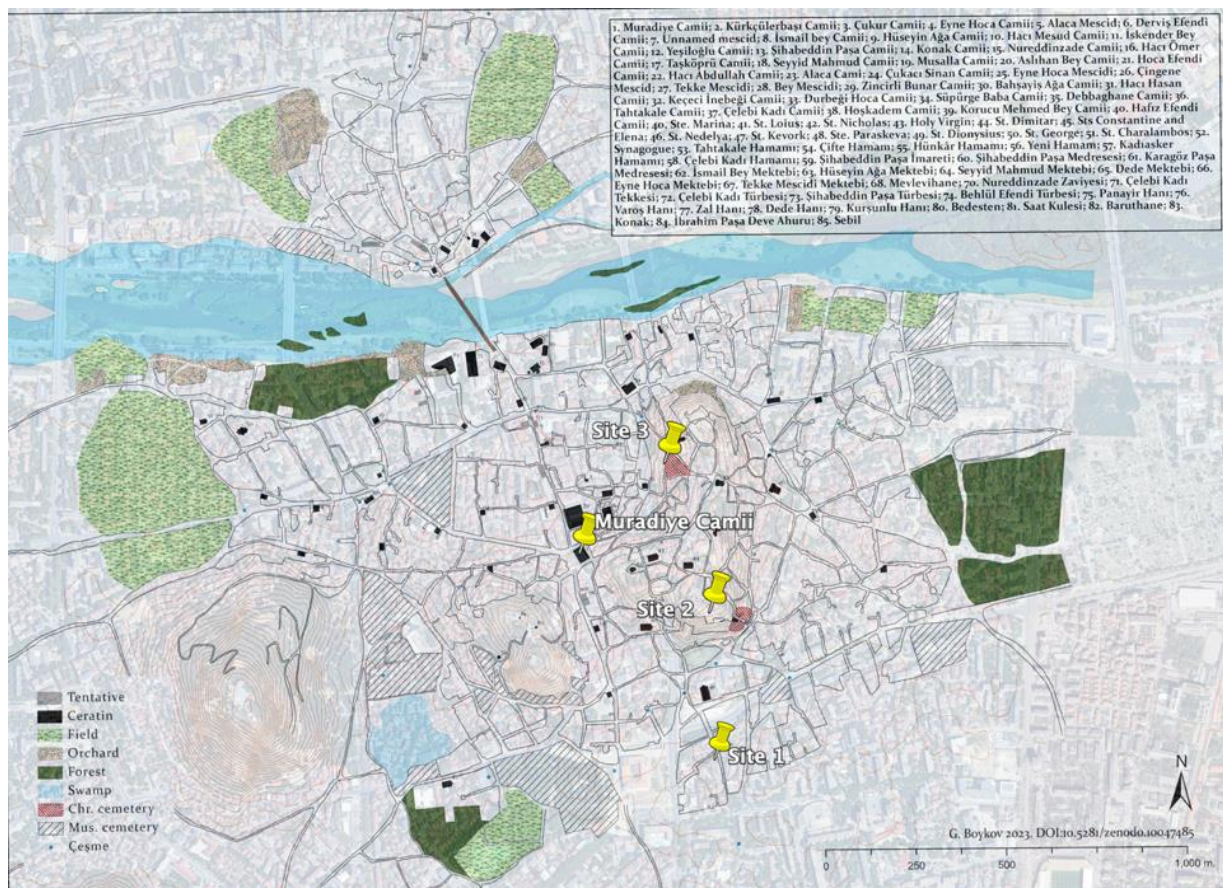
Site 3 (9 Artin Gidikov Street) yielded 2 sherds, an eighteenth-century Kütahya cup sherd, and the rim sherd of a blue and white large faience plate that was probably made in Iznik. The finds were unearthed from a pit superimposing a medieval burial, and was defined as a late disturbance by the excavators (see Pit no. O303, Figure 5). This could also be interpreted as an Ottoman pit, probably from the eighteenth or nineteenth century. This is the only site studied that is located in a Muslim part of Plovdiv, right outside the western walls of the citadel, next to a large Christian cemetery, in a quarter called Hacıyan *mahalle*. This *mahalle* is located at the eastern edge of the commercial core of the city, thus exactly at a location where such finds would be expected. As this is one of the least populated Muslim quarters between the fifteenth

and seventeenth centuries,¹²⁶ it is rather telling that such sherds occurred. This phenomenon could be much better interpreted in the light of more information regarding other Muslim quarters, but one would hypothesize that closer to the commercial core more such ceramics would be unearthed at excavation sites.



Figure 5: Excavation plan of Site 3, courtesy of Elena Bozhinova

¹²⁶ Based on the population numbers listed by quarters in Boykov, *Ottoman Plovdiv*, Appendices 2.1 and 2.2.



Map 9: Archaeological sites in Plovdiv.
Map by author, after Boykov, Ottoman Plovdiv, [Appendix 1.2](#), (Accessed: 19 July 2024)

The case of Plovdiv is unique among the studied settlements. Its rich historical data suggests a flourishing Ottoman city, with a vivid commercial life, inhabited by a thick layer of intellectual and military elite, to whom the use of Asian decorative ware might be connected. Unfortunately, the currently available archaeological data does not match the richness of archival data, thus the hypothesis suggested by the documentary sources, that a rich material evidence should be present is not corroborated by the find complexes. Hopefully, in the future more opportunities will be given to archaeologists to excavate in the territory of the Ottoman town, and more material evidence will surface. Nevertheless, the contexts of the few finds that were available for study demonstrate the potential of archaeological survey in understanding this material better. As described above, in the case of two sites the dating of the uncertain Kütahya and Iznik types are somewhat supported by their contexts. In conclusion, it can be assessed that Plovdiv holds enormous potential for the archaeological study of the Ottoman period, at the moment, though, information regarding the material remains of this era is scarce, but still offers invaluable data towards the understanding of the everyday life of Ottoman Filibe.

Sofia (Bulgaria)

Ottoman Sofia

The exact date of the conquest of Sofia is unknown but believed to have happened in either 1382 or 1385. The way of the conquest is uncertain, although archaeological data seems to suggest that if not a violent conquest, a siege and a fight probably took place.¹²⁷ The Ottomans recognized Sofia's strategic importance early on, which is demonstrated in the fact that the city became a *sancak* center by c. 1430. A few decades later, sometime between 1456 and 1474, Sofia was promoted to be the center of the *beylerbeylik* of Rumeli.¹²⁸

Unfortunately, such a topographical study as in the case of Plovdiv has not been published about Ottoman Sofia. The closest map in time to Ottoman rule was made right after Bulgaria became an independent vassal state of the Ottoman Empire in 1878.¹²⁹ Still, some historical studies have discussed aspects of the city's layout and urban landscape under Ottoman rule.¹³⁰ In her recent publication, Rossitsa Gradeva painted a picture of Sofia's townscape based on Ottoman and Western narrative sources. From the point of view of topography, Gradeva also points out that neither the Westerners travelers nor the Ottomans paid much attention to it.¹³¹ Thus, very little can be deduced from the narrative accounts.

Rossitsa Gradeva discussed Sofia's social topography, but a visualization was not made, and the location of the different *mahalles* has not been identified; thus, placing them in the space is not possible at this point. The 1878 map of Sofia (Map 10) names *mahalles*, but none of the sixteenth-century *mahalle* names appear. This suggests a transformation of the city's social topography by the late nineteenth century, making this unsuitable for identifying the location of social groups of the earlier periods within the city. Map 11 shows the location of identified public buildings from Ottoman Sofia, marked on the 1878 map, georeferenced on present-day Sofia. Georeferencing could not be perfectly done, as the 1878 map is not proportionate. As

¹²⁷ Rossitsa Gradeva, "Sofia's Rotunda and Its Neighbourhood in Ottoman Times," in von Johannes Zimmermann et al. eds., *Osmanische Welten: Quellen Und Fallstudien. Festschrift Für Michael Ursinus* (University of Bamberg, 2016), 180–82.

¹²⁸ Rossitsa Gradeva, "Ottoman Sofia Through the Eyes of Its Denizens and Visitors. Late 14th-First Half of 16th Century," in Hülya Çelik et al. eds., "Buyurdum Ki..." *The Whole World of Ottomanica and Beyond. Studies in Honour of Claudia Römer* (Brill, 2023), 188.

¹²⁹ <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8459839v.r=safia%201878?rk=42918;4>

¹³⁰ Rossitsa Gradeva, "The Ottoman Balkans – a Zone of Fractures or a Zone of Contacts?," in A Bues ed., *Zones of Fracture in Modern Europe: The Baltic Countries, the Balkans, and Northern Italy / Zone Di Frattura in Epoca Moderna: Il Baltico, i Balcani e l'Italia Settentrionale* (Wiesbaden, 2005), 61–75.; eadem, "Sofia's Rotunda"; eadem, "Ottoman Sofia"; Nikolai Todorov, *The Balkan City, 1400-1900* (University of Washington Press, 1983), 127–84.; Theoharis Stavrides, *The Sultan of Vezirs: The Life and Times of the Ottoman Grand Vezir Mahmud Pasha Angelovic (1453-1474)*, vol. 24, *The Ottoman Empire and Its Heritage* (E. J. Brill, 2001), 279.

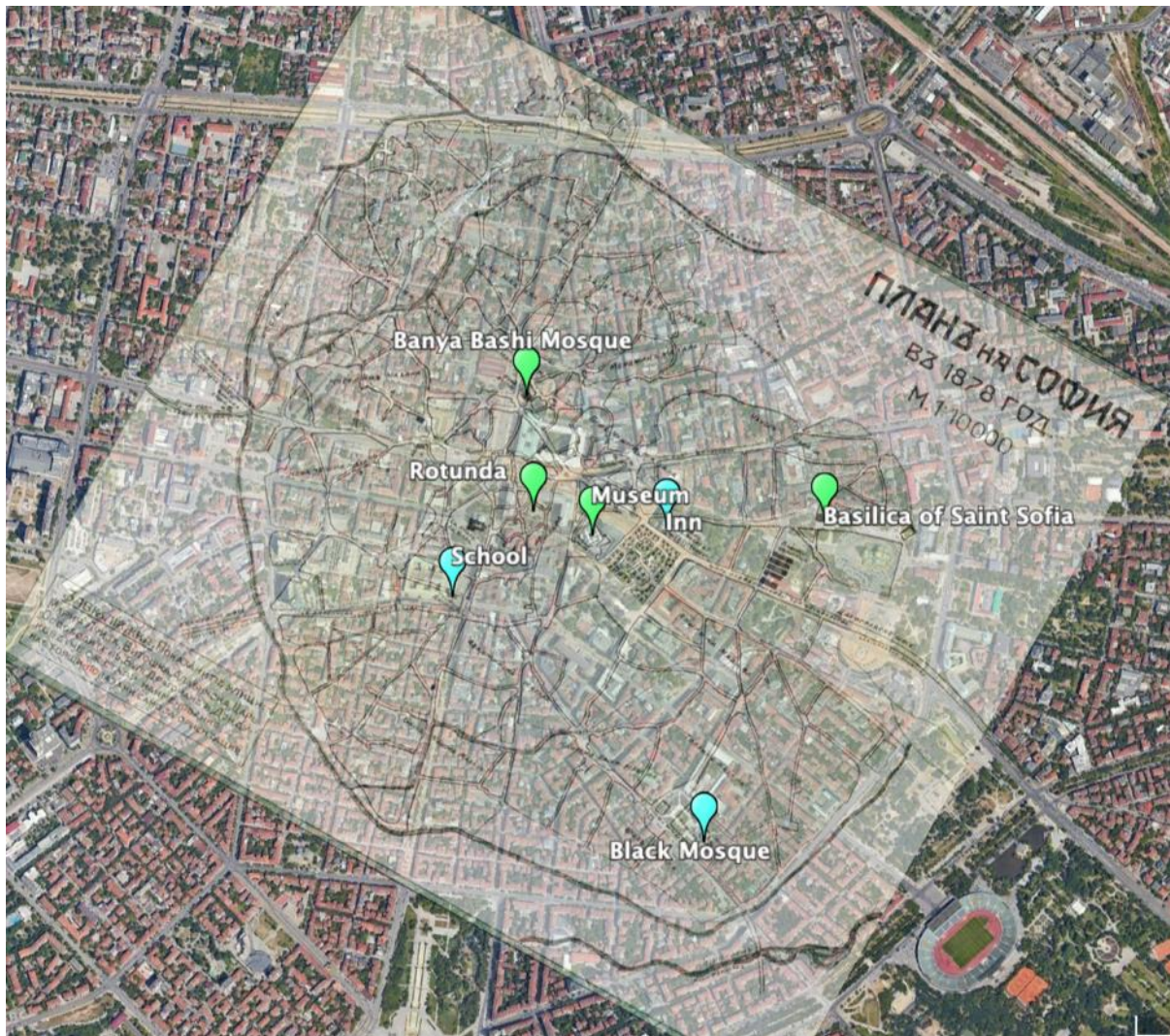
¹³¹ Gradeva, "Ottoman Sofia", 208.

shown on Map 11, it is not even oriented to North. Regardless, at the present state of research, this is the closest one can get to visualizing Ottoman Sofia and its central area, which is identified as the commercial and administrative center of the city. The green marks represent those that are named on the 1878 map the same as today, and the blue marks show public buildings named on the 1878 map that are identified (such as the Black Mosque – today the Orthodox Church of the Seven Saints) or could be of Ottoman origin. The location of the other Ottoman public buildings mentioned in the sources is not identified.



Map 10: Sofia in 1878.

[Source](#) (Accessed 22 August 2024)



Written evidence shows that Sofia was a rapidly developing Ottoman city after becoming the capital of Rumeli province. All the typical public buildings that constitute an Ottoman city started appearing. The *Büyük Cami* (today the Archaeological Museum of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, see ‘Museum’ on Map 11) was built in the second half of the fifteenth century (before 1474) by Mahmud Pasha, who also built a complex around the mosque, including a school and an inn in the area of the marketplace, as well as a public fountain. Apart from Mahmud Pasha’s complex, several baths and public fountains were built in this period, along with mosques, schools, monasteries, *hamams*, and caravanserais.¹³² The sixteenth century saw more development with the endowment of Sofu Mehmed Pasha, *beylerbey* of Rumeli between 1534/5-1537/8, and *vezir*, of a *külliye*. The complex included a mosque designed by the famous Ottoman architect Mimar Sinan (today’s Banya Bashi Mosque, see on Map 11), a *medrese*, a *mekteb*, a library, a *hamam*, a caravanserai, an *imaret*, a hospital, and public

¹³² Gradeva, “Ottoman Sofia”, 189.

fountains.¹³³ The church of Saint Sofia was transformed into a mosque probably around this time, and its area was further developed by a caravanserai built by Siyavuş Pasha, *beylerbey* (ar. 1570), and later grand *vezir*. Other developments also took place during the sixteenth century, and the trade and crafts infrastructure was also formed during this period, turning Sofia into an important commercial hub.¹³⁴

A central *mahalle* of Ottoman Sofia was formed around the ancient Rotunda (see Map 11) that was most likely converted into a mosque during the period of Bayezid II (1482-1512).¹³⁵ By 1520, the Rotunda acquired the name Gül Camii; by the 1540s, the neighborhood was called the same.¹³⁶ Despite its central location and its conversion into a mosque, the Rotunda remained surrounded by Christian quarters for at least a century more, even though the Ottomans made an effort to turn its surroundings into a Muslim neighborhood.¹³⁷ Throughout the seventeenth century, the quarter had a diverse population, including Ragusans, Armenians, Jews, and Orthodox Christians.¹³⁸ By the end of the Ottoman period, Gül Camii *mahalle* turned into a Jewish neighborhood, showing that the attempts of the Ottoman administration to turn it into a Muslim quarter did not succeed.¹³⁹

Archaeological context

The first archaeological investigations in the city started as early as the end of the 1880s, with the construction of modern, post-Ottoman-rule Sofia. Even though the city's government had little interest in Ottoman heritage, mainly due to emotional reasons, the archaeologists approached professionally and with attention to detail all aspects of urban life of the previous eras. However, the movable finds that made their way to the museum storage were rather scarce. The next large-scale excavations were carried out in relation to the construction of massive public and state buildings in the 1950s, on the site of those demolished by the English-American bombings of Sofia in the Second World War; and the establishment of community infrastructure. At that time, the excavations were at considerably deeper levels and reached layers of the Ottoman period, the Middle Ages and Antiquity. Vast areas were studied archaeologically due

¹³³ Gradeva, "Ottoman Sofia", 189-190.

¹³⁴ Gradeva, "Ottoman Sofia", 190.

¹³⁵ The conversion date of the Rotunda is debated, this dating is argued by Rossitsa Gradeva, "Sofia's *Rotunda*", 184-188.

¹³⁶ Gradeva, "Sofia's *Rotunda*", 188.

¹³⁷ Gradeva, "Sofia's *Rotunda*", 195-196.

¹³⁸ Gradeva, "Sofia's *Rotudna*", 197.

¹³⁹ Gradeva, "Sofia's *Rotunda*", 199.

to the construction of the lines of Sofia's underground network in the 1980s and in the 2010s. In the course of these excavations, most architectural remains, as well as various everyday objects and the manufacture production of the Ottoman period were registered stratigraphically. Unfortunately, publications of the finds of the structures where they were found are scarce. In Magdalina Stancheva's 1960 publication "Turkish faience from Sofia"¹⁴⁰, the material is presented by types according to the function of the vessels, and the date is based on parallels with – at that time – known finds from the territory of the Ottoman Empire. In the following decades, the collection of eastern faience has increased; but since it is mostly fragments that are collected, the attempts at a comprehensive work on them are still ongoing.

Between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, the area of central Sofia saw dynamic development. The earliest houses and production units (ceramic and pottery workshops from the second half of the fifteenth to the sixteenth centuries) found along today's Marie-Louise Boulevard, were demolished and stone buildings with deep underground spaces (as storage premises for trade) appeared in their place. Later they were replaced by new, more modern and solid structures. In some places, these early modern refurbishments formed up to three and even four archaeological strata. There are almost no traces of the residential floors, but in the archaeological layers from the destroyed buildings, as well as in and around the multiple trash pits many everyday objects used by Sofia's citizens have been found. Ceramic vessels are found in largest numbers, including imported ware of Asian decorative ceramics. Perhaps most numerous among those of Asian origin are the coffee cups (*fincanlar*).

The studied neighborhoods that yielded abundant material of eastern faience are the so called Inner courtyard to the east of the "St. George Rotunda church" – in the inner space between the buildings of today's "Balkan" Hotel and Bulgaria's Presidency (nos. 5 and 6 on Map 8); the Western Gate of Serdica (Roman name of Sofia) (no. 1 on Map 8); along the course of Marie-Louise Boulevard, between today's Todor Alexandrov Boulevard and Pirotka Street (no. 8 on Map 8); Sveta Nedelya square (no. 4 on Map 8), to the north of the Orthodox cathedral of the same name. All of them are residential quarters (*mahalleler*) of Sofia in the Ottoman period.

The distribution of the mentioned temples and other public buildings demonstrates that in this part of the city, there was no clear division of the population based on ethnic or religious criteria – within very close distances, even if residing inside their own communities, lived Turks, Jews, Armenians, Bulgarians, and Ragusans. Such a distinction can hardly be made between the users of Asian decorative ceramics. Due to the lack of reliable written sources, there have

¹⁴⁰ Магдалина Magdalina, "Турски фаянс от София [Turkish Faience from Sofia]."

been no substantial studies on whether any differences existed in the attitude to coffee use and the culture of its preparation and serving. Multiple ceramic pipes have been discovered everywhere throughout the mentioned archaeological sites. It is not to be excluded that the necessary items for tobacco smoking and coffee drinking are both connected to Ottoman Sofia's consumer culture. It is clear from the archaeological data and the old names of streets and *mahalleler* that, during the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries, this space was inhabited by a population involved in the trade of various goods and services, craftsmen, perhaps even clerks.¹⁴¹

Figure 6 demonstrates the distribution of the finds among the sites. The most important sites are the Inner courtyard of the Hotel Balkan and the vicinity of the **Rotunda** (no. 6 on Map 8), as 45% (101 pcs. of the total of 222) of the collected material in the Regional Archaeological Museum of Sofia was unearthed at these sites. Their contexts are all identified as "Ottoman neighborhoods," mostly dated to the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries, in some cases narrowed to one century.¹⁴² The second highest number of sherds were unearthed at the **Western Gate of Serdica** (the Roman name of Sofia, no. 1 on Map 8), yielding 18% (40 pcs.) of the material. Most of the material was found in Ottoman trash pits, dated to the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries. **Sveta Nedelya Square** (no. 4 on Map 8) yielded 10,8% (24 pcs.) of the material. The vicinity of the **Medieval church Sveti Spas** (Holy Savior, no. 2 on Map 8) yielded 6,2% (15 pcs) of the material, mostly from Ottoman cultural layers and some from trenches that cannot be dated more precisely than the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries. Another 14 pcs (6,3%) were found during the construction of the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank in 1973 (today UniCredit Bank, no. 2 on Map 8), which is also in the vicinity of the Sveti Spas church. The two sites constitute 12,5% of the entire material, deriving from Ottoman cultural layers and trash pits that cannot be dated more precisely. During the archeological **surveys of the central heating system** (no. 8 on Map 8), 5% (11 pcs.) of the entire material was found, all sherds without context. A small portion, 3,6% (8 pcs.) of the material was found during the excavations at **Hotel Rila** in 1960 (no. 7 on Map 8) in layers containing Ottoman material culture, but can only be dated between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries. Two pieces were unearthed during

¹⁴¹ This text, introducing the archaeological contexts up to this point, is an excerpt from the introduction of a presentation I read at the 2022 Annual Meeting of the European Association of Archaeologists, Section no. #223: Winds of Change? Post-medieval and Historical Archaeology in Southern Europe and the Mediterranean, titled "Coffee Cups from the East: Trading Connections of Ottoman Sofia Based on Oriental Ceramic Finds from the Post-medieval Period", prepared by Snezhana Goryanova (archaeologist, Archaeological Institute, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences) and Lyuba Dafova (archeologist, Regional Archaeological Museum, Sofia), co-authors of the presentation. I thank them for allowing me to use it *verbatim* (with minor editing) in my dissertation.

¹⁴² I would like to thank Lyuba Dafova for providing the information of the archaeological contexts in English language.

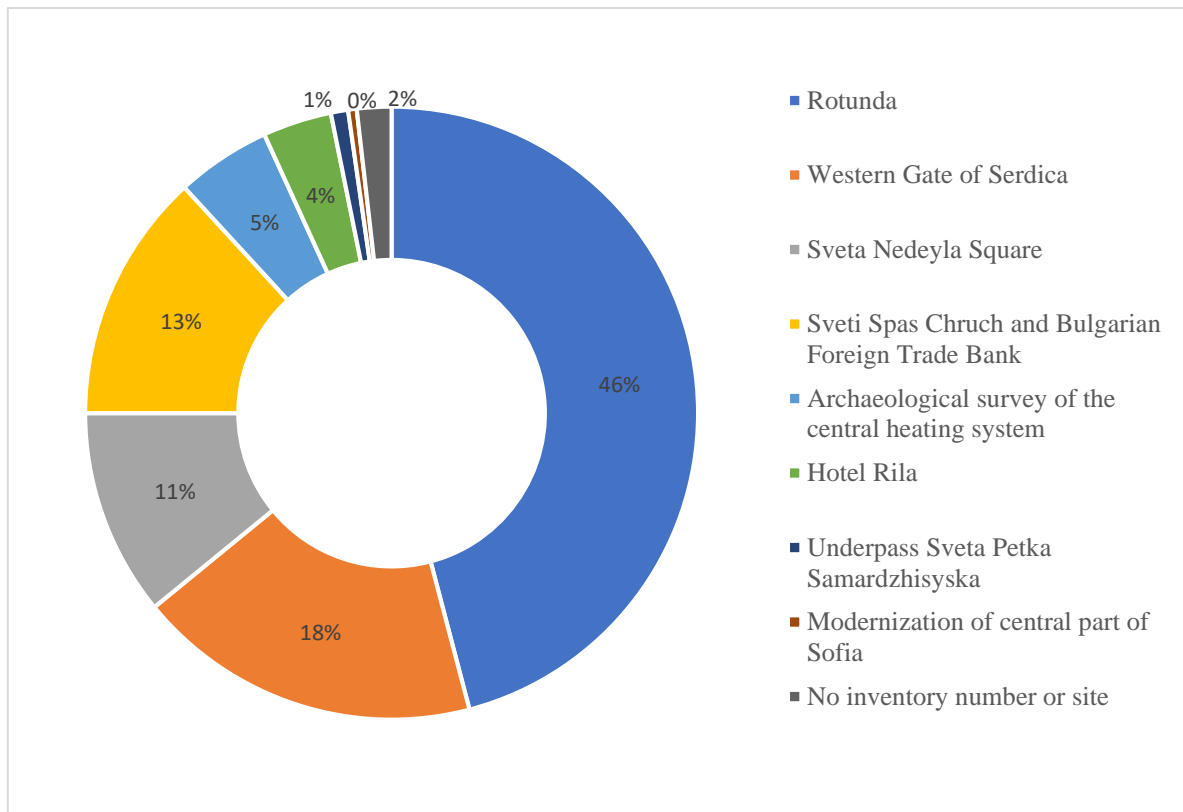


Figure 6: Distribution of the number of finds at the sites in Sofia

The topography of Sofia raises several questions, which neither archaeology answers. It seems that the city's population was not as confined to ethnic quarters as was characteristic of Ottoman towns. Besides the Asian decorative ceramics, many Italian maiolica and Meissen porcelain sherds were unearthed from these sites, indicating either a Christian population using them or that Muslims had a taste for the Western counterparts of these objects. Another interesting fact is the presence of a large number of Miletus ware, suggesting that Ottomans were using decorative ceramics as early as the fifteenth century in Sofia. This correlates to historical data showing a strong elite social group residing in the city from as early as it was made the seat of the *beylerbey* of Rumeli. This elite during the fifteenth to seventeenth century will be discussed in Chapter 5. For now, it is sufficient to note that the archaeological record of central Sofia does not necessarily mean a lack of evidence. Still, it could also point to a fact that differs from that observed in Hungary. Maybe in Sofia, as historical and archaeological data both suggest, Muslims, Christians, and Jews lived in mixed quarters. They possibly all had a common material culture brought by the Ottomans, which included Asian decorative ceramics and Western decorative tableware. The case of Plovdiv above also hints toward Christians using Asian ceramics, which, together with Sofia, could be considered a pattern contrary to that experienced in Hungary.

Buda (Hungary)

Ottoman Buda

The Ottoman expansion was already a threat to the Hungarian Kingdom during the reign of King Matthias (1458–1490),¹⁴³ but it became a reality after the Battle of Mohács in 1526 when the Ottoman troops overthrew the Hungarian army of King Louis II, who also died during the battle. After Mohács, Sultan Süleyman marched into Buda in 1526 and 1529, but did not occupy it yet, his reason simply being that John Szapolyai, who ruled over the Hungarian Kingdom between 1526 and 1540 with the help of Süleyman, was loyal to him.¹⁴⁴ Consequently, Süleyman only needed to occupy Buda after Szapolyai's death when Ferdinand I, Holy Roman Emperor—elected as the king of Hungary by part of the Hungarian aristocracy in 1526—began to overtake lands previously ruled by Szapolyai.¹⁴⁵ The sultan's troops took over Buda, the capital and royal seat of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom, on 29 August 1541, on the fifteenth anniversary of the Battle of Mohács.

After the occupation, the town became the center of the Buda *Beylerbeylik*, the northernmost administrative division of the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, its primary function was military, and everything was subordinated to this role.¹⁴⁶ Gradually, the social topography of the Castle Hill was fundamentally transformed. The medieval royal palace and its surroundings were inhabited by the soldiers of the garrison; the *beylerbey* first moved into the mansion of one of the Hungarian aristocrats on the Danube bank, and then in 1598 moved up to the building that became the Carmelite Convent in the eighteenth century.¹⁴⁷ The *yeniçeri ağa* (=Janissary agha; Janissary: the sultan's elite household infantry; agha: commander of a military unit¹⁴⁸) resided at the northern end of the Castle Hill, in the vicinity of today's Bécsi Kapu Square. Based on written sources such as tax registers, the social topography of the town—including the suburban settlements—can be reconstructed, but archaeological investigations have not provided sufficient evidence so far to support these reconstructions.

¹⁴³ For more about the early contacts and wars between Hungary and the Ottomans, see Tamás Pálosfalvi, *From Nicopolis to Mohács. A History of Ottoman-Hungarian Warfare, 1389-1526*, vol. 63, The Ottoman Empire and Its Heritage. Politics, Society, and Economy, Vol. 33 (Brill, 2018).

¹⁴⁴ For more about the Szapolyais see: Pál Fodor and Szabolcs Varga, eds., *A Forgotten Hungarian Royal Dynasty: The Szapolyais* (Research Center for the Humanities, 2020).

¹⁴⁵ Ágoston Gábor and Sudár Balázs, *Gül Baba és a magyarországi bektasi dervisek [Gül Baba and the Bektāṣī dervishes in Hungary]* (Terebess Kiadó, 2002), 5–6.

¹⁴⁶ Ágoston and Sudár, *Gül Baba*, 6.

¹⁴⁷ Ágoston and Sudár, *Gül Baba*, 7. Today, the Prime Minister's Residence is housed in the building.

¹⁴⁸ Kunt and Woodhead, *Süleyman the Magnificent and His Age*, „Glossary.”

Furthermore, the data is fragmentary and most sources date from the sixteenth century, as the number of registers decreases throughout the seventeenth century.

Gábor Ágoston and Balázs Sudár attempted to reconstruct the *mahalle* system of Buda and its suburbs. The theory of the *mahalle* system itself is not accepted by the archaeologist community, mainly due to the lack of archaeological evidence. But based on the sources, Ágoston and Sudár concluded that *mahalles* were named after streets, and not important religious buildings as was customary in Muslim cities.¹⁴⁹ They also identified the parts of the town where ethnic or religious groups were concentrated: Hungarians in the streets north of Dísz Square and in Víziváros (Watertown); Italians in Olasz utca (Italian Street); Jews in Zsidó Street (Jewish Street, today Táncsics Mihály Street); and in Víziváros, separated from Hungarians and Muslims, a large number of orthodox gypsies of Southern Slavic origin lived.¹⁵⁰ Travelers, both Christian and Muslim, also describe how the town changed after the Ottoman occupation: *minarets* and *camis* appeared, the latter transformed from Christian churches, and the occupiers also built wooden stalls, characteristic of *bazars* (market places) and dwelling houses.¹⁵¹

Since the Second World War, numerous rescue excavations have been conducted in the present-day Castle District, as well as in the areas that used to be Buda's suburbs during the Ottoman period. These excavations supplemented the information derived from the written sources. Excavations on a larger scale were carried out in the Buda Royal Palace after the Second World War by László Gerevich and Imre Holl between 1958 and 1961.¹⁵² After this major project, rescue excavations occurred throughout the present-day Castle District and in the suburb, Víziváros, conducted by the archaeologists of the Budapest History Museum, which still continue today. Based on these excavations, the Ottoman-period topography of Buda and the Víziváros has been more precisely reconstructed, the latest results summarized in Map 12. András Végh's map shows the known *camis*, *türbes*, cemeteries, and baths that could be identified based on either written or visual sources, archaeological data, or both. Other institutions, such as *imarets*, *medreses*, and *caravanserais* do appear in sources, but they have

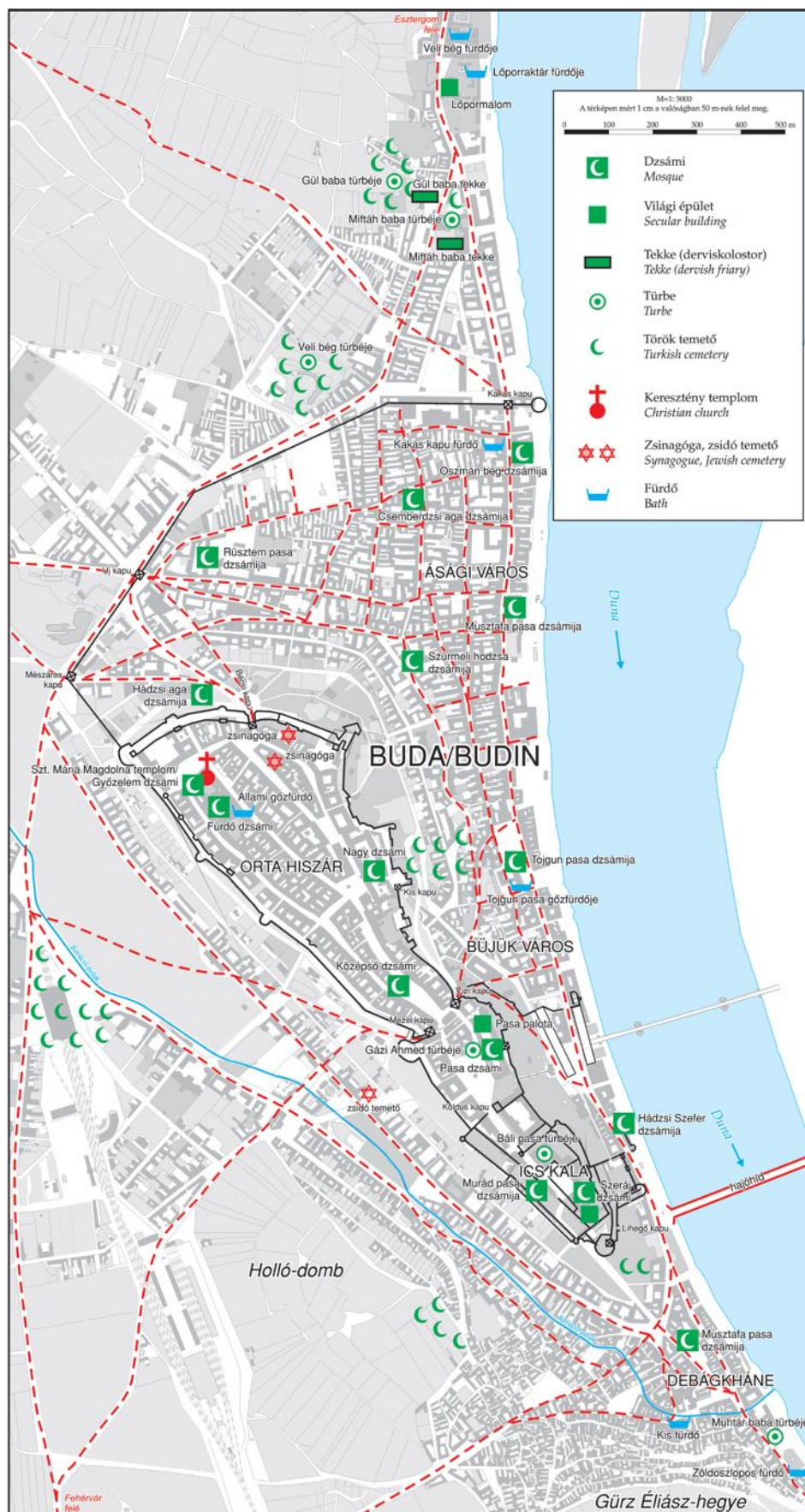
¹⁴⁹ Ágoston and Sudár, *Gül Baba*, 7. The first scholar to identify *mahalles* was Lajos Fekete in his seminal work Fekete Lajos, *Budapest története a törökkorban [History of Budapest during the Ottoman Period]*, Budapest története [History of Budapest] 3 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1944).. Fekete's conclusions still stand, later excavations only add to and refine the material Fekete had accumulated in his work.

¹⁵⁰ Ágoston and Sudár, *Gül Baba*, 7.

¹⁵¹ Ágoston and Sudár, *Gül Baba*, 9.

¹⁵² About the excavation see: Holl, *Fundkomplexe*, and László Gerevich, *A budai vár feltárása [The Excavation of the Buda Castle]* (Akadémiai Kiadó, 1966).

not been identified with archaeological methods, as the data at hand does not allow confident topographical identification of these buildings. Therefore, these do not appear in Véggh's map.



Map 12: The topographical development of Buda in the Ottoman period, last quarter of the seventeenth century, up to 1686.
Map by Vég, Buda, Map A3.4.

Based on archaeological surveys, two tendencies can be grasped in connection with the Ottoman occupation of Buda: with the extension of the town's fortifications, it was gradually turned into an Ottoman fortress;¹⁵³ and the newcomers mostly used the medieval¹⁵⁴ houses with smaller adjustments or renovations.¹⁵⁵ One of the archaeologically best-researched parts of historical Buda is the present-day Szent György tér (St. George Square), which, based on the excavations, mainly functioned as a residential area before the Ottoman occupation.¹⁵⁶ Aristocrats and burghers also owned dwelling houses here, in the neighborhood of a Franciscan friary and the St. Sigismund Provostry, which operated until the Ottoman occupation. The area became especially important in the last few decades of the Middle Ages when the governor and the chancellor of the country both received a dwelling house next to the royal palace.¹⁵⁷ This clearly shows the prominent character of the square, most probably due to its vicinity to the medieval royal palace. During the Ottoman period, this area apparently held a similarly important position: the medieval royal palace was inhabited by the garrison, the St. Sigismund Provostry was probably converted into a *cami*,¹⁵⁸ and in 1598 the construction of the pasha palace complex was started in the northeastern corner of the square (present day Színház utca 5–7).¹⁵⁹ The latter construction inarguably changed the face of the square and most likely strengthened its previous central function.

¹⁵³ András Végh, *Buda, Pt. I, to 1686, Hungarian Atlas of Historic Towns 4* (Archaeolingua, 2015), 27. See also Adrienn Papp, "The Position of the Buildings of Buda and Pest Dating to the Age of the Turkish Occupation of Hungary in the Architecture of the Ottoman Empire," in *Frédéric Hitzel Ed., 14th International Congress of Turkish Art* (Collège de France, 2013), 573–80.

¹⁵⁴ 'Medieval' in the Hungarian context refers to the period between the Hungarian Conquest and the Ottoman occupation (895-1526/41). More broadly, it can be understood from the Hungarian state foundation c. 1000 to the mid-sixteenth century, when the Buda *Beylerbeylik* was founded.

¹⁵⁵ Végh, *Buda*, 24.

¹⁵⁶ For a detailed summary of the results of the research until 2003 see Magyar Károly, "A budavári Szent György tér és környékének kiépülése: Történeti vázlat 1526-tól napjainkig [Development of the St. George Square and its vicinity in the Buda Castle: Historical outline from 1526 to the present]," *Tanulmányok Budapest Múltjából* 31 (2003): 43–127.

¹⁵⁷ Magyar, "A budavári Szent György tér," 50.

¹⁵⁸ The St. Sigismund Provostry's church was first identified by Győző Gerő as the building mentioned in the Ottoman sources by the name *Küçük cami* in *idem*, Győző Gerő, "Hol állott a budai Kücsük dzsámi?" [Where Was the Küçük Cami of Buda?], *Budapest Régiségei* 19 (1959): 2015–219. Gerő's identification has not been fully accepted; as of the current state of scholarship, it has only been hypothesized that the church was converted into a *cami*, but it has not definitively been identified as the church of St. Sigismund (see Végh, *Buda*, 42. 9.3/Muslim, "Kis dzsámi").

¹⁵⁹ About the excavations of the Pasha Palace see Gerő Győző, "A budai pasák vári palotája [The palace of the Buda pashas in the castle]," *Budapest* 6, no. 9 (1968): 42.; for the interpretation of the excavations see Győző Gerő, "The Residence of the Pashas in Hungary and the Recently Discovered Pashasaray from Buda," in *Art Turc: 10 Congrès International d'art Turc; Actes / Turkish Art: 10th International Congress of Turkish Art; Proceedings; Genève, 1995*, ed. Déroche Déroche (Fondation Max Van Berchem, 1999), 353–60.; for the latest excavations see Papp Adrienn, "Rövid összefoglaló a budai pasák palotájáról / Succinct report on the pasha's palace in Buda," *Budapest Régiségei* 46 (46): 167–85.

Víziváros played an important role in the life of Ottoman-period Buda, the elaboration of which is not part of this thesis due to the small number of excavations and Chinese porcelain sherds in the area. One significant part of the area, however, is present-day Corvin tér (Corvin Square), where remains of a *cami* were excavated that can be connected to Toygun Pasha, who held the title twice in Buda during the sixteenth century.¹⁶⁰ This part of town is generally referred to as *Toygun pasha mahalle*, which also appears in the written sources. Based on the fact that a *cami* and a *hamam* bath were also identified here, the area can be defined as a *mahalle* center. Written sources also mention that the pashas resided on the Danube bank before they moved up to Castle Hill.¹⁶¹ These circumstances provide a basis for the hypothesis that their first palace or residence might have been in this area. The central function of the area is also reflected in the porcelain finds of present-day Corvin tér, the second most significant assemblage from the civilian part of Ottoman Buda, after Szent György tér.¹⁶²

Archaeological context

The medieval Royal Palace

The main body of the assemblage originates from the excavations in the territory of the medieval royal palace between 1948 and 1961 (Map 13). There are 538 fragments in total (including seventy-five pieces of a size smaller than 1 cm), out of which at least 412 separate vessels can be reconstructed. Roughly one quarter of the vessels, altogether 110 pieces, come from an unidentified part of the territory. Regarding the layer context, in the medieval royal palace most of the porcelain fragments were unearthed in layers that were created during the Baroque reconstruction of the palace after its reoccupation from the Ottomans in 1686. This means that—along with other debris—these fragments had been collected from all over the palace and then used to fill up the *zwingers* as well as the old and new cesspits. Therefore, there were only a few cases when Chinese porcelain was retrieved from datable archaeological contexts, supported by other types of material culture that would allow a more precise dating of the porcelain fragments. Apart from a few exceptions, the majority of the assemblage can be dated to the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries, as they were unearthed in Ottoman layers. More precise dating can only be carried out on the basis of stylistic analysis and analogies, as the

¹⁶⁰ Gerő Győző, “A buda-vízivárosi Tojgun pasa dzsámi és a Tojgun pasa mahalle” [The Toygun pasha mosque and the Toygun pasha mahalle in Buda-Víziváros (Watertown)], *Budapest Régiségei* 37 (2003): 197–208. See also Balázs Sudár, *Dzsámik és mecsetek*, 217–220.

¹⁶¹ Ágoston and Sudár, *Gül baba*, 7.

¹⁶² About the topography of Víziváros, with an emphasis on the places of worship, see Sudár, *Dzsámik és mecsetek*, 196–220.

archaeological context can only define the *terminus ante quem* for when the piece was buried, but not its production or arrival at the royal palace. A good example for such finds is the pieces of a large bowl or vase that were unearthed in the fourth datable layer of the rock trench crossing the palace, together with coins dated from the thirteenth century up until 1568. Based on this data Imre Holl dated the bowl to the second half of the fourteenth century, further narrowing the dating with the help of stylistic analysis.¹⁶³ Furthermore, Holl also dates a fragment from a smaller bowl to the late Middle Ages (fourteenth to fifteenth centuries) based on layer context. This fragment originates from the sixth layer of the inner rock trench of the Large Courtyard, which can be dated with the help of coins from the second half of the thirteenth century to 1568. Based on this, Holl believes that this object must have been imported during the fourteenth century.¹⁶⁴ Both sherds are discussed in Chapter 4, “Chinese porcelain,” together with an assessment of Holl’s datings.

There were altogether 31 sites where Chinese porcelain fragments were found, out of which the nine sites featured in Figure 7 yielded the most pieces. The largest number was collected from the Great Rondella (83 pcs.), but the second largest number is represented by those registered as “Palace strays” (78 pcs.). Therefore, the distribution of the finds within the Royal Palace does not provide valuable information but indicates that they were used as filling material during the post-recapture leveling after 1686. Exceptions are the materials of those wells and pits that seem to have been filled by the end of the Ottoman period, featuring those archaeological contexts that are confidently dated to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

¹⁶³ Holl, *Fundkomplexe*, 131.

¹⁶⁴ Holl, *Fundkomplexe*, 133.



Map 13: Sites in the Royal Palace yielding the most porcelain sherds.
Map by author, after Gerevich, *A budai vár feltárása*, 8.

Buda Town

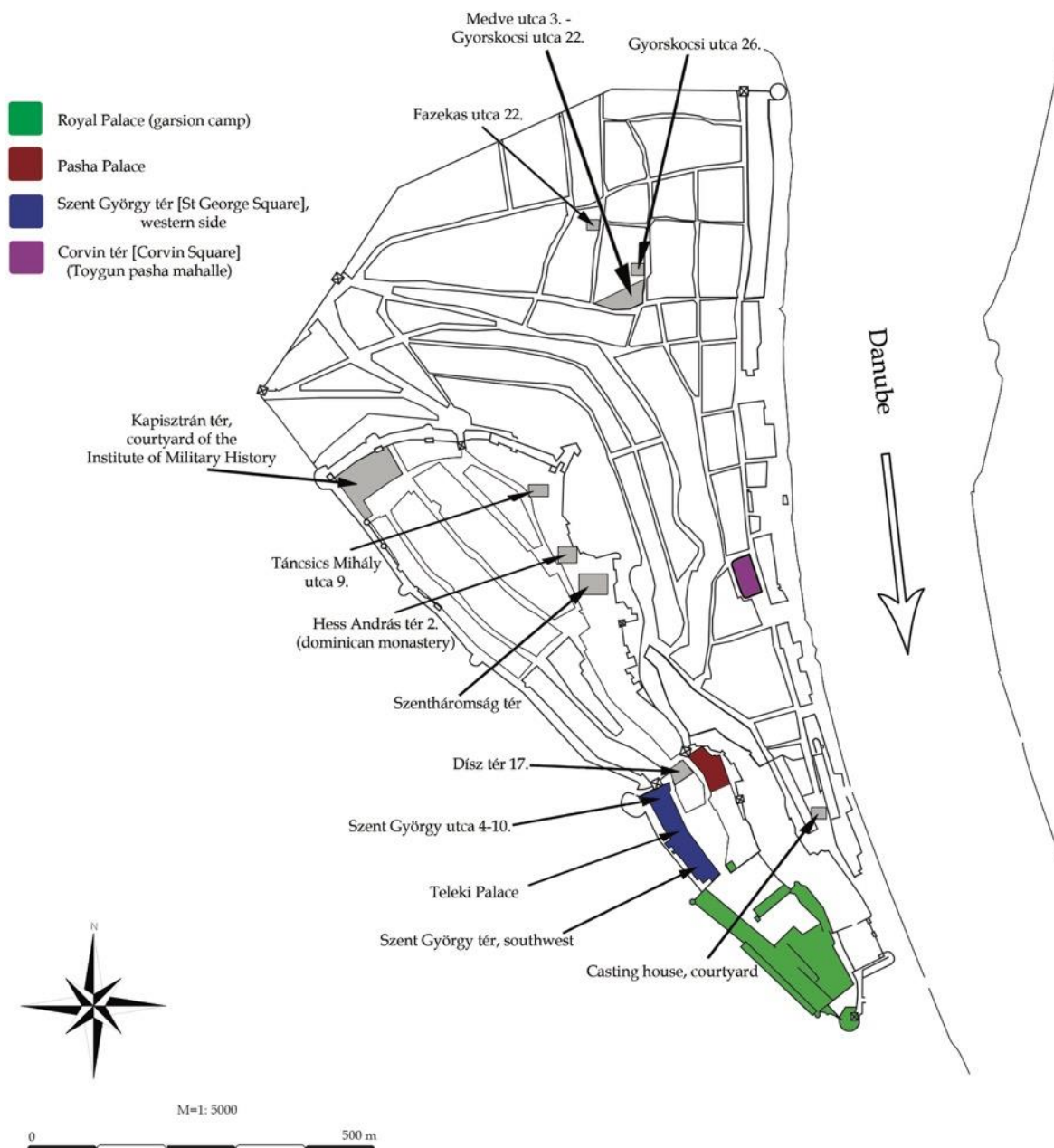
Another significant assemblage was unearthed in the territory of present-day Szent György tér (Saint George Square) situated directly north of the medieval royal palace. On its eastern side the Pasha Palace was excavated, which contained a significant Chinese porcelain assemblage. This assemblage is unavailable for research; thus, it is not included in the present work. On the western side, however, another assemblage was collected from excavations, which took place between 1998 and 2000, at four different sites (Figure): Szent György utca 4–10 (St. George Street 4–10); Teleki Palota (Teleki Palace); Szent György tér, Délnyugat (St. George

Square, southwest); and the Csikós udvar (Horse Herdsmen Courtyard).¹⁶⁵ Regarding the archaeological context of the Szent György tér area and the rest of the civilian town, two kinds of circumstances occurred: modern, mixed layers of construction or leveling debris; and clearly Ottoman layers or pits dating to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. However, other objects that could more precisely date these layers or pits occurred in only a few cases.

Several smaller excavation sites (see Map 14), both within the Castle District and in Víziváros, also yielded Chinese porcelain fragments. The unearthed vessels, in general, fit the character of the assemblage unearthed in Szent György tér, with some outstanding exceptions from Táncsics Mihály utca, as well as Fazekas utca and Gyorskocsi utca in Víziváros. The distribution of the different types will be attested in more detail in Chapter 5, in connection with analyzing the assemblages. The archaeological contexts in the case of the suburb of Víziváros are similar to that of the civilian town, except for a few more fortunate circumstances, where datable objects were found next to the porcelain fragments. But in general, the pieces originated from Ottoman, Baroque, or modern layers that cannot be dated more precisely.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁵ Excavation reports in Hungarian: B. Nyékhelyi Dorottya, *Középkori kútlelet a budavári Szent György téren* [Medieval well find from the St. George Square in the Buda Castle], Monumenta Historica Budapestinensia 12 (Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, 2003).; Magyar, “A budavári Szent György tér és környékének kiépülése;” Végh András, “A Szent György utca 4-10. számú telkek régészeti kutatása: Előzetes jelentés [Archaeological excavation of 4–10 St. George Street: Preliminary report],” *Tanulmányok Budapest Múltjából* 31 (2003): 167–90.

¹⁶⁶ The information regarding the archaeological contexts was mostly collected from the documentation of the excavations held by the Budapest History Museum’s archive, and partly from the publications of these excavations, see previous footnote.



Map 14: Sites from the civilian town.
Map by author, after András Vég, Buda, Map A3.4.

The material of Buda is one of the most important assemblages for the purposes of this dissertation. It is one of the largest ones in number, and the medieval royal palace's archaeological contexts are one of the best-documented and best-published contexts in the material. Imre Holl's publication of the fifteenth to seventeenth century archaeological phenomena and their find assemblages offers a great basis for the interpretation for a part of the finds.¹⁶⁷ The Iznik and Anatolian faience material was not accessible for research, and the

¹⁶⁷ Holl, *Fundkomplexe*.

comprehensive assessment of the Buda material should be read in that light. Still, the available material and contexts offer a strong basis for the analysis of a *beylerbeylik* center in regard to the topographical distribution and consumers of Asian decorative ceramics.

Eger (Hungary)

Ottoman Eger

The Castle of Eger was strategically and administratively important for the Ottomans during their occupation of Eger between 1596 and 1687. The town was already an important one for the Hungarian Kingdom, being on the episcopal seats. In 1552, the Ottomans attempted to occupy it, but were unsuccessful. As a result, after the successful siege in 1596, the Ottomans put much effort into turning it into an important *beylerbeylik* center. Even though few useable Ottoman written sources survive from this period, some do contain a list of pashas implying that Eger was a *beylerbeylik* center governed by pashas.¹⁶⁸ Apart from the administrative sources, another important written source is the travelogue (*Seyahatname*) of Evliya Çelebi, the famous traveler who traveled across the empire and recorded his experiences, providing a valuable narrative source for the whole of the Ottoman Empire.¹⁶⁹ Evliya visited Eger between 1664 and 1666.¹⁷⁰ According to Evliya, the castle had a large population because it was a nice place to live in. He mentions two parts of the castle: the German castle (outer part) and the Hungarian castle (inner part), which corresponds to the results of the archaeological survey. The Ottomans only modified one section of the walls but rebuilt several buildings within them. One of the most significant changes was the Gothic palace, which functioned as the episcopal palace during the medieval period and was turned into the pasha's palace; at least two *camis* (mosques) and the garrison's camps are also mentioned in the sources.¹⁷¹ Besides it being a "nice place to live in," as worded by Evliya, as it was a rapidly developing Ottoman town, many

¹⁶⁸ Vass Előd, "Adalékok az egri pasák hivatali sorrendjéhez [Additions to the list of pashas of Eger]," *Az Egri Vár Híradója* 19–20, no. 1986 (n.d.): 31.

¹⁶⁹ About Evliya Çelebi and his travelogue see: Robert Dankoff, *An Ottoman Mentality - The World of Evliya Çelebi*, 2nd, revised ed. (Brill, 2006).. For a translated edition of parts of the travelogue see: Robert Dankoff and Sooyong Kim, *An Ottoman Traveller. Selections from the Book of Travels of Evliya Çelebi* (Eland, 2011).; *Evliya Çelebi's Book of Travels*, 7 vols. (Brill, 1988).

¹⁷⁰ Imre Karácson, *Evliya Çelebi Török Világutazó Magyarországi Utazásai 1664-1666 [The Travels of Evliya Çelebi, Ottoman World Traveler, in Hungary between 1664 and 1666]*, trans. Imre Karácson (Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1904), 110–20.

¹⁷¹ Détsy Mihály, "Az egri vár története VII. 1596-1687 [History of the Castle of Eger VII. 1596-1687]," *Az Egri Vár Híradója* 7 (1968): 10.

aspirants for high office or influence started appearing in Eger, which most likely affected the material culture unearthed in the castle.

During the Ottoman period the castle was separated into two parts: the so-called “Hungarian castle,” which was the inner castle (northern part), and the “Frank (i.e., German) castle,” which referred to the outer castle (southern part). Each part had their own commanders.¹⁷² As mentioned above, the pashas used the Gothic Palace as a residence, and according to the written sources, the pasha’s *cami*, with a *minaret* built of brick stood in its vicinity. The medieval cathedral was used as a storage building for weaponry.¹⁷³ These buildings belonged to the inner castle, while the Janissaries’ barracks were situated in the outer castle, where no women and children were allowed. The sources also mention houses for the Janissaries, a “holy flag” *cami* with the flag held by the prophet Muhammad, and its *minaret*.¹⁷⁴

During the Ottoman period, the town was surrounded by a stone wall that had four gates: the Hatvani Gate, the Maklári (or Almári) Gate, the Rác (or St. Michael) Gate, and the Cifra (or Felnémeti) Gate.¹⁷⁵ Evliya Çelebi mentions five gates: Ilidze, Hatvani, Új, Martalócz, and Kalmet.¹⁷⁶ From the town, two *camis* (the Muhammad III Cami, close to the Hatvani Gate, and the Kethüda Cami, whose minaret is still standing) and two baths (the Valide Sultana *hamam* and one *ilica*) are known. In addition, Evliya Çelebi mentions 600 shops, including cafés, stating that the shops are richly decorated, and their merchants are wealthy.¹⁷⁷ This indicates that the town and the castle were very lively and rich during the Ottoman period.

As mentioned above, the castle was not significantly modified during the occupation. Apart from turning the Episcopal Palace into the pasha’s residence, mainly the fortifications were strengthened, and two bastions were constructed by the Ottomans (Southwestern Cannon Hill and Szép Bastion or Southeastern Cannon Hill). Based on the written sources, however, there were significant constructions in the town, including seven *camis* and two baths, of which only two buildings have archaeological remains: the Valide Sultana bath and a *minaret* (which is still standing).¹⁷⁸ The relationship between the town and the castle was strong, which is

¹⁷² Sugár István, “Az egri török vilájet várai [Castles of the Ottoman Eger Vilayet],” *Az Egri Vár Híradója* 24 (1992): 21.

¹⁷³ Sugár, “Az egri török vilájet várai,” 22.

¹⁷⁴ Sugár, “Az egri török vilájet várai,” 22.

¹⁷⁵ Nováki Gyula, *Heves megye várai az őskortól a kuruc korig: Magyarország várainak topográfiája vol. 2 [Castles of Heves County from prehistory to the Kuruc era: Topography of the castles of Hungary]* (Castrum Bene Egyesület, 2009), 24.

¹⁷⁶ Karácson, *Evliya Cselebi török világutazó Magyarországi utazásai*, 116–17.

¹⁷⁷ Karácson, *Evliya Cselebi török világutazó Magyarországi utazásai*, 118.

¹⁷⁸ Gerő Győző, “A török Eger építészeti és régészeti emlékei [Architectural and archaeological monuments of Ottoman Eger],” *Az Egri Vár Híradója* 28 (1996): 26.

supported by the way the Ottomans took care of the town wall, as well as the fact that they called it a “suburb,” indicating that it belonged to the castle.¹⁷⁹ The reason for keeping the town so close must have been strategical: it was important from the point of view of defending the castle and it also provided resources, which is demonstrated by the fact that the Ottomans constructed two gunpowder mills in it.¹⁸⁰

Archaeological data regarding the town of Eger is scarce, almost non-existent, due to the heavy Baroque reconstructions of the eighteenth century, which not only destroyed the Ottoman-period layers and monuments, but the medieval strata as well. As a result, the medieval and Ottoman townscape is barely known, which is also the reason why it is only the castle’s material that is discussed in the present work. Historically, however, there is plenty of data showing that Eger was a developed Ottoman city during the seventeenth century. It had a strong social layer of intelligentsia, which brought about a developed civilian town, in spite of the fact that its castle served as a border fortress for the empire. This can be explained with the position of Eger, being in a relatively secluded geographical position.¹⁸¹

Archaeological context

The first excavations of the castle took place in 1862 around the ruins of the medieval cathedral, led by Arnold Ipolyi, then continued by János Balogh in 1877. The first planned, systematic excavations were carried out between 1925 and 1934, which focused on the dungeons and the cathedral, as the military was still using the territory of the castle, making it impossible to conduct excavations.¹⁸² After the Second World War, the first excavations restarted in 1957 on the occasion of the Museum of Eger, launched in 1952, being moved up to the castle hill. The excavations continued until 1988 led by Károly Kozák; the assemblage discussed here was collected during these works.¹⁸³

Map 15 below shows the distribution of Chinese porcelain fragments at the different sites within the Castle of Eger. A significant part of the assemblage originates from the medieval Episcopal Palace, which was refurbished as the palace of the pashas during the Ottoman occupation. This indicates that the pashas and their court were among the main consumers of Asian decorative. An overwhelming majority of the assemblage, 275 pieces out of 438, comes

¹⁷⁹ István Sugár, “Az egri török vilájet várai,” 22.

¹⁸⁰ István Sugár, “Az egri török vilájet várai,” 23.

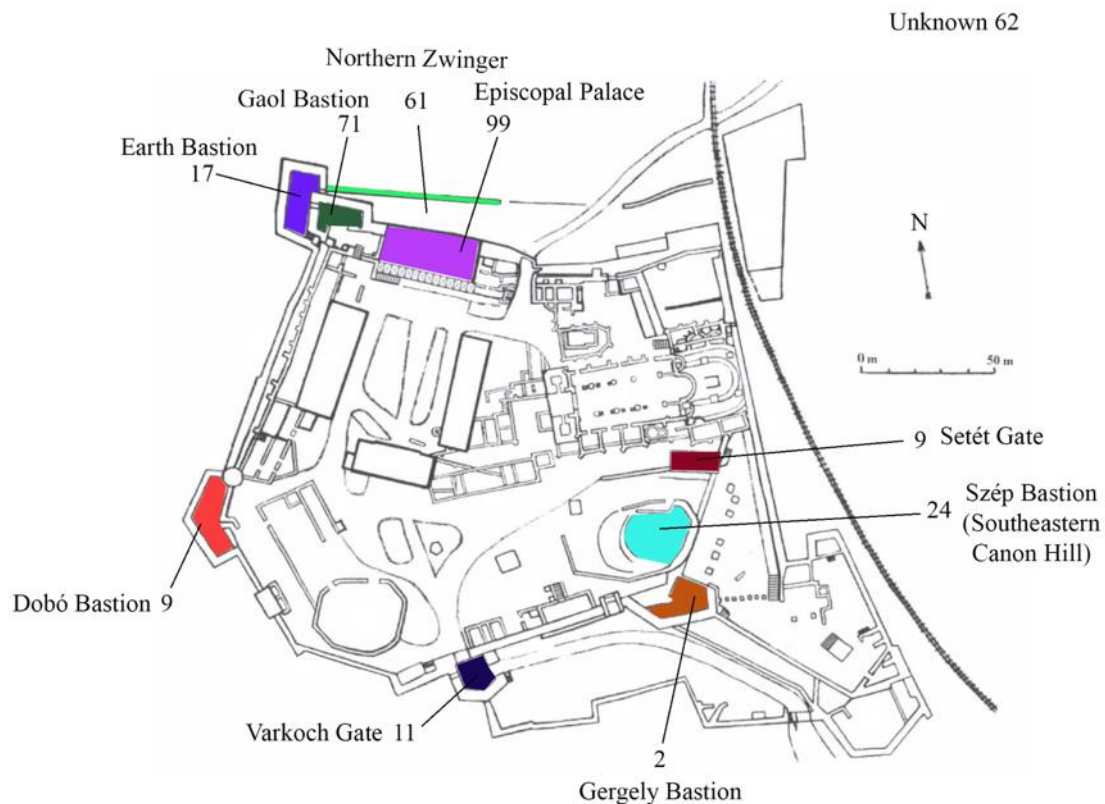
¹⁸¹ Sudár, *Dzsámik és mecsetek*, 75. and in details regarding the most important topographic elements: 253-264.

¹⁸² About the history of the early excavations see Lénárt Andor, *Az egri vár feltárásának története 1949-ig [History of the excavations of the Eger Castle until 1949]*, Studia Agriensis 2 (Dobó István Vármúzeum, 1982).

¹⁸³ For reports on these excavations see the publications of Károly Kozák in *Az Egri Múzeum Évkönyve – Annales Musei Agriensis* 1, 2, 4–7, 10, 11, 13, 16, 19, 23, 25.

from the northern part of the castle, that is, the Episcopal Palace (later pasha palace) and its surroundings (Earth Bastion and Gaol Bastion). The two other main sites yielding the most Chinese porcelain fragments are the Dobó Bastion (26 pieces) and the Szép Bastion (28 pieces).

Regarding the layer contexts, out of the 178 bags (containing Chinese porcelain and Middle Eastern faience) 75 contained detailed information regarding its site, exact date, and context.¹⁸⁴ This means that the majority of the pieces cannot be connected to specific layers; therefore, their context can only be described broadly. In general, most of the contexts yielding porcelain fragments is confidently dated to the Ottoman period of the castle (1596–1687), and only a few Baroque levelling layers yielded Chinese porcelain. The general description of the archaeological contexts at the main sites yielding porcelain fragments is briefly summarized below, mainly relying on the works by the excavator Károly Kozák.¹⁸⁵



Map 15: Find distribution in the Castle of Eger.

Map by author, after Giber, "Adatok az egri püspökvár középkori építéstörténetéhez," II, fig. 1, p. 34.

¹⁸⁴ Orsolya Zay, *Az egri vár*, 61.

¹⁸⁵ See *Az Egri Múzeum Évkönyve* cited above.

The northern part of the castle

The first years of the excavations, starting from 1957, concentrated on the northern part of the castle, including three main sites: the Episcopal Palace, Earth Bastion, and Gaol Bastion. Based on the excavation reports, this area should be handled as one unit, as the building and functional history of the Episcopal Palace (later pasha palace)—the central building of the area—can only be fully reconstructed with the survey of its surroundings.¹⁸⁶ Most of the fragments were found in this area of the castle, mainly in Ottoman-period layers and pits, as well as mixed layers of modern debris and material culture of the Ottoman period.

The archaeological survey of the **Episcopal Palace** suggests that it was definitely in use during the Ottoman period, as some remains of construction and remodeling that were dated to this period were detected within the structure of the building.¹⁸⁷ Kozák also mentioned the material culture collected during the excavations, shortly summarizing the Ottoman ceramics and devoting two sentences to the Chinese porcelain and Persian faience, stating that the Eger Castle yielded the most significant assemblage of such vessels in Hungary.¹⁸⁸ Two plates and a cup were published, as well as some additional cups described as porcelain, but these pieces are actually faience vessels.¹⁸⁹ Apart from the above, not much more can be known about their archaeological context.

The archaeological survey of the **Gaol Bastion** shows that after the unsuccessful siege of the Ottomans in 1552, the bastion's inner yard was filled up. Then, between 1568 and 1578, the new western wall of the bastion was built by replacing the medieval gate tower, creating the Italian-structured headed bastion that is still standing today, known as Earth Bastion.¹⁹⁰ According to the 1958 documentation, a c. 1 to 4 m thick, brown, washed-in layer filled with debris was spread over the site, which yielded Chinese porcelain and Persian faience fragments.¹⁹¹ This layer was located in the collapsed, then filled-up dungeons of the bastion.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁶ Kozák Károly, "Az egri vár feltárása (1957-62) I. [Excavations of the Castle of Eger (1957-1962) I.]," *Agria – Az Egri Múzeum Évkönyve – Annales Musei Agriensis* 1 (1963): 120.

¹⁸⁷ Károly Kozák, "Az egri vár feltárása (1957-62) I," 120–130.

¹⁸⁸ Károly Kozák, "Az egri vár feltárása (1957-62) I," 131.

¹⁸⁹ Károly Kozák, "Az egri vár feltárása (1957-62) I," p. 159, fig. 35, and Fodor László and Kozák Károly, "Leletgyűttesek a román kori székesegyház környékéről (Adatok az egri vár XVII-XVIII. századi kerámiájának történetéhez, I.) [Assemblages from the vicinity of the Romanesque cathedral (Additional data to the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century ceramic history of the castle of Eger, I.),]" *Agria – Az Egri Múzeum Évkönyve – Annales Musei Agriensis* 8–9 (1972): 173, fig. 15. The vessels depicted in these figures are in the permanent exhibition of the castle, therefore, they could only be examined through the display cases.

¹⁹⁰ Kozák Károly, "Az egri vár feltárása (1957-63) II. [Excavations of the Castle of Eger (1957-63) II.]," *Agria – Az Egri Múzeum Évkönyve – Annales Musei Agriensis* 2 (1964): 234.

¹⁹¹ Orsolya Zay, *Az egri vár*, 63.

¹⁹² See the published section drawing: Kozák, "Az egri vár feltárása (1957-63) II," p. 252, fig. 26.

The findings of the layer show a great variety of modern, early modern, and medieval material culture, including cannon balls, fragments of weapons, ceramic pipes, and ceramic sherds from all three periods.¹⁹³

The site in connection with the Gaol Bastion that also yielded a significant number of sherds is the **Northern Zwinger**, enclosed by the Gaol Bastion to the west, the Episcopal Palace to the south, and the northern castle wall to the north. This site seems to have been deliberately enclosed already in the Middle Ages and is also depicted in the Ottoman period and later ground plans.¹⁹⁴ The Zwinger was filled with mixed debris containing ceramic vessels and fragments from the modern and Ottoman periods.¹⁹⁵

As described above, the **Earth Bastion** is also strongly connected to the Gaol Bastion. The find material is briefly discussed, though porcelain fragments are not addressed, only early modern and modern finds deriving from the upper, mixed debris layers are mentioned.¹⁹⁶

The southern part of the castle

The two main sites yielding Chinese porcelain fragments are the Dobó Bastion and the Szép Bastion (Southeastern Cannon Hill), which are located in the southern part of the castle. The eastern part of the southern castle area comprises the Dobó Bastion and its vicinity, including the Varkoch Gate. **The Varkoch Gate**, as the excavations revealed, was particularly significant during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹⁹⁷ Quite a few porcelain pieces were collected from the site, but it is not clear exactly from where they were found. The publication of the excavations mentions finds in connection with the landscaping of the early 1960s,¹⁹⁸ also stated in the inventory of the sherds. However, a more important site is a pit located at the inner part of the gate. This pit yielded a significant pipe assemblage,¹⁹⁹ which was, based on the experience of all Ottoman-inhabited sites across Hungary, most likely accompanied by porcelain and faience fragments. However, the publication only mentions seventeenth- and eighteenth-century ceramic fragments in general.²⁰⁰

¹⁹³ Kozák, "Az egri vár feltárása (1957-63) II," 226, and Orsolya Zay, *Az egri vár*, 63.

¹⁹⁴ Kozák Károly, "Az egri vár feltárása (1957-65) III. [Excavations of the Castle of Eger (1957-65) III.]," *Agria – Az Egri Múzeum Évkönyve – Annales Musei Agriensis* 4 (1966): 108.

¹⁹⁵ Kozák, "Az egri vár feltárása (1957-65) III.," 109.

¹⁹⁶ Kozák, "Az egri vár feltárása (1957-65) III.," 104.

¹⁹⁷ Détshy Mihály and Kozák Károly, "Az egri vár feltárása (1957-66) IV. [Excavation of the Castle of Eger (1957-66) IV.]," *Agria – Az Egri Múzeum Évkönyve – Annales Musei Agriensis* 5 (1967): 98.

¹⁹⁸ Détshy and Kozák, "Az egri vár feltárása (1957-66) IV.," 106.

¹⁹⁹ Détshy and Kozák, "Az egri vár feltárása (1957-66) IV.," 104.

²⁰⁰ Détshy and Kozák, "Az egri vár feltárása (1957-66) IV.," 100.

In the territory of the **Szép Bastion** remains of three houses were unearthed. Porcelain fragments were found in the vicinity of these houses, but it is impossible to identify their layers from the bags of the finds, as only the year of their collection is written on them.²⁰¹ The houses were built in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century after the castle had lost its military significance (and the Ottomans had left)²⁰²; therefore, a connection between the porcelain sherds and the houses is questionable but not impossible. The excavation log shows that a part of the porcelain finds was collected possibly from a mixed layer, but in some cases, other Ottoman-period finds suggest closed layers from between 1596 and 1686.²⁰³

North of the Szép Bastion the **Setét Gate** was surveyed in order to clarify this area's connection with the bastion. The Asian decorative ceramic sherds collected here most likely derive from the modern and early modern debris layers, but the publication merely mentions Ottoman-period ceramic sherds without reference to the layers.²⁰⁴ South from the Szép Bastion stands the **Southeastern Headed Bastion**, which yielded one Chinese porcelain fragment. A golden coin of Murad III (1574–1595), minted possibly between 1578 and 1579, was also collected from this area, but based on the publication and the documentation, it is not clear whether the porcelain fragment and the coin were in the same context.²⁰⁵

A few pieces were collected from the Ottoman pits unearthed in the territory of the medieval cathedral. A detailed description was published regarding the material of the pits, but the pieces identified as porcelain are actually faience; therefore, not much more is known about the Chinese porcelain pieces found in these pits.

Regarding the **other sites** that yielded a small number of porcelain sherds, the largest number of pieces was collected from the area of the Dobó Bastion during sewerage works in 1981.²⁰⁶ These excavations were not published, and the documentation and packaging of the sherds do not provide further information either. Some additional sites appear in the inventory, but these could not be confidently identified; therefore, these are not discussed in the present subchapter.²⁰⁷

In summary, the archaeological contexts are very similar to those of Buda: an overwhelming majority of the sherds derive from mixed modern and early modern debris or levelling layers,

²⁰¹ Orsolya Zay, *Az egri vár*, 64.

²⁰² Kozák Károly, "Az egri vár feltárása (1957-68) VI. [Excavations of the Castle of Eger (1957-68) VI.]," *Agria – Az Egri Múzeum Évkönyve – Annales Musei Agriensis* 7 (1969): 184.

²⁰³ Orsolya Zay, *Az egri vár*, 64.

²⁰⁴ Kozák Károly, "Az egri vár feltárása (1957-67) V. [Excavations of the Castle of Eger (1957-67) V.]," *Agria – Az Egri Múzeum Évkönyve – Annales Musei Agriensis* 6 (1969): 128.

²⁰⁵ "Az egri vár feltárása (1957-67) V.," 118.

²⁰⁶ Orsolya Zay, *Az egri vár*, 66.

²⁰⁷ Orsolya Zay, *Az egri vár*, 66.

or from clearly Ottoman layers or pits. The only minor difference lies in the chronology, as Eger was not occupied until 1596, in contrast with Buda, which was taken over in 1541. However, the fifty-five-year difference is not very relevant, both in terms of the value of the vessels (they could have been in use for decades) and the general dating of both assemblages (i.e., the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries).

Despite the little data that could be collected about the archaeological context of the finds, the Eger assemblage constitutes one of the most significant ones within the material. The reason is not because it is the largest in number, but because this assemblage contains a surprisingly large collection of Gombroon and Kütahya ware, which made possible identifying these types, especially the Gombroon pieces. On the other hand, the interpretation of this assemblage would benefit from the information regarding the town, which, unfortunately is not available. Maybe excavations in the close vicinity of the castle can still yield such finds, although this cannot be predicted at the moment. In spite of the challenges, this assemblage still constitutes one of the pillars of the analysis and interpretation of the material.

Sancak centers

Pécs (Hungary)

Ottoman Pécs

Pécs is an outstanding example of the *sancak* centers in Ottoman Hungary, representing one of the most developed and flourishing towns in this part of the Ottoman Empire, besides Temesvár (Timișoara).²⁰⁸ Medieval Pécs, an episcopal center, was also a developed and important town of the Hungarian Kingdom. During the progression of the Ottoman conquest within Hungary, after occupying Buda in 1541, the occupation of Pécs became strategically important for Sultan Süleyman. The goal was to secure the background of the newly conquered territories, as well as the progression of the conquest toward the western regions of Hungary. Pécs was finally occupied in 1543, most likely after the surrender of the Hungarian defenders, following a long siege.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁸ Sudár, *Mecsetek és dzsámik*, 73.

²⁰⁹ Balázs Sudár, Szabolcs Varga, and János Varga J., *Pécs története III. A hódoltság korában (1543-1686)* [*The History of Pécs III. Ottoman Period (1543-1686)*] (Pécs Története Alapítvány – Kronosz Kiadó, Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont, 2020), 40.

After its occupation, Pécs was part of the Mohács *sancak*, although it seems that Pécs functioned as the center of that *sancak* from the time of its occupation.²¹⁰ It is not clear when the Pécs *sancak* was formed, but there is archival data showing that Kasim *Beylerbey* alternated his residence between Pécs and Szekszárd from 1546 onwards. The documents between 1568 and 1574 mention the Pécs *sancak* as an independent administrative unit.²¹¹ After its occupation, Ottoman Pécs was in constant battle with Szigetvár until the latter was taken by the Ottomans in 1566.²¹² This is the period when the civilian development of the town began, reaching its peak in the 1660s. The urban landscape was slowly transformed from a medieval episcopal seat into an Islamic city, remnants of which can still be seen today in the form of a few surviving Ottoman buildings.

Regarding the Ottoman-period social composition of Pécs, only one source provides detailed information: the *mufassal defter* from 1579. This shows that by this time, the town was inhabited at least three-quarters by Muslims, and they were living within the town walls.²¹³ By the seventeenth century, a new *beylerbeylik* was formed in Transdanubia, with Kanizsa as its official center. Still, Pécs remained the most significant town in the region. This resulted in several *beys* residing there and endowing *waqfs*. Furthermore, sometimes the pashas also received Pécs as a *timar* property; thus, in some periods, two administrative leaders resided in the town, the *sancakbey* and a pasha.²¹⁴ This outstanding position of the town attracted a significant layer of Ottoman intelligentsia, which also contributed to the development of Pécs.²¹⁵ Besides them, the other most powerful social layer was the military, among them the *timar* holders, who possessed significant properties and wealth.²¹⁶ Pécs was one of the four fortresses in 1547 in Ottoman Hungary where Janissaries from Istanbul were placed. They were usually sent to border fortresses in six-month turns. Based on the 1579 *mufassal defter*, it seems that some of them decided to settle down in Pécs, as they acquired houses and shops there.²¹⁷ The third significant layer of society was the craftsmen and merchants. Although these two social groups are discussed together in the most recent monograph about the Ottoman-period History of Pécs, here I will focus on the merchants. As mentioned above, the soldiers settling

²¹⁰ Sudár et al., *Pécs története*, 45.

²¹¹ Hancz Erika and Varga Szabolcs, *Pécs mindennapjai a török félhold alatt [Everyday life in Pécs Under the Ottoman Crescent]* (Pannon Kultúra Alapítvány – Janus Pannonius Múzeum, 2013), 39.

²¹² For details see Sudár et al., *Pécs története*, 43-62.

²¹³ Sudár et al., *Pécs története*, 163.

²¹⁴ Sudár et al., *Pécs története*, 166.

²¹⁵ Sudár et al., *Pécs története*, 168-171.

²¹⁶ Sudár et al., *Pécs története*, 171-173.

²¹⁷ Sudár et al., *Pécs története*, 178.

in Pécs also owned a significant number of shops; besides them, the *mufassal defter* of 1579 shows that several *dervişes* also took part in commercial activities.²¹⁸ Apart from these groups, most likely many other kinds of people were involved in trade. One example is the Ragusans, a part of the town's Christian community. Their arrival after the Ottoman occupation brought new directions into the town's commercial life: the east-west directed trade was expanded with a north-south axis, connecting Southern Transdanubia with the West Balkan commercial network.²¹⁹ Their presence, however, was relatively short-lived: by the 1570s, it seems that the Raguzan colony was replaced by Bosnian Catholic merchants, demonstrating the change in the ethnic composition of the region.²²⁰

Besides the social composition, the topography of Pécs can also be reconstructed based on the 1579 *mufassal defter* (Map 16). Ottoman-period Pécs consisted of five main parts: the inner castle (medieval episcopal castle), the town or outer castle, and three suburbs (Szigeti, Siklósi, Budai).²²¹ After the Ottoman occupation, the suburbs started developing rapidly, which attracted inhabitants not only from among the Christians but from among the Muslims as well. This was especially true for the Budai Suburb, which offered rich economic opportunities with the Tettye Creek and the mills along it.²²² The religious needs of the Muslims living here were served by the so-called Tanners' *Mescid* (small mosque). Sometime after 1592, north of the town, on top of a hill later called Rókus Hill, the türbe of Idris Baba was built, who was supposedly the most important holy person of the area and probably was a *bektaşî derviş*.²²³ The building was used to store gunpowder after the Ottoman occupation. It was discovered and restored in the late twentieth century, making it one of the standing Ottoman buildings of Pécs.²²⁴

The *mahalle* system of Pécs is rather difficult to reconstruct. The only relevant source is the 1579 *defter*, which lists 77 *mahalles* in the town, but most have only a few houses registered.²²⁵ Map 16 displays those quarters that could be identified, as well as the Ottoman buildings within Pécs, the location of which is also identifiable. Four *külliyes* could be identified, each of which was different.

²¹⁸ Sudár et al., *Pécs története*, 184-185.

²¹⁹ Sudár et al., *Pécs története*, 145-146.

²²⁰ Sudár et al., *Pécs története*, 147.

²²¹ Sudár et al., *Pécs története*, 254.

²²² Sudár et al., *Pécs története*, 255.

²²³ Sudár et al., *Pécs története*, 255.

²²⁴ For more details about the building: Sudár et al., *Pécs története*, 285-289.

²²⁵ Sudár et al., *Pécs története*, 261.

The earliest *külliye* is connected to Kasim Pasha, who already had endowments in other cities before arriving in Pécs. When he arrived, he dismantled the town's parish church and built the *cami* that stands in its place even today. Based on the archival data, the endowment included a *medrese*, a *mekteb*, a bath, a monastery, and shops, showing a strong, characteristic *waqf* with representative buildings.²²⁶ Among these buildings, the *cami* and the bath are undoubtedly Ottoman constructions.²²⁷ The second *külliye* is connected to Memi Bey, who got hold of the building complex of the Franciscans, the church, and the friary, which is located close to the city's Western Gate. Memi Bey first transformed the church into a mosque and then built a *minaret* next to it. In the friary building, he founded a *medrese*, and probably a *mekteb* was also functioning there. The endowment was completed with a twin bath that could be used simultaneously by men and women.²²⁸ The third *külliye* was constructed by Ferhad Bey, including a *cami*, a *mekteb*, a large twin bath, and a *derviş* monastery.²²⁹ The fourth *külliye* is that of Yakovali Hasan Pasha, constructed outside of the Szigeti Gate in the Szigeti Suburb. It included a *cami*, a *medrese*, a *mekteb*, an *imaret*, and a monastery for the *mevlevi dervişes*. The complex was most likely entirely built by the Ottomans, although only the *cami* stands today.²³⁰

There were several more mosques, some of which were possibly Ottoman constructions. One is the Tanners' *mescid* in the Budai Suburb and the *cami* built by El-Hac Hüseyin on the inner side of the Budai Gate. Apart from the places of worship, there were also *türbes* and Ottoman cemeteries in the city and public fountains supplied by a conduit system.²³¹

²²⁶ Sudár et al., *Pécs története*, 274.

²²⁷ Sudár et al., *Pécs története*, 265.

²²⁸ Sudár et al., *Pécs története*, 265.

²²⁹ Sudár et al., *Pécs története*, 265.

²³⁰ Sudár et al., *Pécs története*, 266.

²³¹ Sudár et al., *Pécs története*, 266. For a detailed description of the Ottoman buildings in Pécs see Sudár et al., *Pécs története*, 268-294. and Fedeles Tamás, ed., *Pécs*, Hungarian Atlas of Historic Towns 8 (ELKH BTK Történettudományi Intézet, Pécsi Tudományegyetem, 2021), 33-41.; for the places of worship and the endowments in great detail see Sudár, *Dzsámik és mecsetek*, 394-436.

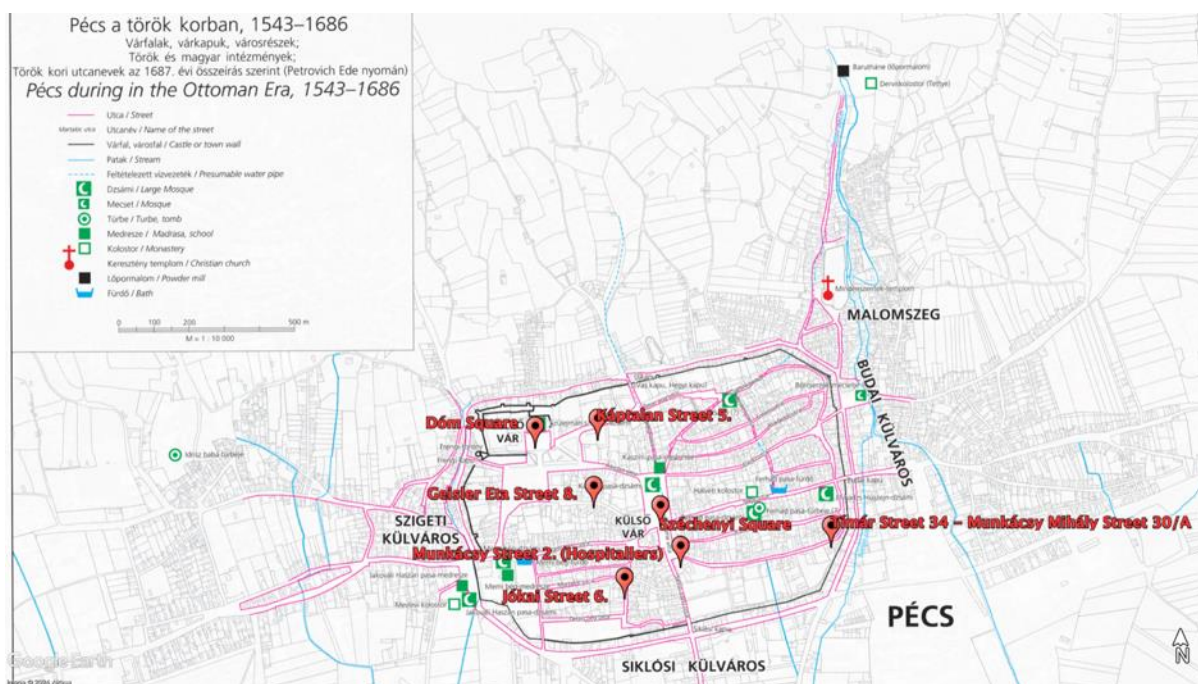
The available material from the Janus Pannonius Museum in Pécs²³⁵ included twenty-two sherds from nine sites, two of which lie outside Pécs;²³⁶ thus, I will not discuss them. Among the other seven sites (Geisler Eta [today Apáca] Street 8., Munkácsy Street 2-4., Tímár Street 34, Széchenyi Square, Káptalan Street 5., Dóm Square, and Jókai Street 6.; See Map 17), one has available documentation that provides relevant information regarding the contexts, four have documentation but do not contain the Ottoman contexts, and two have no documentation at all. One discrepancy in the material concerns the most interesting pieces (Kütahya cups with saucers, inv. nos. 85.4.1-2., 85.4.4-6., see in Chapter 4). According to their inventory numbers, they were unearthed at Jakab-hegy (Jakab Hill), at the Pauline monastery site, located on the top of a hill c. 10 km northwest of the center of Pécs. In his publication about Anatolian ceramics in Hungary, Győző Gerő, when discussing these finds, mentions that they were unearthed in downtown Pécs.²³⁷ Unfortunately, the endnote containing the information based on which Gerő wrote this is missing.²³⁸ The documentation of the Jakab Hill excavations only contains data regarding the medieval period, and there is no data on Ottomans using the Pauline monastery. At this point, it is impossible to solve this discrepancy. Regardless, the objects are analyzed in Chapter 4, as they represent a significant research question.

²³⁵ At the time of my research trip the storage of the museum was recently moved to another building, thus only the inventoried sherds were available for research. The material of the more recent excavations therefore are not included in my study. I would like to thank Dóra Helmlí, Gergely Kovaliczky, and Gábor Bertók for their help and providing the material even under the circumstances of moving the storage. I also would like to thank Gábor Kárpáti (†2022) for giving permission to study the material of his excavations.

²³⁶ One of them is Jakab-hegy (Jakab Hill), which will be mentioned below; and the other one is Márévár, a small fortification near the settlement Magyaregregy, c. 30 km northeast of Pécs.

²³⁷ Győző Gerő, “Anatolian Pottery -from Iznik and Kütahya- in Hungary – in the 16th and 17th Centuries,” in *First International Congress on Turkish Tiles and Ceramics. Communications Programme. 6-11. VIII. 1986, Kütahya* (Türk Petrol Vakfı, 1989), 146.

²³⁸ Gerő, “Anatoliana Pottery”, endnote 13 is referenced after the information, but there is no endnote 13, from 12 it jumps to 14.



Map 17: Archaeological sites in Pécs. Base map: Tamás Fedeles ed., Pécs. Hungarian Atlas of Historic Towns 8. Budapest and Pécs, 2021. Map A.3.3.

A site with relevant documentation is **Dóm Square**. This site is located in the Inner Castle part of town, near the Süleyman Cami (the medieval cathedral, a part of which was transformed into a mosque) that is probably connected to the highest layer of Ottoman society that resided in Pécs. Although it is not specified in the historical data whether the town leaders lived in the Inner Castle, it is the usual practice of the occupying Ottomans to settle their administrative centers within the medieval fortification of the town if available. The four sherds unearthed here in 1958 represent the higher end of the Asian decorative material group. The two Iznik pieces belong to the Damascus and Hatayi styles, dated between the 1520s and 1550s (see Chapter 4), and the Chinese porcelain bowl sherds are representatives of the few early Chinese porcelain types present in the Hungarian material (see Chapter 4). All four sherds derive from the same pit but from slightly different depths. The highest was the Iznik lid sherd of the Damascus style. In the same depth, two coins were unearthed, dated to 1628 and 1695.²³⁹ This indicates a phenomenon observed in Belgrade, where Iznik sherds were placed in the ground a long period after their production.²⁴⁰ By the end of the pit excavation, it is called a well in the excavation log. The excavation stopped at a 7.1 m depth, but additional drilling of 4.4 m showed

²³⁹ MNM RA, 3350-1959. Excavation log, p. 20. June 2.

²⁴⁰ Jelena Živković et al., “Archaeology of Consumption in Ottoman Urban Centres,” 140-141. This phenomenon is discussed later (See Chapter 5).

that the well continued downward, although early modern ceramic sherds became scarce. The excavation of the well stopped there.²⁴¹

The four sites with documentation that do not discuss the contexts of the Asian decorative ceramic sherds are Geisler Eta (today Apáca) Street 8, Széchenyi Square, Tímár Street 34. – Munkácsy Mihály Street 30/A, and Munkácsy Street 2. The excavation at Geisler Eta Street 8 focused on the Roman cemetery. According to the excavation log, on the day when the Iznik sherd was unearthed the roof of a Roman sarcophagus was found. Above it, a piece of a wall was excavated, but apart from the fact that it was way above the Roman layers, nothing more is recorded about the wall.²⁴² The site is directly near the Kasim Pasha Cami, placing it in the center of the Muslim-inhabited town.

The rescue excavation at **Széchenyi Square** in 1978 concerned one shaft after a wall was found during test drills on the square's eastern side. Based on the inventory, it is unclear whether this was the site of the Kütahya cup sherd inventoried to this site, but no other documentation was available concerning rescue excavations at this site in 1978. According to the excavation log, a building depicted on Joseph Haüy's city plan from 1687 was found during the earthworks.²⁴³ The finds included Ottoman coins and some Ottoman sherds²⁴⁴ – the Kütahya cup sherd inventoried to this site could be one of them. The other sherd found at Széchenyi Square is a Persian Gombroon cup sherd inventoried with a 1977 inventory number. This means it was found earlier, but no documentation is connected to earlier rescue excavations at Széchenyi Square, and the inventory does not specify the year of the excavation. The site is directly near Kasim Pasha's *camî*, placing it in the center of Ottoman Pécs.

According to the inventory, the two sherds unearthed at **Tímár Street 34. – Munkácsy Mihály Street 30/A** were found in June, but the excavation log only discusses four days from May. This suggests that there was more work following May. During the four excavation days in May, a cellar was found, which was probably built during the eighteenth century, after the demolition of a likely Ottoman-period building. While excavating the remains of a wall connected to that Ottoman-period building, Ottoman-period ceramics were unearthed, which is why the wall was dated to this timeframe.²⁴⁵ Supposedly, the cellar was excavated completely, and the sherds were likely found in the filling of the cellar. It is impossible to assess whether the excavation reached under the eighteenth-century cellar and tapped into the Ottoman period.

²⁴¹ MNM RA, 3350-1959. Excavation log, 25-26.

²⁴² MNM RA, 3351-1959. Excavation log, 28., 17 September.

²⁴³ JPM RA, 1410-83. Excavation report, 1.

²⁴⁴ JPM RA, 1410-83. Excavation report, 1.

²⁴⁵ JPM RA, 1426-83. Excavation report, 1.

The two sherds unearthed here are a Kütahya cup sherd, dating to the late seventeenth or the eighteenth century; and a Persian Gombroon-type cup sherd, also dating to the second half of the seventeenth century. The site is close to the town wall but not far from Ferhad Pasha's *külliye* and El-Hac Hüseyin's *camî*.

Munkácsy Mihály Street 2-4 is on the site of the Hospitaller's former building, also working as a health institute today. It is near Ferhad Pasha's *külliye* and Kasim Pasha's *camî* and bath, on the main road leading from the northern to the southern gate of the town walls. The documentation is merely a short report listing the phenomena unearthed during the rescue excavations.²⁴⁶ Based on this and the inventory, two of the three sherds (two Iznik bowl sherds, one of the Golden Horn type, and one Hatayi style – see Chapter 4) were found in an Ottoman well. The third one, a Chinese porcelain cup sherd, was either found in the same well or the Ottoman pit unearthed at the site.

The other sites yielding Asian decorative sherds are also located within the town walls, fitting the pattern observed at Hungarian sites, namely that it is the Muslim-inhabited parts of the towns where such finds occur. It should be noted, though, that the material of more recent excavations is unknown; therefore, the topographical distribution of the finds is hypothetical. The historical data suggests a strongly civilian Ottoman town that reached its heyday in the 1660s. At the moment, the find material of Asian decorative ware does not reflect this historical data, which can result from sporadic rescue excavations and the lack of research into this type of material culture. The analyzed material in the present work merely offers a glimpse into the potential of the material of Pécs, a rare type of civilian town within Ottoman Hungary. Without having access to the results of more recent excavations, evaluating this material would be limiting since, at this point, it represents a different picture than the historical data suggests. Assessing this difference is only possible together with the material of the excavations unavailable for this study.

Fehérvár (Székesfehérvár, Ístolni Belgrad) (Hungary)

Ottoman Fehérvár

Székesfehérvár, located northwest of Buda, was one of the most significant settlements of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom. It was one of the first royal seats of the Árpadian kings, and it functioned as a coronation town and burial place of the Hungarian kings during the Middle

²⁴⁶ JPM RA, 2246-2007. Excavation report, 1-2.

Ages. As a result, it had a strong religious and symbolic influence. At the same time, it was located at the junction of main roads and rivers, that gave the town a strategic importance. It was occupied by the Ottomans in 1543, and apart from a year of re-occupation during the Long Turkish War between 1601 and 1602, it was under Ottoman rule until 1688. It functioned as the center of the Fehérvár *sancak*, belonging to the Buda *beylerbeylik*.²⁴⁷

The topography of the walled inner city has mostly stayed the same from the medieval period until now. Also, this part of the town is the most well-known from the archaeological record and regarding its topography.²⁴⁸ Besides the inner city, three suburbs can be identified: the Budai Suburb north of the walled town, a suburb south of the inner city (identified as Nova Villa by Gyula Siklósi), and Sziget (= Island), or Nova Civitas as called during the Middle Ages.²⁴⁹ Two historical events caused significant destruction in the city: the siege in 1601, during which the fleeing Ottoman soldiers set it on fire, and a fire in 1686, which devastated the city once again.²⁵⁰ This resulted in the loss of most of Székesfehérvár's medieval and Ottoman buildings. It also made the reconstruction of the town's topography difficult since the written sources regarding the location of the buildings mentioned in them are not very revealing. According to the written evidence, there were thirteen *mahalles*. Gyula Siklósi attempted the reconstruction of the topography of the streets and the quarters based on the written evidence and the archaeological record of the excavations that were conducted in the city (Map 18).²⁵¹

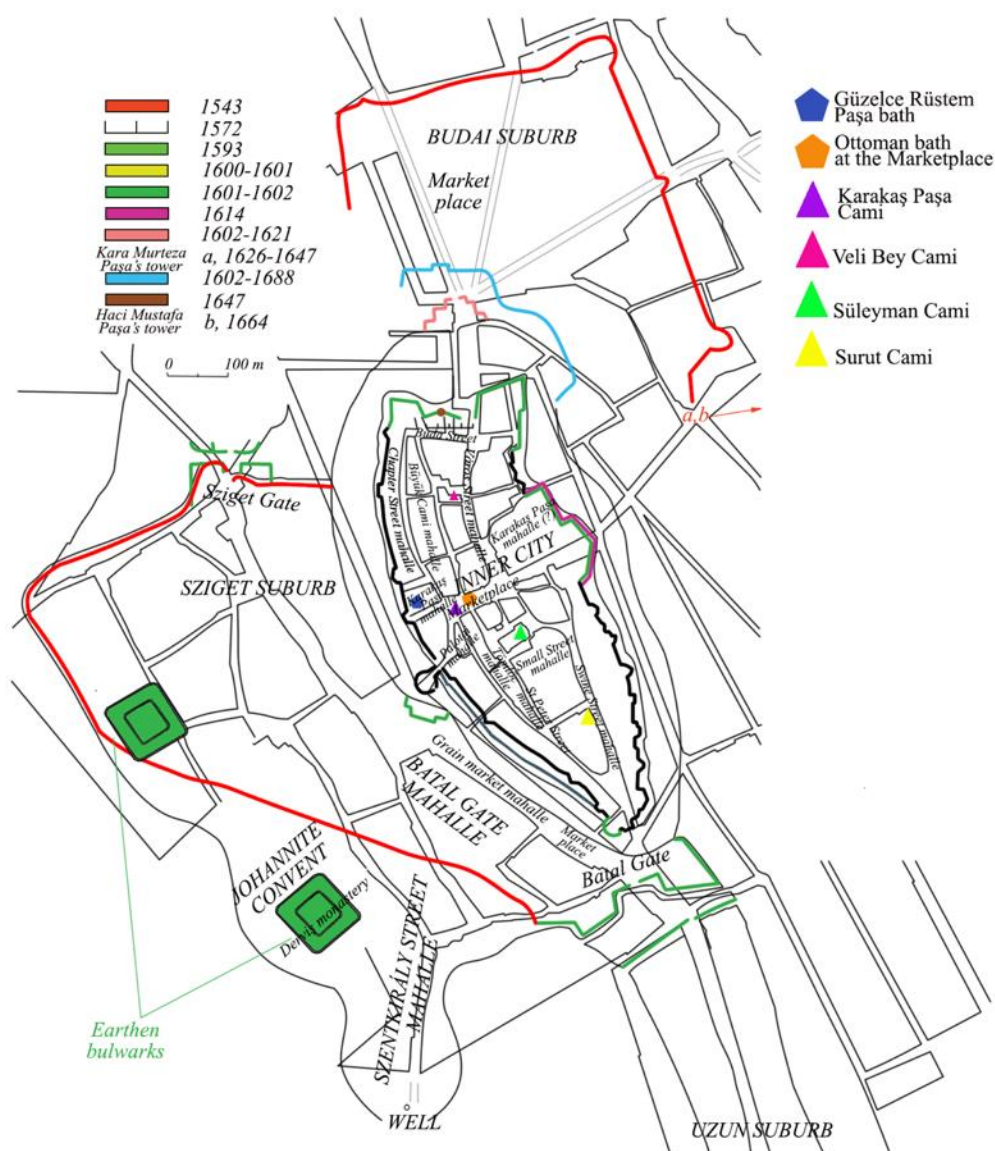
²⁴⁷ Ágnes Kolláth, "Koronázóvárosból szandzsákközpont," 386.

²⁴⁸ Kolláth, "Koronázóvárosból szandzsákközpont," 378.

²⁴⁹ Kolláth, "Koronázóvárosból szandzsákközpont," 378.

²⁵⁰ Kolláth, "Koronázóvárosból szandzsákközpont," 381-382.

²⁵¹ Gyula Siklósi, Siklósi Gyula, *A törökkori Székesfehérvár [Székesfehérvár During the Ottoman Period]* (Magyar Honvédség Összhaderőnemi Parancsnokság, 2013). Chapters 3-7, 9. Later scholarship disputes some of his identifications of the streets and especially the Ottoman buildings (see Kolláth, "Koronázóvárosból szandzsákközpont"). Thus, the map should be used with this in mind. For more details regarding the places of worship and some discussion about the suburbs, see Sudár, *Dzsámik és mecsetek*, 290-314.



Map 18: Ottoman period topography of Fehérvár. Map after Siklósi, *A törökkori Székesfehérvár*, p. 88, map 2.

Some places of worship and three baths could be identified with acceptable certainty (Map 18). In the inner city, two *camis* can be located, and the location of one is still hypothetical. Furthermore, Evliya Çelebi identified the Melias (Miljás) *Cami* = Old/Ruined *Cami* as part of the medieval basilica, possibly with the northern nave of one of its chapels. The Süleyman Sultan *Cami* is identified as St Peter and Paul parish church by Klára Hegyi and Balázs Sudár. The Karakaş Paşa *Cami*'s location is to be identified. According to Gyula Siklósi's theory, this is the building depicted on La Vergne's survey from 1689 as an octagonal building labeled '*Chapelle turq*', although this hypothesis needs more evidence. The Veli Bey *Cami* was most likely located in the place of today's St John of Nepomuk church.²⁵² In the suburbs, only one *camí*, the Surut *Cami*, is identified, located in the Sziget suburb. The identification, though, is

²⁵² Kolláth, "Koronázóvárosból szandzsákközpont," 393.

somewhat ambiguous since it is believed to be the later St Joseph Chapel, known to have been a place of worship for the Muslims. Seemingly, the building initially was not a church, as, at this point, the scholarship can only agree that it was transformed into a mosque from a medieval stone building with an unknown function.²⁵³ The other mosques in the suburbs are more difficult to identify. For the location of the Palotai or Suburban *Mescid*, Siklósi has a hypothesis: it can be identified as a rectangular mosque depicted on a military survey from 1601, opposing the Palotai Gate, close to the northeastern corner of Ingovány village.²⁵⁴ There is archival evidence that Sokollu Mustafa Pasha founded two more places of worship, two *camis* or a *cami* and a *mescid*, in the second half of the sixteenth century, but they cannot be located within the town.²⁵⁵ According to the sources, there were more *mescids* and endowments within the town, as well as *derviş* monasteries, schools, and *bedestans*, but these cannot be located.

The mentions of baths in the sources are scarce: Evliya mentions one, and Behram Dimiski mentions two. Archaeology and depictions, though, allowed for the identification of three such buildings. One was in the western suburb, as depicted on a 1601 draft ground plan. The other two are depicted on the urban plan of La Vergne from 1689: one labeled as *Les Baines*, right next to the hypothetical place of the Karakaş Paşa *Cami*, and one at the so-called Turkish courtyard, which was excavated by Gyula Siklósi. It has been suggested that this *hamam* could be an endowment of Güzelce Rüstem Pasha, but according to Balázs Sudár, this cannot be proven, although there is no discrepancy between the time of service of Rüstem Pasha and the construction of the building.²⁵⁶

Regarding the social topography, the number of Hungarians in Székesfehérvár decreased rapidly between the 1540s and the 1560s. After 1565, they were expelled from within the walled inner city after an attempted uprising against the Ottomans.²⁵⁷ This means that the inner city was inhabited by the Muslims entirely, but there is archaeological and documentary evidence that Muslims lived in the suburbs as well, as discussed above. This evidence includes Ottoman public buildings and one piece of Chinese porcelain found among the remains of the Convent of the Knights Hospitaller. Otherwise, as discussed below, all the other finds from Székesfehérvár were unearthed within the inner-city walls. The term ‘Muslims’, in the case of Székesfehérvár as much as in most of Ottoman Hungary, refers not to Turks from Asia Minor,

²⁵³ Kolláth, “Koronázóvárosból szandzsákközpont,” 394.

²⁵⁴ Siklósi, *A törökkori Székesfehérvár*, 65.

²⁵⁵ Kolláth, “Koronázóvárosból szandzsákközpont,” 394.

²⁵⁶ Kolláth, “Koronázóvárosból szandzsákközpont,” 396.

²⁵⁷ Kolláth, “Koronázóvárosból szandzsákközpont,” 386.

but mostly to people from the Balkan peninsula.²⁵⁸ In this sense, Muslim is not necessarily the best term for describing them, as a part of them were newly converted Muslims, but the other part remained Orthodox Christian.

Regarding the social composition of Székesfehérvár, the military aspect needs to be highlighted. As was mentioned above, Székesfehérvár was strategically significant, and it is shown in the number of the military stationed there: in 1543, 2978 soldiers were stationed here, a large number even compared to other Hungarian border fortresses. This also attracted a strong layer of administrative and religious elite to the town. The garrison was probably stationed in two locations: one was the so-called “castle” or “royal castle,” which was probably located at the eastern end of the walled inner city.²⁵⁹ The other one was the Budai Suburb, which was emptied and transformed for military use after the sieges of the Long Turkish War in 1593, 1598, and 1599.²⁶⁰ It is also proven, based on the mercenary lists, that at least one-third, but in some years, even two-thirds of the soldiers were of Balkan origin, characteristic of the border fortresses of Ottoman Hungary.²⁶¹

Archaeological context

The archaeological evidence, just like in the case of several other settlements discussed in this chapter, is not as rich as expected based on the administrative position of Székesfehérvár and its importance in trade. The twenty-four sherds unearthed in Székesfehérvár were found at eleven sites, two of which constitute the block of the Hiemer House (Map 19, A-K). These include the present-day Piac tér (Market Square) (A), Jókai Street 2. (B) and 20. (C), Csók István (today Megyeház) Street 17. (D), Gagarin (today Országzászló) Square (E), Zalka Máté (today Oskola) Street 2-4 (F) and the block of the Hiemer House (G), Vasvári Pál Street 3. (H), Kossuth Street 9-11. (I), Szabadságharcos Street 3. (J), and the Convent of the Knights Hospitaller (Hung.: Johannite Convent) (K). Eight sherds are only known from drawings published by Gyula Siklósi in his article summarizing the results of the archaeological excavations of the 1980s and 1990s concerning medieval Székesfehérvár.²⁶²

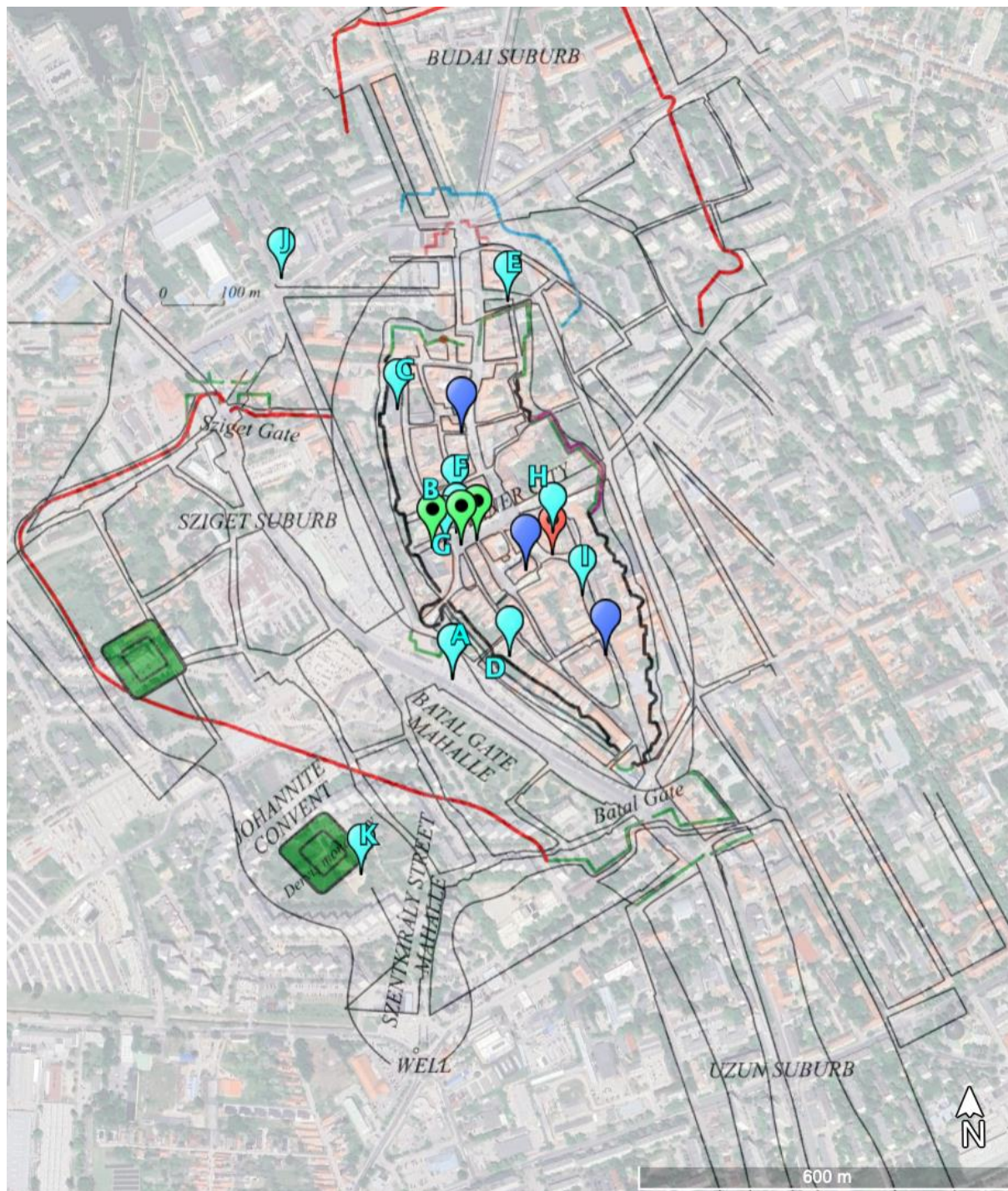
²⁵⁸ Kolláth, “Koronázóvárosból szandzsákközpont,” 387.

²⁵⁹ Kolláth, “Koronázóvárosból szandzsákközpont,” 385.

²⁶⁰ Kolláth, “Koronázóvárosból szandzsákközpont,” 383.

²⁶¹ Kolláth, “Koronázóvárosból szandzsákközpont,” 382.

²⁶² Gyula Siklósi, “Berufe und ihre Territoriale Verteilung im Mittelalterlichen Székesfehérvár [Professions and Their Territorial Distribution in Medieval Székesfehérvár],” *Alba Regia* 39 (2010): 7–68., Asian decorative ware is shown on tables 25-28.



Map 19: Sites of the finds in Székesfehérvár.
Map after Siklósi, A törökkori Székesfehérvár, p. 88, map 2.

Documentations of most of the excavations were available, and in most cases, the excavation reports provided information regarding the contexts of the finds. Based on these reports, the finds were generally found in filling layers either connected to the cleaning after the Long Turkish War or the re-occupation of Székesfehérvár from the Ottomans in 1688. In some cases, remains of Ottoman-period buildings were also found, but their relation to the sherds is mostly unspecified, as the sherds themselves are never mentioned in the documentations. These

building remains include a *derviş* monastery on the site of the the **Convent of the Hospitallers** and an Ottoman goldsmith's workshop found in an earlier excavation than the one yielding a Chinese peach-decorated cup sherd.²⁶³ Another example is an Iznik sherd featuring a “quatrefoil rosette” decoration (see Chapter 4), most likely made in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. It was found at **Vasvári Pál Street 3.**, in a filling layer that most likely was created after the sieges of 1601-1602. This provides another example of an Iznik vessel being disposed of generations after its production.²⁶⁴ Similarly, an Iznik lid made around 1570-80²⁶⁵ was found at **Jókai Street 20.**, in a waste pit dated to the seventeenth century.²⁶⁶ It has not been specified by Siklósi in which part of the seventeenth century the pit was closed; thus, it is difficult to assess for how long the Iznik lid was in use. Nevertheless, at least three or four decades passed between its production and disposal, comprising two generations. Therefore, it can also be considered an example of curating Iznik ware, which, although it has not been studied explicitly in Hungary, can be observed in several cases. The last find with an informative context is from the block of the **Hiemer House**. In this block, a large Ottoman waste pit was unearthed, dug in the side of a medieval house.²⁶⁷ The study of the ceramic assemblage unearthed from the pit shows that a small part of the finds date to the late Ottoman period (second half of the seventeenth century), but most date to the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and the eighteenth century.²⁶⁸ The coffee cup found in this pit correlates with this dating, as it was probably made in the second half of the seventeenth century. The cup could be Persian but based on the decoration style and the mark on the base, it is more likely that it was made in Kütahya and not in Iran (for the problem, see Chapter 4, Kütahya ware). In connection to the late dating of the cup, Gyöngyi Kovács raises the question of the sherd being used by remaining Muslim inhabitants after 1688 but does not believe that non-Muslims would

²⁶³ Siklósi, *A törökkori Székesfehérvár*, 46.

²⁶⁴ Hungarian Research Network, Research Center of the Humanities, Archaeological Institute, Archaeological Database, Vasvári Pál utca 3., excavation report, p. 26.

²⁶⁵ Gerelyes Ibolya, *Nagy Szulejmán szultán és kora / Kanunî Sultan Süleyman ve Çağı [Sultan Suleyman and His Time]* (Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 1994), Cat. no. 117.

²⁶⁶ Siklósi, *A törökkori Székesfehérvár*, 30.

²⁶⁷ Hungarian Research Network, Research Centre for the Humanities, Institute of Archaeology: Archaeological Database, Hiemer-ház tömbje, 1992, excavation log, p. 17. Publication of the Ottoman-period ceramic find assemblage, including the Persian coffee cup, see: Kovács Gyöngyi, “A kora újkori kerámia változásaihoz. Régi és új elemek a székesfehérvári Hiemer-ház leletanyagában / Changes in Early Modern Age Ceramics. The Old and the New in Finds from Székesfehérvár's Hiemer House,” in *Mesterségek és műhelyek a középkori és kora újkori Magyarországon. Tanulmányok Holl Imre emlékére / Crafts and Workshops in Hungary During the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period. Studies in Memory of Imre Holl*, ed. Benkő Elek, Kovács Gyöngyi, and Orosz Krisztina (Institute of Archaeology, Research Centre for the Humanities, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2017), 325–52.

²⁶⁸ Kovács, “A kora újkori kerámia változásaihoz,” 328.

have used it during the eighteenth century.²⁶⁹ I agree with this proposal, but if accepted, the cup, which is most likely from Kütahya, must have been made in the seventeenth century. This corroborates the notion raised in Chapter 4 concerning identifying and dating the blue and white Kütahya cups.

The Székesfehérvár material, although smaller in number than expected, yielded invaluable clues to the understanding of this type of material culture. The two most important observations are that Iznik ware was sometimes disposed of much later than its production and that a Kütahya coffee cup was arguably used here in the late seventeenth or maybe even the eighteenth century. The latter phenomenon contributes to the argument that blue and white coffee cups were produced in Kütahya as early as the seventeenth century, and these cups reached Ottoman Hungary in this period (see Chapter 4). Regarding the topographical distribution of the finds, almost all sites are located within the city walls; a significant exception is the Convent of the Knights Hospitallers. The latter phenomenon can be understood in the context of the *derviş* monastery and the goldsmith's workshop unearthed in that area. The topographical distribution of the finds thus correlates with the general pattern in Ottoman Hungary, namely that the oriental decorative ceramic finds are concentrated in the parts of the settlements primarily inhabited by Ottomans.

Esztergom (Hungary)

Ottoman Esztergom

Esztergom (Strigonium, Gran) was an important royal center during the high medieval period up to the early thirteenth century and the seat of the leading archbishopric of the country from the year 1000 throughout the Middle Ages. The Ottomans occupied the town twice and held it for 130 years between 1543-1595 and 1605-1683. Esztergom was of strategical importance in this period as it served as a border fortress for either side (Ottoman or Habsburg) holding it; furthermore, it was the starting point for the Ottomans in their campaigns against Vienna. Thus, there has always been a numerous and strong garrison keeping the castle and the fortified town as well.²⁷⁰ As a *sancak* center, it also had administrative importance, bringing Ottoman officials to town along with the soldiers.

²⁶⁹ Kovács, "A kora újkori kerámia változásaihoz," 334.

²⁷⁰ István Horváth, "Ottoman Military Construction in Esztergom," in *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period in Hungary. Papers of the Conference Held at the Hungarian National Museum, Budapest, 24-26 May 2000*, ed. Ibolya Gerelyes and Gyöngyi Kovács (Hungarian National Museum, 2003), 80.

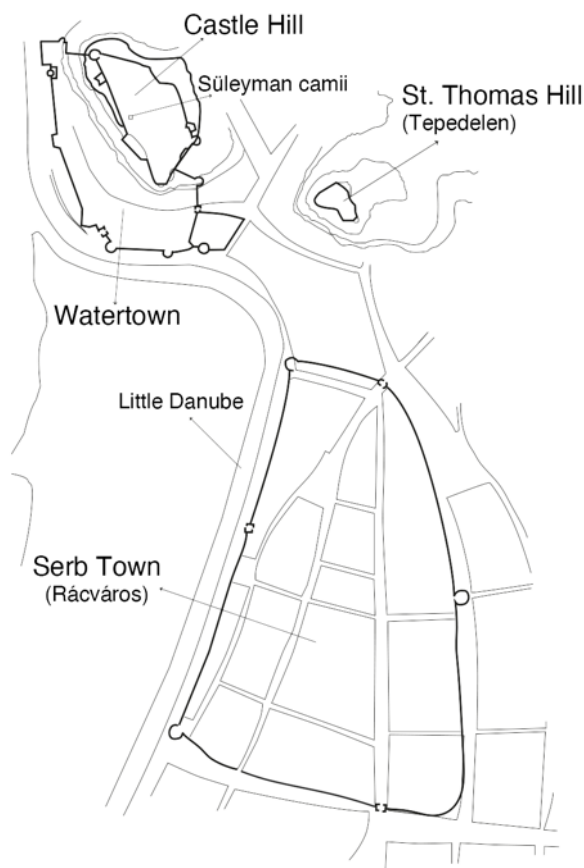
The Ottoman occupation changed the topography of Esztergom, turning it into an Islamic-looking town, e.g. featuring *minarets*, wooden houses, and *bazaars* in narrow streets, as was usual with Ottoman-occupied settlements. One of the most significant changes, besides the near-total expulsion of the Hungarian inhabitants from the Castle of Esztergom,²⁷¹ was the destruction of most of the suburbs and the use of the stone for the military fortifications.²⁷² The remaining parts of the town were the former episcopal center, housing the garrison on the Castle Hill; the Watertown at the feet of Castle Hill, fortified with a wall already in the middle ages; and the palisade built by the Ottomans on Szent Tamás-hegy (Saint Thomas Hill) 250 meters east of Castle Hill, called Tepedelen in the Ottoman period; and the fortified Royal Town, called Nagyváros (Büyük Varoş = Large Town) until the end of the 16th century²⁷³ and Rácváros (=Serb Town) in the later period, from now on Serb Town, named after the new dwellers arriving in this period, south of Tepedelen.²⁷⁴

²⁷¹ Káldy-Nagy Gyula, *Harácszedők és ráják. Török világ a XVI. századi Magyarországon [Haraç collectors and rayas. Turkish world in sixteenth-century Hungary]* (Akadémiai Kiadó, 1970), 140.

²⁷² Horváth, “Ottoman Military Construction,” 75.

²⁷³ Káldy-Nagy, *Harácszedők és ráják*, 140.

²⁷⁴ Horváth, “Ottoman Military Construction”, 76. The Large Town, as later called Serb Town, was from the beginning mainly inhabited by the so-called *martolos* division of the Ottoman army, which mainly constituted of Orthodox Christian soldiers from the Balkans (see Hegyi Klára, *Török berendezkedés Magyarországon [Ottoman administrative system in Hungary]* (História. MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 1995), 84.[“martalóc”]).



Map 20: Ottoman-period topography of Esztergom. Map after Ayverdi, *Avrupa'da Osmanlı Mimârî Eserleri*, 169.

Archaeological context

After the Second World War, similarly to the whole country, restoration works brought about numerous opportunities for archaeological investigations. The focus was on Castle Hill, with the medieval royal and episcopal palaces and the cathedral.²⁷⁵ Still, results regarding the Ottoman period were also published.²⁷⁶ Although these publications are not numerous, they prove how Esztergom was turned into an Ottoman town.²⁷⁷ The results show how the medieval

²⁷⁵ Konstantin Vukov, *A középkori esztergomi palota épületei [Buildings of the Medieval Palace of Esztergom]* (Építésügyi Tájékoztatási Központ Kft, 2004).

²⁷⁶ Sarolta Lázár, "An Ottoman-Age Cemetery at Esztergom-Szentkirály," in *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period in Hungary. Papers of the Conference Held at the Hungarian National Museum, Budapest, 24-26 May 2000*, ed. Ibolya Gerelyes and Gyöngyi Kovács (Hungarian National Museum, 2003), 231–36.; Horváth, "Ottoman Military Construction"; István Horváth, Márta H. Kelemen, and István Torma, *Komárom megye régészeti topográfiája. Esztergom és a Dorogi Járás [Archaeological Topography of Komárom County. Esztergom and the Dorog District]*, ed. László Gerevich, Magyarország Régészeti Topográfiája [Archaeological Topography of Hungary] 5 (Akadémiai Kiadó, 1979).

²⁷⁷ There is an on-going debate about how an Islamic or Ottoman city may be defined (Janet L. Abu-Lughod, "The Islamic City – Historic Myth, Islamic Essence, and Contemporary Relevance," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 19, no. 2 (1987): 255–86.; André Raymond, "Soldiers in Trade: The Case of Ottoman Cairo," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 18, no. 1 (n.d.): 16–37.; Fatma Acun, "A Portrait of the Ottoman Cities," *The Muslim World* 92, no. 3 (2002): 255–85.; Yunus Uğur, "Mapping Ottoman Cities: Socio-Spatial Definitions and Groupings (1450-1700)," *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 18, no. 3 (n.d.): 16–65.), but in the Hungarian

royal and episcopal center turned into the garrison and the *sancakbey*'s seat,²⁷⁸ yielding a significant Chinese porcelain and Central-Asian faience material.²⁷⁹ Excavations also proved that the Watertown was a lively and important part of Ottoman Esztergom, with a well-preserved mosque (*cami*) built on a gate tower,²⁸⁰ and the military fortifications added by the Ottomans not only on Castle Hill but in the Watertown as well.²⁸¹ The liveliness of the town is also demonstrated by the two baths built by the Ottomans in Esztergom.²⁸² The unique Iznik faience treasure find represents the high-class dwellers of Watertown, with seven beautiful plates buried in a wooden box, possibly during the 1595 siege.²⁸³ Excavations on Tepedelen brought to light the palisade built by Ottomans, housing soldiers for the protection of the town.²⁸⁴ The importance of Serb Town during the Ottoman period was also shown in the remains of town walls and dwelling houses that were unearthed during construction works,²⁸⁵ as well as military constructions.²⁸⁶ Close to the Rácváros, an Ottoman cemetery was also discovered.²⁸⁷

At the time of my research period, the find assemblage of the castle was not available for research; thus, only the material from the town is discussed in this dissertation. From the town, altogether, nine Asian decorative ceramic sherds were unearthed at five sites (Map 21), among them the Chinese porcelain plate featuring a *qilin* (qílín 麒麟), which is one of a kind in the studied material (for details, see Chapter 4). At **Kossuth Street 14-18** (Map 21, green), besides the porcelain, an Iznik jug or jar sherd, and an Anatolian faience (probably Eyüp ware) sherd of an ink well were unearthed. Szenttamáshegy yielded three faience sherds from three sites in

research a town is generally described as Islamicized when *camis* (mosques) and *minarets* (towers attached to mosques mainly serving for call for prayers) appear, along with baths and *bazaars* (markets). More important towns may also have *caravanserais* (inns for traders), *medreses* (Islamic schools) and *türbes* (tombs of high-ranking officials).

²⁷⁸ Horváth, "Ottoman Military Construction", 75.

²⁷⁹ Unpublished, except for the Iznik plate treasure from the Watertown, see Tari Edit, "Az Esztergom-Vízivárosi oszmán fajanszedény-kincslelet / A Hoard of Ottoman Faience Vessels from Esztergom - Víziváros," *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 141 (2016): 195–210.

²⁸⁰ Gerő Győző, "Az Esztergom-vízivárosi Özicseli Hadzsi Ibrahim dzsámi. Adatok Esztergom törökkori topográfiájához / The Djami of Oezitcheli Hadji Ibrahim in Esztergom-Aquatic City. Data to the Topography of Esztergom in the Days of Turkish Rule," *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 92 (1965): 207–16.; Horváth István, "Régészeti kutatások Esztergom-Vízivárosban [Archaeological Research in Esztergom-Watertown]," *Műemlékvédelem* 51, no. 4 (2007): 256–61.

²⁸¹ Horváth, "Régészeti kutatások".

²⁸² Horváth et al., *Topography of Komárom*, 123-125.

²⁸³ Tari, "Az Esztergom-Vízivárosi oszmán fajanszedény kincslelet."

²⁸⁴ Fehér Jr Géza and Parádi Nándor, "Az Esztergom-Szenttamáshegyi 1956. évi török kori kutatások [Ottoman-period research in 1956 at Szenttamáshegy in Esztergom]," *Annales Strigoniensis*, 1956, 35–44.

²⁸⁵ Horváth et al., *Topography of Komárom*, 129-161.

²⁸⁶ Horváth, "Ottoman Military Construction," 87.

²⁸⁷ Lázár, "An Ottoman-age Cemetery."

the same street (**Lépcső Street 4-7**, Map 21, yellow), two of the are sherds matching and are now glued together, and a Chinese porcelain cup sherd featuring peach decoration. The remaining two sherds, a Gombroon white cup, and an Iznik bowl, are also from two sites in the same street (**Berényi Zsigmond Street 2 and 5**, Map 21, red).

The excavations at Kossuth Street 14-18 are well-documented. The disposal of the Chinese plate could be dated to the second half of the sixteenth century (see details in Chapter 4), while the other two sherds are from Ottoman waste pits dating to the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries.²⁸⁸ The documentations of the other sites were not available, thus those contexts are mostly unknown. In the volume discussing Esztergom of the series Archaeological Topography of Hungary, the excavating archaeologist briefly mentions the context of the Gombroon cup from Berényi Zsigmond Street 2, which is a layer connected to a destruction event from 1706, which happened during the Rákóczi freedom wars against the Habsburgs.²⁸⁹ The Iznik bowl from Berényi Zsigmond Street 5, according to the inventory book, was found in a mixed layer containing finds from the Iron Age to the Ottoman period.²⁹⁰ The site of Lépcső Street 4-7 correlates with the site of an Ottoman pottery kiln discovered in the 1920s, and excavated again in 1956.²⁹¹ Unfortunately, the documentation of 1956 excavation is missing, thus the context of the sherds is unknown.

In spite of their small number, the finds in Esztergom are quite telling. The *qilin*-decorated Chinese plate in the Serb Town and the published Iznik hoard from the Watertown (see Map 21), both of which can be dated to the siege of Esztergom in 1595 during the Long Turkish War, indicate a wealthy civilian population in both suburbs, with a taste for Asian decorative ceramics. On the other hand, a more comprehensive analysis of Esztergom's Asian decorative ceramic material could only be done with the inclusion of the finds from the castle area. Until then, the conclusions regarding the town are imbalanced, and are probably more suitable for presenting outstanding examples than to arrive at general conclusions. The historical data shows that Esztergom had a flourishing Muslim community, with several külliyes throughout the four parts of the town (Castle, Watertown, Serb Town, and Tepedelen). After the Long Turkish war and ten years of Christian rule the places of worship of the sixteenth century disappeared. New ones appeared in the seventeenth century, but there is no data regarding the Serb Town.²⁹² This

²⁸⁸ The Eyüp ware ink well: MNM RA, inv. no. 16480., Excavation log, 73-74.; the Iznik jug or jar: from a double pit (probably object no. 229), after the oral information from Mónika Merczi, archaeologist at the Bálint Balassa Museum (here I thank her for all the help and information regarding the excavation).

²⁸⁹ Horváth et al., *Komárom megyerégészeti topográfiája*, 126.

²⁹⁰ BBM Medieval Archaeological Collection, inventory book of 2018, inv. no. 2018.29.46.

²⁹¹ See: Fehér and Parádi, "Az Esztergom-Szenttamáshegyi 1956. évi török kori kutatások."

²⁹² Sudár, *Dzsámik és mecsetek*, 288. About the places of worship in detail: *ibid.*, 269-288.

information is crucial for the understanding of the Iznik plate hoard and the Chinese *qilin*-decorated plate. At the same time, it suggests that more Asian decorative ceramic finds would be justified. Hopefully, they will surface with time, from new excavations around the city.



Map 21: Sites in Esztergom. Map based on Ayverdi, *Avrupa'da Osmanlı Mimârî Eserleri*, 169.

Vác (Hungary)

Ottoman Vác

Vác was an episcopal seat in the Danube bend, roughly halfway between Buda and Esztergom during the Middle Ages. After the battle of Mohács in 1526, the Ottomans started moving toward the north within Hungary to continue the occupation. One of their targets was

Vác, an episcopal center in the Danube Bend on the left bank, about 45 km north of Pest. After the news spread that Buda fell, the inhabitants—including the administrative bodies and institutions—fled Vác. As a result, the Ottomans could occupy the town in 1541 after the unsuccessful attempts. The fleeing Christian citizens included the bishopric and the chapter, the Hungarian lords, the Dominican and Augustine order members, and civilians. The elite also took their treasuries and archives, leaving a poor, half-empty border town to the Ottomans.²⁹³ After the Ottomans took the town, it became the seat of the Vác *nahiye*,²⁹⁴ and then until the early seventeenth century the unofficial, later the official center of the Nógrád *sancak*.²⁹⁵

After two rounds of mutual expulsion between the Ottomans and the Habsburgs in the next few years, in the spring of 1544, Hasan, the commander of Mehmed Yahyapaşaoğlu (*beylerbeyi* of Buda), took Vác, and this occupation lasted fifty years.²⁹⁶ During the Long Turkish War, Vác was taken back by the Habsburg-Hungarian army, and a long struggle for the town started again. It was in 1626 when the Ottomans could retake it until 1685,²⁹⁷ when Vác was finally retaken by the Christian armies during the re-occupation of Hungary.²⁹⁸

The Ottoman-period topography of Vác can be reconstructed based on a register dated between 1570 and 1580, which gives a detailed account of the houses in the town. Lajos Fekete published and analyzed this source and using a map from 1680 and a ground plan of the town from 1718, he reconstructed the social topography of the late sixteenth-century Vác (Map 22).²⁹⁹ Based on this reconstruction, the fortification was located around the medieval cathedral, in the place of today's Franciscan friary (built during the eighteenth century). The houses in this *mahalle*, the former Hungarian town, were placed next to the fortification wall and belonged to owners with Muslim names, mostly soldiers. The other ten *mahalles* were located in the town below the fortification, also surrounded by a wall.³⁰⁰ The Jews lived in the Jewish Street *mahalle*, while the native Christians occupied the “Large Street *mahalle*” and “Kosdi Street *mahalle*.”³⁰¹ Only Muslims lived in the Hasan Voivode Cami *mahalle* and the Kasim Bey

²⁹³ Vass Előd, *Vác a török korban [Vác in the Ottoman Period]*, Vác története [The History of Vác] (Pest megyei Múzeumok Igazgatósága, 1983), 78.

²⁹⁴ Dinnyés István et al., *Pest megye régészeti topográfiája. A szobi és a váci járás. [Archaeological Topography of Pest County. Szob and Vác regions]*, vol. 2, Magyarország Régészeti Topográfiája [Archaeological Topography of Hungary] 13 (Akadémiai Kiadó, 1993), 381.

²⁹⁵ Sudár, *Mecsetek és dzsámik*, 73.

²⁹⁶ Vass, “Vác a török korban,” 79.

²⁹⁷ Vass, “Vác a török korban,” 83.

²⁹⁸ Vass, “Vác a török korban,” 84.

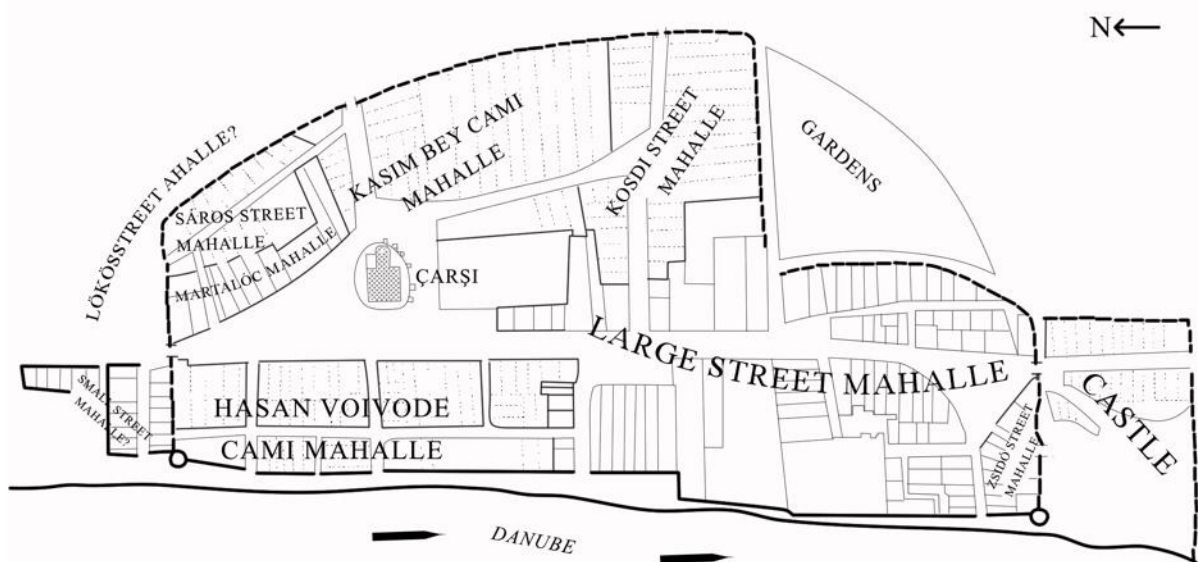
²⁹⁹ Fekete Lajos, *A török kori Vác egy XVI. századi összeírás alapján [Ottoman-Period Vác Based on a Sixteenth-Century Register]* (Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1942).

³⁰⁰ Fekete, *A török kori Vác*, 10.

³⁰¹ Fekete, *A török kori Vác*, 11.

Cami *mahalle*. The Kasim Cami with a bath was located in the latter.³⁰² The Çarşı (=market *mahalle*” was located at the present-day market square, and its houses were partly owned by native Christians and partly by *vakıfs*. The most solid houses, butcheries, and other shops were located here.³⁰³ The register also shows that out of the 374 houses, 189 belonged to Muslim owners, showing a slight majority of the Muslims already in the late sixteenth century.³⁰⁴

The importance of Vác lay in its geographical position, at the border of the Hungarian and Ottoman lands. This was enhanced by the thirtieth customs office operating in the town, which strengthened Vác’s administrative and commercial significance in the Ottoman empire's border zone. The above-mentioned register from the late sixteenth century also provides data regarding the elite of Vác in this period. Among them, military, administrative, and religious officials are listed, including the leader of the thirtieth customs office.³⁰⁵ Apart from the elite, the civilians are also listed in detail, showing a vivid economic and commercial life that characterized Vác already in the second half of the sixteenth century.³⁰⁶



Map 22: Streets of Vác c. 1570.
Map after Fekete, *A török kori Vác*, 89., after the map of Althan, 1718.

Archaeological context

Medieval Vác consisted of three parts. The southern part was the fortress or castle, presently Inner Town (around King Géza Square), which served as the episcopal seat. During the Long Turkish War (1591/5-1606), it became an important border fortress for the Hungarians and the

³⁰² Fekete, *A török kori Vác*, 13.

³⁰³ Fekete, *A török kori Vác*, 14-15.

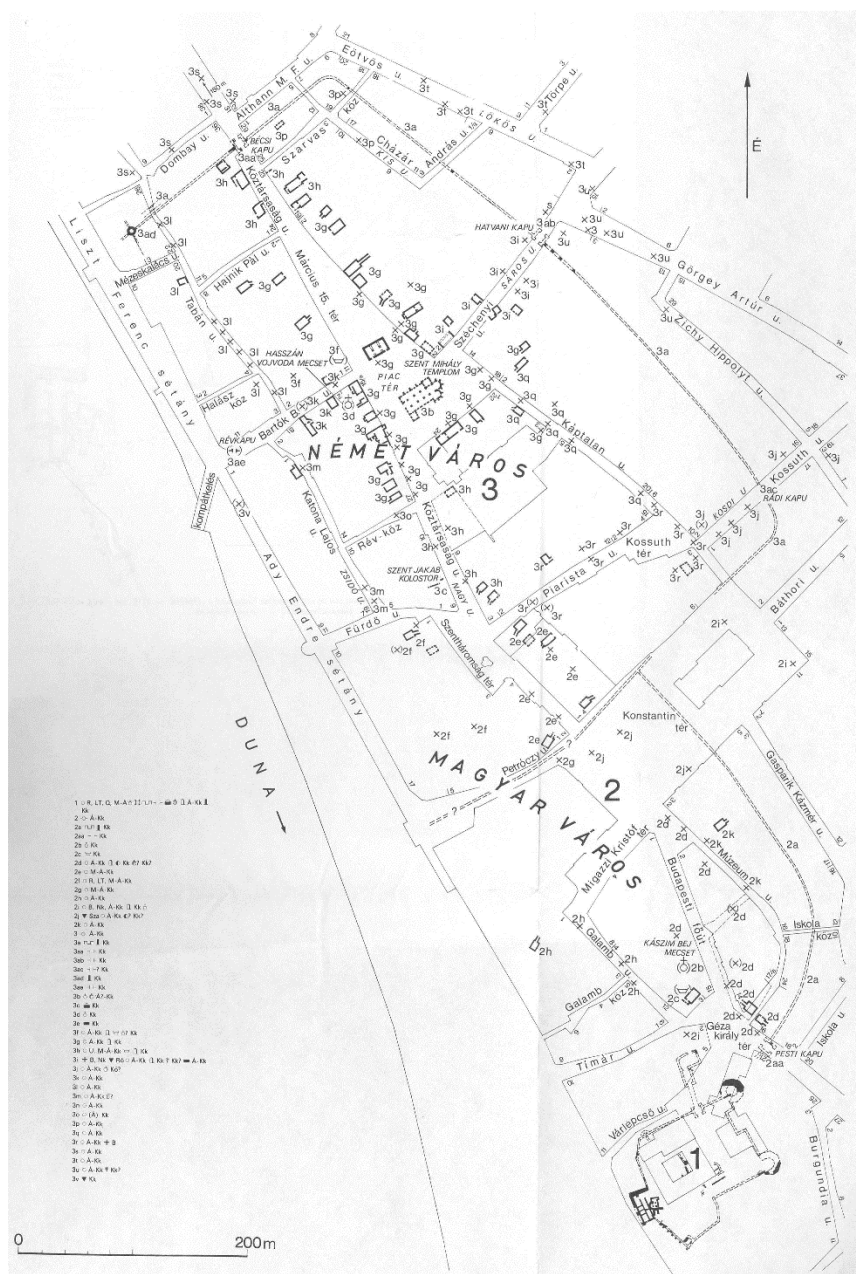
³⁰⁴ Fekete, *A török kori Vác*, 18.

³⁰⁵ Fekete, *A török kori Vác*, 25.

³⁰⁶ Fekete, *A török kori Vác*, 26.

Ottomans – depending on who was in control. North of the fortress formed the settlement belonging to it, which was later called Hungarian Town (Magyar város). North of the Hungarian Town lay the German Town (Német város), which was laid out systematically after the Mongol invasion (1241-1242) (see Map 22 and 23). As can be seen in Lajos Fekete's topography, the fortress and the Hungarian Town were the parts inhabited mainly by the Ottomans, and the German Town was occupied by the Christians. The sherds studied were found in two locations: twelve in the castle excavations and six at a site in the Hungarian Town (Múzeum Street 9), thus, from the parts of town inhabited by the Muslims. It should also be noted that rescue excavations throughout the town of Vác are ongoing. Thus, more and more information is available, but presently, data regarding the archaeological heritage of the Ottoman period in Vác is scarce.³⁰⁷

³⁰⁷ Information orally given by the medieval archaeologist of the Ignác Trágor Museum of Vác, Hella Mag. Here I would like to thank her for helping me and providing access to the material and unpublished information.



Map 23: Topography of Vác. Map: MRT 9, 385. 1) Castle, 2) Hungarian Town, 3) German Town

The first modern excavations of the castle or fortification of Vác started in 1962 as a rescue excavation that turned into a systematic excavation, continuing until the early 2000s. These excavations brought to light Ottoman-period constructions, which mostly meant repairing and reinforcing the damaged medieval walls. In 1719, the Franciscans were granted the fortification area and constructed a Baroque friary,³⁰⁸ which practically destroyed the archaeological contexts for any finds other than building walls. The Ottoman-period material culture lying in the ground was again displaced in the mid-eighteenth century when the Franciscans leveled the

³⁰⁸ Tettamanti Sarolta, *A váci vár [The Castle of Vác]*, Váci Könyvek. A Tragor Ignác Múzeum Közleményei [Books of Vác. Communications of the Tragor Ignác Museum] 7 (Tragor Ignác Múzeum, 1994), 102.

debris-filled ground in the garden of their friary and filled up the ditch going across the garden towards the Danube.³⁰⁹ As a result, very few finds were unearthed from well-defined archaeological contexts during the excavations. Two sherds derived from these excavations from the studied material.³¹⁰ The other sherds were found during excavations in the 2010s inside the Franciscan friary's building, in the filling of the floors.³¹¹ The documentation of the site in the Hungarian Town was unavailable at the time of the writing of this dissertation. Thus, the contexts of those sherds are unknown at present.

Among the eighteen vessels studied from Vác, only two are Chinese porcelain from the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, five are from the classical period of Iznik production, five are Kütahya pieces, two are either Kütahya or seventeenth-century blue and white Iznik, and four are Persian. The lacking material contexts make an archaeological analysis difficult, but the high number of Kütahya sherds is interesting. It is problematic to assume that this small sample of a probably much larger number of sherds, that might have been in the ground before the Franciscan landscaping in the eighteenth century, would be representative. However, such a large Kütahya ratio is more characteristic of the Bulgarian assemblages than the Hungarian ones. The reasons for this phenomenon are unclear; more materials from the Hungarian Town of Vác would probably help understand it. At this point, it can only be safely stated that there were two large-scale excavations from the German Town of Vác in the past twenty years, and none of them yielded any sherds of Asian decorative ceramics.³¹² This is the most representative example of the topographical manifestation of the theory that exclusively the Ottoman part of society used these objects in Ottoman Hungary. This phenomenon is contrary to that experienced at the three Bulgarian sites described above.

³⁰⁹ Tettamanti, "A váci vár," 103.

³¹⁰ Tettamanti, "A váci vár," 107. In this publication, Sarolta Tettamanti published the Asian decorative ceramics unearthed in the fortress, two of which I have also studied firsthand. See Table 24, figs 1-4. Figs. 2 and 3 are described in the Catalogue: Vác, V/01-02.

³¹¹ Oral communication by archaeologist Hella Mag.

³¹² See Mészáros Orsolya, *Régészeti kutatás a középkori Vác német városrészében. A Piac utcai mélygarázs területének megelőző feltárása [Archaeological Investigation in the German Town of Medieval Vác. Preliminary Excavation at the Area of the Market Street Underground Garage]* (Martin Opitz Kiadó, 2016). After reading this book and not finding any such finds, I confirmed with the author who specifically remembered also being surprised of not finding any objects of this kind. Another large-scale excavation was conducted by Tibor Rácz at Káptalan Street, which also did not yield a single such sherd – I have swiped through the entire find assemblage and found none. Here I would like to thank Tibor Ákos Rácz for letting me check the entire find assemblage. For more about the excavation, see Tibor Ákos Rácz, "The Excavation of a Late Medieval House and Cellar in Vác," *Hungarian Archaeology*, no. Spring (2013): 1–6. [See publication online here](#) (Accessed 01/08/2024).

Szolnok (Hungary)

Ottoman Szolnok

Szolnok was an important crossing point on the River Tisza during the Middle Ages; apart from that, it was merely a market town before the Ottoman occupation. The Ottomans occupied the castle of Szolnok in 1552, led by Hadim Ali, *beylerbeyi* of Buda. Shortly after its occupation, Szolnok became a *sancak* center within the Buda *Beylerbelik* until its re-occupation by the Christian forces in 1685. The castle and the town located west of it are not very well known to scholarship due to the lack of historical and archaeological sources.

The first narrative source describing the town and castle is by Evliya Çelebi, who visited Szolnok in 1665. Although Evliya's description is somewhat lacking in detail, it still paints a picture of what the inside of the castle might have looked like. According to him, the most significant gate of the fortification was the one facing the town toward the west, called the *Büyük Kapı* (Large Gate). This gate was also called Belgrade Gate, as mentioned by Ashik Mehmed bin Ömer, a geographer who visited Ottoman Hungary in 1593-1594, and Behram Dimiski, a significant geographer of the seventeenth century. The smaller gate facing the Belgrade Gate is called the Eger Gate. The third gate of the fortification opened toward the River Tisza and is only mentioned by Evliya Çelebi as the Port or Ferry Gate; on the *veduta* (depiction) made by Georg Hoefnagel in 1617, it is called the Water Gate (Figure 7).³¹³ Regarding the buildings inside the castle, the sources only mention two: a *cami* and a prison.³¹⁴ The *cami* was found during the castle excavations in 1973, which will be discussed below. Two other significant buildings were unearthed during the castle excavations between 2017 and 2019, also discussed below.

³¹³ Kertész Róbert, *Eltemetett múlt. Szolnok középkora és kora újkora a várásatás tükrében / The Buried Past. The Middle Ages and Early Modern Age in Szolnok as reflected by the excavations in Szolnok Castle* (Dr. Kertész Róbert private edition, 2021), 502–3.

³¹⁴ Kertész, *Eltemetett múlt*, 505.

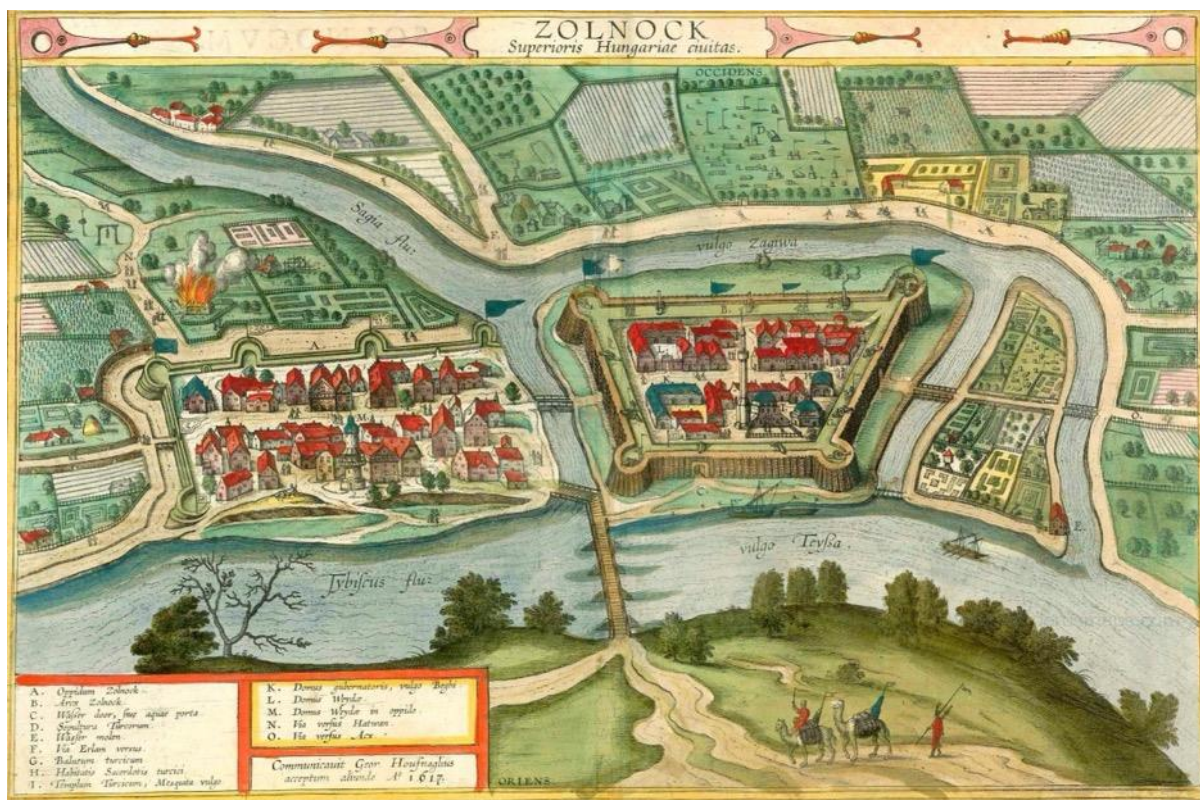


Figure 7: [Georg Hoefnagel: Szolnok in 1617](#) (Accessed 04/08/2024).

Based on the seventeenth-century depictions of Szolnok, two other significant topographical features can be identified. The first is a building on Hoefnagel's veduta, identified as *Balneum turcicum*, i.e., a Turkish bath (Figure 7, G.). The archaeological data suggests that it was built using the stones of the demolished Gothic church in 1571, the earliest church standing in the town. The sources also mention a certain Hüsrev who was responsible for operating the bath and whose property was taken over by the government after he died in 1573. It is also suggested that he was buried in one of the cemeteries of Szolnok. Thus, it seems that besides a large mosque, there was also a bath serving the needs of the garrison and probably the *sancakbey*.³¹⁵ The other one is the port located at the southern gate of the fortification on the shore of the River Tisza, southwest of the *cami*, also depicted on Hoefnagel's veduta (Figure 7, C.). The income register of the ferry of 1557-1558 shows that besides crossing the river, this port was also a customs point for commodities traveling through this route.³¹⁶

Data regarding the town is scarce; thus, at this point, not much is known about its topography, especially its social topography. In general, as is common in the Ottoman Empire, it is more likely that the military lived inside the fortification.³¹⁷ What is known is that the number of

³¹⁵ Kertész, *Eltemetett múlt*, 545-7.

³¹⁶ Kertész, *Eltemetett múlt*, 547.

³¹⁷ Kertész, *Eltemetett múlt*, 557.

native Christians slowly declined. By the mid-seventeenth century, the town's population mainly consisted of communities arriving from the Balkans.³¹⁸ The sources indicate a *cami* and a bath in the town and the castle, but only the *cami*'s location can be identified, and even that is tentative.³¹⁹ It is depicted on a vista discovered in Stockholm (Figure 8), placed on the market square, next to the road running east-west through the square.³²⁰ Supposedly, the bath was also placed somewhere close to the *cami*, and they probably formed a *mahalle* there. According to Behram Dimiski, the endowment to which the *cami* and the bath belonged was commissioned by Bektaş, the *beylerbeyi* of Szolnok, between 1595 and 1598.³²¹ Apart from the Bektaş *mahalle*, the other quarter of the town was the so-called Taban or *Tabakhane mahalle*. *Tabakhane* in Turkish means tannery, and apart from these workshops, the lower strata of society also lived in this part of town.³²² Besides the tanners, archaeological data suggests the presence of potters as well.³²³ More importantly, it seems that there was a significant trading community that either lived in the town or passed through it regularly. This is also corroborated by Evliya Çelebi, who noted that most of the Bosnian civilians were involved in trade.³²⁴ Szolnok was the northernmost port on the River Tisza in the Ottoman Empire; thus, it supposedly had heavy traffic.³²⁵ This traffic was more intense with the Ottoman wooden bridge built in 1572, connecting the two banks of the Tisza River.³²⁶ This indicates a town with a strong Muslim population in the second half of the sixteenth century. This development, though, broke by the seventeenth century, probably because of the death of Bektaş *beylerbeyi*, the main benefactor of the town, as hypothesized by Sudár.³²⁷

³¹⁸ Kertész, *Eltemetett múlt*, 569.

³¹⁹ Sudár, *Dzsámik és mecsetek*, 508-9.

³²⁰ Kertész, *Eltemetett múlt*, 569.

³²¹ Kertész, *Eltemetett múlt*, 572.

³²² Kertész, *Eltemetett múlt*, 573.

³²³ Kertész, *Eltemetett múlt*, 609.

³²⁴ Kertész, *Eltemetett múlt*, 626.

³²⁵ Kertész, *Eltemetett múlt*, 609.

³²⁶ Kertész, *Eltemetett múlt*, 615.

³²⁷ Sudár, *Dzsámik és mecsetek*, 509.

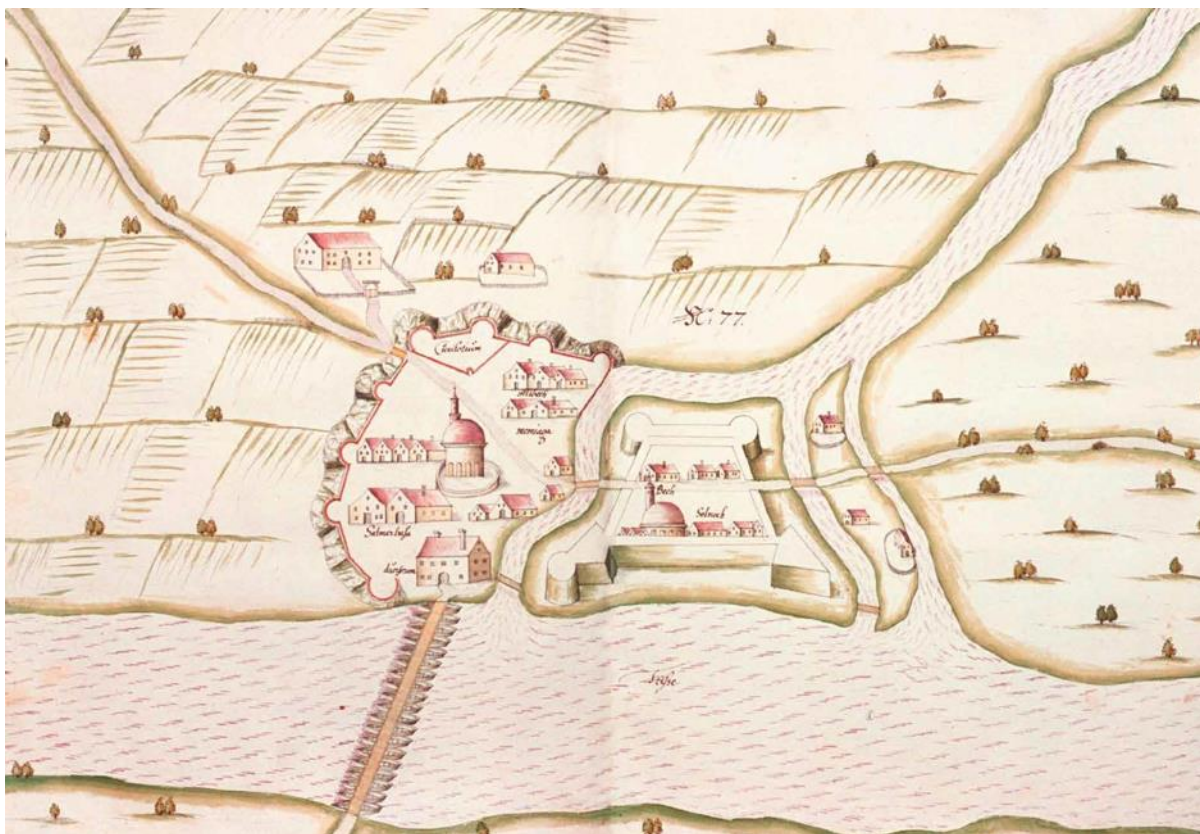


Figure 8: The vista from Stockholm, published by Kertész, *Eltemetett múlt*, Fig. 28.

Archaeological context

The town of Szolnok has not been excavated with modern methodologies and is lacking in reliable archaeological data. The castle, on the other hand, has been researched from the mid-twentieth century onwards. Its most significant find is the building of the *cami* that was unearthed during the planned excavations of 1973. The foundation trenches of the *cami* were discovered in 1951,³²⁸ but the archaeological investigations of the *cami* were published in detail decades later, in 2012.³²⁹ It was most likely commissioned by the Yahyapaşazade family in the 1550s, but was operated by the government, probably due to the lack of a charitable endowment.³³⁰ Interestingly, the building itself turned out to be quite grandiose: it is the second

³²⁸ Kertész Róbert et al., *A szolnoki vár: lokális, regionális, globális/interkontinentális kapcsolatok* [The Castle of Szolnok: Local, Regional, Global/Intercontinental Connections] (Martin Opitz, 2024).

³²⁹ Kertész Róbert et al., “Egy elfeledett muszlim imahely: a szolnoki Szulejmán Szultán-dzsámi [A Forgotten Muslim Place of Worship: the Sultan Suleyman Cami in Szolnok],” *Műemlékvédelem* 56, no. 3 (2012): 110–25. Also available online at Archaeologia – Altum Castrum (<http://real.mtak.hu/id/eprint/134155>, Accessed 03/08/2024).

³³⁰ About the places of worship operated by the government in Ottoman Hungary see: Sudár, *Mecsetek és dzsámik*, 62–5.

largest square-shaped *cami* in Ottoman Hungary, after the Gazi Kasim Pasha Mosque in Pécs, with the same dimensions as the Toygun Pasha Mosque in the Watertown of Buda.³³¹

The systematic excavation of the castle between 2017 and 2019 revealed two more important buildings connected to the Ottomans. One of them is a barracks building, the construction of which was started by the Hungarian army when they reoccupied the castle between 1550 and 1552 and started reinforcing the fortification. After the Ottoman occupation, the Ottomans finished the building and it was in use until the end of the sixteenth century.³³² The other is a completely Ottoman building, identified as a palace by the excavating archaeologist. It is dated to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries based on coin finds in its floor levels; thus, it was used throughout the Ottoman period.³³³ It was a rectangular building with two parts, and most likely with two levels. It was oriented east-west and was separated by a palanka wall from the rest of the castle.³³⁴ The building can be identified as the residence of the *sancakbey*, located in the center of the castle, next to the *cami* (Map 24, 3. szelvény [Trench 3]).³³⁵

The castle of Szolnok yielded Asian decorative ceramics already before the excavations from 2017 to 2019. These derive mostly from field surveys around the castle's area but also from the planned excavation of 1975. Gyöngyi Kovács published that assemblage, discussing fifteen sherds of Chinese porcelain, seventeen pieces of Iznik sherds, two Kütahya sherds, and two sherds that could be Persian. Gyöngyi Kovács gives a detailed stylistic analysis of the Iznik and Chinese pieces but does not mention archaeological contexts – most likely because they were not informative, especially in the case of field surveys.

So far, twenty-seven pieces of Asian decorative ceramics have been identified in the material of the 2017 to 2019 excavations, but the cleaning and survey of the material are still ongoing. Three of the twenty-seven identified pieces came from Trench 2, and the other twenty-four are from Trench 3 (Map 24, “2. szelvény” and “3. szelvény” respectively). Trench 7 (Map 24, “7. szelvény”) was opened at the northern edge of the castle and contained 140 stratigraphic units from all periods of inhabitation (Bronze Age to Modern period). Most entrenchments belong to the Ottoman period.³³⁶ The three pieces unearthed from this trench come from two contexts:

³³¹ Kertész et al., “Egy elfeledett muszlim imahely,” 118.

³³² Kertész et al., *A szolnoki vár*.

³³³ Kertész, *Eltemetett múlt*, 537.

³³⁴ Kertész, *Eltemetett múlt*, 537.

³³⁵ Kertész Róbert and Szőke Balázs, “A szolnoki oszmán palota régészeti kutatása [Archaeological Investigation of the Ottoman palace in Szolnok],” *Magyar Régészet*, no. Summer (2024): 1–16.

³³⁶ Ádám Márk, “A szolnoki vár 7. szelvényének vizsgálata a leletanyag tükrében [Analysis of Trench 7 of Szolnok Castle in Light of the Find Material]” (MA, Szeged Science University, 2020), 7.

two sherds belonging to the same large bowl are from an Ottoman pit (S-1015), and a sherd belonging to a deep bowl from another Ottoman pit (S-1073).³³⁷



Map 24: Excavation area of Szolnok Castle, 2017-2019.
Map in Kertész et al., *A szolnoki vár*, fig. 2.

Trench 3 contained the barracks and palace building, right next to the *cami*. Thus, the occurrence of a larger number of Asian decorative ceramics is not surprising. The documentation of the excavations was not available at the time of the writing of this dissertation. Therefore, the contexts cannot be analyzed here. The location of the assemblage, though, correlates with what is expected: the finds are concentrated around the area of the *sancakbey*'s residence and the barracks where the higher-ranking military members resided. Although the analysis of the entire material is not complete, and the excavation's territory was selective within the castle, it still provided invaluable information regarding the previously little-known castle of Szolnok.

The importance of Szolnok in trade was recognized by scholarship early on,³³⁸ but until the castle excavations between 2017 and 2019, there was no archaeological data to match the historical records. The excavations brought to light an important building, the *sancakbey*'s palace, which stands with no parallel in the Ottoman archaeological heritage of Hungary, together with a material culture that is still being analyzed. Even though at the time of the writing of this dissertation, the twenty-seven Asian decorative ceramics studied here is part of

³³⁷ The pits are described in Ádám, *A szolnoki vár*, 9. and 12. respectively.

³³⁸ Kovács, *Török kerámia Szolnokon*, 4.

the entire material, the excavation conducted with modern methodologies and the detailed documentation still holds a promising potential for future research, which will hopefully continue.

Towns

Varna (Bulgaria)

Ottoman Varna

Varna, such as Sofia and Plovdiv, was first a Greek and then a Roman city, which continued to be inhabited during the Middle Ages. Its importance lay in its geographic position and being a port town on the Black Sea coast. It was occupied by the Ottomans during the same expansion wave as the rest of Bulgaria, specifically in 1393. The town was freed from the Ottoman occupation, and the rest of Bulgaria was freed in the late nineteenth century. Administratively, it belonged to the *sancak* of Silistre from the sixteenth century onwards and was the center of the Varna *nahiye*.³³⁹ The topography of the city is also less well-researched than Plovdiv. Still, some publications offer an insight into the composition of the inhabitants. The most comprehensive English-language study regarding the population of Varna in the Ottoman period, also building on numerous Bulgarian publications, was published by Svetlana Ivanova.³⁴⁰ In this study, the population of the city is reconstructed based on the *mufassal*, *mufassal avarız*, *cizye*, and *icmal defters* available from the years 1526/7, 1566/9, 1593, 1641/2, 1653/4, 1675, 1685, 1690/1, 1692/2, 1695/6, 1659, and 1706/7; thus covering the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in a quite representative way. It should be noted that the registers have their limitations, as they do not always include every citizen. Although the study focuses on ethnoconfessional minorities, the analysis of these registers revealed abundant information regarding the development of Varna as an Ottoman city. The growth of the Muslim population was slow but steady and surpassed the non-Muslim population by the turn of the sixteenth century.

Varna was an attractive trading and economic hub, being of special importance for Ottoman grain and food distribution. Although it was not a large administrative center such as Plovdiv

³³⁹ M. Mehdi İlhan, "Varna at the End of The Sixteenth Century: Timar-Holdings and Population," *Romano - Turcica* 1 (2003): 51–52.

³⁴⁰ Svetlana Ivanova, "Varna during the Late Middle Ages – Regional versus National History," *Études Balkaniques* 2 (2004): 109–43.

and Sofia, it still attracted a significant Muslim social layer consisting of religious and administrative officers and military commanders, many of whom possessed high ranks within the Ottoman elite.³⁴¹ But apart from the Muslims, three other non-Muslim groups also significantly formed the urban texture of the town in this period: the Greeks, the Armenians, and the Ragusans. All of these groups were heavily involved in trade. The Greeks and Ragusans mainly after (and before, but that is outside of the scope of this work) the conquest of the Ottomans up to the end of the sixteenth century,³⁴² and the Armenians from the late seventeenth century up to the end of the Ottoman period. The Armenian population grew during the seventeenth century, and according to the *cizye* registers of 1690/1 and 1691/2, they belonged to the higher-standing social layers.³⁴³ The Ragusans were important to Varna's life since the town was an essential hub of the Ragusan trade until the end of the sixteenth century. It seems that during the seventeenth century, the role of the Ragusan community in Varna declined. Their presence was also not permanent, which might be due to the lack of warehouses in the town, therefore they had to store their commodities on their ships, causing inconvenience. It is also demonstrated by the fact that they did not buy property and maintain a church and a priest, as in other Bulgarian towns, such as Vidin or Sofia.³⁴⁴

The tax registers also provide a list of the existing *mahalles*,³⁴⁵ although there is no indication of their location or the public buildings included in each of them. Without a comprehensive study of Varna's topography, it is impossible to draw a picture of the social and urban topography for the present work. However, the role of Varna in Ottoman domestic and international trade is evident from the historical data and the fact that a significant group of wealthy inhabitants lived in Varna, even though it was merely the center of a *nahiye*, and not of a *sancak* or a *beylerbeylik*. This justifies the close to 100 faience and porcelain sherds belonging to Asian decorative ware unearthed in the downtown of Varna, as discussed below.

Archaeological context

Valentin Pletnov published a draft topographical map of the town in his monograph on locally produced Ottoman ceramics (Map 25).³⁴⁶ These ceramics derive partly from the same

³⁴¹ Ivanova, "Varna during the Late Middle Ages," 120.

³⁴² Ivanova, "Varna during the Late Middle Ages", 125.

³⁴³ Ivanova, "Varna during the Late Middle Ages", 133.

³⁴⁴ Ivanova, "Varna during the Late Middle Ages", 137.

³⁴⁵ See Ivanova, "Varna during the Late Middle Ages", 110-118.

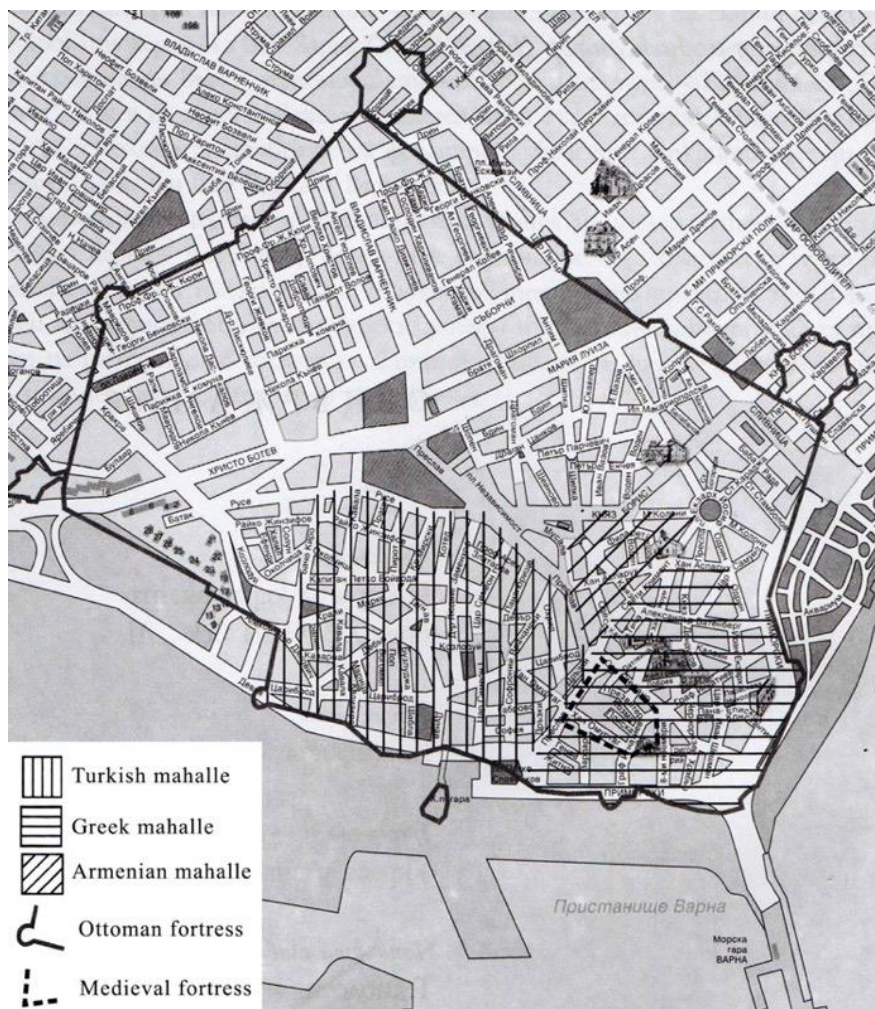
³⁴⁶ Pletnov, *Битоваши керамика във Варна*, 6.

excavations as the imported Asian ceramics discussed in the present dissertation, thus Pletnov's work provides some information regarding the contexts of the finds.

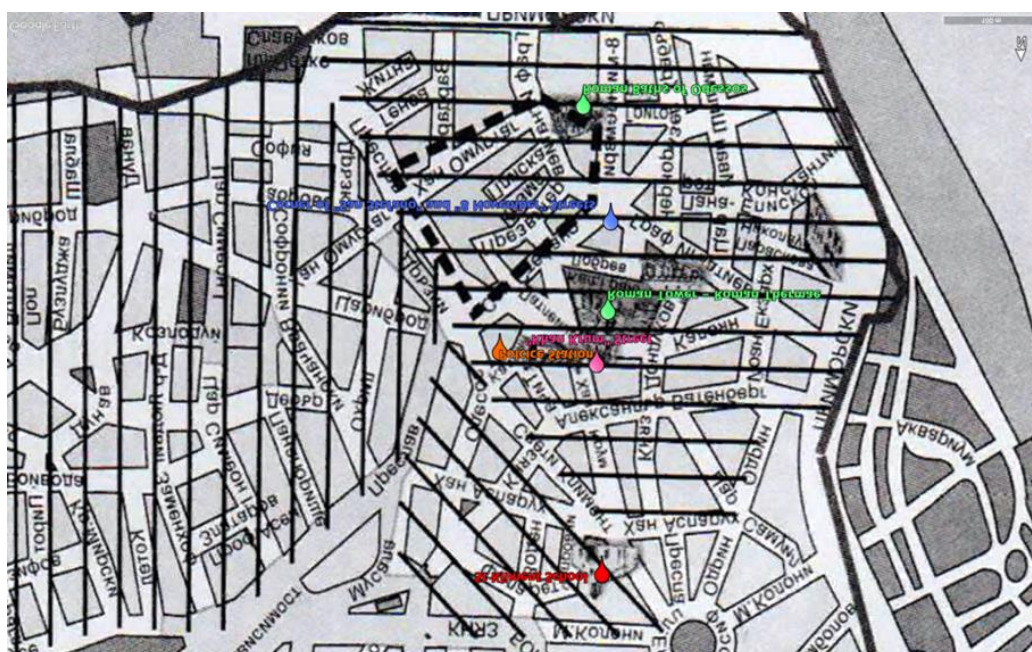
Pletnov's map displays three *mahalles*, a "Turkish" (probably Muslim), an "Armenian," and a "Greek" *mahalle*, concentrated around the ancient town nucleus and far not filling the Ottoman fortification walls. According to the caption of the map it depicts Varna before 1830. The only indication regarding the source of the information on this map is a city map by the Austrian traveler Wenzel von Bronyar, drawn in 1786, mentioned by Pletnov. According to that map, the Greeks occupied the area north of the medieval fortress, while the Armenians settled next to it in the northwest. The Ottomans formed their living quarters west of the fortress, at the shore of the Varna Lake, meaning that they did not settle in the central part of the old town but occupied the undeveloped areas west of the medieval fortress.³⁴⁷ If this map is accepted as containing relevant and correct information, some conclusions regarding the material might be drawn based on the archaeological sites.

Large-scale excavations in Varna started in the 1950s, concentrating on the central area of the ancient town (Map 26): the remains of **large Roman baths**, called the **Roman Tower** and the small thermal baths, called **Roman Bath** (Map 26, green); and the so-called **Police Station**, excavated in 1976 (Map 26, orange). The Roman baths and the Police Station sites yielded the majority of the finds. Some sites in the area of the Greek neighborhood of the Ottoman city also yielded Asian decorative ceramic finds, such as a pit on **Khan Krum Street** (Map 26, pink) close to the ruins of the early Christian basilica called St George Church; and another pit on the **corner of San Stefano and 8 November Streets**, close to the Roman baths sites (Map 26, blue). Only one pit was excavated in the Armenian quarter, called School **St Kliment**, in 1984 (Map 26, red). It is conspicuous that there are no sites in the Muslim quarter, the reason of which is not clear. Either there were no excavations, or the excavations did not yield Asian decorative ware from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The latter would be largely surprising considering the composition of Varna's population in this period.

³⁴⁷ Pletnov, *Битоващъ керамика във Варна*, 12.



Map 25: Ottoman topography of Varna.
 Map: Pletnov, Битоващ керамика във Варна, 6.



Map 26: Sites of the Varna material.
 Map after Pletnov, Битоващ керамика във Варна, 6.

The archaeological contexts were very similar to those in Sofia. All the material was unearthed from Ottoman-period waste pits without any context that could more precisely date the finds. Valentin Pletnov discusses 40 pits altogether, 35 of which were found in the territory of the Roman Baths. The majority of these pits contained Asian decorative ware, mostly Iznik vessels from the later periods, Kütahya ware, and some Chinese porcelain. The pits varied in shape, size, and construct; but were all mixed in content from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, containing locally produced Ottoman tableware, Italian maiolica (fifteenth to sixteenth centuries), Turkish and Venetian glass (fifteenth to sixteenth centuries), ceramic pipes (seventeenth to nineteenth centuries.), Meissen porcelain (eighteenth century), and Çanakkale ware (nineteenth century) besides the Asian decorative ceramics.³⁴⁸

The composition of the find assemblages from Varna reflects Varna's less elevated administrative status than that of Sofia or Buda and Eger. For example, Chinese porcelain is represented by only five mass-produced coffee cups, four of which belong to the abstract peach type and one to the lotus type (see Chapter 4). On the other hand, the Kütahya assemblage is impressive, which probably shows that Varna maintained its role in trade throughout the Ottoman period. The spatial distribution of finds, concentrated in the Greek neighborhood, is in line with the pattern observed in the case of Plovdiv and Sofia, namely that these objects also appear in non-Muslim contexts. Also, the fact that European counterparts of decorative ceramics accompanied them corroborates the hypothesis that in Bulgaria the Asian decorative ceramics were probably less exclusively used by the Ottomans but were popular with the non-Muslim, non-Ottoman cultured inhabitants as well. Another explanation could be the phenomenon observed both in Plovdiv and in Sofia, i.e., certain *mahalles* were inhabited by a mixed population, irrespective of what confession the registers assigned to them. In this case, attributing the use of these ceramics to a specific social group becomes much less plausible than in Hungary, where, in some cases, the archaeological data clearly shows the users of these objects, namely the Muslim population.

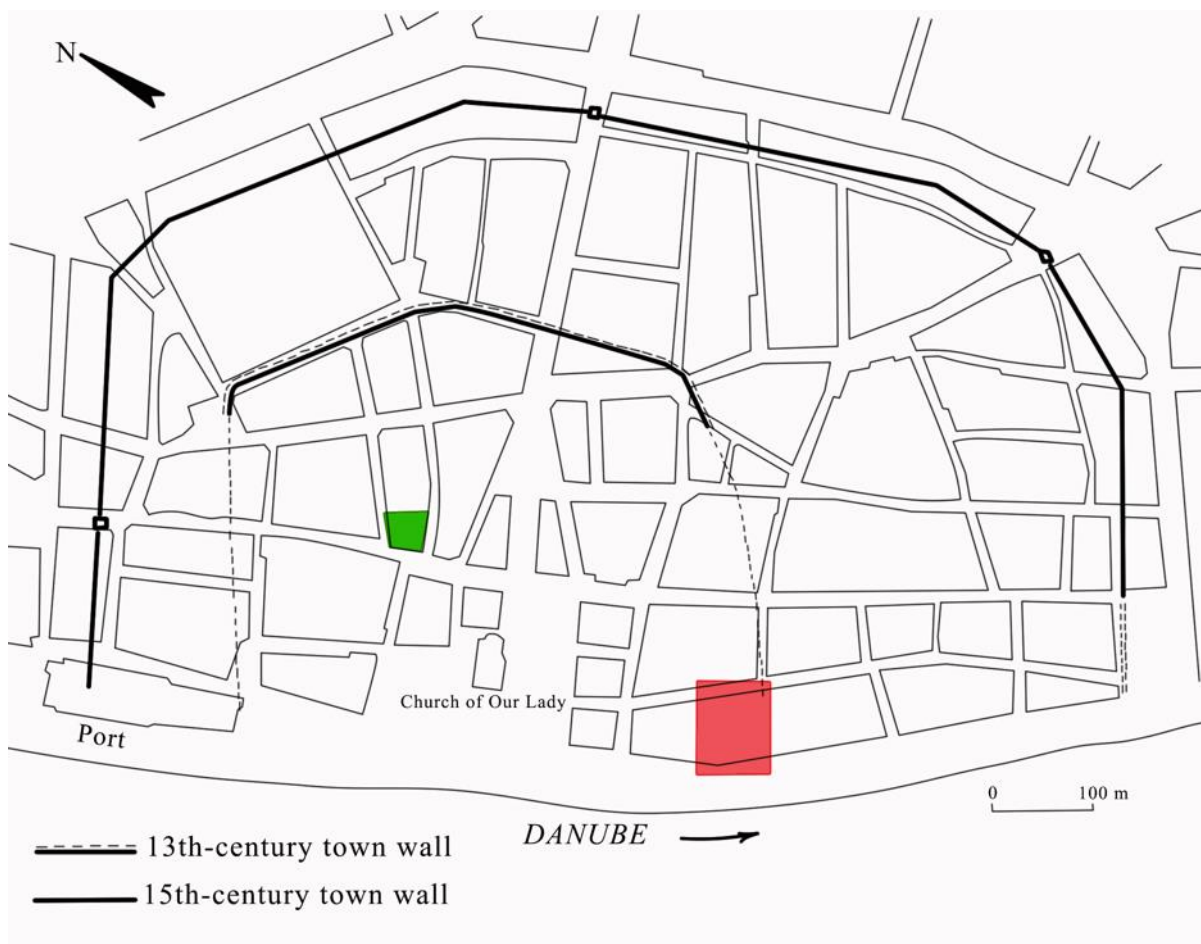
³⁴⁸ Description of the pits and their materials: Pletnov, *Битоваши керамика във Варна*, 15-21.

Pest (Hungary)

Ottoman Pest and archaeological context

Pest was occupied by the Ottomans together with Buda between 1541 and 1686. The two towns had been closely connected from the Middle Ages onwards, as they were both part of the capital's agglomeration in this period. This connection became even stronger during the occupation as the Ottomans built a permanent bridge between the two towns. However, the status of the two towns was quite different in this period: Buda was an *eyalet* center with a *beylerbey* residing in his palace next to the medieval royal palace (which was occupied by the garrison). At the same time, Pest itself became a garrison town, inhabited mostly by soldiers and their families. This difference is reflected in the Ottoman-period ceramic finds, mainly through the presence of Asian decorative ceramics. Excavations have yielded a rich assemblage of such objects from Ottoman layers in Buda; in Pest, however, the number of imported Asian decorative ceramic sherds is significantly lower in ratio compared to Buda, even though typical Ottoman tableware is present. Presently, four Asian decorative ceramic sherds are known from archaeological sites in Pest, three from Kígyó Street 2 – Váci Street 32, and one from Molnár Street 7-9.³⁴⁹

³⁴⁹ For more details see: Tünde Komori, "Ottomans in Pest in the Light of 'Luxury' Ceramics: Four Cups from Kígyó Street," in *Genius Loci. Laszlovszky 60*, ed. Dóra Mérai et al. (Archaeolingua, 2018), 289–93., and P. Horváth Viktória and F. Komori Tünde, "Kora újkori bőreserző műhely Pesten (V., Molnár u. 7-9.) / A Tannery Workshop in Pest from the Early Modern Period (Budapest, 5th District, 7-9 Molnár Street)," *Budapest Régiségei* 51 (2018): 253–73.



Map 27: Medieval Pest and the sites of the finds.
 Map after Írásné Melis, "Régészeti kutatások a 15. századi pesti városhatár Károly körüli szakaszán," fig. 38.

The site Kígyó Street 2 – Váci Street 32 is located near the medieval main square of the town, which probably remained a frequented location during the Ottoman period (Map 27, green). The excavation took place in the inner courtyard of the present-day building. As a result of the several construction periods on the plot between the end of the seventeenth century and 1872, as well as modifications made to the inner courtyard after the Second World War, the archaeological features mainly consisted of leveling layers and modern period sewage constructions, including a well.³⁵⁰ One of the two well-defined features was the Ottoman waste pit (Figure 9/b, SE-011), which yielded two of the three cups studied here. The three sherds belonged to two Kütahya cups and a Chinese porcelain cup of the lotus type (see Chapter 4). The two cups that came from the Ottoman pit are the two Kütahya cups. The Chinese porcelain sherd was unearthed from the courtyard's upper debris layer.³⁵¹

³⁵⁰ This well might be dated to the eighteenth century (although no evidence discovered so far supports this dating), but it was definitely deeper as the courtyard's level rose. Another well was discovered in the cellars parallel with Kígyó street, next to a wall that might be dating before the eighteenth century (see Figure 2/a).

³⁵¹ Information about the contexts is firsthand, as I participated in the excavation and found all the sherds myself. Here I would like to thank Judit Zádor, retired archaeologist at the Budapest History Museum for giving me the opportunity to work at the excavation and analyze the finds.

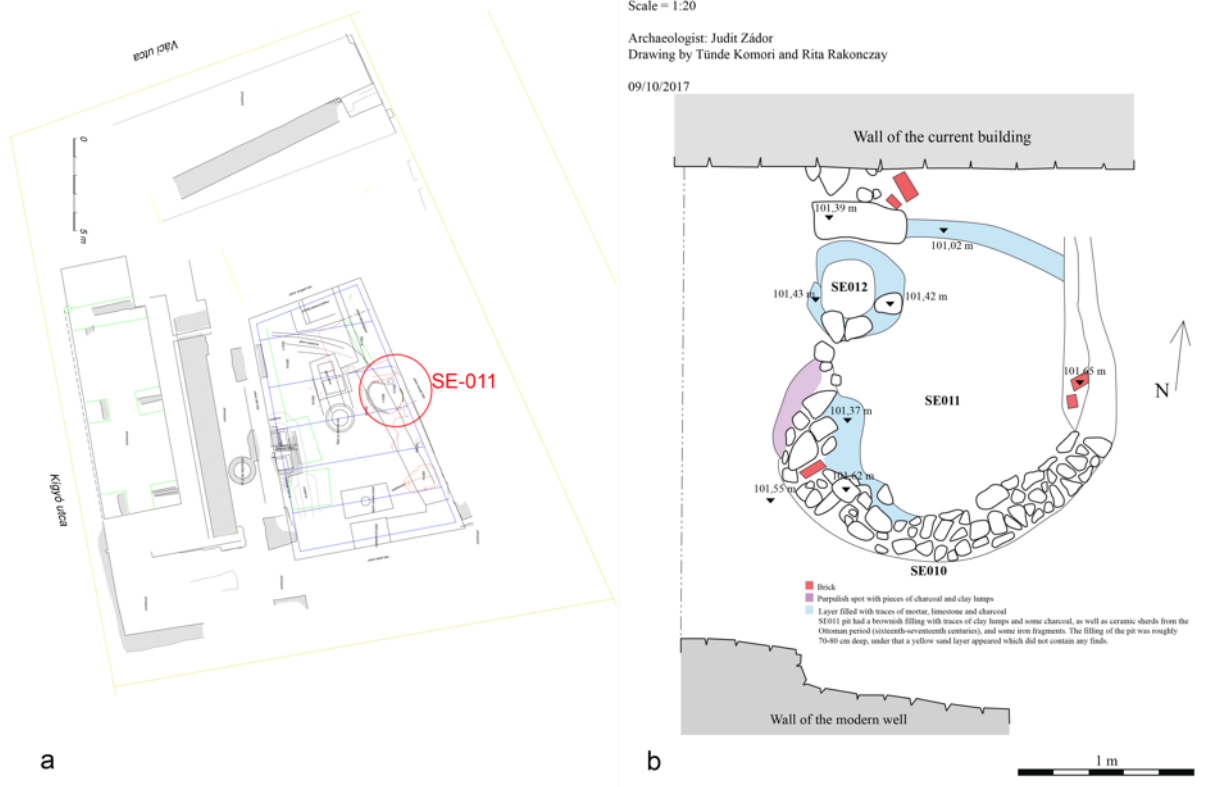


Figure 9: Excavation plan of Kigyó Street 2 - Váci Street 32 (a) and SE-011 (b).
Map: Komori, "Ottomans in Pest," fig. 2.

The other site, Molnár Street 7-9, is located on the outer parts of the medieval (and Ottoman) Pest, next to the Danube (Map 27, red). The site yielded invaluable information about the medieval and Ottoman everyday life of Pest, as it contained a largely undisturbed area containing remarkably well-preserved structures and phenomena. One of these phenomena was the remains of a tannery workshop from the Ottoman period. This site yielded two sherds of an Iznik jar belonging to the Damascus style, dated to the 1530s. It was found in a pit (Figure 10, SE-043), identified as a working pit connected to tanning activities. Other finds in the small, round pit (d.: 1 m) included an almost intact small pot and sour cherry seeds. The latter is known to have been used during the process of tanning, which contributed to the identification of the pit as part of the tannery workshop.³⁵²

³⁵² Horváth and Komori, "Kora újkori bőrcserző műhely Pesten," 256.; see also: Viktória P. Horváth, "Reconstructing the Riverside of the Danube in the Medieval City of Pest," *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 74, no. 1 (2023): 175–85.

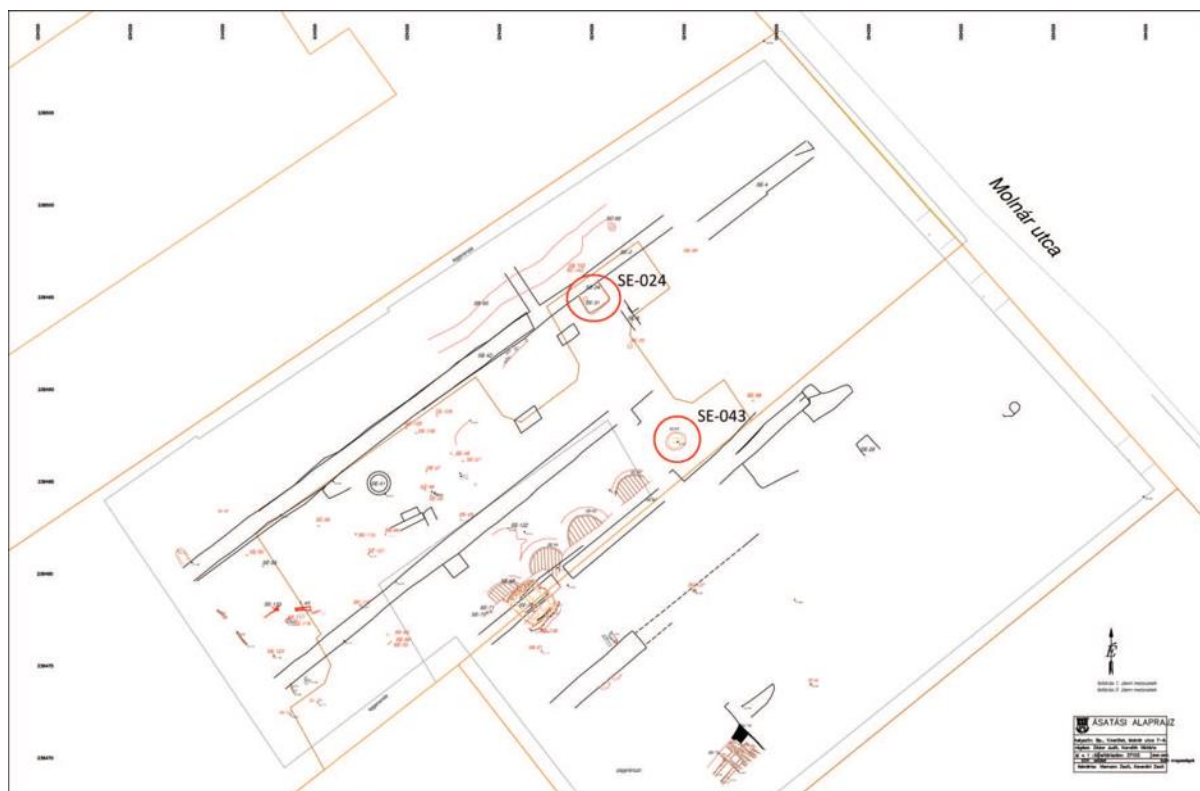


Figure 10: Part of the excavation plan of Molnár Street 7-9, featuring SE-043 and SE-024.
Horváth and Komori, "Kora újkori bőrcserző műhely Pesten," Fig. 2.

Even though there is not much archaeological data regarding the Ottomans in Pest, the absence of Asian decorative ceramics does not seem to result from the lack of archaeological research. Several Ottoman-period sites with ceramic assemblages typically associated with Ottomans have already been identified in Pest.³⁵³ These assemblages, however, rarely contain imported Asian ceramics. This might be because most of Pest's inhabitants were the families of the soldiers stationed in the town's garrison, probably not among the wealthiest of society. Several sites, however, such as the Ottoman cellar excavated in the courtyard of the Károlyi Palace (presently Petőfi Museum of Literature), indicate that some inhabitants had a higher social status. A Venetian glass bowl recovered from this cellar shows a taste for prestige goods. Still, the site did not yield Asian decorative ceramics, which one would expect.³⁵⁴ Based on the fact that according to Evliya Çelebi, there were eleven mosques in Pest, Balázs Sudár categorizes the town as a fortress inhabited by a continuously developing civilian population.³⁵⁵ This historical data also contradicts the archaeological one. A civilian population would suggest even more coffee cup sherds, and if there is also a layer of wealthy elites, then also sherds of

³⁵³ Zádor Judit, "Régészeti adatok a török kori Pestről [Archaeological data from the city of Pest in the Turkish period]," *Budapest Régiségei* 38 (2004): 217–29.

³⁵⁴ Zádor Judit, "Velencei üvegtál a Károlyi Palota udvarán feltárt török tárolóból [Venetian Glass Bowl Found in the Turkish Storage Discovered in the Yard of the Károlyi Palace]," *Budapest Régiségei* 37 (2003): 189–96.

³⁵⁵ Sudár, *Mecsetek és dzsámik*, 74.

expensive Iznik tableware. Also, if the town's population was more military, even then, a much larger number of coffee cup sherds would be expected, primarily based on the large assemblage unearthed in the Buda royal palace, where the Buda garrison was stationed. Thus, it is possible that the archaeological data is distorted, and only more systematic excavations would solve this contradiction.



Map 28: Ottoman places of worship in Pest.
Sudár, Dzsámik és mecsetek, p. 450, map 16.

Palanka fortress (and *sancak* seat)

Szekszárd (Hungary)

Ottoman Szekszárd

Szekszárd, located in Southwestern Transdanubia, brings an interesting case to the present study. It was a market town belonging to a Benedictine abbey founded by King Béla I in 1061. During the Ottoman period, the town was the center of a *sancak* with the same name, and later, an Ottoman palanka was built next to it. Its peculiarity lies in the finds, which will be discussed below.

After the battle of Mohács in 1526, the Ottomans appeared in and around the town, destroying it several times until the occupation of Buda. In 1541, on the way to occupying Buda, the main Ottoman army passed through Szekszárd. According to some assumptions, a garrison

was left in Szekszárd already then. There were further fights for Szekszárd, and during the 1543 campaign of Kasim *Bey*, the town was permanently incorporated in the Ottoman Empire. In the beginning, Szekszárd belonged to the Mohács *sancak*, under the jurisdiction of Kasim *Bey*. The town was part of a fortress line securing the road between Buda and Eszék (today Osijek, Croatia).³⁵⁶



Figure 11: The position of the town of Szekszárd and Yeni Palanka (Ovar on the map) in Ottendorf's travelogue, published by Gaál, "Kínai porcelánok és utánzataik", Fig. 1.

Based on these registers, Szekszárd was an important border fortress (Figure 11), as the number of stationing mercenaries was much higher than the other fortresses in the area. This suggests that the town was probably a *nahiye* center a few years after its occupation. By 1546, Szekszárd separated from the Mohács *sancak*, but it is unclear exactly how and when it became one of the *sancaks* of the Buda *Beylerbeylik*.³⁵⁷ In the register of 1551, it was still a *nahiye* center and belonged to the Székesfehérvár *sancak*. In 1552, however, a *sancakbey* was seated in Szekszárd, not even the first one, since his predecessor was captured by the Hungarians.³⁵⁸ This shows that Szekszárd became a *sancak* center sometime in 1551-1552.

The social composition of the arriving Ottomans in Szekszárd can be reconstructed from the registers of the second half of the sixteenth century. Apart from the mercenaries, *timar* owner Janissaries, artillerymen, and the court of the *sancakbeys* were also inhabited in the fortress.³⁵⁹ Inside the fortress, there was a *cami* named after Sultan Süleyman. Előd Vass reconstructed the

³⁵⁶ Vass Előd, *Szekszárd az apátság alapításától a török kiveréséig (1061-1686)* [Szekszárd from the Foundation of the Abbey to the Expulsion of the Ottomans (1061-1686)], Szekszárd város történeti monográfiája [Historical Monography of the Town of Szekszárd] 1 (Szekszárd Város Tanácsa, 1989), 64.

³⁵⁷ Vass, "Szekszárd," 65.

³⁵⁸ Vass, "Szekszárd," 66.

³⁵⁹ For a detailed account of the inhabitants of the fortress see Vass, "Szekszárd," 65-69.

inside of the fortress as occupied by the Ottoman military living in timber houses built next to the fortress walls, and they also repaired the medieval church with timber, thus creating the Süleyman Sultan *Cami*.³⁶⁰ Based on the *cizye defter* of 1572/3, the town consisted of two streets outside the fortress, forming two *mahalles*: Felfalvi Street *mahalle* and Szekszárd Street *mahalle*. The construction of Yeni (=new) Palanka (Figure 12) started during the Long Turkish War in 1596, after Mehmed III ordered it, but it was likely built after 1599.³⁶¹ According to Evliya Çelebi, it was a small palanka with a cami, ten houses, and ten cannons. It had a hundred-strong garrison who got paid together with the garrison of Szekszárd. There were a few houses and shops in front of the Palanka, and it had a small inn and some gardens.³⁶²

Szekszárd was reoccupied by the Habsburg-Hungarian army in 1686 after Buda was freed from Ottoman rule.

³⁶⁰ Vass, “Szekszárd,” 68.

³⁶¹ Vass, “Szekszárd,” 84.

³⁶² Vass, “Szekszárd,” 84.

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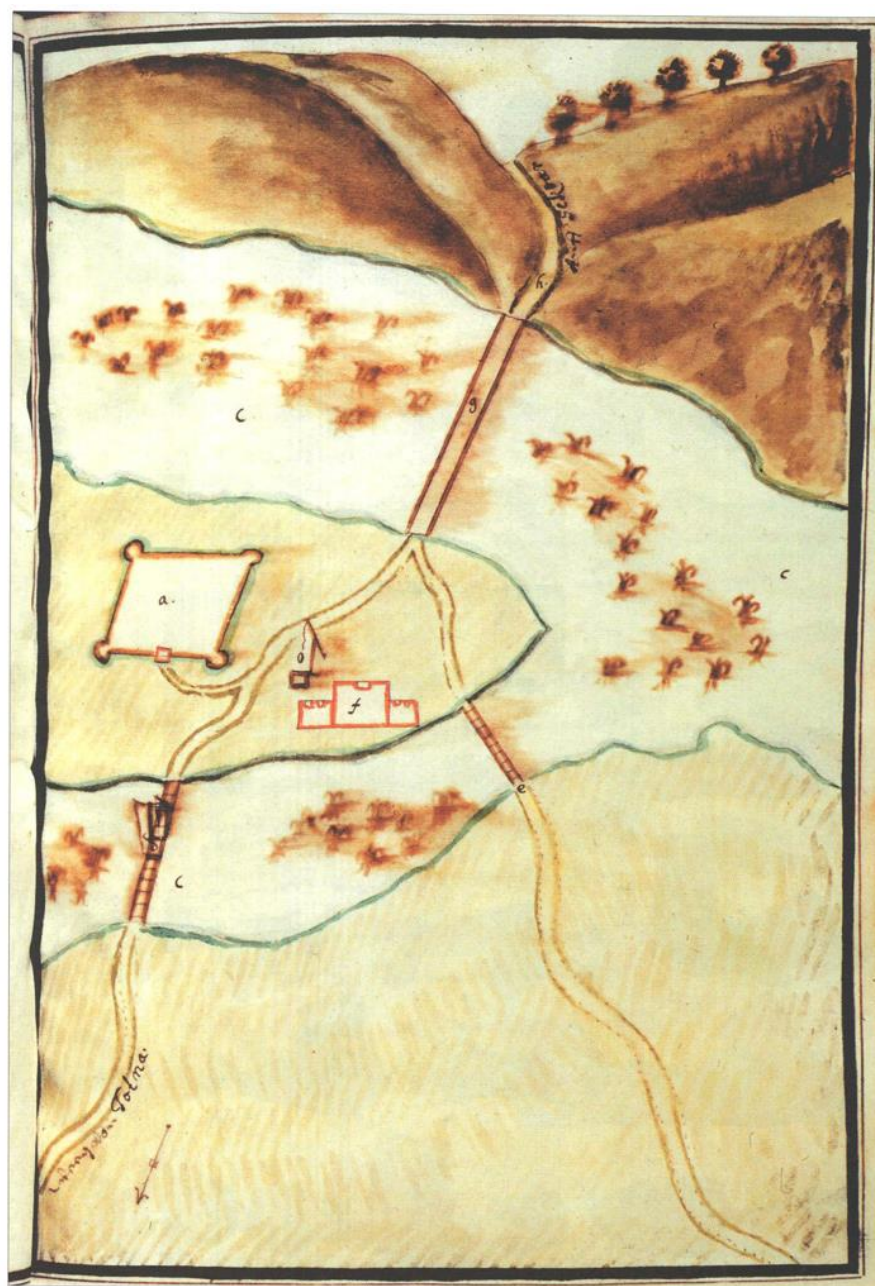
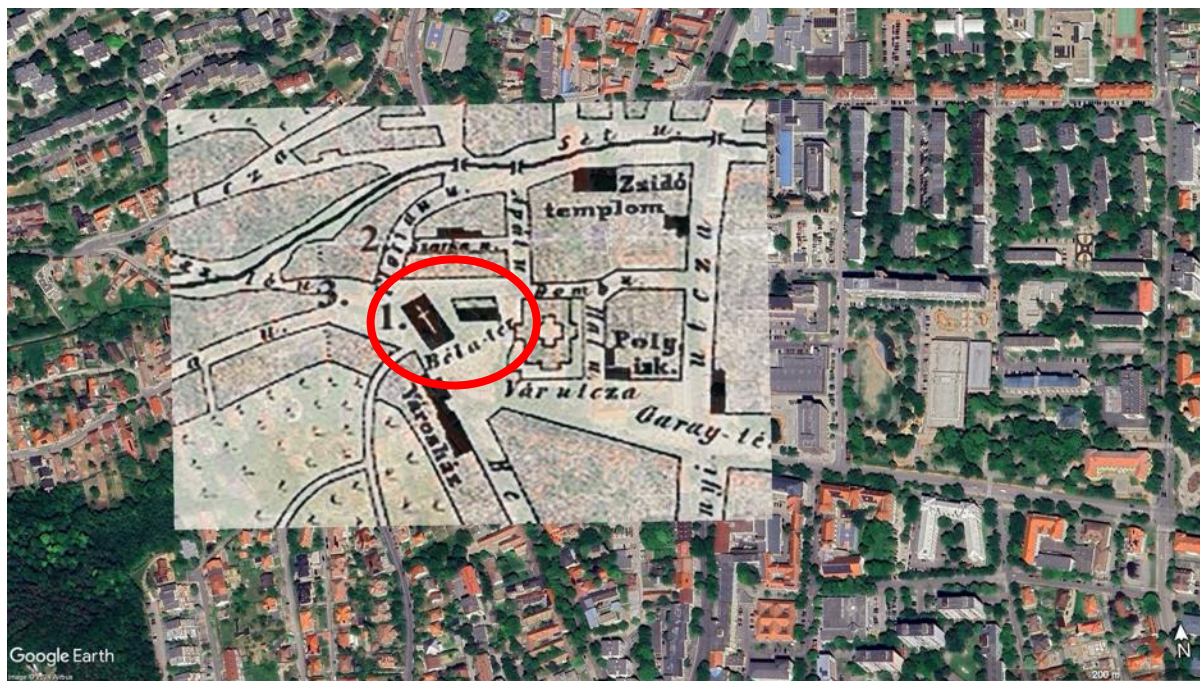


Figure 13: Yeni Palanka in Ottendorf's travelogue
Published by Gaál, "Hódoltságkori cseréppipák a Wosinsky Mór Múzeum Gyűjteményében," Table I.

Archaeological context

Archaeological investigations in the town of Szekszárd were mostly sporadic rescue excavations in the second half of the twentieth century. In 1966, three Asian decorative ware sherds were unearthed at a rescue excavation close to the fortress at King Béla Square (Map 29, red circle). The three sherds belong to Iznik vessels: one Rhodes-style wall sherd and two sherds of a jug or jar decorated in the Tuğrakeş style (see Chapter 4). Their context is unknown since

they were recovered from the fill produced during the excavation. Furthermore, no documentation was left from these excavations; the location is only presumed by Attila Gaál.³⁶³



Map 29: Georeferenced map of Szekszárd from 1885, with the rescue excavations of the 1960s marked 1-3.
Map: Gaál, “16-18. századi leletek”, Fig. 3.

The subsequent rescue excavations yielding such sherds were also at King Béla Square in 2011. This time, three sherds were recovered again: an Iznik cup sherd probably decorated in the Damascus style, a Chinese porcelain cup sherd belonging to the lotus type, and a Kütahya cup sherd. The contexts were unavailable when writing the dissertation. Still, considering that it was a rescue excavation connected to the reconstruction of the County Hall and was covering the new electrical cables’ ditch, it is most likely that the contexts were not very informative.³⁶⁴

Excavations at the Yeni Palanka started with field surveys between 1960 and 1975, followed by a systematic excavation for almost ten years from 1975 (Figure 14 and Map 30). Altogether, seventy-three Asian decorative ceramic sherds were collected, thirty-six from the field surveys and thirty-seven from the excavations. As put by Attila Gaál in a detailed publication of the assemblage, “the most beautiful” sherds were unearthed from the waste filling of the pits located at the northeastern part of the fortress, accompanied by other decorative tableware and

³⁶³ Gaál Attila, “16-18. századi leletek a szekszárdi török palánkvár környezetéből [16-18th-century finds from the vicinity of the Ottoman palanka fortress of Szekszárd],” *A Wosinsky Mór Megyei Múzeum Évkönyve* 38 (2016): 288.

³⁶⁴ A short report of the excavation was published: Vizi Márta, “Jelentés a Szekszárd, Béla király tér 1. alatti Vármegyeháza területén végzett megelőző feltárási munkákról [Preliminary Report About the Rescue Excavation Works at the Area of the County Hall at King Béla Square 1, Szekszárd],” *Műemlékvédelem* 67, no. 6 (2013): 407–14.

reduced fired jars (a typical, but high-quality tableware type of the Ottoman period). From this Gaál assumed that the commander's house was probably located in this area of the palanka.³⁶⁵ It is not specified which pieces Gaál considered "the most beautiful," and the other contexts are not mentioned in the publication.³⁶⁶

An interesting fact about Yeni Palanka is that according to two travelers, Henrik Ottendorf and Evliya Çelebi, who both passed by Szekszárd and Yeni Palanka in 1663, there were shops and a *han* next to it. Furthermore, according to Ottendorf, there was a place for drinking next to the *han* where they served coffee.³⁶⁷

Yeni Palanka, after the expulsion of the Ottomans from Hungary, was used by the officials of the thirtieth tax office between 1686 and 1694. After that, it was the office of the local steward. Gaál does not believe that the officers of the thirtieth customs office would have been using these objects.³⁶⁸ However, a significant number of Kütahya cups (16 pcs) could be dated to the seventeenth or the eighteenth century. It is more likely that the Kütahya pieces were also used by the Ottoman garrison. Besides the Kütahya cups, there is an unusually high occurrence of Gombroon sherds, which could only be observed in the case of Eger. The scale is different at the two sites, but the ratio of the Gombroon pieces among all sherds is similar. Another surprising number is that of the Chinese porcelain sherds, the majority belonging to the *Kraak* type, constituting more than half of all the sherds unearthed from the palanka. This high ratio of Chinese cup sherds suggests that by the seventeenth century Chinese porcelain did become an available coffee cup type together with the Kütahya and Gombroon versions.

In conclusion, the archaeological data of the town of Szekszárd does not reflect the fact that there was a fortress, with a residence of the *sancakbey*, who supposedly lived there with his court. This lack of evidence might be connected to a lack or sporadic character of the excavations. Or it is just the character of the town that explains the lack of Asian decorative ceramics. According to Sudár, the development of Szekszárd is in line with the small towns of the Lower Danube region: a slowly developing, poor Muslim town, which merely serves the reinforcement of the port nearby.³⁶⁹ On the other hand, Yeni Palanka is a closed context with a relatively rich material, which also dates the find material very well to a ninety-year period. It

³⁶⁵ Gaál Attila, "Kínai porcelánok és utánzataik, valamint üvegkarpercek a Jeni-palánki török palánkvárból [Chinese porcelain and its imitations, and glass bracelets from the Yeni Palanka Ottoman fortress]," *A Wosinsky Mór Megyei Múzeum Évkönyve* 27 (2005): 219.

³⁶⁶ Sadly, Attila Gaál suddenly passed away in 2021 before I had the chance to talk to him in person regarding the contexts.

³⁶⁷ Gaál, "Kínai porcelánok és utánzataik", 219.

³⁶⁸ Gaál, "Kínai porcelánok és utánzataik", 220.

³⁶⁹ Sudár, *Dzsámik és mecsetek*, 486.

yielded an assemblage suitable for analysis regarding the material culture of the garrison stationed there.

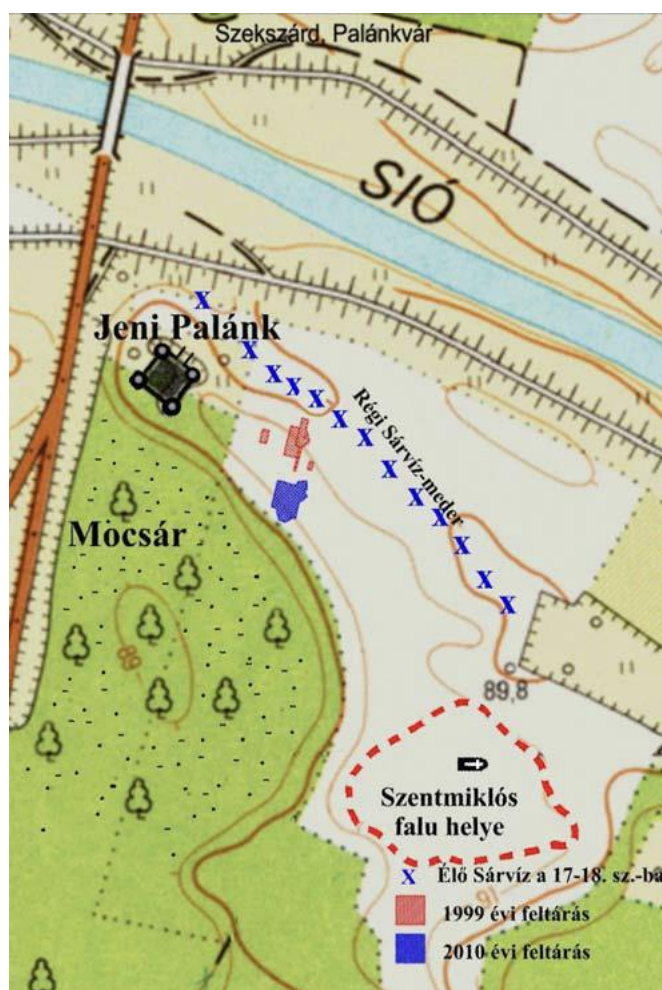


Figure 14: Location of the Yeni Palanka (black rectangular); blue 'x' line: the creek "Sárvíz" in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Gaál, "Tűzhelyek és kályhák maradványai a Szekszárd-palánki török várban és településen," p 160, fig. 16/a.



Map 30: The location of Yeni Palanka in relation to the town of Szekszárd

4. ANALYSIS OF THE FIND ASSEMBLAGES

The goal of this chapter is to present all types of Asian decorative tableware that have been excavated so far in Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania, and Serbia, that was either published or available for research, including their annotated research history before the discussion of the types. The Hungarian material is supplemented with published and unpublished material from the Balkan region partly in order to place the find collections in a larger perspective from the point of view of material culture of the Ottomans living in Rumeli. This was necessary for the interpretation of the finds in Chapter 5, which includes research questions such as the social and absolute value of these objects and their everyday use within the early modern Ottoman Empire; and consequently, their arrival into and distribution throughout Ottoman Rumeli and Hungary within that, discussed in Chapter 6.

The discussion of the material is organized based on the different types of ceramics: Chinese porcelain, Iznik and Kütahya ware, and Persian stonepaste, all primarily dating to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Kütahya ware is included in the analysis since stylistically it sometimes overlaps with both Iznik and Persian types, therefore distinguishing them from these two counterparts is difficult on occasion, resulting in some Kütahya pieces earlier having been identified as either Iznik or Persian. The so-called Anatolian faience is included in the discussion because apart from Imre Holl's publication regarding the Buda assemblage it has not been discussed in the Hungarian literature, and their identification is relevant as Imre Holl identified them as Persian.³⁷⁰ The discussion of the sub-types in each main type is organized in a chronological order, and the unpublished material is supplemented in each case with the published pieces.

Archaeological contexts are not discussed in this chapter, except when they are relevant to the dating of a type; and in the interpretation (Chapter 5) as well, where it is relevant for an argument. The reason for this is that the majority of these pieces come from upper mixed debris layers connected to the re-occupation of Hungary at the end of the seventeenth century, or so-called Ottoman pits, that in many cases cover long periods and are disturbed by Baroque- and modern-period constructions.

The unpublished material consists of the collection of the Buda Town, Buda Royal Palace, Castle of Eger, Esztergom Castle and Town, Pécs, Pest, Plovdiv, Sofia, Székesfehérvár, Szekszárd – Town and Yeni Palanka, Szolnok – Castle, Vác, and Varna. The data however is

³⁷⁰ Holl, *Fundkomplexe*, p. 129.

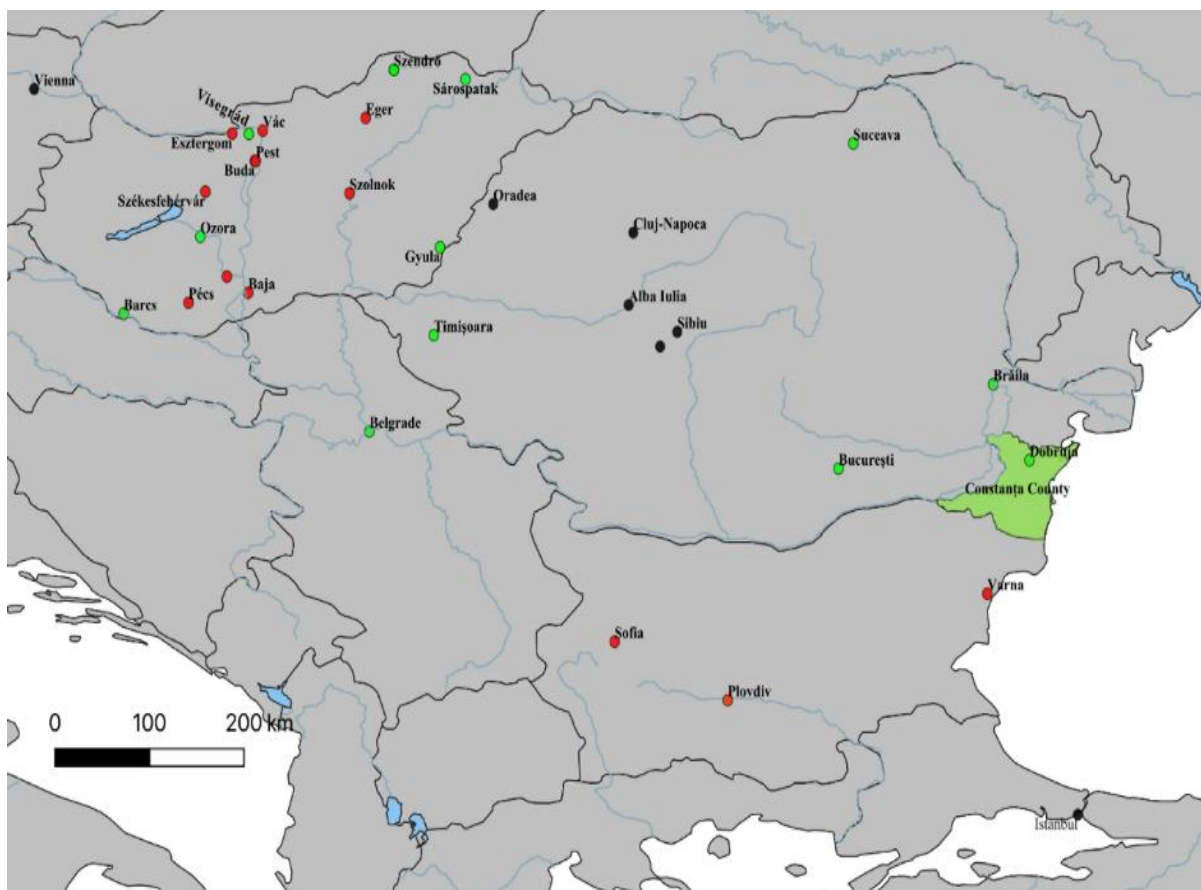
limited, since at almost each site there were limitations to what extent the material was available due to different reasons as discussed above in Chapter 3. The most significant limitation is connected to Buda, where only the Chinese porcelain was available for research, not the Persian, Kütahya, and Iznik pieces; those discussed here form the exception, therefore not representative of the entire collection. A severe blind spot in the Buda material is that of the Pasha Palace which although has been comprehensively excavated during the 2010s, its material is unavailable for research, and is not published. It is important to note that in the interpretation of the statistical data this blind spot significantly influences the results. The published material includes publications from Baja, Barcs, Buda, Eger, Esztergom, Gyula, Pécs, Szeged, Székesfehérvár, Szendrő, Vác, and Visegrád in Hungary; Sofia and Varna in Bulgaria; Brăila, București, Constanța County, Dobruja, Suceava, and Timișoara in Romania; and Belgrade in Serbia.

The research of the unpublished material concentrated on administrative centers, such as *beylerbeylik* and sanjak centers, mostly due to the extensive excavations conducted in those settlements. One palanka fortress is included (Szekszárd – Yeni Palanka) because it is well-published and yielded the third largest known assemblage in Hungary after the two *beylerbeylik* centers Buda and Eger. Some other fortifications are included from only publications since the collection of the unpublished material of these sites was not possible for the present work but is planned to be part of future research. Therefore, the statistical analysis of the find collections should be regarded in the light of these limitations.

It should also be noted that Iznik tiles are not discussed because, in the context of the discussed region, they have only been excavated from Sárospatak and Gyulafehérvár, in both cases related to Transylvanian Princes, thus not directly relating to the topic of the present work. The ‘Tiled Room’ or audience hall of the Rákóczi Castle in Sárospatak, in Northeastern Hungary, the remains of which were discovered in the mid-twentieth century.³⁷¹ This audience hall was decorated between 1639 and 1644, and written sources and chemical analysis confirm that the tiles were made in Istanbul.³⁷² This shows a taste for Turkish-style tiles among the princes of Transylvania in the seventeenth century, but it should be noted, that apart from the tiles, no Chinese porcelain, Iznik or Persian cups or any other type of Asian tableware was discovered in those settlements in Hungary which the Ottomans did not occupy.

³⁷¹ Gervers-Molnár Vera, “A sárospataki bokályos ház [The tiled room of Sárospatak],” *Folia Archaeologica* 22 (1971): 183–217.; Papp Adrienn, “Depictions of Pomegranates and Sárospatak Wall-Tiles in the 16th and 17th Centuries,” in *Turkish Flowers. Studies on Ottoman Art in Hungary*, ed. Gerelyes Ibolya (Hungarian National Museum, 2005), 45–50.

³⁷² Papp, “Depictions of Pomegranates,” 45.



Map 31 Sites studied in the dissertation, legend: red – studied first hand; green – studied through publications; black – other relevant cities

Chinese porcelain

Research review

The international research history of Chinese porcelain will not be discussed here since there is a vast body of literature worldwide in many languages. However, it should be noted that the archaeological research of porcelain is mainly limited to Chinese publications, except for shipwreck excavations that tend to reach a wider audience globally. This suggests that the archaeological research of Chinese porcelain sherds outside of China is underrepresented, making it difficult to properly identify small sherds unearthed from non-defined archaeological contexts.

The dispersion of Chinese porcelain in Hungary is unquestionably connected to the Ottoman occupation, although some types seem to have arrived earlier. Examples include some large bowl fragments from the Buda Royal Palace that are connected to the reign of either King Matthias or, even earlier, King Louis. These earlier arrivals have also been connected to the Ottomans, believed to have been diplomatic gifts that probably arrived during the decades preceding the fatal battle of Mohács in 1526, which marks the beginning of the Ottoman

occupation.³⁷³ Other types can be dated to the early eighteenth century which is an indicator of the continuation of use of Chinese vessels after the Ottoman occupation in harmony with the trend throughout Europe at the time.

The research of Chinese porcelain sherds unearthed in Hungary does not have a long-standing tradition, although their first comprehensive publication dates to the mid-2000s. It was Imre Holl, one of the leading archaeologists of the large-scale excavations of the Buda Royal Palace between 1948 and 1966 connected to reconstructions after the Second World War, who first recognized these sherds as Chinese and mainly belonging to the Ottoman period, thus not modern porcelain. This meant the survival of these pieces since they were stored and later researched by Imre Holl and published in two studies.³⁷⁴ Although the publications date back to the mid-2000s, it was decades earlier that archaeologists dealing with the Ottoman period (or the Middle Ages) learned from Imre Holl the significance and proper attribution of these pieces to the Ottoman period. This led to much earlier publications of Chinese porcelain unearthed in Hungary.

The earliest publications of Chinese porcelain vessels were in connection with the large-scale excavations of the Eger Castle. Although the attribution was done correctly in most cases, there was no attempt to identify the types in detail. On the other hand, details of the archaeological contexts were also published, which although did not contribute to a closer dating, at least provided some topographical information regarding the distribution of the types.³⁷⁵ The next publication is a brief summary of the finds of Chinese porcelain from Hungary by Győző Gerő. Here, Gerő states that most of the finds can be dated to the Ming period (1368-1644), but then also states that there are fewer pieces from the sixteenth century, and the majority come from the seventeenth century.³⁷⁶ This contradiction can be solved by understanding that even today, distinguishing and closely dating the different seventeenth-century types are difficult; thus, considering the data available in the late 1970s, Gerő's conclusions were correct. It should be noted that a significant portion of the material dates to the second half of the seventeenth century, thus the early Qing period (1644-1911). After Győző Gerő, the next publication was the comprehensive analysis of the material unearthed at the

³⁷³ Imre Holl, *Fundkomplexe*, and Holl Imre, "Külföldi kerámia Magyarországon III. (14-17. század) [Imported Ceramic Finds in Hungary III. (14th-17th Centuries)]," *Budapest Régiségei* 40 (2006): 253–94.

³⁷⁴ Holl, *Fundkomplexe*, and idem., "Külföldi kerámia Magyarországon III".

³⁷⁵ Kozák, "Az egri vár feltárása (1957-1962) I," p. 131. footnote 30., Fig. 35.

³⁷⁶ Győző Gerő, "Türkische Keramik in Ungarn. Einheimische Und Importierte Waren [Turkish Ceramics in Hungary. Local and Imported Wares]," in *Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art*, ed. Géza Fehér (Akadémiai Kiadó, 1978), 350. and fig.8.

Castle of Szolnok by Gyöngyi Kovács.³⁷⁷ Kovács's work is fundamental in the Hungarian research of Chinese porcelain partly because this was the first publication that also discussed and attempted to interpret the decorative motives and, more importantly, because it discussed the Ottoman sources regarding Chinese porcelain.³⁷⁸ Making this latter topic common knowledge is crucial in understanding the role of Chinese porcelain in the everyday life of the Ottomans. The next publication from the late 1980s was regarding one *Kraak* piece by Imre Holl from the Royal Palace of Buda.³⁷⁹ The significance of this publication is the detailed discussion of the archaeological context, although the article focused on the stove tiles of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries of the discussed site. Nevertheless, this publication was the forerunner of Holl's monograph discussing the find complexes of the Buda Royal Palace.³⁸⁰ This monograph can be regarded as the most fundamental work on Asian ceramics in Hungary since, apart from the archaeological contexts, comprehensive discussions interpret the main types unearthed in Buda, such as Chinese porcelain, Persian faience, and Iznik ware. Although in connection with some types, the discussion below will disagree with Holl's identification; this monograph is the basis of Hungarian research into Chinese porcelain and Persian faience. Thus, it may be regarded up until today as the most important publication in the topic.

After the 1980s there was a research gap until the Ottoman archaeology conference in Hungary at the Hungarian National Museum in 2000. The event and the following proceedings, first in Hungarian in 2002 and then in English in 2003,³⁸¹ restarted a more vivid and productive research of Ottoman archaeology, including material culture. This is also the time when Ibolya Gerelyes published the so far only publication regarding Chinese celadon ware in Hungary.³⁸² This publication is significant because it also analyzes celadon ware in the context of Islamic material culture, providing a more complex understanding of their use within the Ottoman context. However, comprehensive research into Chinese porcelain remained in demand. In the next decades, short publications of new Chinese porcelain finds have been published, but there

³⁷⁷ Kovács, *Török kerámia Szolnokon*.

³⁷⁸ Kovács, *Török kerámia Szolnokon*, 52-54., English summary: 150-151.

³⁷⁹ Holl Imre, "A budai várpalota egy középkori rétegsorának elemzése [Analysis of a Medieval Stratigraphic Sequence from the Royal Palace in the Buda Castle]," *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 114-115, no. 2 (1988 1987): 185., fig. 7/2.

³⁸⁰ Holl, *Fundkomplexe*.

³⁸¹ Ibolya Gerelyes and Gyöngyi Kovács eds., *A hódoltság régészeti kutatása. A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeumban 2000. május 24-26. között megtartott konferencia előadásai. / Archaeology of the Ottoman Period in Hungary. Papers of the conference held at the Hungarian National Museum, Budapest, 24-26 May 2000*. Éva Garam – László Révész eds., *Opuscula Hungarica III*. (Hungarian National Museum, 2002 (Hungarian) and 2003 (English) respectively).

³⁸² Gerelyes Ibolya, "Kínai szeladon kerámia a budavári palota leletanyagában [Chinese Celadon Ware in the Assemblage of the Buda Royal Palace]," *Budapest Régiségei* 38 (2004): 79-91.

was no attempt at furthering the identification of the pieces before my MA theses.³⁸³ Therefore, this section of the present chapter constitutes the state-of-the-art identification and typology of Hungary's available unpublished and published Chinese porcelain finds. Among all the major Asian decorative ceramic types discussed, the largest number of unpublished pieces of Chinese porcelain were available because this is the least known. Thus, excavators tended to be more willing to allow their first publication.

The publications discussed above are extensively used for the understanding of the archaeological contexts. Furthermore, the identifications of the different types in these publications served as a basis for my understanding of these ceramics, and for the further clarification of their provenance and dating. In short, these works were fundamental for the typochronology presented below.

Typology

The majority of the pieces belong to three decorative types: the so-called abstract peach, the *Kraak*, and the lotus types. These can all be dated to the second half of the sixteenth century and the seventeenth century. *Kraak* was the export porcelain type of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries; the other two, however, have fewer analogies in the European collections (e.g. Lisbon) but more in the Southeast-Asian shipwreck cargoes that indicate a different connection discussed in detail in Chapter 6. Regarding forms, an overwhelming majority of all the sherds belong to cups and small bowls, corroborating the general idea in scholarship that these objects were primarily used for coffee drinking throughout the Ottoman Empire (see Chapter 5, Visual Sources).

The analysis below is largely based on the Buda and Eger collections, which formed the basis of my MA thesis at CEU.³⁸⁴ These two collections constitute by far the two largest assemblages of Chinese porcelain and Iznik and Persian faience among the studied collections. Considering the Chinese porcelain sherds, in Buda 610, in Eger 402 vessels were counted.³⁸⁵ For reference, the second largest Chinese porcelain assemblage counted Szekszárd – Yeni Palanka with 33 vessels. As a result, most of the types presented below will have examples from these two sites. Regardless, since my MA theses, further research and the study of more

³⁸³ Komori Tünde, “Kínai porcelánleletek a török kori Budáról [Chinese Porcelain Finds from Ottoman Period Buda]” (MA, Budapest, Eötvös Loránd University, 2017); Komori, “Comparative Study of the Chinese Porcelain Finds of Ottoman Buda and the Castle of Eger.”

³⁸⁴ Komori, Tünde, “Comparative Study of the Chinese Porcelain Finds.”

³⁸⁵ 165 pieces in the royal palace assemblage are not presented in this section, as they are either too small (i.e., smaller than 1 cm) for any identification or description or bear fragmentary decoration unsuitable for identification.

finds from other sites have led to a complete re-evaluation of the material, resulting in the assignment of many sherds to different types than in the theses; but largely further specifying types that have not been confidently identified before. It has been established earlier that all blue and white types are products of the Jingdezhen kilns in Jiangxi Province, China, and this fact has not been changed after the evaluation of the material. One exception is the white monochrome types that are possibly products of the Dehua kilns in Fujian. However, white wares were also produced in Jingdezhen,³⁸⁶ and it is impossible to determine the origin of these small sherds without material tests. The types are discussed in chronological order, and where possible, dating is assigned to the ruling periods of Chinese emperors, as it is used in Chinese and international secondary literature.



Map 32 Kiln sites in China. Source: Valenstein, *A Handbook of Chinese Ceramics*, p. xi.

³⁸⁶ Regina Krahl, *Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapi Saray Museum, Istanbul. A Complete Catalogue*, vol. II. Yuan and Ming Dynasty Porcelains (Sotheby's Publications, 1986), 487.

Marks

The pieces bearing a mark unearthed in the Royal Palace are fragmented and only two of them are legible. One of them is the *fu* (fú 福) character (Figure 15), meaning “good luck” or “good fortune,” ergo, it can be interpreted as a good wish. Different forms of good wishes are very common on Chinese porcelain, and the *fu* character was most often used during the Yuan and Ming periods (1271–1644),³⁸⁷ which is a rather broad time period to draw any conclusions regarding a narrower dating. The other legible mark (Figure 16) says “丁未年製” (dīng wèi nián zhì = “made in the year of *dingwei*”). *Dingwei* is the name of a year in the sixty-year cycle of the Chinese lunar calendar. China started using the lunar calendar—which consists of cycles of sixty years, corresponding to a century in the Western sense—already in the Shang period 商代 Shāng dài, 1600–1028 BCE).³⁸⁸ The cycles consist of ten Heavenly Stems (十天干 Shí tiāngān) and twelve Earthly Branches (十二支 Shí'èr zhī), creating unique names for each year of the sixty-year cycle, formed by pairing up the Heavenly Stems with the Earthly Branches. This way, the name of a year can only appear once in a cycle, which means that to identify a specific year, one needs to know in which cycle the year is referred. Unfortunately, just like in the case of the fragment in question, the cycle is usually not specified on the porcelain vessels, leaving us in uncertainty about the exact year it was produced in. In the case of this piece the year is *dingwei*, but the cycle is not mentioned, therefore, based on the history of the medieval Royal Palace of Buda and the archaeological context, three years can be considered: 1487, 1547, and 1607; more precise dating might be possible based on analogies.

³⁸⁷ Gerald Davison, *The New and Revised Handbook of Marks on Chinese Ceramics* (Somerset, 2013), no. 160, p. 49. and 246.

³⁸⁸ Davison, *Marks on Chinese Ceramics*, 33.

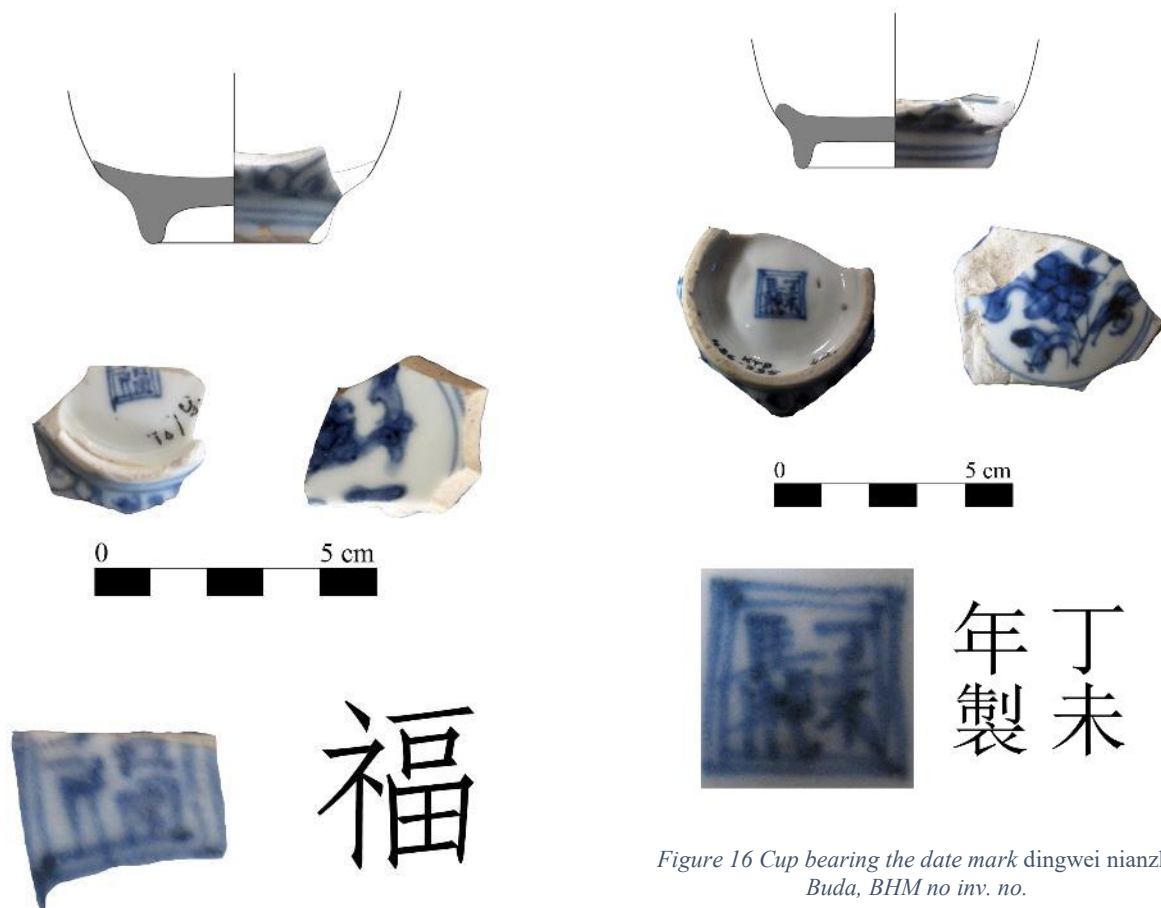


Figure 15 Cup bearing the mark fu
Buda, inv. no. BHM 75/9

Figure 16 Cup bearing the date mark dingwei nianzhi
Buda, BHM no inv. no.

Amongst the Royal Palace assemblage is a piece from the Pasha Palace, originating from the excavations of Győző Gerő in the 1960s,³⁸⁹ and bearing the mark “萬福攸同” (wànfú yōu tóng = “may infinite good fortune surround you” (Figure 17). According to Gerald Davison’s collected marks on Chinese ceramics, this good wish was in use from the Jiajing 嘉靖 (Jiājìng, 1521-1567) to the Kangxi (康熙 Kāngxī, 1662-1722) periods, covering exactly two hundred years.³⁹⁰

³⁸⁹ See: Győző Gerő, “Budapest I., Színház Utca 5–7., Volt Pasa–Palota (Ásatási Jelentés.) [Budapest 1st District, Színház Street 5–7, Old Pasha Palace (Excavation Report)],” *Régészeti Füzetek* 16 (1963): 62.; and *idem*, “The Residence of the Pashas in Hungary.”

³⁹⁰ Davison, *Marks*, no. 1895, p. 143. and 277. But even Davison draws attention to the fact that the timeframe given for the use of the marks is not exclusive, therefore, they could have been used especially on later imitations of earlier types.

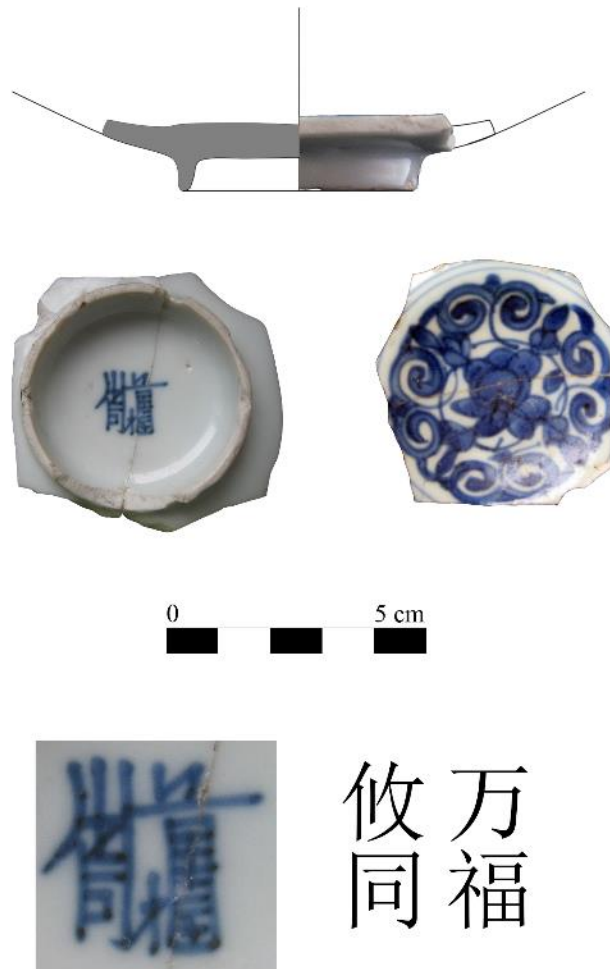


Figure 17 Bowl with the mark wanfu youtong
Buda, Pasha Palace, inv. no. BHM 66.233.1.

The two most interesting fragments from Szent György Square are of two cups, very similar in decoration and in the style of their reign marks (Figure 18). The differences are in their size and paint color, as well as the name of the emperor written on them. One of them bears the name of the emperor Chenghua (成化 Chénghuà, 1465–1485), and the other one of Wanli (萬曆 Wànlì, 1573–1619). This is a demonstrative case of later porcelain painters following in the footsteps of their predecessors and copying their style, sometimes including the reign mark itself.³⁹¹ Based on an analogies from the Eger assemblage (Figure 19), this lotus type can be dated to the second half of the seventeenth century, suggested by the mark of Emperor Kangxi and the fact that Eger was occupied by the Ottomans up to 1687. In this case, the reign mark most likely represents the actual period the cup was made in since it is a bulk type, probably

³⁹¹ Davison, *Marks*, 20.

imitating the imperial pieces bearing the Kangxi mark. However, it is important to note that for the first time, it was Emperor Kangxi who had an edict banning the use of his reign mark on porcelain pieces in case they broke and were discarded.³⁹² Unfortunately, the details of the archaeological context of the piece are unknown; thus, they cannot confirm the date.



Figure 18 Cups bearing reign marks of Chenghua (right) and Wanli (left)
Buda Town, BHM no inv. no.



Figure 19 Cups with lotus decoration, some bearing Kangxi marks
Eger, DICM

³⁹² Davison, *Marks*, p. 20.

Another pair of cups, similar in decoration, bear the same reign mark of Emperor Xuande (宣德 Xuāndé, 1426–1435); however, based on the context in the Civilian Town of Buda and their style, it is unlikely that they were made in the fifteenth century (Figure 20). One last interesting piece (Figure 21) from Szent György Square bears the mark *ya* (雅 yǎ = elegant, refined), the use of which is dated to the period from Emperor Wanli to Emperor Shunzhi (顺治 Shùnzhì), 1573–1661.³⁹³ So far this piece from Buda is the most precisely datable based on its mark, which shows that marks are not the ultimate solution to the problems of dating Chinese porcelain.



*Figure 20: Cups bearing Xuande mark
Buda Town, BHM, no inv. no.*



*Figure 21: Cup bearing a ya mark
Buda Town, BHM no inv. no.*

³⁹³ Davison, *Marks*, no. 194, p. 50. and 246.

As the examples above show, marks, in the case of Chinese porcelain, cannot be used as the sole tool for dating since they were either used for longer periods or—in the case of reign marks—they do not necessarily reflect the actual reigning emperor, but rather a previous one, usually a reference to a period that was highly prized for its ceramic productions. Therefore, the best way to date these pieces is to either have a well-defined archaeological context or to compare them to finds unearthed in well-defined archaeological contexts, e.g., kiln excavations or shipwreck cargoes.

Ming Dynasty (明代 Míngdài, 1368-1644)

Late fifteenth to early sixteenth century

The sherds below (Figure 22) were identified by Imre Holl as fragments of a blue and white bowl from the mid-fourteenth century. It was found in a layer dated with coins from the thirteenth century up to 1568; thus, it does not support either a fourteenth nor a fifteenth-century dating.³⁹⁴ The coloring, the style of the lotus flower, and the lingzhi mushroom all point to an early to mid-fifteenth century dating rather than to the fourteenth century. Close parallels are attributed to the period of Emperor Xuande (宣德 Xuāndé, 1425-1435); thus, it is more likely they were made in that period.³⁹⁵ A small rim fragment of a large vessel with a very similar decorative style was also found in Szekszárd (Figure 23), which can also be included in the same type.

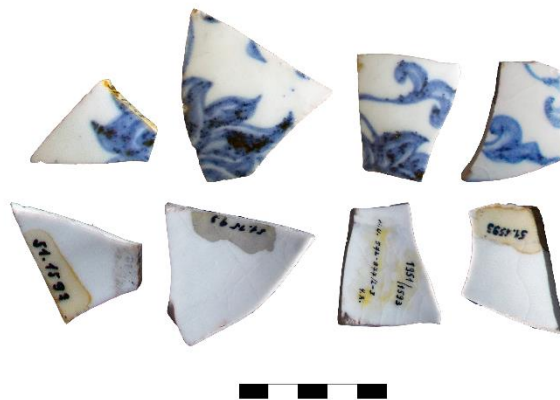


Figure 22: Sherds of a large bowl, probably Xuande period
Buda Royal Palace, inv. no.: BHM 51.1593

³⁹⁴ Holl, *Fundkomplexe*, 131. Abb. 87.1.

³⁹⁵ Yuan 源 Tie 铁, *江西藏全龕—明代 (上)*。[The complete collection of porcelain of Jiangxi Province, *Porcelain of the Ming Dynasty*, vol. 1] (朝华出版社 [Morning Glory Publications], 2005), 129, 134.: the lotus and lingzhi is a close parallel



Figure 23: Sherd of a large bowl, probably Xuande period
Szekszárd, inv. no. WMMM 66.158.11

Sherds of a larger bowl were unearthed in Buda Town (Figure 24). Imre Holl dated this sherd to the late fourteenth century based on stylistic features.³⁹⁶ However, based on the painting style and the form of the *lingzhi* (靈芝 *língzhī* = *Ganoderma lucidum*, a species of mushroom), it is more likely that it was made during either the Hongzhi (弘治 *Hóngzhì*, 1488-1505) or the Zhengde (正德 *Zhèngdé*, 1506-1521) period. The site was populated with aristocrats, members of the royal court, and high-ranking church officials during the late medieval period (fourteenth to mid-sixteenth century), therefore the desire to connect the piece with a notable person is understandable. Although it seems that before the late fifteenth century, in spite of earlier beliefs, there is no Chinese porcelain piece that can be connected to Buda.

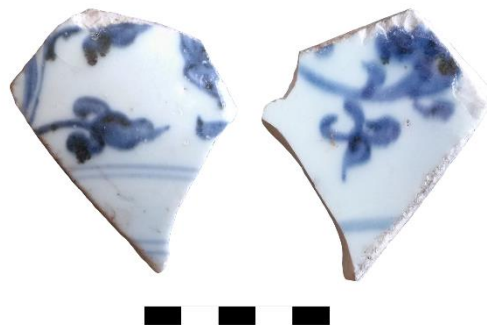


Figure 24: Bowl featuring *lingzhi*, fifteenth century?
Buda Town, BHM no inv. no.

A small bowl from the Buda Royal Palace can also be dated to the fifteenth century (Figure 25). Its glaze is very white and matte (probably a result of either being in the ground or post-excavation processing). The paint is bright blue, featuring a meticulously drawn two-headed flower. The outside features a seal mark that is unreadable as its larger part is missing. It was unearthed from the so-called inner rock trench, in a layer dated from the late fourteenth century to 1469 by coins.³⁹⁷

³⁹⁶ Holl, *Fundkomplexe*, 131-132. Abb. 87.2.

³⁹⁷ Holl, *Fundkomplexe*, p. 133. Fig. 89.2.



Figure 25: Small bowl featuring a two-headed flower
Buda Royal Palace, BHM 1951.567

A plate also from the Buda Royal Palace belongs to the pre-Ottoman types (Figure 26). It is a sherd of a plate featuring a nature scene with one or two deer and a fragment of a plant motif. The outer decoration is unknown, but assumably, there is none. It was unearthed from the northern side of the palace's chapel from a layer dated to 1390-1494/1545. According to Imre Holl, also the excavator, it can be dated to the second half of the fourteenth century, based on the darker spots in the painting.³⁹⁸ This stylistic assessment was not further elaborated or cited with parallels, thus based on the archaeological context, it can also be from the fifteenth century. In this case, a re-assessment is not possible since this sherd was not among the material I have handled, its whereabouts are unknown, and without knowing the inventory number, it is very difficult to trace.

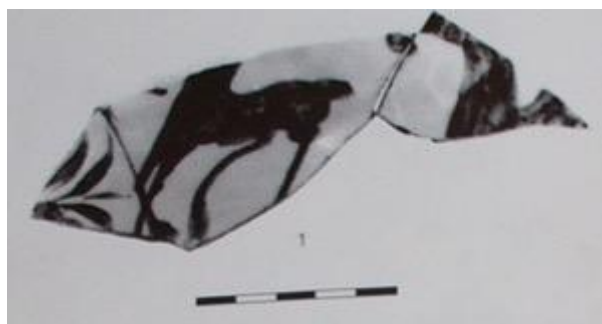


Figure 26: Sherd of a bowl featuring two deer
Buda Royal Palace, BHM inv. no. unknown
Holl, Fundkomplexe, Fig. 89/1.

A blue and white plate (Figure 27) was excavated in the Buda Royal Palace. It features a peony spray on the inside, lingzhi on the outside, and probably a Dharma wheel. The style of

³⁹⁸ Holl, *Fundkomplexe*, p. 132-133. Fig. 89.1. Also published earlier: Imre Holl, "A budai várpalota egy középkori rétegsorának elemzése," p. 185., fig. 7/2. – here Holl dated this piece to the early sixteenth century based on the analysis of the archaeological context.

the *lingzhi*, the peony, and the color of the paint suggest a late fifteenth to early sixteenth-century dating.



Figure 27: Plate sherd, late fifteenth to early sixteenth century,
Buda Royal Palace, BHM inv. no. 51.578.

A large bowl shown in Figure 28 is made of pure white porcelain, covered with white glaze, and decorated with dark blue under the glaze, depicting a *lingzhi* motif. The inside is painted with dark blue, with almost black outlines to the *lingzhi* motif. On the outside the footring is painted with a lighter blue, featuring a rather simplistic ornamental motif. There is no indication of any decoration on the walls neither inside, nor outside. Its stylistic features indicate that the vessel was made in the late fifteenth or the early sixteenth century, possibly during the Hongzhi period.³⁹⁹ The piece was unearthed at the southwestern site at Szent György tér in Buda, located very close to the Royal Palace.

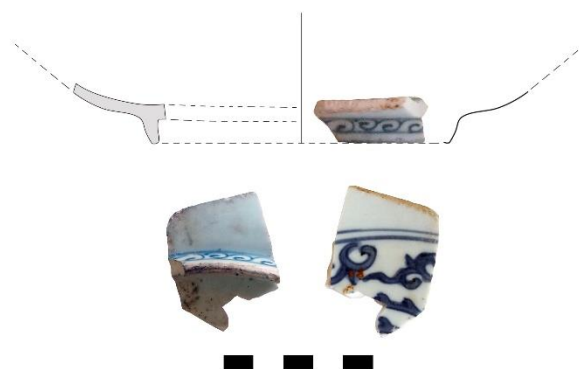


Figure 28: Large bowl decorated with *lingzhi* motif, late fifteenth century
Buda Town, BHM no inv. no.

³⁹⁹ A close parallel is published in Yuan 源 Tie 铁, *江西藏全龔—明代（下）*。[The complete collection of porcelain of Jiangxi Province, Porcelain of the Ming Dynasty, vol. 2] (朝华出版社 [Morning Glory Publications], 2007), 83.

Ten sherds of a large bowl were excavated in the Buda Royal Palace (Figure 29). The outside features *lingzhi* and cloud motives, the inside is also sprayed with *lingzhi*. The rim is unglazed and has a salmon pink color, indicating that it was fired upside-down probably in a saggar. Its stylistic features, such as the style of the *lingzhi* on the outside, the color of the blue pigment, and the thickness of the decoration suggest a late fifteenth- to early sixteenth-century dating.

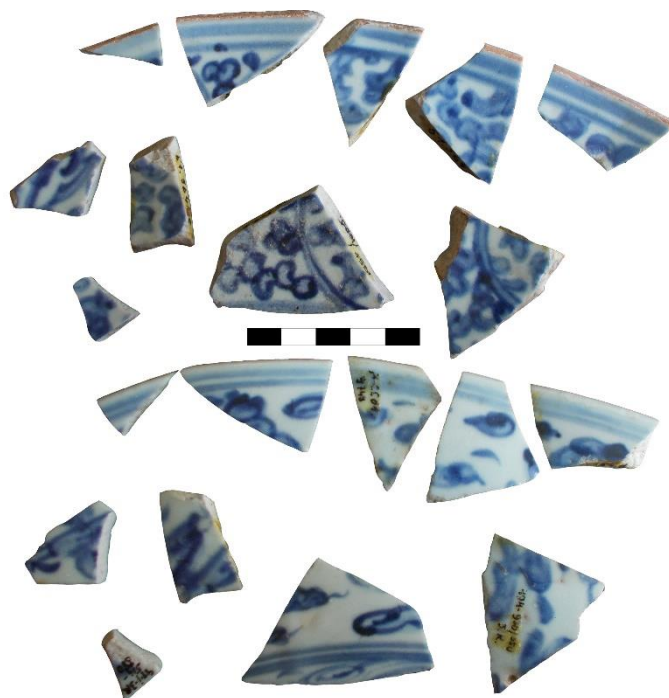


Figure 29: Sherds of a large bowl, late fifteenth – early sixteenth century
Buda Royal Palace, inv. no. BHM 51.564

Early to mid-sixteenth century

An outstanding plate was unearthed in Esztergom (Figure 30) in the suburb called Serb Town (Rácváros) during the Ottoman period. It is covered with a bluish-greyish glaze that is intentionally crackled. The plate is decorated with underglaze blue painting: the outside features *lingzhi* and what appears to be peach flowers (resembling *Kraak* outer motifs); the inside is decorated with geometrical motives on the rim and around the medallion, the medallion features a stylized *qilin* surrounded with twirling clouds, a *wan* motif (萬 *wàn* = ten thousand, also known as swastika⁴⁰⁰), and fire motives. The rim is foliated. The glaze is imperfect at parts, has secondary fracture lines all over and is slightly corroded.

⁴⁰⁰ The swastika was an ancient symbol for well-being and fertility known and used throughout Asia, since the time of the Indus Valley Civilisation (3300 BCE – 1300 BCE). For more see:

The *qilin* motif is so far unique in the known Chinese porcelain material (except for Figure 21 below) unearthed in Hungary. The plate was found in a well-dated (between 1543 and 1595) context, confirmed with a coin minted in the 1520s found in the same layer.⁴⁰¹ According to the documentation the plate was found in a burnt layer mixed with daub debris and other Ottoman-period finds, which include – besides the coin and among various ceramic types – a copper tap and a key, also indicating the residential character of the site during the first period of the Ottoman occupation of Esztergom (1543-1595 CE). The site was identified as a dwelling house built in the late medieval period (fourteenth-fifteenth centuries) which was continued to be in use until 1595 and was destroyed during the siege in that year when the Habsburg-Hungarian troop re-occupied Esztergom until 1605.⁴⁰²

From a stylistic perspective, the quality of the painting and the glaze, as well as the style of the painting suggests that the plate was produced in a private kiln, most likely in Jingdezhen, in the first half of the sixteenth century, during the early Jiajing period (嘉靖 Jiājìng, 1521-1567), which corresponds to the dating based on the archaeological context. It is also not impossible that the plate was made in a kiln in Fujian (福建 Fújiàn) province, but a Jingdezhen (景德镇 Jǐngdézhèn) provenance is more likely based on the few parallels available publications provided.⁴⁰³ The stylistic features of the plate suggest an early sixteenth-century production, with possible antecedent from the second half of the fifteenth century and the early sixteenth century.⁴⁰⁴

<https://www.britannica.com/topic/swastika>. In this context, *wan* symbolizes endless longevity (萬壽 wànshòu = ten thousand lives). When painted in blue, such as on this plate, it means “infinite celestial virtues.”

⁴⁰¹ The coin is identified as a fake denarius minted sometime in the 1520s (the last digit of the date is illegible), the producer is uncertain. Hungarian National Museum, Bálint Balassa Museum of Esztergom, inventory no.: 2019.17.54. Here I would like to thank Orsolya Gálvölgyi (Budapest History Museum, Castle Museum) for her kind help in describing and identifying the coin.

⁴⁰² Hungarian National Museum, Bálint Balassa Museum of Esztergom, inventory no.: 2019.17.44-64.

⁴⁰³ For the paint colour and glaze: Bi Keguan, *Chinese Folk Painting on Porcelain*, trans. Peng Ruifu (Foreign Languages Press, 1991), 122, fig. D.; even closer parallels are: Monique Crick, *Chinese Trade Ceramics from South-East Asia from the 1st to the 17th Century: Collection of Ambassador and Mrs Müller* (Fondation Baur, 2010), 275.

⁴⁰⁴ Tie, 江西藏全錄 — 明代 (上), 121; Roxanna M. Brown, *The Ming Gap and Shipwreck Ceramics in Southeast Asia. Towards a Chronology of Thai Trade Ware* (The Siam Society, 2009), p.138, figs. 27–28. (mid-fifteenth century examples) and p. 148., fig. 7. (Hongzhi-period example).



*Figure 30 Plate with a qilin decoration, first half of the sixteenth century
Esztergom Serb Town, inv. no. BBM 2019.17.50.*

Two small sherds of a similar bowl in style were excavated in Pécs at the Dóm Square (Figure 31), the inside featuring stylized *ruyi* (如意 *rúyì* = as you wish, according to your hearts desire⁴⁰⁵) in a band under the rim, the outside decoration is difficult to decipher. The style and color scheme of the painting suggest a mid-sixteenth century dating. Pécs was occupied in 1543, and this sherd shows that Chinese porcelain reached this administrative center as soon as the Ottomans occupied it.

⁴⁰⁵ The *ruyi* symbol is a symbol of good fortune, which originates in the ancient *ruyi* scepter of ancient officials. Györgyi Fajcsák, ed., *Keleti Művészeti Lexikon [Encyclopedia of Oriental Art]* (Corvina, 2007), 273. See also Stacey Pierson, *Designs as Signs: Decoration and Chinese Ceramics* (Percival David Foundation, 2001).

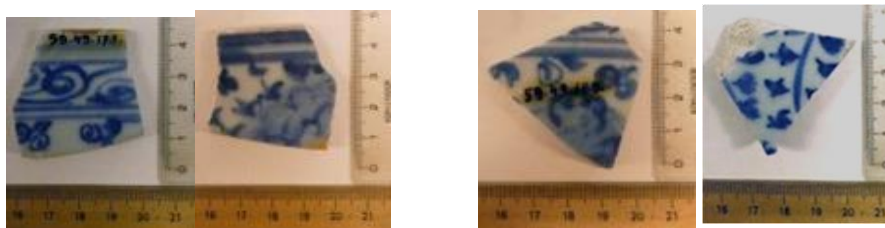


Figure 31 Sherds of large bowls, mid-sixteenth century
Pécs, inv. no. JPM 59.49.188. (a, left), Pécs JPM 59.49.170 (b, right)

The pieces that bear none or very limited visible decoration as seen in the examples below are categorized as **undecorated blue and white**. This type is represented by the piece shown in Figure 32 bears no decoration besides the mark on the base and the double lines around the footring on the outside. Its material is not pure white, the glaze has small grey and black grains, and it is bluish white on the outside, with traces of the firing process indicating firing in a saggar. The mark is too fragmentary for identification. There is a small, drilled hole on its outer wall indicating repair with a metal wire. The sherd was found in a sixteenth-century layer of the Teleki Palace on Szent György tér, accompanied by a 1539 coin and a sixteenth-century book binding fragment.⁴⁰⁶ Even though the context is not perfectly clear, the piece was not made later than the sixteenth century, and it can probably be dated to the first half of that century, to the Zhengde (1506–1521) or early Jiajing period. A similar sherd was unearthed in Tánicsics Mihály Street (Figure 33), close to the Erdélyi Bastion of the Buda Castle, the biscuit and the glaze have similar features, and the mark reads *Da Ming [Cheng]hua Nian[zhi]* 大明成化年製. The script of the two marks is different, but both are placed in a circle on the base, which is not common among sherds with marks in the Hungarian material. Another slightly different example is shown on Figure 34, with a similar grainy glaze, but a single mark on the outer base most likely reading *ya*, in a light blue circle.

Another undecorated piece presented in Figure 35 is pure white with a shiny glaze, featuring a moderate blue underglaze decoration on the footring. Grains of sand are stuck in the footring and in the well. This piece was unearthed at the site in Gyorskocsi Street 26, located in the Watertown of Buda. This piece was unearthed from the Ottoman cellar that was built above the medieval cellar that belonged to the medieval house built here before. In the mid-sixteenth century the medieval house was rebuilt by the Ottomans, and the level of the cellar was also raised by 60 centimeters during this construction. This cellar with the Ottoman-period building burnt down and another one was built later, but the date of the destruction could not

⁴⁰⁶ BTM RA, inventory nos. 1883–99, 6 August 1998 and 10 August 1998, in *Excavation log*, 50, 52.

be determined.⁴⁰⁷ It was unearthed from an Ottoman house, which, based on a coin, was most likely built around 1670 and was destroyed during the 1684 or the 1686 siege.⁴⁰⁸ Based on the shade of blue as well as the motif, it may date to the second half of the sixteenth century. Considering the unusual place for the only decoration, it is not impossible that the fragment belongs to a lid and not a cup.

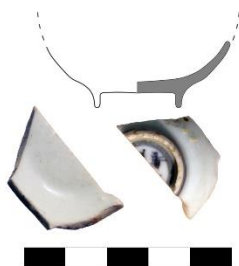


Figure 32: Undecorated cup
Buda Town, BHM no inv. no.

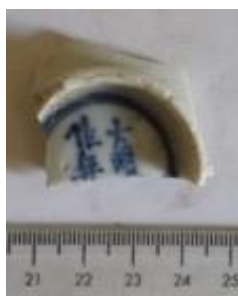


Figure 33: Undecorated cup with
Chenghua mark
Buda Town, BHM 66.126.1



Figure 34: Undecorated cup sherd
Buda Royal Palace,
inv. no. BHM 51.3061



Figure 35: White cup sherd with decorated footring
Buda Town, BHM no inv. no.

⁴⁰⁷ András Végh, “Medieval Stone Cellars in the Suburb of Buda (Today’s Water-Town),” in *Forum Urbes Medii Aevi 3. Vrcholně Středověká Zděná Měšťanská Architektura ve Střední Evropě* [*Forum Urbes Medii Aevi 3. High Medieval Masonry Elite Architecture in Central Europe*], ed. Jiří Doležel (Brno, 2006), 76–80. and Tibor Sabján and András Végh, “A Turkish House and Stoves from the Water-Town (Víziváros) in Buda,” in *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period in Hungary. Papers of the Conference Held at the Hungarian National Museum, Budapest, 24-26 May 2000*, ed. Ibolya Gerelyes and Gyöngyi Kovács (Hungarian National Museum, 2003), 281–300.

⁴⁰⁸ Here I would like to thank András Végh (†2024), former director of the Castle Museum of the Budapest History Museum, for his detailed explanation of the archaeological context of the house. For more details on the excavation see: Sabján and Végh, “A Turkish House and Stoves from the Water-Town (Víziváros) in Buda.”

The vessel depicted in Figure 36 is outstanding, being one of very few sherds in Buda bearing featuring *anhua* (暗花 ànhuā = secret/hidden decoration) with a *lingzhi* motive. *Anhua* is a type of decorative method that is created by engraving the design into the porcelain prior to glazing and can only be seen properly when held to the light. It was the most common during the early Ming period (fourteenth to fifteenth centuries), although it remained in use later as well.⁴⁰⁹ The well is decorated with a dark blue underglaze landscape design, depicting plants and a dragonfly. The outer wall and the footring are decorated with horizontal lines, and the mark *wan fu you tong* can be read on the base. The sherd was found at the Corvin Square site, and was recorded as a stray; therefore, the archaeological context is unknown. Based on its style and location discussed above, it is possible that it was made in the sixteenth century, although this mark was in use until 1722.⁴¹⁰ The fact that a *mahalle* center, and the first pasha *camī* and residence built in the 1550s was identified in the close vicinity of this site also supports the second half of the sixteenth century dating for this vessel.⁴¹¹



Figure 36 Small bowl featuring *anhua*, second half of the sixteenth century
Buda Town, BHM no inv. no.

⁴⁰⁹ Stacey Pierson, *Earth, Fire, and Water: Chinese Ceramic Technology. A Handbook for Non-Specialists* (School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1996), 38.

⁴¹⁰ Davison, *Marks*, no. 1895.

⁴¹¹ Győző Gerő, "A buda-vízivárosi Tojgun pasa dzsámi és a Tojgun pasa mahalle."

Two large bowls are depicted in Figures 37 and 38, both unearthed in the Eger Castle. Analogies are still to be identified but based on stylistic evaluation they can be dated to the sixteenth century rather than the seventeenth. Figure 37 (DICM 55.9.1.) shows the fragmentary bowl consisting of eight sherds, four of which are inventoried. The sherds were found in the Earth and Gaol Bastions and in the Northern Zwinger. Its decoration features a *lingzhi* band on both sides under the rim, and tendrils leaning to two sides around a stylized rosette in the well. The outside is decorated with stylized *lingzhi* and lotus sprays in panels separated by ogee-shaped frames, more characteristic to Islamic decorations.⁴¹² Based on its style, the bowl might be dated to the late sixteenth-century years of the Wanli period (1573–1620), but direct analogies were not found. The bowl in Figure 17 has a very similar decoration in the well as the previous one, but the outer motives show differences, although much less of the walls were preserved, thus it is not possible to determine the exact motives. The biscuit, the bluish-white color of the glaze, and the bright blue underglaze painting is very similar on both vessels. The sherds of the bowl in Figure 17 were collected from the Earth Bastion (DICM 2010.1.8 and 2010.18.2), the vicinity of the northern gate (2012.66.4), and the Episcopal Palace (2012.120.1). This context does not help with the dating but—as in the example of the celadon cup—does show that the material from the Episcopal Palace (i.e., the pasha palace) during the Ottoman period was spread around the vicinity of the palace.

⁴¹² Although the frames seem familiar from the Kraak panel frames, the proportion of the arches toward the entire frame is very different, resulting in a motive more appealing to Islamic taste. Similar panels appear on Iznik pottery from the 1530s: Atasoy and Raby, *Iznik*, p. 107. fig. 130.; and a dish and a *tazza* (footed bowl) with very similar ogee-shaped panels, both from c. 1580: *ibid.*, p. 261. figs. 563. and 565. respectively; and a dish and a tankard, from c. 1570-80. figs. 714. and 715. respectively; the dish also featuring the rosette-like motive in the inner medallion.



Figure 37 Sherds of a large bowl, late sixteenth century
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM 55.9.1.



Figure 38 Sherds of a large bowl, late sixteenth century
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM 2010.1.8, 2010.18.2.,
2012.66.4., 2012.120.1.



Figure 39: Parallels for the ogee motif on Iznik ware
Julian and Raby, Iznik, p. 107, fig. 130; p. 261, figs 563, 565; and figs 714, 715 (from left to right)

Wanli period (萬曆 Wànlì, 1573–1620)

As mentioned above, roughly half of the assemblage can be confidently connected to this period, which is represented by 16 types, including abstract small bowls with peach decoration, *Kraak ware* (see below), and vessels with red underglaze painting; and all types belonging to the general group of blue and white porcelains. Three of the 16 types were identified as products of a private kiln in Jingdezhen (景德镇 Jǐngdézhèn) called Guanyinge (观音阁 Guānyīngé), which was first excavated in 2007.⁴¹³ Examples of the type were found in the Wanli shipwreck, which sank in 1625 with its whole cargo before reaching Southeast Asia.⁴¹⁴ This means that it still contained the merchandise intended for the Southeast Asian market, therefore, types that usually did not reach Europe were also represented. The cargo was identified as Jingdezhen ware, dated to the early seventeenth century.⁴¹⁵ The types described here do not appear in any other publication so far, indicating that they were probably not intended for a Western European market.

The type represented by the most pieces in the entire material is the **small bowl with abstract peach decoration** (Figures 40 to 42), represented by 249 pcs, constituting 13,7% of all the material. These vessels are usually featured with an abstract peach or peach blossom or no decoration in the well; and alternating abstract peaches (or peach blossoms) and abstract clouds on the outer walls. The outer rim and footring are also decorated with a horizontal line, with stylized ornaments in a band on the rim. Its closest analogy was found on the Wanli shipwreck and in the Guanyinge kiln in Jingdezhen. The type shows two variations: the inside is either decorated or not. The piece shown in Figure 40 was found in Buda in the Sándor Palace, a location that, during the seventeenth century, was between the Pasha's Palace and the military's garrison (the medieval Royal Palace). It was unearthed from an Ottoman pit, which was filled in in the mid-seventeenth century at the earliest.⁴¹⁶ The plot where the pit was excavated was a Franciscan friary during the medieval period, the church of which was used as the *beylerbeyi*'s cami by the Ottomans.⁴¹⁷ It is also known that the *Beylerbeyi* of Buda resided

⁴¹³ Stan Sjöstrand, *The Wanli Shipwreck and Its Ceramic Cargo* (Jabatan Muzium, 2007), 306., no. 124.; about Jingdezhen see Anne Gerritsen, "Ceramics for Local and Global Markets: Jingdezhen's Agora of Technologies," in *Cultures of Knowledge. Technologies in Chinese History*, ed. Dagmar Schäfer (Brill, 2012), 161–84. and Anne Gerritsen, *The City of Blue and White* (Cambridge University Press, 2020).. For the kiln excavation see: 新园 Xinyuan 刘 Liu et al., "江西景德镇音阁明代窑址发掘简报 [Excavation Report of the Guanyinge Kiln in Jingdezhen, Jiangxi Province]," 文物 [Cultural Relics] 12 (2009): 39–58.

⁴¹⁴ Sjöstrand, *The Wanli Shipwreck*, 34.

⁴¹⁵ Ibid., 16.

⁴¹⁶ BTM RA 1795-96, pp. 42-43.

⁴¹⁷ Kovács, "A budai ferences kolostor a török korban," 242-243.; Végh, *Buda város középkori helyrajza* I. 64.

in the suburb Watertown during the sixteenth century and only moved to the later Pasha's Palace (today the Prime Minister's office) in 1598.⁴¹⁸ This narrows the disposal date of the cup to half a century, not contradicting a Wanli dating. Two abstract peach base sherds were found in a well-dated context in the Buda Royal Palace (BHM 51.1457 and 52.324.), in the third layer of the southern garden's well decorated with King Matthias' coat of arms. The sherds were accompanied by the denarius of King Matthias II (1608-1619);⁴¹⁹ which further proves the Wanli-period dating of this type, narrowing it to the early seventeenth century.

One outstanding piece that probably also belongs to the abstract peach type was unearthed in Eger Castle (Figure 42). It represents the variation with a mark on the base. The vessel depicted in Figure 24 is a more robust cup with a bluish glaze, two horizontal lines on the footring, a fragment of some decoration on the outer wall, no decoration in the well, and the mark *fu* (福 *fú* = good fortune) on the base, written in an abstract style. As this mark was in use throughout the Yuan and Ming periods (1279–1644), it does not contribute to a more precise dating.⁴²⁰ There is a noticeable amount of sand stuck in the footring and a mark of stacking on the inside, indicative of the firing process. Porcelain vessels were usually placed on a disc on a bed of sand or grit, which were stacked up in saggars.⁴²¹ The sherd was also in the Gaol Bastion; therefore, no well-datable archaeological context is at hand to narrow the dating. Based on Eger's Ottoman chronology, it is most likely that this cup was used and disposed of during the first two decades of the seventeenth century.



Figure 40: Cup decorated with
"abstract peach"
Buda Town
inv no. BHM 95.22.16.

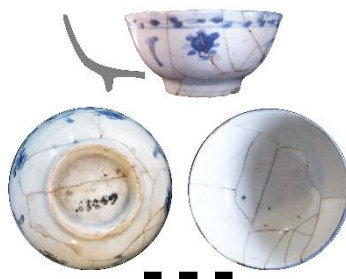


Figure 41: Cup decorated with
"abstract peach"
Buda Royal Palace
inv. no. BHM 63.385



Figure 42 Cup decorated with
"abstract peach," featuring a *fu*
mark
Eger Castle
inv. no., DICM 97.20.85.

⁴¹⁸ Győző Gerő, "A budai pasák vári palotája," 42.

⁴¹⁹ Holl, *Fundkomplexe*, p. 23. and fig. 19/9 (depicting the piece BHM 51.1457). Other pieces were found in a pit excavated in the Western inner courtyard, accompanied by coins dating to the mid-sixteenth century; but the filling of the pit is dated to the early seventeenth century by the excavators, *ibid.*, pp. 20-21. and fig. 14/6. The type was also analyzed accurately by Holl, *ibid.* p.142. and p. 143. fig. 95.

⁴²⁰ Davison, *Marks*, no. 160.

⁴²¹ Pierson, *Chinese Ceramic Technology*, 52.

Figures 43 and 44 demonstrate a version of the abstract peach that occurs less often, featuring a *lingzhi* fungus in the well, also in an abstract style. The one on Figure 43 is covered in a bluish-white glaze and dark blue decoration under the glaze. The footring is decorated with two horizontal lines and fragments of what is possibly a landscape motif can be seen on the outer walls. The well is decorated with a *lingzhi* mushroom among stylized plants within a double circle. The outside is fragmentary; thus, it is difficult to determine the decoration. The color of the glaze and the paint is analogous to the abstract peach types described above. The outer base features a mark possibly reading *tianfu jiaqi* (天府佳器 *tiānfǔ jiā qì* = beautiful vessel for the land of abundance), although the characters are not correct. This mark was in use during the Ming period,⁴²² thus it cannot narrow the dating. Both sherds of the cup were found in the Episcopal Palace of Eger Castle, one of them in the western room of the second floor, which was modified by the Ottomans, and yielded other Ottoman-period material as well. This suggests that the piece is no later than the seventeenth century, and based on its stylistic features, it is probably also not earlier; thus, most likely, it was made during the early seventeenth century.

Figure 44 has no other visible decoration than the abstract *lingzhi* fungus in the well. It has a narrow footring and an unusual shape, but the bluish glaze and the color of the paint fits the characteristics of the abstract peach type. The piece is inventoried as a stray find; therefore, its archaeological context is unknown.



Figure 43: Cup with a *lingzhi* fungus and a mark
Eger Castle
inv. no. DICM 2012.761. and 2012.160.2.



Figure 44: Cup with an abstract *lingzhi*
Eger Castle
inv. no. V.2012.93.15.

Figure 46 shows variants of the **type with peach, peach blossom, or peony decoration**. These do not belong to the abstract type (except for ‘e’) but might be dated to the Wanli period (1573–1620) based on their stylistic features and the archaeological context of some of the pieces. They are represented by fewer pieces than the abstract version but still constitute a

⁴²² Davison, *Marks*, p. 134. no. 1701.

substantial 7,5% (136 pcs) of the material. The peach type, especially ‘f’ and ‘g’ in Figure 24, has parallels published in the Topkapı catalog, dated to the early seventeenth century, thus correlating with the Wanli period.⁴²³

One outstanding piece is from Sofia (Figure 45). It features two peach blossoms on the outer wall, the leaves of which form medallions, with a cloud motif between the two medallions. Inside the well, which is decorated with probably a prunus blossom and *lingzhi*, the cavetto features possibly a plum tree. The outer wall has three small drilled holes on it, indicating repair with a metal wire. The sherd was excavated in a context indicating Ottoman inhabitation, dated between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries.



*Figure 45 Bowl with peach blossom decoration
Sofia, inv. no. RHMS 2496, cat. no. Sof/176*

⁴²³ Krah, *Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapı Saray Museum, Istanbul. A Complete Catalogue*, II. Yuan and Ming Dynasty Porcelains:790. figs. 1535-1539.



Figure 46: Types of peach decoration, Buda

The last type connected to the Guanying kiln is represented by **blue and white cups with red underglaze painting** (Figures 47 to 50). There are only four vessels of this type in the Buda Royal Palace assemblage, and their analogies are also found in the cargo of the Wanli shipwreck.⁴²⁴ This type bears the characteristics of the Wanli period (1573–1620): bluish-white glaze, with bright blue underglaze painting, accompanied by some red underglaze painting. The pieces found in the Buda Royal Palace are not direct analogies of those appearing in the Wanli cargo, but these are the only similar vessels that have been published. The sherd shown in Figure 48 also bears overglaze gilded decoration, which is not very typical in the Buda assemblage, especially not before the end of the seventeenth or the beginning of the eighteenth century. This makes the similar pieces from the Wanli cargo even less analogous; however, the sherd is probably from the same period.⁴²⁵ The technique also supports this dating. The red pigment was applied with the so-called underglaze enamel or enamel on the biscuit process. This process is very similar to overglaze enamel: the colored enamel is painted on a pre-fired biscuit, which is vitrified at a temperature in excess of about 1250°C, then the colored enamel is applied, followed by a second firing at a lower temperature to fuse the enamel, and finally glazing. This

⁴²⁴ Sjöstrand, *The Wanli Shipwreck*, 66, fig. 65, serial no. 6511.

⁴²⁵ Based on the description of the red-painted types in Sjöstrand's catalogue, *The Wanli Shipwreck*, 146–47, serial no. 6513.

technique is attributed to the Wanli period and is identified as the forerunner of the later *famille verte* type that was vastly popular by the end of the seventeenth century throughout Europe.⁴²⁶ Examples can also be found in the Eger Castle (Figure 49), bearing a Chenghua mark. Based on its stylistic features and considering the history of the Eger Castle, it most likely belongs to the Wanli period, dating to the early seventeenth century. A different type from the above three pieces is demonstrated in Figure 50, also unearthed in Eger. The motifs painted in red seem half-finished, suggesting that there could have been overglaze enamel also decorating this cup, making it polychrome and thus probably belongin to the *sancai* (三彩 sāncǎi = tricolor) or *wucai* (五彩 wǔcǎi = five colors) types.⁴²⁷ This is difficult to identify, as there are no archaeological analogies for *sancai* or *wucai* sherds published. Therefore, it is not clear how they look after spending c. five centuries in the ground.



Figure 47: Cup with red pigment
Buda Royal Palace
inv. no. BHM 97.115.1.



Figure 49: Cup with red pigment and Chenghua mark
Eger Castle
inv. no. DICM 2010.1.12.



Figure 48: Cup with red pigment and overglaze gilding
Buda Royal Palace
inv. no. BHM 51.1366



Figure 50: Cup with red pigment,
possibly *sancai* or *wucai*
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM 2019.2.3.1.

⁴²⁶ Valenstein, *A Handbook of Chinese Ceramics*, 198. See also: Pierson, *Chinese Ceramic Technology*, esp. "Overglaze Decoration," 38–45.

⁴²⁷ *Sancai* and *wucai* are produced with a second firing, the glazed and fired blue and white vessel is painted with more colors on the glaze and fired again at a lower temperature, at c. 850°C. This technique appeared in the fifteenth century and was used throughout the discussed period.

Another Wanli type is represented by the sherd of a larger bowl shown on Figure 51 which is so far unique in the entire material. The Hungarian literature traditionally describes ceramics with more than one color in their glaze or painted decoration as **polychrome**, which might also fit the description of this particular sherd. This piece has already been dated to the fifteenth or sixteenth century by Imre Holl, based on stylistic observations.⁴²⁸ The characteristics of the type fit the description of the so-called *doucai* (斗彩 dòucǎi = contrasting colors) porcelains, which were decorated with red and green enamel; their earliest representatives were unearthed from the Yongle-period layers (1403–1424).⁴²⁹ The presence of *doucai*, especially with red and green colors, is well-known from the Wanli period as well.⁴³⁰ The sherd was found in a pit, together with Ottoman ceramics and three coins dating to 1535, 1571, and 1621.⁴³¹ Based on the dating the bowl was made in the late sixteenth century, around 1600, and arrived in Buda with the Ottomans, and was buried in the ground by the first half of the seventeenth century.⁴³²



Figure 51: Sherd of a large bowl or vase, c. 1600
Buda Royal Palace, inv. no. BHM 52.469

One more sherd of a cup was recently unearthed in Buda Castle (Figure 52), which is also unique in the Hungarian archaeological material.⁴³³ It is covered with a bluish-white glaze. The inside features a nature scene with a crane in the well, surrounded by double lines painted in bright blue. The outside is decorated with polychrome enamel: the footring is painted with

⁴²⁸ Valenstein, *A Handbook of Chinese Ceramics*, 174, plate 6.2. The dating was specified to c. 1600 by Dr Rose Kerr, who kindly reviewed my work in its MA thesis form.

⁴²⁹ Pierson, *Chinese Ceramic Technology*, 43.

⁴³⁰ Valenstein, *A Handbook of Chinese Ceramics*, 197-198.

⁴³¹ Holl, *Fundkomplexe*, 22.

⁴³² Here I would like to thank Dr Rose Kerr for suggesting a more precise dating when evaluating my CEU MA thesis.

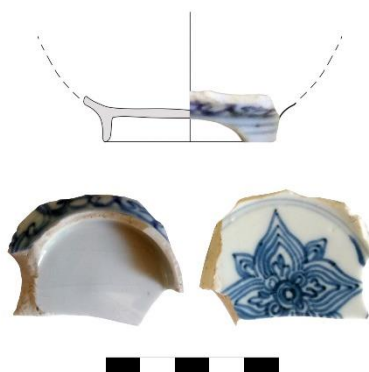
⁴³³ Here I would like to thank Judit Benda, archaeologist at the Budapest History Museum, Castle Museum, for providing me with the porcelain material of her latest excavations in 2023.

brownish red color, the lower part of the wall features a scale-like motif painted in black, and every other scale is painted yellow. Fragments of decoration can be seen on the upper part of the wall, painted in brownish red. The outer base features a seal mark that is still to be deciphered.



*Figure 52 Polychrome enameled cup
Buda Castle, Fehérvári Rondella
BHM no inv. no.*

Another type connected to the Wanli period is represented by one sherd (Figure 53). It is a vessel made of pure white material, with bright blue underglaze painting featuring a camellia in the well and a not filled-in lotus and *lingzhi* motive on the outside. The bright blue painting, the style of the lotus and *lingzhi* motive, and the bluish-white glaze indicate a Wanli-period dating, which is supported by the fact that it was found in a brown, mixed layer at the southwestern site at Szent György tér, in the company of a sherd belonging to the abstract peach type.



*Figure 53 Cup decorated with camellia
Buda Town, BHM no inv. no.*

Two bowl sherds are known from the Pasha's Palace in Buda, originating from the excavations of Győző Gerő in the 1960s, which are similar in style but feature different decorations. One of them, a smaller bowl, is already discussed above in connection with the marks, see Figure 17. The large bowl in Figure 54 has a bluish-white glaze and a bright blue underglaze painting. The inside is heavily decorated with peonies, chrysanthemums, flower leaves, and *lingzhi* motives; the outside is decorated with at least two flower motives, possibly featuring peonies, with large empty spaces between them. According to the notes on its base, one of its sherds was found in a modern layer, and another was above a pavement, indicating an Ottoman-period layer. Even though the archaeological context of the bowls is unknown, considering that the pashas of Buda moved to their location in the Castle area in 1598, it is most likely that these bowls were made in the second half of the sixteenth century, possibly during the Wanli period.

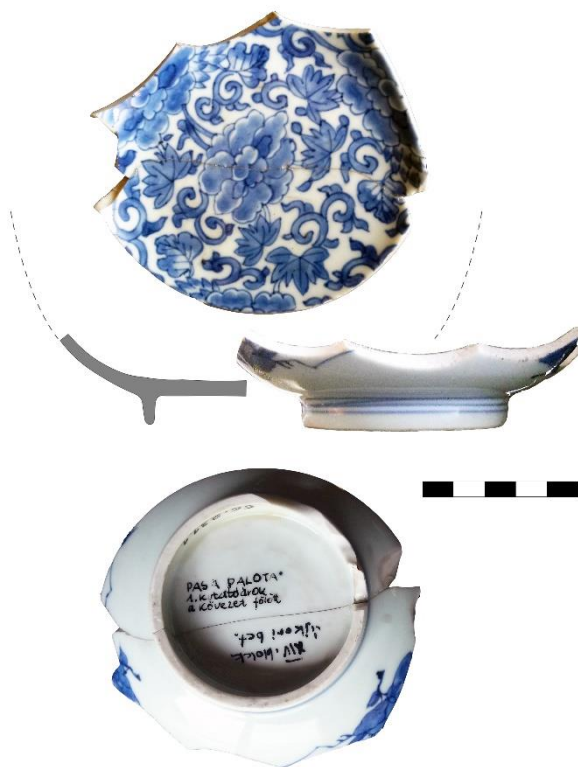


Figure 54: Bowl decorated with peony and *lingzhi* motives
Buda Pasha Palace, inv. no. BHM 66. 231.1.

Another late sixteenth-century plate was unearthed in Buda in the Royal Palace (Figure 55), featuring a lion in the medallion and possibly a Dharma wheel.⁴³⁴ The rim is sparsely decorated with clovers on the inside and *lingzhi* on the outside. A tiny fragment of pigment is visible on

⁴³⁴ This motif is called “beribboned ball” by Regina Krahl in connection with a bowl decorated with the same motives as the medallion of this plate. see Krahl, *Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapı Saray Museum*, p. 724. fig. 1277.

the outer base, indicating that the plate probably had a mark on it. The rim fragments do not match but are attributed to the medallion fragments by Imre Holl as they were found together with other fragments not part of the analyzed material, in a context indicating a late sixteenth-century dating (Figure 56).⁴³⁵



Figure 55: Plate featuring a lion in the medallion
Buda Royal Palace, inv. no. BHM 51.919.



Figure 56: The published plate with the lion, showing more belonging sherds
Holl Fundkomplexe, fig. 25/3.

Two cups from the Buda Royal Palace represent the prunus⁴³⁶ motif (Figures 57 and 58). Both cups have a white glaze and bright blue underglaze painting featuring prunus on the other side. The one in Figure 58 also has a *lingzhi* motif running around the outer base and a nature

⁴³⁵ Holl, *Fundkomplexe*, pp. 24-25., fig 25/3.

⁴³⁶ Since fruit blossoms are difficult to identify on porcelains, here I use *prunus* as an umbrella term for all fruit blossoms, except for peach, after Patricia Bjaaland Welch, *Chinese Art. A Guide to Motifs and Visual Imagery* (Tuttle Publishing, 2008), 71. Here Welch explains the confusion and the difference among the several fruit blossoms appearing in Chinese art, but also states that it is the flowering plum that has a significant place in Chinese art, being the first to bloom in late winter/early spring.

scene in the well, most likely depicting a bird on a rock. These were both found in a context indicating that they were disposed of by the early seventeenth century; thus, they were probably produced around 1600.⁴³⁷



Figure 57 Cup with prunus decoration
Buda Royal Palace
inv. no. BHM 51.121



Figure 58: Cup with prunus decoration and bird on a
rock motif inside
Buda Royal Palace
inv. no. BHM 51.1383

A different version of the prunus motif is shown in Figure 59. It was found in a context that is identified as a courtyard for storing garbage from the fifteenth century onwards.⁴³⁸ The sherd was found in the third layer connected to the Ottoman-period destructions of the medieval royal palace.⁴³⁹ A similar floral motif can be found in the well of a cup unearthed in the Civilian Town of Buda (Figure 21 above). As discussed earlier, the cup is covered in a bluish-white glaze, featuring a line under the rim on the inside and the prunus motif in the well. The outside base bears the mark *ya* in a circle, meaning elegant or refined, the use of which is dated to the period from Emperor Wanli to Emperor Shunzhi, from 1573 to 1661.⁴⁴⁰



Figure 59 Cup featuring decorated with a floral motif
Buda Royal Palace, inv. no. BHM 51.2263

⁴³⁷ Holl, *Fundkomplexe*, p. 27-28. and 138., figs. 29/22 (BHM 51.121) and 92/2 (BHM 51.1383).

⁴³⁸ Holl, *Fundkomplexe*, p.18., idem., "A budai várpalota egy középkori rétegsorának elemzése."

⁴³⁹ Holl, "A budai várpalota egy középkori rétegsorának elemzése," p. 185.

⁴⁴⁰ Holl, "A budai várpalota egy középkori rétegsorának elemzése," no. 194, p. 50 and 246.

A rare type of blue and white is the reversed color arrangement, featuring white motives in a blue background, called the “white-on-blue” type by Suzanne Valenstein (Figure 60).⁴⁴¹ It is made with the same painting technique, the blue is painted under the glaze, but it is the empty space between the ornaments that is filled with blue color instead of the ornaments. The piece representing this type in the material was unearthed from the Buda Royal Palace, but the exact context is unknown. The sherd is decorated only on the outside, featuring a chrysanthemum flower (菊 jú) with leaves, and most likely belonged to a jar or possibly to a vase. Its distant parallel is published by Valenstein, attributed to the Wanli period.⁴⁴²



Figure 60: Sherd of probably a vase
Buda Royal Palace, inv. no. BHM 60.4.1

The **lotus and lingzhi** decoration appears in several forms in the Buda assemblage, which, based on their stylistic characteristics, can be dated to the Wanli period. The piece in Figure 61 is covered with a white glaze and bright blue underglaze painting. The well is decorated with a lotus and lingzhi motif, painted in blue, with black outlines, and a circle surrounding it. The outside features lines on the footring and around the lower part of the outer wall, and a seal mark written in *zhuan* script on the outer base, half of which is missing; thus, it cannot be deciphered. Another version of the *lingzhi* motif is represented by the piece in Figure 62 featuring a budding prunus next to the *lingzhi* motif.

⁴⁴¹ Valenstein, *A Handbook of Chinese Ceramics*, 197.

⁴⁴² Valenstein, *A Handbook of Chinese Ceramics*, p. 182. fig. 178.; discussion of the dish: p. 197.



Figure 61: Small bowl decorated with lotus and lingzhi
Buda Royal Palace, inv. no. BHM 52.3192



Figure 62: Cup decorated with lotus and lingzhi
Buda Royal Palace, BHM no inv. no.

A bulkier type of the **lotus and lingzhi** decoration is represented by the second largest number in the entire material. Some pieces were excavated in the Buda Royal Palace from contexts datable to the seventeenth-century decades of the Wanli period (Figure 63), one of which bears the mark *dingwei nian zhi*, dating the piece to 1607 (Figure 64). One more lotus and *lingzhi* type was unearthed in Buda, featuring a *fu* mark, which does not narrow the dating (Figure 65, 75/9). This type also has a version where instead of a lotus blossom, a chrysanthemum can be found in the well. This was also dated to the early seventeenth century by Imre Holl, based on its archaeological context (Figure 66).⁴⁴³



Figure 63 Bulk cup decorated with lotus and lingzhi
Buda Royal Palace, inv. no. BHM 51.455

⁴⁴³ Holl, *Fundkomplexe*, Abb. 96.1., p.145. Unfortunately, no more details could be found out about the context of this piece, thus I needed to lean on Holl's assessment regarding the dating.



Figure 64 Cup decorated with lotus and lingzhi, with dingwei nianzhi date mark
Buda Royal Palace, BHM no inv. no.

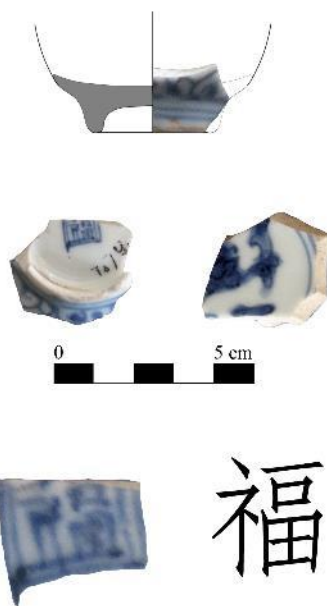


Figure 65 Cup with lotus and lingzhi decoration, with the mark fu
Buda Royal Palace, inv. no. BHM 75/9.



Figure 66: Bulk cup with lotus and lingzhi decoration, with chrysanthemum in the well
Buda Castle, inv. no. BHM 51.1071

Another rare type is represented by the cup sherd shown in Figure 67. It has a thin wall, light blue underglaze decoration on the footring, and a fragment of an ancient metal vessel on a stand in the well. The metal vessel is painted to the detail, along with the stand it is sitting on. The footring is decorated with stylized *ruyi* clouds, and there is sand stuck in the glaze also on the outside. The sherd was collected in the Gaol Bastion, possibly from a layer that had washed

into the collapsed dungeons of the bastion and yielded mixed medieval, early modern, and modern material. No parallel has surfaced so far, except for a distant analogy for the motif on two cups in the Topkapı catalog, featuring a lion on a stand in the well of a cup and ‘various antiquities’ on tall stands on the outer wall. These cups are dated to the late sixteenth to early seventeenth century, corresponding to the Wanli period;⁴⁴⁴ thus, this small cup is also listed in the Wanli section. Another example was excavated in 2023 from the Buda Castle (Figure 47), featuring a cat sitting on a stand in the well, and the footring also features stylized *ruyi* clouds.



Figure 67 Cup decorated with an ancient bronze dish in the well
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.97.20.18.



Figure 68 Cup decorated with a cat sitting on a stand
Buda Castle, Fehérvári Rondella, BHM no inv. no.



Figure 69: Cups with a lion on a stand in the well
Topkapı Saray Collection
Krahl, *Chinese Ceramics* vol. 2., p. 746. cat. no. 1368.

Another type is the **geometric diaper band under the rim** on the inside. The version shown in Figure 70 is decorated with *anhua*, or secret decoration. Parallels from the

⁴⁴⁴ Krahl, *Chinese Ceramics* vol. 2., p. 746. cat. no. 1368.

Topkapı collection suggest a late sixteenth-century dating.⁴⁴⁵ These cups are decorated with a diaper under the rim inside and a single line outside, also featuring a “thinly incised lotus scroll” on the outer wall. Their well is decorated with different scenes, which could also be possible for the sherd in Figure 71.

This diaper motif appears on several pieces with different styles, as shown in Figures 71 and 72. Figure 71 also features no visible decoration apart from the diaper and is pierced with small drilled holes indicating repair. A parallel cup from the Topkapı collection indicates a late sixteenth-century dating, based on a cup with plain walls on both sides, apart from the diaper under the rim, and a nature scene in the well.⁴⁴⁶ There is a fracture of a blue circle in the well on the Buda sherd, indicating that its well was also decorated. The piece in Figure 72 has the same diaper motif under the rim on the inside, but the outer wall is also decorated. The rim is outward leaning, with double lines under it painted in light blue. The decoration on the outer wall probably features a mythical creature with a *lingzhi* in its wing. Similar small bowls are also found in the Topkapı collection, dated to the second half of the sixteenth century,⁴⁴⁷ although none of these examples have an outward-leaning rim.

Figure 70 and Figure 72 were unearthed in the same context from a seventeenth-century layer that contained many sixteenth-century finds. Thus, their sixteenth-century dating is possible, as was also assessed by Imre Holl.⁴⁴⁸ Figure 71 is inventoried as being found in the same cellar as the other two sherds, with no indication to the layer, but the note on the sherd indicates the layer, which is the same as the above sherds.



*Figure 70: Cup decorated with a diaper motif under the rim and anhua on the outer wall
Buda Royal Palace, BHM no inv. no.
(also published in: Holl, Fundkomplexe, p. 139., fig. 92/5.)*

⁴⁴⁵ Krahl, *Chinese Ceramics* vol.2., p. 718. cat.nos. 1259-1260, 1262.

⁴⁴⁶ Krahl, *Chinese Ceramics* vol.2., p. 718. cat.no. 1258.

⁴⁴⁷ Krahl, *Chinese Ceramics* vol.2., p. 717. cat.no. 1257. and p.719. cat.nos. 1264 and 1266.

⁴⁴⁸ Holl, *Fundkomplexe*, context: p. 12.: Grube II, layer 4, interpretation: p. 138-140., illustration: fig. 92/5-6.



Figure 71: Cup decorated with diaper motif under the rim
Buda Royal Palace, inv. no. BHM 66.243.2.

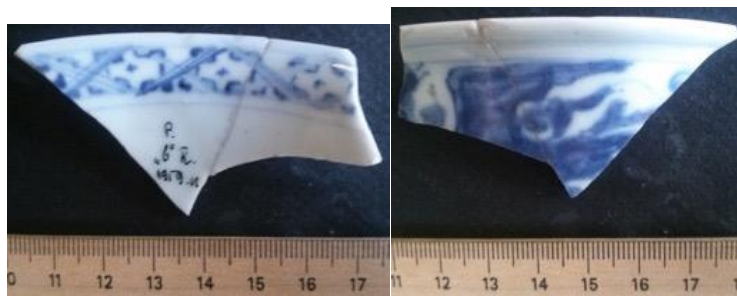


Figure 72: Cup decorated with diaper motif and a mythical creature, with an outward-leaning rim
Buda Royal Palace, BHM no inv. no.
(also published in Holl, Fundkomplexe, p.139, fig. 92/6)



Figure 73: Krah, Chinese Ceramics vol.2, p. 718, cat. nos. 1258-1260, 1262 (from left to right)

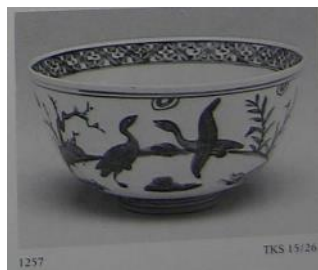


Figure 74: Krah, Chinese Ceramics vol.2,
p. 717., cat. no. 1257.



Figure 75: Krah, Chinese Ceramics vol.2,
p. 719., cat. no. 1264.

A smaller bowl was unearthed in the royal cellar of the Buda Royal Palace (Figure 73). It has a bluish-white glaze, a bright light blue painting, and an outward-leaning rim. The inside is

decorated with a diaper under the rim, and the outside features a chrysanthemum surrounded by a *lingzhi* tendril. Although the piece was found in an upper layer of the cellar with seventeenth-century finds, its decorative characteristics suggest a mid- to late sixteenth-century dating. Similarly arranged decoration can be seen on two bowls with diapered rims from the Topkapı collection dated to the mid-sixteenth century,⁴⁴⁹ and an identically painted chrysanthemum appears on a bottle also at Topkapı dated to the late sixteenth century.⁴⁵⁰

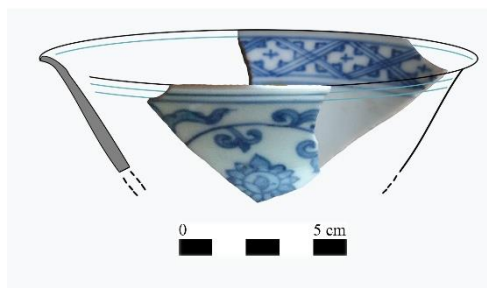


Figure 76 Cup with an outward-leaning rim and diaper motif under the rim
Buda Royal Palace, inv. no. BHM 51.874



Figure 77: Krahl, *Chinese Ceramics vol.2*,
p. 646, cat. no. 985



Figure 78: Krahl, *Chinese Ceramics vol.2*,
p. 649, cat. no. 999

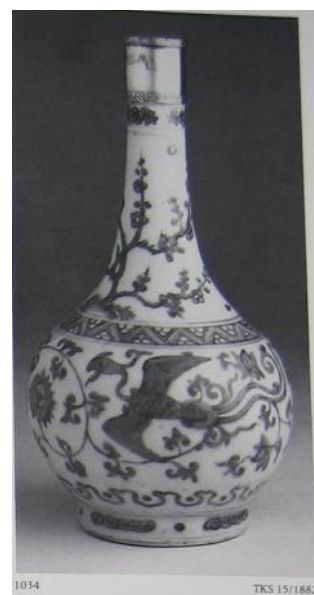


Figure 79: Krahl, *Chinese Ceramics vol.2*,
p. 661, cat. no. 1034

⁴⁴⁹ Krahl, *Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapı Saray Museum*, p. 646., fig. 985.; p. 649. fig. 999.

⁴⁵⁰ Krahl, *Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapı Saray Museum*, p. 661. fig. 1034.

Kraak ware

The widely known *Kraak* ware is discussed here separately from the Wanli period since the style, although was at its heyday during the reign of Wanli, it continued to be produced and widely exported until the end of the Ming dynasty (1644).⁴⁵¹ In the entire examined published and unpublished material 129 pieces have been identified as *Kraak*, constituting c. 4% of the entire material (including non-Chinese types), which is rather significant. The majority of these pieces, however, were found in archaeological contexts that are not suitable for narrowing their dating. Thus, it is impossible to determine which ones were made during the Wanli period and which ones were later productions.

The term “*Kraak* porcelain” is usually understood to have been originating from the Dutch carrack ships that supposedly brought these commodities to Western Europe. This origin of the term has not been proven so far, and generally, the term is applied to a specific type of export porcelain that began to flood Western Europe during the reign of Emperor Wanli.⁴⁵² The *Kraak* type has a very thin, usually 1-mm wall and, in most cases, a foliated rim; the walls are decorated on both sides with rich natural motifs, such as trees, plants, and insects, divided into vertical panels on the outside. The inside can be decorated or undecorated (as in the case of the octagonal cup), bearing a geometrical diaper motif under the rim, or decorated with moulded decoration in the cavetto. The walls of the non-moulded cups and vessels are either ribbed or straight. One of the most common forms of the *Kraak* cups is represented by the bird on a rock motif in the well and nature scenes on the outer wall, in panels featuring a foliated rim (Figure 80). The bird on a rock motif can also appear on the outer wall (Figure 81 c, g, h); examples of which can be found in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum in London.⁴⁵³ Analogies of the type with a foliated rim were found during the excavation of the Guanyinge kiln in Jingdezhen,⁴⁵⁴ and they also appear in the cargo of the Wanli shipwreck.⁴⁵⁵ Sherds of plates with foliated rims, decorated in a similar style, are also present in the material, analogies

⁴⁵¹ Colin Sheaf and Richard Kilburn, *The Hatcher Porcelain Cargoes. The Complete Record* (Phaidon and Christie's, 1988), 32.

⁴⁵² For more about the origin of the term, the development and dating of the type see: Christine L. Pijl-Ketel, ed., *The Ceramic Load of the “Witte Leeuw” (1613)* (Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, 1982), 46–52.

⁴⁵³ The analogy found here is identified as a piece made in Jingdezhen during the Wanli period (1573–1620). Museum number: C.47-1930. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 2017, accessed 4/2/2024, <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O437292/bowl-unknown/>.

⁴⁵⁴ Bai Zhang, *Complete Collection of Ceramic Art Unearthed in China: Guangdong, Guangxi, Hainan, Sichuan, Chongqing, Hong Kong, Macao, Taiwan* (Beijing: Science Press, 2008), 232.

⁴⁵⁵ Sjöstrand, *The Wanli Shipwreck*, 160, serial no. 7916.

of which can be found in the cargo of the Wanli shipwreck.⁴⁵⁶ The piece shown in Figure 82 was found in a cellar's layer that was dated to the second half of the sixteenth century by the excavator, based on the context and other finds.⁴⁵⁷ This corresponds to the decades of the Wanli period in the sixteenth century, therefore supports the notion that the base sherds featuring a bird on a rock might belong to the type with foliated rim. Several bird-on-a-rock decorated sherds were found in datable contexts in the Buda Royal Palace, all corresponding to the Wanli period.⁴⁵⁸



Figure 80 Cup with foliated rim and bird on a rock in the well, Wanli period.
Zhang, *Complete Collection of Ceramic Art*, 232.

⁴⁵⁶ Sjöstrand, *The Wanli Shipwreck*, 208–219. These plates feature a similar decoration on their walls, and different (animal) motifs in their well. It is usually the walls' sherds that are present in the examined archaeological material. Some fragments of wells also appear in the Buda Royal Palace assemblage, which are difficult to identify but can probably be connected to this type, identified as *Kraak* in Sjöstrand's catalogue.

⁴⁵⁷ Holl, *Fundkomplexe*, 24–25.

⁴⁵⁸ Holl, *Fundkomplexe*, pp. 20–21. (Grube XIX), 24–25. (Grube XXVI), 27–28. (Grube 31), figs. 14/7 (BHM 51.1154), 23/6 (BHM 51.20), 29/23 (BHM 51.242)

Kraak-type cups are also represented by other decorative motives than the bird-on-a-rock, as demonstrated in Figure 83 by a fragment depicting a horse. The cup has a white glaze and a bright blue painted decoration featuring a sprinting horse in a band of panels under the foliated rim. A small fragment of pigment can be seen on the inside. Its close parallel can be found in the Topkapı collection, dated to the Wanli period.⁴⁵⁹ It is discussed among the *Kraak* wares

⁴⁵⁹ Krahl, *Chinese Ceramics*, vol. 2., pp. 746-747. fig. 1369.

partly because of its foliated rim and decorative characteristics and partly because spinning or flying horses can also be found on *Kraak* small bowls, although with richer decoration than seen on the Buda piece.⁴⁶⁰ The sherd was unearthed from the Winter Garden of the Royal Palace, from a context dated from the mid-sixteenth to the early-seventeenth centuries by coins, corroborating the Wanli-period dating.⁴⁶¹



Figure 83 Cup decorated with a sprinting horse
Buda Royal Palace, inv. no. BHM 52.408



Figure 84: Kraak cup featuring sprinting horses
Vinhais and Welsh, *Kraak porcelain*, cat. no. 50.

The most outstanding representative of classic Kraak plates was unearthed also in the Buda Royal Palace (Figure 85). It has a white glaze and greyish blue painting with dark, almost black outlines. The inner decoration features a typical Kraak motif: a landscape or garden scene with two figures playing ball next to a lake in the medallion, surrounded by a band of plant motives.

⁴⁶⁰ Luísa Vinhais and Jorge Welsh, eds., *Kraak porcelain. The rise of global trade in the late 16th and early 17th centuries* (Jorge Welsh Books, 2008), 277-280., cat. no. 50.

⁴⁶¹ Holl, *Fundkomplexe*, p. 31-32. fig. 39/6 and 10.

The walls are divided into panels featuring *lingzhi* and peony (or chrysanthemum), and two panels with garden scenes with two figures and a pavilion in each. The plate was found in a closed Ottoman pit dated to the late sixteenth century.⁴⁶² The excavator, László Zolnay dated it to the 1550s, but a Wanli dating is much more likely, as also thought by Imre Holl who determined a 1575 to 1590 dating based on stylistic characteristics.⁴⁶³



Figure 85 Kraak plate
Buda Royal Palace, BHM permanent exhibition, inv. no. 97.121.1.

A plate with a flat rim was unearthed in Eger (Figure 86), a shape of which is only represented by this one vessel. It is decorated with a white *lingzhi* spray on a blue background, enclosed by a *ruyi* band painted with blue on a white background in the medallion. The base has the mark *fu gui jia qi* (富貴佳器 fùguì jiā qì = beautiful vessel for the rich and honorable) and was in use from the Jiajing to the Chongzhen (崇禎 Chóngzhēn, 1627-1644) periods, from 1522 to 1644.⁴⁶⁴ Besides the mark and the decorated medallion, the plate is plain, apart from the mark on the base, and a *ruyi* band around the rim. It was excavated from a pit in the Gothic palace that was used as the Pasha Palace during the Ottoman period.⁴⁶⁵ A parallel of the shape and the style of the painting can be found in the Topkapı collection, but that piece features an elephant among clouds. The arrangement of the decoration of is also similar: the medallion is

⁴⁶² Zolnay László, “Az 1967-75. évi budavári ásatásokról s az itt talált gótikus szoporcsopotról [About the excavations at the Buda Castle between 1967 and 1975 and the gothic period group of statues found here],” *Budapest Régiségei* 24, no. 3–4 (1977): 21. Figures in Budapest Régiségei 23:4., the plate is shown on fig. 108.

⁴⁶³ Holl, *Külföldi kerámia Magyarországon III*, p. 265., footnote 69; the plate is shown on fig. 31.

⁴⁶⁴ Davison, *Marks*, no. 1727.

⁴⁶⁵ Kozák, “Az egri vár feltárása (1957-1962) I,” 131., with a mention of the context and dimensions in footnote 30., and figure 35. Also mentioned and its picture published: Fodor and Kozák, “Leletgyűttesek a román kori székesegyház környékéről,” p. 149. and fig. 15.

decorated with white on a blue background and enclosed by a scroll border painted with blue on a white background.⁴⁶⁶ It is dated to the second half of the sixteenth century, which is a probable date for the Eger plate as well, but could more likely be from the early seventeenth century or around 1600, since Eger was occupied by the Ottomans in 1596. This type of Kraak plate is quite rare; apart from the Topkapı collection, one other example is published from Lisbon, also citing the Topkapı plate with the elephant.⁴⁶⁷ Its exact parallel can be found also in the Topkapı collection, with Ottoman jeweled decoration.⁴⁶⁸



*Figure 86 Kraak plate with fugui jiaqi mark
Eger Castle, DICM permanent exhibition, inv. no. 60.38.8.*



Figure 87: Krahl, Chinese Ceramics, vol 2., p. 710, cat. no. 1221



Figure 88: Krahl, Chinese Ceramics, vol. 2., p. 846, cat. no. 1755

⁴⁶⁶ Krahl, *Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapı Sarayı Museum*, vol. II., p. 710. fig. 1221.

⁴⁶⁷ Vinhais and Welsh, *Kraak porcelain*, pp. 100-102. cat. 5.

⁴⁶⁸ Krahl, *Chinese Ceramics*, vol. 2., p. 846. no. 1755.

Another plate represents a different style than the usual representatives of the *Kraak* type. The plate sherd has a greyish-bluish glaze with sand stuck in it in the base and on the footring. The paint is dark greyish blue, at some points almost black. The decoration features a nature scene in the medallion with a deer and a peach; the outside was probably lightly decorated, as characteristic of the *Kraak* plates. It was most likely made in the early seventeenth century (Figure 89), since it was found in the Town of Buda, very close to the Royal Palace, in an Ottoman pit, in the same layer as the *denarius* of Ferdinand II (1619-1637).⁴⁶⁹



Figure 89 Atypical Kraak bowl
Buda Town, BHM no inv. no.

The moulded *Kraak* type is demonstrated by the wall sherd of a larger bowl (Figure 90). The sherd is a rather small part of the vessel; thus, it could have been decorated with underglaze painting, though none can be seen on the piece. The moulded decoration is located on the inside of the wall, featuring *ruyi* symbols. The vessel is covered in a greenish-white glaze, and based on the wall's thickness, it might have been a large bowl. The sherd was collected from an unidentified site; thus, its archaeological context is unknown. However, considering that Eger was occupied from 1596 to 1687, it was most likely made in the seventeenth century. *Kraak* dishes with moulded cavettos are known; two similar saucer dishes are published from Lisbon, dated to c. 1590.⁴⁷⁰ Another example from Buda bears no blue painting (Figure 91). The sherd was unearthed in front of the medieval palace's eastern façade, from the so-called royal cellar,

⁴⁶⁹ BTM RA inv. no. 2083-2002, Szent György utca 4-10., 2000. Zoltán Bencze – András Végh, *Excavation log*, p. 47. April 18, 2000. trench b/7, pit no. 571.

⁴⁷⁰ Vinhais and Welsh, *Kraak porcelain*, p. 89-94. cat. no. 2-3.

from a layer formed during the seventeenth century but contained many sixteenth-century objects as well.⁴⁷¹ Its context and the *ruyi* motive suggest a Wanli period dating.



Figure 90 Bowl sherd with moulded ruyi motif
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.2012.91.16.



Figure 91 Cup decorated with moulded ruyi motif
Buda Royal Palace, BHM no. inv. no.

The next type of white porcelain is listed here since its only parallel was found in the Kraak catalogue. The cup is plain white, its outside is geometrically semi-pierced, featuring Buddhist swastikas in the middle (Figure 92). A similar decoration can be found on the bowl presented in the Kraak catalogue, but a plain white sherd also appears in an illustration showing Kraak sherds found near the shipwreck Geuniëerde Provinciën (1615).⁴⁷²



Figure 92 Cup decorated with semi-pierced motives, plain white
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.2020.2.18.1.

⁴⁷¹ Holl, *Fundkomplexe*, 12.

⁴⁷² Vinhais and Welsh, *Kraak porcelain*, p. 242. cat.no. 41.; p. 72. Fig.4. respectively.

Another moulded piece was excavated from the Buda Royal Palace, but this piece features a heron or egret on the outside (Figure 93). It is covered with a greenish-white glaze and painted with a bright blue decoration. The motives are meticulously painted. The sherd is very small which makes the motif of the moulding difficult to assess. The painting style allows for a *Kraak* categorization, although there is no example of outer decoration for moulded vessels. The shape of the sherd and the fact that it is decorated outside with a nature scene suggests either a bowl or a plate. It was excavated from a context that suggests a seventeenth-century dating.⁴⁷³



Figure 93 Vessel with a moulded inner decoration and a crane depicted on the outside
Buda Royal Palace, BHM no inv. no.

One outstanding and unique piece of the assemblage is shown in Figure 94. The sherds belong to an **octagonal cup** and were unearthed in the area of the Episcopal Palace in the Eger Castle, except for one sherd that was collected at the Képtár site. Two examples of analogy may be mentioned. Octagonal bowls were also found in the Wanli shipwreck, which had a similar shape to the one from Eger but was decorated with the eight immortals on the outer walls.⁴⁷⁴ Similar sherds were excavated in Spain, which were also decorated with floral sprays on the outer wall and are dated to the early eighteenth-century years of the Kangxi reign.⁴⁷⁵ Based on the light blue painting on the outside of the vessel, the cup was probably not made before the seventeenth century and might be dated to the seventeenth century. Its closest parallel suggests a mid-seventeenth-century dating, with a very similarly drawn landscape scene from the Hatcher cargo (1643-46).⁴⁷⁶

⁴⁷³ Holl, *Fundkomplexe*, Grube XXVI., pp. 24-25. It is most likely from one of the upper layers that is characterized with Turkish pipes which only appeared in the seventeenth century in Hungary.

⁴⁷⁴ Sjöstrand, *The Wanli Shipwreck*, 150–153.

⁴⁷⁵ Cinta Krahe, *Chinese Porcelain in Habsburg Spain* (Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, n.d.), 209, fig. 100.

⁴⁷⁶ Sheaf and Kilburn, *The Hatcher Porcelain Cargoes*, p. 67. pl. 99.



Figure 94 Octagonal cup,
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V2012.162.5.

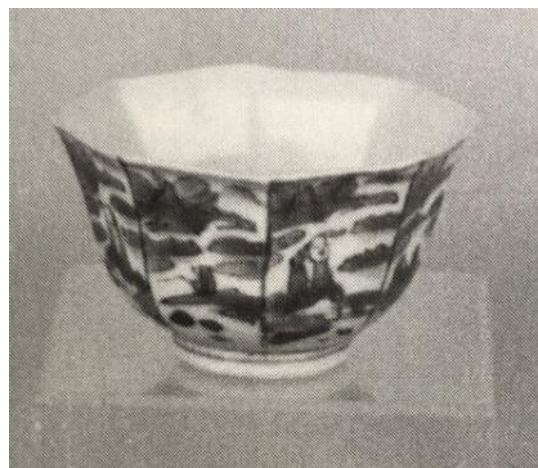


Figure 95: Sheaf and Kilburn, *The Hatcher Porcelain Cargoes*, p. 67, pl. 99.

The next pair of small bowls depicted in Figure 96 are both from the Town of Ottoman Buda, from the suburb called *Büyük varoş* (Large Town) in the Ottoman period and called *Víziváros* (Watertown) today: the right from Fazekas Street, and the left one from Gyorskocsi Street. They are both decorated with a blue underglaze rosette in the well, with no other visible decoration on the outside. Their rosettes are not identical, but they certainly represent the same type. The one found in Fazekas Street was accompanied by at least two pipes with Ottoman makers' marks,⁴⁷⁷ dated to the seventeenth century.⁴⁷⁸ This context indicates that this type is no later than the seventeenth century, but it can probably be dated to the late sixteenth century based on the style and color. The other bowl fragment unearthed in Gyorskocsi Street was found in the Ottoman house mentioned above in relation to the piece in Figure 35, dated to after the middle of the sixteenth century.⁴⁷⁹ Based on a small bowl excavated at the Guanyinge kiln site,⁴⁸⁰ it is possible that these bowls also had a moulded cavetto and could be a version of the *Kraak* type. The color and quality of the glaze and the style and color of the paint fit the Wanli-period characteristics; thus, this theory is supported stylistically.

⁴⁷⁷ BTM RA inventory nos. 1786–96, March 29, 1995, in *Excavation log*, 3.

⁴⁷⁸ BTM Középkori osztály [Medieval department], inventory nos. 96.95.21 and 96.95.23. They are published in Szabolcs Kondorósy's work "Cseréppipák a budai Felső-Vízivároshól" [Clay Pipes from Upper Watertown in Buda], *Budapest Régiségei* 41 (2007): 249–280.

⁴⁷⁹ Végh, András "Medieval stone cellars in the suburb of Buda (today's Water-town)", 76.

⁴⁸⁰ Vinhais and Welsh eds., *Kraak porcelain*, p. 31. fig. 3.



Figure 96 Cups or small bowls decorated with rosettas in the well
Buda Town, BHM no inv. no. (left) and inv. no. BHM 96.95.32. (right)

Figure 97 demonstrates the types of plates unearthed in the territory of the Castle of Eger. Figures 97a and b possibly belong to the same vessel, which shows similarities to *Kraak* plates dating to the Wanli period (1573–1620), as the decoration is seemingly divided into panels, except for its outside, which is more richly decorated than that of *kraak* type plates.⁴⁸¹ The sherds were collected from the Gaol Bastion (2010.64.21) and Earth Bastion (97.20.69); therefore, they were buried in the ground between 1596 and 1687. The sherd shown in Figure 97b is more likely to belong to the *kraak* type, but the sherd is too small for a confident identification. It was found during the sewerage works in the vicinity of the Dobó Bastion; therefore, the archaeological context is not known in more detail. The small dish in Figure 97c also demonstrates stylistic features of the Wanli period (1573–1620), but a direct analogy would be needed for a confident dating. The sherd was unearthed in the Gaol Bastion; therefore, the context does not help with narrowing the supposed dating. The small dish depicted in Figure 97d is distantly connected to the previous plate rim, as their outer rims feature the same decorative motif. The inner side of the rim is decorated with a *ruyi* and *linghzi* motif, and a lotus blossom with a fragment of a landscape in a medallion. The outer wall is decorated with *linghzi* motifs. One of the sherds was collected from the Northern zwinger (2012.81.1) and the other one from the Episcopal Palace (2012.131.17); therefore, their possible Wanli period dating (1573–1620) is neither refuted, nor supported.

⁴⁸¹ For examples of *kraak* plates see Sten Sjöstrand, *The Wanli Shipwreck*, 170–245.

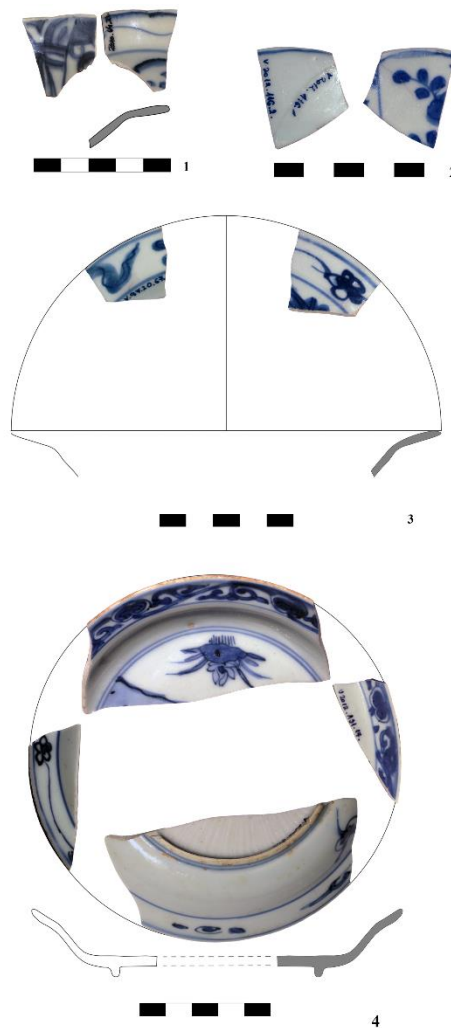


Figure 97 Kraak plates from Buda

Celadon ware

Celadon is considered a forerunner of the blue and white porcelain, also called proto-porcelain, as its paste and high-fired final form show similarities to the later developed blue and white porcelains. It is a stoneware that is usually greyish in color, covered in a turquoise green glaze, commonly called celadon glaze. Celadon was first produced in the Longquan kilns in Zhejiang province, and their production survived the dominance of the Jingdezhen blue and white porcelains until the Ming dynasty.⁴⁸² As Longquan celadon became more and more popular, its imitations started to be produced in the southern provinces of China, such as Fujian, Jiangxi, Guangdong, *etc.*⁴⁸³ The variety and later production of celadon ware is also

⁴⁸² Valenstein, *A Handbook of Chinese Ceramics*, p. 203.

⁴⁸³ Ming Wang et al., "Composition Comparison of Zhejiang Longquan Celadon and Its Imitation in Dapu Kiln of Guangdong in the Ming Dynasty of China (1368–1644 CE) by LA-ICP-MS," *Ceramics International* 44 (2018): 1785.

demonstrated by the finds from Buda. These finds were analyzed by Ibolya Gerelyes, also constituting the only comprehensive publication of Chinese celadon ware in Hungary.⁴⁸⁴ According to Suzanne G. Valenstein the quality of celadon ware produced in the Longquan kilns started deteriorating by the early Ming period (late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries), which indicates that the quality of the celadons from the sixteenth century should be noticeably lower. Valenstein's discussion also suggests that they disappeared by the later centuries of the Ming Dynasty.⁴⁸⁵ A research problem lies in the fact that not many Longquan vessels are known from after 1500.⁴⁸⁶ On the other hand, Zhangzhou wares covered in the (mostly crackled) celadon green glaze are published in a larger number in various catalogs. Zhangzhou porcelain can be defined as a type of porcelain made in southern China in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; it is characterized by its crudeness compared to the Jingdezhen products and appears in many forms and with several types of decorations.⁴⁸⁷ In the past few decades, the research of Zhangzhou ware has been expanding and has come into the view of Chinese scholars.⁴⁸⁸

Two vases are published in the Topkapı catalog as well, covered in celadon-colored glaze.⁴⁸⁹ Krahrl describes these as porcelaneous stoneware made of a coarse greyish or buff-white body that sometimes has a colored glaze, including celadon color.⁴⁹⁰ Swatow was produced from the sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century,⁴⁹¹ which correlates better with the contexts in which the pieces from Hungary were found. Thus, it is possible that in this case, the green-glazed porcelain objects unearthed in Buda, Eger, Gyula, and Szekszárd discussed below are not, in fact, Longquan celadon wares, but *Swatow* wares covered in celadon-colored glaze. An exception might be the two vases excavated from Gyula and one of the Belgrade bowls.

The **celadon ware** published from the assemblage of the Buda Royal Palace (Figure 98) consists of an ewer, a small dish, and wall and rim sherds.⁴⁹² Gerelyes suggests a late fifteenth- to early sixteenth-century dating, preceding the Ottoman conquest, based on the contexts the

⁴⁸⁴ Ibolya Gerelyes, "Kínai szeladon kerámia a budavári palota leletanyagában,"

⁴⁸⁵ Valenstein, *A Handbook of Chinese Ceramics*, p. 203.

⁴⁸⁶ I have not been able to find any publications, but a few vessels are dated to after 1500 in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London: [a bottle dated to 1550-1650](#); [a four sided vase with a square rim dated to 1500-1600](#); [a cylindrical vase also dated to 1500-1600](#); [a vase with handles dated to 1547](#); and three sherds dated to the Ming Dynasty, not excluding the late Ming period ([1](#), [2](#), [3](#)). A few late fifteenth to early sixteenth century pieces are published in Crick, *Chinese Trade Ceramics*, pp. 130-131. and p. 145. fig. 62.,

⁴⁸⁷ Valenstein, *A Handbook of Chinese Ceramics*, p. 205.

⁴⁸⁸ See most recently: Lili Fang, *The History of Chinese Ceramics* (Springer and 外语教学与研究出版社 [Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press], 2023), 752–66.

⁴⁸⁹ Krahrl, *Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapı Saray Museum*, p. 884., cat.nos. 1943, 1944. (pp. 896-897); the vases are followed by celadon-green glazed plates, pp. 897-898., cat.nos. 1945-51.

⁴⁹⁰ Krahrl, *Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapı Saray Museum*, p. 883.

⁴⁹¹ Crick, *Chinese Trade Ceramics*, p. 328.

⁴⁹² Gerelyes, "Kínai szeladon kerámia," pp. 81-83.

sherds were unearthed from and their stylistic evaluation.⁴⁹³ The ewer was found in a context dated after the mid-sixteenth century by coins such as five pieces of *akçe* (Ottoman currency) dating to 1566-74.⁴⁹⁴ It should also be noted that the ewer is a typical form of liquid container in the Ottoman and Islamic taste. Therefore, it is probable that it was made based on Ottoman cultural demand. Considering that at least two cups were in use in the seventeenth century in Eger (see below), it is possible that these celadons were also used by the Ottomans in the sixteenth century in Buda and were also produced during that time.

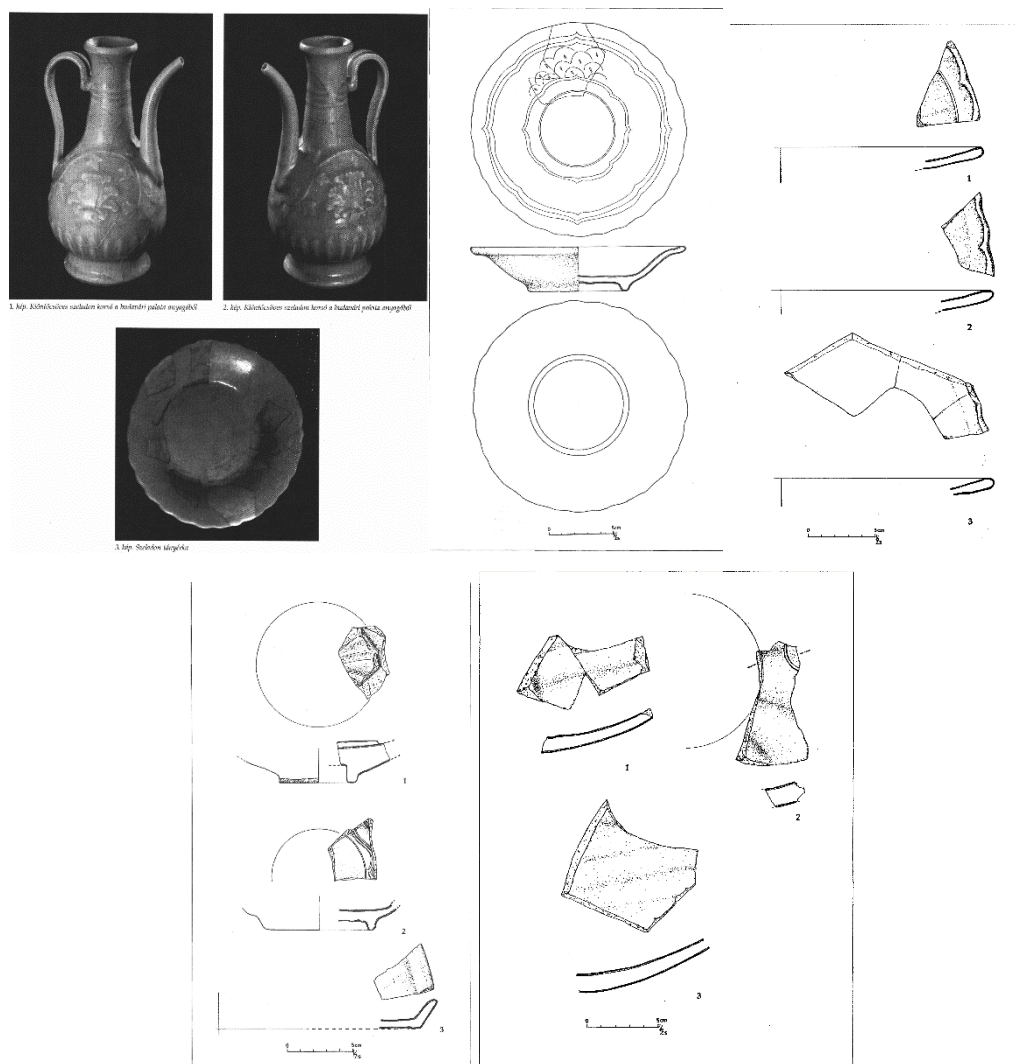


Figure 98 Celadon ware from Buda
Gerelyes, "Kínai szeladon kerámia," figs. 1-7.

⁴⁹³ Gerelyes, "Kínai szeladon kerámia", p. 83.

⁴⁹⁴ Holl, *Fundkomplexe*, pp. 24-25., fig. 20/6.



Figure 99 Published celadons from Buda
photos by author

Two **celadon vases** were unearthed in the castle of Gyula (Figure 100).⁴⁹⁵ These pieces demonstrate the early Ming-period phenomenon described by Suzanne Valenstein: “[...]”

⁴⁹⁵ Publications: Szalai Emese, “Keleti importáru a török kori Gyuláról / Oriental import goods from the Ottoman-period Gyula,” in *Fiatal Középkoros Régészek IV. Konferenciájának Tanulmánykötete. A Kaposváron 2012. november 22-24. között megrendezett Fiatal Középkoros Régészek IV. Konferenciájának tanulmányai / Study Volume of the 4th Conference of Young Medieval Archaeologists. Studies of the 4th Conference of Young Medieval Archaeologists 22-24 November, 2012, Kaposvár*, ed. Varga Máté (Rippl-Rónai Múzeum, 2013), 159–72. and

Longquan potters often transcribed the underglaze blue designs into incised and carved equivalents.”⁴⁹⁶ The vase base sherd (EFM 59.5.42/1.) is decorated with relief decoration featuring long, vertical leaves, probably lotus petals around the lower section of the base. This decoration is quite common on the blue and white vessels of the early to mid-Ming period (late fourteenth to mid-sixteenth century), although it is also a feature of the Yuan-period celadons.⁴⁹⁷ The plain sherd (EFM 59.5.42./2.) belongs to this jar. The other restored vase (EFM 63.119.1.) is a curious mixture of the traditional jar form of the Song-Yuan periods⁴⁹⁸ and the early to mid-Ming similarities of the contemporary blue and white decorative motives. The vase has a rectangular shape, with two handle imitations made of stoneware attached to the side. The two façades of the vessel feature moulded decoration: *ruyi* motives surround the Chinese character *fu* written in the style of the seal? script on the outer wall, and a *ruyi* motif with two clouds on the neck.

Emese Szalai, *Agyagba Zárt Hétköznapiak. A 15-17. Századi Fazekasság Emlékei a Gyulai Várból [Daily Life Locked in Clay. Monuments of the 15th to 17th Century Pottery Production in the Gyula Castle]*, Gyulai Katalógusok 14 (Erkel Ferenc Kulturális Központ és Múzeum Nonprofit Kft., 2018), 38–40, and table 14.

⁴⁹⁶ Valenstein, *A Handbook of Chinese Ceramics*, p. 203.

⁴⁹⁷ For the Yuan-period examples see: Krahl, *Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapı Saray Museum* vol.1., pp. 220-21, figs. 200-201.; p. 289. fig. 206-207. for the Ming-period blue and white see:

⁴⁹⁸ Such as the vases of the Yuan period, e.g. Krahl, *Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapı Saray Museum*, pp. 220-21, figs. 200-201.

1. 63.119.1



2. 59.5.42/1



3. 59.5.42/2



Figure 100 Celadons from Gyula
Szalai, "Keleti importáru a török kori Gyuláról," table 2.

Two **celadon bowls** were excavated in the Belgrade Fortress (Figure 101). The two bowls were excavated at the Lower Town of the Belgrade fortress from archaeological contexts dated to the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries. Based on stylistic analysis, the bowls have been dated to the late fourteenth century, the period of the late Yuan dynasty (1279-1368). At the same time, it has been attributed to the court of the Serbian despot Stefan Lazarević (r. 1402-1427), who was active in trade and diplomacy at the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century.⁴⁹⁹

The bowl on Figure 101, left has a very similar inner decoration to the small dish found in Buda (Gerelyes 2004, Fig. 4.). The shape is different however, the Belgrade sherd has a more articulately outward leaning, horizontal rim, which is not foliated. The inside features incised waves or flower petals. Close parallels can be found in the Topkapı Saray collection dated to the early to mid-fourteenth century, with incised horizontal lines around the base the lower part of the outer wall.⁵⁰⁰ Although it should be noted that these parallels are in form, since in the Topkapı catalogue the pictures are black and white, and there is no detailed description of the color of the glaze. The piece found in Belgrade has a more grass green than celadon green color, and its glaze is crackled, which is not a common characteristic of celadon ware; and the glaze of the parallels from the Topkapı collection do not seem to be crackled based on the photographs. Therefore, it is possible that the Topkapı sherds were made in a different kiln than those unearthed in Belgrade.

The other bowl in Figure 101, right, shows more characteristics of the celadon ware. It has a greyish-white body with a light celadon green glaze. The inside is decorated with an incised lotus petal-like motif in the cavetto, while the outside is plain. It has a horizontally outward-leaning rim with an upturned edge. This shape also has parallels in the Topkapı collection, all dated to the fourteenth century.⁵⁰¹

⁴⁹⁹ Весна М. Vesna М. БИКИЋ Bikić, “Ексклузивно Кинеско Посуђе На Балкану: Налази Селадона Из XIV Века Са Београдске Тврђаве [Exclusive Chinese Pottery in the Balkans: Finds of 14th Century Celadon From the Belgrade Fortress],” *Зборник Народног Музеја* 21, no. 1 (2013): 253.

⁵⁰⁰ Krahl, *Chinese Ceramics*, vol. 1., p. 272., cat.nos.135-137. (D. c. 30-32 cm)

⁵⁰¹ Krahl, *Chinese Ceramics*, vol. 1., p. 274-275., cat.nos.144-151 (D. c. 28-33 cm)

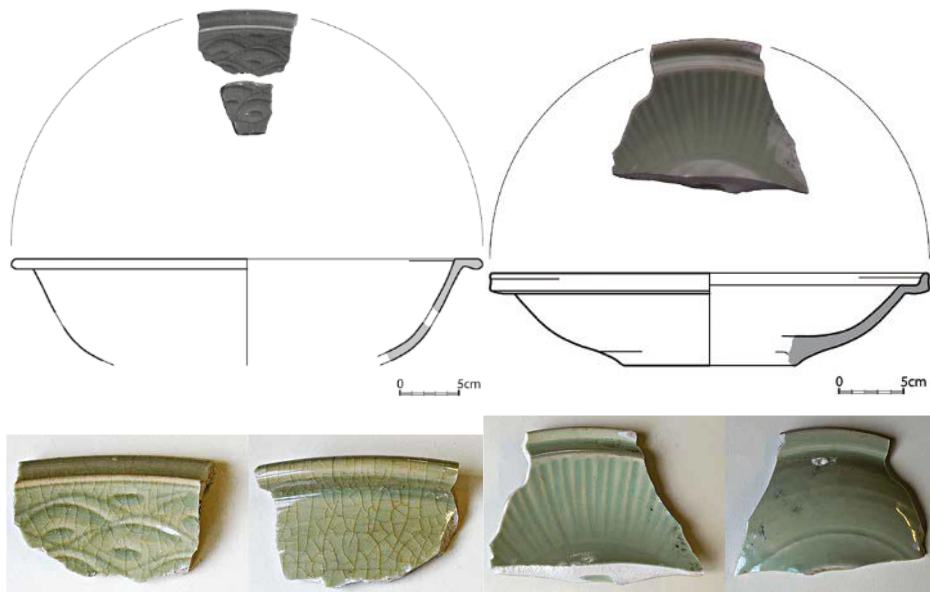


Figure 101: Celadon sherds excavated in the Belgrade Fortress Bikić, “Ексклузивно Кинеско Посуђе На Балкану, Figs. 1-2.

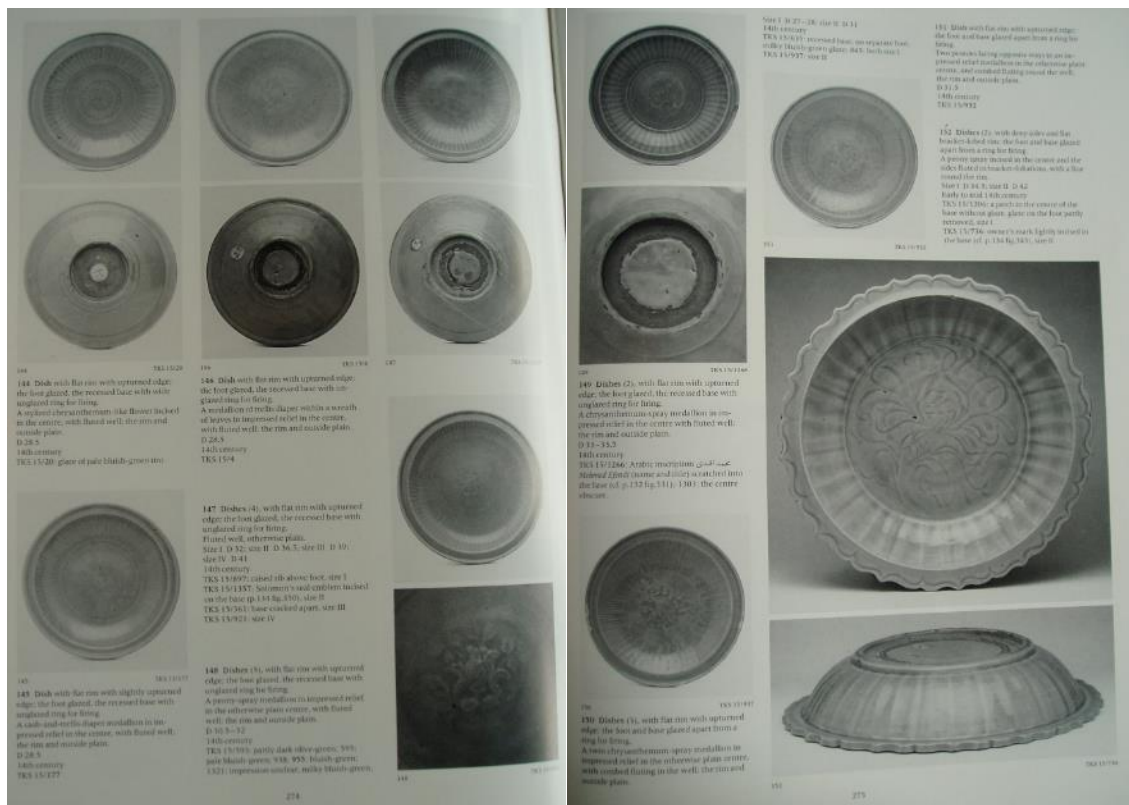


Figure 102: Celadon ware from the Topkapı Saray collection Krahl, Chinese Ceramics, vol. 1., 274-275.

Two **celadon-like cups** unearthed in Eger Castle (Figure 103) suggest that celadon was still produced in the seventeenth century. Blue underglaze painting distinguishes these pieces from any celadon or green-glazed Zhangzhou ware. The painting features a double horizontal line around the rim and several of the same Chinese character on the wall, reading *chun* (春 chūn = spring, vigor, life, wine). The character suggests a seventeenth-century dating since this

mark was used during the Qing period (1644-1911).⁵⁰² One of the sherds was found in the Earth Bastion (2010.34.3), and the other in the Northern Zwinger (2012.80.1). This does not narrow the dating but indicates that the debris from the Ottoman period of the Episcopal Palace was most likely spread out in the vicinity, covering the northern part of the castle area. A cup that looks the same is displayed in the permanent exhibition of the Dobó István Castle Museum in Eger, indicating that celadon cups were still used during the seventeenth century. Another cup decorated with the same character in the same manner (Figure 104) in the permanent exhibition of the Eger Castle Museum suggests that a collection of the same cups might have been in use among the castle dwellers.



Figure 103: Celadon cup with the character chun
Eger Castle
inv. no. DICM 2010.34.3. and V2012.80.1.



Figure 104: Celadon cup with the character chun
Eger Castle
DICM, permanent exhibition

Transitional period (1620s to 1680s)

In the final decades of the Ming Dynasty and the early decades of the Qing Dynasty (清代 Qīngdài, 1644-1911), the political and economic environment was not particularly advantageous for porcelain production. In its final decades, the Ming rule started falling apart, causing disruptions in porcelain production by a decreasing imperial order from the Jingdezhen kilns.⁵⁰³ After the Qing Dynasty took over, it took until the middle of Emperor Kangxi's reign (1662-1722), roughly the 1680s, for the new dynasty to stabilize the economy to where it was in the early seventeenth century, also reinstating the imperial orders from the Jingdezhen kilns. The chronology and typology of transitional porcelain was largely advanced by the discovery and publication of the Hatcher cargo dated 1643-46.⁵⁰⁴

⁵⁰² Davison, *Marks*, no. 119.

⁵⁰³ Stacey Pierson, *Chinese ceramics: a design history* (V&A Publishing, 2009), 68., The decline in imperial order also meant the shutting down of imperial kilns after the death of Emperor Wanli (1619), as described in: Krahll, *Chinese Ceramics* vol. 3., 949-950.; and Margaret Medley, "The Ming – Qing Transition in Chinese Porcelain," *Arts Asiatiques* 42 (1987): 65–76.

⁵⁰⁴ Sheaf and Kilburn, *The Hatcher Porcelain Cargoes*.

Transitional blue and white porcelains show a characteristic design that is fairly recognizable, such as cylindrical forms and more figurative designs.⁵⁰⁵ In the case of the material analyzed here, the cylindrical shapes are sometimes detectable, but as the material is fragmentary, it is difficult to assess whether this is the most common vessel shape. Most of the sherds probably belong to cups and small bowl, and some of them do seem to be taller and more cylinder-like. Regarding the decoration, transitional period pieces are characterized by a white background and less decorative motives, which mostly feature nature scenes or landscape designs, sometimes with one or more visible human figures. The nature scenes usually feature an insect or a plant motif, but these types are less thickly decorated than the typical Ming-period vessels.

One type (Figure 105) might be connected to the Shunzhi period (順治 Shùnzhi, 1644-1661) based on a direct analogy from the Topkapı Saray Museum.⁵⁰⁶ Two wall fragments of a small bowl from the Buda assemblage are decorated on the outside with a bright blue underglaze painting featuring a **geometric design** and a horizontal line around the rim. The inside shows no decoration, and according to the description of the analogy from the Topkapı Saray Museum, this type is plain on the inside. Regarding the archaeological context, the sherds originate from a layer dated to the seventeenth century by the excavator.⁵⁰⁷ Another cup of the same decoration was excavated from the Eger Castle (Figure 106).



Figure 105: Cup decorated with geometrical motif,
Shunzhi period
Buda Royal Palace, inv. no. BHM 51.579.



Figure 106: Cup decorated with geometrical motif,
Shunzhi period
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM 2010.37.3. és V2012.92.6.

Another unique piece of the assemblage is the wine cup shown in Figure 107. Its decoration features the **Dharma wheel** (法輪 fǎlún = wheel of law), an analogy of which can be found on

⁵⁰⁵ Stacey Pierson, *Chinese ceramics: a design history*. London: V&A Publishing, 2009. 68.

⁵⁰⁶ Krah, *Chinese Ceramics*, 968, no. 2011.

⁵⁰⁷ Holl, *Fundkomplexe*, 34.

a jar dated to the Chenghua period (1465–1487).⁵⁰⁸ The style of the cup and the light blue painting indicates that the vessel can probably be dated to the seventeenth century. The archaeological context in this case is unfortunate, as the piece was inventoried as a stray from the territory of the Royal Palace.



Figure 107: Wine cup decorated with a Dharma wheel
Buda Royal Palace, inv. no. BHM 60.28.1.



Figure 108: Vase with a Dharma wheel
Tie, 江西藏全集—明代（下），37.

Figure 109 shows an example of the type that is decorated with a **landscape** design on the outside and was probably also decorated in the well; the inner wall is undecorated. There are double lines under the rim on both sides and around the footring on the outside. The cup is decorated with a bright white glaze and underglaze light blue painting. Another version of the landscape decoration is shown in Figure 110. This small bowl features a landscape motif in the well surrounded by double lines, painted with underglaze blue that is almost black at some points. The outside also features decoration, which is unidentifiable as it is fragmentary. The glaze is bluish-white, with some sand grains and marks of bubbling during firing in it; the base of the footring is unglazed.

⁵⁰⁸ Tie, 江西藏全集—明代（下），37. About the Dharma wheel see C.A.S. Williams, *Chinese Symbolism and Art Motifs. A Comprehensive Handbook on Symbolism in Chinese Art Through the Ages with over 400 Illustrations*, 4th ed. (Tuttle Publishing, 2006), 399–402.



Figure 109: Cup with landscape decoration
Buda Royal Palace, BHM no inv. no.



Figure 110: Small bowl with landscape decoration
Buda Royal Palace, inv. no. BHM 66.239.14.

Figures 111 and 112 depict two other types of **landscape** decoration, which probably originate from the seventeenth century based on their stylistic features. They were both registered as stray finds. The rim fragment in Figure 111 was collected at Corvin Square. It features a landscape with a pavilion below a cloud, painted in dark blue underglaze pigment and covered with white glaze. The wall fragment in Figure 112 was unearthed at Táncsics Mihály Street and is decorated with a pavilion, a plum tree, and a pagoda in the distance, painted with a lighter blue underglaze pigment and covered with a white glaze. The well was also decorated based on the pigment fragments visible on the sherds.

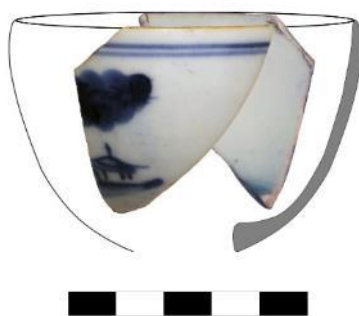


Figure 111: Cup with landscape decoration
Buda Town, BHM no inv. no.



Figure 112: Cup with landscape decoration
Buda Town, inv. no. BHM 66.128.1.

The pair of small bowls shown in Figures 113 and 114 also belong to the transitional type. Both vessels were unearthed from the site of the Teleki Palace in Szent György Square, in the direct vicinity of the Pasha's Palace and the medieval Royal Palace. They probably belong to the same set, as their decoration is very similar, and the style of their mark is almost identical. The marks are the reign marks of Emperor Xuande (1426–1435), but based on their stylistic

features, they can be dated to the seventeenth century. This dating is partly supported by the context of one of the vessels (Figure 114), which was accompanied by other Ottoman-period finds.⁵⁰⁹ The other bowl (Figure 113) was found in a modern, mixed layer of debris; therefore, its context does not contribute to a more precise dating.⁵¹⁰



Figure 113: Transitional cup with Xuande mark
Buda Town, BHM no inv. no.

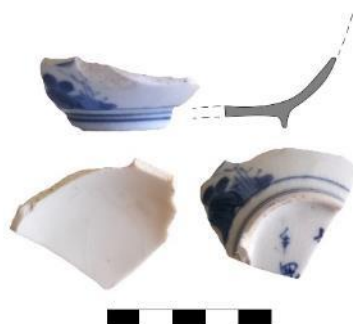


Figure 114: Transitional cup with Xuande mark
Buda Town, BHM no inv. no.

Another pair of the same small bowls appears in the Eger Castle (Figure 115). These four cups are very similar in style and design, as well as in the style of the writing of the mark. Although the two vessels in Buda clearly and unmistakably bear the mark of Emperor Xuande (1426–35) (Figures 113 and 114), in the case of the Eger pieces, none are such simple cases. The sherd shown in Figure 115a is either marked with the name of Xuande (1426–35) or Zhengde (1506–21); the way the cup broke makes it impossible to decide; while the one in Figure 115b is most likely meant to be marked with the name of Xuande, but with incorrect and messy characters. This type can probably be dated to the seventeenth century, based on the context of the Buda pieces. One of the Eger sherds was found in the Szép Bastion (Figure 115a), the other in the Northern Zwinger, next to the Episcopal Palace, the later residence of the *beylerbeyi* of Eger (Figure 115b). These contexts do not refute the seventeenth-century dating, but neither do they provide a more precise one.

⁵⁰⁹ BTM RA inventory nos. 1883–99, July 8, 1998, in *Excavation log*, 33.

⁵¹⁰ BTM RA inventory nos. 1883–99, August 28 and 31, 1998, in *Excavation log*, 63.



*Figure 115: A pair of transitional cups with unclear reign marks
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM a) 2010.50.2. and b) V2012.155.1.*

Figures 116 to 118 show cups from the Eger Castle that can be considered transitional. Figure 116 shows more decoration on the outer wall, with what is possibly a stylized plant or flower motif. It also has a smudged line under the rim on the inside and clear double lines under the rim on the outside. The sherd presented in Figure 117 also belongs to a plain white cup, with a single insect painted on the outside. It was found in the Earth Bastion; therefore, precise dating based on archaeological context is not possible, but it might be datable to the seventeenth century. The sherd shown in Figure 118 belongs to a small bowl collected from the area of the Dobó Bastion and the Varkoch Gate. The specific context is not known, but it was probably collected from a pit and not the landscaping of the 1960s, as the latter is usually indicated in the inventory entry. The vessel is decorated with a dark blue underglaze-painted decoration featuring a plant motif in a band directly under the rim. It is possible that the piece was made in the seventeenth century, the color of the paint, however, is characteristic of the Wanli period (1573–1620); therefore, it might date back to the first half of the seventeenth century.



*Figure 116: Transitional cup
Eger Castle
inv. no. DICM V2012.70.1.*



*Figure 117: Transitional cup with
an insect motif
Eger Castle
inv. no: DICM 60.37.9.*



*Figure 118: Transitional cup
Eger Castle
inv. no. DICM V2012.92.18.*

Figure 119 demonstrates the case of two interesting pairs of cups unearthed in Eger Castle. The first pair is represented by Figure 119a and Figure 119b. The interesting feature of these cups is that the 'b' cup seems to be a more abstract version of the 'a' one. The latter is a thin-walled cup with delicate, dark blue underglaze decoration and a bluish-white glaze. The outer wall is decorated with flower and plant motifs; the inside of the rim is decorated with a geometric motif. Fragments of a flower motif can be seen in the well. The top right piece

features a similar flower and plant motif on the outside; however, the inside is not decorated, the porcelain material is greyish-white, and the glaze is more of a light blue than a bluish-white. The profile and shape of the two cups are very similar. The sherd in Figure 119a was collected from the vicinity of the Episcopal Palace and the one in Figure 119b from the Setét Gate, neither of them from well-datable archaeological contexts. The case of the sherds in Figures 119c and 119d is very similar: the sherd in Figure 119c is a delicately painted cup made of pure white porcelain, painted with blue underglaze motives of stylized *ruyi* and *lingzhi*, covered with bluish-white glaze, and with no decoration on the inside. The sherd in Figure 119d, however, is painted with the exact same decoration, but its material is slightly greyish, and the glaze is more greyish- than bluish-white. The sherd in Figure 119c was collected from the Episcopal Palace together with the sherd in Figure 119d (the other sherd is not listed in the inventory database). The motif found on these two pieces has a parallel in the Topkapı collection (Figure 120), dated to the mid-seventeenth century, corresponding to the transitional categorization.⁵¹¹



Figure 119 Unusual pairs of cups from Eger

⁵¹¹ Krahl, *Chinese Ceramics*, vol. 3., p. 968., cat. no. 2013.

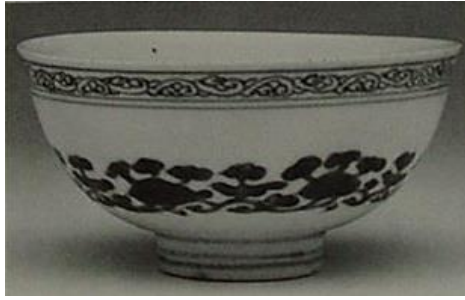


Figure 120 Krahrl, *Chinese Ceramics*, vol. 3., p. 968., cat. no. 2013.

One cup with no parallels was unearthed in the Buda Royal Palace (Figure 121), which is decorated with a banana or plantain leaf (jiāoyèwén 蕉叶纹) in the well. The outside decoration is too fragmentary for an assessment, but the color of the glaze, the lighter blue color of the paint, and the airy design of the decoration suggest a seventeenth-century dating, possibly Transitional period. Even though it is not often seen in collections or publications, the banana leaf is not an unknown motif on porcelains, mostly used for border decorations.⁵¹²



Figure 121 Cup decorated with a banana leaf
Buda Royal Palace, inv. no. BHM 61.65.1.

⁵¹² Welch, *Chinese Art. A Guide to Motifs and Visual Imagery*, pp., 36-37. and 444. fig. 483.

Qing Dynasty (清代 Qīngdài, 1644-1911)

Kangxi period (康熙 Kāngxī, 1662-1722)

Five types can be confidently dated to the Kangxi period. These are cups with **lotus and lingzhi decoration**; three types of blue and white cups with a **monochrome glaze** on their outer walls that is either brown, red, or celadon green; and the **white monochrome** type.

The cups with a **brown or celadon glaze** are basically the same type (Figures 122 and 123); they both can appear with either a landscape or a flower or fruit basket motif in the well. Another possible decorative feature is simply a double horizontal line around the rim and the well.⁵¹³ The “celadon glaze” on the blue and white porcelains was named after the celadons described above, as it features a similar turquoise green color on the outside, though mostly in a lighter shade.

Brown-colored glaze appears in several shades, which the secondary literature differentiates as iron-brown, iron-red, soy-brown, or coffee-brown. Considering that my experience of the parallels is limited to publications and their pictures, I refrain from making note of this difference, and simply refer to this type as “brown-glazed blue and white.” One sherd in the assemblage, however, is inarguably red- and not brown-glazed (Figure 124). It belongs to the wall of a small bowl, and no decoration can be seen on the inside. Its analogy appears in a collective Jiangxi porcelain catalogue featuring a crane bird among plants in the well.⁵¹⁴

Regarding the more precise dating in the case of the Kangxi period, it is crucial to ascertain whether they were made in the seventeenth century, which is still the Ottoman period, or in the eighteenth century, when the Ottoman influence had already ceased in Hungary. Based on stylistic observations, the types presented above are probably the products of the last decades of the seventeenth century; but there are brown-glazed pieces in the assemblage that can instead be dated to the eighteenth century. The archaeological context of the finds is only available in the case of the red-glazed sherd (Figure 124), as the other two are stray finds. The red-glazed piece was collected from a confidently dated Ottoman-period layer; therefore, it cannot be later than the end of the seventeenth century.⁵¹⁵ This suggests that this type can be dated to the seventeenth-century part of the Kangxi period, before the re-occupation of Eger from the Ottomans, i.e. 1662–1686.

⁵¹³ For an analogy of the brown-glazed type see Zhang, *Complete Collection of Ceramic Art*, 197.

⁵¹⁴ Tie, *江西藏全集—清代 (上)*, 88.

⁵¹⁵ Holl, *Fundkomplexe*, 27.



*Figure 122 Cup with brown glaze
Buda Royal Palace, inv. no. BHM 66.229.9.*



*Figure 123 Cup with celadon glaze
Buda Royal Palace, BHM no inv. no.*



*Figure 124 Cup sherd with red glaze
Buda Royal Palace, inv. no. BHM 51.136*

外红釉内青花鹭莲纹碗

清 康熙

高5.9厘米 口径11.4厘米 足径4.6厘米

重120克

景德镇陶瓷馆藏

Blue-and-white bowl with egret and lotus design inside and red glaze outside

Kangxi period, Qing Dynasty

Height: 5.9cm

Diameter of mouth: 11.4cm Diameter of foot: 4.6cm

Weight: 120g

Jingdezhen Museum of Pottery and Porcelain Collection



敞口，深腹壁，圈足略高，底青花双圈内“大清康熙年制”楷书；外壁施以红釉，红釉是以铜为着色剂的高温釉，创始于元代景德镇窑，明代永乐、宣德时达到顶峰，以后历代鲜有烧造成功之器，多以矾红代替铜红，清康熙时铜红釉得以恢复，红釉色泽略泛黑红，但色调均匀，釉面见有细小的桔皮纹。内口沿饰一周青花锦地纹，碗心青花双圈内绘鹭莲纹饰。鹭与“禄”谐音，莲与“连”谐音，寓意一路连科。以鹭鸶为瓷器纹饰始见于唐代长沙窑，宋代时此类纹饰已经成熟，明代后期更为常见，寓意明显。清康熙时此纹饰虽承袭明代风格，但构图协调，画面清新，写实与夸张相结合，自然生动，特别是青花分水技法的成熟，使画面具有极强的立体感。

88

Figure 125 Tie, 江西藏全集—清代（上），88.

Regarding the **brown-glazed blue and white type**, two pieces do not belong to those confidently connected to the Kangxi period (1662–1722). The larger bowl shown in Figure 126 is covered with a white crazed glaze, decorated with an oily brown glaze on the outside and a dark blue crane in the well. The sherd was also collected from the southwestern part of Szent György Square from a mixed, grey layer of debris. The crazed glaze is similar to the Zhangzhou ware, but no Zhangzhou analogies were found for this brown-glazed type. Due to the lack of analogies and informative archaeological context, this sherd cannot be dated more precisely than the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The other brown-glazed type (Figure 127 can most likely be dated to the Kangxi period (1662–1722), but no analogies can support this dating. The bowl is unusually large, with a footring diameter of 7.5 cm. It is decorated with a reddish-brown glaze on the outside and a dark blue underglaze painting depicting a landscape featuring a pagoda and possibly a pavilion in the well and a flower fragment on the inner wall. Besides its

stylistic features, the archaeological context also indicates that it was made in the Kangxi period, as it was found in a transitory layer between the modern and the Ottoman periods.⁵¹⁶



Figure 126 Brown glazed bowl with a crane in the well
Buda Town, BHM no inv. no.



Figure 127 Bowl with brown glaze and
landscape in the well
Buda Town, BHM no inv. no.

Cups with lotus and *lingzhi* decoration are the second largest part of the assemblage in number, represented by around 247 pieces, thus c. 9% of the entire material (examples: Figure 128 to 130). Analogies for this type are not found in the catalogues. It is covered in a bluish-white glaze, with bright blue underglaze decoration featuring lotus and *lingzhi* sprays on the outer wall, and a lotus or other blossom in the well. The stylistic features of this type fit the Wanli period (1573–1620), but analogies from the Eger assemblage with Qing-period reign marks show that they were most likely produced in the Kangxi period (1662–1722), presented in Figure 130.



Figure 128 Cup with lotus and lingzhi decoration
Buda Town, BHM no inv. no.



Figure 129 Cup with lotus and lingzhi decoration
Pécs, inv. no. JPM K.79.1.55.

⁵¹⁶ BTM RA inventory nos. 1883–99, in *Excavation log*, 81 (September 30, 1998, Istálló/7).



Figure 130 'Lotus and lingzhi' type cups from Eger with reign marks

It is represented by several variants. The outer wall of the cup in Figure 131 is decorated with *lingzhi* and chrysanthemum. All other features are similar to the lotus and *lingzhi* variant of the type. In Buda, one cup of the same decoration was found at the Dísz tér site, along with a cup of the lotus and *lingzhi* variant. The pieces were collected from layers confidently dated to the Ottoman period.⁵¹⁷ The type is represented by 8 sherds in Eger, four of which belong to the vessel depicted below. The chrysanthemum and *lingzhi* version is also represented in the Topkapıcollection, dated to the mid- to late seventeenth century.⁵¹⁸

⁵¹⁷ BTM RA inventory no. 1911–2000, July 16, 1999, in *Excavation log*, 7.

⁵¹⁸ Krahl, *Chinese Ceramics*, vol. 3., p. 972. cat. no. 2027.



Figure 131 Cup decorated with chrysanthemum and lingzhi
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V2012.78.1-4.



Figure 132 Cup decorated with chrysanthemum and lingzhi
Buda Town, inv. no. BHM 99.101.1.162.

Cups with lotus and *lingzhi* decoration are the most common in the “abstract” variant both in Eger and Buda. However, in Eger, more variants of the same motif appear. One such variant is the type with **outlined lotus and *lingzhi* decoration that is not filled in** (Figures 133 and 134). The two examples show two slightly different stylistic variants of the same type of motif. Both cups bear a mark, the readable one in Figure 133 probably being *Da Qing dingwei nian zhi* (= made in the *dingwei* year of the Great Qing Dynasty), which, considering the occupation timeline of Eger, is 1667; or *Da Qing dinghai nian zhi* (大清丁亥年制 *Dà qīng dīnghài nián zhì* = made in the *dinghai* year of the Great Qing Dynasty), referring to 1647, if only the Qing dynasty years of the Ottoman occupation in Eger (1644–1686) are taken into account. The sherds of the vessel are inventoried as stray finds; therefore, the archaeological context cannot support the dating of the mark. The other sherd was collected from the Earth Bastion (Figure 134, the context of which was layers of mixed modern and early modern debris. In light of the pieces with marks discussed below, I argue that the vessel with the readable mark can be connected to the Kangxi period (1662–1722), and therefore, the mark probably refers to the *dingwei* year (i.e., 1667).



Figure 133 Eger Castle DICM V2012.168.1-2. and 4.



Figure 134 Eger Castle DICM 2010.42.1.

Four other cups with lotus and *lingzhi* decoration bear marks (Figure 130 above). One example (Figure 130, top left) has half of a date mark, only showing *Da Qing ding*[...] [*nian*]*zhi*; ergo, it is half of the named year that is missing, making it impossible to identify the year. Regarding the Qing dynasty years of the Ottoman occupation in Eger (1644–1687), every tenth year of every decade was a *ding* year, namely, 1647 (丁亥 *dīnghài*), 1657 (丁酉 *dīngyǒu*), 1667 (丁未 *dīngwèi*), 1677 (丁巳 *dīngsì*), and 1687 (丁卯 *dīngmǎo*).

Two cups in Figure 130 (top right and bottom left) bear the reign mark of Emperor Chonghua (1465–1487) in two different styles, on two stylistically similar cups, proving that the reign marks do not match the period of production. The contradiction might be dissipated somewhat by the last cup in Figure 130 (bottom right), which bears the reign mark of Kangxi (1667–1722), indicating that this type, with all its variants discussed in this section, might be dated to his reign period, and were produced in the second half of the seventeenth century. Regarding their archaeological context, one piece was collected in the Northern Zwinger from a layer of mixed debris; one from an unidentified site; one is unknown; and one originates from a site outside of the castle area, thus from the town.

Three other lotus and *lingzhi* types are to be mentioned in connection with the lotus-decorated pieces (Figures 135 to 137). These types are based on rim sherds, which, unfortunately, do not have any matching basal fragments. The first one is a stylistically common lotus type with an out-leaning rim—which makes it outstanding among the majority straight rim vessels of the discussed assemblages—and is only represented by three sherds, probably belonging to the same vessel (Figure 135). The other two sherds in Figures 136 and 137 have a

similar rim decoration, but their walls are painted with different flower motifs. Apart from the rim decoration, another common feature of the two fragments is the barely visible remains of gilding over the glaze. Gold as an enamel was first used at the end of the seventeenth century,⁵¹⁹ but experiments with non-fired gilding probably happened before that. Based on the fact that the gilding is almost completely gone from the surface of the vessels, it was probably not enamel but rather overglaze, non-fired gilding. These sherds were found in the Eger Castle, two in the Episcopal Palace (Figures 135 and 136) and the third one (Figure 137) in the Earth Bastion; therefore, their archaeological context does not contribute to a more precise dating. A direct parallel of Figure 136 was unearthed from the Buda Royal Palace (BHM 83/7-tg). It is not inventoried, but the abbreviation on the base most likely refers to an Ottoman pit from the northern forecourt of the medieval royal palace.⁵²⁰



*Figure 135 Cup with lotus motif
and outward-leaning rim
Eger Castle
inv. no. DICM V2012.156.2.*



*Figure 136 Cup with lotus
decoration
Eger Castle
inv. no. DICM V2012.132.4.*



*Figure 137 Cup with floral
decoration
Eger Castle
inv. no. DICM 2010.33.2.*

Another unique piece is depicted in Figure 138. This cup is covered in a bluish-white glaze, with light blue underglaze decoration on the outside and no decoration on the inside. The outside decoration features a floral motif among horizontal lines, and the flowers' petals are decorated with **yellow enamel**. The size of the sherd indicates a wine cup; the light blue underglaze painting points to the seventeenth century. It was found in a modern layer of the Csikós udvar (Horseherd Courtyard) site at the southwestern part of Szent György tér.⁵²¹

⁵¹⁹ Pierson, *Earth, Fire and Water*, 43.

⁵²⁰ Magyar Károly, "Ásatások a Budavári Palota területén és annak északi előterében 1982-1991 között [Excavations at the Palace in Buda Castle District and at its northern foreground between 1982 and 1991]," *Budapest Régiségei* 29 (2007): 109–15.

⁵²¹ Budapest I., Budavári Palota – Nyugati várkert [Buda Royal Palace – Western castle garden], 2007, July 5, 2007, in *Excavation log*, trench 22, layer 4. Here I would like to thank Anikó Tóth, archaeologist at the Budapest History Museum, who kindly handed over the documentation of this excavation to me.

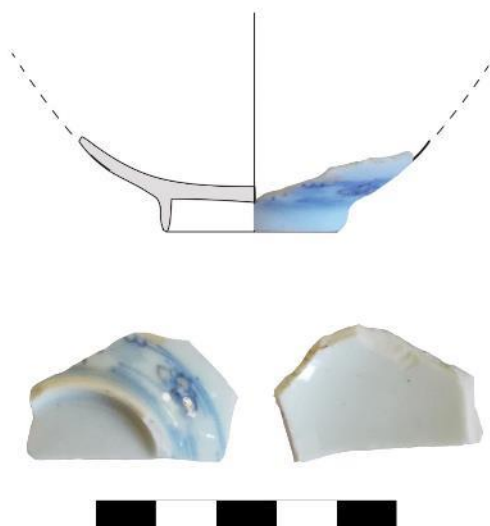


Figure 138 Blue and white cup with yellow enamel
Buda Royal Palace, BHM no inv. no.

Figure 139 demonstrates the **white monochrome** type. The most famous type of white porcelain was made in Dehua, consequently, it is called Dehua porcelain. Its production began in the Yongle period (1403–1424), and it was still produced in the Wanli period (1573–1620). The variant that brought the type fame overseas was the so-called *blanc de chine*, the production of which began in the sixteenth century and was the most popular during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁵²² The technique of producing creamy white figurines and vessels was perfected by the mid-sixteenth century.⁵²³ As *blanc de chine* gained its popularity through the figurines, simple cups are much less published. The demonstrated piece was a stray find from the Royal Palace excavations; thus, it is difficult to date more closely based on archaeological context. The most extensive publication of *blanc de chine cups* can be found in the Dresden Porcelain Collection, all dated to the Shunzhi and Kangxi periods (1643-1722).⁵²⁴

Another type of white monochrome porcelain has one horizontal light blue line under the rim and has no other visible decoration (Figure 140). Since all these pieces are rim and wall sherds, some of them could also belong to the celadon glaze type featuring a landscape scene in the well, which is difficult to determine as the celadon glaze on some of such vessels is so

⁵²² Suzanne G. Valenstein, *A Handbook of Chinese Ceramics* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1989), 203.

⁵²³ Ching-Ling Wang, *Blanc de Chine*, Dehua Kilns – Introduction. The Royal Dresden Porcelain Collection, Royal East Asian Porcelain, Dresden Porcelain Project, Published January 2024.
<https://royalporcelaincollection.skd.museum/catalogue/1/text/270> (Accessed 2/2/2024).

⁵²⁴ Dresden Porcelain Project, Dehua Kilns 3: Utility Wares and Decorative Pieces. A direct parallel is dated to 1650-1720 <https://royalporcelaincollection.skd.museum/catalogue/1/object/2080?object=2424621505> (Accessed 2/2/2024).

light they can be mistaken for a slightly turquoise-colored white glaze, such as the one shown on Figure 142. One more type is represented by the sherd excavated at the castle of Eger, which has double light blue lines on both sides under the rim, which is outward leaning, and the outer wall has four drilled holes along the fracture line, indicating repair with a metal wire (Figure 141). The piece was collected from the Szép Bastion and can probably be dated to the seventeenth century.



Figure 139 Buda Royal Palace, BHM BVP_K2016

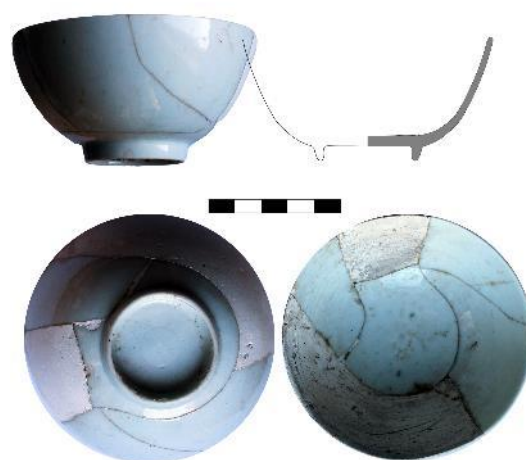


Figure 140 Eger Castle 2010.22.1.

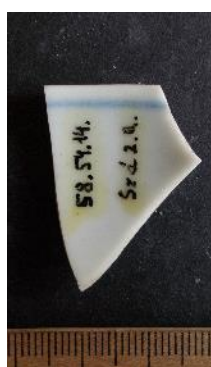


Figure 141 Buda Royal Palace 58.54.14.



Figure 142 Eger Castle 2010.57.1.

A special type of white porcelain is those cups that are incised with a dragon figure on the outside (Figures 143 and 144). This incision represents the true *anhua* style, only properly visible when held against the light, as represented in Figure 144. Parallels of the of this dragon incision can be found in the Topkapıcollection, although the inside of those bowls are also incised,

unlike in the case of the Eger sherds, where the inside is plain.⁵²⁵ The Topkapıbowls are dated to the late sixteenth century, which is also possible in the case of the Eger sherds.



Figure 143 Cup sherd with an anhua dragon
Eger Castle, DICM no inv. no.



Figure 144 Cup sherd with an anhua dragon
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.2012.85.2.

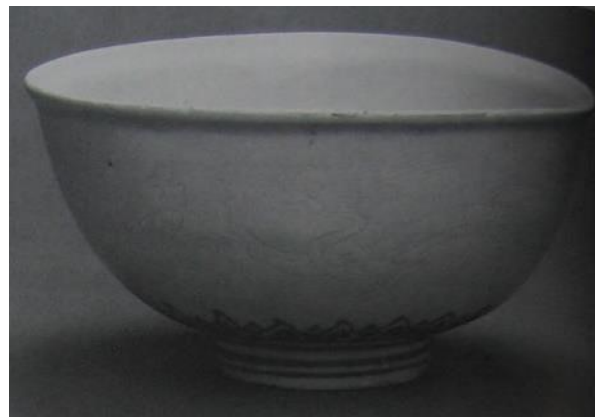


Figure 145 Krahl, *Chinese Ceramics*, vol. 2., p. 716. no. 1251.

Another cup with sand stuck to its base is shown in Figure 146. This vessel is decorated with a motif that is similar to the lotus and *lingzhi* type but is painted in an abstract style. The painting is dark blue, at some points almost black, the glaze is creamy bluish white, and it has sand stuck in the base and on the outside of the footring. The decoration features what seem like abstract clouds and stylized tendrils on both sides. The mark on the base reads Da Qing nianzhi (= made during the Qing Dynasty), indicating a dating of the second half of the seventeenth century, possibly Kangxi period. The sherd was collected from the Northern Zwinger site, from a mixed layer of early modern and modern debris.

⁵²⁵ Krahl, *Chinese Ceramics*, vol. 2., p. 716. no. 1251.

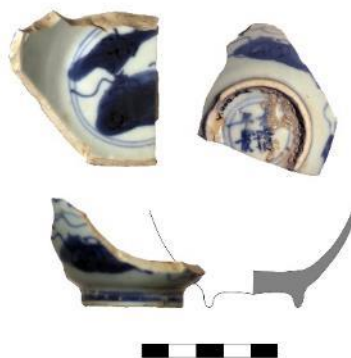


Figure 146 Eger Castle, 2012.79.2.

Eighteenth century

Those sherds which are definitely from after 1750 are not dealt with in this work. Regarding the first half of the eighteenth century, there are two types that can probably be dated to this period: the so-called, and brown-glazed pieces from the eighteenth century, discussed below.

Eighteenth-century brown glaze

Although some brown bowls confidently dated to the Kangxi period appear in Eger, as shown at the beginning of this subchapter, there are two vessels that are different from those with direct analogies. The example in Figure 147 is a rim sherd of a large bowl, decorated with blue underglaze painting on the inside, featuring a flower blossom and geometric design in a band under the rim, and covered with brown glaze on the outside. As the piece is not listed in the inventory database, its site of collection within the Eger Castle is unknown; based on the inventory number, however, it was probably collected during the first season of the excavation in 1957, which concentrated on the northern part of the castle, that is, the Episcopal Palace (later Pasha's residence) and its vicinity. The sherds of the vessel shown in Figure 148 also belong to a large bowl. On the inside, it is decorated with light blue underglaze painting covered with a bluish-white glaze; on the outside, it is covered with an unusually light brown glaze. One of the sherds was unearthed in the Northern Zwinger, and the other one was collected in the Episcopal Palace. Based on their style, the two vessels can probably be dated to the Kangxi period (1662–1722), but it is uncertain whether to the seventeenth or the eighteenth century.



Figure 147 Bowl with brown glaze
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.57.1.

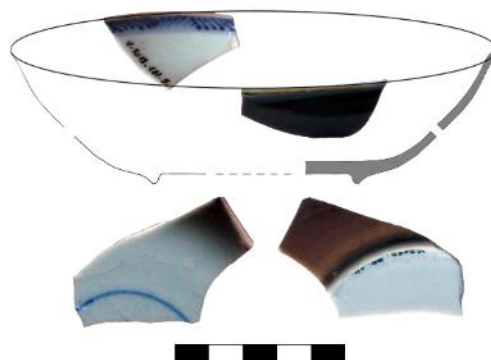


Figure 148 Bowl with brown glaze
Eger Castle
inv. no. DICM V2012.85.14. and V2012.131.9.

Chinese imari

Figures 149 a and b are most likely Chinese *imari*,⁵²⁶ while ‘c’ and ‘d’ might belong to this type or the earlier, late sixteenth- to early seventeenth-century enamel types. During the regression in production of the Transitional period (1620s to 1680s), the Arita kilns in Japan started filling the gap in demand from the Western European merchants. The Japanese products were called “Imari” by the Western Europeans, as most of the commerce was dispatched from the port of Imari in Japan. After production in Jingdezhen resumed to its earlier capacity, the Chinese potters started producing their own version of *imari* vessels, including blue and white, blue and white *doucai*, and blue and white *wuca*i wares. Production of Chinese *imari* started in the early eighteenth century, the first such ware possibly having been produced around 1700.⁵²⁷

⁵²⁶ Here I would like to thank Professor Stacey Pierson of SOAS University for her kind suggestion for the identification of this type. For more information about *imari* (mainly Japanese) see Lisa Rotondo-McCord and Peter James, *Imari: Japanese Porcelain for European Palaces* (New Orleans Museum of Art, 1997), 60–81., more recently on Chinese *imari*: Fang, *The History of Chinese Ceramics*, 1006–1010.

⁵²⁷ Fang, *The History of Chinese Ceramics*, 1006–1007.

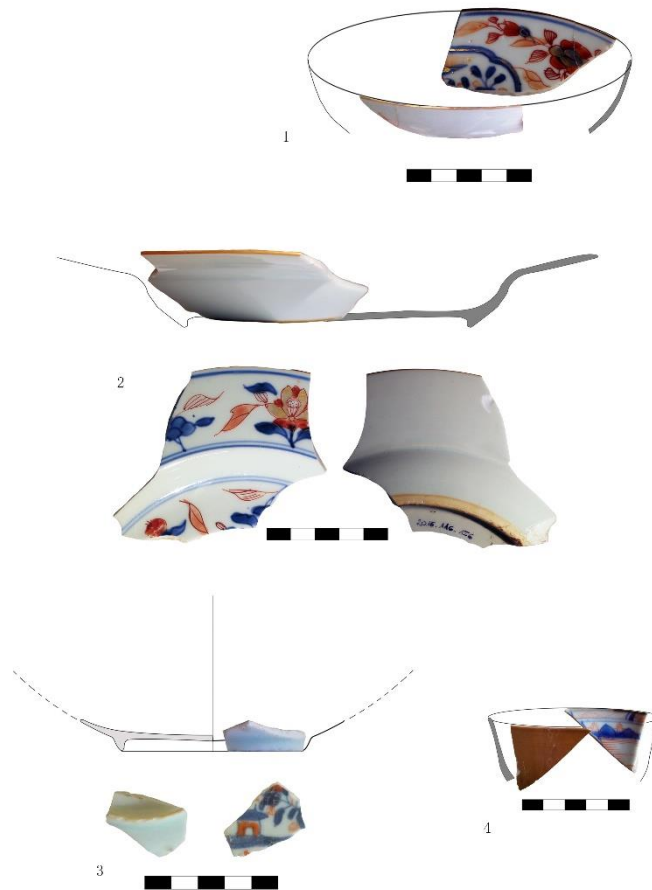


Figure 149 Examples of Chinese imari (1, 2) and other red-painted types (3, 4)

Blue and white

The cup below came to light from Buda's Civilian Town (Figure 150). It features a slightly bluish, crude glaze and a flower motif in the well and on the outer wall, painted in dim blue under the glaze. The outer base features a mark that is fragmentary but possibly reads *da chang* (大昌 dà chāng = great prosperity), used during the Qianlong period (乾隆 Qiánlóng 1736-1795) by the Shiwan kilns, Guangdong province.⁵²⁸

⁵²⁸ Davison, *Marks*, no. 284.



Figure 150 Blue and white cup with the mark *da chang*(?)
Buda Town, BHM no inv. no.

Conclusion

Based on the analyzed sherds, roughly half of the assemblage can be dated to the Wanli period (1573–1620), the majority of which is represented by two types: one type featuring an abstract peach motif and the other decorated with lotus and *lingzhi*. These two types can be considered mass-produced cups made in Jingdezhen, probably in the Guanying kiln, mostly dating to the seventeenth century, in some cases probably to the late sixteenth century. Some fifteenth and sixteenth-century types are also present in the material, but these are less numerous in number (see Chapter 5) and also include other vessel forms than cups. These are also products of the Jingdezhen kilns.

Besides the blue and white porcelain types, celadon can also be found within the material. The dating and origin of these celadon vessels are uncertain, as their identification would require more research and material tests. They can be products of the Longquan kilns, but as Jingdezhen and Zhangzhou, for example, also produced Longquan celadon imitations, it is not possible to determine their origin at this stage of research. Earlier research has not raised this question; therefore, it has not been explored before.

Types dating to the eighteenth century are also found in small numbers, interestingly mostly from Hungarian sites, where the Ottoman occupation ended by 1699. This indicates that some remaining Ottoman inhabitants were still using these vessels or that the Hungarians also developed a taste for it. This is also an aspect of the Chinese porcelain unearthed in Hungary that is unexplored and needs further research. Considering that there is no indication of the Hungarians using Chinese porcelain during the Ottoman period and that the country suffered severely from the continuous wars during the Ottoman occupation, especially in the last decades

of the seventeenth century, it is more likely that it was the remaining Ottoman inhabitants who continued using such vessels.

Iznik and Kütahya ware

The international research of Iznik ware is not as broad as that of Chinese porcelain, although some globally influential works have been produced on the subject. Arthur Lane, as in the case of Persian and Chinese pottery, also worked on Ottoman ceramics and has laid the foundations for later studies on this type of material culture.⁵²⁹ After the first excavations at Iznik in 1969, it has been proven beyond doubt that the previously wrongly attributed ceramic types, named after their places of discovery, were, in fact, made in Iznik, such as the Miletus, Golden Horn, Damascus, and Rhodes wares.⁵³⁰ This significant discovery was made during the excavations of the Sultan Orhan mosque (built in 1335) in Iznik, followed by drillings of its vicinity. During these works, furnace ruins were excavated, along with half-finished and spoiled pieces, burning tripods, and other remains of kiln activity.⁵³¹ The fundamental publication of Iznik ceramics typology in the English language is written by Nurhan Atasoy and Julian Raby.⁵³² Their monograph is still the basis for identifying and dating Iznik pottery, as it is a comprehensive overview of the material found in the world's most significant collections. The merit of this monograph is its complex approach: the authors discuss written and imagery sources referring to Ottoman ceramics; they also conducted material tests on the unearthed sherds and thoroughly analyzed the objects from an art historical perspective. These methods provide a comprehensive typochronology that is currently still being referred to by scholars dealing with Iznik ware.

Another significant publication by John Carswell also serves as a basis for the typology of Iznik ware.⁵³³ An important novelty of this book is the argument that the Godman ewer and flask were in fact made in Kütahya in the early sixteenth century, as indicated by the Armenian inscription on them naming Kütahya as their production site. Carswell also argues that the two

⁵²⁹ Arthur Lane, "The Ottoman Pottery of Iznik," *Ars Orientalis* 2 (1957): 247–81.

⁵³⁰ Özkül Fındık, *Iznik Roma Tiyatrosu Kazı Bulundarı*, 8-9. About the first and second excavation campaigns see: Oktay Aslanapa, "İznik Kazılarında Ele Geçen Keramikler ve Çini Fırınları [Ceramics and Tile Kilns Uncovered in Iznik Excavations]," *Türk San'atı Tarihi Araştırma ve İncelemeleri* 2 (1969): 62–73. and Oktay Aslanapa, Şerare Yetkin, and Ara Altun, *Iznik Kiln Excavation. The Second Round 1981-1988* (T.T.T. Foundation, 1989).

⁵³¹ Özkül Fındık, *Iznik Roma Tiyatrosu Kazı*, p. 8. On the report of the Sultan Orhan Mosque excavations see Oktay Aslanapa, "İznik'te Sultan Orhan İmaret Kazısı [Excavation of the Sultan Orhan Imaret in Iznik]," *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı* 1 (1965): 16–31.

⁵³² Atasoy and Raby, *Iznik*.

⁵³³ John Carswell, *Iznik Pottery*, 3rd ed. (Interlink Books, 2007). (First edition published in 1998.)

major Ottoman production sites, Iznik and Kütahya were producing in parallel from the sixteenth century onwards, even though the heyday of Kütahya is dated to the eighteenth century.⁵³⁴ Since then, this observation has become a paradigm in Iznik (and Kütahya) ceramics research. The parallel production of the Iznik and Kütahya kilns also strongly concerns the coffee cups unearthed at the sites discussed in the present work, and it should be kept in mind in the case of some pieces discussed below. In recent decades, the research of Iznik ware has progressed with inquiries into the technological aspect of ceramics. Some results of material tests were published, and a deeper understanding of the technology of Iznik ware production was established.⁵³⁵

Regarding Turkey, ceramics have always been the focus of Turkish Ottoman-period archaeology. However, a comprehensive and systematic analysis of the Anatolian finds of locally produced and imported ceramics is still to be conducted.⁵³⁶ Yenişehirlioğlu's overview of present-day Ottoman archaeology in Turkey, discussing the different fields of archaeology separately within the period, demonstrates what can be concluded based on general research in the native secondary literature: excavations and publications of ceramic find assemblages and collections are uncommon and sporadic. One outstanding exception is the English-language publication of the large-scale excavations conducted at Saraçhane in Istanbul, which, among all the other periods, yielded a large number of sixteenth-seventeenth-century ceramics as well.⁵³⁷ Later, a Turkish-language monograph was published in two editions presenting the Ottoman ceramics unearthed at the Roman Theatre site in Iznik.⁵³⁸ In the past two decades not only archaeologists, but art historians have also turned their attention towards Ottoman ceramics, mainly concerning pieces produced in Iznik (fifteenth-seventeenth century), Kütahya (eighteenth century), Tekfur Palace (eighteenth-century), and Çanakkale (modern period), this attention resulting in a comprehensive monograph concerning these ceramics.⁵³⁹ Besides art historians, archaeologists have also begun publishing ceramic finds more and more often,

⁵³⁴ Carswell, *Iznik Pottery*, pp. 45-48.

⁵³⁵ E.g. Tülay Tulun et al., "An Archaeometric Study on Ancient Iznik Ceramics," *BAÜ Fen Bil. Enst. Dergisi* 4, no. 2 (2002): 34-44.; Sarah Paynter et al., "The Production Technology of Iznik Pottery – A Reassessment," *Archaeometry* 46, no. 3 (2004): 421-37.; Gulsu Simsek et al., "On-Site pXRF Analysis of Body, Glaze and Coloring Agents of the Tiles at the Excavation Site of Iznik Kilns," *Journal of the European Ceramic Society* 39 (2019): 2199-2209.

⁵³⁶ Yenişehirlioğlu, "Ottoman Anatolia", 189.

⁵³⁷ Harrison et al., *Excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul*, vol. 1.; Hayes, *Excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul*, vol. 2.

⁵³⁸ Özkul Fındık, *Iznik Roma Tiyatrosu Kazı Buluntuları*; eadem, *Iznik Sırlı*.

⁵³⁹ Öney and Çobanı eds., *Anadolu'da Türk devri çini ve seramik sanatı*.

mostly dealing with local productions, such as sgraffito wares and Iznik-produced vessels; but imports are also analyzed in a number of publications.⁵⁴⁰

The research of Iznik and Kütahya ware in Hungary is better established than the other four types discussed in the present work. The first publication of these objects is from 1944, written by Sándor Garády as part of his discussion of ceramic production of the Ottomans during their occupation of Hungary.⁵⁴¹ Garády recognized the “Turkish” or Ottoman provenance of these cups and identified the Iznik pieces as of Rhodes and Damascus origin, as it was believed at that time. Apparently, he did not know about the Kütahya production center, but he distinguished them from the rest since he identified the Kütahya pieces as products of “Asia Minor” (West Asia) without naming the center itself. The next publication of Iznik ware is from a site in the town of Buda that yielded one of the most outstanding pieces of the Hungarian material. It is a Damascus-style jug that has later become a demonstrative piece of subsequent publications discussing Iznik ware in Hungary.⁵⁴² After Garády and Zolnay, it was Győző Gerő, the pioneer of Ottoman archaeology in Hungary, who published Iznik and Kütahya ware, presenting them at international conferences.⁵⁴³ In the meantime, Gyöngyi Kovács published the Ottoman pottery collection of Szolnok, which has become the basis of further research into

⁵⁴⁰ E.g.: Nurşen Özkul Fındık, “VII. Turkish Glazed Pottery,” in *Amorium Reports II. Research Papers and Technical Reports*, ed. Chris S. Lightfoot, vol. 2, BAR International Series, Amorium Monograph Series 1170 (Archaeopress, 2003), 105–118., 205–11.; Nurşen Özkul Fındık, “Slip Painted Iznik Ceramics,” in *Çanak: Late Antique and Medieval Pottery and Tiles in Mediterranean Archaeological Contexts. Proceedings of the First International Symposium on Late Antique, Byzantine, Seljuk, and Ottoman Pottery and Tiles in Archaeological Context*, ed. Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan et al., Byzas 7 (Ege Yayınları, 2007), 531–44.; Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu, “İstanbul Arkeolojisi ve Çini/Seramik Üretim Merkezleri [Istanbul Archaeology and Tile/Ceramic Production Centers],” *İstanbul Araştırmaları Yıllığı* 1 (2012): 77–99.; Nurşen Özkul Fındık, “Ceramics as a Trade Stock in Anatolia/ Anadolu’da Ticari Emtia Olarak Seramik,” in *Discussions on Turkology. Questions and Developments of Modern Turkology Studies. Turkoloji Tartışmaları. Başarı ve Zaaflarıyla Çağdaş Türkoloji*, ed. Öztürk Emiroğlu et al. (University of Warsaw, 2014), 55–65.; V. Belgin Demirsar Arlı, “İznik Çini Fırınlari Kazısı Buluntularından İnsan Figürlü İki Sgraffito Kâse Parçasının Anadolu Seramik Sanatı ve pXRF Analizleri Kapsamında Değerlendirilmesi [An Evluation of Two Examples of Sgraffito Ceramics with Human Figures Unearthed in the İznik Tile Kilns Excavation in Terms of Anatolian Ceramic Art and pXRF Analysis Results],” *Türk Arkeoloji ve Etnografya Dergisi* 82 (2021): 57–73.; Korkmaz Şen and Yunus Emre Karasu, “Bitlis Kalesi Kazı Çalışmaları ve Porselen Fincan Buluntuları (Bitlis Castle Excavations and Porcelain Cup Finds),” *Fırat Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 32, no. 2 (2022): 725–35.; Yunus Emre Karasu and Nesrin Aydoğan İşler, “Tyana (Kemerhisar) Kazısı Geç Osmanlı Dönemi Fincan ve Lüle Buluntuları (Late Ottoman Cup and Pipe Finds in Tyana /Kemerhisar/ Excavations),” *Manisa Celal Bayar Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi/Manisa Celal Bayar University Journal of Social Sciences* 20, no. 3 (2022): 269–88.

⁵⁴¹ Garády Sándor, “Agyagművesség [Pottery Crafts],” in *Budapest története a törökkorban [History of Budapest during the Ottoman Period]*, by Fekete Lajos, Budapest története [History of Budapest] 3 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1944), 394.

⁵⁴² László Zolnay, “Kutatások a Tárnok Utca 9-13. Számú Telken” [Excavations on the Plot of Tárnok Street 9-13.],” *Budapest Régiségei* 23 (1973): 251. and fig. 10.; other publications: Gyöngyi Kovács, “Iznik Pottery in Hungarian Archaeological Research,” in *Turkish Flowers. Studies on Ottoman Art in Hungary*, ed. Ibolya Gerelyes (Hungarian National Museum, 2005), 71, fig. 2. (dating: c. 1540).

⁵⁴³ Gerő, “Türkische Keramik in Ungarn., and idem, “Anatolian Pottery.”

Iznik ware in Hungary. Later Gyöngyi Kovács and Ibolya Gerelyes have become the pillars of Ottoman pottery research in Hungary, including Iznik ware. Their numerous publications⁵⁴⁴ and a research project they conducted together⁵⁴⁵ have led to establishing a school of Iznik ware research in Hungary, making this type the most well-known out of the five types of ceramics discussed in the present dissertation. These works have drawn conclusions that form the primary research questions of the following chapter. These conclusions concern the social status of these wares and their general distribution within Ottoman Hungary and generally agree that Iznik ware was probably the most valued type of Asian ceramics and was widespread during the sixteenth century. In international scholarship, it has also been established that Chinese porcelain replaced Iznik ware in the consumption pattern of the Ottomans in the seventeenth century, which correlates with observations made by Kovács, Gerelyes, and Holl. These conclusions will be discussed in Chapter 5, reconsidered in the context of a larger material covering a wider geographical region.

In his comprehensive monograph about the fifteenth- to seventeenth-century finds of the Buda Royal Palace, Imre Holl also analyzed the Iznik assemblage, thus publishing the largest Iznik find complex in Hungary.⁵⁴⁶ This analysis follows the state of the art typochronology of the time, with a significant note regarding the Iznik-Kütahya parallel production, as well as raises the possibility of some pieces being made in Kütahya instead of Iznik. The fundamental studies mentioned above were followed by the publication of smaller assemblages, mostly from Buda and Szekszárd. A turn in the research of the ceramics of Anatolia and West Asia (as well as Iran) was brought by the material tests conducted on some of the finds. Two relatively recent publications discussing material tests conducted on the Eger faience or stonepaste assemblage and on sherds excavated at Buda Town sites brought a new perspective into the research of Iznik and Persian ware unearthed in Hungary. These petrographic analyses showed that some types traditionally identified as Persian turned out to be made in Iznik.⁵⁴⁷ Based on these results,

⁵⁴⁴ E.g. Gerelyes and Kovács eds., *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period in Hungary*; Ibolya Gerelyes, ed., *Turkish Flowers. Studies on Ottoman Art in Hungary* (Hungarian National Museum, 2005), especially the chapter written by Gyöngyi Kovács, “Iznik Pottery in Hungarian Archaeological Research;” and Gerelyes, “Types of Oriental Pottery in Archaeological finds from the 16th and 17th Centuries in Hungary.”

⁵⁴⁵ https://real.mtak.hu/203/1/37428_ZJ1.pdf; <http://nyilvanos.otka-palyazat.hu/index.php?menuid=930&lang=HU&num=37428>

⁵⁴⁶ Holl, *Fundkomplexe*, pp. 100-115.

⁵⁴⁷ Zay Orsolya, “Egri, hódoltság korabeli porcelán- és fajansztöredékek vizsgálata régészeti szemmel és SEM-EDS módszerrel. / Analysis of Porcelain and Faience Fragments from the Ottoman Period of Eger. The Archaeologist’s View and the SEM-EDS Method,” in *A múltnak kútja. Fiatal középkoros régészek V. konferenciájának tanulmánykötete. / The Fountain of the Past. Study Volume of the Fifth Annual Conference of Young Medieval Archaeologists*, ed. Rácz Tibor Ákos (Ferenczy Múzeum, 2014), 343–53.; English summary: p. 474. Table 1.4 is traditionally attributed to Persia, but here the petrography showed that it was definitely made in

some previously unidentified Iznik types will be discussed in this section. Unfortunately, these studies did not include questions concerning Kütahya ware. Thus, the problem of distinguishing parallel Iznik and Kütahya productions is still to be solved.

In Serbia, Belgrade is the most well-researched and well-published site. Apart from an early publication of Iznik ware in Serbia,⁵⁴⁸ it was the early 2000s that saw a growth in the number of publications.⁵⁴⁹ These publications built on the Hungarian scholarship that peaked in the early to mid-2000s. One relatively recent publication of Iznik ware unearthed in the Belgrade fortress places the material in context from the point of view of consumption, based on the petrographic analysis of the Iznik sherds, as well the analysis of their archaeological context.⁵⁵⁰ This approach allowed for a study from a wide perspective that drew conclusions regarding the consumption patterns that will be analyzed below in Chapter 5.

In the Romanian scholarship the works of Niculina Dinu shed light on the material regarding the territory of present-day Romania.⁵⁵¹ Her comprehensive work published with Daniela Tanăse on the Asian ceramic assemblages of three sites in the center of Timișoara in the Banat is not merely a publication of the sherds, but also an analysis of their social and historical context.⁵⁵² An interesting characteristic of the Romanian scholarship is that several types stylistically seem to be Persian, some also discussed in the Persian stonepaste section below, are identified as eighteenth-century Kütahya. This different interpretation calls for a thorough reconsideration of these types, and further supports the fact that this problem of proper identification of Kütahya, Persian, and Iznik pieces still needs to be solved. In Bulgaria two assemblages have been published, that of Sofia⁵⁵³ and that of Varna.⁵⁵⁴ The latter unfortunately is only in the form a short exhibition guide, but this one also contains several Persian-like pieces that are identified as eighteenth-century Kütahya.

Iznik.; and Márta Balla and Katalin Éder, “Budai lelőhelyekről előkerült török kori fajanszok anyagvizsgálata / Tests on Ottoman-Era Faience from Sites in Buda,” in *Mesterségek És Műhelyek a Kora Újkori És Középkori Magyarországon. Tanulmányok Holl Imre Emlékére / Crafts and Workshops in Hungary during the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period. Studies in Memory of Imre Holl*, ed. Elek Benkő, Gyöngyi Kovács, and Krisztina Orosz (Institute of Archaeology, Research Center for the Humanities, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2017), 95–112.

⁵⁴⁸ Balajović–Hadži-Pešić, “Налази турске керамике из Изника Nalazi turske keramike iz Iznika.”

⁵⁴⁹ E.g.: Vesna Bikić, “The Early Turkish Stratum on the Belgrade Fortress,” in *Çanak: Late Antique and Medieval Pottery and Tiles in Mediterranean Archaeological Contexts. Proceedings of the First International Symposium on Late Antique, Byzantine, Seljuk, and Ottoman Pottery and Tiles in Archaeological Context*, ed. Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan et al., Byzas 7 (Ege Yayınları, 2007), 515–22.; Jelena Živković et al., “Archaeology of Consumption in Ottoman Urban Centers.”

⁵⁵⁰ Živković et al., “Archaeology of Consumption”.

⁵⁵¹ See the works of Niculina Dinu in the Bibliography.

⁵⁵² Tanăse and Dinu, “Faianță și porțelan din epoca otomană descoperite în Timișoara.”

⁵⁵³ Stančeva, “Турски фаянс от София” and Guionova, “Céramique d’importation du XIVe au XVIIe s. en Bulgarie.”

⁵⁵⁴ Pletnov, *Порцелан и майолика от Варна*.

Iznik production started in the late fifteenth century and declined by the mid-seventeenth. During this time besides the characteristically Ottoman decorative styles, such as the Baba Nakkaş, Golden Horn, Damascus, and Rhodian, Chinese-inspired types have also been produced. These styles also mean a typochronology, except for the Chinese-inspired types, which can be observed both in the early and late fifteenth century, in two waves that are in some cases difficult to distinguish; as well as the revival of the Baba Nakkaş style in the late sixteenth century. The discussion of the finds follows this typochronology, keeping in mind that precise dating is only possible when the sherd is large enough to confidently link it to a parallel. Otherwise, attribution to the different types was made mainly based on stylistic evaluation, and partly on archaeological context where relevant.

The heyday of Kütahya ware is traditionally attributed to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, thus after the Ottoman period in Hungary, and is thought to be the continuation of Iznik ware after its decline by the end of the seventeenth century. At the same time, even in Hungarian research the problem of identifying some Iznik types from Kütahya ware has surfaced, as these two centers produced ceramics in parallel during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as discussed above. The case of the Hungarian archaeological material is somewhat different though, and some types that are either thought to be Iznik or in more cases Persian are identified as Kütahya based on parallels from the Turkish secondary literature.

Kütahya ware is separated into two timeframes: the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries and the eighteenth century. Later types are not discussed since that period is out of the scope of the present work, but it is important to note that in the case of Sofia and Varna, a significant number of the pieces can be categorized as modern, and some Kütahya pieces can be identified among them.

Iznik ware

Baba Nakkaş and the early blue and white styles

The earliest type that can be found in the Hungarian material is the Baba Nakkaş type. This is also believed to be the first distinctively Ottoman style of decorative ceramics, developed from the court of Mehmed II, and named after the master Baba Nakkaş, who was active in the last decades of the fifteenth century. The earliest pieces can be dated to the 1480s, and the style was in use up to the 1530s. During this time, several sub-styles can be observed, but the basic

characteristics remained similar.⁵⁵⁵ The diagnostic motif of this style is the hooked leaves which in some cases are similar to a tadpole.⁵⁵⁶ During this period, the so-called Potters' style and the Chinese-inspired blue and white style also appeared. The Baba Nakkaş style is represented by four finds, three from Hungary (Buda, Vác, and Visegrád) and one from Sofia.

The most spectacular example of this style was found in Visegrád and its latest publication is by Gyöngyi Kovács (Figure 151).⁵⁵⁷ The small bowl (d. 14 cm) was found in a context connected to 1544 and is believed to have arrived in Visegrád before the Ottomans, during the stay of King John Szapolyai in 1538. Based on its context and stylistic analysis it is dated to c. 1530-35,⁵⁵⁸ thus to a period when the Baba Nakkaş style was in decline. According to Kovács, the outer decoration is connected to the *lien zu* (蓮子 liánzǐ = lotus seed) or 'lotus seed' group, influenced by Chinese porcelain, as defined by Atasoy and Raby.⁵⁵⁹



Figure 151 Baba Nakkaş bowl from Visegrád
Kovács, "Iznik Pottery in Hungarian Research," p. 81. fig. 13.

Another example was excavated in Sofia, with a different outer decoration inspired by the Chinese lotus and *lingzhi* motif (Figure 152).

⁵⁵⁵ Atasoy and Raby, *Iznik*, 76-100.

⁵⁵⁶ Comparison made by Carswell, *Iznik Pottery*, p. 37.

⁵⁵⁷ Kovács, "Iznik Pottery in Hungarian Research," p. 81. fig. 13.

⁵⁵⁸ Kovács, "Iznik Pottery in Hungarian Research," 81.

⁵⁵⁹ Atasoy and Raby, *Iznik*, 127.



Figure 152 *Baba Nakkaş* plate from Sofia
SRHM, inv. no. 2214

A slightly earlier example is from the Castle of Vác (Figure 153). The sherd probably belongs to a smaller bowl, although it has a thick wall. The sherd is dated to c.1520 by Gyöngyi Kovács based on parallels of the motif found on the neck of a jar kept in Los Angeles.⁵⁶⁰ According to Atasoy and Raby, the jar represents a style that shows the eclipse of the *Baba Nakkaş*, and is leaning into a new style, the so called ‘Potters’ style’.⁵⁶¹

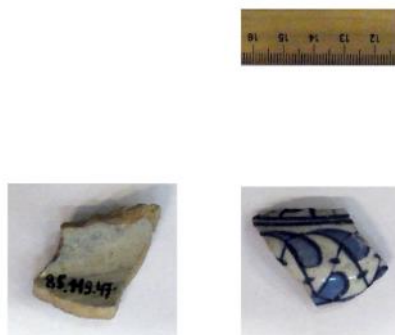


Figure 153 *Baba Nakkaş* bowl from Vác
inv. no. TIM 85.119.47.

The sherd of a plate unearthed in Sofia (Figure 154) was identified as “early blue and white” by Magdalena Stancheva, and thus was dated from the late fifteenth to the first half of the sixteenth century.⁵⁶² The characteristic leaves can also be observed on this sherd, with a light turquoise center, featuring a flower motif. A bowl with a similar motif in the well is published

⁵⁶⁰ Kovács, “Iznik pottery in Hungarian Research,” p.74. fig.6.; Atasoy and Raby, *Iznik*, p.106-107. fig. 127.

⁵⁶¹ Atasoy and Raby, *Iznik*, 107.

⁵⁶² Stancheva, “Turski fajans ot Sofija,” p. 125. and no. 35.

from the Godman Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum, dated c. 1525, but defined as part of the Golden Horn style based on the floral sprays on the inside.⁵⁶³



Figure 154 Baba Nakkaş plate from Sofia, inv. no. SRHM 767



Figure 155 Lane, "The Ottoman Pottery of Iznik," fig. 14-15.

The last piece, found in Buda, is discussed here because of the characteristic tadpole-like leaf motif featured on the outer wall (Figure 156). It was found in a layer dated to 1559-1579 by coins and filled with finds dating from the late fifteenth to the mid-sixteenth century.⁵⁶⁴ Similar decoration can be found on a cylindrical tankard unearthed in the Kurşunlu Cami in Kütahya, dated to probably 1520.⁵⁶⁵ Regarding other examples of the Baba Nakkaş style placed next to it in Atasoy and Raby's book, it is possible that the Buda piece is the earliest example of this type. Considering the history of Buda, it would seem logical that such an Iznik piece would appear there before it would make its way to Visegrád or Vác. Another parallel was found in the Belgrade Fortress. Its very close parallel is a vase neck sherd held in the Louvre, dated 1485-1515.⁵⁶⁶

⁵⁶³ Arthur Lane, "The Ottoman Pottery of Iznik", *Ars Orientalis* 2 (1957): p. 258. figs. 14-15.

⁵⁶⁴ Holl, *Fundkomplexe*, p.24. Grube XXVI.

⁵⁶⁵ Atasoy and Raby, *Iznik*, p. 96-97. fig. 99.

⁵⁶⁶ Louvre, MAO 449/403 <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010320549> (Accessed 07/05/2024).



Figure 156 Baba Nakkaş sherds o fa tankard(?) Buda Royal Palace, Holl Fundkomplexe, Abb 27/1 + Taf.4/2.



Figure 157 Atasoy and Raby, *Iznik*, p. 97, fig. 99.

Chinese imitations

From the beginning of Iznik ware production, Chinese porcelain has served as an inspiration for the decoration of the vessels, but from the 1520s onwards, it seems that inspiration turned more into imitation. Iznik potters started reproducing the decorative motives of antique blue and white porcelain of the Yuan and early Ming periods (fourteenth and fifteenth centuries).⁵⁶⁷ Later, the imitations changed into Chinese-inspired decorations called *Hatayi* in Ottoman, deriving from the Ottoman term for China, and in general, they are understood as the scrolling floral elements inspired by chinoiserie.⁵⁶⁸

Altogether 25 pieces were identified as Hatayi-style Iznik ware among the Iznik material, 11 of which are from Sofia, 5 from Pécs, 2-2 from Buda and Varna, and 1-1 from Eger, Esztergom, Plovdiv, Szolnok, and Vác. The group is dated to the 1530s.⁵⁶⁹

⁵⁶⁷ Atasoy and Raby, *Iznik*, 121.

⁵⁶⁸ Atasoy and Raby, *Iznik*, 76.

⁵⁶⁹ Atasoy and Raby, *Iznik*, 125.

The most easily recognizable type within this group is the so-called *lien zu* (蓮子 liánzǐ) or lotus seed bowls. These are characterized by the vertical lotus leaves that decorate the outside. Altogether, four pieces could be identified in the material, three of which look very similar: the outside is the same for all four examples, and three of them are decorated with an ornamental motif featuring a triangular organization in a band under the rim (Figure 158: Esztergom, Figure 159: Sofia, Figure 160: Szolnok).

The fourth example (Figure 161) was unearthed in Pécs and features a curious motif on the inside, described as “fungus-like rocks” by Gyöngyi Kovács⁵⁷⁰ and “fungoid rocks” by Atasoy and Raby, also explained by the latter as related to other Ottoman rock depictions on ceramics.⁵⁷¹ The parallel discussed by Atasoy and Raby is currently dated to c. 1530-40 by the Victoria and Albert Museum, and the description calls the dotted inner motif “cloud forms”.⁵⁷²



Figure 158 Esztergom, inv. no. BBM 2018.29.46.



Figure 159 Sofia, SRHM no inv. no.



Figure 160 Szolnok, DJM no inv. no.



Figure 161 Pécs, inv. no. JPM K.97.1.206.



⁵⁷⁰ Kovács, *Iznik Pottery*, 76. and Fig.8.

⁵⁷¹ Atasoy and Raby, *Iznik*, 125. and Fig.204.

⁵⁷² Victoria and Albert Museum, Accession no. 791-1905. <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O205766/bowl-unknown/> (Accessed: 06/05/2024).



Figure 162 Victoria and Albert Museum, Accession no. 791-1905

Another easily recognizable type is that of the grape motif typical of fifteenth-century Ming vessels. One example was excavated in Sofia (Figure 163).⁵⁷³ A difficulty of this type is that the grape design remained popular up to the seventeenth century, and it also shows a great variety.⁵⁷⁴ The Sofia sherd has a yellowish white body and a turquoise greenish glaze that is slightly corroded. The decoration is painted with alternating dark and turquoise blue paint. Based on two not direct but quite close parallels, it can be dated to c. 1530-40.⁵⁷⁵ A third close parallel was found in Vadu-Ghiaurchioi (today Romania, Constanța County, Dobrudja area), dated to the first half of the sixteenth century (Figure 164).⁵⁷⁶ The closest parallel seems to be a sherd held in the British Museum, but it is vaguely dated to the sixteenth century, and unfortunately, the grapes cannot be seen on it; the grape leaf and the tendril, though, are an exact match to the Sofia sherd.⁵⁷⁷ The sherds of three grapevine-decorated plates were also excavated at the Edirne Palace, dated to 1500-1530.⁵⁷⁸

⁵⁷³ Also discussed by Stancheva, “Turski fajans ot Sofija”, p. 119. and no. 34.

⁵⁷⁴ Atasoy and Raby, *Iznik*, 124.

⁵⁷⁵ Royal Ontario Museum, object no. 909.30.1. <https://collections.rom.on.ca/objects/462544/dish-with-grape-clusters-copying-early-ming-porcelain?ctx=ac6448df-7be9-45d0-af1f-b9c4981e2e81&idx=5>; and British Museum, museum no. 1949,1115.10. https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1949-1115-10 (Both accessed: 06/05/2024).

⁵⁷⁶ Niculina Dinu, “Ceramica Otomană Descoperită În Județul Constanța [Ottoman Ceramics Discovered in Constanța County],” in *Studia Numismatica et Archeologica in Honorem Gabriel Gheorghe Custurea Oblata.*, ed. Gabriel Mircea Talmatchi et al., vol. 9, Pontica 40 (Eikon, 2022), plate 2/24.; 446. cat.no. 57.

⁵⁷⁷ British Museum, museum no. 1891,0701.368 (https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1891-0701-368) (Accessed 08/05/2024).

⁵⁷⁸ Hasan Uçar, “A Group of Iznik Ceramics from the Excavation at Edirne Palace (Sarây-ı Cedid-i Âmire),” *Sanat Tarihi Dergisi* 28, no. 2 (2019): p.592. Fig.4./P9-11.

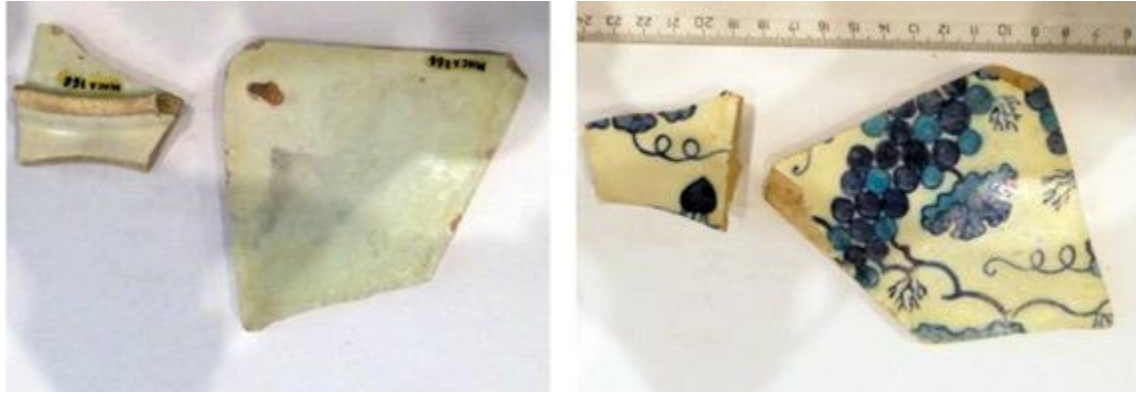


Figure 163 Hatayi plate
Sofia, inv. no. SRHM 766

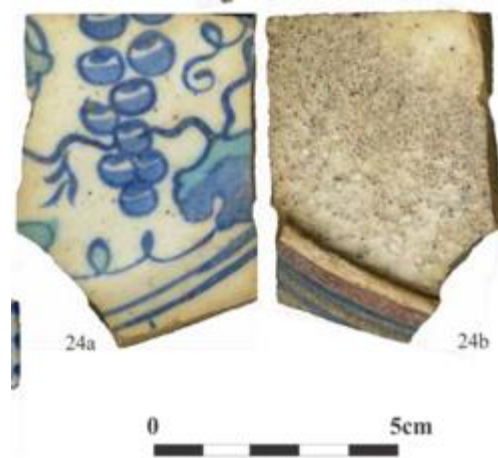


Figure 164 Hatai plate, Dobruja (Romania)
Dinu 2022, Plate 2/24a-b.

The third type is characterized by the lotus and *lingzhi* motif, which is the exact copy of the Chinese model. Two examples were excavated in Pécs (Figures 165 and 166), both sherds probably belonging to a jug or jar. Besides grapevine decorated plates from Edirne Palace, six more plate sherds imitating the lotus and *lingzhi* decorative motif of the early Ming period were unearthed, all dated to 1500-30.⁵⁷⁹ The style of the *lingzhi*, such as in the case of the two jug or jar sherds from Pécs, is the exact copy of the Chinese model; thus, it is possible that these two sherds also belong to this early phase of Chinese imitations in Iznik production.

⁵⁷⁹ Uçar, "A Group of Iznik Ceramics," p. 591-591. Fig.3-4/P4-12.



Figure 166 Lingzhi imitation
Pécs, inv. no. JPM K.97.1.188.

Figure 165 Lingzhi imitation
Pécs, JPM 59.49.141

The last example is two rim fragments of a bowl unearthed in Vác (Figure 167), featuring a Chinese-inspired foliage motif on the outside, and blue and turquoise green plant motives on the inside, with probably a cloud or *çintamani* motif under the rim. An exact parallel could not be found, but a more distant analogy, where the outer foliage is also colored with turquoise green, and the inside features a different plant motif is held in the Victoria & Albert Museum.⁵⁸⁰ The V&A bowl is dated c. 1520-1550, which probably applies to the Vác sherd as well. The same foliage as the outside of the Vác sherd is featured on the fragment of a *tazze* (footed bowl) unearthed in Székesfehérvár, dated to c. 1530-1540 by Gyula Siklósi.⁵⁸¹

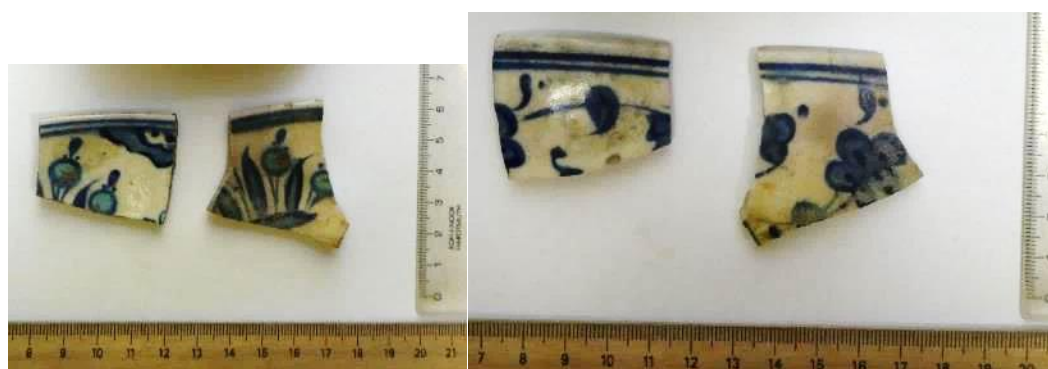


Figure 167 Bowl with lingzhi imitation, Vác, TIM no inv. no.

⁵⁸⁰ Victoria & Albert Museum, accession no. 201-1892 (<https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O223919/bowl-unknown/>) (Accessed: 08/05/2024)

⁵⁸¹ Gerelyes, Nagy Szulejmán Szultán és Kora, cat.no.115.



Figure 168 Victoria & Albert Museum, accession no. 201-1892.

The wave-scroll ground observable in the well of the plate in Figure 168, with the ‘fat’ outlining of the designs is attributed to an atelier of the 1580s by Atasoy and Raby.⁵⁸² Although, these pieces are quite different from the Sofia sherd, which resembles more to the early sixteenth-century blue and white Chinese imitations. Its parallel was not found, but based on its stylistic features, it is more likely that it belongs to the first wave of Chinese-inspired types.



Figure 169 Hatayi plate, Sofia, SRHM inv. no. 782

⁵⁸² Atasoy and Raby, *Iznik*, 249.

Golden Horn or Tuğrakeş spiral style

This style was developed during the last phase of the Baba Nakkaş style and represents an abstract approach to decorating pottery. The style was in use between the 1520s and 1550s⁵⁸³ and was named after the entrusted scribes who were allowed to write the sultan's monogram, the *tuğra*, thus were called *tuğrakeş*.⁵⁸⁴ Its diagnostic feature is the spiral motif decorated with a rhythmical alteration of small rosettes, comma leaves, and branches. Only nine sherds can be confidently included in this group: two from Belgrade,⁵⁸⁵ one from a market town in southern Hungary called Decs-Ete,⁵⁸⁶ and six from Sofia.

The most intact example is from the Sofia material (Figure 170). It is a deep dish featuring the *tuğrakeş* spiral in the well and four turquoise blue tulips within it. The rim is decorated with small flowers, and the outside features flower motives resembling Chinese-inspired types. No exact parallels are published, but Stancheva dates it to the 1530s based on parallels from the Victoria and Albert Museum.⁵⁸⁷



Figure 170 Deep dish with *tuğrakeş* decoration, Sofia, inv. no. SRHM 693

⁵⁸³ Atasoy and Raby, *Iznik*, 113.

⁵⁸⁴ Atasoy and Raby, *Iznik*, 108.

⁵⁸⁵ A jug from the Belgrade Fortress: Bajalović-Hadžić-Pešić, "Налази турске керамике изИзника," p. 330, fig.2.; and a lid sherd also from the Belgrade Fortress, Jelena Živković et al., "Archaeology of consumption in Ottoman urban centres," p. 135. fig.2.

⁵⁸⁶ Kovács, *Iznik Pottery*, p. 74. fig.5. dated to c. 1535-40.

⁵⁸⁷ Stancheva, "Turski fajans ot Sofija", p. 122. and no. 45.

Another piece from Sofia (Figure 171) most likely also belongs to the Golden Horn style based on partly the observation of Magdalena Stancheva that another sherd from Sofia is decorated with the *tuğrakeş* spiral on the inside and has a similar floral motif to the sherd below on the outside (Figure 172).⁵⁸⁸ An intact example of this type can also be found in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum, dated c. 1530-40.⁵⁸⁹



Figure 171 Footed bowl decorated with *tuğrakeş*, Sofia, inv. no. SRHM 804

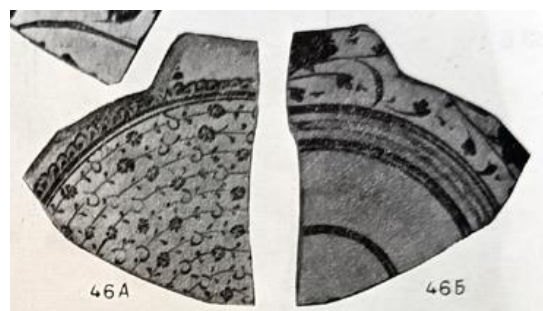


Figure 172 Plate or deep dish decorated with *tuğrakeş*, Sofia, Stancheva 1960, p. 140. fig. 46.



Figure 173 Victoria and Albert Museum, accession no. 790-1905.

⁵⁸⁸ Stancheva, “Turski fajans ot Sofija”, p. 122. and no. 49.

⁵⁸⁹ Victoria and Albert Museum, accession no. 790-1905. <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O205764/bowl-unknown/> (Accessed 05/05/2024).

Besides dishes and bowls, jugs are represented by one sherd also unearthed in Sofia (Figure 174). The sherd is the rim and neck fragment of a jug, with the place of the handle visible on it. The outer decoration features the characteristic tendrils of the *tuğrakeş* spiral, but not in a spiral, instead ordered into larger leaves. A similar design can be observed on a tile fragment dated to c. 1535-45, held in the Museum of Islamic Art (Museum für Islamische Kunst) in Berlin, although on this tile the leaves are connecting the spirals.⁵⁹⁰



Figure 174 Jug rim decorated in *tuğrakeş* style, Sofia, inv. no. SRHM 805



Figure 175 Atasoy and Raby, *Iznik Pottery*, p. 111. fig.143.



Lids are also represented in this style, such as the one in Figure 176, unearthed in Sofia. Similar lids can be found on two similar ewers dated to c. 1530-40.⁵⁹¹ Another *tuğrakeş*-style lid was unearthed in the Belgrade Fortress, dated to c. 1535-45.⁵⁹²



Figure 177 Lid decorated in the *tuğrakeş* style, Belgrade, Živković et al., "Archaeology of Consumption," fig. 2.



Figure 176 Lid decorated in the *tuğrakeş* style, Sofia, inv. no. SRHM 3965

⁵⁹⁰ Atasoy and Raby, *Iznik Pottery*, p. 111. fig.143.

⁵⁹¹ Atasoy and Raby, *Iznik Pottery*, p. 109. figs. 136 and 138.

⁵⁹² Živković et al., "Archaeology of Consumption," fig. 2.

Damascus

This group is the second most numerous within the material, represented by 105 pieces, which is 24% of all the Iznik finds. “Damascus” is an umbrella term for the wares produced between c. 1535 and 1560 with a new technique: polychrome painting. New colors gradually appeared on the palette, and by the late 1540s green, purple, and black for outlines were added to the ceramics.

Besides the polychrome painting, the characteristic motives of the Damascus style are the *saz* leaf and the rosette. They both originated from fifteenth century-Iranian drawings,⁵⁹³ and after appearing on Iznik ceramics it, remained in use until the dusk of production. The rosette, being usually rather small, is easily recognizable; the *saz* leaf however is more difficult to find in the fragmentary material.

The earliest excavated piece in the material connected to the Damascus style is from the excavations of Sándor Garády in the Buda Watertown in 1941 (Figures 178 to 179). It is a large lid sherd (d. 21 cm⁵⁹⁴), painted with blue and purple. Garády already recognized it as a Damascus-style lid,⁵⁹⁵ but it can probably be dated to the last quarter of the sixteenth century. This dating is based on its archeological context: it was found in a refuse pit, together with Habaner vessels with dates stating 1708 and 1709.⁵⁹⁶ It was more precisely dated to c. 1580-1590 based on stylistic analysis and material tests.⁵⁹⁷ Therefore, based on the typochronology of Atasoy and Raby, it is later than the production period of the Damascus style, although the stylistic characteristics fit, thus the sherd is discussed here.

⁵⁹³ Atasoy and Raby, *Iznik*, 133.

⁵⁹⁴ Belényessyné Sárosi Edit, “Régészeti kutatások a középkori Buda Szentpétermártír külvárosában. Garády Sándor kutatásai 1940-42. I. [Archaeological research at the medieval St Peter Martyr suburb. The excavations of Sándor Garády 1940-42. I.],” *Budapest Régiségei* 35, no. 2 (2002): 482.

⁵⁹⁵ Sándor Garády: “Agyagművesség,” p. 394., table CXL/4.

⁵⁹⁶ Sárosi, “Régészeti kutatások,” p. 475. and fig. 37/2.; and Kovács, *Iznik*, endnote 7.

⁵⁹⁷ Balla and Éder, “Budai lelőhelyekről előkerült török kori fajanszok,” 97. and fig. 2/15.



Figure 178 Damascus lid from Buda Town
Balla and Éder, "Budai lelőhelyekről előkerült török kori
fajanszok," Fig. 2/15.

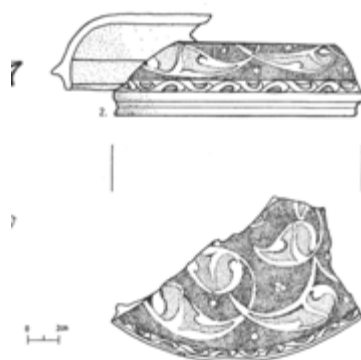


Figure 179 Sárosi, " Régészeti kutatások," fig. 37/2.

One of the best-preserved Damascus examples was unearthed in Pécs (Figure 180) from a house on the main square that burnt down in 1570.⁵⁹⁸ It is a rare example of a dish with foliated rim, as well as the polychrome palette of the Damascus style (blue, turquoise blue, and purple), together with a *saz* leaf bouquet that was introduced with this style. It is dated to c. 1550-60, which means that it had a very short life cycle between its production and its disposal.⁵⁹⁹



Figure 180 Damascus-style dish from Pécs,
Kovács, "Iznik Pottery in Hungarian Research," Fig. 9.

The other most well-preserved example of the Damascus style in the material was found in Buda (Figure 181). It was found in the Civilian Town in an Ottoman-period well and is stylistically dated to c. 1540 by Gyöngyi Kovács.⁶⁰⁰ Its whole body is painted with light blue underglaze painting, except for the places of the five-lobed rosettes that are painted on a white

⁵⁹⁸ Kovács, "Iznik Pottery in Hungarian Research," 77. Fig.9.

⁵⁹⁹ Kovács, "Iznik Pottery in Hungarian Research," 77.

⁶⁰⁰ Kovács, "Iznik Pottery in Hungarian Research," 70. and fig. 2.

background with darker blue. The space between the rosettes is filled with *çintamani* outlines, the Ottomanized cloud motif consisting of three circles, sometimes filled with spirals.⁶⁰¹

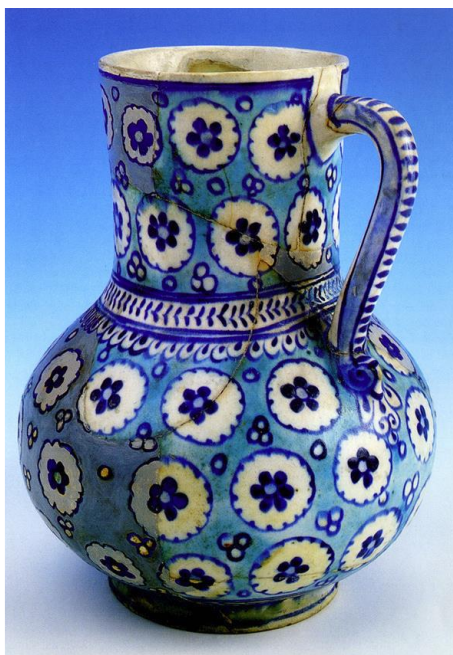


Figure 181 Damascus-style jug from Buda
Kovács "Iznik Pottery in Hungarian Research," p.71. fig.2.

Another outstanding example is the sherds of a bowl found in Pest (Figure 182). This find is special for two reasons: firstly, this is the only known Iznik sherd found in Pest, and secondly, it was found in a context that has been identified as an Ottoman-period tannery workshop.⁶⁰² The two closest parallels are large basins from the Victoria and Albert Museum, dated to the 1540s to 1550s.⁶⁰³ Atasoy and Raby place these two basins in the so-called Musli Circle, named after a signed mosque lamp dated 1549.⁶⁰⁴ The style of the rosettes and the colors of the Pest sherds are analogous. However, the decoration of the rim and the motif directly under it show similarities with other vessels connected to the Baba Nakkaş style. Thus, it is possible that the bowl (or basin) was made somewhat earlier than the production period of the Damascus style, possibly in the 1530s.

⁶⁰¹ *Çintamani* was a popular motif of sixteenth-century Ottoman art, consisting of a broad stripe (identified as cloud of tiger-stripe) and three balls often shaped like crescent moons (Atasoy and Raby, *Iznik*, 260).

⁶⁰² Viktória P. Horváth and Tünde F. Komori, "Kora újkori bőrcserző műhely Pesten (V., Molnár u. 7-9.) [An Early Modern Tannery in Pest (5th district, Molnár Street 7-9).]" *Budapest Régiségei* 51 (2018): 253-274.

⁶⁰³ Victoria and Albert Museum, Accession nos. C.1979-1910 (<https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O86668/bowl-unknown/>) and 242-1876 (<https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O79361/bowl-unknown/>) (Both accessed: 06/05/2024).

⁶⁰⁴ Atasoy and Raby, *Iznik*, pp.137-138., figs. 232 and 243.

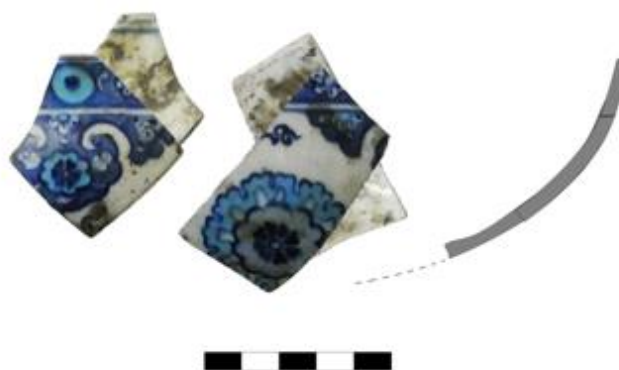


Figure 182 Damascus bowl, from Pest
inv. no. BHM 2018.112.3.1-2.



Figure 183 Victoria and Albert Museum, Accession no.
C.1979-1910.



Figure 184 Victoria and Albert Museum, Accession no.
242-1876.

Another sherd, probably belonging to a jug, also displays purple beside the turquoise from among the new colors (Figure 185). No parallel of this sherd was found, but the turquoise and purple colors place it in the Damascus group. The decoration, however, is rather schematic: white *çintamani* clusters of four, with turquoise centers, are placed in blue ogee-shaped panes placed in larger white ogee-shaped panels. The space between the white panels is filled with purple coloring, featuring *çintamani* clusters of three with turquoise centers. The simplicity and lower quality of the decoration suggest that it is an example of a vessel that was produced “for the shallow pocket” or everyday use, as described by Atasoy and Raby.⁶⁰⁵ The design of one such plate presented by Atasoy and Raby resembles that of the Sofia sherd.⁶⁰⁶ If this categorization is accepted, a 1540-60 dating might apply to this sherd. An inkwell with a similar decorative structure featuring tulips and flowers, painted with blue and turquoise blue, was unearthed in Buda and is dated to c. 1530-40 (Figure 186).⁶⁰⁷ The quality of the decoration is also less refined on this piece; thus, it probably belongs to the same category.

⁶⁰⁵ Atasoy and Raby, *Iznik*, 142.

⁶⁰⁶ Atasoy and Raby, *Iznik*, p. 143. fig. 271.

⁶⁰⁷ Holl, *Fundkomplexe*, Abb. 67., and p. 110.



Figure 185 Damascus-style inkwell from Sofia
inv. no. SRHM 3964



Figure 186 Damascus-style inkwell
Buda Royal Palace
Holl, Fundkomplexe, Abb 67.

The three-colored type of the Damascus style is represented by two jugs from Sofia: an almost complete one and the rim and neck sherd of a jug or jar unearthed in Sofia (Figures 187 and 188). It was already recognized as Damascus and dated to the sixteenth century by Magdalina Stancheva.⁶⁰⁸ No exact parallels were found, but its colors place the sherd to c. 1540-60. A similar jug held at the Louvre, dated to c. 1540, further supports this dating.⁶⁰⁹



Figure 187 Damascus jug from Sofia
inv. no. SRHM 692



Figure 188 Damascus jug sherd from Sofia
inv. no. SRHM 732



Figure 189 Damascus jug
Louvre, inv.no. OA 7257

⁶⁰⁸ Stancheva, "Turski fajans ot Sofija", p.114. and no. 2.

⁶⁰⁹ Louvre, inv.no. OA 7257 (<https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010329674>) (Accessed: 13/05/2024).

A characteristic motif of the later Damascus style is the tulip, represented by one plate sherd in the material, also unearthed in Sofia (Figure 190). It features a turquoise blue rosette superimposed by a purple tulip. No exact parallel was found, but a dish held in the British Museum and dated *c.* 1540-1550 is featured with a purple tulip that is analogous to the one on the Sofia sherd.⁶¹⁰ This overlapping motif appears on many other examples from the period between the 1530s and 1560s, such as on the dishes attributed to the Circle of Musli by Atasoy and Raby.⁶¹¹ However, on the Circle of Musli type, the rosettes are always superimposed by a *saz* leaf, not a tulip.



Figure 190 Damascus plate sherd from Sofia
inv. no. SRHM 762



Figure 191 Damascus plate, British Museum
museum no. 1878,1230.530.

Mid- to late sixteenth century

This group features those not Rhodian or Damascus types but can be dated to the second half of the sixteenth century. The two main types are the later Chinese imitations or Chinese-inspired blue and white examples and the revived Baba Nakkaş of the late sixteenth century.

The blue and white lid unearthed in Sofia (Figure 192) is probably another example of the tadpole motif surviving into the late sixteenth century. Its archaeological context is unknown, but the light blue painting and the schematic leaf motif suggest a late dating, meaning the end of the sixteenth century or even the beginning of the seventeenth.

The next bowl sherd (Figure 193) represents the late sixteenth-century phase of Iznik blue and white ceramics inspired by Chinese models. The curious motif featured on both sides of the vessel is called the ‘quatrefoil rosette’ by Atasoy and Raby and is identified as a substitute

⁶¹⁰ British Museum, museum no. 1878,1230.530 (https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1878-1230-530) (Accessed: 08/05/2024).

⁶¹¹ Atasoy and Raby, *Iznik*, pp. 129-144.

for the ‘s-cloud’ (Figures 195 and 196 below).⁶¹² The jug and jar are dated c. 1565-75 by Atasoy and Raby, but two sherds held at the Louvre featuring the same pattern are dated to 1475-1525.⁶¹³



Figure 192 Late blue and white bowl
Varna, VAM no inv. no.



Figure 193 Louvre, inv.no. MAO 449/413.



Figure 194 Louvre, inv.no. MAO 449/414.

The sherd in Figure 195 is probably an example of the so-called ‘s-cloud’ or *çintamani* motif, defined by Atasoy and Raby.⁶¹⁴ The motif first appeared as a border decoration in the late fifteenth century, then disappeared. It resurfaced in the 1580s and has become an overall surface motif primarily for jugs, such as in the case of the Sofia sherd. The version where the clouds are floating against white ground appeared in the 1590s.⁶¹⁵ The schematic form of the motif, which might also be the cloud element, suggests that either this is also a lower quality piece or it was made later, in the seventeenth century. Another rim and neck sherd was found during the construction of Hotel Sofia in 1956 (Figure 196), which is either of the same type or even the same vessel, since the two sites are basically on the same plot (see Map 11 in Chapter 3). Several sherds with the same motif are published by Magdalina Stancheva, also identified as decorated with the s-cloud motif and dated to the late sixteenth or even the seventeenth century.⁶¹⁶

⁶¹² Atasoy and Raby, *Iznik*, p.260. and figs 724-725.

⁶¹³ Louvre, inv.no. MAO 449/413 (<https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010320560>) and MAO 449/414 (<https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010320561>) (both accessed: 08/05/2024).

⁶¹⁴ Atasoy and Raby, *Iznik*, 259. (s-cloud) and 260. (*çintamani*).

⁶¹⁵ Atasoy and Raby, *Iznik*, 259.

⁶¹⁶ Stancheva, “Turski fajans ot Sofija”, p. 114. and no. 9-11.



Figure 195 Jug decorated with the s-cloud motif
Sofia, inv. no. SRHM 4765



Figure 196 Jug sherd decorated with s-cloud motif
Sofia, inv. no. SRHM 740

The two dishes presented on Figures 197 and 198 show characteristics of the Damascus style but are discussed within this group because of the wave and rock border displayed on them which dates them to the second half of the sixteenth century. The two dishes are also connected by the shade of green displayed on them, especially in the the wave and rock border. The olive-green wave and rock borders are attributed to the workshop of Musli, active in the mid-sixteenth century.⁶¹⁷ The workshop's naming master is identified by a mosque lamp dated 1549 and signed by Musli.⁶¹⁸ The border design of Figure 200 is analogous with the products of the workshop called 'Master of the Hyacinths' by Atasoy and Raby, 1555-60.⁶¹⁹



Figure 197 Sofia, SRHM Sof_101

Figure 198 Sofia, SRHM Sof_102

⁶¹⁷ Carswell, *Iznik Pottery*, p. 68. and figs. 43-44.

⁶¹⁸ Atasoy and Raby, *Iznik*, 135.

⁶¹⁹ Atasoy and Raby, *Iznik*, p. 141. figs. 255-260., for color pictures: Victoria & Albert Museum, accession no. C.1996-1910 (<https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O38957/dish-unknown/>) and C.1994-1910 (<https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O86504/dish-unknown/>) (both accessed: 09/05/2024).



Figure 199 Victoria & Albert Museum
accession no. C.1996-1910.



Figure 200 Victoria & Albert Museum
accession no. C.1994-1910.

The last example in this group (Figure 201) was unearthed in the Renaissance castle of Ozora in Southwestern Hungary, built in the fifteenth century, and was under Ottoman rule between 1545 and 1686 serving as a small palisade fortification.⁶²⁰ The sherd belongs to a bowl decorated with the so-called radiating panels characteristic of fifteenth-century Iranian and Miletus ware.⁶²¹ Its closest parallel is held in the Victoria & Albert Museum and is dated to c. 1580.⁶²²



Figure 201 Ozora, Kovács 2005, Fig.7.



Figure 202 Victoria & Albert Museum, accession no. 715-1893.

⁶²⁰ Kovács, *Iznik Pottery*, p. 75. and Fig. 7. Also published in Gerelyes, *Nagy Szulejmán Szultán*, cat.no. 116.

⁶²¹ Atasoy and Raby, *Iznik*, 240.

⁶²² Victoria & Albert Museum, accession no. 715-1893 (<https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O224680/dish-unknown/>) (Accessed 09/05/2024). Also published and discussed in Atasoy and Raby, *Iznik*, p.240., and fig. 463 and 716.

Rhodian style

The most easily identifiable style of Iznik pottery is probably the so-called Rhodian or four-flower style. Its main characteristics are the new color, the bole red that was first introduced in the 1550s,⁶²³ and the four flowers represented in its decoration: the tulip, the carnation, the rose, and the hyacinth, originating from the so-called Kara Memi style.⁶²⁴ The heyday of this style is dated to between 1550 and 1620,⁶²⁵ with most of the examples dating to the last quarter of the sixteenth century. In the studied material, 54 pieces can be identified as Rhodian style, constituting the largest group within the material.

The first three examples (Figures 203 to 205) are sherds of jugs or jars (Szolnok) and a bowl (Sofia). Beside the bole red and the four flowers, these examples also represent the emerald green that replaced the olive green of the Damascus style to better match the newly fashionable bole red.⁶²⁶ Based on its published parallels from Buda and Belgrade, Figure 203 can be dated to c. 1575-80.⁶²⁷ A similar dating is possible for the other two sherds (Figures 204 and 205) featuring a red and a blue tulip with emerald green stems and leaves, based on examples held at the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, although these examples are broadly dated to the last quarter of the sixteenth century, except for one plate.⁶²⁸ So is a jug held at the British Museum,⁶²⁹ although a similar bowl is dated 1560-80, also held at the British Museum.⁶³⁰ Another parallel unearthed in Buda is likewise dated to the 1580s.⁶³¹



Figure 203 Rhodian style jug or jar sherd
Szolnok, DJM no inv. no.



Figure 204 Rhodian jug or jar sherd
Szolnok, DJM no inv. no.

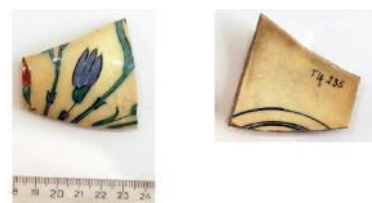


Figure 205 Rhodian style bowl
Sofia, inv. no. SRHM 751

⁶²³ Atasoy and Raby, *Iznik*, 222.

⁶²⁴ Atasoy and Raby, *Iznik*, 224.

⁶²⁵ Kovács, "Török kerámia", 49.

⁶²⁶ Atasoy and Raby, *Iznik*, 230.

⁶²⁷ Živković et al., "Archaeology of Consumption", fig. 6.; Katalin Éder, "Török kori fajanszok", fig. 8.; Balla-Éder, "Budai lelőhelyekről előkerült török kori fajanszok", fig. 1/8.

⁶²⁸ Gerelyes, *Nagy Szulejmán Szultán*, Cat.no. 123-126. Cat.no. 123. is dated c. 1575-80.

⁶²⁹ British Museum, reg.no. 1878,1230.473 (https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1878-1230-473) (Accessed: 11/05/2024)

⁶³⁰ British Museum, reg.no. 1878,1230.479 (https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1878-1230-479) (Accessed: 11/05/2024)

⁶³¹ Balla and Éder, "Budai lelőhelyekről előkerült török kori fajanszok", fig. 1/1.



Figure 206 Gerelyes, Nagy Szulejmán Szultán, Cat.no. 123.



Figure 208 British Museum, reg.no. 1878,1230.479.



Figure 207 British Museum, reg.no. 1878,1230.473.



Figure 209 Balla and Éder, "Budai lelőhelyekről előkerült török kori fajanszok", fig. 1/1.

Another example for the red and blue color scheme is a lid also unearthed in Szolnok (Figure 210). The black spiral on the handle and the black outlines date the piece to the late sixteenth century. Its parallel was unearthed at Saraçhane in Istanbul,⁶³² dated to the late sixteenth to early seventeenth century by the excavating archaeologist.⁶³³ The shape of the lid, its contours and

⁶³² Hayes, *Excavations at Saraçhane*, Figure 96, no. 66.

⁶³³ Hayes, *Excavations at Saraçhane*, p. 245. and 249.

the color of the black paint is analogous to the Saraçhane sherd. The floral motif on the Saraçhane piece on its outer wall however is simpler: bluish colored leaves go around it, leaning in parallel with each other.



Figure 210 Lid decorated in the Rhodian style
Szolnok, DJM no. inv. no.

Sherds of a plate or dish with a *saz* bouquet have been unearthed in Szolnok (Figure 211), most likely belonging to the same vessel. The *saz* bouquet appeared on Damascus dishes and plates already in the second quarter of the sixteenth century, but its style and red color place it among the Rhodian-style vessels.⁶³⁴ A close parallel of the sherd was unearthed in the known as the Foreground of the Buda Royal palace, dated *c.* 1575 by the excavating archaeologist.⁶³⁵ The prunus flowers with yellow centers are the same as on Figure 204 above, thus the same parallels apply, therefore it is probably also datable to *c.* 1575-80.⁶³⁶ This dating is further supported by a parallel of a late *saz* bouquet from the Istanbul Archaeological Museum dated 1575-80.⁶³⁷

⁶³⁴ Atasoy and Raby, *Iznik*, 226.

⁶³⁵ Anikó Tóth, "An Ottoman-Era Cellar from the Foreground of Buda's Royal Palace," in *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period in Hungary. Papers of the Conference Held at the Hungarian National Museum, Budapest, 24-26 May 2000*, ed. Ibolya Gerelyes and Gyöngyi Kovács (Hungarian National Museum, 2003), 276. fig. 4.

⁶³⁶ Živković et al., "Archaeology of Consumption", fig. 6.; Éder Katalin, "Török kori fajanszok a Víziváros területéről / Faience wares from the Turkish period in the area of the víziváros," *Budapest Régiségei* 41 (2007): fig. 8.; Balla-Éder, "Budai lelőhelyekről előkerült török kori fajanszok", fig. 1/8.

⁶³⁷ Gerelyes, *Nagy Szulejmán Szultán*, Cat.no. 123.

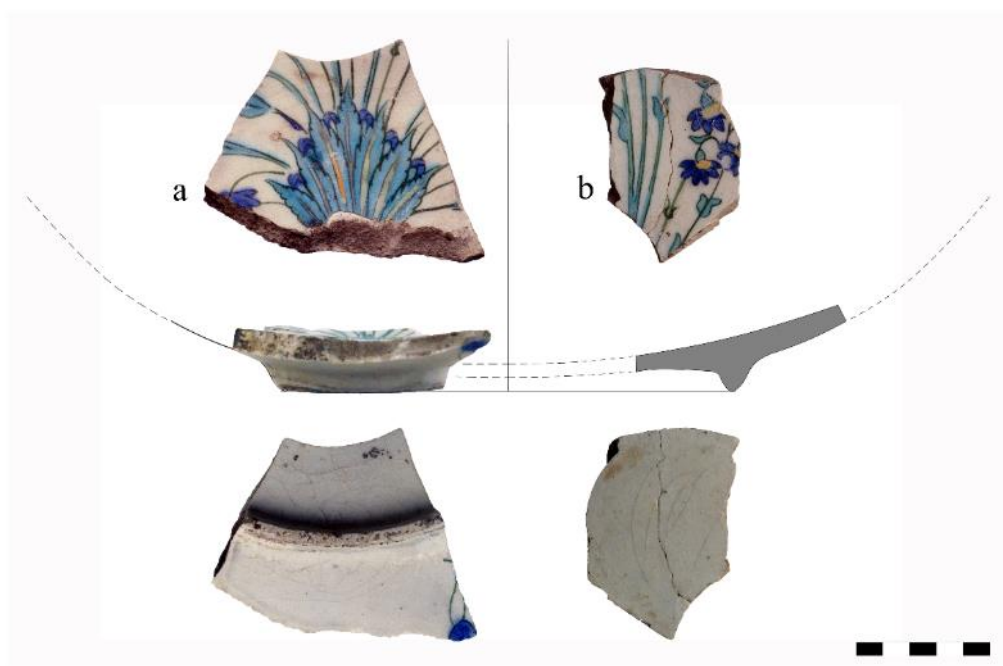


Figure 211 Rhodian plate with a saz bouquet
Szolnok, DJM no. inv. no.



Figure 212 Živković et al., "Archaeology of
Consumption," fig. 6.



Figure 213 Balla and Éder, "Budai lelőhelyekről
előkerült török kori fajanszok," fig. 1/8.

One sherd with a blue fish scale decoration was unearthed in Sofia (Figure 214). It probably belongs to a jug or jar. It is slightly corroded, but the outer decoration can be identified. The blue fish scales are outlined with black contours and have white centers. The fish scale motif is connected to the reign of Murad III (1574-1595), and such vessels are dated to c. 1575-1585. This decorative style is usually executed with green and blue fish scales separated by a white or white and red arabesque.⁶³⁸ The size of the sherd does not allow for further identification, although this style does not seem to be very long-lived; thus, it probably belongs to this group identified by Atasoy and Raby. A fully blue fish scale decorated jug is held at the Louvre, dated to c. 1575-80, with a fish scale style matching the Sofia sherd.⁶³⁹ Two more such sherds were

⁶³⁸ Atasoy and Raby, *Iznik*, p. 260. and figs. 731-733, 743-745.

⁶³⁹ Louvre, inv.no. AD 27734; UCAD 27734; L 27734 (<https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010331992>) (Accessed: 11/05/2024).

unearthed during the construction of the Hotel Balkan in 1955-56 (Figures 214 and 216). Two of the three sherds (Figure 214 and Figure 215) were attributed to the Damascus style; the third one (Figure 216, no. 12) was dated to a later period, such as the late sixteenth or even the seventeenth century.⁶⁴⁰ The schematic red prunus flowers (or *çintamani* bowls) suggest an attribution to the Rhodian style, but the turquoise blue indicates an earlier, mid-sixteenth century dating.



Figure 214 Jug or jar decorated with fish scale
Sofia, SRHM Sof_135



Figure 215 Jug or jar sherd decorated with fish scale
inv. no. Sofia, SRHM 746



Figure 216 Stancheva 1960, table 2/12-14

The next noteworthy find is the sherd of an inkwell unearthed in Sofia (Figure 217). The *saz* leaves are rather stylized, and the green band around its shoulder is used on jugs dated to c. 1560-70;⁶⁴¹ thus, the inkwell was possibly also made in that period. The stylized *saz* leaves are also characteristic of the Rhodian period and appear on plates dated to the last quarter of the sixteenth century. The dating is further supported by the colleagues of the Sofia Regional History Museum, as the sherd was inventoried as dating to the second half of the seventeenth century.



Figure 217 Inkwell decorated with saz leaves
Sofia, inv. no. SRHM 4703

⁶⁴⁰ Stancheva, "Turski fajans ot Sofija", pp. 114-115. and no. 12-14. Sof_97 is published as no.12.

⁶⁴¹ Victoria & Albert Museum, accession no. C.266-1921 (<https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O345696/jug-unknown/>) and 359-1888 (<https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O221031/jug-unknown/>) (Both accessed 11/05/2024)



Figure 218 Victoria & Albert Museum, accession no. C.266-1921.



Figure 219 Victoria & Albert Museum, accession no. 359-1888.

The stylized petals of the carnation motif in relief are represented on two sherds, one of a bowl from Sofia (Figure 220) and another of a plate or dish from Varna (Figure 221). Although their ground is not colored, based on the description of Atasoy and Raby, it is possible that the red was painted with slip, hence the relief form, and thus, they can both be dated between the 1550s and 1580s.⁶⁴²



Figure 220 Bowl sherd with red carnation
Sofia, inv. no. SRHM 750



Figure 221 Plate sherd with red carnation
Varna, VAM, no inv. no.

⁶⁴² Atasoy and Raby, *Iznik*, pp. 233-236.

One last representative of the Rhodian style bole red is a footed bowl or *tazze* unearthed in Varna (Figure 222). It is decorated with a turquoise green rosette in the middle of the well, surrounded by red and blue abstract motif. The cavetto is undecorated, but the horizontal rim features a red, blue, and turquoise green geometric motif. The inner decoration features black outlines and rings, the latter appearing on the outside as well. The outer wall is also decorated with sparse blue floral motives. The closest parallels published are the so-called wave-scroll ground dishes of the 1580s,⁶⁴³ although this *tazze* does not feature the wave scroll. The organization of the decoration and the geometric rim design are analogous to those dishes. The ‘Kaleidoscope’ and abstract dishes of the 1570s and 1580s also feature some similar designs; thus, a parallel can be drawn with those as well. The distant parallels and the abstract design featuring the red color suggest a dating to the last quarter of the sixteenth century.



Figure 222 Rhodian-style tazze
Varna, VAM no inv. no.

⁶⁴³ Atasoy and Raby, *Iznik*, p. 249. figs. 489-500.

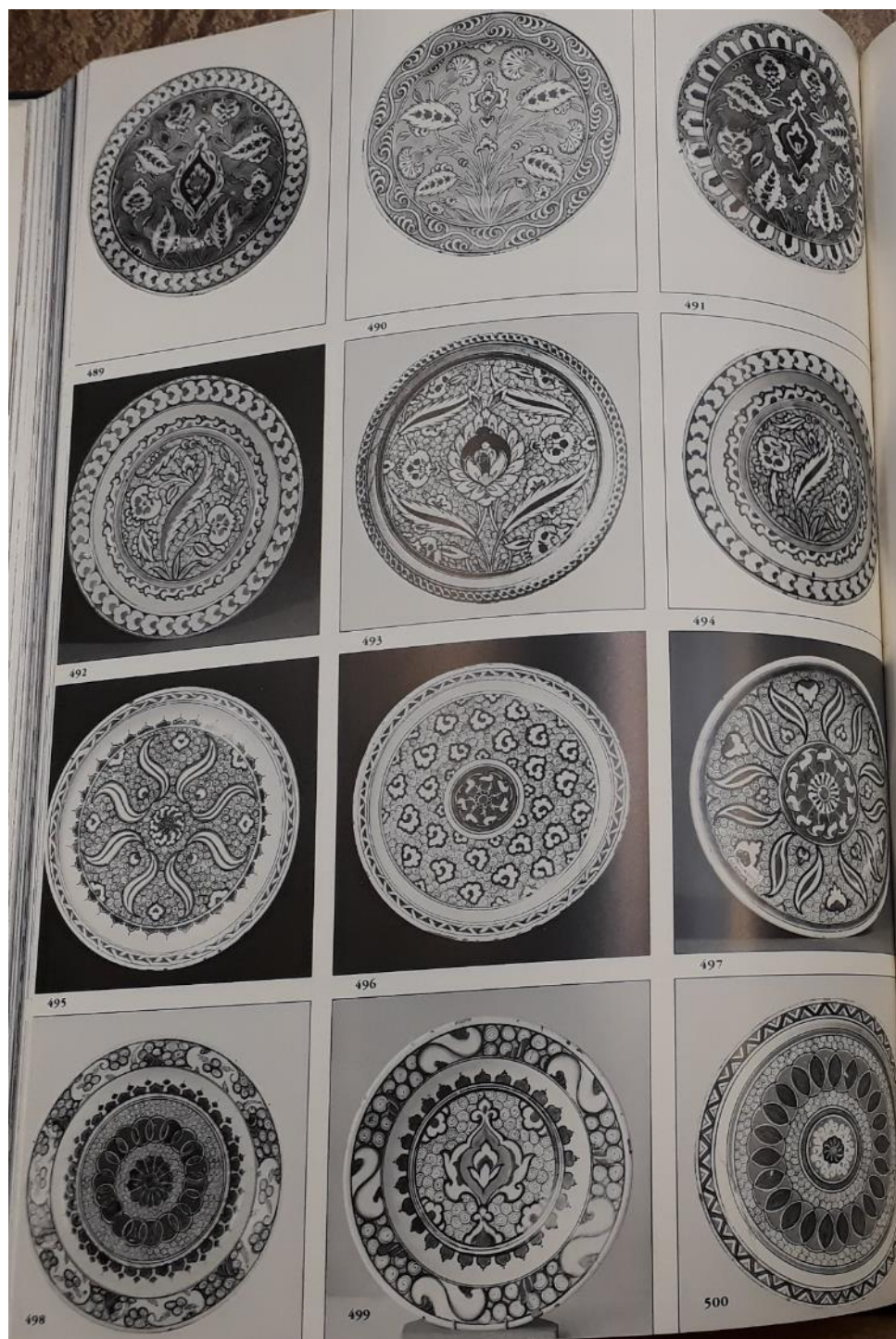


Figure 223 Atasoy and Raby, *Iznik*, p. 249. figs. 489-500.

Slip wares with colored grounds

Two slip-painted dish sherds were unearthed also from Sofia (Figures 224 and 225). The sherd in Figure 224 has no inventory number, but it is present in Stancheva's publication. It was unearthed during the excavation at Hotel Balkan in Sofia in 1955. Stancheva connects it to

a parallel dated to the second half of the sixteenth century.⁶⁴⁴ The dating of the sherd is difficult, partly because no exact parallel can be found, and partly because its painted decoration conflicts with its slip background from the point of view of dating. A distant parallel is colored with a salmon-pink slip, dated to *c.* 1550-1560.⁶⁴⁵ Apart from the slip decoration, its motif features flowers similar to those of the Sofia piece, except that the flowers' center is painted in red, unlike the purple of the Sofia sherd. Furthermore, both pieces feature green leaves and black or dark green outlines. According to Atasoy and Raby, there is no evidence of colored slips before the introduction of the relief-red in the 1550s.⁶⁴⁶ The Sofia sherd, however, features purple and not red in the center of the white flowers, suggesting a date that can go back to the 1540s. It is this purple color that places this sherd in this group. On the other hand, the structure of the motif seems to be relatively common between the 1560s and 1580s.⁶⁴⁷ The base sherd of a bowl with also a purple-centered white flower in the well, covered in blue slip is held in the Louvre, dated to 1550-1600.⁶⁴⁸ The other sherd in Figure 225 belongs to either a liquid container or a vase, also features the blue ground color. It is also decorated with white tulips with red dots and red carnations, the red painted in relief. Magdalina Stancheva argues that it belongs to a vase, and connects it to the Rhodian group, calling it the 'naturalistic style.'⁶⁴⁹ The two sherds are probably both datable to the period between the 1550s and the 1580s, as this is the period when slip painting was used in the Iznik pottery tradition.⁶⁵⁰



Figure 224 Slip-painted dish rim sherd
Sofia, SRHM no. inv. no.



Figure 225 Slip-painted jar neck sherd
Sofia, inv. no. SRHM 756

⁶⁴⁴ Stancheva, "Turski fajans ot Sofija", p. 118. and no. 33.

⁶⁴⁵ Victoria & Albert Museum, C.2014-1910 (<https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O86654/dish-unknown/>) (Accessed: 08/05/2024). Also published in Atasoy and Raby, *Iznik*, fig. 372.

⁶⁴⁶ Atasoy and Raby, *Iznik*, 233.

⁶⁴⁷ This observation is based on a survey the available catalogues and online collections.

⁶⁴⁸ Louvre, inv.no. MAO 936/441 (<https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010323628>) (Accessed: 08/05/2024)

⁶⁴⁹ Stancheva, "Turski fajans ot Sofija", p. 116-117. and. no. 23.

⁶⁵⁰ Atasoy and Raby, *Iznik*, pp. 233-236.

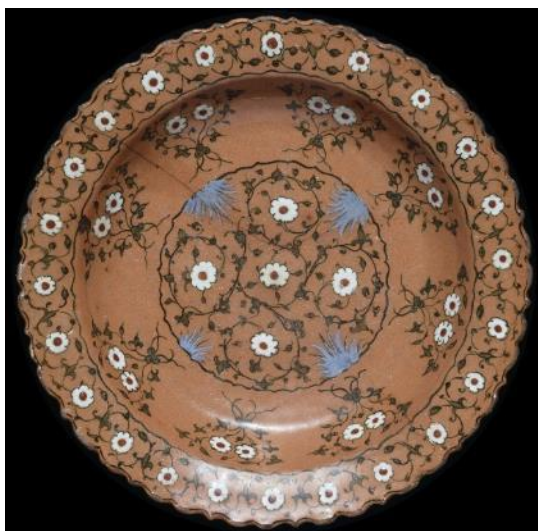


Figure 226 Victoria & Albert Museum, C.2014-1910.



Figure 227 Louvre, inv.no. MAO 936/441.

Late Iznik ware – seventeenth century

The two plate rim sherds below were both unearthed in Varna, from the same pit (Figures 228 and 229). They show similarities in the paste and the motif that can be seen on them. They both have a porous, yellowish paste, a white glaze that is ruptured, and a dark blue, almost black, underglaze paint. Both sherds feature a scroll motif that can either be interpreted as a late version of the wave border motif. Figure 229 is also painted with underglaze green besides the dark blue, although it is secondarily burnt, thus difficult to assess. Figure 228 also has plant motives between the scrolls. The two sherds were found at the same excavation, so it is possible that they belong to the same vessel. This notion is further supported by the direct parallel of both sherds in one piece, which is a larger sherd found in Iznik, dated to c. 1650.⁶⁵¹



Figure 228 Late Iznik plate sherd
Varna, VAM no inv. no.



Figure 229 Late Iznik plate sherd
Varna, VAM no inv. no.

⁶⁵¹ Atasoy and Raby, *Iznik*, p. 53. fig. 43.



Figure 230 Atasoy and Raby, *Iznik*, p. 53, fig. 43.

The lid from Sofia in Figure 231 is an example of the late blue and white Iznik pieces. The decoration features a very schematic version of the tadpole-like leaves of the Baba Nakkaş style. Its size (diameter of the footring: 4 cm) indicates it probably belongs to a bottle. The lighter blue and the simplified motif suggest a late, likely seventeenth-century dating, supported by the fact that it was unearthed from a context dated to the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries.



Figure 231 Lid, late sixteenth or early seventeenth century
Sofia, inv. no. SRHM 3961

The sherd in Figure 232 also probably belongs to an ewer (rim diameter: 7 cm). It has a porous yellowish body and a corroded, oily glaze. Its features point towards a Persian provenance, but the tulip motif indicates Ottoman taste. Although the tulip is not unknown in Islamic decorative tradition, it was most popular among the Ottomans.⁶⁵² The other reason for discussing this sherd here is the case of the cups below, i.e. some characteristically ‘Persian’ cup sherds turned out to be made in Iznik based on material tests. At this point it is difficult to identify its provenance, but this sherd is suitable for raising the problem of identification in the case of this later blue and white type.

⁶⁵² Atasoy and Raby, *Iznik*, 223.

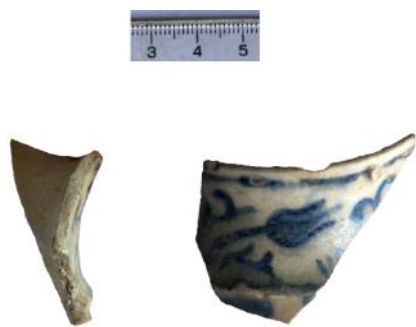


Figure 232 Ewer sherd decorated with blue and white, seventeenth century
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.2010.9.9.

Cups of the seventeenth century

As mentioned in the research review, some blue and white cups seem to have been produced in Iznik instead of Iran, which questions the identification of several types discussed below in the Persian stonepaste section and those discussed as Kütahya pieces. The material is narrowed to coffee cups, representing a less refined quality and possibly a bulkier type of vessels that have become widespread in the seventeenth century. Although, primarily in the Romanian literature, several types are identified as eighteenth-century Kütahya products, as also discussed below in the Persian stonepaste section, the identification of these cups still requires further research. The only material tests conducted are those two from a selected Hungarian material mentioned above in the research review, thus the evidence of such cups being produced in Iznik is solid, but at this stage sporadic.⁶⁵³

After the presentation of the types that have undergone material test, stylistically similar pieces are discussed, which also do not fit the Persian or Kütahyan characteristics, as of the current knowledge. It should be kept in mind though that this grouping is tentative at this point and could only be regarded as conclusive after further material tests and the study of a larger sample from more sites throughout the Ottoman Empire.

The four examples on Figures 233 to 236 below are from Buda sites, all of them previously identified as Persian; the material test however showed that they were all made in Iznik.⁶⁵⁴ The goal of the study that discusses these four sherds was primarily to identify the provenance of faïences unearthed at Ottoman-period sites in Buda,⁶⁵⁵ and the only Persian-identified pieces included in the 49-piece sample were these four sherds.⁶⁵⁶ This means that all the “Persian”

⁶⁵³ Balla-Éder, “Budai lelőhelyekről előkerült török kori fajanszok”, and Zay, “Egri, hódoltság korabeli porcelán- és fajansztöredékek”.

⁶⁵⁴ Balla-Éder, “Budai lelőhelyekről előkerült török kori fajanszok”, 101.

⁶⁵⁵ Balla-Éder, “Budai lelőhelyekről előkerült török kori fajanszok”, 95-96.

⁶⁵⁶ Balla-Éder, “Budai lelőhelyekről előkerült török kori fajanszok”, 101.

sherds included in the study turned out to be made in Iznik. This result is groundbreaking in the identification of these objects and could rewrite the typology of seventeenth century coffee cups of the Ottoman Empire. Based on Figures 233 and 234 being made in Iznik, it also suggests that among the Persian types, within the Chinese lotus-type imitations, Variant 1/b-d and Variant 4 could also be products of Iznik kilns. Figure 235 resembles both in decoration and in quality to the blue and white Gombroon type among Persian stonepaste identified as “*ruyi* motif” (Figure 235). Such as in the case of the Persian-identified piece, the Buda sherd is decorated with a motif around the footring which can either be identified a simplified Chinese *ruyi* motif or as an Ottoman scroll motif that appears on elaborated Iznik ware as well. Interestingly, this one sherd showed a different material composition from the other three ‘Persian’ ones. It was made with a different additive⁶⁵⁷ and probably even fired at different temperatures. However, the definition of firing temperatures was not part of the tests. Figure 236 represents a type that in the literature of the Balkans (primarily Romania) is identified as eighteenth-century Kütahya ware. Considering the fact that some Kütahya products, even of the sixteenth century, are deceptively similar to contemporary Iznik ware, the question arises whether material tests can show the difference between Iznik and Kütahya raw material. The two production sites are 155 km in distance from each other; thus, it is possible that they used raw material that had very similar mineralogical-lithological and geochemical properties.

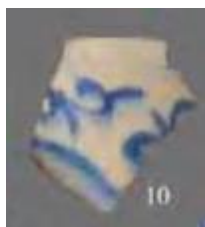


Figure 233 Balla and Éder, “Budai lelőhelyekről előkerült török kori fajanszok,” Fig. 5/10.



Figure 235 Balla and Éder, “Budai lelőhelyekről előkerült török kori fajanszok,” Fig. 1/17

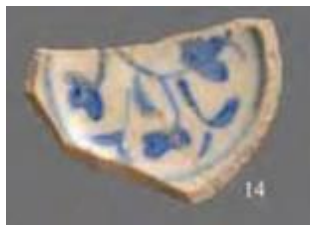


Figure 234 Balla and Éder, “Budai lelőhelyekről előkerült török kori fajanszok,” Fig. 5/14.



Figure 236 Balla and Éder, “Budai lelőhelyekről előkerült török kori fajanszok,” Fig. 7/25

⁶⁵⁷ Balla and Éder, “Budai lelőhelyekről előkerült török kori fajanszok,” 96.

In the studied material, only four cups (two from Eger Castle and one from Esztergom Castle) have been identified as most likely Iznik products (Figures 237 to 240). The first one is a sherd with a unique decorative motif featuring an arabesque-shaped leaf filled with *çintamani* motif. (Figure 237). Its yellowish-white, porous body, and corroded, oily glaze would suggest a Persian provenance; the motif, however, is so strongly Ottoman that it is highly unlikely it was made for a Persian market. The second one (Figure 238) also has a yellowish, porous body and a white glaze. It features a plant bouquet decoration with a schematic tulip resembling Ottoman-style tulips. This piece, based on its white body and sparse decoration on the outside, could also be identified as Gombroon ware, although the ring around the well on the outside would be uncharacteristic of a Gombroon cup. The third example (Figure 239) from Eger Castle has undergone a material test, which showed that it was most likely made in Iznik, although its material and corroded glaze would suggest otherwise.⁶⁵⁸ Orsolya Zay has also noted that the decoration is a simplified version of the “four-flower” motif, which is an exclusively Ottoman decorative motif. According to Zay, 37 such pieces are present in the Eger assemblage.⁶⁵⁹ Similar sherds from the Eger assemblage have been discussed among the Chinese imitation Persian types, such as Lotus imitation Variant a/1, further emphasizing the problem a provenance. The fourth piece is also less obvious (Figure 240). It has a pinkish white body, and a heavily corroded, oily glaze. The decoration is a clear imitation of the Chinese lotus and *lingzhi* motif, although executed in a rather Ottomanish, although schematic style. The motif is reminiscent of the early phase of Chinese-inspired blue and white fine Iznik ware, such as on Figure 167 above.



Figure 237 Seventeenth-century cup sherd
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.2012.121.6.



Figure 238 Seventeenth-century cup sherd
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.2012.131.8.



⁶⁵⁸ Zay, “Egri, hódoltság korabeli porcelán- és fajansztöredékek”, p. 349. and fig. 1/4.

⁶⁵⁹ Zay, “Egri, hódoltság korabeli porcelán- és fajansztöredékek”, p. 349.



Figure 239 Seventeenth-century cup sherd
Zay, "Egri, hódoltság korabeli porcelán- és
fajansztöredékek," Fig. 1/4., DICM V.2012.91.2.



Figure 240 Seventeenth-century cup sherd
Esztergom Castle, inv. no. BBM 2000.7.11.

In conclusion, the types of Kütahya and Persian stonepaste that resemble these sherds, proven to have been in Iznik by material tests, have not been moved into this group. The reason is partly because I had no access to the Buda pieces and could only work with them from pictures and partly because Persian and Iznik ware show a significant difference as archaeological objects. Even though they tend to be unearthed from the same contexts, they corrode very differently, and after excavation, the sherds that have spent c. half a millennium in the ground show very different characteristics. Those pieces that are characterized as 'Persian' are usually more corroded, and the glaze is either oily and ruptured or even flaking. The biscuit material tends to be more porous and yellowish.

These differences do not mean that the "Persian" pieces could not be made in Iznik, but it certainly indicates a different technology regarding the production of both the body and the glaze, apart from the obvious stylistic differences. A perfect example of the phenomenon is the piece in Figure 177 above (Eger Castle, V.2012.91.2.). Its glaze, however, is a match to that of another piece identified as Persian also by material tests. This phenomenon is explained with the possibility that the recipe for the glaze was migrated with Persian masters from Iran to Iznik.⁶⁶⁰ The migration of Persian masters to Iznik is well-documented, although their Iznik style is very distinctive.⁶⁶¹ It is not impossible that the tradition lived on in the seventeenth century, or even Persian masters could still be present at Iznik kilns who have continued making vessels, mostly coffee cups, during the seventeenth century to meet the demand for Chinese-like blue and white vessels, especially in the light of the decline of fine Iznik ware production.

Regarding the earlier types of Iznik ware, the composition of the material corresponds to the conclusions of earlier scholarship discussed in the introduction. The ratio of Iznik ware to Chinese porcelain is much smaller, indicating that Iznik ware was much less available than porcelain. Furthermore, Iznik ware was mainly present during the sixteenth century, while the

⁶⁶⁰ Zay, "Egri, hódoltság korabeli porcelán- és fajansztöredékek," p. 349-350.

⁶⁶¹ Atasoy and Raby, *Iznik*, pp. 83-89.

mass-produced Chinese porcelain reached the Ottoman Empire in large numbers in the seventeenth century. This shows that Iznik ware was a different commodity than the seventeenth-century Chinese cups. In the sixteenth century, both Iznik and Chinese vessels were rarer and assumably more expensive and, therefore, more exclusive. This phenomenon will be further discussed in Chapter 5.

Kütahya ware

Kütahya, after Iznik, served as a second center of ceramic production from the early Ottoman period onwards.⁶⁶² Production took place in parallel, as also stated by John Carswell, in connection with the Godman vessels, discussed in the introduction to Iznik ware. This was also corroborated by the large number of blue and white fragments found during excavations at Kütahya.⁶⁶³ There is abundant evidence that Kütahya produced tiles in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Regarding the production of cups, however, the earliest documentary evidence is from the eighteenth century, in the form of agreements between the Ottoman State and the cup makers' guild.⁶⁶⁴ The existence of a cup makers' guild suggests that the profession might have been around for a while and started possibly even as early as the sixteenth century. At this stage of scholarship, it seems that the default eighteenth-century dating of the Kütahya coffee cups is based on the available archival evidence, which is circumstantial at best. As a significant number of Kütahya pieces are identified in the Eger and Buda materials, this section will challenge this dating in the case of some types by raising the possibility that they were made in the seventeenth century.

This group turns out to be rather numerous in the studied material, even without counting those pieces classified as Persian or Iznik. 375 vessels are identified as Kütahya, constituting 14% of the entire material. All sherds belong to cups or small bowls, with some exceptions of saucers.

Sixteenth-seventeenth century

There are only sporadic mentions in the secondary literature regarding coffee cup production in Kütahya in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Garo Kürkman, unfortunately without

⁶⁶² Garo Kürkman, *Magic of clay and fire. A history of Kütahya pottery and potters* (Suna and İnan Kıraç Foundation, 2006), 41.

⁶⁶³ Kürkman, *Magic of clay and fire*, 45.

⁶⁶⁴ Kürkman, *Magic of clay and fire*, 82-116.

any references or evidence mentioned, states that coffee cup production in Kütahya started as coffee spreading in the Ottoman Empire in the second half of the sixteenth century. However, he describes blue and white cups with marks on their base being produced from the late sixteenth century onwards,⁶⁶⁵ which fits some of the types in the material discussed in the present work. This early production might be evidenced by more comprehensive studies of the Kütahya material of Rumeli. The discussion below is a preliminary collection of Kütahya types that might be dated to this earlier production period. Further research is especially needed since no Kütahya cup has been published in Turkish or European publications dated to this early period. Some published types, however, could be from this period, but they are dated to the eighteenth century because of the paradigm that Kütahya coffee cups were produced in the eighteenth century.

The types presented below do not have parallels. Thus, their Kütahya identification is hypothetical based on the stylistic evaluation. Most of them are blue and white or blue and white with black. Still, some polychrome pieces are included in this category because of their previous publication, archaeological context, or stylistic characteristics.

The three examples below (Figures 241 to 243) represent the blue and white with black paint type. The motif in the well of the cup in Figure 241 resembles the Baba Nakkaş characteristic tadpole-like leaves. The black outlines and strokes and the turquoise color in the decoration of the cavetto indicate that the sherd is definitely not a Baba Nakkaş cup but most likely a Kütahya-produced piece. There is evidence of early sixteenth-century Kütahya blue and white vessels, featuring the tadpole-like leaf motif, as mentioned above,⁶⁶⁶ further supporting the Kütahya identification of the Szolnok sherd. Figure 242, on the other hand, resembles the Iznik Damascus style with the purple-centered rosette in the well, but the black painted motif on the outside gives away its possible Kütahya origin. The dating of these sherds is difficult, especially since no well-dated analogies are available. According to the literature on Kütahya ceramics, these cups did not appear before the eighteenth century, although coffee cups were already in use by the late sixteenth century, after the introduction of coffee to the Ottoman lands.⁶⁶⁷ A rather close parallel was unearthed in Bucharest⁶⁶⁸ and two more in Constanța County in

⁶⁶⁵ Kürkman, *Magic of clay and fire*, 129.

⁶⁶⁶ Carswell, *Iznik Pottery*, pp. 45-47., fig.24.

⁶⁶⁷ Begüm Buğdaycı, “Kütahya Çini Müzesi’nde sergilenen seramik ve çini eserlerin değerlendirilmesi [Evaluation of the ceramic and tile works exhibited in the Kütahya Tile Museum]” (MA, Istanbul, Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi, 2018), 238.

⁶⁶⁸ Niculina Dinu, “Ceramica otomană descoperită în București. Campaniile anilor 2005–2011 [Ottoman Pottery from București. Archaeological Campaigns of 2005–2011],” in *Omagiu adus profesorului Adrian Andrei Rusu cu*

Romania,⁶⁶⁹ all dated to the eighteenth century based on stylistic characteristics. However, based on the archaeological context of the Szolnok sherd, a sixteenth-century dating is not impossible,⁶⁷⁰ and it is also well-documented that the tadpole-like leaf motif returned in Iznik production in the late sixteenth century.⁶⁷¹ The two Sofia pieces were unearthed from a context that is dated to the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries; thus, a dating from the late sixteenth to early seventeenth is well-founded. Magdalina Stancheva also drew the same conclusion based on the stylistic characteristics of the sherds, although she stated that these pieces are different from the Kütahya faïences and are probably late Iznik products.⁶⁷² The Kütahya provenance of these sherds is further supported by finds made in a very similar style unearthed in Suceava (Wallachia, today Romania), identified as seventeenth-eighteenth century Kütahya ware (Figure 244).⁶⁷³ Based on the archaeological context, a seventeenth-century dating is most likely since the princely court was abandoned by the end of the seventeenth century, and the sherds were unearthed from a cellar filled with sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Iznik ceramics and tiles,⁶⁷⁴ although they are dated to the late seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth century in their publication.⁶⁷⁵

ocazia împlinirii vârstei de 70 de ani/Studies in honour of Professor Adrian Andrei Rusu on his 70th birthday., ed. Gianina-Diana Iegar et al. (Editura MEGA, 2022), . p. 807 and 809. and Pl. 2/6a-b.

⁶⁶⁹ Dinu, “Ceramica otomană descoperită în județul Constanța,” p. 439. and Pl. 5/20a-b. and 23a-b.

⁶⁷⁰ Kertész et al., *A szolnoki vár*, Cat. no. 5.3.6.3.

⁶⁷¹ Atasoy and Raby, *Iznik*, p. 271. figs. 602. and 604.

⁶⁷² Stancheva, “Turski fajans ot Sofija”, pp. 122-123. No. 68 (Sof_49) and no. 72 (Sof_67).

⁶⁷³ Paraschiva-Victoria Batariuc and Niculina Dinu, “Kütahya Pottery Found at the Princely Court of Suceava,” in *15th International Congress of Turkish Art*, ed. Michele Bernardi and Alessandro Taddei (Ankara: Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2018), 133–36.

⁶⁷⁴ Batariuc and Dinu, “Kütahya Pottery”, p. 133.

⁶⁷⁵ Batariuc and Dinu, “Kütahya Pottery”, p. 134.



Figure 241 Kütahya cup with a tadpole leaf, seventeenth century
Szolnok Castle, no inv. no.



Figure 242: Kütahya cup imitating the Damascus style,
late seventeenth to early eighteenth century
Sofia, inv. no. SHRM 706



Figure 243 Kütahya cup imitating the Damascus style,
late seventeenth to early eighteenth century
Sofia, inv. no. SHRM 706



Figure 244 Kütahya ware from Suceava,
late seventeenth to early eighteenth century
Batariuc and Dinu, "Kütahya Pottery," Fig. 2.

The next piece is discussed here because it is inventoried as fifteenth-century Kütahya ware in the Sofia Regional History Museum (Figure 245). Unfortunately, it is not clear whether this dating is based on the archaeological context or stylistic evaluation. A fifteenth-century dating is possible since there is evidence for such an early Kütahya production,⁶⁷⁶ although it would be rather surprising. Its stylistic and raw material features are analogous to those blue and white pieces that seem Persian but proved to be made in Iznik based on material tests (see above). Thus, it is possible that this is also such a piece or a Kütahya version made in the same period (sixteenth to seventeenth centuries).

⁶⁷⁶ Hadiye Kılıç, "15. Yy. – 19. Yy. Osmanlı Dönemi Kütahya Çinileri" [15th-19th century Ottoman Period Kütahya Tiles], *Küllîye* 3, no. 1 (2022): 34.



Figure 245 Blue and white coffee cup, Iznik or Kütahya,
sixteenth or seventeenth century
Sofia, inv. no. SRHM 4228

The next four sherds are classified as seventeenth- and eighteenth-century products based on their provenance as archaeological finds (Figures 246 to 251). Since they were unearthed in Eger, assumably they should date to the seventeenth century, although parallels are consistently dated to the eighteenth century.⁶⁷⁷ The sherds were unearthed in the so-called Gaol Bastion, but their precise context is unknown. In this area, though, most of the faience sherds the context of which could be identified, were unearthed from a filling layer containing debris mixed with modern-period finds as well.⁶⁷⁸ Nonetheless, based on the history of the Eger Castle, after the expulsion of the Ottomans in 1687; thus, it is safe to assume that all the Ottoman-related objects were in use until this time, especially coffee cups. Therefore, the Eger finds can be considered a closed find assemblage dated between 1596 and 1687, thus supposedly providing archaeological evidence for the seventeenth-century presence of blue and white Kütahya coffee cups. Still, three sherds out of these four are more likely from the eighteenth century. Figures 246, 248 and 249, since these pieces represent a typical eighteenth-century style, figures 246 and 248 being imitations of eighteenth-century Meissen porcelain. An indication of Kütahya

⁶⁷⁷ E.g.: Lale Doğer, “İzmir Agorası Kazılarında 17.-19. yüzyıl seramik buluntuları üzerine bazı gözlemler” [Some observations regarding the 17-19th century finds of the İzmir Agora excavations],” *Sanat Tarihi Dergisi* 17, no. 1 (2008): 46. Tablo IV. (Also published: Lale Doğer, “İzmir Agorası Kazılarında geç Osmanlı dönemi ve Avrupa seramik buluntuları,” in *Thirteenth International Congress of Turkish Art*, ed. Ibolya Gerelyes and Géza Dávid (Hungarian National Museum, 2009), 229. fig. 2/c.); and Buğdaycı, *Kütahya Çini Müzesi’nde sergilenen seramik ve çini*, p. 65. figs. 72-74.,

⁶⁷⁸ The context is explained by Zay Orsolya, “Az egri vár oszmán-török kori porcelán- és fajansztöredékei [Porcelain and faience fragments from the Ottoman-period of the Castle of Eger].” (MA, Budapest, Eötvös Loránd University, 2013), 62–64.

cups being produced in the late seventeenth century is mentioned in one instance, discussing analogies for Figure 247, putting only this one sherd in the Ottoman period.⁶⁷⁹

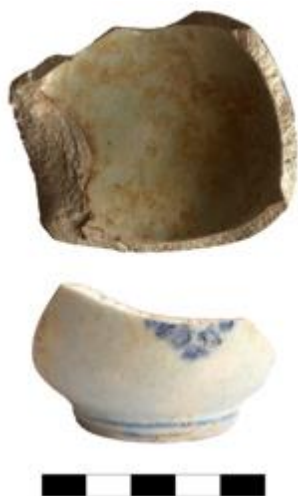


Figure 246 Kütahya coffeecup, eighteenth century
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.97.20.3.



Figure 248 Kütahya cup, eighteenth century
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.2012.138.17.



Figure 247 Kütahya cup, seventeenth century
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.2012.105.1.



Figure 249 Kütahya cup, late seventeenth or eighteenth century
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.2010.37.1.

An almost direct parallel of the sherd on Figure 250 was unearthed in Edirne New Palace, unsurprisingly dated to the eighteenth century, but it is not clear whether it is based on archaeological context or tradition of the stylistic evaluation.⁶⁸⁰ The stylized rosette motif in the well and the decoration around the outer base is almost identical on the two sherds found in

⁶⁷⁹ Hicran Özdemir, "Silifke Castle Excavation Kütahya Ceramics (2011-2014)," in *XIth Congress AIECM3 on Medieval and Modern Period Mediterranean Ceramics Proceedings*, ed. Defne Karakaya and Timothy Glenn Little (Koç Üniversitesi VEKAM, 2018), 445. and 446. Tablo 1/a, c, d.

⁶⁸⁰ Hasan Uçar, "2013-2014 Yılı Edirne Yeni Saray Kazısı İzmit ve Kütahya Seramikleri [Izmit and Kütahya Ceramics from the Edirne New Palace Excavations in 2013-2014]," *CBÜ Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 17, no. 3 (2019): Tablo III/25.

Edirne and in Szolnok. The difference is the mark on the base: the Szolnok sherd features a star, while the Edirne sherd features a stylized grid motif (Figure 251).



Figure 250 Kütahya cup sherd, seventeenth century
Szolnok Castle, DJM no inv. no.



Figure 251 Kütahya cup sherd, seventeenth century
Uçar, "2013-2014 Yılı Edirne Yeni Saray Kazısı," p. 385.
Tablo III/25.

The next five vessels (Figures 252 to 256) are included in this period partly because they were found in Pécs, and partly because their publication dates them to the seventeenth century.⁶⁸¹ These polychrome types are uncontestedly dated to the eighteenth century, but Győző Gerő still argued for their seventeenth-century dating despite of the pieces being found in a refuse pit containing eighteenth century finds.⁶⁸² Gerő's argument raised the issue of dating Kütahya pieces and argued that these objects are undoubtedly connected to the Ottomans, who were expelled from Hungary by the end of the seventeenth century. Gerő also brings up the first mention of Kütahya craftsmen making cups in 1608, further proving that seventeenth-century Kütahya-produced cups are possible.⁶⁸³ He also supports his argument by mentioning the eighteenth-century Serb settlers both in Buda and in Pécs, but argues against the cups being connected to them, based on the fact that the archaeological data in Hungary suggests that these types of vessels can only be connected to the Ottomans, and thus dated to the second half of the

⁶⁸¹ Győző Gerő, "Anatolian Pottery," figs. 8-10. Regarding the confusion of their discovery site, see Chapter 3, Pécs.

⁶⁸² Gerő, "Anatolian Pottery", p. 146.

⁶⁸³ Gerő, "Anatolian Pottery", p. 146.

seventeenth century.⁶⁸⁴ On the same note, Gerő also dates the similarly polychrome Kütahya sherds found by Sándor Garády in Buda in the Tabán area to the seventeenth century⁶⁸⁵ (Figure 257). Although this argument is compelling, it should be noted that the saucer in Figure 256 has a rather close parallel, featuring the same geometric pattern executed in different colors, dated to the early eighteenth century. The dating, however, is most likely based on stylistic evaluation, since it was a purchase of the Istanbul Archaeology Museum, and not an archaeological find.⁶⁸⁶ The foliage on the other four vessels, especially the tulips on Figures 252 to 254 are unparalleled in the published material I had access to.



Figure 252 Pécs_85.4.1.



Figure 253 Pécs_85.4.2.



Figure 254 Pécs_85.4.4.



Figure 255 Pécs_85.4.5.



Figure 256 Pécs_85.4.6.

⁶⁸⁴ Gerő, “Anatolian Pottery”, p. 147.

⁶⁸⁵ Gerő, “Anatolian Pottery,” p. 146.

⁶⁸⁶ Selin Yalçın, “İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Çinili Köşk Müzesi’nde Bulunan 18. Ve 19. Yüzyıl Kütahya Üretimi Kahve Fincanları [18th and 19th-Century Kütahya Coffee Cups Found in the Tiled Kiosk Museum of Istanbul Archaeological Museums]” (MA, Istanbul, Marmara Üniversitesi, 2018), 81-82. Cat.no. 31., Fig. 70.b.



Figure 257 Garády 1944.

Chinese imitations

The types presented here were originally identified as Persian partly as per Imre Holl's identifications regarding the Buda find collection. Parallels found in Romanian and Bulgarian scholarship, further supported by Turkish publications, made their re-identification as Kütahya ware necessary. As discussed above, Turkish and based on that, Romanian and Bulgarian scholarship consequently dates the coffee cup starting with the eighteenth century, with very few indications that Kütahya coffee cups were on the market during the seventeenth century. Regardless, the parallels in decoration technique and raw material are so strong that they cannot be ignored. Therefore, the types presented in this section are presented according to the same logic as the Chinese imitations of the Persian type. The reason for this is that these types imitate Chinese porcelain, just like those discussed in the Persian stonepaste section. The similarity to the Persian is sometimes deceiving, which explains why they were originally identified as Persian products. More publications appearing in the last two decades made possible the distinction between Persian and Kütahyan ceramics based on stylistic features.

The most important support of the re-identification besides the parallels is the marks. These have also been discussed in detail by Imre Holl, attributed to Persian workshops.⁶⁸⁷ What gives them away is the fact that their parallels cannot be found among the published Persian marks. Among the published Kütahya marks, however, there is much more overlap (Figure 259), further suggesting that these are products of Kütahya and not Persia. In Holl's work, the marks are separated into three categories (Figure 258), partly following that of Lisa Golombek and Robert Mason,⁶⁸⁸ who—just as Imre Holl—followed the categorization of Arthur Lane. Lane categorized the Persian marks into three main types: seal marks imitating Chinese seal marks;

⁶⁸⁷ Marks were published in all the three above cited works of Imre Holl, although it is impossible to assess whether all variations have been included. The largest collection is in Holl, "Persische Fayancewaren", p. 480. Abb. 3.

⁶⁸⁸ Lisa Golombek et al., "Safavid Potters's Marks and the Question of Provenance", *Iran* 39 (2001): 207-236. and idem, *Persian Pottery*, Chapter 7: Potters' Marks, 245-257.

character marks imitating Chinese marks that are not framed; and tassel marks named after their characteristic form similar to the shape of a tassel. In the case of the material analyzed in this sub-chapter, there are no identified tassel marks, and some marks fit neither the seal mark nor the character mark category; thus, a third category is named ‘other’. The sub-categories are differentiated with the letters of the alphabet and will be referred to in the description of the types according to the first letter of the category, followed by the corresponding letter, e.g. S-a/C-b/O-c, as in Seal-mark ‘a’/Character mark ‘b’/Other mark ‘c’ presented on the table below. In the categorization, I followed only the logic of Lane and Golombek et al., i.e. using the types of Chinese characters as a basis. In the case of some types, the categorization differs from that of Lane’s and Golombek et al.’s, such as in the case of S-a mark type, which is here categorized as a seal-mark, but in Golombek et al. similar versions are discussed among the Character marks.⁶⁸⁹ The difficulty of the marks is that among the published marks by Golombek et al., there is not one direct parallel of those found on the sherds unearthed in Hungary and the Balkans. Therefore, even though marks can be considered diagnostic features of Persian pottery, in the case of the “knock-off” coffee cups, petrographic analysis would solve the question of provenance among Persian workshops and a narrower dating within the Safavid period.

⁶⁸⁹ Golombek et al., *Persian Pottery*, p. 253. C3 and C5; p. 257, pl. 7.3. C3 and C5.

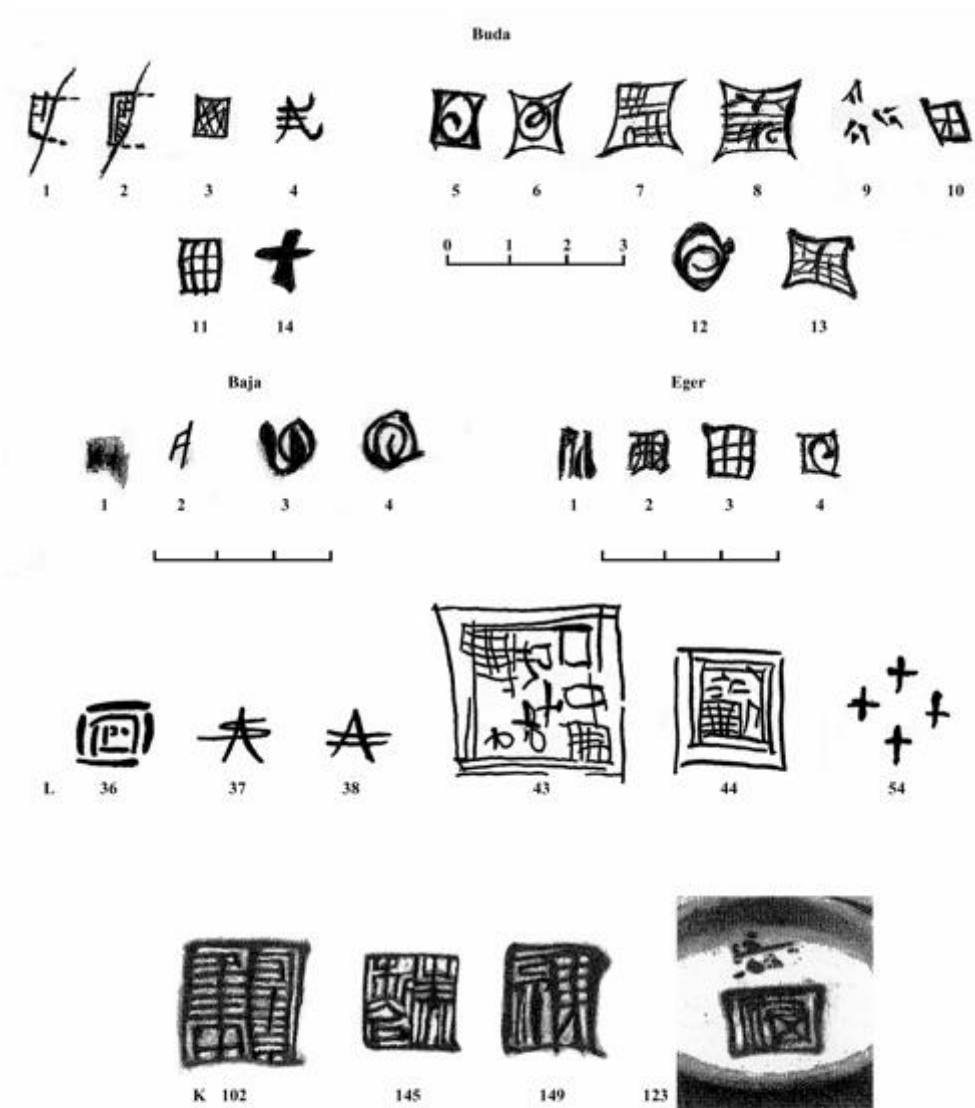
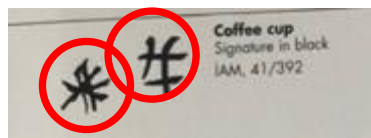



































Abb. 3. Zeichen von persischen Fayencewaren. Buda, Palast: 1-4, 11-14: Hartfayence; 5-10, 12-13: korrodierte Weichfayence. Baja: 1: Hartfayence; 2: monochromes weißgelbes Exemplar; 3-4: korrodierte Hartfayence; Eger: 1: monochromes weißgelbes Exemplar; 2-3: Hartfayence; 4: korrodiertes gelbes Exemplar; L: persische Zeichen; 36-38: 18. Jh.; 43-44: erste Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts; 54: zweite Hälfte des 17. Jh. (nach LANE 1957). K: chinesische Zeichen, zweites Drittel des 16. Jahrhunderts-17. Jahrhundert (nach KRAHL. Ann. 12)

Figure 258 Marks on "Persian" pottery in Hungary, collected by Imre Holl
Holl - Persische waren, p. 480. Abb. 3.





In the table below the marks, as mentioned above, are organized based on the logic of Arthur Lane. The several pictures connected to each type represent the variations of the types. Some marks only appear once, and some appear on several vessels or in several variations. The table represents all variations of the types that could be identified.

Types of marks appearing on Persian stonepaste cups		
Seal-Marks	Character Marks	Other
a)  	 a)  inside! 	 a)
b)  	 b)	 b)
c)   	 c)	 c)
 d)	 d)	 d)
 e)	 e)	 e)
 f)	 f)	 f) Gaál cat. no. 67.
 g)	 g)	 g)
 h)	 h)	 h)
 i)	 i) Holl Persiche Abb. 3.10.	 i)

j) 		
k)  Gaál cat no. 68.		

Abstract peach and peach or peach blossom imitation

Base variants

The first variant (**Variant 1**, Figures 260 and 261) represents a style that can be considered the most abstract. There are 7 sherds in the material decorated with the imitation of the Chinese peach and *lingzhi* motif in the well, painted in the same schematic style. The biscuit material of all the sherds seems very similar; all of them are corroded in the same way: the body turned yellowish, and the glaze is matte and ruptured. Most interestingly, they all bear the same or very similar marks: either one single spiral or a spiral in a rectangular frame (marks O-b, c, e, f, and S-c). One mark seems to be the combination of the two: a spiral with a rectangular upper part (mark O-c).

These are the only sherds of this type with walls and rims preserved; thus, these are the only ones where the rest of the decoration can be assessed. This decoration shows that although the mark and the style of the motif in the well are analogous, the decoration of the outer wall can be quite different. Figure 260 represents a style that follows the Chinese model only in parts of the motives: the band under the rim is the typical rim decoration of the Chinese abstract peach style; the decoration on the wall though is a loose interpretation of different Chinese motives, so far from the original that it is difficult to connect it to any particular ones. The piece from Pest (Figure 260) was excavated from an Ottoman pit, containing another faience cup and sherds of several typical Ottoman ceramic types, such as footed bowls and spouted jars.⁶⁹⁰

⁶⁹⁰ Based on the author's experience, being present at the excavation. Here I would like to thank Judit Zádor, retired archaeologist of the Budapest History Museum, for letting me work at the excavation and providing access to analyze the material. For more details about the site see: Tünde Komori, "Ottomans in Pest in the Light of 'Luxury' Ceramics."



Figure 260 Kütahya cup
Pest, inv. no. BHM 2018.16.227.



Figure 261 Kütahya cup
Szekszárd – Yeni Palanka
Gaál 2005. Table 2/22 (WWMM)

The next sherd represents a variant with a less elaborate peach motif in the well (**Variant 2**). It was excavated from the Buda Royal Palace (Figure 262). The motif is more schematic, the surface is more ruptured, the glaze is almost completely gone, only a thin, oily layer is detectable. The peach motif is so schematic that it seems this variant features the imitation of the *lingzhi* fungus in the well instead of the peach or peach blossom motif. There is a possibility that it was made in the mid-sixteenth century, however, it was excavated from a seventeenth-century layer that was filled during a longer period, containing a number of sixteenth-century finds.⁶⁹¹ Considering that the Chinese abstract peach and peach (blossom) types are connected

⁶⁹¹ In “Persische Fayencewaren” Holl states that the piece was excavated from a layer dated 1532-1558 by coins (p. 483.). In “Külföldi kerámia Magyarországon III” he states that it was in a context datable to the late sixteenth-early seventeenth centuries (i.e. Wanli period) (p. 262.). The exact context and its description are discussed in *Fundkomplexe* (p. 12. Grube II.).

to the Wanli period, there is a strong possibility that this piece was also made during that time, or in the first half of the seventeenth century. This dating is supported by the theory of Lisa Golombek et al. that marks only appear on seventeenth century Safavid wares, since their purpose was to imitate Chinese porcelain.⁶⁹² This could apply to the Kütahya cups as well. Interestingly, a close parallel with a different mark was also excavated from Baja, from a layer dated by coins from the 1530s to 1614 (Figure 263).⁶⁹³ This suggests that the motif possibly lived on throughout the entire sixteenth century, maybe even longer.

Somewhat different versions are the two similar sherds on Figures 264 and 265. The structure and schematic character of the peach and *lingzhi* motive is similar, but the biscuit material and the colors differ, so does the mark on the base. The biscuit material is somewhat whiter and harder, and the glaze is also more resistant. This difference could be a result of different chemical circumstances in the ground; but can also derive from a difference in the composition of the raw materials, pointing to different workshops. This latter theory is corroborated by the conspicuous difference in the marks: on Figures 264 and 265 the S-c mark appears in a rather similar manner but painted with different colors. Both sherds were unearthed from seventeenth-century contexts, although no more is known about them. Figure 264 was found in an unidentified context in the Eger Castle; while Figure 265 was found in Szent György Square in Buda Town and was dated to the seventeenth century by the first publisher of the sherd.⁶⁹⁴ A slightly different version of the same style is Figure 266. This sherd has similar material to that of Figure 262, but the motif in the well is somewhat more detailed, and there is a circle around it with possibly six small strokes pointing toward the central motif. The mark is also very different, featuring the S-b category.

The next version features the same motif structure but executed in a rather different style. Figure 269 represents a thoroughly painted *lingzhi* motif in the well, surrounded by a circle around the well. The paint is blue and very dark, almost black, painted with thin strokes. The base features an S-a mark, painted in a dark, almost black color, with a thin stroke. The outer wall features a schematic depiction of *lingzhi* and *ruyi* motives among plant leaves, painted in blue, dark blue, and turquoise blue. Figures 267 and 268 represent the *lingzhi* motif in a much more schematic style but feature the same motif structure in the well as Figure 269. They are also marked with very similar S-c type marks, but their outer decoration is probably quite different. In the case of Figure 267, it is difficult assess, but what is left of the outer wall motif

⁶⁹² Golombek et al., *Persian Pottery*, p. 245.

⁶⁹³ Holl, "Persische Fayancewaren", p. 483.

⁶⁹⁴ Ágnes Kolláth, "The research history of early modern pottery in Hungary."

is definitely nothing similar to the scattered schematic stars featured on the outer wall of Figure 268. In its publication, the Varna sherd is identified as eighteenth-century Kütahya ware, which does raise the issue of differentiating seventeenth-century Kütahya and Persian cups, and in some cases, even Iznik bulk cups, as discussed above.

The next version (Figure 269) features yet another style of the *lingzhi* motif. The biscuit material is greyish yellow, the glaze is corroded differently: more thickness is left but became grainier and opaquer than in the case of the previous versions. The *lingzhi* motif is painted in yet another style but following the same structure. The color of the paint is the usual cobalt blue, and the mark is also the S-c type. Another example of this version was unearthed in Buda Palace from a seventeenth century layer.⁶⁹⁵

Figure 270 is similar to Figure 269 but executed in a different style. The structure of the motif is very similar, but the style is less refined and more rounded and could be considered more schematic. The material is more greyish white as opposed to the yellowish biscuit of Figure 269. The glaze is better preserved, but this could result from a different chemical environment in the ground. The paint is the same cobalt blue, but this version features the S-c mark type. A very similar example was unearthed in the Buda Palace from a layer dated between 1532 and 1558 by coins,⁶⁹⁶ suggesting that this version can be dated to the mid-sixteenth century, but its appearance in Eger indicates that it was in use during the seventeenth century as well.

The last version of Variant 3 is interesting in many aspects (Figure 271). It features the motif of the variant in a strongly schematic style and a rare mark type (mark C-a). Its most interesting characteristic is that a large part of the walls was preserved, including the rim; thus, the entire cup can be reconstructed. Its shape and material are not outstanding, but the decoration of the walls shows features that set it apart from the abstract peach imitation type. It has a yellowish biscuit material, shiny and slightly corroded glaze, and underglaze cobalt blue decoration. The decoration on the outer wall repeats the *lingzhi* motif but divided into fields echoing the *Kraak* style in Chinese porcelain. Interestingly, the outer *lingzhi* motif is much more detailed and nicely executed than that in the well. The cup was unearthed in the town of Sofia from a trash pit dated to the eighteenth century, indicating a possible late seventeenth-, maybe early eighteenth-century dating. This dating is corroborated by the analysis of the marks by Golombek et al., dating a similar mark to the mid-seventeenth century but also stating that most

⁶⁹⁵ Holl, *Fundkomplexe*, p. 120. and Abb. 72.5.

⁶⁹⁶ Holl, "Persische Fayancewaren", p. 483.

character marks can be dated to the late seventeenth to early eighteenth centuries.⁶⁹⁷ Figure 272 is a similar piece, representing a similar decorative structure, executed in a similarly schematic manner. The piece was unearthed in the Serdica fortress wall and is inventoried as eighteenth-century Kütahya. This again raises the question of provenance of some of the pieces. The sherd has a yellowish biscuit material, covered in a yellowish white glaze, which is slightly corroded.

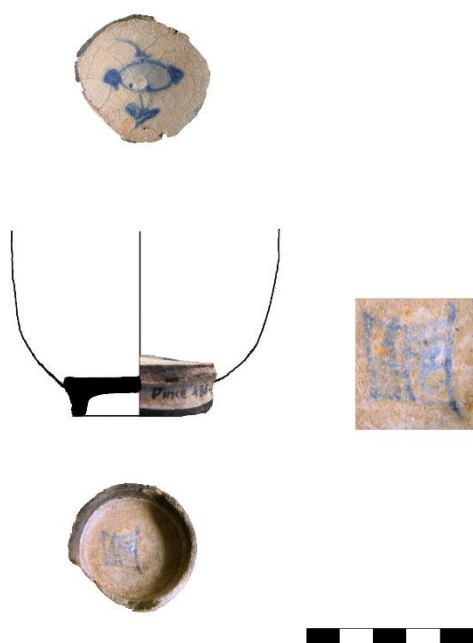


Figure 262: Kütahya cup
Buda Royal Palace, BHM no. inv. no.

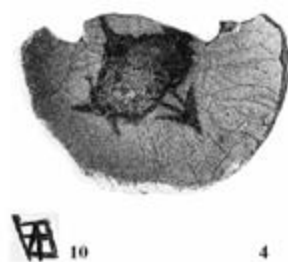


Figure 263 Kütahya cup,
Holl, "Persische Fayencewaren," Abb. 5.4.



Figure 264 Kütahya cup
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM 2012.91.8.



Figure 265 Kütahya cup, Buda Town
Kolláth, "The research history of early modern pottery in Hungary," Fig.9. right

⁶⁹⁷ Golombek et al., *Persian Pottery*, p. 252. and Plate 7.3. C1.

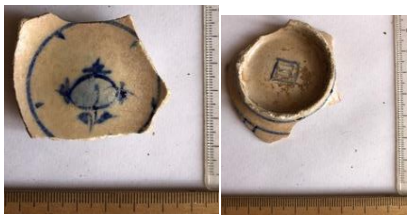


Figure 266 Kütahya cup
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM 2012.119.11.



Figure 267 Kütahya cup
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.2012.173.1.



Figure 268 Pletnov, Порцелан и майолика от Варна,
p. 22 and 20 respectively



Figure 269 Kütahya cup,
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.2012.65.24.



Figure 270 Kütahya cup
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.2012.87.4.



Figure 271 Kütahya cup
Sofia, inv. no. SRHM 3835

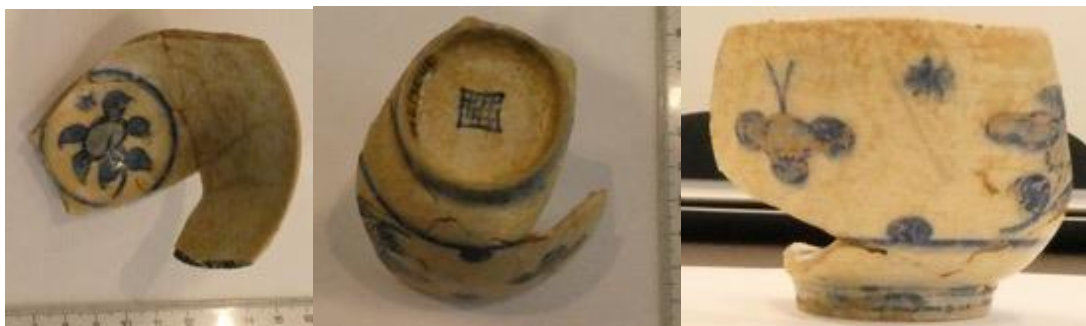


Figure 272 Kütahya cup
Sofia, inv. no. SRHM 4698

Variant 3 represents two different examples of the peach and peach blossom imitation (Figures 273 and 274). These two pieces represent the problem of differentiating Persian, Iznik,

and Kütahya ware. Figure 273 is a close imitation of the Chinese peach blossom type. The material is greyish white, the glaze is slightly corroded, and the decoration is painted in cobalt blue. The inside is undecorated, and the base features an S-a mark type. A close parallel of the piece is published in a master's thesis as an eighteenth-century Kütahya cup.⁶⁹⁸ Imre Holl does not doubt its Persian origin and dates the type to the first half of the seventeenth century.⁶⁹⁹ The other example (Figure 274) is similar in shape and material to Figure 273, but the decoration is rather different. The inside features a flower motif in the well, the outer wall is decorated with a poorly executed plant motif, which does not closely follow the Chinese models. The base features an atypical S-a mark, where the lines go from corner to corner as opposed to from side to side.



Figure 273 Kütahya cup
Buda Royal Palace, inv. no. BHM 76.16.10



Figure 274 Kütahya cup
Buda Royal Palace, inv. no. BHM 76.16.11

Variant 4 has no decoration in the well. The decoration fragments preserved on these sherds suggest that these are partly close imitations of this Chinese model, and partly feature different motives on the outside. One version is decorated with a floral motive inspired by the Chinese models but painted in a more Persian style (Figures 275 and 276). Both sherds were unearthed in Eger Castle and have a yellowish biscuit material with a corroded glaze, underglaze blue paint, Figure 275 featuring an S-a, and Figure 276 and S-h mark on the base. Figure 276 seems to a more elaborate example of the version, with a slightly whiter biscuit and a shinier glaze.

⁶⁹⁸ Yalçın, “İstanbul Akeoloji Müzeleri Çinili Köşk Müzes’inde Bulunan 18. ve 19. Yüzyıl Kütahya Üretimli Kahve Fincanları,” 2018. p. 109. Resim 88.

⁶⁹⁹ Holl, “Persische Fayancewaren”, Abb. 9.1. and p. 485-489.

Another version features a *ruyi* motif that is rather smudgy (Figure 277). The rest of the decoration is difficult to reconstruct since no complete parallels survived, nor published. The glaze is shiny, some dirt leaked under it on the inside, the biscuit material is yellowish. It cannot be assessed whether there was a mark on the base.

Version Figure 278' features a pomegranate on the outer wall, and a mark S-a on the base. The pomegranate is also an integral part of Chinese visual arts, thus its appearance on Chinese porcelain imitations is not surprising. This phenomenon has also been recorded on Safavid ceramics.⁷⁰⁰ The material is greyish-yellowish white, the glaze has a turquoise-white tone, and is corroded and oily. It bears the mark S-a.

Versions 'd-f' represent decorations that only in their structure resemble the abstract peach or peach blossom type, as the outer wall is decorated only in some parts of it (Figures 279 to 281). The three examples show three different styles, but made of similar yellowish, porous biscuit materials. Their glaze is also similarly corroded, and have the same turquoise-white tone, except for the sherd in Figure 281, which has a strong turquoise glaze. The sherd in Figure 279 is decorated with a plant motif on the outer wall and features the mark S-a on the base. The decoration and the mark on the other two versions are difficult to assess due to their fragmentary state.

Figure 281 shows examples of the base sherds the decoration of which is difficult to assess. There are altogether 13 such sherds, 3 of which is from Sofia and 10 from the Eger Castle. The marks include the types S-a (6 pcs), O-a, S-h, S-f, O-e, C-h, and two of them have no mark on the base.



Figure 275 Kütahya cup
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.97.20.5.



Figure 276 Kütahya cup
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.2012.86.7.

⁷⁰⁰ See Golombek et al., *Persian Pottery*, p. 44., 153., 221., 332., 388.



Figure 277 Kütahya cup
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.2012.85.6.

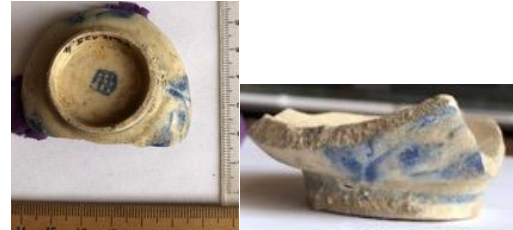


Figure 279 Kütahya cup
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.2012.125.4.



Figure 278 Kütahya cup
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.2012.85.27.



Figure 280 Kütahya cup
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.2012.125.4.



Figure 281 Kütahya cup
Varna, VAM no inv. no.

Variant 5 is represented by one sherd unearthed in Eger (Figure 282). Unfortunately, the sherd is heavily burnt, thus it is difficult to properly assess, but the peach motif and a seal-mark is still recognizable. The peach blossom or *lingzhi* motif in the well is schematic and probably damaged. The peach motif on the outer wall is also difficult to see properly, but it seems to follow the Chinese abstract peach style. The shape of the cup is unusual: it has a conic shape with a slightly inverted rim.



Figure 282 Kütahya cup
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.2020.2.31.1.

Variant 6 (Figures 283 and 284) features a flower motif instead of the peach or *lingzhi* in the well. It has a yellowish white biscuit material, covered in a turquoise-white glaze, painted with dark blue, almost black under the glaze. The mark O-d is painted also with an almost black blue paint. The decoration in the well is strongly schematic, in other words ‘abstract’, and is difficult to connect it to any Chinese model. It was unearthed in Sofia, also from the Serdica fortress, from an Ottoman-period pit dated to the fifteenth to the eighteenth century. Another version is excavated from the Buda Royal Palace from a layer dated to the seventeenth century.⁷⁰¹ The piece from Buda is somewhat less schematic in its decoration in the well, and also features a different mark (S-a) on the base. As the illustration is black and white and no detailed description is provided apart from it being a good quality, white faience, it is difficult to further describe this version, but the structure of the motif puts it into this variant.



Figure 283 Kütahya cup
Sofia, inv. no. SRHM 3984

⁷⁰¹ Holl, *Fundkomplexe*, Abb. 71.2., and p. 120.



*Figure 284 Kütahya cup, Buda
Holl, Fundkomplexe, Abb. 71.2.*

Rim and wall variants

Variant 1 (Figures 285 to 287) represents the close imitations of the Chinese abstract peach and peach blossom types.



*Figure 285 Kütahya cup
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM 2010.16.2.*



*Figure 287 Kütahya cup
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.2012.139.21.*



*Figure 286 Kütahya cup
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.2012.65.7.*

Variant 2 (Figure 288) is an interesting sherd. The outer wall clearly depicts a peach or *lingzhi* motif imitation, but in a style that only appears on the Chinese lotus and *lingzhi* type, the so-called not filled in style. The sherd is unique within the studied material. The biscuit material is a porous, white faience, covered in a turquoise bluish white glaze which is slightly corroded, but remained somewhat shiny. The underglaze cobalt blue painting is smudged.

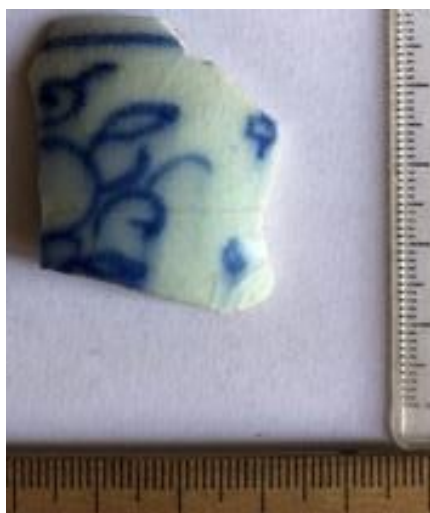


Figure 288 Kütahya cup
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM 2010.166.1.

Variant 3 (Figure 289) is probably the wall sherd type of the base variant 3, since the material, the glaze, the color and style of the paint is parallel to those base sherds.



Figure 289 Kütahya cup
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.2012.91.5.

Variant 4 (Figure 290) features most likely a *lingzhi* motif with leaves, in a style that is similar to the abstract peach imitation style. Although, the two sherds of that base variant that have wall and rim parts preserved do not indicate this identification, considering the wide variation of the motives it does not rule it out either.



Figure 290 Kütahya cup
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.97.20.22.

Variant 5 (Figure 291, Eger Castle, DICM V.97.20.23.) shows a parallel to base variant 7 in material, glaze color, and paint color and style, thus it probably belongs to that type.

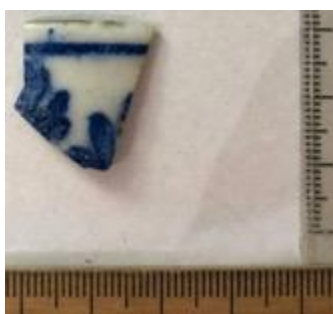


Figure 291 Kütahya cup
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.97.20.23.

Variant 6 (Figure 292) is a piece that represents the Persian type which seems to mix the Chinese motives rather than imitate a single model. The rim decoration on the outside is an abstract *ruyi* band motif usually used on Wanli-period porcelains. The *lingzhi* or peach motif on the outer wall is rather schematic, and the structure of the motif is also not a close imitation of any Chinese model. The sherd has a yellowish white biscuit material, a turquoise bluish glaze, which is corroded and oily, and it is painted with underglaze cobalt blue.



Figure 292 Kütahya cup
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM 2010.43.2.

Variant 7 (Figures 293 to 294) includes two sherds featuring a “bald peach” motif which is difficult to identify. Figure 293 a is a direct parallel of a Chinese sherd broken in exactly the same way. The fragmented decoration is not enough for an identification, but it is likely that it might be part of a peach or abstract peach motif. Among the base variants Variant 3 d/3 features

a similar motif under its outer rim, although the material, the color of the glaze, the rim decoration, and the structure of the motif is different. But the Variant 3 motif, seemingly featuring a peach attached to the rim, opens the possibility that this motive could also be a schematic peach imitation.

Figure 294 could be a schematic imitation of the Chinese abstract peach decoration where only four abstract peaches are featured on four sides of the cup's outer wall, divided by single abstract *lingzhi* motives.

Figure 295 is an odd piece of not only this variant, but also of this type. Its inside is undecorated, the outer decoration is a rather different one from those that are confidently identifiable as Persian. The Bulgarian colleagues identified this piece as “Kütahya”, thus the provenance problem rises again. It has a porous, strongly yellowish white biscuit material, a greyish-yellowish white glaze, which is slightly corroded but still shiny, ruptured, and in general different from the ‘usual’ Persian glazes.



Figure 293 WMMM 63.170.1.

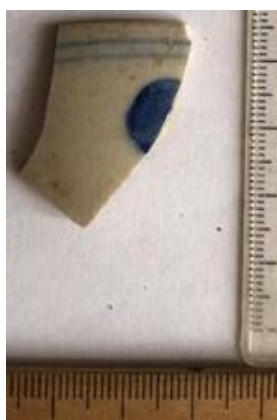


Figure 294 DICM V.2012.158.2.



Figure 295 Sof_115

Lotus imitation

Variant 1 (Figures 296 to 301) represents the direct imitation of the Chinese lotus and *lingzhi* type, in a wide variety. Version “a/1” represents an abstract style, with a white body and glaze, underglaze blue decoration, and a brown lining on the top of the rim. The lotus blossoms are painted in a schematic style, while the *lingzhi* tendrils are painted in thin lines. The inner wall is undecorated. The well has not survived, thus its decoration cannot be assessed. According to Holl it was unearthed from a context that dates the sherd to the early seventeenth

century.⁷⁰² Figure 297 can be considered a transition between a/1 and b/1. The *lingzhi* motif is depicted with thin lines, and among the lines a fragment of a lotus blossom can be observed. Figure 298 represents a different lotus and *lingzhi* type, with a lotus blossom on the outer wall, with a single line under the rim. Figure 299 imitates the lotus and *lingzhi* motif in a stylized manner. Its material is yellowish white and porous stonepaste, covered in turquoise-bluish white glaze. The base bears an S-a type mark. Figure 300 represents a classic *lingzhi* style, closely following the Chinese models, although in a stylized manner. It has a porous, yellowish biscuit material, with a glaze that is whiter, and the blue is lighter than usual. The glaze is in good condition, shiny, and has no stains. A fragment of a line at the base of the inside suggests a decoration in the well, such as it is common in the case of the Chinese models. A similar sherd was unearthed in Buda, dated to the second half of the seventeenth century by Imre Holl.⁷⁰³ Figure 301 also follows the Chinese models closely, but with less precision. The motif decorating the lower part of the outer wall resonates with a characteristic motif on the Kangxi-period Chinese lotus and *lingzhi* type, although it is not a perfect copy. The base features a mark, which is faded, but seems to belong to the S-a or S-b type. Its biscuit material is yellowish white, turned yellow by corrosion, the glaze is corroded and oily. It is not decorated inside, which is not common among the Chinese models; and has a conic shape that is also not common among the Chinese cups.



Figure 296 Kütahya cup
Buda Royal Palace, inv. no. BHM 51.1179

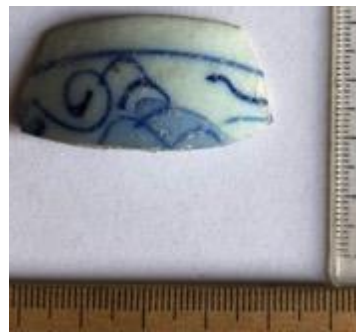


Figure 297 Kütahya cup
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.2012.78.6.



Figure 298 Kütahya cup
Szekszárd, Yeni Palanka, inv. no. WMMM 63.166.1.

⁷⁰² Holl, Fundkomplexe, Abb. 71.4. and p. 120.

⁷⁰³ Holl, *Persische Fayencewaren*, p. 489., and Abb. 10.4.



*Figure 299 Kütahya cup
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.2012.74.2.*



*Figure 300 Kütahya cup
Varna, VAM no inv. no.*



*Figure 301 Kütahya cup
Sofia, SRHM no inv. no.*

Variant 2 (Figure 302) is represented by one sherd in the entire material, featuring a direct imitation of the Chinese not filled in lotus type. The inside is not decorated. Its biscuit material is hard stonepaste in a yellowish color, most likely due to corrosion; the glaze is corroded and slightly oily. Since the Chinese model is dated to the Kangxi period, it is probably from the second half of the seventeenth century.



*Figure 302 Kütahya cup
Buda Town, inv. no. BHM 2019.208.1.*

Variant 3 (Figures 303 to 307) includes pieces with an unusual or abstract lotus-type decoration on the outside. Figure 303 features fragments of a decoration that can be interpreted

as a lotus-style decoration, although rather far-fetched from the Chinese models. It has a yellowish biscuit material, the glaze is white, but corroded and oily, and the paint is bright blue but runny. Figure 304 is included in this group because of the tendril fragments that are interpreted as *lingzhi* motives; and their inside is not decorated. Their biscuit material and glaze are also analogous: both have a yellow, porous body, and a yellowish white, thick glaze, that has a turquoise-greenish tone. The decoration on 305 is outlined with a thin line but filled in a runny style. The decorative motives of Figure 305 are not identifiable, but its mark is preserved, which belongs to the S-a type. Figure 307 is closer to the Variant 1 type, and 306 seems to be the even more abstract version of Figure 307. Their material is different: Figure 306 has a hard, white body, thin walls, white glaze, and light and dark blue, almost black underglaze paint. On its base there is a C-g type mark. Figure 307 on the other hand has a porous, yellow biscuit material, its glaze is heavily corroded, and the underglaze blue is dull and not bright.

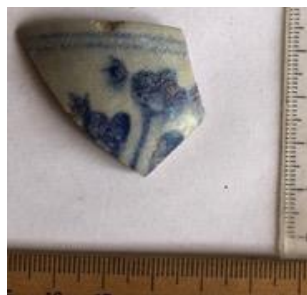


Figure 303 Kütahya cup
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM 2010.34.5.



Figure 304 Kütahya cup
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.2012.65.34



Figure 305 Kütahya cup
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.2012.95.2.



Figure 306 Kütahya cup
Sofia, inv. no. SRHM 3985



Figure 307 Kütahya cup
Sofia, inv. no. SRHM 3992

Variant 4 represents a style that has a white biscuit material, white glaze, and bright blue painting under the glaze (Figure 308). It features a stylized version of the *lingzhi* motif. The difference from previous variant apart from the biscuit material and the color of the paint is the smudged paint that characterizes the entire outer wall of the sherd. The inside is decorated with a schematic lotus blossom motif.



Figure 308 Kütahya cup
Buda Royal Palace, inv. no. BHM 51.2180.a-b.

Variant 5 (Figures 309 to 312) is a Persian interpretation of the *lingzhi* motif featuring a lotus or chrysanthemum blossom, in a style that resembles the Persian foliage. The two versions represent different styles but are closely connected to each other by the style of the chrysanthemum and are differentiated based on the structure of the decoration around the chrysanthemum flower.

Figures 309 and 310 are close parallels of each other, the only difference is the decoration in the well. Figure 310 has a C-g type mark on its base; Figure 309 might also have had a mark – it cannot be assessed as not enough of the base is preserved. Both sherds show a slightly yellowish biscuit material, which could be the result of corrosion. Their glaze is white, and both cups are painted with a bright blue underglaze paint.

Figure 311 features a different chrysanthemum motif on the outer wall. It is included in this group because of the tendril fragment that can be seen on the outer wall, interpreted as a *lingzhi* fragment. The well is decorated with a different flower, which is too fragmentary for identification. It also has a yellowish biscuit material, a white glaze that has yellowish stains due to corrosion, and a bright blue underglaze painting. There is an S-a type mark on the base.

Figure 312 is an odd example of this group, since it is only included here because of the style of the chrysanthemum on the outer wall. The inside is not decorated, the outside features alternating chrysanthemum and vertical leafy tendrils, painted with runny, underglaze dark blue paint. The biscuit material is very porous, rather yellow; the glaze is turquoise-greenish, thick, and bubbly, indicating imperfections occurring during the firing.

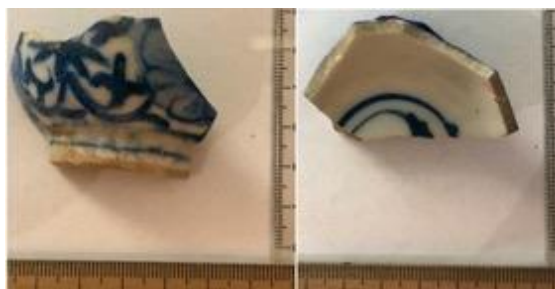


Figure 309 Kütahya cup
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.2012.86.5.

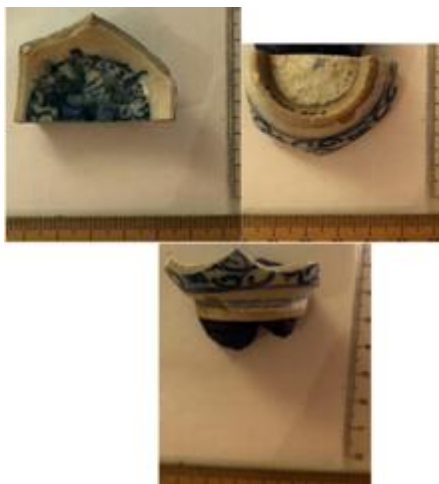


Figure 310 Kütahya cup
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.2012.95.1.

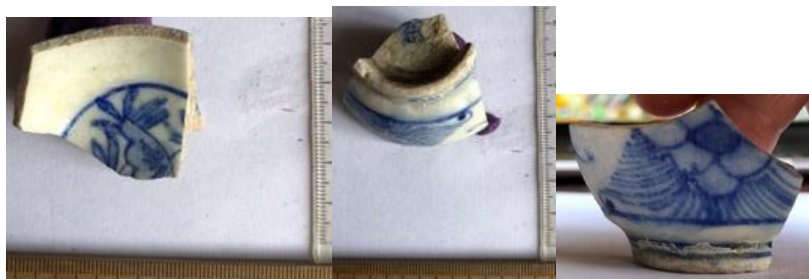


Figure 311 Kütahya cup
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM 2010.29.2.



Figure 312 Kütahya cup
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.2012.79.3.

Diaper motif imitation

Figure 313 shows a type that might have been inspired by the diaper motif Chinese models. It is decorated in a very different style. It has a porous yellowish paste, a yellowish glaze which is corroded and oily, and a duller blue underglaze painting. The inside is not painted, the outside is decorated with a wide, geometric band under the rim and a flower motif which could depict a lotus or peach blossom, or a camellia.



Figure 313 Kütahya cup
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.2012.85.36.

Brown, red, and celadon glaze imitation

Figures 314 to 322 represent the type that is decorated on the inside as well. Figure 314 has a porous, yellowish white paste, covered with greyish-bluish white glaze on the inside, and brown glaze on the outside. The glaze is heavily corroded and very oily. The inside is decorated with a plant motif in a ring in the well painted with bright blue. The motif resembles the abstract motif of the lotus imitation types. The base bears an S-a type mark. Figure 315 shows two sherds that are published by Imre Holl.⁷⁰⁴ Based on Holl's description these are also covered with red glaze, although their glaze is exactly described as reddish brown, thus they could be analogous to the version Figure 316 unearthed in Gyula. Their style of the blue underglaze decoration in the well is definitely parallel to the Gyula sherd. According to Holl the reconstructed piece (Figure 315, left) is from the sixteenth century, and the other one together with at least five more vessels are from seventeenth-century filling layers.⁷⁰⁵ In his next publication, Holl lists these two sherds as red-glazed; and the confident statement that the reconstructed cup is from the sixteenth century is refined to "could have also been produced in the sixteenth century."⁷⁰⁶ Figure 317 represents the type that seems not decorated on the inside, and is covered with brown glaze on the outside. It has a porous, greyish-yellowish white paste,

⁷⁰⁴ Holl, *Fundkomplexe*, 82.1-2.

⁷⁰⁵ Holl, *Fundkomplexe*, p. 126.

⁷⁰⁶ Holl, "Persische Fayancewaren", p. 493., and Abb. 13.3-4.

covered in creamy white glaze on the inside that turned yellowish due to corrosion. The outside is covered with a greyish, light brown glaze. The color could be caused by corrosion, but the original color is difficult to assess, in case it is not brown, it can be either white or a very light celadon imitation.

The next type represents the red glazed imitation. Figure 318 has a porous, yellowish white paste, covered in red glaze on the outside, that is heavily corroded and oily. The inside is covered with a cream white glaze, that is also corroded and oily. The well is decorated with underglaze bright blue paint featuring a Chinese lotus blossom with *lingzhi* motif in a ring. The base bears an S-f type mark. Figure 315 has a porous, yellow paste, covered with yellowish white glaze on the inside and reddish-brown glaze on the outside. It is painted with underglaze blue decoration, featuring double lines around the rim on the inside, and a screen motif in a band under the rim on the outside. The screen motif is rather unusual, thus it could also be a Kütahya piece from the eighteenth century. It is included in this group since there is no example for a red glazed Kütahya cup in the published material. Figure 318 has already been mentioned above as parallel to the sherds on Figure 318. It seems to have a porous, yellowish white paste, yellowish glaze on the inside, and red glaze on the outside. The well is decorated with underglaze bright blue decoration, featuring an ornamental motif. Figure 319 shows that the red glaze version of the monochrome Chinese imitations also appeared in a non-decorated style. The sherd has a porous, yellowish white paste, creamy white glaze on the inside, and purplish red glaze on the outside. The glaze is slightly corroded, has limescale spots on it, and it has a turquoise greenish tone in the outer base, as well as bubbles, indicating a flaw in the firing process.

Another version represents the celadon glaze imitation. Figure 321 is a sherd that is discussed here because it has underglaze blue decoration featured in the well, although that same decoration could identify it as a very different type. The sherd has a strongly porous, yellow paste, covered in turquoise or “celadon” green glaze on the outside, and a turquoise-greenish white glaze on the inside, which is heavily corroded. The inside features an ornamental decoration that is painted in an unusual style, not resembling any Asian design that appears in the rest of the material. The “flower” in the middle resembles a crescent moon, with a stem and schematic leaves. The rest of the motif is unidentifiable. From the outside, the sherd seems more analogous to the Anatolian faience type discussed above than to the Chinese imitation Persian ware. The underglaze blue painting though, even with this peculiar design, places it in this group. Figure 322 seems to be a more direct imitation of the Chinese celadon glaze type. It has a strongly porous, greyish-white paste, and it is covered with creamy yellowish white glaze on

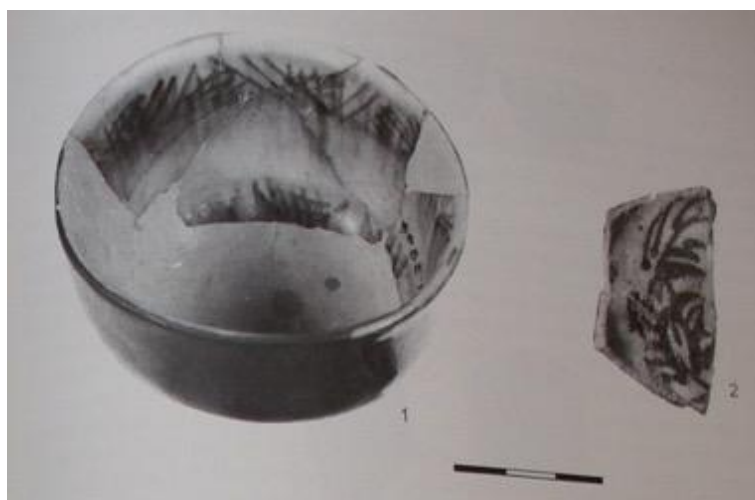
the inside, and turquoise green glaze on the outside. The glaze is heavily corroded, the sherd was secondarily burnt, thus the original color of the outer glaze is difficult to assess precisely. The inside is decorated with underglaze blue painting featuring a smudgy double line under the glaze, and an also smudged double ring around the well. The well probably featured an ornamental decoration, indicated by the rings framing it.



*Figure 314 Kütahya cup
Eger Castle, inv. no., DICM V.2012.91.3.*



*Figure 315 Kütahya cup
Varna, VAM no inv. no.*



*Figure 316 Kütahya cup
Buda Royal Palace
Holl, Fundkomplexe, Abb. 82.1-2.*



Figure 317 Kütahya cup
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.2012.65.23.



Figure 318 Kütahya cup
Buda Palace, inv. no. BHM 66.489.2.

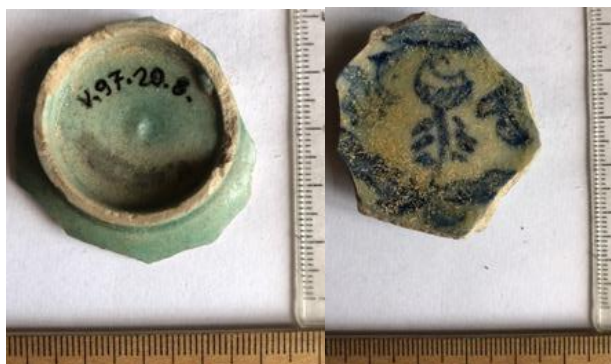
4. 63.76.3



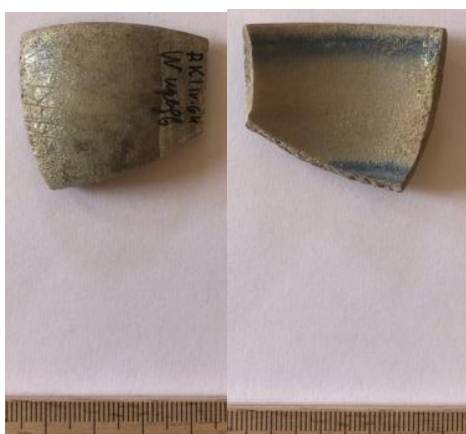
Figure 319 Kütahya cup, Gyula
Szalai, Agyagba zárt hétköznapiak, table 16.



*Figure 320 Kütahya cup
Eger Castle, inv. no., DICM V.2012.91.4.*



*Figure 321 Kütahya cup
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.97.20.8.*



*Figure 322 Kütahya cup
Varna, VAM no inv. no.*

Kraak imitation

A recognizable Kraak imitation type is the one decorated with a camellia motif in the well (Figures 323-327). The versions show a variety in both raw materials, the style of the motives, and the marks. Figure 323 has a porous, yellowish biscuit material, covered in an almost opaque white glaze, decorated with bright blue underglaze painting. The double rings around the footring and the well show a strong Chinese inspiration; but the style of the camellia or chrysanthemum in the well is unusual. The S-j type mark on the base is a unique version of the seal-marks, also painted in an unusual style. Figures 324 to 325 were unearthed in Sofia at the

same sight, dated to the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries. Their biscuit material, glaze, and paint color is analogous: both have a yellow, porous, thin-walled body; a thin, transparent glaze that is corroded; and dull, light blue underglaze painting. The difference is the style of the camellia and the mark: Figure 324 has a C-b mark, while Figure 325 has an S-g mark, meaning that one has a character type mark, and the other a seal-mark. Figure 326 was unearthed at the same site as Figures 324 to 325, possibly from a different context as it is from another year of excavations, but also dated to the 15th to 18th centuries. This piece shows much difference to the previous two: it has a hard, white biscuit material, a white glaze that is ruptured, and bright blue underglaze paint, that is painted in a smudgy, more abstract style, and it has no mark on the base. The last version is depicted on Figure 327. It was also excavated in Sofia, at a different site than the above versions. It represents an interesting type, a mixture of the lotus and *Kraak* styles. The biscuit material is a yellow, porous stonepaste, covered in a turquoise-greenish white glaze. The decoration is painted with a bright blue underglaze color. Inside the well is decorated with a peculiarly designed camellia flower, surrounded with a geometric motif that fills the well around the flower. The outside features the *lingzhi* motif of the Chinese lotus and *lingzhi* style, and the base has an S-a type mark on it. This mixture of the Chinese motives, and the distinctive style of the camellia motif is an outstanding example of the Kütahya imitations showing that in many cases the Chinese motives were borrowed only in elements, and some of them were interpreted in a unique style by the Kütahya potters.



Figure 323 Kütahya cup
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.2012.140.7.



Figure 324 Kütahya Cup
Sofia, inv. no. SRHM 709



Figure 325 Kütahya Cup
Sofia, inv. no. SRHM 710



Figure 327 Kütahya Cup
Sofia, inv. no. SRHM 708



Figure 326 Kütahya Cup
Sofia, inv. no. SRHM 2545

Transitional imitation

Transitional Chinese porcelain is dated to the 1620s to the 1680s; thus, the Persian versions can be dated from the 1620s to the end of the Safavid period. There are four types included in this group, mainly based on their style closely resembling those of the transitional period Chinese models (Figures 328 to 334).

Figures 328 to 331 represent a group that is decorated with nature scenes. Like in the case of the Chinese pieces, the decoration is not as dense as in the case of earlier or *Kraak* types. Figure 328 has a yellowish paste, greyish glaze, which probably turned grey due to corrosion, and bright blue underglaze painting. The decoration is a stylized ornamental motif, depicting leaves, tendrils, and an amorphous shape that is probably a flower. Figure 329) is similar to the previous sherd, although it is less stylized. The appearance is also different: it has a white, thin-walled body and yellowish-white glaze decorated with a lighter and darker shade of blue. The decoration on the outer wall features ornamental motives, such as the one in the well on the inside. The well decoration is quite similar to those on some transitional-period Chinese pieces, although painted in a more schematic style. The base has an O-j type mark. Figure 330 is included in this group because of its porous, yellowish white body, which is covered with

yellowish white glaze that is slightly corroded. Decorated with underglaze bright blue painting, featuring double rings around the well and under the ring, the well is decorated with schematic ornamental motif. The outside features double rings under the rim and around the footring. The outer wall is decorated with schematic nature scenes and a motif that might be an abstract interpretation of the Chinese cloud motif. The base is marked with a C-d type mark. The unusual style of the paint and the mark raises the issue that it might be an early Kütahya piece made in the sixteenth or seventeenth century. Figure 331 is a sherd that has a similar material and style of decoration as the lotus imitation, but the decoration on the outer wall places it rather into this group. It has a white paste, covered in a bluish-white glaze that is ruptured and decorated with underglaze blue and dark blue, almost black paint. The inside features a C-a-type mark in the well, which is unique; the outside is decorated with a strongly schematic plant motif or nature scene. In the Sofia Regional History Museum inventory, it is cataloged as a Kütahya piece, again raising the issue of identifying provenance in the case of some types. Figure 332 seems to be another such example, in this case, copying the Chinese landscape-type, transitional-period porcelains. It has a white, hard paste covered in a bluish white glaze, decorated with underglaze bright blue paint. The decoration features a landscape motif, with a pavilion and *shanshui* (山水 *shānshuǐ* = landscape) elements painted in a stylized manner. Figure 333 is a version of the landscape style that is further from the Chinese models. It has a greyish-white paste, covered with bluish white glaze that is slightly corroded. Decorated with underglaze dark blue painting, featuring a landscape decorative motif that is dense and vivid, but the brush style is different from the Chinese models.

Figure 334 is a sherd with a motif that is difficult to identify but is painted in a style that places it in the group of transitional period Chinese porcelain imitations. It has a greyish white paste, covered with a bluish white glaze that is slightly corroded. The decoration features a single line under the rim on both sides, and a fruit-like motif with a blue background on the outside.



Figure 328 Kütahya cup
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.2012.66.11.



Figure 329 Kütahya cup
Pest, inv. no. BHM 2018.16.226.



Figure 330 Kütahya cup
Plovdiv, RAMP no inv. no.



Figure 331 Kütahya cup
Sofia, inv. no. SRHM 4639



Figure 332 Kütahya cup
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.2012.168.3.

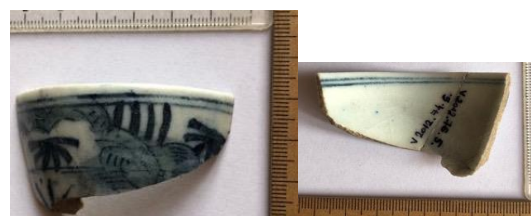


Figure 333 Kütahya cup
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.2012.74.6-8. and V.2012.76.5.

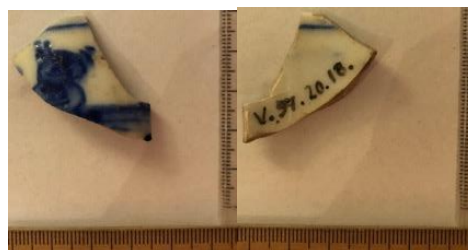


Figure 334 Kütahya cup
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.97.20.18.

Eighteenth-nineteenth century

The eighteenth century marks the heyday of Kütahya ware, which also brought a distinctive style that makes the Kütahya products easier to recognize. These are included in the analysis partly to distinguish them from the earlier pieces and partly because, in the case of Bulgaria and Romania, Ottoman influence did not cease until the nineteenth century.

The two blue and white sherds discussed in this period (Figures 335 and 337) are included here because their parallels are also dated to the eighteenth century, and since they were unearthed in Sofia, this dating is plausible. A very close parallel of the sherd in Figure 335 is held at the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, dated to the eighteenth century based on its style

since it was purchased.⁷⁰⁷ The decoration on the outer wall is almost identical, and the flower motif in the well is the same, although the Istanbul piece is more schematic, and its rim is also more outward-leaning. The mark on the base of both vessels is an imitation of the Meissen cross sword, although painted slightly differently. The decoration on the outer wall of Figure 335 is a direct copy of the original Meissen type, also represented by two cup sherds unearthed in Sofia (Figure 337).

A nearly direct parallel of the sherd in Figure 336 is dated to the first half of the eighteenth century and is also held in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum.⁷⁰⁸ The decoration on the outer wall and in the well is identical, although the blue line around the well on the Istanbul piece is faded. The only difference is the mark on the base: the Istanbul piece features a Meissen crossed sword mark imitation, while the Sofia sherd bears a tulip-like mark. Another close parallel was unearthed in Brăila (Wallachia, today Romania), dated to the eighteenth century.⁷⁰⁹ The dating of the Brăila sherds is based on stylistic evaluation since the archaeological contexts were destroyed during the transformations of the Old Town of Brăila after 1829.⁷¹⁰

The Meissen mark imitation on one find, and the parallel of the other indicates the eighteenth-century dating of both cups, even though they are blue and white and not polychrome. A parallel of both sherds in one cup was unearthed in Kütahya, featuring the outer wall decoration of Figure 336 and the floral motif in the well of Figure 335. The mark on the base is similar to that of Figure 336, interpreted as the so-called “Ayvaz” mark.⁷¹¹ This mark is believed to have belonged to a merchant called Ayvaz, usually spelling his name, although due to illiteracy some painters copied it erroneously.⁷¹² Several other parallels were unearthed in Izmir, some bearing the Ayvaz mark, and featuring the same motif on the outer wall, but various motives in the well, dated to the mid- to late seventeenth century.⁷¹³

⁷⁰⁷ Yalçın, *İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri*, pp. 55-56., Cat.no. 13., Figs. 52., 52a-b.

⁷⁰⁸ Yalçın, *İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri*, pp. 101-102., Cat.no. 43., Figs. 82, 82a-b.

⁷⁰⁹ Niculina Dinu, “Kütahya Blue-and-White Ceramics Discovered at Ottoman Brăila,” in *Thirteenth International Congress of Turkish Art*, ed. Ibolya Gerelyes and Géza Dávid (Hungarian National Museum, 2009), 216. fig. 2/1a-b.

⁷¹⁰ Dinu, “Kütahya Blue-and-White Ceramics,” p. 212.

⁷¹¹ Buğdaycı, *Kütahya Çini Müzesi’nde sergilenen seramik ve çini*, pp. 64-65., Cat.no.5., Figs. 72-74.

⁷¹² Özdemir, “Silifke Castle Excavation Kütahya Ceramics”, p. 445.

⁷¹³ Buğdaycı, *Kütahya Çini Müzesi’nde sergilenen seramik ve çini*, p. 66. Figs. 75-77.



*Figure 335 Kütahya cup
Sofia, SRHM no inv. no.*



*Figure 336 Kütahya cup
Sofia, SRHM no inv. no.*



Figure 337 Sofia, Meissen cup sherd (Sofia Regional History Museum)

The cup sherds in Figure 338 represent a characteristically eighteenth-century Kütahya style with the bolus red dots, black outlines, and yellow color. Unfortunately, neither the decoration in the well, nor the mark can be assessed, but the decoration on the outer wall gives plenty of indication regarding the dating. These colors are believed to have appeared in the eighteenth

century.⁷¹⁴ A close parallel is held at the Victoria & Albert Museum dated to the eighteenth century,⁷¹⁵ further supporting the dating of the Sofia sherds.



*Figure 338 Kütahya cup
Sofia, SRHM no inv. no.*



Figure 339 V&A accession no.C.392-1920

A distant analogy of the cup in Figure 340 is also held in the Istanbul Archaeology Museum dated to the nineteenth century (Figure 341).⁷¹⁶ The analogy is in the outer wall decoration: the Istanbul cup features the same green outlined triangles with the yellow dots, the black stripes hanging from the yellow dots featured on the Varna sherd however appear at the lower peak of the triangles and are painted in manganese purple. The decoration in the well on the Varna sherd is a schematic motif, and on the Istanbul cup it is a stylized flower painted with turquoise green and manganese purple. Furthermore, the Varna sherd does not seem to bear a mark on the base, the Istanbul sherd however bears a Meissen crossed swords imitation. Based on the schematic

⁷¹⁴ Doğer, “İzmir Agorası Kazılarında 17.-19. yüzyıl seramik”, p. 33.

⁷¹⁵ Victoria & Albert Museum, accession no. C.392-1920 <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O220666/bowl-unknown/> (Accessed: 20/05/2024).

⁷¹⁶ Yalçın, *İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri*, pp. 174-175., Cat.no. 97., Figs. 136, 136a-b.

style of the Varna sherd, there is a possibility that it is an imitation or poor copy the type represented by the Istanbul cup, which was inspired by Meissen porcelains.



*Figure 340 Kütahya cup
Varna, VAM no inv. no.*

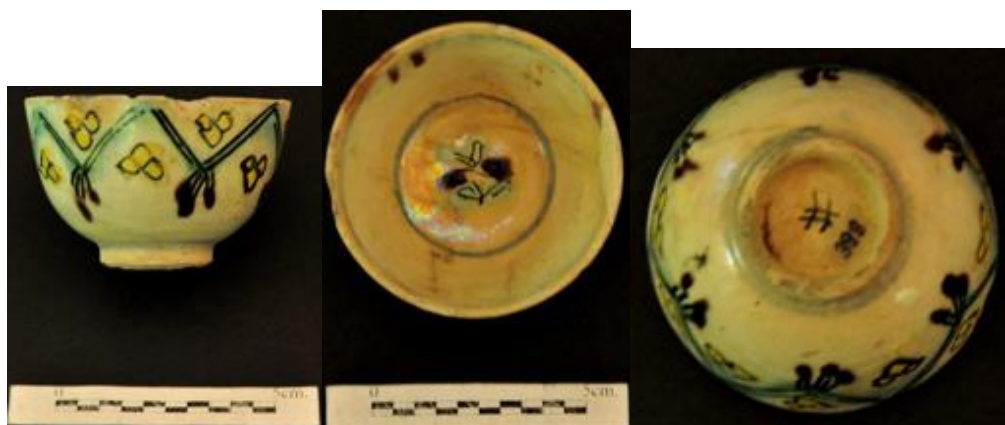


Figure 341 Yalçın, İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri, p. 174-175. figs. 136, 136a-b

The cup sherd in Figure 342 is an exact parallel of a cup held in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, dated to de late eighteenth to early nineteenth century.⁷¹⁷ The whole cup in the Istanbul Archaeology Museum shows that the inside features the floral motif appearing on

⁷¹⁷ Yalçın, *İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri*, pp. 167-168. Cat.no. 92., Figs. 131, 131a-b.

several Kütahya pieces in the studied material, as well as the base bears a star-shaped mark painted with black.

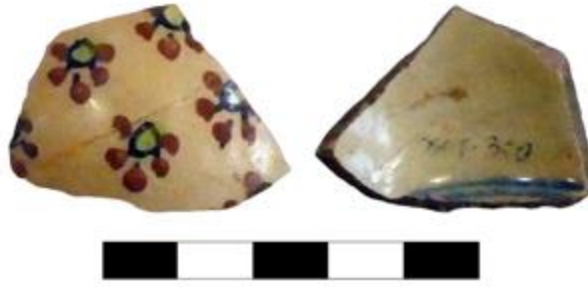


Figure 342 Kütahya cup
Sofia, SRHM inv. no. 724



Figure 343 Yalçın İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri, p.167-168. figs.131, 131a-b

The sherds of the cup in Figure 344 are paralleled by a cup held in the Kütahya Tile Museum, dated to the second half of the seventeenth century.⁷¹⁸ Its outer decoration is also structured in vertical lines, such as in the case of the Sofia sherds, but painted with different colors. The well also features a stylized motif that is similar to the Sofia cup. The mark on the base is also different: the Sofia cup features a cross, while the one in the Kütahya Tile Museum seems to have a mark with a different structure, unfortunately not identified in the publication.

⁷¹⁸ Buğdaycı, *Kütahya Çini Müzesi'nde sergilenen seramik ve çini*, pp. 62-63., Cat.no. 4., Figs. 69-71.; Sevinç Gök, *Smyrna (İzmir) Agorası'nda Osmanlı İzleri Kütahya Seramikleri (2007-2014 Kazı Dönemi) [Traces of the Ottoman Empire in the Agora of Smyrna (Izmir) Kütahya Ceramics (2007-2014 Excavation Period)]* (İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi ve Sevinç Gök, 2015), 83, cat. no. 86.



Figure 344 Kütahya cup
Sofia, SRHM no inv. no.



Figure 345 Buğdaycı, Kütahya Çini Müzesi'nde
sergilenen seramik ve çini, pp. 62-63., Cat.no. 4., Figs.
69-71.

The four cups below (Figures 346, 348, 350, and 351), all unearthed in Sofia, are common eighteenth-century Kütahya types. The black outlines of the polychrome decoration are diagnostic features that are widely paralleled in the publications. Exact parallels have not been published, but close ones can be found. A cup from the Istanbul Archaeological Museum has a similar decoration with different colors than the one in Figure 346, dated to the eighteenth century.⁷¹⁹ The parallels of Figure 348, unearthed in Izmir, feature similar Arabic writing imitations on the outer wall, under the band decorating the rim.⁷²⁰ Figure 351 was published by Magdalina Stancheva, stating that no parallels are available, which has not changed in the last sixty years. Stancheva also argued against it being a Kütahya product, but rather believed it to be a very late Iznik piece from the “time of decay,” the late seventeenth to the early eighteenth

⁷¹⁹ Yalçın, *İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Çinili*, p. 198., cat. no. 115., fig. 154.

⁷²⁰ Gök, *Smyrna (İzmir) Agorası'nda Osmanlı İzleri Kütahya Seramikleri*, p. 127, cat. nos. 172 and 173.

centuries.⁷²¹ The appearance and style of the cup, however, suggest that the cup was probably made in Kütahya.



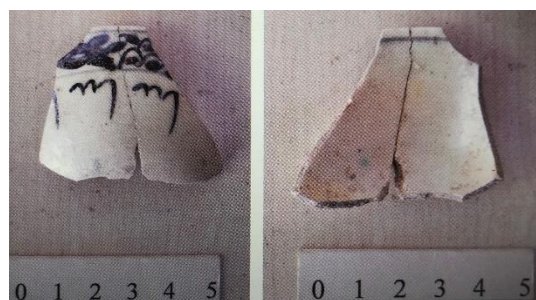
Figure 346 Kütahya cup
Sofia, inv. no. SRHM 3623



Figure 347 Yalçın, İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Çinili, p. 198., cat. no. 115., fig. 154.



Figure 348 Kütahya cup
Sofia, inv. no. SRHM 3620



349. Figure Gök, Smyrna (İzmir) Agorası'nda Osmanlı İzleri
Kütahya Seramikleri, p. 127. cat. nos. 172 and 173



Figure 350 Kütahya cup
Sofia, SRHM no inv. no.



Figure 351 Kütahya cup
Sofia, inv. no. SRHM 715

⁷²¹ Stancheva, "Turski fajans ot Sofija," pp. 122-123, and fig. 71.

Figure 352 is the odd piece in this group, decorated with green and manganese purple underglaze paint. The red dots are painted in relief but not as articulated as the Persian versions (see below). The decoration on the outside features fields separated by dark green double vertical lines, with repeating plant motives in the fields. A cup with a similar decorative structure and colors is held at the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, dated to the eighteenth century.⁷²²



*Figure 352 Kütahya cup
Sofia, SRHM*



*Figure 353 Yalçın, İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri, p. 59.,
Cat.no. 15., Figs. 54-54a.*

The sherd in Figure 354 (Sofia, Sof_186 [The Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank (today UniCredit Bulbank), 1972., 15th c. Kütahya, but no data in the documentation regarding the context] belongs to a plate, which is rare in the material. This is the only identified Kütahya plate sherd, and there are six plates exhibited in the Varna Archaeological Museum, dated from the late seventeenth to the first half of the eighteenth century (Figure 355). The Sofia sherd, however, is decorated differently, but based on its colors could also date to the same period.



*Figure 354 Kütahya plate
Sofia, inv. no. SRHM 4222*

⁷²² Yalçın, *İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri*, p. 59., Cat.no. 15., Figs. 54-54a.



Figure 355 Varna Archaeological Museum, Permanent Exhibition, 2023

Turquoise-glazed, black painted sherds are rare among the finds studied in the present work, represented by merely 7 sherds. Parallels are also difficult to find, and there is no close parallel for the type represented in Figure 356. Examples of turquoise-glazed Kütahya vessels with black underglaze paint are published, but none are close analogies.⁷²³ Considering the flower motif in the well, it is also probably a Meissen imitation, dating it to 1711 *terminus post quem*. This notion is supported by a cup sherd held at the Victoria & Albert Museum, analogous in the green glaze and black painting, and the Meissen crossed swords imitation mark on the base (Figure 357).⁷²⁴ The cup sherd in Figure 358, however, has a direct parallel held at the Louvre, interestingly undecided on its provenance between Iran and Kütahya.⁷²⁵



Figure 356 Kütahya cup
Sofia, inv. no. SRHM 4217



Figure 357 Figure 287 V&A accession no. C.963-1921

⁷²³ Doğer, “İzmir Agorası Kazılarında 17.-19. yüzyıl seramik”, Tablo IV/1 – dated first half of the eighteenth century; Yalçın, *İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri*, p. 170., Cat.no. 94., Figs. 133, 133a. and p. 173., Cat.no. 96., Fig. 135. – both dated late eighteenth to early nineteenth century.

⁷²⁴ Victoria & Albert Museum, accession no. C.963-1921, <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O220914/cup-unknown/> (Accessed 21/05/2024).

⁷²⁵ Louvre, inv.no. AD 8571, UCAD 8571, D 8571, <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010333592> (Accessed: 21/05/2024).



Figure 358 Kütahya cup
Sofia, SRHM no inv. no.



Figure 359 Louvre, inv.no. AD 8571, UCAD 8571, D
8571.

The sherd in Figure 360 is a copy of early Meissen cups, both the inner decoration and the crossed swords mark on the base. Similar floral motif decorates the cup and saucer held at the Victoria & Albert Museum, dated 1735.⁷²⁶ Interestingly the V&A cup and saucer is covered with a greyish yellow glaze, which resonates with the undecorated, creamy white outside of the Sofia sherd.



Figure 360 Kütahya cup
Sofia, SRHM no inv. no.

⁷²⁶ Victoria & Albert Museum, accession no. C.39&A-1956, <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O307052/tea-cup-and-meissen-porcelain-factory/> (Accessed 21/05/2024)



Figure 361 Victoria & Albert Museum, accession no. C.39&A-1956.

Conclusion

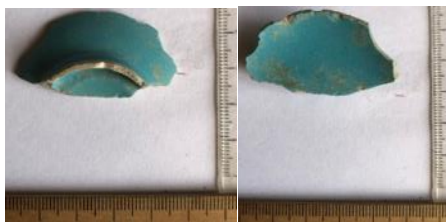
Kütahya ware is an unexplored Anatolian ceramic type in Hungarian scholarship. The main reason is that many types have been identified as Persian, which was logical considering the chronology of the Ottoman occupation in Hungary. As the Ottomans left Hungary by the end of the seventeenth century, the use of Kütahya coffee cups attributed to the eighteenth century was not considered to be possibly present in such large numbers. A Kütahya origin of some sherds unearthed in Hungary has never been ruled out, but the types identified above as sixteenth- to seventeenth-century Kütahya cups have been considered being made in Persia.

The presence of such a large number of blue and white Kütahya cups in the Hungarian material may be explained in two ways. They are either from the seventeenth century and not from the eighteenth, as dated in the secondary literature. Another explanation is that they were used by the remaining Ottomans who lived in Hungary during the eighteenth century after the expulsion of the Ottoman Empire. Based on the studied material, I argue that both explanations apply simultaneously. Some blue and white types are most likely from the seventeenth century, as their eighteenth-century dating in the Turkish literature is not supported by archaeological evidence, merely by archival references to the cup makers of the eighteenth century. Their stylistic features and archaeological contexts, however, allow for an earlier dating. On the other hand, there are types, for example, unearthed in Eger Castle, that are dating from the eighteenth century, thus proving that these objects were still in use after the Ottoman occupation ended in Hungary. These results open a new aspect in the research of Asian decorative ceramics in early modern Hungary, including Kütahya ceramics in the canon, as can be observed in the research

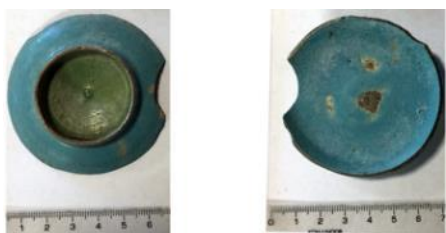
in Romania. The publications of the Romanian materials, correctly identifying Kütahya ware, i.e., types that in the Hungarian scholarship were attributed to Persia, led my identifications of the studied material in the right direction.

Anatolian faience – Eyüp ware

This type of ceramics consists of a thin yellowish white faience paste covered with opaque monochrome glaze inside and outside, mostly featuring dark blue, turquoise blue, dark green, and one example of a yellow glaze. No decoration can be seen on them (Figures 362 to 366). This type, in connection with the Hungarian material, was mentioned briefly by Imre Holl as Near Eastern ceramics with unknown origin, after Arthur Lane.⁷²⁷ Altogether, 18 sherds were identified in this group. Thus, it can be considered rather rare. They are usually unearthed from the same context as the other decorative ceramic types; therefore, it is assumed that they were in use at the same period. This assumption is verified by their appearance in the Eger assemblage, dating the sherds to the seventeenth century. The usual shape is a cup or a small dish (Figures 362 to 364) but the rim of possibly an inkwell (Figure 366) and a checkers disk (Figure 367) also appeared in the material.



*Figure 362 Eyüp small dish or cup
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.2012.91.10.*



*Figure 363 Eyüp small dish
Szolnok Castle, DJM no inv. no.*



*Figure 364 Coarse cup with red paste
Szolnok Castle, DJM no inv. no.*

⁷²⁷ Holl, *Fundkomplexe*, 129-130.



Figure 365 Coarse cup with red paste, Pest Komori, "Ottomans in Pest in the Light of 'Luxury' Ceramics," p. 291. Fig. 6.



Figure 366 Eyüp? inkwell? rim sherd Esztergom Town, inv. no. BBM 97.52.64.



Figure 367 Eyüp checkers disk Sofia, SRHM no inv. no.

The closest parallels dating to the early modern period are published among the material unearthed in Izmir, identified as products of the Eyüp Sultan Mosque *mahalle* in Istanbul. Eyüp ware is also described as either made of red or white paste, and the white paste version is undecorated, covered mostly with green glaze. Their shape is also characteristically open form, such as plates and bowls, but candlesticks and liquid containers also appear. Their dating is placed between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries.⁷²⁸ Since no other parallel can be found in the publications, I argue that these vessels can be identified as Eyüp ware produced in Istanbul. An exception might be Figure 364 since it is thickly potted, and the paste shows a difference from the other pieces. The paste is rather greyish-pinkish white rather than yellowish white, and the yellow glaze is unprecedented among the studied and published material. Coarse coffee cups made of red clay covered in white slip and green or yellow glaze above the slip have been excavated at Hungarian sites,⁷²⁹ but those show a difference not only in raw material, but also in form.

⁷²⁸ Doğer, "İzmir Agorası Kazılarında 17.-19. yüzyıl seramik", p. 35., and Table VII/a, c, d.

⁷²⁹ See Komori, "Ottomans in Pest in the Light of 'Luxury' Ceramics," p. 291. Fig. 6.

Persian stonepaste

Persian ceramics⁷³⁰ discussed in the present work all derive from the Safavid period (1501–1722), the research of which started with the monograph of Arthur Lane in 1957.⁷³¹ Until recently, Lane’s work served as a basis for identifying and dating Persian decorative ceramics, including their attribution to workshops within Safavid Iran. Apart from his work, compared to the earlier periods, the research on Safavid ceramics is not very extensive. After Lane, the next significant monograph on later Persian pottery was published by Yolande Crowe. Crowe established a typochronology based on the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum, which is still mostly relevant today.⁷³² Crowe first discussed the Chinese imitations in detail, although Hobson mentioned them as early as 1928.⁷³³ The latest work on the Persian *Kraak* imitations is the PhD dissertation of Amelia Macioszek, which analyzes the *Kraak* motives appearing on Persian vessels in great detail, contributing to understanding the phenomenon deeper.⁷³⁴ A groundbreaking study was made in the identification of Safavid stonepaste typology by the analysis of the Royal Ontario Museum collection of Lisa Golombek and Robert Mason by the method of petrographic analysis.⁷³⁵ This study clarified the question of provenance for the Safavid vessels, some of which are also parallels to those unearthed in Hungary. This lack of research is explained partly by a stronger interest in the earlier periods of Persian ceramics and partly by the fact that bulk vessels, such as the ones that seemed to have reached Hungary during the seventeenth century, were largely neglected by researchers until recently.⁷³⁶

Regarding Hungary, Imre Holl also discussed Persian faience in detail.⁷³⁷ In his three studies (2005, 2005, and 2006), Holl analyzed the Buda, Eger, and Szekszárd assemblages in remarkable detail, arriving at conclusions that mostly stand today. Considering the limited literature he had access to, this is an outstanding accomplishment. It should also be outlined

⁷³⁰ General scholarship refers to these ceramics as Persian faience, Robert Mason pointed out that its proper terminology is stonepaste, as these ceramics are specific to Iran and are petrographically different from faience. Robert Mason, “Petrography of Pottery from Kirman,” *Iran* 41 (2003): 271–78.

⁷³¹ Arthur Lane, *Later Islamic Pottery: Persia, Syria, Egypt, Turkey* (Faber and Faber, 1957). Some earlier publications can also be found from the early twentieth century, but the only one that deals with Safavid period pieces, although rather briefly, is R. L. Hobson, *A Guide to the Islamic Pottery of the Near East* (British Museum, 1932), 69–78.

⁷³² Yolande Crowe, *Persia and China: Safavid Blue and White Ceramics in the Victoria and Albert Museum 1501–1738* (Thames and Hudson, 2002).

⁷³³ Hobson, *A Guide to the Islamic Pottery*, 69.

⁷³⁴ Amelia Macioszek, “Safavid Adaptations of Chinese Kraak Porcelain Dishes” (PhD, Department of History and Cultural Studies of Freie Universität Berlin, 2018).

⁷³⁵ Golombek et al., *Persian Pottery*.

⁷³⁶ Holl, “Külföldi kerámia Magyarországon III,” 261.

⁷³⁷ Holl, *Fundkomplexe*, 116–127., idem., “Külföldi kerámia Magyarországon”, 260–263., and idem., “Persische Fayancewaren im Ungarischen Fundmaterial.”

that Holl was the only one in Hungarian scholarship who dedicated an entire study to just the Persian material.⁷³⁸ After the analysis of the assemblages, Holl also drew conclusions regarding the social standing of these pieces, which are going to be discussed in Chapter 5 in more detail. For now, it is noteworthy that such conclusions have not been further discussed after Holl in Hungarian scholarship.⁷³⁹ One exception is the monograph of Iván Szántó on Safavid art in Hungary, which analyzes Safavid ceramics in Hungary in a lengthy chapter, including not only typology but also their use and arrival in Hungary.⁷⁴⁰ Iván Szántó's summary of Persian ceramics in Hungarian archaeological finds and their interpretation deals with the most significant questions of current research, which is discussed in Chapter 5. Fortunately, since Szántó's publication, some new results have come to light in both Hungarian and international research; thus, some of the uncertainty raised in his chapter can be revisited and offered new solutions.

Hungarian research has been using Holl's results as a basis for identifying newly unearthed pieces without reconsidering the typology. Two exceptions are relatively recent publications discussing material tests conducted on the Eger faience or stonepaste assemblage and on sherds excavated at Buda Town sites. As discussed above in the Iznik sub-chapter, these petrographic analyses showed that some types traditionally identified as Persian turned out to be made in Iznik.⁷⁴¹ At the time of Imre Holl's research into Asian decorative ceramics the best available publication was of Arthur Lane (1957), but since then more research has been conducted into analyzing Persian ware, as discussed above. Based on the new results of petrographic analysis in and outside Hungary, several types earlier identified as Persian can now be re-evaluated, with the goal of shedding more light on the Persian ceramics that circulated in Hungary during the Ottoman occupation.

All the pieces that are discussed here can be dated to the Safavid period (1501-1722), with a strong probability that, based on typology, they were in overwhelming majority made in the seventeenth century. Therefore, this section is organized based on motifs, since dating Persian

⁷³⁸ Holl, "Persische Fayancewaren."

⁷³⁹ Ibolya Gerelyes also wrote briefly about the social context of oriental ceramics in the Hungarian material, also agreeing with the findings of Imre Holl. see Gerelyes, "Types of Oriental Pottery in Archaeological Finds."

⁷⁴⁰ Iván Szántó, *Safavid Art and Hungary – The Eszterházy Appliqué in Context* (The Avicenna Institute of Middle Eastern Studies, 2010), Chapter 4, pp. 65–84. It should be noted that Iván Szántó is an art historian and Iranist, and for his analysis he used published work mostly by Imre Holl on Buda, Eger, and Szekszárd. At the time of his publication a comprehensive study of Eger, and the petrographic analysis of some Buda finds was not available.

⁷⁴¹ Orsolya Zay, "Egri, hódoltság korabeli porcelán- és fajansztörödékek vizsgálata régészeti szemmel és SEM-EDS módszerrel," 443; English summary: p. 474. Table 1.4 is traditionally attributed to Persia, but here the petrography showed that it was definitely made in Iznik.; and Balla and Éder, "Budai lelőhelyekről előkerült török kori fajanszok anyagvizsgálata."

faience within the Safavid period based on small sherds is challenging, as even the intact vessels are difficult to attribute to certain workshops without material tests.⁷⁴² Based on the latest comprehensive study on Safavid-period Persian ceramics, it seems that most of the types that can be identified in the Ottoman context as Persian were probably produced in Kirman.⁷⁴³ Kirman is one of the few workshops that are mentioned in contemporary sources, such as Mashhad, Shiraz, Isfahan, Zarand, and Yazd. Petrographic analysis however only identified the products of Kirman, but it should be noted that the potters from Yazd used the same raw material sources, thus these two centers cannot be distinguished based on petrography.⁷⁴⁴

Regarding the analyzed collection, it is important to note that the full assemblages that are representative for such a survey conducted below are the Eger, Sofia, and Varna assemblages. Since I was not granted access to all the faience collection of the Budapest History Museum holding finds from Buda, I could only work from the few pieces that I did have access to and those that are published – mostly with black and white pictures. The most significant blind spot is the assemblage of the Pasha Palace, a site that is the most important in Hungary from the point of view of analyzing the material culture of the Ottoman administrative elite, and which is inaccessible and unpublished. Therefore, any results presented below need to be treated with this gap in mind.

Early Safavid blue and white

As in the case of the Chinese and Iznik wares, some pieces have been excavated in Buda that point to their pre-Ottoman occupation arrival in Hungary. These pieces were identified by Imre Holl based on stylistic evaluation, except for one vessel (Figure 358), the archaeological context of which points to the 1530s, thus that one is confirmed to have arrived in Buda before the Ottoman occupation.⁷⁴⁵

One outstanding piece in the entire material as confirmed by Imre Holl as well is a small sherd of a probably larger bowl, that is comparable to the higher quality curated pieces that appear in the catalogues (Figure 369). It has a porous, white biscuit material, a white glaze that has a blue undertone, and a very nicely and detailed plant motif on the outside. The inside is also decorated, but only a small fragment of the motif survived. Ime Holl dated it to 1550-1570

⁷⁴² Golombek et al., *Persian Pottery*; see also Mason, “Petrography of Pottery from Kirman”; Lisa Golombek, “The Safavid Ceramic Industry at Kirman,” *Iran* 41 (2003): 253–70.; Robert Mason and Lisa Golombek, “Petrography of Iranian Safavid Ceramics,” *Journal of Archaeological Science* 30 (2003): 251–61..

⁷⁴³ Golombek et al., *Persian Pottery*, 32–36.

⁷⁴⁴ Golombek et al., *Persian Pottery*, p. 19.

⁷⁴⁵ Holl, “Külföldi kerámia Magyarországon III,” p. 260.

based on Lane, who connects its parallels to the Kirman workshop.⁷⁴⁶ A third sherd is dated to the sixteenth century or earlier (which would mean Timurid instead of Safavid) by Imre Holl based on the meander decoration under the rim and parallels published by Lane (Figure 370). Based on this, the bowl rim sherd is dated to the mid-fifteenth century.⁷⁴⁷

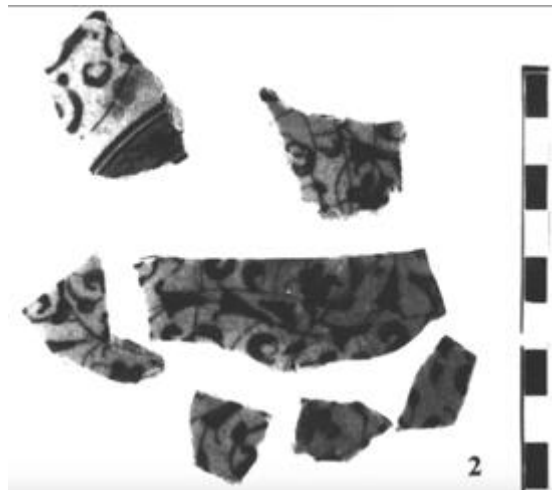


Figure 368 Persian plate sherds, 1530s
Buda Royal Palace, inv. no. BHM 51.1472.a-e.
Holl, *Külföldi kerámia Magyarországon III*, p. 279. 16. kép 2.

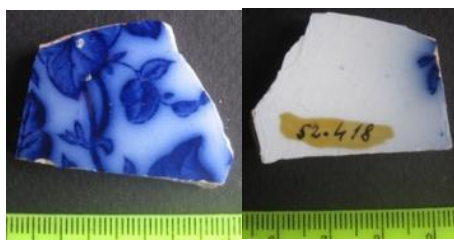


Figure 369 Persian bowl or dish sherd,
first half of the sixteenth century
Buda Royal Palace, inv. no. BHM 52.418.



Figure 370 Persian bowl sherd,
first half of the sixteenth century
Buda Royal Palace, inv. no. BHM 52.2345
Holl, "Külföldi kerámia Magyarországon III," p. 279. fig. 16/1.

Chinese imitations

Chinese blue and white porcelain has reached and influenced Iranian taste in decorative tableware as early as the late fourteenth century.⁷⁴⁸ Imitation from that time up to the late fifteenth century manifested as a strong influence, resulting in vessels that use Chinese motives but have a distinctive Persian style of their appearance, including the color and texture of the paste, the style of the decoration, and the way the glaze corrodes. By the late sixteenth, and

⁷⁴⁶ Holl, *Fundkomplexe*, Abb. 71.7., and p. 121; idem, "Persische Fayancewaren," p. 494.

⁷⁴⁷ Holl, "Külföldi kerámia Magyarországon III," p. 260.

⁷⁴⁸ Golombek et al., *Persian Pottery*, 123.

especially the seventeenth century, Persian workshops started producing cups, small bowls, liquid containers, and plates that can be considered downright copies of their Chinese counterparts. These copies may be interpreted as a supply aimed at meeting the demand for Chinese blue and white porcelains that were in shortage during the Transitional period of Chinese history.⁷⁴⁹ The imitation, however, does not mean that the Persian pieces can be dated based on the Chinese models. The reasons partly include that Persian potters often used earlier motives; and partly that it is not clear how much time might have passed between the arrival of a new motif and its adaptation as a fashion.⁷⁵⁰ In some cases, the archaeological context can be of help, but mostly in the case of Buda, where the analysis can primarily rely on the publications of Imre Holl. However, even in the case of Buda, there are only a few cases where the context helps narrow the dating.⁷⁵¹

The following analysis of the sherds is largely based on the contexts of the finds where available and on the latest comprehensive studies of Safavid ceramics.⁷⁵² It needs to be pointed out that the collection analyzed by Golombek et al. consists of dishes and some liquid containers, but not cups. These objects represent a higher quality than the cups unearthed in Hungary and the Balkans, making it difficult to identify the sherds from these collections. This also means that the less refined, “knock-off”⁷⁵³ coffee cups have no direct parallels published in this recent work, not only from the point of view of decoration but also from marks.

Abstract peach and peach or peach blossom imitation

The variants in this type closely follow the trends of the Chinese originals: there are variants with and without decoration in the well. In this section, abstract peach imitations are discussed together with the peach and peach blossom imitations, since in some cases it is impossible to confidently distinguish the two types, as the sherds are not large enough to properly assess the decoration.

Both the base and the rim sherds show a great variety, in some cases also resembling in style, but in most cases, it is impossible to match where they do not have matching fracture lines. Therefore, the base and rim sherds will be discussed separately. Among the base sherds, 9 variants could be differentiated, some represented by several or many sherds, some only by one sherd. Similarly, the rim and wall sherds could be grouped into 7 variants. The largest

⁷⁴⁹ Golombek et al., *Persian Pottery*, 33.

⁷⁵⁰ Golombek et al., *Persian Pottery*, 7.

⁷⁵¹ Holl, “Külföldi kerámia Magyarországon III,” 262.

⁷⁵² Golombek et al., *Persian Pottery*, and Macioszek, *Safavid Adaptations*.

⁷⁵³ After Golombek et al., *Persian Pottery*, 32.

assemblage, such as in the case of Chinese porcelain, was yielded by the Eger Castle, followed by the Sofia assemblage. Similarly, to the Chinese models, this is one of the two most common types within the entire studied material. A noteworthy feature of these imitations is that in many cases the peach motif in the well is exchanged for a *lingzhi* fungus, or to a motif that is the combination of the two, resulting in sometimes being identified as peach, as sometimes as *lingzhi*. This corresponds to the observation of Golombek et al. that the Chinese motives on Safavid imitations and copies were used without concept and meaning;⁷⁵⁴ in the case of the *lingzhi* and the peach the Safavid potters probably did not see and/or understand the difference between the two motives.

Base variants

The two examples of a more elaborate variant (**Variant 1**) below were excavated at the Buda Palace (Figures 371 and 372) are peach imitations, with an elaborate peach motif in the well. They both feature different marks on the base, Figure 371 features a character mark imitation (mark C-c), while Figure 372 features a seal mark imitation (mark S-e). The character on Figure 371 is easily distinguishable from the real Chinese mark, since it makes no sense and is difficult to attribute to any single character mark used on Chinese ceramics. The other mark (Figure 372) is further from the real Chinese script, although it seems the painter made an effort to make it look like one. The glaze and the biscuit material also show some differences. Apart from the presence of the mark, the only close similarity between the two sherds is the elaborate peach motif. The style of the peach, the color of the paint and the overall execution of the cups is rather different. The difference in the marks and style suggests either different workshops and or different periods of production. Both sherds were excavated in layers dated to the seventeenth century, which cannot be further narrowed.⁷⁵⁵ These are the only representatives of this variant within the entire material.

⁷⁵⁴ Golombek et al., *Persian Pottery*, add page number.

⁷⁵⁵ Holl, *Fundkomplexe*, p. 120.; Abb. 71.3. and 72.1.



Figure 371 Persian cup with Chinese abstract peach imitation
Buda Royal Palace, inv. no. BHM 51.1160



Figure 372 Persian cup with Chinese abstract peach imitation
Buda Royal Palace, inv. no. BHM 66.239.4

Variant 2 bears the most interesting mark (Figure 373). It has a yellowish stonepaste body with bluish matte white glaze decorated with blue painting. The glaze is heavily corroded, ruptured and missing at some spots. The base features a mark depicting the schematic head of a Chinese dragon, with an inscription written either in Arabic or Ottoman Turkish, or an imitation of Arabic script. The latter option also opens the possibility that the sherd is from Kütahya and not Iran. The decoration in the well is fragmented, but it seems to depict the typical peach motif of the abstract peach and peach (blossom) types. The motif fragment on the outer wall also suggests a peach decoration. The dragon is a common motif on Chinese porcelain, although it is not used as a mark on the base. This unusual use on this unique sherd raises several questions regarding the use and imitation of marks among Persian potters. Unfortunately, the piece has not been published by Imre Holl, and as it has not been inventoried, the context is unknown.



*Figure 373 Persian cup with Chinese abstract peach imitation
Buda Royal Palace, BHM no inv. no.*

Variant 3 is represented by three sherds, two from Eger Castle and one from Szekszárd (Figures 374 to 376). The two Eger pieces are very similar to each other, both their inner and outer decoration resembles strongly. Their well features a peach or *lingzhi* motif surrounded by leaves. The outer decoration features leaves and possibly lotus blossom imitation. The biscuit material is also similar: both are yellowish white, with a white glaze that is barely corroded and remained white and shiny; only the glaze of Figure 374 is ruptured. The difference lies in the quality and the mark. The sherd in Figure 374 represents a less refined quality, the decoration in the well is more schematic, the paint on the outer wall is runny, the mark (C-e) on the base is also more schematic than on the sherd in Figure 375 (mark C-a).



*Figure 374 Persian cup imitating Chinese peach decoration
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.2012.85.20.*



Figure 375 Persian cup imitating Chinese peach decoration
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.2012.85.21.



Figure 376 Persian cup imitating Chinese peach decoration
Szekszárd – Yeni Palanka, inv. no. WMMM 63.164.1.

Rim and wall variants

Two types of rim and wall sherds (Figures 377 and 378) represent the close imitations of the Chinese abstract peach and peach blossom types. The motives on the outer wall are well recognizable, and the rim decoration on the sherds are diagnostic motives of the Chinese abstract peach type. The material, glaze, paint color, and the grade of corrosion shows a variation, suggesting a variation in either workshops or in dating.

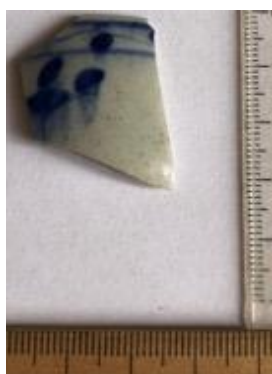


Figure 377 Persian cup sherd imitating Chinese abstract
peach decoration
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.2012.65.6.



Figure 378 Persian cup sherd imitating Chinese abstract
peach decoration
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.2012.85.49.

Plate sherds

Two rim sherds of a small plate were unearthed in Varna (Figure 3379, Var_70 [Police station, Pit II]). Its rim is outward leaning. It is decorated with an underglaze blue painting featuring the diagnostic ornamental band motif of the Chinese abstract style under the rim between three rings. The glaze is secondarily burnt and turned into a pinkish-brownish color, with reddish-brownish dirt stuck in it.



Figure 379 Persian plate sherd featuring a Chinese abstract peach decorative element
Varna, VAM no inv. no.

Lotus imitation

Besides the abstract peach and peach blossom types, the most common are the lotus and lingzhi types among the Chinese porcelain material of the period. Accordingly, the two most common Persian types are those that imitate these two Chinese types. The lotus imitations also appear in five variants, demonstrating that besides direct imitation, there are styles that follow parts of the motif but use other ones as well.

Variants

Variant 1 represents a style that has a white biscuit material, white glaze, and bright blue painting under the glaze (Figures 380 and 381). Figure 380 is a unique piece, imitating the also not very common Chinese porcelain (see Figure 137 above at Qing Dynasty lotus types). The Chinese model is dated to the Kangxi period, thus the *terminus post quem* dating for the Persian piece is the mid- to late-seventeenth century. A more precise dating is not possible since the sherd was a stray from Buda Town. Figure 381 is discussed in this group because its biscuit material and paint color places it here. The decoration is fragmentary, but it is probably more of an interpreted version of the lotus and *lingzhi* motif rather than a direct imitation.



Figure 380 Persian cup imitating Kangxi-period lotus and lingzhi porcelain
Buda Town, inv. no. BHM 2012.212.2.

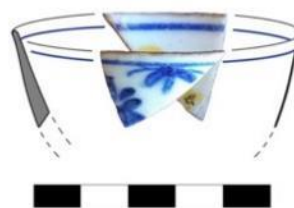


Figure 381 Persian cup imitating Kangxi-period lotus and lingzhi porcelain
Buda Palace, inv. no. BHM 51.870.b.

Variant 2 (Figures 382 to 384) is a Persian interpretation of the *lingzhi* motif featuring a lotus or chrysanthemum blossom in a Persian style, except for the version in Figure 382. The three versions represent three different styles, but Figures 383 and 384 are closely connected to each other by the style of the chrysanthemum and are differentiated based on the structure of the decoration around the chrysanthemum flower. Figure 382 has a white body, white glaze, and a light blue underglaze painting featuring a bunch of stylized chrysanthemums. The color of the paint is very close to the Chinese models, and so is the use of the brush: the motif is painted in thin, well-executed lines. The bright white and bright blue colors make the piece a quite deceiving Chinese copy. The biscuit material, though, is porous, yellowish white stonepaste.

Another version represents a decorative style that features the *lingzhi* motif, with a chrysanthemum depiction characteristic of the Persian cups. Figures 383 and 384 were unearthed in the Buda Royal Palace, but unfortunately, the contexts are not informative regarding the dating. Figure 383 is inventoried as a stray, and Figure 384 comes from a pit that lies in a courtyard being used for storing waste from the fifteenth century onwards.⁷⁵⁶ Both sherds have a white biscuit material and bright blue underglaze painting; and Figure 384 features a mark type S-a on its base.



Figure 382 Persian cup sherds,
imitating Chinese lotus decoration

Buda Town
inv. no. BHM 2019.43.31.1-3.

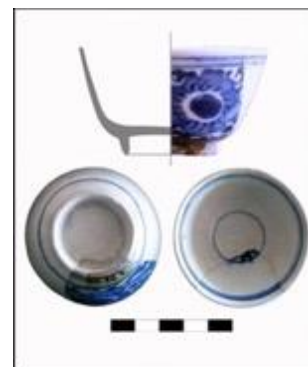


Figure 383 Persian cup sherds,
imitating Chinese lotus decoration

⁷⁵⁶ Holl, *Fundkomplexe*, p. 18. Grube X.

Buda Royal Palace
inv. no. BHM 60.30.1.



Buda Royal Palace
BHM no inv. no.

Figure 384 Persian cup sherds,
imitating Chinese lotus decoration

Jugs and/or jars

Four sherds were unearthed in Varna that belonged to a jug or jar and feature a lotus-style decoration (Figures 385 and 388). Figure 385 shows a jug or jar base wall sherd. It is decorated with underglaze painting featuring ornamental motives on the outside, including tulips and flowers. The motives are difficult to identify since the paint is smudged and the sherd is burnt secondarily; the glaze turned brownish yellow and has dirt stuck in the melted parts. Its wall is thick and robust. Figures 386 to 388 are very similar to each other. The sherds were found in the same pit,⁷⁵⁷ thus it is possible that they are non-matching sherds of the same vessel. The vessel could be a large bowl based on the shape of the sherd in Figure 388, but it is more likely that it was a conic or pear-shaped jar. The decoration features a *lingzhi* tendril, connected to a central motif that seems like a pair of a stylized peach and a cloud. An analogous coffee cup was excavated from the Buda Royal Palace (Figure 389). Its *lingzhi* is painted in a very similar style, although the central motif is difficult to assess since the published picture shows the reconstructed part of the cup. It was unearthed from an Ottoman building erected on the courtyard of the medieval royal palace before 1636, dated *terminus ante quem* by a denarius. The building also included a stove and a workshop.⁷⁵⁸ Another analogous bowl was found also in Buda, in the Civilian Town, dated to the first half of the seventeenth century (Figure 390).⁷⁵⁹ An even further analogy can be found in the form of a high-quality bowl in the Royal Ontario collection. Its *lingzhi* tendril is parallel to the Varna sherds, but the central motif among the tendrils is a geometric motif. This bowl is petrographically connected to the Kirman workshops and is dated to the mid-seventeenth century.⁷⁶⁰ The motif appearing on the Varna sherds is a common flower composition appearing in a more detailed style on published dishes. Their source is undoubtedly Chinese, adopted in several interpretations on sixteenth-seventeenth

⁷⁵⁷ Varna Police Station, Pit II, 1976. Here I would like to thank Assoc. Prof. Mariya Manolova-Voykova PhD (Head of Department of Archaeology, Varna Regional Museum) for granting access to the material and providing information regarding their archaeological context.

⁷⁵⁸ Holl, *Fundkomplexe*, p. 120. and Abb. 83.1. and Taf. 5.1. (right).

⁷⁵⁹ Holl, "Persische Fayancewaren," p. 498. and Abb. 17.3.

⁷⁶⁰ Golombek et al., *Persian Pottery*, p.91. Fig. 2.53.

century Persian pieces.⁷⁶¹ The closest Chinese analogy to the motif recognizable on the Varna sherds is on a dish dated to c. 1625, deriving from the Wanli cargo, the motif identified as a fungus (probably *lingzhi*).⁷⁶²



Figure 385 Persian jug or jar sherd imitating Chinese lotus decoration
Varna, VAM no inv. no.



Figure 386 Persian jug or jar sherd imitating Chinese lotus decoration
Varna, VAM no inv. no.



Figure 387 Persian jug or jar sherd imitating Chinese lotus decoration
Varna, VAM no inv. no.



Figure 388 Persian jug or jar sherd imitating Chinese lotus decoration
Varna, VAM no inv. no.



Figure 389 Holl, Fundkomplexe, Taf. 5. 1. (right)



Figure 390 Holl, Persische Fayancewaren, Abb. 17.3.

⁷⁶¹ E.g. Macioszek, *Safavid Adaptations*, p. 560. Fig. B.201.(a)-(d). Here the closest analogy to the motif on the varna sherds is Fig. B.201.(a).

⁷⁶² Macioszek, *Safavid Adaptations*, p. 560, Fig. B.201.(f).

Kraak imitation

From the Wanli period to the end of the seventeenth-century *Kraak*-style Chinese porcelain was the most popular type of blue and white vessels throughout the early modern world. Therefore, their adaptations or direct copies were also being produced by the Safavid potters. This type is relatively easy to recognize since the adaptation preserved the distinctive *Kraak* style.⁷⁶³ In the case of the coffee cups, the easiest diagnostic motif is the bird on a rock in the well (Figure 391). Two pieces were unearthed from the Buda Royal Palace, dated to the seventeenth century by Imre Holl (Figure 392).⁷⁶⁴ The biscuit material of the Eger sherd is a slightly greyish white stonepaste, covered in turquoise-bluish glaze, which is corroded and is more greenish in the outer base. The decoration is painted with a bright blue color, and the base bears a C-f type mark. Interestingly, in the entire material, only three pieces occur, since this type has c. 20 examples among the Chinese models.

The sherds in Figures 393 and 394 are included in this type because of the vertically separated fields that appear on their outside, a feature that is also diagnostic for the Chinese *Kraak* ware. Although, Figure 393 is very fragmentary, and the vertically separated field is likely not present, the Chinese character imitations show that it is, in fact, a *Kraak*-inspired piece. The imitated Chinese character is the word *shou* (寿 shòu = longevity), which appears on late Wanli Chinese pieces.⁷⁶⁵ The sherd has a hard, yellowish body, and a white glaze, decorated with bright blue underglaze paint that seems to closely follow the Chinese brushwork with thin lines and the imitation of the Characters. Figure 394, on the other hand, is a clear imitation of the most common *Kraak* cups and small bowls. It was excavated at the Szolnok castle. It has a hard, yellow biscuit material covered in a white glaze that is slightly corroded. Decorated with bright blue underglaze paint, and the rim is greyish brown. The style of the decoration follows the *Kraak* cups in its structure, the motives, on the other hand, are a mixture of the ornamental and landscape decorative styles, separated vertically into fields on the outer wall. All fields seem to repeat the exact same motif, which is not characteristic of the Chinese *Kraak* pieces at all.

The next sub-group of the *Kraak* imitations is depicted on Figures 395 and 396. Both sherds belong to plates and represent a typical *Kraak*-style decoration. Both were unearthed in Eger

⁷⁶³ For a most recent study on Safavid adaptations of Kraak porcelain see Amelia Macioszek, “Negotiating Appropriation. Later Safavid Adaptations of Chinese Blue-and-White Porcelain,” *Art of the Orient* 8 (2019): 75–92.

⁷⁶⁴ Holl, *Fundkomplexe*, Abb. 75.1-2. and p. 121. In “Persische Fayancewaren,” Holl further narrows the dating to the first half of the seventeenth century. (p. 489., and Abb. 11.4-5.).

⁷⁶⁵ Macioszek, *Persian Adaptations*, p. 547, Fig. B.187.

Castle, from different contexts. Still, they both have very similar bodies: hard, yellowish white biscuit material; thin, transparent glaze; and bright blue underglaze paint. The difference in color derives from different grades of corrosion.

The last version of the *Kraak* imitations is depicted in Figure 397. It is included in this group because the motif on the outer wall depicts an adaptation of typical *Kraak* motives, although it is difficult to identify which one.⁷⁶⁶ The sherd was unearthed in Eger Castle. It has a hard, yellow body, a white glaze, and a light blue underglaze painting. The inside is undecorated. The sherd probably belongs to a larger bowl or a pear or conic-shaped jar or bottle.

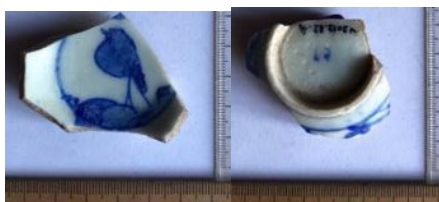


Figure 391 Persian cup sherd imitating Chinese Kraak porcelain, seventeenth century
Eger Castle, DICM V.2012.82.4.



Figure 394 Persian cup sherd imitating Chinese Kraak porcelain, seventeenth century
Szolnok, DJM no inv. no.

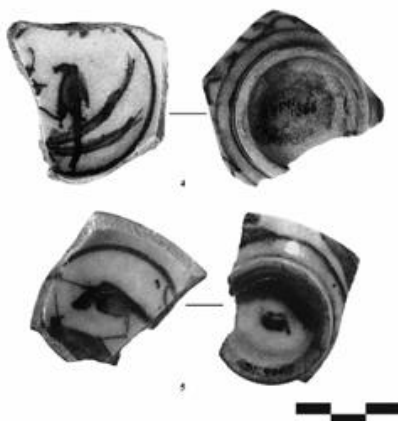


Figure 392 Holl, *Persische Fayancewaren*, Abb. 11.4-5.

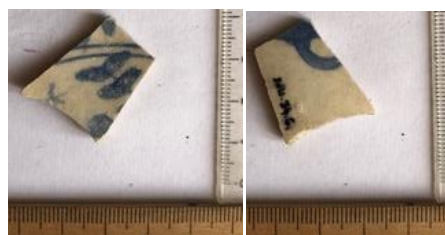


Figure 395 Persian cup sherd imitating Chinese Kraak porcelain, seventeenth century
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM 2010.34.6.



Figure 396 Persian cup sherd imitating Chinese Kraak porcelain, seventeenth century
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.97.20.65.



Figure 393 Persian cup sherd imitating Chinese Kraak porcelain, seventeenth century
Sofia, inv. no. SRHM 4565

⁷⁶⁶ For an overview of the motives see: Macioszek, *Persian Adaptations*, p. 374. Figs. B.3-5.

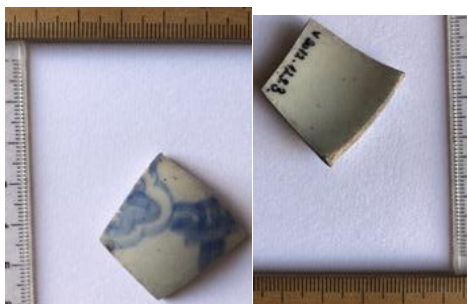


Figure 397 Persian cup sherd imitating Chinese Kraak porcelain, seventeenth century
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.2012.129.3.

Ruyi border

Two sherds belong to this type, none of which are parts of coffee cups. Instead, Figure 398 is the rim and neck sherd of a jar, and Figure 399 is the rim sherd of a plate. Figure 398 has a porous, greyish-white body covered in a white glaze, decorated with bright blue underglaze painting. The decoration features a *ruyi* band under the rim on the outside and another band at the base of the neck, which cannot be assessed due to the layer of limescale stuck on it. The inside is decorated with two rings, one under the rim and one around the base of the neck. The top of the rim is greyish brown. This style of *ruyi* border appears on Wanli-period Chinese porcelain, including *Kraak* ware. Thus, it can be dated from the mid-fifteenth to the late seventeenth century. Figure 399 has a porous, yellowish white body, yellowish white glaze, which is ruptured, and bright blue underglaze painting. The inside is decorated with a band under the rim, featuring a *ruyi*-inspired motif. It manifests in ogee medallions with ogee-shaped spots in them. The closest rim decoration type published is connected to Isfahan workshops and dated to the mid-seventeenth century.⁷⁶⁷



Figure 398 Persian cup sherd imitating Chinese Kraak porcelain, seventeenth century
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.97.20.11.



Figure 399 Persian cup sherd imitating Chinese Kraak porcelain, seventeenth century
Varna, VAM no inv. no.

⁷⁶⁷ Golombek et al., *Persian Pottery*, p. 230. Rim Isf. 1.2. Fig. 6.7.

Diaper motif imitation

Figure 400 shows a type that the diaper motif on Chinese models might have inspired. The sherd unearthed from Eger Castle has a porous white body, white glaze, and bright blue underglaze painting. The decoration features two lines under the rim on the inside, a greyish-brown rim, and an ogee-style band under the rim on the outside.



Figure 400 Persian cup sherd imitating Chinese porcelain decorated with diaper motif, seventeenth century Eger Castle, inv no. DICM V.2012.110.19.

Transitional type imitation

Figure 401 is a unique sherd because of its decorative style, which indicates an imitation of the Chinese Transitional type. It has a white paste and an intact and shiny glaze. It is decorated with an underglaze cobalt blue painting featuring a nature scene on the outer wall, with a pair of leaves painted in a detailed manner and double straight lines under the rim on both sides. This sherd is an example of the Persian pieces that aim at directly copying the Chinese models, most likely with the goal of selling it as Chinese.



Figure 401 Persian cup sherd imitating Chinese porcelain of the Transitional period, seventeenth century Vác, TIM no inv. no.

Brown-glazed imitation

This group represents the types inspired by the monochrome glazed Chinese porcelain cups that also appear in the material in the same colors, such as brown, red, and celadon. Figure 334

shows the brown-glazed version of this type. Figures 402 to 405 were unearthed from a seventeenth-century filling layer in the Buda Royal Palace.⁷⁶⁸ Figure 402 was inventoried as Chinese porcelain but was recognized as Persian by Imre Holl. It has a bright white paste, covered with a white glaze on the inside, with brownish-yellowish spots caused by corrosion. The outside is covered with brown glaze, incised with a line under the rim. Figures 403 and 404 are similar in material and, in a way, in their decorative styles as well. They have a hard, white paste and bright white glaze on the inside that has yellow spots on it due to corrosion. Their outside is covered with brown glaze, decorated with incised motives: Figure 403 is decorated with a geometric design in a band in the middle of the wall; Figure 404 features ogee-shaped frames with grass-like motives inside and between them. Both decorations, especially that of Figure 404, resemble the style of the Gombroon pieces discussed below. These three cup sherds represent a higher quality, making them outstanding in the material. Even so Figure 405, on the other hand, is discussed among the Chinese porcelain pieces by Holl, making it an outstanding piece in the material.⁷⁶⁹ Holl refers to Robert Schmidt when identifying this piece based on a descriptive line stating the incised decoration on Wanli-period monochrome porcelains was common.⁷⁷⁰ Schmidt also mentions this in one sentence and attaches no picture of any such piece. The decoration on the sherd is not characteristic of Chinese decorations. Thus, it is more likely it is Persian. The material is high quality; it closely resembles porcelain: it has a hard, white, high-fired body and a bright white glaze on the inside. The outside is covered with a brown glaze, decorated with incised leaves in a band under the rim. The rim is slightly inverted.



Figure 402 Persian cup imitating brown-glazed Chinese porcelain
Buda Royal Palace, inv. no. BHM 51.1001.



Figure 403 Persian cup imitating brown-glazed Chinese porcelain
Buda Royal Palace, inv. no. BHM 51.577.
Holl, *Fundkomplexe*, Abb. 81.3.,

⁷⁶⁸ Holl, *Fundkomplexe*, p. 124. And a/1): Abb. 81.3. and Abb. 97.16.

⁷⁶⁹ Holl, *Fundkomplexe*, p. 145.

⁷⁷⁰ Holl, *Fundkomplexe*, p. 148., footnote 174. Reference to Robert Schmidt, *Chinesische Keramik von der Hanzeit bis zum XIX. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt am Main: Frankfurter Verslags-Anstalt A.-G., 1924. p. 67.



Figure 404 Persian cup imitating brown-glazed Chinese porcelain
Holl, Fundkomplexe, Abb. 81.1.

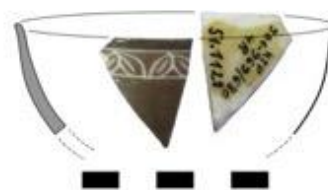


Figure 405 Persian cup imitating brown-glazed Chinese porcelain
Buda Royal Palace, BHM 51.1128.
Holl, Fundkomplexe, Abb. 97.16

Red-painted vessels

Pieces painted with red are believed to be also Persian products,⁷⁷¹ although there are no published parallels among publications discussing Persian ceramics. In some publications from countries that were part of the Ottoman Empire, these pieces are identified as Kütahya pieces. Interestingly, Holl himself raises the problem in his study discussing Persian faience in Hungary, writing “Kütahya?” in the caption of the picture depicting the red-painted coffee cups.⁷⁷² The sherds discussed here could, in fact, be Kütahya-produced, although a Persian provenance is more likely. They have a porous, yellowish paste, yellowish-white, corroded glaze, underglaze blue and red painting, and the red is painted in relief. This type seems to be uniform: the well features a three- or more-lobed flower motif, and the outer walls are decorated with four large, red, circular spots. This type does not seem to be very common; only two examples were unearthed from the Buda Palace, two from the Eger Castle, and one from Sofia and the Gyula Castle. Figure 406 shows a variation in the decoration: the outer wall is also decorated with the relief red paint under the rim, between the two blue lines that run under the rim.

Figure 411 is a sherd with a different style of red pigment. It also has a porous, yellow paste and yellowish glaze that is heavily corroded and oily. It is also painted with underglaze blue and red pigment, and the red is applied in relief. The red motif, featured on the inside, is an elaborate tendril seemingly painted in a triangular field right below the rim. The motif is unusual among the Persian pieces; thus, it could also be Kütahya made.

⁷⁷¹ See Holl, *Fundkomplexe*, pp. 127-128. Here Holl discusses these pieces as being a natural part of the Persian products.

⁷⁷² Holl, “Persische Fayancewaren,” Abb. 13.1-2.



Figure 406 Persian cup painted with red pigment
Sofia, SRHM inv. no. 4644

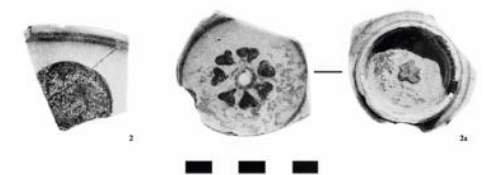


Figure 407 Persian cup painted with red pigment
Buda Royal Palace
Holl, "Persische Fayancewaren," Abb. 13.2.



Figure 408 Persian cup painted with red pigment, Gyula Szalai, "Keleti import áru a török kori Gyuláról," Table 4.1.

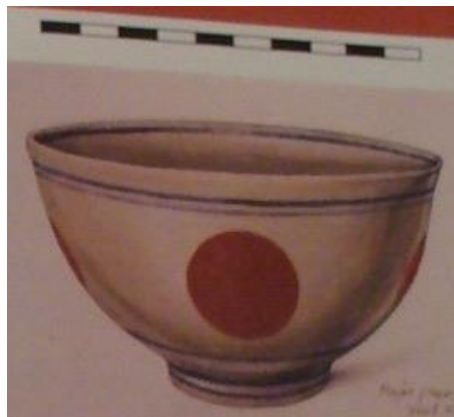


Figure 409 Persian cup painted with red pigment
Buda Royal Palace
Holl, Fundkomplexe, Taf.5.2.



Figure 410 Persian cup painted with red pigment
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.2019.2.1.127



Figure 411 Persian cup painted with red pigment
Szolnok, DJM no inv. no.

Blue monochrome

Blue monochrome cups and small bowls appear in the Chinese repertoire, but the Persian blue monochromes seem to have their own style. Figures 412 to 414 show examples of an ogee motif incised into the blue glaze. The three examples all have a porous, white paste, creamy white glaze on the inside, and blue glaze on the outside. The band on the outer wall is analogous to a cup dated 1640 to 1680,⁷⁷³ but the color is much darker on the V&A cup, similar to the

⁷⁷³ Victoria and Albert Museum, 1029-1883. <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O186711/bowl-unknown/> (Accessed: 05/04/2024).

sherd in Figure 413. The decoration of Figure 412 is analogous to a spittoon also dated to 1640 to 1680.⁷⁷⁴ Based on the V&A parallels, these sherds can be dated back to the mid- to late fifteenth century.

Figures 346-347 represents a different decoration in the blue glaze that is a geometric motif. Although Figures 346 and 347 are rather different in style. Figure 346 was unearthed from the Buda Palace (Buda Palace, BHM 52.3188.). Its material is similar to the previous group, but it seems to have a harder, whiter paste, and a brighter white glaze. The blue color is also bright, and incised. It is inventoried as a stray, thus the context does not help with the dating, but based on the other blue-glazed pieces it is can be dated to the mid-seventeenth to early eighteenth century. Figure 347 was unearthed in Sofia (Sof_109, [Medieval church "Sveti Spas", 1972]) from a context dated to the eighteenth century by the excavators. It has a yellow paste, yellowish white glaze on the inside, and light blue glaze on the outside. The yellowish color of the paste and glaze might be due to corrosion. The light blue glaze is trickled, not incised. The color of the blue glaze is similar to the blue of the Gombroon type; thus it is not impossible, that it is also a Gombroon piece, possibly from the early seventeenth century.

Figure 348 (Eger Castle, DICM V.97.20.79.) represents an undecorated blue monochrome type. It has the same porous, yellowish paste, creamy white glaze on the inside and bright blue glaze on the outside as the Figures 344-345. Even though there is no decoration, based on its material, it is most likely from the same workshop and period.



Figure 412 Blue monochrome Persian cup sherd
Buda Town, inv. no. BHM 2019.35.5.



Figure 414 Blue monochrome Persian cup sherds
Eger Castle

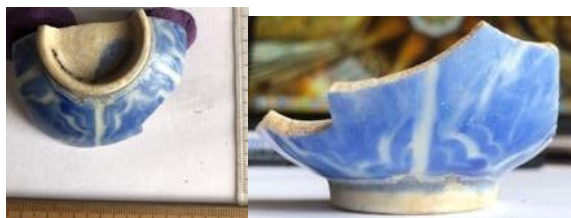


Figure 413 Blue monochrome Persian cup sherd
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.2010.1.3.

⁷⁷⁴ Victoria and Albert Museum, 183-1884. <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O186737/spittoon-unknown/> (Accessed: 05/04/2024).



Figure 415 Victoria and Albert Museum, 1029-1883



Figure 416 Victoria and Albert Museum, 183-1884.



Figure 417 Blue monochrome Persian cup sherd
Buda Royal palace, inv. no. BHM 52.3188.



Figure 418 Blue monochrome Persian cup sherd
Sofia, inv. no. VAR 3647



Figure 419 Blue monochrome Persian cup sherd
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.97.20.79.

Gombroon ware

In 1622 Shah Abbas decided to expel the Portuguese from Hormuz with the help of the English. The reason was the rise of the Dutch and English East India companies that wanted control over the Persian Gulf, one of the central nodes of global trade. As a result, the trading hub moved to the mainland, right on the other side of the straight, to the town renamed by Shah Abbas to Bandar Abbas. This town was known to the English contemporaries as “Gombroon”. It is known that a significant portion of the Indian Ocean trade, including Chinese porcelain, went through first Hormuz, then Bandar Abbas (Gombroon), thus the town was exposed an abundance of models for producing their own, fine white ware discussed below.⁷⁷⁵

Although the incised white wares are believed to be from the early eighteenth century, thus post-Safavid era,⁷⁷⁶ their presence at Hungarian sites suggests that they were already being produced during the late seventeenth century, as well as the other types identified as Gombroon

⁷⁷⁵ For more details see: Golombek et al., *Persian Pottery*, 81-82.

⁷⁷⁶ Golombek et al., *Persian Pottery*, 404.

below. The common characteristics of these vessels is the white, hard, high fired, thinly potted paste, that is translucent, and the light blue decoration that only appears on the outside. None of the examples have a mark on the base. The outer decoration though shows some variation, as discussed below.

This type has not been published before in detail, the identifications were made based on some parallels from the Victoria and Albert Museum, and the scattered and brief description of the pieces in ceramics dealing with Safavid stonepaste.

Blue and white

Band under the rim

Three different bands appear in the material: a smudgy blue, a thinly painted ornamental band, and a type that features the Chinese *ruyi* band (Figures 420 to 428).

The first group represents the ‘smudgy’ blue band under the rim. There is a variation in the placement of the band between directly under the rim (Figure 420) and lower, towards the middle of the outer wall (Figures 421 and 423). The bands themselves are also either a simple, smudged, thick stripe (Figure 421), or a motif can be seen in them, but in most cases, difficult to identify due to the smudginess (Figures 422 and).

Another group represents the ornamental type, representing two variations: an unidentifiable ornament (Figures 424 and 425), a *çintamani* motif (Figure 426), a floral motif that is reminiscent to the Chinese *lingzhi* tendril motif (Figure 427), and a motif that features leaves (Figure 428).



Figure 420 Gombroon cup sherd
Buda Town, inv. no. BHM 2019.35.1.

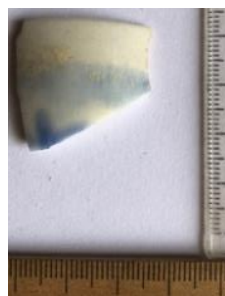


Figure 421 Gombroon cup sherd
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.2012.166.2.



Figure 422 Gombroon cup sherd
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM 2010.30.3.



Figure 423 Gombroon cup sherd
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.2012.119.2.



Figure 424 Gombroon cup sherd
Buda Royal palace, inv. no. BHM 74_20



Figure 425 Gombroon cup sherd
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.97.20.6.



Figure 426 Gombroon cup sherd
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM 2010.18.1.



Figure 427 Gombroon cup sherd
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.2012.77.1.



Figure 428 Gombroon cup sherd
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.2012.119.26.

Floral motives

Figures 429 to 436 demonstrate the blue and white type that features floral motives as decoration on the outer wall. Figures 429 to 433 are a group of examples decorated with flower motives in a vertical design.

Figure 429 is analogous to a piece identified as Gombroon, dated 1650 to 1725.⁷⁷⁷ Based on this analogy, the other three versions are also included in this group, although their decoration is further from the V&A example. Figure 431 seems to feature a floral medallion, while Figure 433 shows a tulip or *lingzhi* tendril, and Figure 434 is so smudged, it cannot be further identified.

Figures 434 and 435 is decorated with three large, vertical leaves that can either be interpreted as the imitation of the Chinese artemisia leaf or the Ottoman *saz* leaf.

⁷⁷⁷ Victoria and Albert Museum, 567-1889. <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O185935/bowl-unknown/> (Accessed 06/05/2024).

Figure 436 has the same white, hard, high-fired body and creamy white glaze, but the decoration is painted with a bright blue underglaze paint. The decoration probably features stylized tulips organized into a tendril.



Figure 429 Gombroon cup sherd
Buda Royal Palace, inv. no. BHM 66.239.10.



Figure 433 Gombroon cup sherd
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.2012.90.1.



Figure 430 Victoria and Albert Museum, 567-1889.



Figure 434 Gombroon cup sherd
Buda Town, inv. no. BHM 75.113.1.



Figure 431 Gombroon cup sherd
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.2012.37.12.



Figure 435 Gombroon cup sherd
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.2012.109.2.



Figure 432 Gombroon cup sherd
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.2012.85.4.



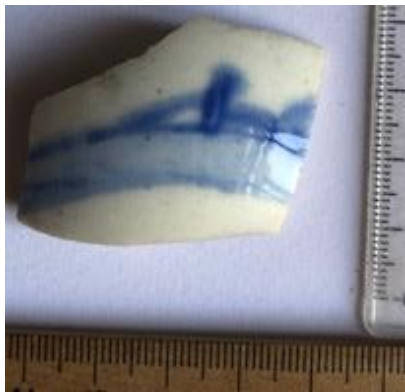
Figure 436 Gombroon cup sherd
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.2012.79.4.

Landscape motif

There are three sherds in the material, all unearthed from Eger Castle, that have a style identifiable as Gombroon, featuring imitations of the Chinese landscape motif (Figures 437 to 439). The material characteristics of the sherds and their decorative style is analogous to the Gombroon-identified pieces; thus, it is possible that they are Gombroon ware.



*Figure 437 Gombroon cup sherd
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.2012.91.20.*



*Figure 438 Gombroon cup sherd
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.2012.92.21.*



*Figure 439 Gombroon cup sherd
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.2019.1.29.1.*

Ruyi motif

One cup was unearthed from Buda Town that features the Chinese *ruyi* motif covering almost the entire surface of their outer wall (Figure 440). Such as in the previous cases, all its material characteristics place it in the Gombroon type. It is an especially interesting piece since it features four pairs of drilled holes along the fracture lines, indicating that it was repaired with metal wires. This is the only faience find in the entire material that proves that not only Chinese porcelain, but their imitations were also held in such prestige that they were repaired upon breaking.



Figure 440 Gombroon cup sherd
Buda Town, inv. no. BHM 99.101.1.164.

Blue, red, and white

There is a large group (35 pcs) of cups painted with blue and dark, almost purple red, also bearing all the material characteristics of the Gombroon type (Figures 441 and 448). The decorative style shows a variation here as well.

The most numerous version features a characteristic floral motif, with the leaves and petals of the flowers are angular (Figures 441 and 442). Figure 441 also features a rabbit between the flower bouquets. The presence of the rabbit indicates that this version might have been inspired by the late *Kraak* porcelains that must have fled through Bandar Abbas in the late seventeenth century. This motif has an analogy on a bath rasp (a type of object that was used for massaging or scrubbing, as a modern pumice⁷⁷⁸) identified as Gombroon, dated 1650 to 1725.⁷⁷⁹

Figure 444 is a unique piece in the material. Its material characteristics are not as obviously Gombroon-type as the above examples, but the color of the red paint places it in this group. It also has a hard, white, high-fired paste and creamy, turquoise-greenish white glaze. The glaze has greyish spots on it, which indicates secondary burning; thus, the difference in the material could derive from the secondary erosion of the cup. Its decorative style is also odd within the other Gombroon examples: the outside is thickly covered with underglaze blue and red painting, featuring an ornamental motif with spades-shaped motives. There is an S-b type mark on the inside of the well. The underglaze blue is bright, not as light as is usual on the Gombroon vessels.

Figure 445 is very similar to Figures 441 and 442 in style, but instead of the floral bouquet, it features a floral medallion on the outer wall.

⁷⁷⁸ For more details about the object see: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GX4u9rKe1AA>

⁷⁷⁹ Victoria and Albert Museum, 656-1889. <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O187225/bath-rasp-unknown/> (Accessed 06/04/2024).

Interestingly, the motives from the blue and white group can also be found in the blue, red, and white group as well (Figures 446 to 449. Figure 446 shows the artemisia/saz leaf motif with red painting, Figure 447 is the ornamental band motif with red dots, and Figures 448 and 449 feature the *ruyi/ çintamani* with red painting.



Figure 441 Gombroon cup sherd
Buda Royal Palace, inv. no. BHM 52.467.



Figure 442 Gombroon cup sherd
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.2012.149.3.



Figure 443 Gombroon bath rasp
Victoria and Albert Museum, 656-1889.



Figure 444 Gombroon cup sherd
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.2012.139.13.



Figure 445 Gombroon cup sherd
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.2012.71.4.



Figure 446 Gombroon cup sherd
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.2012.162.2.

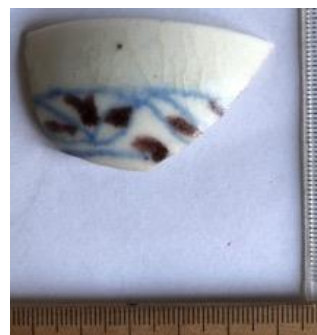


Figure 447 Gombroon cup sherd
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.2012.162.3.



*Figure 448 Gombroon cup sherd
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM 2010.22.2.*



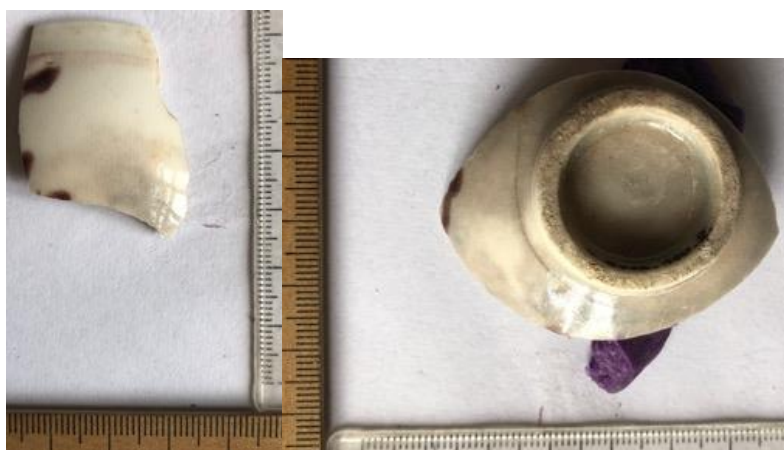
*Figure 449 Gombroon cup sherd
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.2012.85.24.*

Red and white

There are three sherds belonging to two vessels that are painted with only underglaze red painting (Figures 450 and 451). There is no analogy found for this type, but the paste and glaze place the sherds among the Gombroon products.



*Figure 450 Gombroon cup sherd
Buda Royal Palace, inv. no. BHM 77_4*



*Figure 451 Gombroon cup sherd
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.2012.110.1-2.*

White ware

The white, undecorated faience is discussed among the Gombroon types, since most of the variants have parallels that are identified as Gombroon.

Figures 452 to 454 represent white ware. Among the 47 sherds in the material, four sherds bear a mark, which are two different types, two S-b and one O-j mark, and one is too fragmented for identification. Figure 452 represents the undecorated white ware type. It has a high-fired, hard, white paste, thickly potted walls, a creamy white, opaque glaze that is slightly corroded. A parallel cup is dated to 1650 to 1725 and identified as Gombroon ware,⁷⁸⁰ indicating that this type in the Hungarian material can be dated to the second half of the seventeenth century. The Gombroon ware identification also suggests that this type of white ware was also produced in Bandar Abbas. Figures 453 and 454 are examples of the type with a mark on the base. Figure 453 has the same shape and material as Figure 452; the only difference is the mark on the base. Figure 454, on the other hand, shows some differences. It also has a hard, slightly porous, white paste covered in a creamy white glaze that has a turquoise bluish tone on the outer base. Its shape is also different: it has a wider footring, and seemingly a wider, less cylindrical body. The turquoise bluish glaze on the base and the different mark suggests a different provenance; thus, it might not be a Gombroon ware.

Figures 456 to 464 have geometric engraved decorations on their outer walls. The glaze creamy white, is oily and bluish, especially in the carvings. The material is white, hard, but slightly porous. The engraved motif is very similar on Figure 457. This sherd is very close to porcelain in its material: it is white and translucent, the paste is hard, it is thinly potted, and it has a bright white glaze. The motif, especially that of Figure 457 is analogous to a Gombroon ewer dated to 1650-1725.⁷⁸¹ Figure 458 features a unique motif on the outer wall. It has a porous, yellowish-white paste covered in a creamy white glaze. The wall, especially toward and at the rim, is thinly potted, translucent, and is decorated with an incised motif featuring “S” shaped characters mirroring each other alternately. The motif seems to be a simplified version of a Gombroon bowl held at the V&A dated to 1650 to 1725,⁷⁸² indicating that the sherd can be dated to the second half of the seventeenth century.

⁷⁸⁰ Victoria and Albert Museum, 570-1889. <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O345703/cup-unknown/> (Accessed 06/04/2024).

⁷⁸¹ Victoria and Albert Museum, 2597-1876. <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O86067/ewer-unknown/> (Accessed: 05/04/2024).

⁷⁸² Victoria and Albert Museum, 1383-1876. <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O86069/bowl-unknown/> (Accessed: 06/05/2024).

Figures 459 and 460 show a version that is incised more deeply, featuring vertical lines. The two sherds are direct analogies of each other and of a cup identified as Gombroon and dated 1650 to 1725.⁷⁸³ Based on the V&A parallel and Imre Holl's observations of the find contexts in the Buda Palace, this type can be dated to the second half of the seventeenth century.⁷⁸⁴ A similar version is Figure 461. It has a porous yellowish paste covered in a turquoise-greenish white glaze that is slightly corroded and has yellowish spots on it due to the corrosion. The outer wall is decorated with incised double vertical lines, and the rim is slightly inverted.

Figures 462 and 463 are a base and rim sherd of another incised decoration style. Since they were found in contexts close to each other, the two sherds may belong to the same vessel. They both have a high-fired, hard, white, thinly potted paste covered in a creamy, greenish-white glaze. It is decorated on the outer wall with crisscrossed incised lines. Based on the material and the style of the incision, these sherds were probably also Gombroon-made in the second half of the seventeenth century. So is the last sherd in this group, Figure 464, which also has a white body and a greenish white, creamy glaze and is also incised, featuring leaves on its outer wall.



Figure 452 Gombroon cup sherd
Buda Royal Palace, inv. no. BHM 51.771.



Figure 453 Gombroon cup sherd
Buda Royal Palace, inv. no. BHM 66.2102.

⁷⁸³ Victoria and Albert Museum, 569-1889. <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O183373/cup-unknown/> (Accessed: 06/05/2024).

⁷⁸⁴ Holl, *Fundkomplexe*, 126. Holl cites Arthur Lane (*Later Islamic Pottery*) who could merely identify this type as “fine ware with unknown provenance” (after Holl, *Fundkomplexe*, 126.) and dated this type to the early eighteenth century.

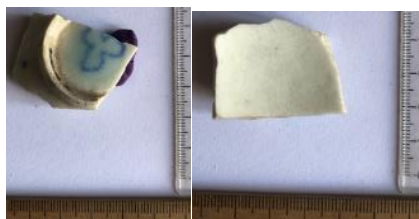


Figure 454 Gombroon cup sherd
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM 2010.19.3.



Figure 455 Victoria and Albert Museum, 570-1889.



Figure 456 Gombroon cup sherd
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V2012.85.47.



Figure 457 Gombroon cup sherd
Buda Royal Palace, inv. no. BHM 80/2



Figure 458 Eger Castle, DICM V.2012.170.1.

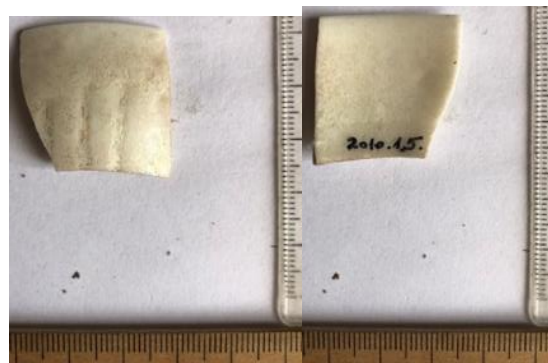


Figure 459 Gombroon cup sherd
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM 2010.1.5.

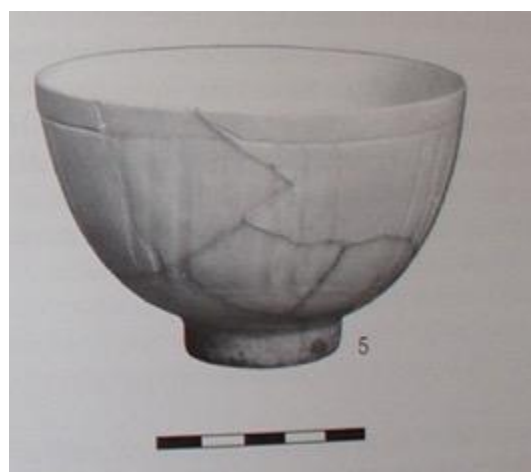


Figure 460 Gombroon cup sherd
Buda Royal Palace
Holl, Fundkomplexe, Abb. 81.5.



Figure 461 Gombroon cup sherd
Buda Royal Palace, inv. no. BHM 60.32.2.



Figure 462 Eger Castle, DICM 2010.1.1.



*Figure 463 Gombroon cup sherd
Eger Castle, inv. no. V.2012.65.4*



*Figure 464 Gombroon cup sherd
Eger Castle, inv. no. DICM V.2012.128.1.*



*Figure 465 Gombroon ewer
Victoria and Albert Museum, 2597-1876.*



*Figure 466 Gombroon cup
Victoria and Albert Museum, 1383-1876.*



*Figure 467 Gombroon cup
Victoria and Albert Museum, 569-1889.*

Conclusions

The overall number of Persian sherds within the published and unpublished material combined is almost the same as that of the Iznik sherds (482 and 436, respectively). This might be interpreted as Persian ware, besides Chinese porcelain, taking over the place of Iznik ceramics by the seventeenth century. The 385 Kütahya sherds in the combined material suggest a similar role for Kütahya ware in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The number of Chinese porcelain is 1,257, the majority of which can be dated to the seventeenth century, as discussed above.

Regarding Persian stonepaste, the primary result of the material analysis was the identification of a type previously unknown to Hungarian scholarship, Gombroon ware. An interesting fact regarding Gombroon ware in the material is its high number in Eger Castle (89 sherds), a phenomenon discussed below in Chapter 5. Another significant result is the distinction between Kütahya and Persian cups. The next chapter discusses these observations, along with the interpretation of the results of the material analysis presented in this chapter.

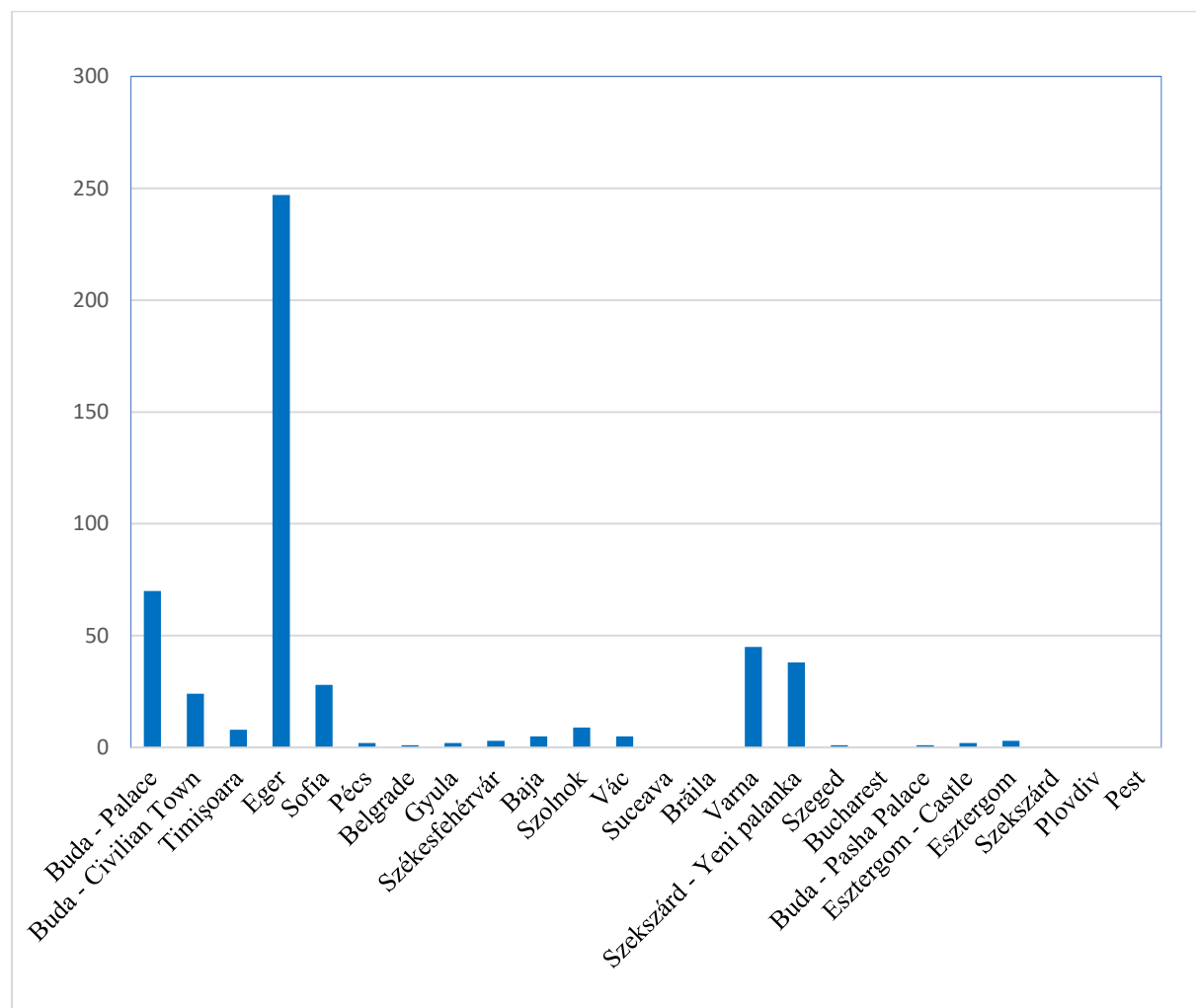


Table 1 The number of Persian sherds in each studied settlement (published and unpublished)

5. INTERPRETATION OF THE FIND COMPLEXES: ASIAN DECORATIVE CERAMICS ON THE PERIPHERY OF THE EARLY MODERN OTTOMAN EMPIRE

Consumption patterns of Asian decorative ceramics in the Ottoman Empire

The leading question behind collecting material from such a wide geographical area was to observe patterns of consumption and distribution of Asian ceramics. Based on the publications and observations of unpublished individual sites it is obvious that the four types discussed in the present work appear as a “package”, indicating that they were in use in parallel with each other. A comprehensive collection of these sites has not been conducted before; thus, the general composition of the assemblages was not well known. As shown in the introduction of each ceramic type in Chapter 4 there is substantial secondary literature in Hungary and some parts of the Balkans of each type, although varied in depth. In many cases, all types are discussed within the same study or publication, but they are never discussed as one coherent group of material culture. I regard them as a “package” not merely because they were used in parallel, or because they were all produced in some part of Asia. They can be called a “package” because they are interconnected within the Ottoman context on several levels: their social value, possibly their absolute value as well, and their decorative styles. All four types influenced one another not only in decoration, but also in shape in most cases (Kütahya, Persian, and even some types of Iznik cups follow the shape and dimensions of a conic cup with no handle, a short footring and a simple, vertical rim introduced by Chinese porcelain). Furthermore, evidence that sometimes Persian cups were mistaken for Chinese ones, or even passed off as Chinese by traders on purpose,⁷⁸⁵ which shows a level of interchangeability of the different types, especially between the mass-produced seventeenth-century cups. The odd one in the group from this point of view is the classic Iznik ware which consist of jugs, jars, footed bowls, large bowls, vases, and tankards. Some of these shapes do appear among the Chinese porcelain sherds, but the overwhelming majority of the Chinese, Persian, and Kütahya sherds belong to the above-described cup type. This object is strongly connected to the consumption of coffee in the Ottoman Empire, a notion corroborated by the archaeological record showing the wide-spread use of these objects from the second half of the sixteenth century onwards – the same time when

⁷⁸⁵ Golombek et al., *Persian Pottery*, 28-29, 79.

coffee appeared and became widespread among the Ottomans.⁷⁸⁶ Sixteenth-century depictions of coffee houses, festivals, and ceremonies involving the ruling elite also show these objects as being used for drinking coffee (see Figures 415-416 below). This shows that the examination of these objects as belonging to one group, as opposed to analyzing them separately, holds a larger potential for understanding their consumption and value among the Ottomans.

The above statistical numbers help further understand these “packages”, and allows for understanding their distribution patterns, and for drawing social- and economic historical conclusions. The next two sections of this chapter focuses on discussing these two aspects respectively, starting with the discussion of the distribution patterns.

Disposed treasures in Rumeli: topographical distribution of the archaeological finds

Moving closer to the everyday use of these ceramics, the analysis of the distribution of the sherds within one site might shed light on the users of these objects. Thus, the three largest assemblages, that of Buda, the Eger Castle, and Sofia are topographically analyzed below, with the leading question to which groups of society these objects might be connected. After the analysis of these sites, two case studies of individual objects with well-defined archaeological contexts are presented with the goal to approach the same question from another aspect.

The topographical distribution of the Buda assemblage is demonstrated in Figure 408, which shows the most common types and their number of sherds from the Royal Palace, as well as the outstanding pieces of each civilian town site. Most of the material was collected from levelling layers of debris and waste connected to the Baroque-period reconstruction of the town and the Royal Palace. An interesting fact is that the number of the Wanli abstract peach and the Kangxi lotus type sherds is almost the same, and these two types occur in an overwhelming majority in the royal palace, but not in the town. This suggests that these pieces might be connected to the garrison inhabiting the palace. It is known that the Ottoman military stationed in the Hungarian fortresses was mostly of southern Slavic origin,⁷⁸⁷ who had a different material culture as the Ottomans, especially those communities that remained Orthodox Christians instead of converting to Islam. This difference is shown in the household ceramics and the decorative ware as well, as mentioned briefly in Chapter 2. The Árpáadian-age-like cooking pots (see Figure 1) can be connected to them as well as the glass bracelets found at Ottoman-period

⁷⁸⁶ About the spread of coffee and coffee houses in Istanbul see Selma Akyazıcı Özkoçak, “Coffeehouses. Rethinking the Public and Private in Early Modern Istanbul,” *Journal of Urban History* 33, no. 6 (2007): 965–86.

⁷⁸⁷ Hegyi, *A török várkatonaság*, vol. 2., 423-480., and vol. 3., 1503-1509.

sites across Hungary (see Figure 2). Regarding tableware, there is also a difference that can be detected especially between the jars of the Balkan peoples (Fig. 468) and the Ottomans (Fig. 469). The Asian decorative ceramic pieces can be connected to the military, as they were found in the territory in which the garrison was stationed, but were more likely used by the high-ranking officials—educated in Istanbul, thus can be called Ottoman-cultured—living with or near the garrison, than by the mercenaries mostly consisting of soldiers of Balkan origin.

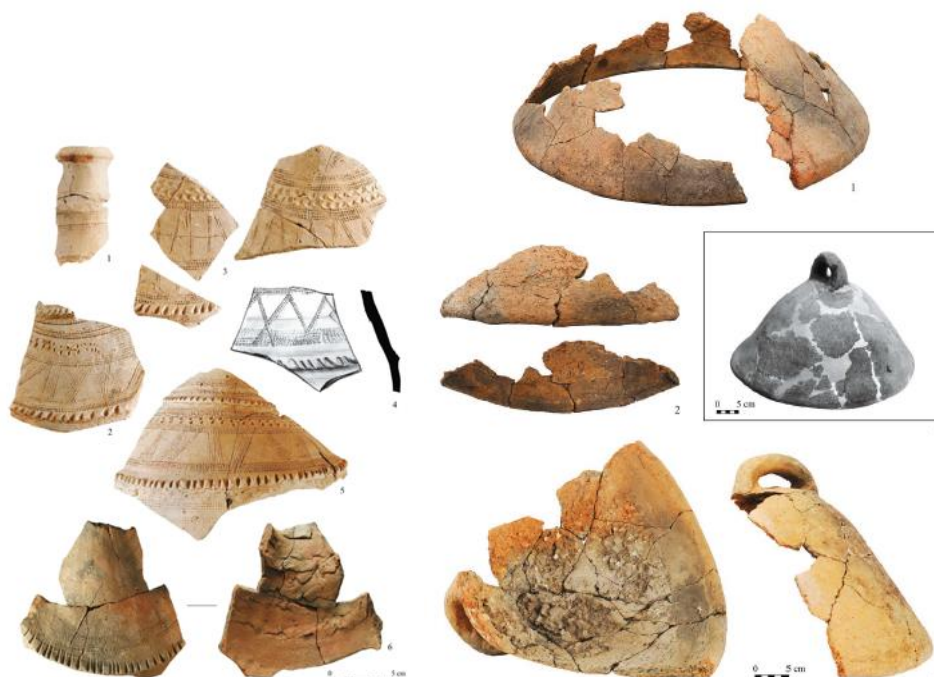


Figure 468 Balkan household ceramics
Kovács, “Balkániak a hódoltságkori Dél-Dunántúlon,” fig. 11 (left) and fig. 6 (right)

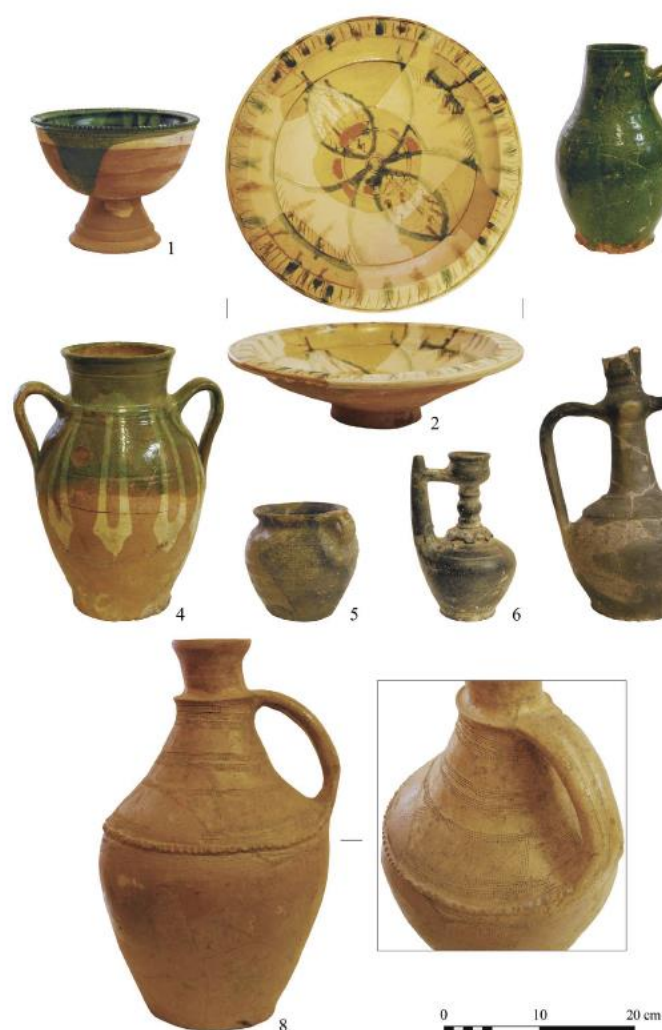


Figure 469 Ottoman tableware and household ceramics
Kovács, "Balkániak a hódoltságkori Dél-Dunántúlon," fig. 12.

The distribution of the types in Buda Town corresponds to the known social tendencies in topography. Two parts of the town should be emphasized: the present-day Szent György tér and Corvin tér. Both of these areas can be considered administrative centers, as the *beylerbeyi*'s palace was located consecutively in both areas.⁷⁸⁸ This central location is reflected in the Chinese porcelain material of the sites excavated, which is supported by the two sherds from the Pasha Palace in Szent György tér and the outstanding sherd with the *anhua* decoration from Corvin tér (Figure 470). The large number (ninety-five sherds) and higher quality of the pieces collected from the western side of Szent György tér suggest two different interpretations: the pieces were either brought to this part of the square from the Pasha Palace's waste and debris

⁷⁸⁸ Gerő, "A budai pasák vári palotája," 42.; idem, "The Residence of the Pasha's in Hungary and the recently discovered Pashasaray from Buda," 353–360.; idem, "A buda-vízivárosi Tojgun pasa dzsámi és a Tojgun pasa mahalle," 197–208.; Papp, "Rövid összefoglaló a budai pasák palotájáról," 167–185.

during the Baroque reconstructions or they belonged to high-ranking members of the society who lived in a frequented part of town, indicating wealth and a taste for Asian decorative pottery. The latter hypothesis is supported by the fact that this part of town already had a central function at the end of the Middle Ages,⁷⁸⁹ and the construction of the Pasha Palace complex at the beginning of the seventeenth century must have reinstated this function.

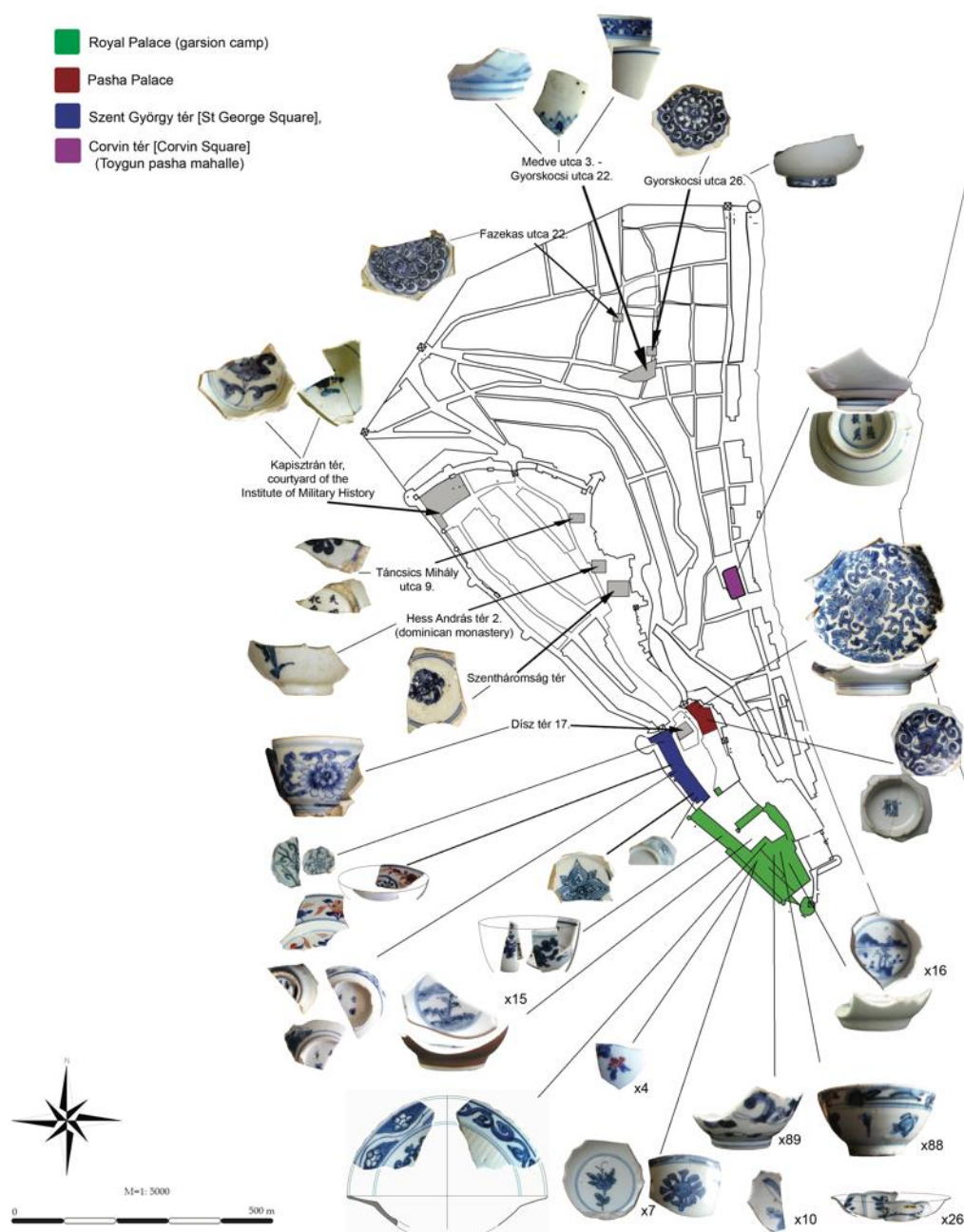


Figure 470 Topographical distribution of the Chinese porcelain sherds of Buda

The topographical situation of Eger is somewhat different from that of Buda, as the pasha's residence was within the fortress. Eger Castle was divided into two parts: the northern

⁷⁸⁹ Magyar, "A budavári Szent György tér," 52-58.

part inhabited by the *beylerbeyi* and his court and the southern part settled by the Janissary. The majority of the assemblage was collected from the territory of the inner castle (Figure 471), indicating that Chinese porcelain was primarily used by the *beylerbeyi* and his court. The archaeological context of the assemblage is not precise enough to draw many conclusions regarding the typological distribution. After the re-occupation of the castle from the Ottomans in 1687, the debris was spread around the territory of the present-day Castle District. A concentration of finds can be observed in the northern part of the castle, i.e. the vicinity of the Pasha Palace (medieval episcopal palace). This indicates that the debris found in this area might belong to the Pasha Palace, but sherds in other locations, such as the southern parts of the castle, could also have been used in the northern area. It is also possible that those pieces found in the northern areas were used in, for example, the houses of the Szép Bastion. Taking waste management patterns into consideration, it is difficult to connect certain sherds to certain locations of use, but the assemblage shows some tendencies regarding the concentration of porcelain finds. One of these tendencies is that the number of sherds collected from the territory of the inner castle is *c.* 2.5 times more than that of the outer castle. Principles of spatial analysis help assess this phenomenon. It is known that leveling took place after the re-occupation in 1687; therefore, the debris, including the porcelain sherds, was spread around the castle area. Furthermore, in the twentieth century the military used the premises until 1957, when the current Dobó István Museum moved up the hill and landscaping works were undertaken. These works influenced the archaeological context of a significant part of the assemblage, resulting in the sherds being found in mixed debris layers of modern and Ottoman-period material, sometimes even mixed with medieval objects. This raises the question of whether the original place of use should be searched for in the direct vicinity of collection or if a much larger territory needs to be considered. In this case, a portion of the pieces found in the northern part of the castle could have been used in the southern part, and vice versa.

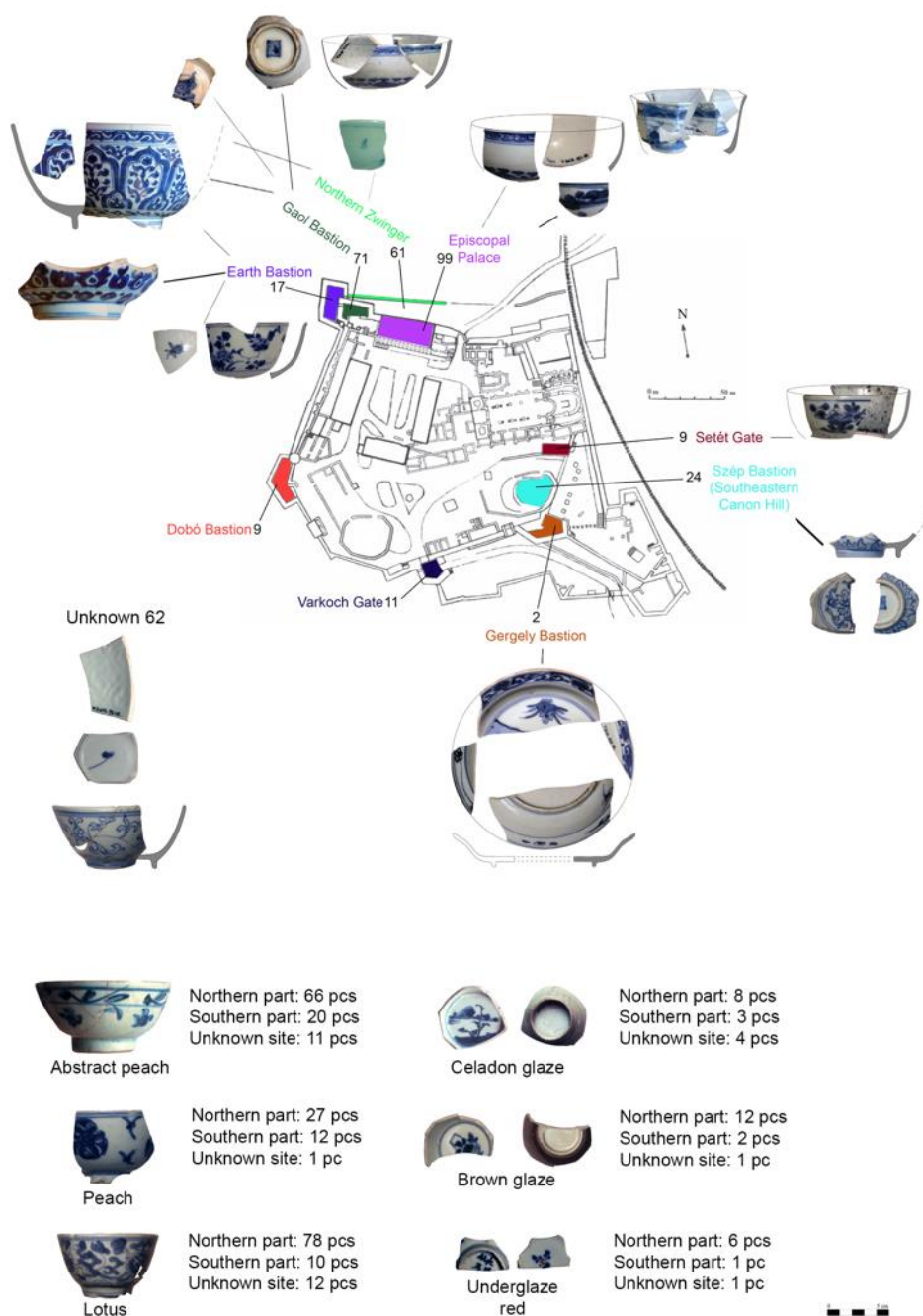
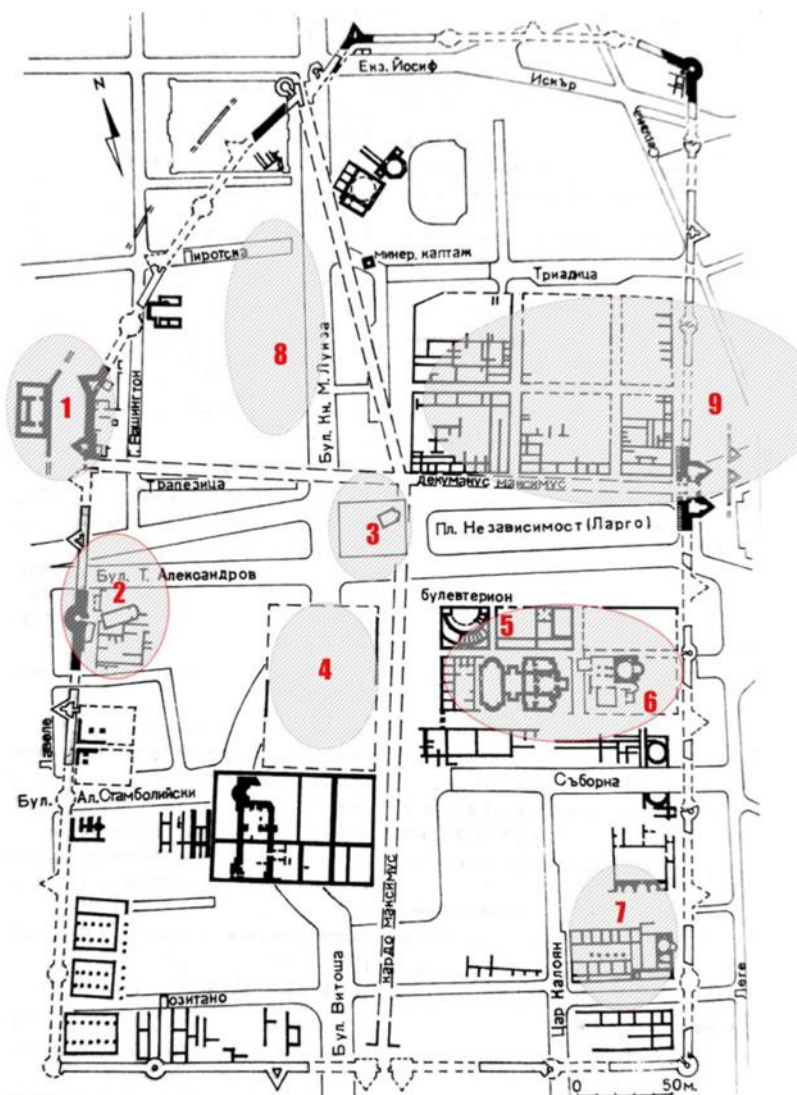


Figure 471 Topographical distribution of Chinese porcelain sherds in Eger Castle

The case of Sofia sheds light on the consumption patterns from a different aspect. The assemblage held at the Sofia Regional History Museum was unearthed at five sites in the center of present-day Sofia. These finds mostly derive from Ottoman *mahalles* dated to the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries, in some cases well-defined Ottoman trash pits (sites 1 and 2b in Figure 410); seventeenth-century Ottoman neighborhoods (sites 5 and 6 in Figure 410); and Ottoman-period houses built probably after 1500 (site 4 in Figure 472). The exact archaeological context of the other sites is unknown. As mentioned above, Iznik and Kütahya finds are represented by the largest number, which is quite different from the general trend in the Hungarian material

culture, where Iznik and Persian faience vs. Chinese porcelain is found in a more equal ratio. The composition of the Iznik finds in Sofia (Figure 473) indicates that this type of ceramics was popular among the Ottoman-cultured residents of the city, i.e. those who came from the center of the Empire and/or were educated there, throughout the sixteenth century, but probably not earlier, even though they were already present in the area. As also discussed above, the eighteenth-century material culture was also abundant in Asian (and Western) decorative ceramics since there is a presentable quantity deriving from the excavations in the center of Sofia, in the form of Kütahya ware (and Meissen porcelain). This indicates that the imported vessels, such as Chinese porcelain and their Persian imitations, started appearing on the markets in this period, even though they existed in the previous centuries as well. This trend aligns with the general trend of the studied geographical area, except for the lack of Chinese porcelain, which is rather difficult to explain (see above in this chapter, “The material in numbers”). Starting with the eighteenth century, however, Armenian craftsmen started arriving in the Ottoman Empire in a larger number, fleeing from the less minority-friendly and religiously flexible Late Safavid Iran, where them being Armenian and Christian was not tolerated well. These craftsmen probably had an influence on Kütahya production, creating that distinctive style mixing the traditional Iznik patterns with Persian decorative motives. Such products can also be found among the Sofia finds, representing a continuing demand for Asian decorative ceramics even after the decline of Iznik.



Plan of the city of Serdika (Шалганов, Кривова 2010) with the location of the archaeological sites under consideration: 1. Western gate of Serdika; 2. UniCredit Bulbank and Medieval church Sveti Spas (Holy Savior); 3. Sveta Petka Samardzhitska underpass; 4. Sveta Nedelya sq.; 5. & 6. - Inner courtyard of hotel Balkan (modern day Sheraton) and Sveti Georgii rotunda (St. George); 7. Hotel Rila; 8. Central heating system in Sofia. Pirotska str. and Knyaginya Maria-Luiza blvd.; 9. New public buildings in the city center

Figure 472 Excavation sites of Asian decorative ceramics within central Sofia (nos. 1-8).
Map by Lyuba Dafova after Shalганov and Kripova 2010, p. 3, fig. 06.

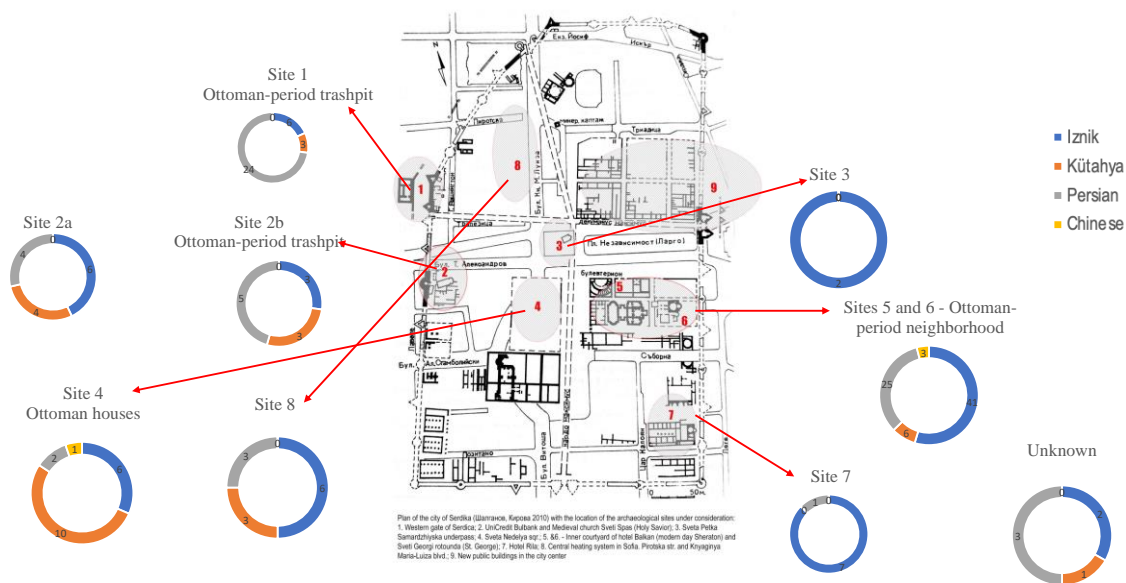


Figure 473 Composition of ceramic types in each site in central Sofia

Case studies of individual sherds that have well-defined archaeological contexts show the potential of analyzing their topographical position within one site. Two examples are presented below, one from Esztergom and one from Buda. One of the most outstanding pieces of the studied material is the Chinese porcelain plate decorated with a *qilin*, unearthed in Esztergom (Figure 30 in Chapter 4 above). The plate is not only significant because of its unique decoration in the material, but also because it was unearthed from a context that is well-defined and well-documented. A well-defined archaeological context, such as this one, is rare in the Hungarian material. The plate was found in a well-dated (between 1543 and 1595 CE) context (object no. 171, see 412), confirmed with a coin minted in the 1520s found in the same layer.⁷⁹⁰ According to the documentation the plate was found in a burnt layer mixed with daub debris and other Ottoman-period (1541-1699 CE) finds, which include – besides the coin and among various ceramic types – a copper tap and a key, also indicating the residential character of the site during the first period of the Ottoman occupation (1543-1595 CE).⁷⁹¹ Under the burnt layer there was a clay floor, dated to the fifteenth century based on the ceramic material found in it.⁷⁹² Under the clay floor there were two pits, from which fourteenth- and fifteenth-century ceramic sherds

⁷⁹⁰ The coin is identified as a fake denarius minted sometime in the 1520s (the last digit of the date is illegible), the producer is uncertain. Hungarian National Museum, Bálint Balassa Museum of Esztergom, inventory no.: 2019.17.54. Here I would like to thank Orsolya Gálvölgyi (Budapest History Museum, Castle Museum) for her kind help in describing and identifying the coin.

⁷⁹¹ Hungarian National Museum, Bálint Balassa Museum of Esztergom, inventory no.: 2019.17.44-64.

⁷⁹² Hungarian National Museum, Bálint Balassa Museum of Esztergom, inventory no.: 2019.17.65-74.

were unearthed (Figure 474).⁷⁹³ Object no. 171 (Figure 474) is surrounded with a stonewall base which is identified as a fifteenth-century dwelling house in the documentation, based on various observations. This allows for the hypothesis that the dwelling house from the late medieval period was continued to be used by the Ottomans until the first re-occupation of Esztergom by the Habsburgs in 1595, and it was most likely destroyed during this siege based on the destruction layer the sherds of the plate were found in. This hypothesis is further supported by the context observed above the debris layer with the porcelain plate, which are two ovens superimposing each other, filled with Ottoman-period material,⁷⁹⁴ mainly dating to the seventeenth century, indicating an industrial use during the second period of the Ottoman occupation (1605-1683).

Identifying the possible owner of the plate is connected to the Ottoman-period topography and social composition of Esztergom. As mentioned above, the plate was unearthed to the southeast from the Castle Hill, on the plain next to the Danube (Figure 475). This part of town was called Royal Town (Királyi város) in the medieval period, Büyük Varoş [Large Town] in the early Ottoman, and Rácváros or Serb Town in the late Ottoman period, the latter named after the newly arriving dwellers. The importance of this part of Esztergom is represented in the rich archaeological site excavated in 1994-1995 and 2005-2006 at Kossuth Street 14-18. Objects, finds and numerous tombs were unearthed from the pre-historic period through the Romans and the medieval period to the Ottomans. The Celtic-period finds, the late-Roman tombs, and the terra sigillatae have been published;⁷⁹⁵ but the Ottoman-period results of the excavations remain unpublished. The excavation documentation though reveals a vividly inhabited area during the Ottoman period as well, demonstrating that besides the Castle Hill and the Watertown, Serb Town was also a significant part of Ottoman Esztergom. Finds in the two ovens, under which the porcelain plate was revealed, indicate a blacksmith's workshop;⁷⁹⁶

⁷⁹³ Hungarian National Museum, Bálint Balassa Museum of Esztergom, inventory no.: 2019.17.75-86.

⁷⁹⁴ Excavation documentation of Kossuth Street 14-18 in Esztergom, in 2005. BBM Régészeti Adattár [Esztergom Bálint Balassa Museum Archaeological Archives] Nr. 509, p. 26.

⁷⁹⁵ H. Kelemen Márta, "Az Esztergom Kossuth Lajos utcai későkelta fazekaskemencék [Late Celtic pottery kilns in Esztergom Kossuth Lajos Street]," *Komárom-Esztergom Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei* 6 (1999): 89–118.; Márta H. Kelemen, Mónika Merczi, and Barnabás Lőrincz, *Solva. Esztergom későrómai temetői / Die spätrömische Gräberfelder von Esztergom [Solva. Late Roman cemeteries of Esztergom]*, Libelli Archaeologici ser. nov. 3 (Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2008).; Koós István, "Az Esztergom Kossuth Lajos utcai lelőhely terra sigillatái [Terra Sigillatae of the archaeological site Kossuth Lajos Street in Esztergom]," *Komárom-Esztergom Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei* 6 (1999): 119–35.; Merczi Mónika, "Az Esztergom Kossuth Lajos utca késő római népesség sérülései és betegségei [Injuries and illnesses of the Late Roman population of Kossuth Lajos Street in Esztergom]," *A Békés Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei* 24–25 (2003): 393–409..

⁷⁹⁶ Iron slag was found on the ovens' surface, Excavation documentation of Kossuth Street 14-18 in Esztergom, in 2005. EBM Régészeti Adattár [Esztergom Bálint Balassa Museum Archaeological Archives] Nr. 509. p. 26.

but in other parts of the excavation area ceramic burning tripods were also found in Ottoman pits, indicating local ceramic production for the Ottoman customers with Ottoman cultural background.⁷⁹⁷

Contemporary depictions of Esztergom's so-called Serb Town, the former Royal and Chapter's Town, also show that it looked like a typical Ottoman town with *minarets*, baths, and mosques. It was a general phenomenon that a significant majority of the soldiers stationed to defend the Ottoman-occupied castles in Hungary came from the Balkan peninsula in the mid-sixteenth century, and in 1619 half of the defenders were still from the Balkans. In the case of Esztergom, the name of Serb Town is quite telling, as it is supported with mercenary payrolls that most of the soldiers stationed in Esztergom came from Serbia.⁷⁹⁸ Naturally, with no known relevant written sources, it is difficult to determine who were living in which part of Esztergom (except for the *beylerbeyi* and his court), but interestingly, one of the depictions (Figure 476) shows the position of the 'Bey's⁷⁹⁹ house' somewhere close to the Serb Town. In case the maker of the carving was well-informed, then it means that a significant official, deserving of the title of *bey* (=lord) lived in this suburb, which indicates the importance of this part of Esztergom already during the first Ottoman occupation.

The position of Serb Town (Figure 476) indicates that the main route from Buda to the Castle of Esztergom went right through this suburb. This suggests a lively trading activity, even though according to Evliya Çelebi there was no *bedestan* in the suburb of Esztergom. Although, Evliya seems to be talking about Watertown when mentioning the suburb and does not mention Serb Town in his description of Esztergom, it is difficult to believe that he did not recognize Serb Town as also being a suburb to Esztergom. Regardless, Evliya mentions two hundred and ten shops and a *çarşı* (marketplace), where the soldiers bring together and auction off their loot.⁸⁰⁰ This last bit of information is significant, since it confirms that soldiers were part of the trading activity in Esztergom as well, although it refers to the daily activities roughly a century later than the plate in question was buried in the ground. Fortunately, a house list from 1570, corresponding to the period the plate was in use, mentions thirty-three shops in the Large Town (later Serb Town), but only including food sellers. On the other hand, there were eleven shops in the Upper Castle, including sellers aiming at serving the needs of the soldiers, and an

⁷⁹⁷ Excavation documentation of Kossuth Street 14-18 in Esztergom, in 2005. EBM Régészeti Adattár [Esztergom Bálint Balassa Museum Archaeological Archives] Nr. 509. p. 26.

⁷⁹⁸ Hegyi, *A török hódoltság várai és várkatonasága*, vol. 2. p. 704. and 745.

⁷⁹⁹ The bey or beğ is an administrative or military official. Sanjak beys were the leaders of sanjaks, but other beys also had beyliks, territories/counties they ruled over.

⁸⁰⁰ Karácson, *Evliya Cselebi*, 279.

auctioneer in the Lower Castle.⁸⁰¹ Thus, it seems that auctions and the selling of household commodities was also a part of the everyday life of the first Ottoman occupation (1543-1595) as much as it is described by Evliya Çelebi in the 1660s.

The case study of the Esztergom porcelain plate reflects the use of these objects by either a *bey* who seems to have lived in this area, possibly in the very house unearthed here; or by a merchant who lived in the vivid Serb Town and kept one of the nicer commodities for himself. The first case supports the hypothesis that these objects were used by the upper layer of the Ottoman society; while the second case demonstrates the need of other well-to-do layers of the society, here the merchants, to take part in enjoying “luxuries” seen in the hands of the elite.



Figure 474 Esztergom, Kossuth Street 14-18. excavation, object no. 171., ground plan drawing (EBM nr.509 2005); object no. 171. excavation photos, a: first oven with the fifteenth-century walls; b: first oven; c: second oven d: fifteenth-century pits under the ovens (EBM nr.509 2005); and vertical cross section drawing (EBM nr.509 2005)

⁸⁰¹ Káldy-Nagy, *Harácszedők és ráják*, 138.

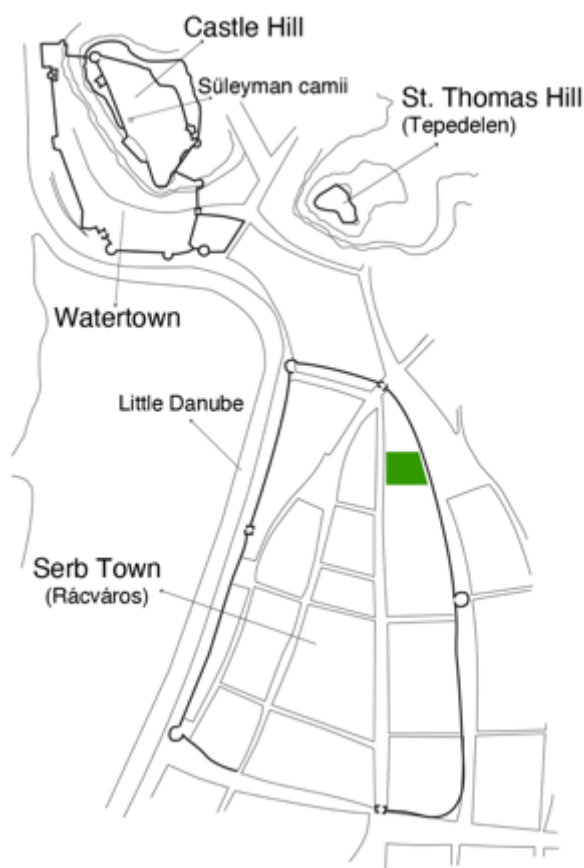


Figure 475 The Ottoman-period topography of Esztergom. Map based on Ayverdi 2000, 169. The green spot marks the location of the excavation at Kossuth Lajos Street 14-18., projected on the Ottoman-period map of Esztergom.



Figure 476 Detail of a depiction of Esztergom with the Serb Town (Q – green rectangular), and with naming the Bey's house (D – red circle), Source: *Copper engraving of Custos Dominicus (1559/1560-1615), Augsburg, Országos Széchenyi Könyvtár, Régi Nyomtatványok Tára* [Early and Rare Printed Books Department of the Hungarian National Library] (Accessed: 25/08/2024)

The other example, from Buda, is quite the opposite of the Esztergom plate: it is a representative of the mass-produced Chinese porcelain type of the Wanli period, an abstract peach decorated cup (Figure 477). Its well-defined archaeological context however allows for

conclusions that add to the use of space in inner areas of the Royal Palace and its vicinity in Buda – the center of administration of the Hungarian province. It is also suitable for further discussing the identification of the users of these objects.

The sherds of the cup were found during the rescue excavations conducted in connection with the renovation of the present day Sándor Palace in the Buda Castle District, presently used as the presidential palace.⁸⁰² During the medieval period this plot housed the Franciscan friary, which was transformed by the Ottomans after the occupation of Buda. The sherds were unearthed in the southern part of the courtyard of the friary, from an Ottoman pit in trench “C” (Figure 478).⁸⁰³ The filling of the pit is connected to the leveling after the re-occupation of Buda in 1686 by the excavating archaeologist.⁸⁰⁴ The finds of the pit suggest that it could have been filled earlier than the re-occupation, since the top of the pit has been destroyed, but it could not happen before the mid-seventeenth century.⁸⁰⁵ The pit is situated in a part of the site that was most likely used as a courtyard during the Ottoman period as well. This notion is supported by the fact that the Ottoman-period stone paving of the courtyard was detected in this part of the site, dated to the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries.⁸⁰⁶ The use of the friary during the Ottoman period is indicated by the survey of Haüy from 1687, showing five plots within this area;⁸⁰⁷ and the map of Fontana from 1686, showing a round building south of the church building, constructed directly next to the walls of the church.⁸⁰⁸ Furthermore, it is known that the church was transformed into a *cami* used by the *beylerbeyi* of Buda who’s palace was on the neighboring plot.

⁸⁰² Altmann Julianna, “Előzetes jelentés a budavári ferencsestemplom kutatásáról [Preliminary report regarding the research of the Franciscan church in Buda Castle],” *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 100 (1973): 82–87.; Julianna Altmann, “Az Óbudai És a Budavári Ferencsestemplom És Kolostor Kutatásai [Research of the Franciscan Church and Monastery of Óbuda and Buda Castle],” in *Köldulőrendi Építészet a Középkori Magyarországon [Mandican Architecture in Medieval Hungary]*, ed. Andrea Haris, Művészettörténet - Műemlékvédelem 7 (Országos Műemlékvédelmi Hivatal, 1994), 137–52.; Julianna Altmann, “A Budavári Ferences Kolostor [The Franciscan Monastery of the Buda Castle],” *Műemlékvédelem* 46, no. 6 (2002): 345–50.; Kovács Eszter, “A budai ferences kolostor a török korban [The Franciscan monastery of Buda during the Ottoman period],” *Tanulmányok Budapest Múltjából* 31 (2003): 241–162.; Végh András, *Buda város középkori helyrajza [Medieval topography of the town of Buda] I.*, Monumenta Historica Budapestinensia 15 (Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, 2006), 61–63.

⁸⁰³ BTM RA 1795-96, pp. 42-43.

⁸⁰⁴ Kovács Eszter, “Hódoltság kori kannafedők a budai várból [Ottoman-period jug lids from Buda Castle]” (Unpublished manuscript, n.d.), BTM RA H. 91-100. The interpretation of the Ottoman pit yielding the Chinese cup is in footnote no. 3. of this manuscript.

⁸⁰⁵ BTM RA H. 6096-2022, p. 93. footnote no. 3.

⁸⁰⁶ Kovács 2003, 249-250.

⁸⁰⁷ Kovács 2003, 244.

⁸⁰⁸ Eszter Kovács (†2018), the excavating archaeologist, believed that it was probably the wall of the medieval well that was continued to be in use during the Ottoman period. Kovács, 2003, 251.

Based on the data above the question raises who might have used this plot laying between the *beylerbeyi*'s *cami* and palace and the garrison camp. In the northwestern corner of the friary building remains of industrial activity were observed (Figure 478, rooms 46-48.), and the excavating archaeologist suggested a blacksmith's workshop and a shed belonging to it.⁸⁰⁹ Further information regarding the function of this plot might be hiding in the unstudied find material of the Ottoman pits unearthed here, but the presence of a Chinese porcelain coffee cup suggests the presence of higher ranking persons. On the other hand, it is also possible that some waste from the *beylerbeyi*'s palace was brought here, but it could also be a well-to-do craftsmen occupying this plot who had a taste for drinking coffee and the means for buying a mass-produced porcelain cup to do so. Nevertheless, it is certain that high ranking people did go around here, since according to reports from western ambassadors the *divan* was regularly held at the Pasha Palace in Buda.⁸¹⁰ Imre Holl believed that the large number of Asian decorative ware unearthed in the territory of the medieval royal palace was mostly due to these many times day-long councils accompanied with feasting and drinking coffee.⁸¹¹ The large number of bulk products from the medieval royal palace, the garrison camp during the Ottoman period, suggests otherwise: it seems that some of the high- and mid-ranking military members also enjoyed these objects. The Pasha Palace was excavated in two parts: first in the 1960s and then in the 2010s.⁸¹² The Asian ware assemblage unearthed here is unfortunately unpublished and unavailable for research. Thus, it is difficult to assess whether the material of the Sándor Palace is connected to that of the *beylerbeyi*'s palace or to the garrison camp.

The location of this find between the garrison camp and the Pasha Palace supports a more general conclusion regarding the users of these objects. It has already been indicated that they might be members of the administrative and military elite, but this find sheds light on users who are probably lower ranking but were still socialized in the center of the Ottoman Empire. It has been mentioned above that most of the soldiers stationed in Hungary originated from the Balkans, with the majority from Serbian territories. Their material culture shows a difference from that of the Ottomans, which is most tangible by the so-called Balkan cooking pots (see Chapter 1, Figure 1). These pots were hand potted and decorated with techniques mostly known from Hungary's early medieval period (10-13th centuries), but are proven to be of Balkan (or

⁸⁰⁹ Kovács 2003, 248.

⁸¹⁰ Fekete, *Budapest Története*, 88.

⁸¹¹ Holl, *Fundkomplexe*, 115.

⁸¹² For a preliminary report and data on the previous excavations see Adrienn Papp, "Rövid összefoglaló a budai pasák palotájáról."

“bosnyák” [Bosnian] as called in earlier research) origin, where these pots were in use from the fifteenth to the twentieth centuries.⁸¹³ Therefore, the use of coffee cups and other decorative Asian ceramics can be connected to those layers of the Ottoman society who have been socialized in the center of the Ottoman Empire and thus developed a taste for it. The analysis of all other aspects regarding the users leads to this conclusion, therefore it can be stated as a general pattern in Rumeli.



Figure 477 Buda Royal Palace, BHM 95.22.1.6.



Figure 478 Ground plan of the excavations at the Franciscan friary
Map after Kovács, “A budai ferences kolostor a török korban,” 258.

⁸¹³ Most recently see: Göngyi Kovács, “Balkániak a hódoltság kori Dél-Dunántúlon.”

The material in numbers: statistics of the types and their interpretation

Counting such delicate and breakable ceramic types as Chinese porcelain and decorative faience is difficult and unreliable. Determining the exact number of vessels is practically impossible, partly because sherds of the same vessel tend to be scattered around larger areas of a site, and partly because it cannot be assessed how many separate vessels bear the same decoration. Therefore, the numbers provided here reflect the minimum number of vessels, as sherds obviously belonging to the same object were counted as one. Furthermore, these numbers should not be considered as absolute statistical numbers, but rather indications of patterns that can be observed. The main reason is the fact that not only publications are selective in including numbers and types, but the material I had access to was also limited. During the years of conducting the PhD research, more excavations were taking place possibly yielding more assemblages that might alter or nuance the conclusions of the present work.

Altogether 1,963 pieces were analyzed, 165 of which is unidentified due to either condition, size, or lack of parallels or analogies. These 165 sherds are not included in the statistics below, thus the base number for all the statistical ratios is 1,798 for sherds that I have handled personally, and 2,677 combined with the published material. The overwhelming majority of the finds is Chinese porcelain (1,086/1,254 pcs), although this number is distorted by the fact that I had no access to the Buda faience material. According to Imre Holl, the number of Iznik sherds unearthed in the Buda Royal Palace is *c.* 70,⁸¹⁴ and Persian ware is counted *c.* 60.⁸¹⁵ The ratio of each type is demonstrated on Table 3, showing each type appearing in each settlement. As mentioned above, the majority of Chinese porcelain is overwhelming, indicating that these types of ceramics have become increasingly popular during the seventeenth century, even regarding the corrected numbers with the published material (Table 4). Although it is not easy to separate the sixteenth century from the seventeenth, even in the case of the Wanli sherds it is more likely that they were made in the early seventeenth century, as was described above in the case of some examples excavated from well-defined layers in the Buda Royal Palace. The typochronological composition of the Chinese assemblages shows that most of the pieces can be dated to the ‘long seventeenth century’, from the 1570s to the 1680s (Wanli-period and

⁸¹⁴ Counted based on the mentioned number in Holl, *Fundkomplexe*, pp. 100-111. Imre Holl also states his numbers are based on the excavations between 1948-59, the material of later excavation was not processed at the time of his writing his monograph (p. 104, footnote 97).

⁸¹⁵ Holl, *Fundkomplexe*, p. 128.

Kangxi ware, see Table 5). This suggests that Chinese porcelain coffee cups were the most common among all the Asian decorative ware types. This phenomenon suggests that by the seventeenth century these ceramics were probably less expensive and less exclusive, thus more widely available for the Ottoman society for everyday use.

The everyday availability of Chinese porcelain though is refuted by its distribution according to administrative level of the settlements (Table 6). This distribution shows that Chinese porcelain appears in large numbers in the *beylerbeylik* centers, and in a significant number in the *sancak* centers and palankas, while they are represented by very low numbers in towns that are not ranking high in the administrative hierarchy. It should be noted, however, that these numbers heavily rely on the published material, and the sample of smaller towns and palankas is rather limited; thus, its representativeness is questionable. While four *beylerbeylik* and nine *sancak* centers were studied, there is only data regarding six towns, one vassal town, and one palanka—including the settlements that were only available through publications. Furthermore, the archaeological data of some of the towns is limited due to lack of excavations. An example is Pest, where there have not been many opportunities to conduct systematic excavations, as in the case of Buda Town. Another example is Plovdiv, where the find material is also rather limited, since the focus of most of the excavations were the earlier periods before the Ottomans. A pattern showing that the use of Chinese porcelain is more connected to the administrative and military officials can be observed (see explanation below, “Disposed treasures”).

An anomaly of the above pattern is the case of Sofia, where the ratio of Chinese porcelain to faience is very different from the other *beylerbeylik* centers. Here a mere nine pieces of Chinese porcelain were found among the two hundred forty-four Asian decorative ceramics. This phenomenon is difficult to explain, since Sofia was a very significant settlement of Rumeli, and played an important role in the Ottoman administrative system from the fourteenth century onwards. Compared to the Chinese porcelain ratio, Persian stonepaste and Kütahya ware count almost one half each of the entire collection, indicating a very different taste of the coffee drinkers of Ottoman Sofia. This different taste is also suggested by two factors. Firstly, Miletus ware also reached Sofia in abundant numbers;⁸¹⁶ thus Ottoman ceramics did reach Sofia starting with the fifteenth century at the earliest. Secondly, there is an outstanding Iznik portion of the finds which does not indicate financial barriers of acquiring Chinese porcelain coffee cups of the sixteenth and seventeenth century. Instead, the Ottoman-cultured inhabitants of Sofia seemed to be using Persian and Kütahyan products, the reason for which is unclear. One

⁸¹⁶ Personal experience while looking at the collection of the Sofia Regional History Museum; but Miletus ware of Sofia is also published by Guionova, “Céramique d’importation”, p. 683. and fig.1/9,11,12.

explanation would be from an archaeological point of view, namely that Chinese porcelain was not collected. I believe this could be ruled out, since some Chinese porcelain pieces are collected from the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries, and a few Meissen porcelain pieces are also collected from the eighteenth centuries, not studied in this dissertation. This shows that these pieces have been recognized as part of the archaeological heritage, thus, surely they were not discarded deliberately during the excavations. They could have been discarded later, in the museum, but there is no way to tell, as if it happened, it was in the past five to six decades.

Another explanation accepts the material as it is, and draws from the fact that much less Chinese porcelain appears in it. The four pieces appearing here consist of a Wanli-period bowl sherd decorated with peach motif, two Kangxi-period sherds: one with a brown glaze, and one with a celadon glaze; and one eighteenth-century sherd, with a brown glaze. Separating the types into periods (Table 2), we see one Chinese porcelain sherd dating to between 1573 and 1620, and ninety-four Iznik sherds, fifty-nine of which are of the Damascus and Rhodes style, dating to roughly the same period, between c. 1530s and 1650s. As a comparison, in Buda altogether (Castle and Town), two hundred and five Chinese porcelain sherds are identified as Wanli-period, and seventy-five sherds as Kraak dating to between 1573 and the 1680s. The Iznik material of Buda has only been accessible to me from publications, which contain seventy sherds belonging to the Damascus and Rhodes style. In Eger, the Wanli porcelain counts one hundred and ninety-five, the Kraak twenty, and the Iznik only four. This latter low number in Eger is easily explained with the fact that Eger was occupied in 1596, which was already the period of decline in Iznik production. From the seventeenth century however, we see eleven sherds of Iznik, which shows that there was still some interest for it.

Turning to the seventeenth century, the numbers also differ for the Persian and Iznik ware. It seems that the inhabitants of Buda fancied later types of Iznik, while in Eger and Sofia its use strongly declined. In Eger instead of Iznik vessels, Persian – especially Gombroon and Kütahya ware were preferred; while in Sofia Kütahya ware seems to have dominated the market, which remained so during the eighteenth century. In Buda and Eger, the small numbers for any eighteenth-century type are explained by the expulsion of the Ottomans from Hungary. The differences regarding the seventeenth century could be explained by either different trading routes or a difference in the wealth of the inhabitants of various towns. Sofia's importance could have shifted to Eger by the seventeenth century as Eger became a prosperous *beylerbeylik* center, while the importance of Sofia somewhat faded by this time. This could result in a wealthier Muslim community in residing Eger in the seventeenth century.

Type	Dating	Sofia	Buda	Eger
Chinese	Wanli (1573-1619)	1	205	195
	Kraak (1573-1680s)	0	75	20
	Transition and Kangxi (17th c.)	2	223	182
Iznik	Damascus to Rhodes (1530s-1650s)	94	70	4
	Late 16th to 17th c.	4	71	11
Persian	Kirman (16th-17th c.)	26	80	103
	Gombroon (late 17th-18th c.)	2	21	132
Kütahya	16-17th c.	57	49	87
	18th c.	32	0	1

Table 2: Number of sherds from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries in Sofia, Buda, and Eger

Another interesting number within the material is that of the Gombroon type. It could only be observed at six sites, and with rather low numbers (Buda Royal Palace: 7; Buda Town: 4; Sofia: 2; Esztergom Town: 1; Székesfehérvár: 1), except for Eger Castle (89). This significantly higher number in Eger is again hard to explain. Since Imre Holl, Gombroon ware has been recognized as an unidentified type of the Persian vessels, although he could not connect it to Gombroon due to a lack of available literature at the time. Therefore, collecting it at Hungarian sites was probably not an issue, especially since so many was collected not in Buda (where Holl worked), but in Eger. It is most likely not an issue in Sofia as well, since two sherds have been collected. The answer could be in the status of Gombroon ware among the seventeenth-century Ottoman officials. The most interesting Gombroon cup was unearthed in Buda, in the Civilian Town (Figure 369), with drilled holes indicating repair with metal wires. This is the only non-Chinese vessel showing signs of repair, which suggests that Gombroon ware was either mistaken for Chinese or was held as high in esteem as Chinese porcelain. Gombroon ware is the closest to Chinese porcelain among the faience or stonepaste types with its almost pure white body, pure white glaze, and thinly potted walls that are transparent when held towards direct light. Many accounts do speak of this Persian type as a close runner-up to Chinese porcelain in the seventeenth century, thus it is possible that the Ottoman officials developed a taste for it. It is unclear though why such a high number of Gombroon ware was unearthed in Eger, and not at other sites, especially *beylerbeylik* centers, such as Buda or Sofia.

The last number-related issue is that of the Kütahya ware within the material. Table 6 shows that almost each site yielded Kütahya ware, but it is Eger and Sofia with a far higher number than any other settlement. This phenomenon further emphasizes the question of dating Kütahya

ware. Since Ottoman rule ended in Eger in 1686, the eighteenth-century dating of these pieces is highly unlikely, as explained above in Chapter 4. To support the possibility of seventeenth-century blue and white Kütahya ware, 57 pieces out of the 89 unearthed Kütahya vessels in Sofia were identified as seventeenth century, thus more than half seems to have been made and used in this earlier period. On the other hand, there is evidence of “Turkish goods” making their way to post-Ottoman Hungary the ‘Greek’ merchants (see Chapter 6) during the eighteenth century.⁸¹⁷ Still, the high number of Gombroon and Kütahya sherds in Eger is unlikely to all have belonged to this group, since that would entail a rather large remaining Muslim community after the expulsion of the Ottomans by the end of the seventeenth century. According to registers from between 1745 and 1755 altogether 1,318, while between 1769 and 1771 altogether 1,697 Ottomans lived in Hungary.⁸¹⁸

More conclusions can be drawn regarding Eger as an outstanding number is connected to it. Considering the second highest number of Chinese porcelain items, and the highest number of Kütahya and Gombroon ware, it can be stated that Eger yielded the richest seventeenth-century Asian decorative ceramic assemblage. The question raises whether Eger held such a special position or whether it is a representative of the seventeenth-century Ottoman elite’s material culture in a border province. A third answer might lie in the connections of Eger with other parts of Rumeli, considering that Bucharest and Varna yielded the second largest Kütahya assemblages. There is a possibility that Eger was part of a different trading network than the other examined settlements of Hungary: instead of the route towards Belgrade, it is possible that Eger was supplied with *res Turcales* or Turkish goods through the trading network going through Bucharest, Timișoara, and Oradea. This notion does not explain, however, the large number of Kütahya ware in Sofia, which was undoubtedly part of the Belgrade route.

The rest of this chapter discusses the above-raised issues based on the numbers demonstrated in a more general manner, looking at the different aspects of the studied material, such as consumption patterns, the social and market value of these ceramic types, and the notion whether these can be considered ‘luxury’ products in the light of the archaeological record.

⁸¹⁷ Kovács, “A kora újkori kerámia változásaihoz,” p. 334, footnote 36.

⁸¹⁸ Edit Petri, “A görögök közvetítő kereskedelme a 17-19. századi Magyarországon [The role of Greeks in jobbing in Hungary during the 17th to 19th centuries],” *Századok* 130, no. 1 (1996): 93.

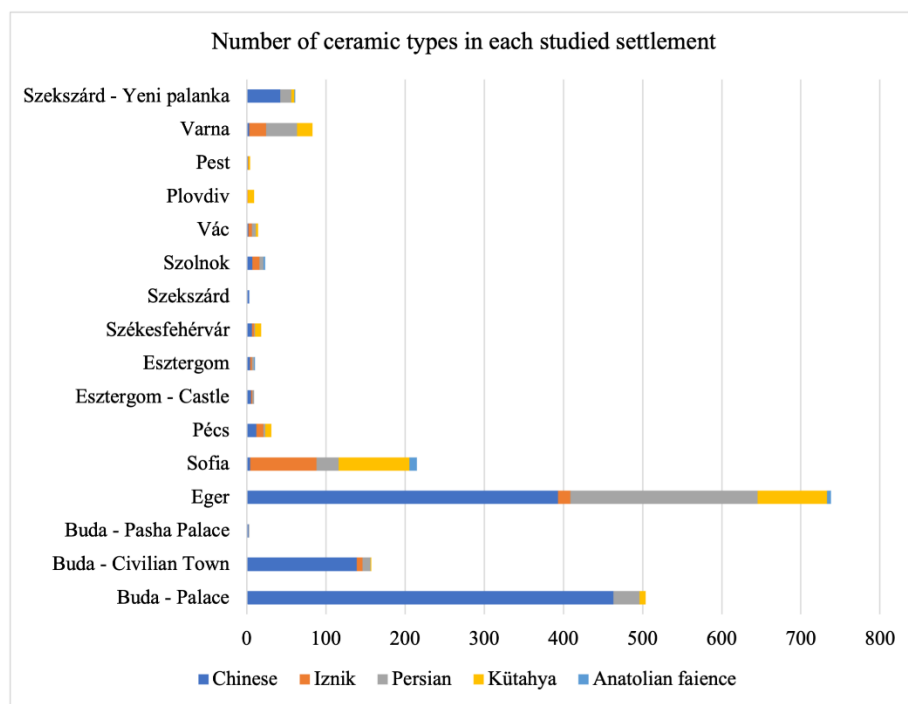


Table 3: Number of ceramic types in each studied settlement

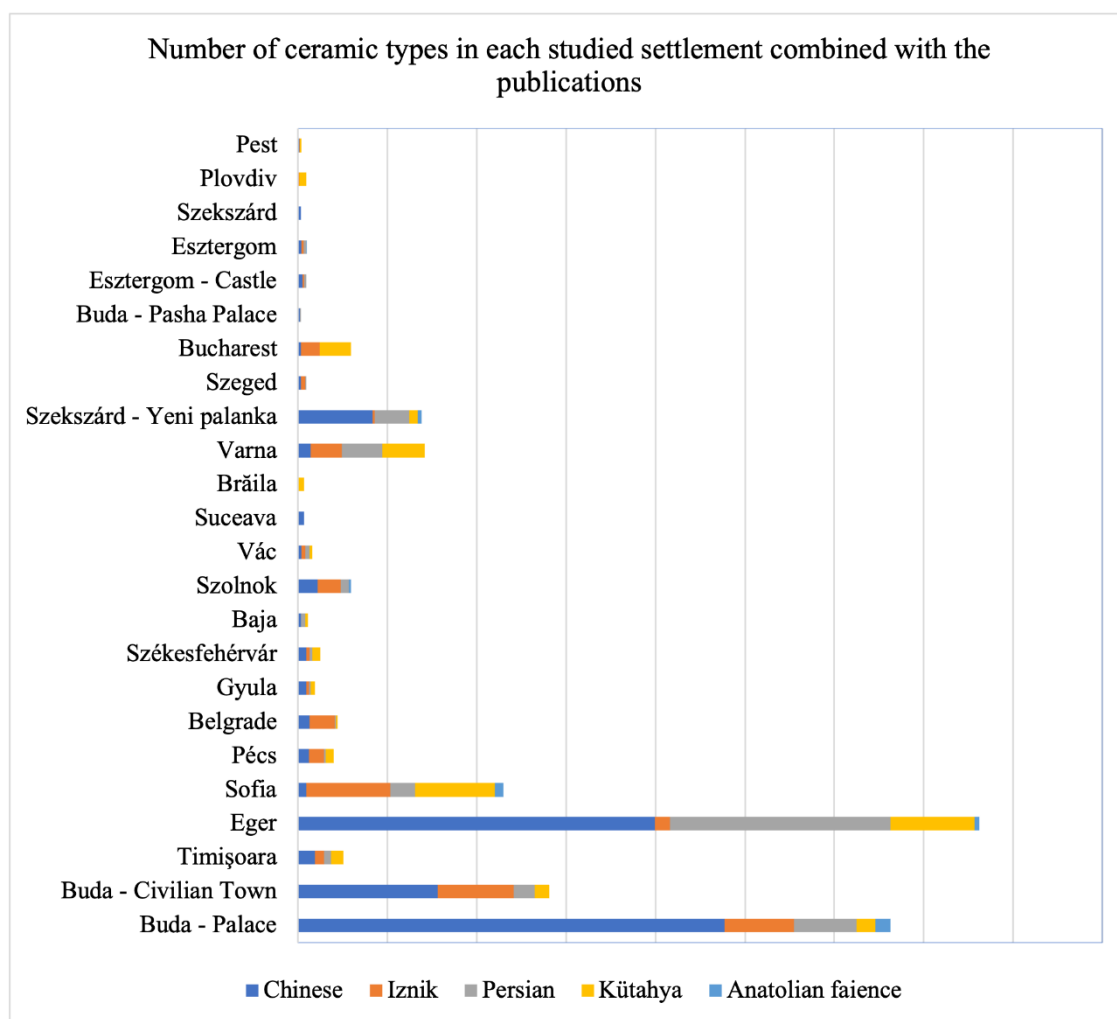


Table 4: Number of ceramic types in each studied settlement combined with the publications

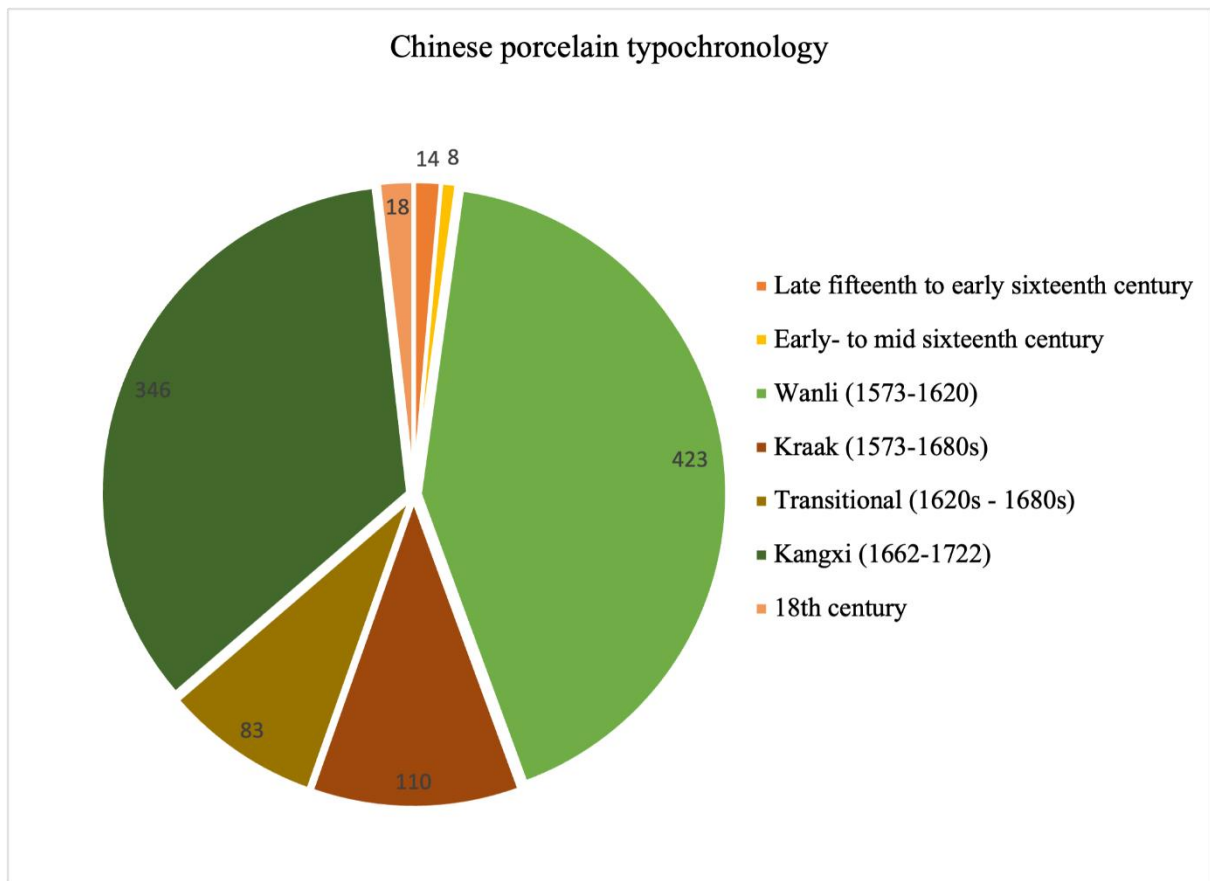


Table 5: Typochronolgy of the Chinese porcelain finds

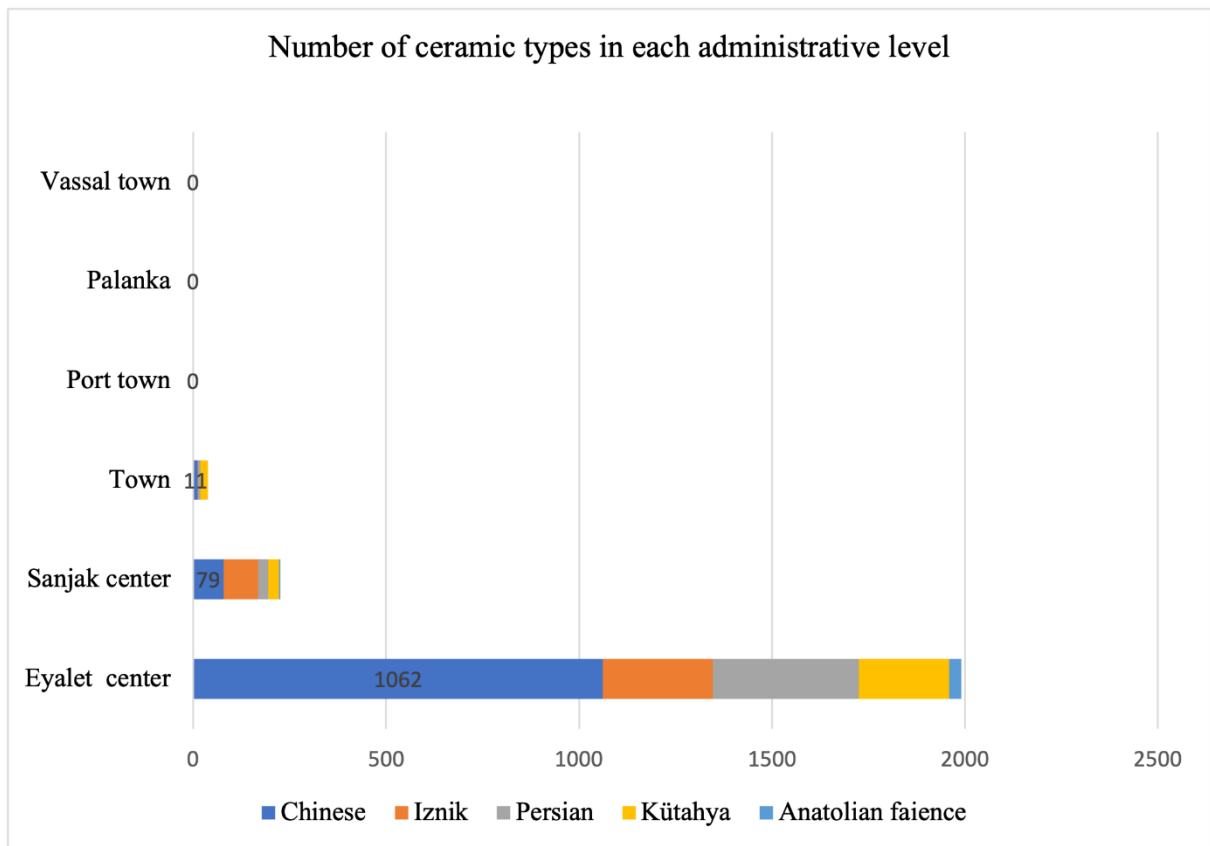


Table 6: Number of ceramic types according to administrative level

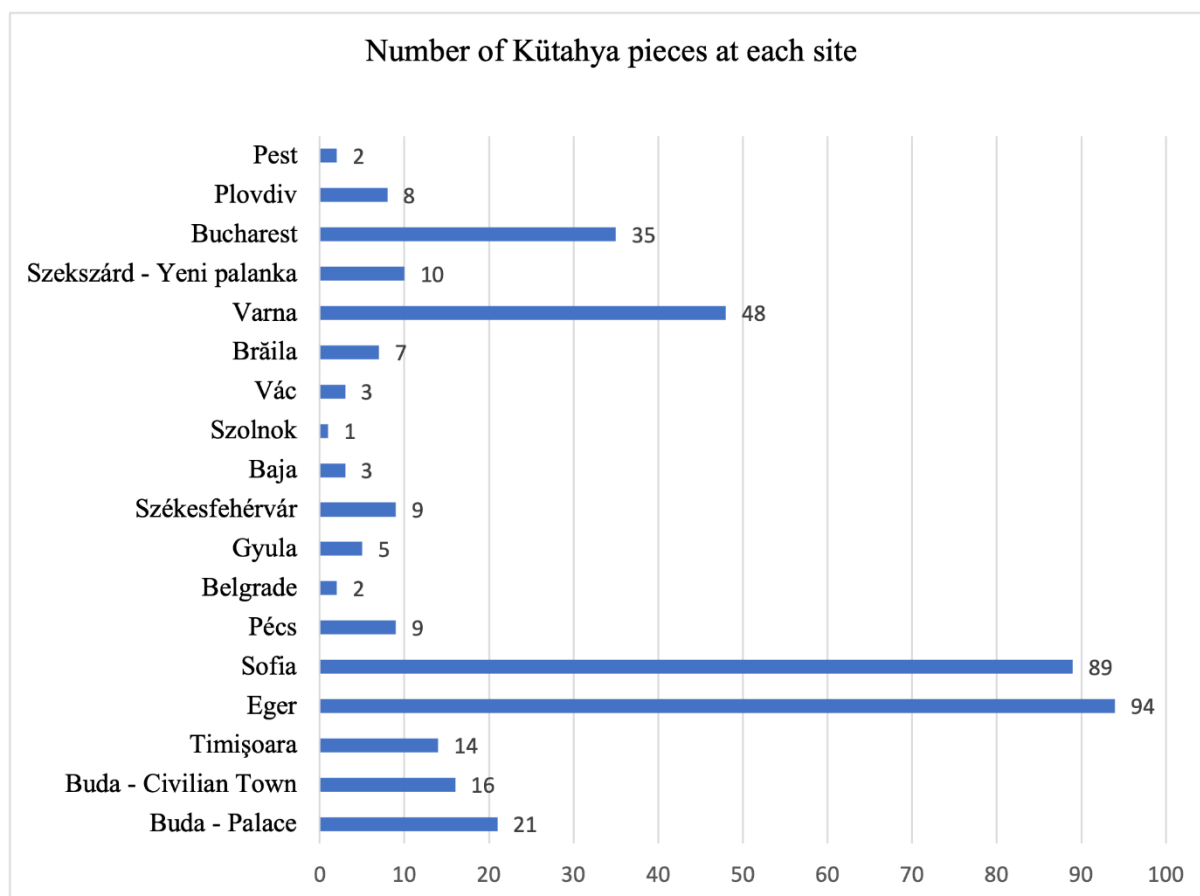


Table 7: Number of Kütahya pieces at each site

Luxury ware or everyday coffee cups?

The Hungarian scholarship considers these decorative ceramics as ‘luxury’ ware, without further considering the meaning of ‘luxury’ and the variations of the object types that show significant differences in their quality, quantity in the archaeological material, and availability to different social groups. This section argues against the umbrella use of ‘luxury ware’ for the ceramics analyzed above and discusses the aspects through which their social value may be considered, along with questioning the understanding of ‘luxury’ in this context. Three aspects are presented: the historical background, the written evidence, and the archaeological record.

Historical background

The consumption history is described above, along with a significant factor of the studied period, namely the shift in the material cultural patterns between the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries. The social-historical background of this shift is most likely connected to the Fifteen-Year War, or Long Turkish War, fought between the Habsburg and the Ottoman Empires at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (1591-1606). The war is

interpreted as the Ottomans attempting to escape internal crisis. It started with a local conflict on the Croatian-Slavonian and Transdanubian borders but quickly escalated into nationwide warfare.⁸¹⁹ As the war spread to the entire territory of the Carpathian Basin, the two empires found themselves on a prolonged standoff, causing devastation in the lands of Hungary and Transylvania.⁸²⁰ While the war exhausted both sides, it did rewrite the borders of the Ottoman territories in Hungary, which further deepened the devastation throughout the Carpathian Basin, as its territory was the main playground of the two armies. By the time the peace treaties were signed in 1606, this devastation concluded in a watershed in both the Hungarian network of settlements and the loss of population. This, among many other disruptions of everyday life, also affected long-distance trade which was highly profitable before.⁸²¹ Together with the shift in the global trading networks due to the conquest of the Indian Ocean by the Dutch East India Company (VOC), after the recovery from the Long Turkish War, the trading networks of Rumeli were reshaped, along with the goods that have been traded, as discussed in detail in Chapter 6 below.

Another aspect for a historical background which helps understanding the exclusive character of Iznik ware of the sixteenth century is the fact that the Ottoman court vested huge interest in producing these high-quality ceramics. The primary motive was to sponsor a ceramic production that creates vessels for use at the imperial court. A secondary motive is believed to support an object type that can serve as a symbol representing the global power of the growing Ottoman Empire. Furthermore, as Lynda Carroll argued, the influence of the state and elites over its production was part of the value of Iznik ware.⁸²² This shows the exclusivity of Iznik ceramics, and thus explains the lower number of finds throughout Rumeli, despite that there is evidence that Iznik ware was also traded at the bazaars throughout the empire. At the same time, the sixteenth century, and within that, the period of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent (1520-1566), is considered the golden age of the Ottoman Empire. This golden age also meant geographical expansion, resulting in more income for a wider layer of society, such as merchants, soldiers, or even craftsmen, which they could spend on such commodities.⁸²³ Thus, even though the number of Iznik finds in Rumeli is not very high, it resembles the tendency of the seventeenth century when Asian decorative ceramics became largely commoditized, but on

⁸¹⁹ Géza Pálffy, *Hungary Between Two Empires, 1526-1711*. László Borhi ed., Studies in Hungarian History. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2021. p. 113.

⁸²⁰ Pálffy, *Hungary Between Two Empires*, 2021. p. 115.

⁸²¹ Pálffy, *Hungary Between Two Empires*, 2021. p. 120.

⁸²² Lynda Carroll, "Could've Been a Contender: The Making and Breaking of 'China' in the Ottoman Empire," *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 3, no. 3 (1999): 182.

⁸²³ Carroll, "Could've been a contender," 183.

a smaller scale. Other social groups than the highest-ranking elite could afford these ceramics, but they were still not available to the masses such as merchants, soldiers, and craftsmen, as it seems to have happened in the seventeenth century.

Finally, the shift from sixteenth-century exclusive Iznik vessels to seventeenth-century mass-produced ware seems to have had a push from the changing consumption patterns of the Ottomans by the mid-sixteenth century. By this time Chinese porcelain was more available for the Ottoman market, and thus interest of the elite customers shifted from the sponsoring of Iznik production to the purchase of Chinese porcelain.⁸²⁴

Written evidence

The possible written sources for the study of these objects have been enumerated in the introduction; thus, in this section only the most valuable ones, the *tereke or muhallefat defterleri* (probate inventories) will be discussed in more detail. In general, they have been discussed in Chapter 1, thus here the focus will be on the work of Ibolya Gerelyes, who dealt with these source types in the Hungarian scholarship.⁸²⁵ Asian decorative ceramics are not mentioned are not mentioned in any of these published probate inventories. In her doctoral dissertation, Gerelyes analyzed twenty-seven such sources concerning Hungary dating from the second half of the sixteenth century.⁸²⁶ Out of the twenty-seven probate inventories, only two mention such objects, and with a large variance in their value. The first is from the inheritance of a *divittar ağa* (*divittar/ devatdar*=Keeper of the Inkstand, title of a vizieral secretary; *ağa*=agha, leader) from 1572, with four listings of fourteen porcelain objects: two vessels and twelve *fincans* (=cups) in the sum value of 1,902 *akçe*. Interestingly, the vessels seem to have been much more expensive: two vessels are valued at 550 *akçe*, while four and four *finacns* at 550 *akçe*, and another four *fincans* at 252 *akçe*. The second listing is from a person called Hüsrev bin Abdullah, listing one piece of porcelain cup (*çini bardak*) in the value of a mere 2 *akçe*.⁸²⁷ To give a sense of these prices, the female slave of Hüsrev bin Abdullah is valued at 2,500 *akçe*, equal to c.

⁸²⁴ Caroll, "Could've been a contender," 185.

⁸²⁵ Gerelyes Ibolya, "Egy török és egy magyar borbélymester hagyatéki leltára a XVI. századból [Probate inventory of an Ottoman and a Hungarian barber from the 16th century]," *Folia Historica* 7 (1979): 17–37.; Gerelyes Ibolya, "Török hagyatéki összeírások, mint kultúrtörténeti források [Ottoman probate inventories as sources of cultural history]," *Tanulmányok Budapest Múltjából* 21 (1979): 200–218.; Gerelyes, "Sixteenth-Century Probate Inventories from Tolna Town."

⁸²⁶ Gerelyes, "A török hódoltság életmódtörténeti forrásai: a hagyatéki leltárak [Sources for the history of lifestyle during the Ottoman occupation of Hungary: probate inventories]." English language publication: Gerelyes, "Inventories of Turkish Estates in Hungary in the Second Half of the 16th Century.", for the *divittar ağa*'s estate see idem, 322–327.

⁸²⁷ Gerelyes, *A török hódoltság életmódtörténeti forrásai*, pp. 86–87. and 100. respectively.

eighteen *fincans* as valued in the collection of the *divittar ağa*. One last published probate inventory contains Asian decorative ceramics, published by Lajos Fekete. Unfortunately, Fekete did not include the value of the objects and did not publish the list; thus, apart from the fact that Ali Çelebi, who died in 1587 in Buda, had some of these objects, we do not know their value. Ali Çelebi's Asian decorative ceramics included one large Iznik plate, seven Iznik cups, seven white and handleless cups (type not specified), and nine Chinese porcelain cups.⁸²⁸ The mention of Iznik cups is peculiar, as they have not appeared in the previous two probate inventories. This could be a corroboration of what was discussed in Chapter 4, namely that Iznik coffee cups were produced early as the late sixteenth century. The identification of the mentioned "Iznik cups," though, needs further research, as they could refer to a different type of object and not the blue and white cups discussed in Chapter 4.

For the determination of "luxury" in the case of Asian decorative ware the usefulness of visual sources, such as miniatures depicting feasts and banquets is even more limited. These objects do appear on these depictions, but it is nearly impossible to distinguish the four types, such as Chinese, Iznik, Kütahya, or Persian. On the other hand, their presence on the table of a feast organized and attended by high-ranking officials, or even the sultan himself shows the high status these objects were associated with. Therefore, it can be deducted that Asian decorative ceramics played a significant role in representation and the demonstration of "luxury," in this sense meaning status and wealth. It should be noted though that up to the end of the seventeenth century, only these representative events were being depicted; it was only the late seventeenth century when everyday scenes started appearing on miniatures.⁸²⁹ Thus, it is possible that coffee cups were also in use among the more common members of society in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but they were not depicted on miniatures. This notion is supported by two depictions connected to coffee consumption (Figures 479 and 480).

⁸²⁸ Fekete Lajos, "Egy vidéki török úr otthona a XVI. században [Home of an ottoman lord in the countryside in the 16th century]," *A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Nyelv- és Irodalomtudományi Osztályának Közleményei* 15, no. 1–2 (1959): 98.

⁸²⁹ Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu, "Ottoman Period Sources for the Study of Food and Pottery (15th-18th Centuries)," in *Multidisciplinary Approaches to Food and Foodways in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean*, ed. Syvie Yona Waksman (MOM Éditions, 2020), 392.



Figure 479 Coffee house scene from an Ottoman album, produced in Istanbul c. 1620 (artist unknown)
Source: [Chester Beatty Library](#), object no. T 439.9 (Accessed 25/08/2024)

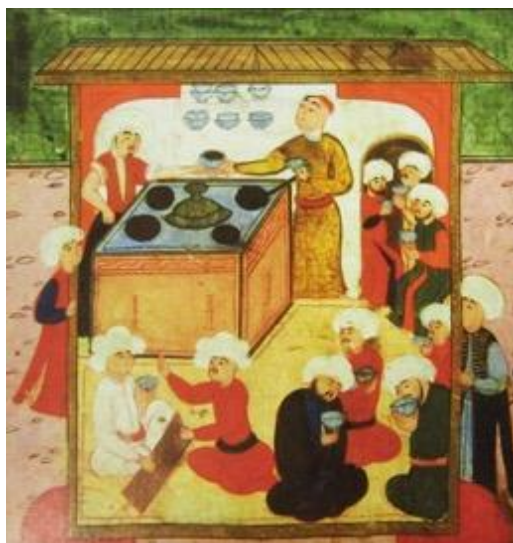


Figure 480 The guild of coffee makers parading a coffee shop on the Hippodrome before Sultan Murad III (detail) *Surnâme-i Hümayun* (c. 1582)
Atasoy and Raby, Iznik, Fig. 8.

Reflections on the archaeological record

It has been established above that these objects seem to have been highly regarded by the ruling elite, thus could be considered luxurious. As stated above, in Hungary most of the finds come from vague archaeological contexts, generally from levelling layers after the reoccupation at the end of the seventeenth century or upper mixed layers also containing debris from the modern period. There are very few pieces from well-defined contexts, such as an early sixteenth-century porcelain plate depicting a *qilin* discussed above. Other examples are a larger bowl from the Pasha Palace in Buda dated to the late sixteenth century, another larger bowl from Eger Castle dated to the mid- to late sixteenth century, and a smaller bowl decorated with *anhua* technique and bearing a four-character mark reading *wan fu you tong*, also dated to the mid-sixteenth century (Figure 481).



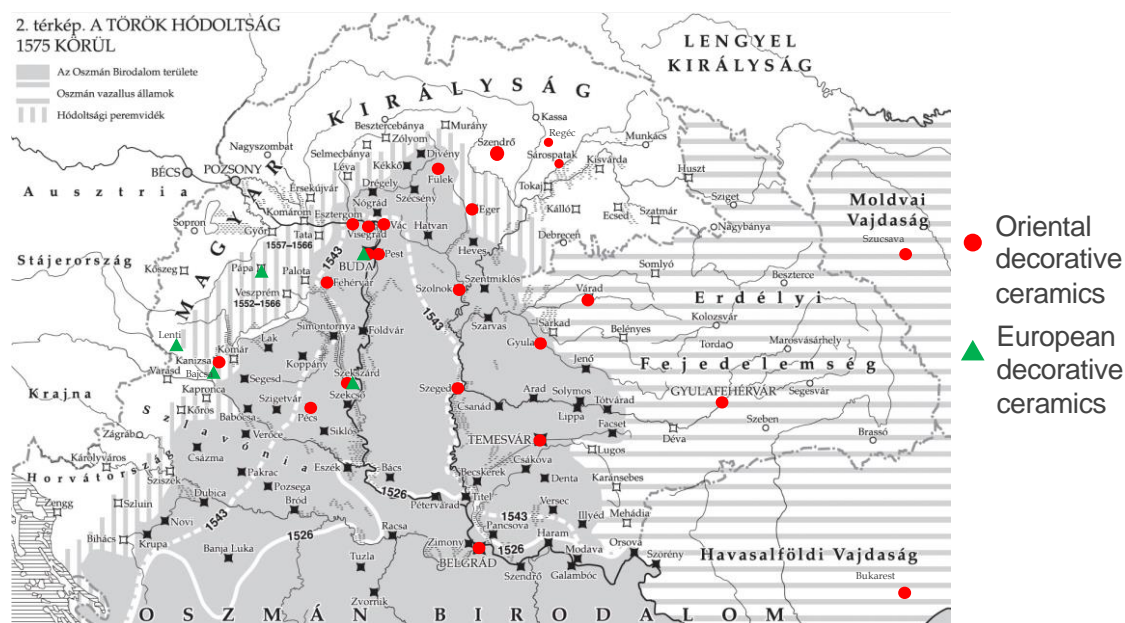
Figure 481 The exception: high-quality Chinese porcelain vessels

In Buda, there have been some contexts dated with coins, but even in this case, the majority of such contexts included a longer time span, such as a century or more.⁸³⁰ As discussed above in the introduction, Asian ceramic vessels are almost exclusively unearthed in Ottoman-occupied territories, which connects this type of material culture to the Ottomans (see Map 33). It has also been argued in scholarship that the vessels were primarily used for the consumption of coffee, except for some types of Iznik ware that might were used at feasts or were merely a

⁸³⁰ Holl, *Fundkomplexe*, pp. 27-28. Grube XXVI and 31.

display of prestige. The archaeological record reflects this notion since an overwhelming majority of the finds belong to cups or small bowls suitable for drinking coffee or tea. The two most common types of Chinese porcelain from the seventeenth century, the abstract peach type, dated to the early seventeenth century (late Wanli period, 1573-1622), and the lotus and *lingzhi* type, dated to the late seventeenth century (early Kangxi period, 1662-1722) are represented by far with the highest number of sherds in the entire material, including the faience types as well.

An evaluation of a comprehensive find material from Hungary, Bulgaria, and the published assemblages from Romania and Serbia shows that most of the finds can be identified as mass-produced vessels representing a less refined quality.⁸³¹ Despite the vague archaeological contexts, there is a noticeable pattern showing a connection to the military: the largest assemblages are connected to military camps, such as Buda, Eger, or Szekszárd – Yeni Palanka.⁸³² Based on scholarship discussing the contemporary mercenary lists, with the military there came other social groups: craftsmen, administrative officials, and possibly merchants as well.⁸³³



Map 33 Distribution of decorative ceramics in Ottoman Hungary
Base map: Sudár, Dzsámik és mecsetek, 36.

Persian faience is part of this group of objects, but it is not yet clear whether it was appreciated for itself or for being a convincing copy of Chinese porcelain. This question is not

⁸³¹ See in the case of Chinese porcelain: Tünde Komori, “Prestige Object or Coffee Cup? Problems of Identifying and Dating Chinese Porcelain Unearthed in Buda,” *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 23 (2017): 108–22.

⁸³² Tünde Komori, “The Topographical Distribution of Chinese Porcelain Sherds in Ottoman Buda and the Castle of Eger and Its Implications,” in *Europa Postmediaevalis 2018. Post-Medieval Pottery between (Its) Borders*, ed. Gabriela Blažková and Kristýna Matějková (Archaeopress, 2019), 169–79. and Attila Gaál, “Kínai porcelánok és utánzataik.”

⁸³³ Hegyi, *A török hódoltság várkatonasága*, vol. 1, 148.

made simpler by the fact that some types are definitely Persian, but other pieces, stylistically identified as Persian, turned out to be made in Iznik during the seventeenth century based on material tests discussed in Chapter 4. Another group, previously identified as Persian, is argued to have been made in Kütahya Chapter 4. These factors, as well as the current limitations of the identification of the material, influence the assessed social value associated with these objects. To make matters even more complicated, the social value of Kütahya products has barely been discussed in the scholarship regarding Rumeli, primarily due to the lack of confidence in the distinction between Persian and Kütahyan ceramics – especially in Hungary.

A core question of the Asian decorative ware unearthed in Hungary and the Balkans is whether these pieces were considered “luxurious” by their users, meant the display of wealth and status, or were purchased for everyday use. Based on the archaeological record, it seems that these objects were less common during the sixteenth century and became mass-produced by the seventeenth century, as concluded above. Chinese porcelain and its Persian imitations, together with the Kütahya products, i.e., the seventeenth-century types, were probably more for practical use rather than status symbols. An interesting aspect of the problem is the repairs, which overwhelmingly appear on Chinese porcelain but could only be detected on one Gombroon cup (see above).

Considering the archaeological evidence of Asian decorative ceramics considered “luxury” in East-Central European and Balkan scholarship, the question raises how to define “luxury.” The royal collections indicate that Chinese porcelain on the level of the ruling elite was definitely considered luxurious, which most likely influenced the lower classes of society as well. During the sixteenth century, Iznik ware was probably considered luxurious among the non-ruling but wealthy members of society, proven by the Esztergom Iznik plate hoard hidden in a wooden chest (see Chapter 3, Esztergom). By the seventeenth century coffee drinking became widespread throughout the Ottoman Empire, and the archaeological record of Chinese porcelain, Kütahya ware, and Persian faience suggests that these ceramic types were used primarily for this purpose. The unearthed assemblages consist mostly of mass-produced cups, which indicate that they were widespread in Rumeli. On the other hand, some outstanding Chinese pieces are presented in Figure 419 above. These finer vessels, however, can all be dated to the sixteenth century thus it seems that by the seventeenth century, these vessels were not luxurious anymore but more accessible to the well-to-do Ottoman commoners and not only to the religious, military, and administrative elite.

The above-described archaeological record provides grounds for an argument regarding what is “luxury” in the case of Asian decorative ceramics. Is it defined solely by the ruling elite, and

following their trends is merely an attempt to show off status and means? Can the property of a janissary soldier owning a mass-produced Chinese porcelain cup for drinking coffee be considered “luxury”? Are seventeenth-century Chinese porcelain and Persian stonepaste coffee cups “luxurious” or merely expensive tableware? The material cultural turn in historical research brought about the debate on what can be considered “luxury,” the basis of which was the groundbreaking volume edited by Arjun Appadurai.⁸³⁴ Since then, one consensus has been reached regarding the definition of luxury: it can be different for different societies and in different time periods.⁸³⁵ Maxine Berg explored in detail the ideas connected to luxury during the eighteenth century, demonstrating how the paradigm shifted from the view that luxury is amoral and dangerous to it being an economic advantage.⁸³⁶ But during early modernity, not different from the medieval period, sumptuary laws defined “luxury” by confining specific commodities to the consumption of the elite, thus making it exclusive.⁸³⁷ As Cathrine Kovesi argued, this move was a response of the elite to the widening of the trading networks which brought many of the luxurious commodities close to the non-elite, but wealthy customers, endangering the exclusivity of these objects in the eyes of the elite.⁸³⁸

Berndt-Stefan Grewe and Karin Hofmeester took this definition further and argued for a multi-layered definition of luxury commodities,⁸³⁹ some points of which should be emphasized in connection with Asian decorative ceramics as a “package.” One is that luxury goods represent finesse, a high material quality that distinguishes them from other commodities. Chinese porcelain, and later Iznik ware, represented the highest quality of ceramics, making them exquisite and desirable. The Kütahya and Persian faience cups appearing in the archeological record also represented a higher quality than the average household ceramics, but they are not as refined as Chinese porcelain or Iznik ware. In this case, do we consider them luxury? Taking the argument one step further, with the increase of the influx of Chinese porcelain cups to the

⁸³⁴ Arjun Appadurai ed., *The social life of things. Commodities in a social perspective*. Cambridge University Press, 1988. For examples of the “luxury” debate see: Peter Burke, “Res et verba: Conspicuous Consumption in the Early Modern World,” in John Brewer and Roy Porter eds, *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London, 1993), 148-162; Christopher J. Berry, *The Idea of Luxury. A Conceptual and Historical Investigation* (Cambridge University Press, 1994); Maxine Berg and Elisabeth Eger, “The Rise and Fall of the Luxury Debates,” in Maxine Berg and Elisabeth Eger eds., *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 7-27; Bernd-Stefan Grewe and Karin Hofmeester, “Luxury and global history,” in Bernd-Stefan Grewe and Karin Hofmeester eds, *Luxury in Global Perspective. Objects and Practices, 1600-2000* (Cambridge University Press, 2016), 1-26; Catherine Kovesi, “What is Luxury? The Rebirth of a Concept in the Early Modern World,” *Luxury* 2:1 (2015): 25-40;

⁸³⁵ Berndt-Stefan Grewe and Karin Hofmeester, “Luxury and Global History,” in Grewe and Hofmeester, *Luxury in Global Perspective*, 8.

⁸³⁶ Berg and Eger, “The Rise and Fall of the Luxury Debates,” 10-11.

⁸³⁷ Berg and Eger, “The Rise and Fall of the Luxury Debates,” 14.

⁸³⁸ Kovesi, “What is Luxury?,” 31-32.

⁸³⁹ Grewe and Hofmeester, “Luxury in Global History,” 8-9.

Ottoman Empire in the seventeenth century, can it still be considered luxury, if it is widely available?

A second such point in Grewe and Hofmeester's argument is that luxurious goods are *aesthetically pleasing* to their owners. This point raises several questions, the most pressing one being the subjectiveness of aesthetics. There is probably a consensus that Chinese porcelain and Iznik ware were aesthetic, but is this so consensual regarding mass-produced Kütahya coffee cups or the Gombroon pieces of this material? How do we assess their aesthetic value in case these objects are not a subject of the archival sources? As they were not worth the ink and paper, should we just assume that they were not considered aesthetic? If so, to connect this problem with *exclusivity*, how do we explain the large number of Kütahya and Gombroon ware appearing in Eger in parallel? Was it somewhat aesthetic, but not so much that it should be deemed luxurious? And if so, why are there so few Gombroon sherds at other sites? If it reached Eger, why did it not reach other towns? One possible explanation could be that the many Gombroon cups appearing in Eger are connected to one *beylerbeyi* or another similarly high-ranking official who somehow had access to these Gombroon cups and acquired a small collection. In case this scenario is accepted, then Gombroon can be considered a luxury among these types as it is rarer in the Rumelian context than Kütahya or mass-produced seventeenth-century Chinese porcelain cups. These kinds of conclusions are difficult to draw as the number of each type and their ratio against each other can vary from town to town. A counter-example is the case of Sofia and Varna, where Chinese porcelain is only represented by a few sherds, while Kütahya and Iznik ware are abundant. In this case, if the number of sherds is the basis of assessing "luxury," Chinese porcelain could be identified as the most luxurious type among the four. While Chinese porcelain appears in great abundance in Buda and Eger.

The third point to be mentioned here is the statement that luxury goods function as *symbols of social status*. Although this statement cannot be argued, it should be noted that there might be different layers to what social status they represent. The fine Chinese porcelain vessels of the fifteenth or early sixteenth century curated in the Topkapı Sarayı by the Ottoman sultans represent the highest achievable social status in the Ottoman Empire. The affordable seventeenth-century Kütahya coffee cup, of which there is probably an abundance at the late seventeenth-century Ottoman markets, represents an upper middle-class status with a specific lifestyle connected to coffee consumption. Are these two examples equally part of the category of "luxury"? To answer this question, a last point made by Grewe and Hofmeester needs to be

discussed. They argued that imitation can remove the exclusiveness of a luxury object.⁸⁴⁰ In the case of the imitations of Chinese porcelain in the seventeenth century, this can be taken in two directions. One is the question of whether the consumers of the time could differentiate between a high-quality Persian, Iznik, or Kütahya imitation and Chinese porcelain. As discussed above, there is written evidence that some merchants of the time were specifically looking for imitations with marks on the base to sell them as original Chinese at the European markets. The other direction is how exclusive the non-Chinese elements of the “package” can be considered. Archaeologists and historians working on this material cultural type usually consider all of them exclusive or “luxurious” without differentiating among the main types and the sub-types within them. Furthermore, studies on these ceramics generally discuss the types one by one, which leads to overlooking their relationship with each other. The in-depth analysis of the finds in this work, treating the main types as part of one “package,” led to a more comprehensive overview of the relationship of the types to each other and their consumers.

Based on the above discussion of luxury and the archaeological material analyzed in Chapter 4, it can be argued that the choice of luxurious Iznik and exquisite Chinese porcelain vessels that reached Rumeli in the sixteenth century were mainly reduced to Chinese, Kütahya, and Persian coffee cups in the seventeenth century, with very few examples of other vessel forms. This phenomenon has been recognized and briefly raised in previous scholarship but was not subjected to a more thorough analysis before. It is also probable that the average seventeenth-century user was unaware of the difference between a Chinese and a Persian coffee cup, and thus the imitations were appreciated for their likeness to Chinese porcelain. The pair of cups in Figure 482 demonstrates this phenomenon, showing how similar two cups could be when they are not heavily corroded in the ground. By the eighteenth century, this phenomenon probably faded, and Kütahya ware, which took over the faience market, mostly started to be appreciated for itself. It is demonstrated partly by the abundance of written evidence regarding Kütahya coffee cup production and trade in this period within the Ottoman Empire and partly by the cups with the inscription “Ayvaz” on their base, referring to the merchant who traded them (see Chapter 4).

⁸⁴⁰ Grewe and Hofmeester, “Luxury in Global History,” 16.



Figure 482 Persian cup sherd - Buda Town, K_37_szőrvány, Corvin tér (right) and Chinese porcelain cup sherd - Eger Castle, DICM V.2012.168.3. (left)

The archaeological material suggests that the majority of the seventeenth-century Chinese, Persian, and Kütahya finds belong to mass-produced coffee cups widely available in the Ottoman world not only to the elite but to the relatively wealthy middle-class who could afford not only the cups but the consumption of coffee as well. This latter fact is supported by a large archaeological material unearthed from Rumeli. Therefore, I argue that these were traded commodities that frequented the bazaars throughout the Ottoman Empire. This last argument leads to the next chapter which discusses the trade of these objects.

6. TRADE AND TRADERS OF THE EARLY MODERN OTTOMAN EMPIRE

This chapter summarizes the state of historical research regarding the traders of the Ottoman Empire in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, from the point of view of the movement of Asian decorative ceramics. The goals of this summary are to provide a mercantile context for the interpretation of the objects discussed in the present work; and to identify the social groups that might have contributed to the distribution of these objects, especially in Ottoman Rumeli. The focus of the summary is Ottoman Hungary, Ottoman Bulgaria, and the Balkan vassal states of the Ottoman Empire: Moldavia, Wallachia, and Transylvania; and on those merchant groups that were possibly involved in trading Asian ceramics in long-distance and regional trade. Since the administrative aspect of Ottoman trade is widely discussed in scholarship, this chapter concentrates specifically on the aspects that might be or are relevant to the trade of Chinese porcelain, Persian, Iznik, and Kütaha faience with and within the Ottoman Empire.

Another aspect of this chapter concerns long-distance trade, which for the early modern Ottoman Empire was just as crucial as for the rest of Eurasia in this period. The discovery of the new Indian Ocean route from Western Europe to East Asia around the Cape of Good Hope brought about significant changes in global trade. Domestic trade within the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Ottoman Empire is well-researched and published, providing a solid basis for mapping the inland trading routes within Anatolia and the Balkans.⁸⁴¹ More recent research has shed light on the involvement of the Ottomans in foreign trade, as opposed to the paradigm of the second half of the twentieth century, according to which the Ottomans refrained from participating in the early modern global trade.

⁸⁴¹ For Anatolia, see David Winfield, "Northern Routes across Anatolia," *Anatolian Studies* 27 (1977): 151–66.; Suraiya Faruqi, *Towns and Townsmen of Ottoman Anatolia. Trade, Crafts and Food Production in an Urban Setting, 1520-1650*, Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization 5 (Cambridge University Press, 1984).; İnalçık, "An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 179-379."; For the Balkans and Hungary, see Pál Fodor, "Trade and Traders in Hungary in the Age of Ottoman Conquest: An Outline," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 60, no. 1 (2007): 1–8.; Pál Fodor, "Hungary and the Levantine Trade in the 14th-17th Centuries," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 60, no. 1 (2007): 9–31.; Mária Pakucs-Willcocks, "Economic Relations between the Ottoman Empire and Transylvania in the Sixteenth Century: Oriental Trade and Merchants," in *Osmanischer Orient Und Ostmitteleuropa. Perzeptionen Und Interaktionen in Den Gerzonnen Zwischen Dem 16. Und 18. Jahrhundert [Ottoman Orient and East Central Europe. Perceptions and Interactions in the Border Zones between the 16th and 18th Centuries]*, ed. Robert Born and Andreas Puth (Franz Steiner Verlag, 2014), 207–27.

In the first half of the twentieth century, scholarship, primarily based on Wilhelm Heyd's work,⁸⁴² established that the geographical discoveries and the decline of Levantine trade by the end of the fifteenth century were a direct consequence of the Ottoman expansion and their occupation of Anatolia, which cut off the traditional Levantine overland routes in this region. This notion has been refuted already by Heyd's contemporaries, such as Albert Howe Lybyer in 1915, Joseph Kulischer in 1929, and more recently by Fredric C. Lane,⁸⁴³ and Fernand Braudel.⁸⁴⁴ Scholars of the second half of twentieth century, such as Halil İnalcık, Turkish historian of the Ottoman Empire, Zsigmond Pál Pach, Hungarian economic historian, and John Day, American economic historian, further corroborated the idea that the Levantine trade did not cease to exist with the emergence of the Ottoman Empire.⁸⁴⁵ Pach established as early as 1968 that the decline of the Levantine trade was due to the Dutch penetrating the Indian Ocean world and global trade in the seventeenth century, as well as the fact that by this time international trade was overwhelmed with mass products at an available price range rather than with luxury goods from the East.⁸⁴⁶ Pach also stated that between 1550-1570 and the beginning of the seventeenth century, the traditional Red Sea trade route was still flourishing,⁸⁴⁷ which has been demonstrated by numerous publications on the Red Sea trade of the sixteenth century since then.

Trade within the early modern Ottoman Empire

The domestic trading networks and routes of the Ottoman Empire are relevant here. On the one hand, Iznik and Kütahya ware were produced within the Empire; thus, their distribution can only be understood by studying domestic trade. On the other hand, the most probable scenario for the import ware (Persian and Chinese) is that it arrived through various routes to Istanbul, and from there, it was also distributed via the domestic networks.

⁸⁴² Wilhelm Heyd, *Histoire Du Commerce Du Levant Au Moyen-Âge* [History of Trade of the Levant in the Middle Ages], trans. Marc Furcy-Raynaud (Otto Harrassowitz, Librairie-Éditeur, 1885).

⁸⁴³ For more details see Fodor, "Hungary and the Levantine Trade in the 14th-17th Centuries," 11.

⁸⁴⁴ Fernand Braudel, *La Méditerranée et Le Monde Méditerranéen à l'Epoque de Philippe II* [The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II] (A. Colin, 1949).

⁸⁴⁵ Halil İnalcık, "Bursa and the Commerce of the Levant," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 3, no. 2 (1960): 131.; John Day, "The Levant Trade in the Middle Ages," in *The Economic History of Byzantium: From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Angeliki E. Laiou, vol. 1 (Dumbarton Oaks, 2002), 804–14.; and Fodor, "Hungary and the Levantine Trade", 10.

⁸⁴⁶ Zsigmond Pál Pach, "The Shifting of International Trade Routes in the 15th-17th Centuries," *Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 14, no. 3–4 (1968): 289.

⁸⁴⁷ Pach, "The Shifting of International Trade Routes", 293.

Trade within the Ottoman Empire is well-known in detail to historians due to the large number of customs and tax registers that have survived and have been published and analyzed. The pioneer of focusing less on the administrative aspect and more on the material and infrastructural one was Suraiya Faroqhi.⁸⁴⁸ This means that the structure of trade is reconstructed through sources other than customs, tax, and fixed price registers that are traditionally used for the writing of the history of trade. These sources include the *kadı sicilleri* (court registers), the *mühimme defterleri* (registers of “important affairs”), the *şikâyet defterleri* (complaint registers), *tereke defterleri* (probate inventories), or accounts concerning the Sultan’s stables with references to the number of camels and camel drivers in the service of the Ottoman government. These types of sources contain information about the camels, the camel drivers, the caravans, the pass-guards, the merchants, and last but not least, the involvement of the state in maintaining the road infrastructure. Faroqhi’s works are significant for locating Asian decorative ceramics within the flow of trade for two reasons. As discussed in Chapter 1, these objects rarely appear in the written sources related to trading activities (i.e., customs registers, fixed price registers, etc.). Thus, an alternative method of detecting them is comparing archaeological material to the known routes of merchants who participated in long-distance trade. Faroqhi’s approach also allows for a better understanding of the routes and, through them, the merchant groups that participated in the distribution of these objects.

Ottoman scholarship has long established that within the empire land routes were much preferred to different waterways (seaborne or fluvial). Reasons for this preference lie partly in the fact that no port town in Anatolia has developed into a large trading hub until the seventeenth century – and even then only Izmir became a node for long-distance trade; and partly because Anatolian rivers are mostly shallow and slow, thus unsuitable for transportation.⁸⁴⁹ As a result, caravans were a usual sight throughout the Ottoman Empire, either consisting of camels, horses, or wagons/wheeled carts – the latter being more characteristic to the Balkan provinces.⁸⁵⁰ There is also a substantial amount of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sources that reveal the use of the different routes throughout Anatolia, as referred to by David Winfield.⁸⁵¹ Winfield’s work summarizes the use of the Northern Anatolian overland roads from Antiquity to the nineteenth century, in which he briefly mentions the mercantile

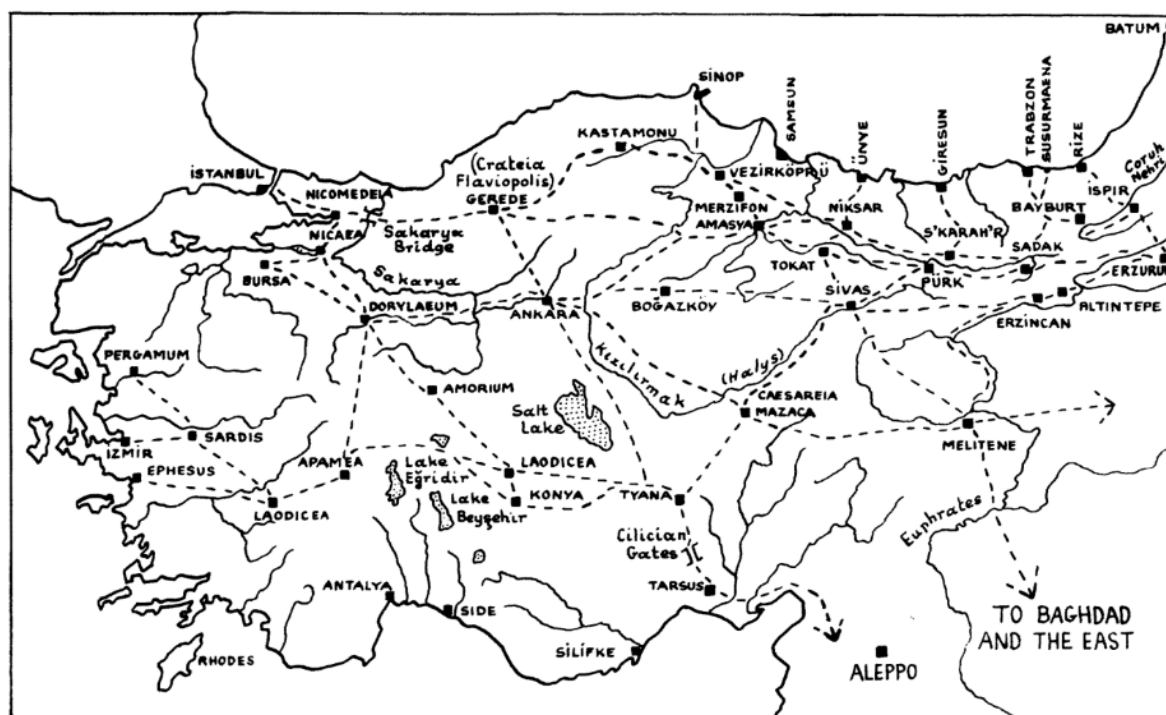
⁸⁴⁸ See Suraiya Faroqhi, “Camels, Wagons and the Ottoman State in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 14, no. 4 (1982): 523–39.

⁸⁴⁹ Faroqhi, *Towns and townsmen*, 75.

⁸⁵⁰ Faroqhi, *Camels*, 532.

⁸⁵¹ David Winfield, “Northern routes across Anatolia.”

significance of the Northernmost route in the early modern period, leading from Istanbul to the east through Amasya, Tokat, and Sivas towards Central Asia (Map 34).⁸⁵² To the other direction, Faroqhi has also established that caravans, even from Iran, have continued their way to the Balkans, as far as Edirne or Salonica;⁸⁵³ furthermore, that the Istanbul-Belgrade route was one of the main arteries of traffic between Anatolia and the Balkan and European regions.⁸⁵⁴ A large section of this artery has been recently modeled with geospatial methods between Istanbul and Sofia in Bulgaria, corroborating that it was suitable for wheeled vehicles and packed animals in the sixteenth and even in the nineteenth century (Map 35).⁸⁵⁵



Map 34 Trading routes in Northern Anatolia
Winfield, "Northern routes across Anatolia," p. 151, fig. 1.

⁸⁵² Winfield, "Northern routes," 162. For more details on these routes see Faroqhi, *Towns and townsmen*, 52.

⁸⁵³ Faroqhi, *Towns and townsmen*, 54.

⁸⁵⁴ Faroqhi, *Camels*, 524.

⁸⁵⁵ Kabadayi, Gerrits, and Boykov, "Geospatial Mapping of a 16th Century Transport Corridor for Southeast Europe."



Map 35 Reconstructed cart route between Istanbul and Sofia
Kabadayi et al., "Geospatial mapping of a 16th century transport corridor," p. 799, fig.5.

As mentioned above, İnalçık and Pach have been arguing since the 1960s for a flourishing Levantine trade in the Ottoman-ruled territories. Halil İnalçık refuted Heyd's notion on the decline of the Levantine trade by analyzing the customs daybooks (*müfredât* or *rûznâmçe*) from the late fifteenth to the early sixteenth century to demonstrate the lively trading activity in Ottoman territories. These customs daybooks were kept at the major ports of the empire and recorded every day all the ships coming and going, the ships' names and origin of their captains, the goods they carried, their quantity and value, and the duties levied.⁸⁵⁶ The data shows that connections were continuous between Anatolia, Damascus, Aleppo, the Northern countries (Moldavia, Poland, and Russia), Egypt, and Alexandria. Furthermore, Ragusa (Dubrovnik) expanded its trade with the Levant by becoming a tax-paying city to the Ottomans.⁸⁵⁷ Pach demonstrated the trade from the Black Sea through Transylvania to Hungary in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, mediated by Saxon merchants from Transylvania. The goods "from the sea", such as pepper, saffron, ginger, clove, goat wool, camel's hair, cotton, and others were brought to the Black Sea ports by Muslim merchants. The main ports included

⁸⁵⁶ İnalçık, "Bursa and the Commerce of the Levant," 135.

⁸⁵⁷ İnalçık, "Bursa and the Commerce of the Levant," 141.

Kaffa (Feodosia/Kefe) in the Crimean, and Chilia (Kiliya) in the Danube delta. The route from here led either through Brăila and Braşov; or could cross the Danube at Dîrstor (Silistra) or Giurgiu or Nikopol, in other words touching upon Bulgarian territories as well. To the latter Bulgarian territories the “maritime goods” could have arrived in the port of Calliacra (Kaliakra), north of Varna on the Black Sea coast.⁸⁵⁸ A more northern route used the port of Akkerman (Cetatea Albă) near Odesa, and from there through Moldavia, entering Transylvania at Radna or Beszterce (Bistriţa). At the same time, spice transport into Wallachia also continued in the late fifteenth century, even after the Ottomans took over Constantinople in 1453 and Chilia and Akkerman in 1484.⁸⁵⁹ Another important entry point of the “maritime goods,” or as they were called in the contemporary Latin of Hungary from the late fifteenth century onwards “Turkish goods” (*res Turcales*) into Hungary, from the early to mid-sixteenth century was Belgrade.⁸⁶⁰ And thus we arrive to the trading route of the Ottoman Balkans leading from Istanbul to Belgrade, which was a main artery of communication during the Ottoman occupation in the Balkans.

Transylvania was important not only due to its overland trade routes from the Black Sea coast toward the Hungarian territories but also because of its long-distance trade connections with the West, more specifically Vienna. The Principalities of Transylvania, Moldavia, and Wallachia did not fall under direct Ottoman occupation, but these states became vassals to the Ottoman Empire. This meant that they were economically and culturally influenced by the Ottomans, which is a key factor in tracing Asian ceramic ware for two reasons. Firstly, the archaeological record of present-day Romania shows a parallel in the types that arrived in these territories to those unearthed in Hungary. Secondly, the historical data demonstrates that the influence of the Transylvanian Saxons on the trade of this territory was threatened by the Ottoman merchants who have already taken over the Wallachian and Moldavian foreign trade by the mid-sixteenth century.⁸⁶¹ The increasing presence of Ottoman merchants also shows that the overland trading routes, such as the one dominated earlier by Saxon merchants from Nagyszeben (Sibiu) to Buda, and further to Vienna were growing in strength, evidenced by Ottoman customs registers on the Danube, such as in Vidin, Silistra, and Nikopol.⁸⁶² It is important to note that Nagyszeben (Sibiu), Brassó (Braşov), and Beszterce (Bistriţa) besides

⁸⁵⁸ Pach, “Hungary and the Levantine Trade,” 15.

⁸⁵⁹ Pach, “Hungary and the Levantine Trade,” 16.

⁸⁶⁰ Pach, “Hungary and the Levantine Trade,” 17., 25.

⁸⁶¹ Mária Pakucs-Willcocks, “Transylvania and Its International Trade, 1525-1575,” *Annales Universitatis Apulensis. Series Historica* 16, no. 2 (2012): 182.

⁸⁶² Pakucs-Willcocks, “Transylvania and its International Trade,” 176.

controlling the trade towards Wallachia and Moldavia, were also nodes of the East-West long-distance trade; and that after the Ottomans took over, this did not change drastically. This meant that despite the politically hostile relationship of the Ottomans with the Habsburgs, trading connections were rather flourishing between the two competing empires. Sibiu is especially important, since it was a destination for products coming from the Ottoman Empire via the Balkans.⁸⁶³

Traders of ‘res Turcales’

Another—and in the Balkan and Hungarian region a significant—group of merchants is the so-called ‘Greek merchants.’ This is a group of Orthodox traders referred to as ‘Greeks’ in the sources,⁸⁶⁴ who were possibly ‘Turkish’ (in Hungarian referring to Ottomans who were not all Turkish by ethnicity, but more by being Muslim and living in Ottoman Hungary, mostly meaning Balkanic), Serbians, and Ragusans living in Ottoman Rumeli, along with the local Hungarians;⁸⁶⁵ and the same ‘Greeks’ were Serbs, Armenians, Dalmatian, Macedonians, and Albanians in Transylvania.⁸⁶⁶ These are merchants trading with ‘Turkish goods’ (*res Turcales*, *türkische Handelswaren* in the sources), products that presumably have been produced in or passed through the Ottoman Empire and the Balkans.⁸⁶⁷ Although the customs registers do not name them, it is possible that Chinese porcelain was part of this type of commodities, listed as ‘others’ in the registers. As discussed above, in some cases, the Persian copies were so convincing that it is possible that the average Ottoman subject, in taste for some nice blue and white cups, would not have known the difference between Chinese and Persian cups when they came across them at the market.⁸⁶⁸ Therefore, it is quite possible that Chinese porcelain was a part of *res Turcales*. Lajos Geceşenyi, in his cited study, argues that based on the Western sources, the trading system operating in the territory of the Medieval Hungarian Kingdom continued with little disturbances after the Ottoman occupation and “despite the disintegration of Medieval Hungary between 1526 and 1541 and its consequent decomposition into independent

⁸⁶³ Mária Pakucs-Willcocks, “The Transit of Oriental Goods through the Customs of Sibiu/Hermannstadt in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: An Overview,” in *Economy and Society in Central and Eastern Europe. Territory, Population, Consumption. Papers of the International Conference Held in Alba Iulia, April 25th-27th, 2013*, ed. Daniel Dumitran and Valer Molga (Lit Verlag, 2013), 19.

⁸⁶⁴ Lajos Geceşenyi, “‘Turkish Goods’ and ‘Greek Merchants’ in the Kingdom of Hungary,” 58.

⁸⁶⁵ Geceşenyi, “‘Turkish Goods’ and ‘Greek Merchants’ in the Kingdom of Hungary,” 62.

⁸⁶⁶ Geceşenyi, “‘Turkish Goods’ and ‘Greek Merchants’ in the Kingdom of Hungary,” 63.

⁸⁶⁷ Geceşenyi, “‘Turkish Goods’ and ‘Greek Merchants’ in the Kingdom of Hungary,” 58.

⁸⁶⁸ Lisa Golombek, Robert B. Mason, and Patricia Proctor, “Safavid Potters’ Marks and the Question of Provenance,” *Iran* 39 (2001): 208. For more about the copies of the Chinese painted decoration see: Macioszek, “Safavid Adaptations of Chinese Kraak Porcelain Dishes.”

customs areas.”⁸⁶⁹ This indicates that the ‘Greek’ merchants arrived in a well-operating, already existing system that they seem to have integrated themselves into in Ottoman-occupied Hungary. This can also be observed in Transylvania, where they also collaborated with the merchants who retreated to the Kingdom of Hungary and the Habsburg Empire.

Fighters or businessmen? Soldiers in trade

There is some evidence that a certain layer of the soldier society was involved in all kinds of civilian professions, including trade. A study on the sources concerning Ottoman Cairo demonstrates evidence of these activities and allows for broader conclusions regarding how mostly the Janissary organized their trading activities besides their military duties.⁸⁷⁰ The same phenomenon has been observed in Istanbul⁸⁷¹ and was probably characteristic for the whole Empire starting with the sixteenth century onwards.⁸⁷² These case studies show that from the sixteenth century the Janissary went through a change after which they were allowed to marry and settle down in the towns where they served, outside the barracks. At the same time, their wages declined and were far from regular, which led them to get involved in other ways of making ends meet. One conspicuous example are the shop owners of the Old *Bedestan* (inner market) of Istanbul. The survey registers made for the *djabi* collector of *vakıf* rents⁸⁷³ from 1489 and 1520 list *kapıkulus*, soldiers belonging to the ranks of the artillerymen and of *yayabaşıs*, officers of a Janissary unit among the shop owners in the *Bedestan*.⁸⁷⁴ Thus, the Janissary seems to be a strong contender of trading Chinese porcelain within the empire, even in Hungary, as also evidenced in a document from 1568, in which the *ağa* of Gyula is instructed to regulate the Janissary in Gyula, since they keep leaving the fortress to mind other businesses, such as trading.⁸⁷⁵

⁸⁶⁹ Gecsényi, “‘Turkish Goods’ and ‘Greek Merchants’”, 55.

⁸⁷⁰ André Raymond “Soldiers in Trade: The Case of Ottoman Cairo.”

⁸⁷¹ Maurits H. van den Boogert, “Merchants and Global Connections,” in *A Companion to Early Modern Istanbul*, ed. Shirine Hamadeh and Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, Brill’s Companions to Early Modern History 26 (Brill, 2022), 251.

⁸⁷² Suraiya Faroqi, “Artisans and Guilds. Practices, Negotiations and Conflicts,” in *A Companion to Early Modern Istanbul*, ed. Shirine Hamadeh and Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, Brill’s Companions to Early Modern History 26 (Brill, 2022), 269–70.

⁸⁷³ The *djabi* collected the rental fees from the renters – in the case of the Istanbul *Bedestan* from the sellers who rented shops in the market.

⁸⁷⁴ Halil İnalcık, “The Hub of the City: The Bedestan of Istanbul,” *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 1 (1980): 9.

⁸⁷⁵ Hegyi Klára, *A török hódoltság várai és várkatonasága*, vol. 1, 148.

Trade between Iran and the Ottomans

The trading and economic relations between the Persians and the Ottomans is a well-researched topic. It is also a widely known fact that despite the political rivalry between the two states, a significant part of the Iranian raw silk trade towards Europe flowed through the Ottoman Empire in this period.⁸⁷⁶ Shah Abbas I (1587-1629) attempted to redirect this route, but after his death his policy was not followed by his successor.⁸⁷⁷ Although, some of the raw silk trade after the 1630s still flowed through the Ottoman Empire, the Ottoman trading centers lost their importance in the east-west international trade.⁸⁷⁸ Nevertheless, the silk trade routes remained in use throughout the seventeenth century, which is relevant for the trade of the Persian faience vessels as well.

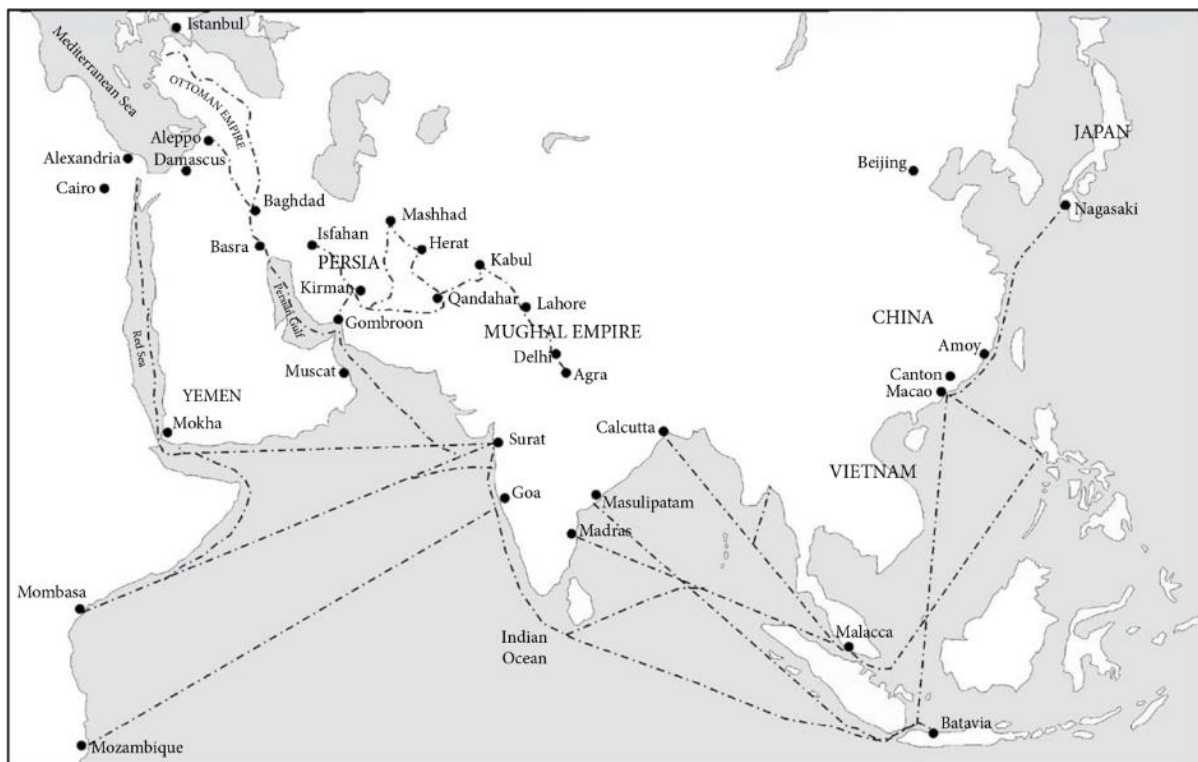
Since the silk trade, or in more general terms, the trading relations through it are extensively published, in this section the focus is on how this knowledge might be used to reconstruct the faience trade. There is no such extensive documentary evidence for the trade of the faience wares as for the raw silk, but it is most likely that these objects were also included in the goods traded between Iran and the Ottomans. Archaeological and documentary evidence suggest that the Persian faience of the Safavid period (1501-1736) was traded from Japan throughout South Asia to Europe (Map 36). Persian blue and white pottery became especially popular among merchants during the seventeenth century, when Chinese porcelain was in shortage, partly due to the large European demand and partly due to the dynasty change in China in the mid-seventeenth century. This was also when the Persians started excelling at imitating the Chinese vessels to the point of practical forgery.⁸⁷⁹

⁸⁷⁶ See, e.g., Edmund M. Herzig, "The Volume of Iranian Raw Silk Trade Exports in the Safavid Period," *Iranian Studies* 25, no. 1–2 (1992): 61–79.; İnalcık, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, 218–256.

⁸⁷⁷ See e.g., Rudolph P. Mathee, *The Politics of Trade in Safavid Iran. Silk for Silver, 1600–1730* (Cambridge University Press, 1999), 61–90.

⁸⁷⁸ İnalcık, *An Economic and Social History*, 249.

⁸⁷⁹ Golombek et al., *Persian Pottery in the First Global Age*, 33–35.



Map 36: Trade of Persian faience in the seventeenth century
Golombek et al., *Persian Pottery*, p. xvii, Map 3.

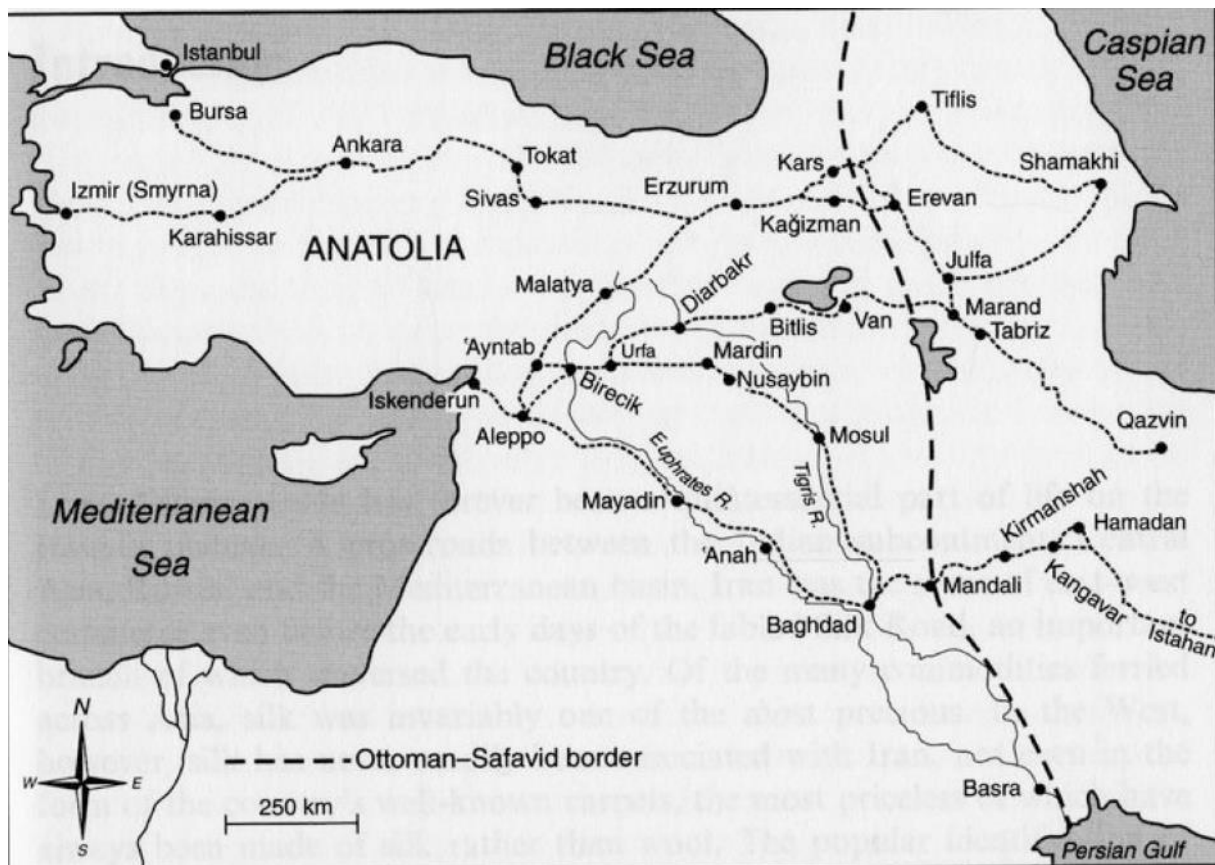
For detecting Persian faience appearing in the Ottoman Empire written evidence is the same problematic tool as for Chinese porcelain, as discussed in Chapter 1. Thus, it is predominantly the archaeological record that could provide clues for its distribution among the Ottomans. The evidence for Ottoman Rumeli shows that Persian faience was a significant part of the Ottoman material culture and was a constant companion of Iznik and Chinese vessels. The question of imitation or forgery of the Chinese types is discussed in more detail in Chapter 4. As for the routes through which they might have arrived in the Ottoman Empire, the raw silk trade serves as a basis. Bursa was the main center of the raw silk trade from Iran to the Ottoman Empire. Based on the documentary evidence, most of the silk merchants arriving to Bursa in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were Muslims, Iranians or Azeris from Yazd, Shiraz, Kazvin, Kazerun Isfahan, Kashan and Sebzavar.⁸⁸⁰ Most interestingly, four out of these seven towns listed (Yazd, Shiraz, Isfahan, and Kashan) were also faience production centers (Map 37), and merchants might have continued to arrive from these places even during Shah Abbas' anti-Ottoman policy, and after his death as well.

⁸⁸⁰ İnalçık, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, 226.



Map 37: Persian faience production centers
Golombek et al., Persian Pottery, p. xvi, Map 2.

Besides the above listed centers, Mashhad, Kirman, Isfahan, and Tabriz were also probable production sites of the Persian sherds excavated in Ottoman Rumeli (see Chapter and 4). All of these towns were connected to the Ottomans via trading routes, as represented on Rudolph Matthee's map (Map 38). Even though the silk trade somewhat degraded by the seventeenth century, the presence of Persian faience in these regions indicates that some kind of trade had to survive, since most of the confidently datable Persian sherds are the Chinese imitations from the seventeenth century (for more details also see Chapters 4). Therefore, it is most likely that Persian faience arrived in the Ottoman Empire by the overland route from Iran via Kirman, Isfahan, or Tabriz through the routes leading to Bursa and then to Istanbul. From Istanbul onwards, it was probably distributed in Ottoman Rumeli through the overland domestic trading routes discussed above.



Map 38 Trading routes to the Levant, second half of the seventeenth century.
Matthee, *The Politics of Trade in Safavid Iran*, p. xxii, Map 5.

Ottomans and the Indian Ocean

The paradigm regarding the role of Ottomans in the Indian Ocean trade after the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope route has been one that portrays the Ottomans as passive, hardly participating in the global long-distance trade and rather focusing on their domestic trading affairs. Recently, this paradigm has been challenged,⁸⁸¹ showing that, in fact, the Ottoman Empire was quite vested in cutting their share out of the Indian Ocean exchanges. A great example is their war with the Portuguese, mostly over the rule of the valuable spice trade through then Mamluk Egypt, and from then on continuing for the most part of the sixteenth century.⁸⁸²

⁸⁸¹ Palmira Brummett, *Ottoman Seapower and Levantine Diplomacy in the Age of Discovery*, Suny Series in the Social and Economic History of the Middle East (State University of New York Press, 1994).; Giancarlo Casale, *The Ottoman Age of Exploration* (Oxford University Press, 2010).

⁸⁸² Suraiya Faruqi, "Trading Between East and West. The Ottoman Empire of the Early Modern Period," in *Well-Connected Domains. Towards and Entangled Ottoman History*, ed. Pascal W. Firges et al., *The Ottoman Empire and Its Heritage. Politics, Society and Econom* 57 (Brill, 2014), 16.

Contrary to the Chinese-Ottoman case, there is evidence in the written sources that the Ottoman Empire had direct diplomatic contacts with Southeast Asia,⁸⁸³ to be exact with the Sultanate of Aceh. A diplomatic correspondence from the 1560s tells us that the Sultanate of Aceh was asking for military support from the Ottoman Empire to help in their endeavors to protect themselves from the Portuguese colonization.⁸⁸⁴ The Ottomans responded positively and started preparing a fleet to help the Acehnese, including the production of a map that helps the fleet navigate to Indonesia through the Indian Ocean, commissioned to Ali Macar Reis, or Ali the Hungarian Captain, as Giancarlo Casale hypothesized in a short analytic article of Ali Macar's world map.⁸⁸⁵ The prepared military expedition was ready to be launched in 1567 from Suez, although the uprising in Yemen proved to be unlucky for the Acehnese, as it prevented the expedition from ever departing for the Indian Ocean because it was redirected to suppress the uprising instead.⁸⁸⁶

In her recent study Suraiya Faroqhi mentions that it is not clear how Chinese porcelain reached the Ottoman Empire, but there had to be some indirect contact that was mediated by the consumption of coffee,⁸⁸⁷ indicating that direct contact between the Ottoman Empire and China has not been proven to date. Faroqhi bases her hypothesis on a record of the items of a person in Ankara which mentions a "*Kâbe fincanı*" that was probably a coffee cup. This Faroqhi interprets as an indication that pilgrims might have brought these objects home from their pilgrimages, also stating that *sharifs* of Mecca apparently had access to porcelain in the sixteenth century.⁸⁸⁸ Mecca as a pilgrimage site was an important hub for trade in its Ottoman-occupied period as much as it was in previous times.⁸⁸⁹ Even though scholarship has not established yet how or by whom Chinese porcelain was mediated between the Indian Ocean and the Ottomans or the Arabian Peninsula *per se*,⁸⁹⁰ the Hungarian archaeological material points toward the direction of the Southeast Asian archipelago. The case of Aceh corroborates this hypothesis. The intended starting point of the expedition is a valuable piece of information

⁸⁸³ Casale, *The Ottoman Age of Exploration*.

⁸⁸⁴ Giancarlo Casale, "His Majesty's Servant Lutfi'. The Career of a Previously Unknown Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Envoy to Sumatra Based on an Account of This Travels from the Topkapı Palace Archives," *Turcica* 37, no. 2005 (n.d.): 43–81.; İsmail Hakkı Kadı and Andrew Peacock, eds., *Ottoman-Southeast Asian Relations. Sources from the Ottoman Archives*, vol. 1, Handbook of Oriental Studies. Section One: The Near and Middle East 133 (Brill, 2020).

⁸⁸⁵ Giancarlo Casale, "From Hungary to Southeast Asia: The Ali Macar Reis Atlas in a Global Context," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları/The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 35 (2012): 61.

⁸⁸⁶ Casale, "From Hungary to Southeast Asia," 60.

⁸⁸⁷ Faroqhi, "Trade Between East and West," 17.

⁸⁸⁸ Faroqhi, "Trade Between East and West," 17.

⁸⁸⁹ Faroqhi, *Towns and townsmen*, 56.

⁸⁹⁰ Faroqhi, "Trade Between East and West," 18.

when one is attempting to reconstruct the route of Chinese porcelain through the Indian Ocean. This piece of information shows that there was probably a route from the Red Sea through the Maldives to Indonesia that the Ottomans were familiar with, as another important figure, Lutfi Reis has been to Aceh, according to the sources.⁸⁹¹ At the same time, in a letter presumably sent by the Sultan of Aceh to the Ottoman Sultan Selim II in 1567,⁸⁹² when the Sultan of Aceh describes their misfortunes with the Portuguese, he writes: “In addition to this, the pilgrim and merchant vessels from all the ports of the Lands below the Winds⁸⁹³ have to pass through these abovementioned islands [the Maldives] while on their way to the City of Mecca [...]”⁸⁹⁴ This is a definite indication that merchant vessels passed through the Maldives on their way to Central Asia, more specifically to Mecca. This also indicates that the Red Sea was one of the possible routes through which Chinese porcelain might have arrived in the Ottoman Empire.

Since the most likely mediator of Chinese porcelain for the Ottomans in the sixteenth century is the Southeast Asian world, or more precisely Aceh (and other parts of Indonesia?), it seems to have arrived in West Asia by shipping through the Indian Ocean. The starting point of the vessels is possibly Fujian or Guangdong, from there they travelled to the Southeast Asian archipelago, and then to the Indian Ocean, most likely through the Strait of Malacca.⁸⁹⁵ There are two possible entry points to the Ottoman Empire in this period: one through the Red Sea and one through the Persian Gulf. The first, based on the abovementioned source, leads to Mecca, and from there caravan routes via Aleppo⁸⁹⁶ led through Anatolia following a possible road toward Bursa through Kayseri or Akşehir, and finally to Istanbul (Map 39). The Persian Gulf route usually takes the ships to Bandar Abbas through the Hormuz strait, and from there through Isfahan, Diyarbakir, Kayseri, Akşehir, and Bursa to Istanbul (Map 40). It has also been suggested that since it was cheaper, an overland route through Kandahar was also often used to transport goods from East Asia to Istanbul (Map 40);⁸⁹⁷ although this possible overland route needs more examination.

⁸⁹¹ See Casale, “His Majesty’s servant Lutfi”.

⁸⁹² For the question of the originality of the letter also see Casale “His Majesty’s servant Lutfi”.

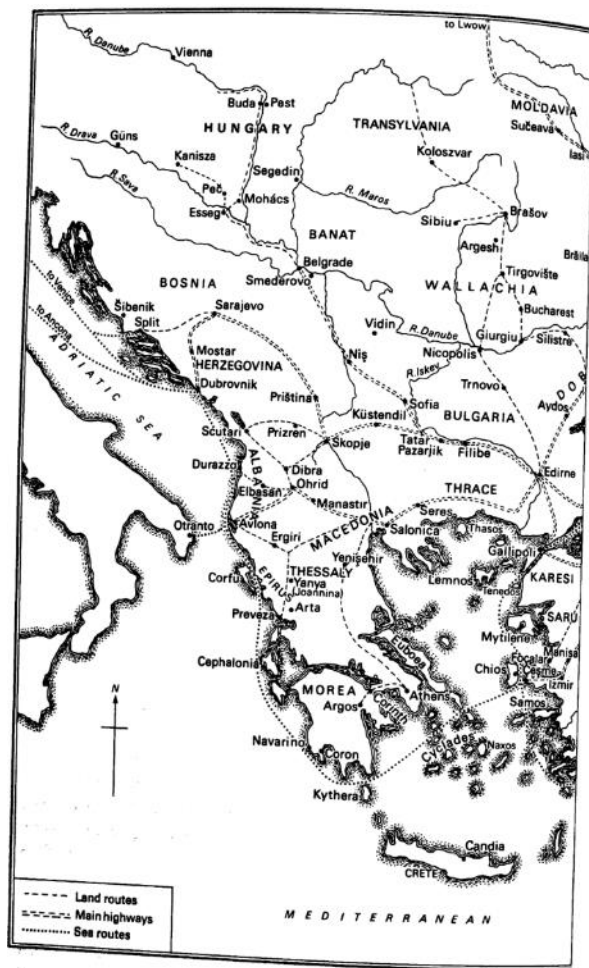
⁸⁹³ A common epithet for insular Southeast Asia in the Ottoman sources (verbatim Casale, “His Majesty’s servant Lutfi”, 44).

⁸⁹⁴ Kadi and Peacock, *Ottoman-Southeast Asian Relations*, 47.

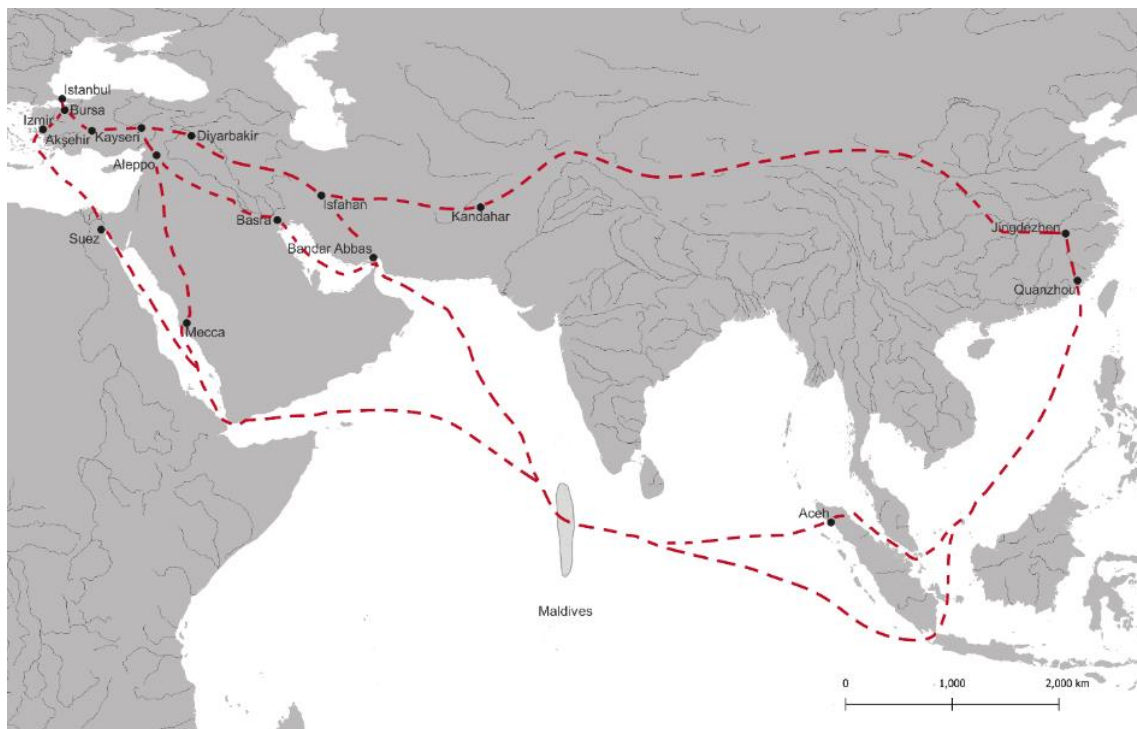
⁸⁹⁵ See the map compiled by Roxanna M. Brown, “History of Shipwreck Excavation in Southeast Asia,” in *The Belitung Wreck: Sunken Treasures from Tang China*, ed. Jayne Ward and Zoi Kotitsa (Seabed Explorations New Zealand Ltd., 2004), 44–45.

⁸⁹⁶ Faroghi, *Towns and townsmen*, 56.

⁸⁹⁷ See e.g. van den Boogert “Merchants and Global Connections,” 239.



Map 39: Trade routes of the Ottoman Empire
İnalçık, *An Economic and Social History*, map 11.



Map 40 Possible trading routes from Jingdezhen to Istanbul. Map by author

So far, systematic research on the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century caravan routes from China to Istanbul has not been conducted. This might be due to the lack of research regarding the direct connections between China and the Ottoman Empire. This might be explained by the trends of Silk Road studies, based on which this research could be conducted. Silk Road studies, in general, focus on historic periods before the geographical discoveries and consider the overland caravan routes of the Silk Road system non-existent after 1500. This is especially true for archaeological research, while in historical research, there are some publications suggesting that the trading system and its participants, although less intensive, remained active after the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope route towards the Indian Ocean from Europe.⁸⁹⁸ Even though porcelain was almost always transported seaborne due to this being much safer for the objects, it is possible that, in some cases, an overland route was used. Further research into these routes and the connections between China and the Ottoman Empire might shed more light on this question.

At the current state of research, a maritime route to the Persian Gulf, and from there overland route to Isanbul and further to Rumeli seems to be the most likely way of distributing Chinese porcelain (and Iznik, Kütahya, and Persian faience from Istanbul onwards) within the Ottoman Empire. As demonstrated above, there is archival evidence that the Ottomans had at least diplomatic relations with Southeast Asia, which possibly entails a commercial one as well.

⁸⁹⁸ Morris Rossabi, "The 'Decline' of the Central Asian Caravan Trade," in *The Rise of Merchant Empires. Long-Distance Trade in the Early Modern World, 1350-1750*, ed. James D. Tracy (Cambridge University Press, 1990), 351–70.

7. CONCLUSIONS

The primary goals of the present dissertation included the identification, dating, and analysis of the archaeological material unearthed from Hungary, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Romania relating to Asian decorative ceramics. The polities in these territories were either part of the Ottoman Empire or its vassal states for varying lengths of time in the examined period between the late fourteenth and the early eighteenth centuries. The focus of the study was Hungary. Thus, the main timeline examined covers the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, correlating with the Ottoman rule over Hungary, 1526/41-1699.

The main research questions included the provenance of the finds, such as China, Iznik and Kütahya in Anatolia, and Iran; their distribution patterns; and their social value. The analysis of the find collection, counting 2677 published and unpublished sherds, allowed for the discussion of further questions, such as whether these objects can be considered “luxury” ware and what consumption patterns they were a part of.

The state of research on Ottoman and Ottoman-period ceramics in Anatolia, the Balkans, and Hungary is different in each country discussed above. One common characteristic appears, although on different levels: the Ottoman period is (or was until recently) considered less important, which limited the interest in this field of archaeology until the last decades of the twentieth century. The reason behind this approach to the Ottoman past possibly lies in the history of this region, which was a battlefield or playground of expansive empires throughout the medieval, early modern, and modern periods. As the twentieth century also hit this region hard, it is not surprising that dealing with the heritage of occupying empires is difficult, and a certain period of time needed to pass before the study of this heritage could start. Fortunately, starting around the 2000s, a new era began in the scholarship, and the need for an understanding and more in-depth research of the Ottoman and Ottoman-period material culture has resulted in new “schools” of Ottoman-period archaeologists throughout the region.

Nevertheless, the recent positive turn does not fully support the present dissertation in comparing the Hungarian material to that of the Balkans and Anatolia since the accumulation of comprehensive knowledge and the appearance of publications in a larger number is to be expected in the next decades. Thus, the analysis and comparison of the materials in the present dissertation were limited by the level of research in each area in these regions. This limitation also affects the understanding of the movement, distribution, and use of the analyzed objects, as well as establishing whether they can be considered “luxury products” within the early modern Ottoman Empire.

Based on the archaeological record, it can be argued that the material needs to be considered in two large groups divided by a temporary horizon: the sixteenth century and the seventeenth century. The breaking point in the material culture is caused by a regional and a global phenomenon. The regional phenomenon is the Long Turkish War (1591-1606) discussed above. The global phenomenon is the shift in the international trade on the Indian Ocean from the hands of the Portuguese to the Dutch East India Company (VOC), rearranging the global trading network of the early modern period and opening a new chapter in the long-distance trade of Asian goods. This latter factor played a role in the influx of cheap Chinese porcelain coffee cups into West Asia, thus creating the circumstances whereby these objects, along with their low-quality imitations and elaborate copies, could become available for a wider social group than the exclusive vessels from China and Iznik in the sixteenth century.

The consumption of these ceramics has been extensively studied by historians and art historians, focusing on the available source material, namely the royal and other high-status collections that are in museums today. In the Ottoman context, the most significant is the Topkapı Palace Museum's Chinese porcelain collection.⁸⁹⁹ This is a collection curated by the Ottoman sultans, who started it after occupying Constantinople in 1453 at the latest, but some pieces might have been acquired earlier since the collection has pieces dating to as early as the thirteenth century. The acquisition of new pieces continued up to the early twentieth century.⁹⁰⁰ Interestingly, besides the Chinese porcelain collection of over ten thousand pieces, there are hardly any Iznik or Persian vessels curated by the Ottoman sultans. This demonstrates the significance of Chinese ware among the three types. Furthermore, several objects are mounted with elaborate silver and precious or semi-precious stones made by Ottoman masters.⁹⁰¹ This practice indicates an even more elevated value of some earlier Chinese pieces, as a century or more could pass between the production of the porcelain vessel and its mounting. Furthermore, this alteration of the object carries significant meanings and a re-identification, indicating a high social value since the 'Chineseness' of the transformed vessels was particularly important.⁹⁰² Despite these outstanding pieces, the collection has been largely interpreted as a set of fancy tableware and much less as a decorative feature of the interior design of the sultan's palace. As

⁸⁹⁹ Ayers and Krah, *Chinese ceramics*, vols. 1-3.

⁹⁰⁰ Ayers and Krah, *Chinese ceramics*, vol. 1., p. 16.

⁹⁰¹ See for example: Rudolph P. Mathee, *The Politics of Trade in Safavid Iran. Silk for Silver, 1600-1730* (Cambridge University Press, 1999), 61–90. For the jewelled porcelain see: <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/image/388031001> (Accessed 23/05/2024).

⁹⁰² Stacey Pierson, *From Object to Concept. Global Consumption and the Transformation of Ming Porcelain* (Hong Kong University Press, 2013), 41–42.

such, these vessels probably served as luxury tableware in which luxury food was served, but nothing more.⁹⁰³

The importance of Chinese porcelain is further reinforced by another significant collection in the neighboring empire to the Ottomans, that of the Safavids in Iran, namely the collection of Shah ‘Abbas I (1571-1629), found in the Ardebil Shrine.⁹⁰⁴ Ardebil Shrine was built in the fourteenth century. Shah ‘Abbas I, the most influential ruler of Safavid Iran, reconstructed the Shrine in the early 1600s and placed his porcelain collection in it for display, the curation of which continued during the rest of the Safavid rule (1501-1736). In the case of Iran, extensive literature explores the Persians' encounters with early Chinese porcelains from as early as the ninth century. Thus, there is a history of Persians appreciating Chinese ceramics long before the Safavid period.

These two representative collections suggest that Chinese porcelain, similar to the Western European context, especially during the seventeenth century, was an indisputably luxurious and exotic product highly appreciated among society's highest levels. The high esteem of Chinese porcelain is also reflected in the fact that it served as an inspiration or even a basis for imitation in Ottoman and Safavid decorative ceramic production.

The appreciation of Chinese porcelain was also expressed by the well-evidenced practice of mending broken porcelain pieces. Evidence of the practice of repairing using metal wire to staple the fracture lines together can be found in the Hungarian material as well, in quite high numbers.

Regarding Iznik and Persian ware, there are no special collections in Western Asian consumption history. In the case of Iznik ware, consumption patterns have been analyzed in Hungary⁹⁰⁵ and in Belgrade.⁹⁰⁶ In the case of Belgrade, petrographic analysis was also used and compared to the archaeological context of the sherds, with the result showing that a significant timespan can be observed between the time of production and disposal. This result supports the idea, also established in connection with the Hungarian material, that Iznik ware seems to have been far more highly valued than Chinese porcelain or Persian stonepaste. This hypothesis was further reinforced by the outstanding Iznik plate find in Esztergom, containing seven high-

⁹⁰³ Ayers and Krah, *Chinese ceramics*, vol. 1., p. 16.

⁹⁰⁴ John Alexander Pope, *Chinese Porcelains from the Ardebil Shrine* (Freer Gallery of Art, 1956).

⁹⁰⁵ Gerelyes, “Types of oriental pottery in archaeological finds;” and Kovács, “Iznik Pottery in Hungarian Archaeological Research.”

⁹⁰⁶ Živković et al., “Archaeology of Consumption”.

quality plates hidden in a wooden chest during the re-occupation of Esztergom from the Ottomans in 1595.⁹⁰⁷

These findings seem to be in contrast with what the Topkapı and Ardebil collections indicate, which raises questions regarding the material culture of the Ottomans in a peripheral territory such as Hungary and the Balkans in this period. It is well-established by scholarship that coffee consumption appeared in the Ottoman Empire in the mid-sixteenth century and spread fast throughout the Empire, also supported by the fact that by the 1570s, the first coffee shop opened in Buda, in the westernmost *beylerbeylik* center of the Ottoman Empire.⁹⁰⁸ There is also a consensus in Hungarian scholarship that the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries should be treated separately from each other in administrative history and material culture. This is mostly due to two facts: firstly, the production of Iznik ware declined by the mid-seventeenth century, and secondly, at the same time, the influx of Chinese porcelain increased significantly. These facts are also reflected in the archaeological record in Rumeli, as the majority of the finds consist of Chinese porcelain, Persian stonepaste, and Kütahya ware (see Tables 2 and 3 in Chapter 5). As discussed above, most of the Chinese porcelain and Persian stonepaste can be dated to the seventeenth century, and Kütahya ware dates to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In contrast, the latest examples of Iznik ware are represented by late Rhodes-style sherds dated to the 1630s, although most of the Iznik sherds are dated to the sixteenth century.

In conclusion, the survey of a wider geographical area of the finds seems to largely support earlier observations regarding the typochronology and use of these ceramics. The only exception is the identification of Kütahya cups previously identified as Persian. This new result, however, raises even more questions regarding the use of these vessels, as discussed in Chapter 4 above. The notion of eighteenth-century Kütahya ware in the Balkans does not seem to have been out of place since Ottoman rule ended there as late as the nineteenth century. In Hungary, on the other hand, if the eighteenth-century dating of all Kütahya ware is accepted based on parallels, then the use of West Asian coffee cups in Hungary in the early eighteenth century needs reconsideration. According to the present paradigm, ceramics of eastern origin are only connected to the Ottomans, and their use ended with the expulsion of the Ottomans from Hungary by the Habsburgs at the end of the seventeenth century.

⁹⁰⁷ Edit Tari, “Az Esztergom-Vízivárosi oszmán fajanszedény-kincslelet.”

⁹⁰⁸ Sudár Balázs, Császtvay Tünde, and Nyerges Judit, “A hódoltság meg a kávé [Ottoman occupation and coffee],” in *Szolgálatomat ajánlom a 60 éves Jankovich Józsefnek* (Balassi Kiadó, 2009), 369.

As discussed above in Chapter 4, Győző Gerő did raise the issue of dating Kütahya ware to the eighteenth century and argued for their seventeenth-century dating in the context of Hungary.⁹⁰⁹ The broad picture of the archaeological record seems to support this argument since other eighteenth-century coffee cups, such as Meissen porcelain, which appears in a very small number, and Meissen imitations made in Kütahya, which cannot be detected in the archaeological record. There are few exceptions of Meissen and Viennese porcelain sherds, together with Chinese imari and Batavian brown-glazed Chinese porcelains from the eighteenth century. These sherds, most of them unearthed in Buda, are from mixed layers containing modern finds as well. Thus, it is difficult to place them within the eighteenth century. Regardless, their ratio to the rest of the material is very different from that in the case of Sofia, where the overwhelming majority of the early modern Asian decorative ceramics can be dated to the eighteenth century and consists of Kütahya ware and Meissen porcelain cups. The cups unearthed in Pécs and Buda (see Chapter 4 above), on the other hand, contradict the suggested seventeenth-century dating since these are polychrome vessels believed to have appeared in the early eighteenth century. Gerő argued against the notion that the newly arriving Serb inhabitants and merchants might have brought in these vessels, but I believe it should not be discarded. Since the number of Asian decorative ceramics that can confidently be dated to the eighteenth century is relatively high in the Hungarian archaeological material, it is not very likely, although possible, that it could be connected to a group of new inhabitants arriving after the expulsion of the Ottomans, or to the remaining Ottoman elements of society still documented in the eighteenth-century sources.

The large number of blue and white Kütahya sherds in Eger is a question that requires further research and possibly material tests to resolve the problem of both provenance and dating. At this point, I am inclined to argue for the seventeenth-century dating of these sherds because, from the point of view of consumption patterns, this seems more logical. The shift in the material culture of the sixteenth and seventeenth-century Asian ware has shown that from the expensive and high-status Iznik and rare early sixteenth-century porcelain vessels, consumption shifted toward the cheaper, more easily accessible Chinese and Persian ceramics, mostly coffee cups. Kütahya cups fit this picture perfectly since these seem to be imitating not only Chinese but also Persian cups and represent a quality that certainly could not be considered very expensive and exclusive. The fact that some sherds in Buda and Eger proved to have been made in Iznik instead of Persia, as was previously believed, further supports the notion of blue and white Kütahya

^{909 909} Gerő, “Anatolian Pottery,” p. 146.

cups having been produced. To summarize, the survey of a large sample, including Hungary and the Balkans, has supported the argument that Chinese porcelain and Persian stonepaste coffee cups were supplemented with Kütahya ware in the seventeenth century. This suggests that these vessels were most likely easily accessible and in high demand among a certain layer of the local Ottoman society. The numbers show that Chinese porcelain was the most common, except for Sofia and Varna, but Persian and/or Kütahya pieces usually also appear in substantial numbers.

Regarding their mass-produced character, it can be argued that these objects were commodities distributed by merchants throughout the Ottoman Empire. The evidence of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries supports the notion that these were undoubtedly commercial goods, as argued in Chapter 6, under the term “*res Turcales*.” This means that despite not being often named in sources relating to trade, these coffee cups and other decorative ceramic types most likely appeared at the bazaars in larger towns of Rumeli, such as Sofia, Belgrade, Buda, Eger, and Esztergom. This was possibly different during the sixteenth century: Iznik ware and high-quality Chinese porcelain vessels were likely brought here through different means and agents and were much rarer and more expensive.

Since these objects are identified as commercial goods, their distribution patterns could also be analyzed, placing them both in the domestic Ottoman trading patterns and the trans-continental trade of the early modern world. Many historical studies of the Ottoman trading network, as well as studies focusing on the Carpathian Basin during the Ottoman Empire, concluded that the Ottoman rule did not cut commercial connections,⁹¹⁰ which correlates with the idea that the Ottoman soldiers stationed in Hungary, also involved in trade, based a significant part of their business on connections at their places of origin, as described above. The Ottoman period brought about the route from Istanbul via Belgrade, and although the sources mainly consider the spice trade,⁹¹¹ it can be argued that Asian decorative ceramics traveled with the spices as well. This route, however, declined by the end of the sixteenth century, and by the mid-seventeenth, the direction of “spices” (and possibly other Asian goods as well) turned from Istanbul through Hungary to Vienna the other way round, from Vienna through Hungary to Istanbul; showing that the traditional routes of the Levantine trade have declined by this period.⁹¹²

⁹¹⁰ E.g. Zsigmond Pál Pach, “Hungary and the Levantine Trade in the 14th-17th Centuries”, *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 60/1 (2007): 23.

⁹¹¹ Pach, “Hungary and the Levantine Trade”, 25.

⁹¹² Pach, “Hungary and the Levantine Trade”, 26.

The question of Ottoman-Chinese trading relations and specifically the trade of Chinese porcelain is an unexplored territory of Ottoman history writing, thus the results of this analysis contribute to the understanding of these relations. An important novelty of the present work was the hypothesis that a very likely mediator of Chinese porcelain for the Ottomans in the sixteenth century was the Southeast Asian world, or more specifically, the Sultanate of Aceh and maybe other parts of Indonesia. This hypothesis also suggests that the activity of the Ottomans on the Indian Ocean was probably much higher than as it has been estimated before. A re-examination of the Ottomans' participation in the trans-continental trade of the early modern period might shed light on the details of the Chinese porcelain trade, bringing to light the economic and probably cultural connections that might have been present between the Chinese and the Ottoman Empires.

Regarding the users of these objects, in the case of Hungary, the use of Asian decorative ceramics can confidently be connected to the incoming Ottomans. This notion is evidenced by the topographical distribution of the objects in the territory of Hungary and also within the towns in some cases: sherds of such ceramics are only present in Ottoman-occupied areas of the investigated towns. This topographical distinction, on the other hand, cannot be observed in Bulgaria, suggesting a different consumption pattern. Another reason why such a distinction was not observable in Bulgaria is that the Ottoman and non-Muslim populations were not separated as clearly within the towns as in Hungary. The topographical distribution of Asian decorative finds within the towns requires further research, which needs to be based on a detailed analysis of the social topography of these towns. The reconstruction of the social topography of Ottoman towns, however, is a debated aspect of Ottoman history writing, thus this requires a separate study from the present one. As a first step, the study of a large material yielded significant results regarding the use and distribution of Asian decorative ceramics. The archaeological analysis of this group of objects, even though in many cases their collection at the sites is sporadic and their contexts are vague, resulted in the reconstruction of the trade and social value of these objects. The interpretation of the analysis results showed that the study of a material cultural object group can lead to more general conclusions regarding the history of everyday life in the Ottoman Empire.

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APPENDICES

Timeline

Historical events connected to Rumeli and the global trade of the Ottomans

1363-65	Ottoman expansion in southern Bulgaria and Thrace
1385	Ottoman conquest of Sofia
1385 or 1386	Niš conquered; the Serbian king is reduced to vassalage
1389	the battle of Kosovo, Ottoman victory over the Serbs
1396	battle of Nicopolis: Bayezid I defeats the crusading army
1423-30	Ottoman-Venetian war for Salonica
1439	Ottoman annexation of Serbia
1443	John Hunyadi invades the Balkans
1444	revival of the Serbian Despotate, battle of Varna: Ottoman victory
1453	Constantinople conquered
1456	unsuccessful siege of Belgrade (Nándorfehérvár)
1459	conquest of Serbia
1475	conquest of Genoese colonies in the Crimea
1499-1503	war with Venice; conquest of Lepanto
1517	submission of the Sharif of Mecca
1521	conquest of Belgrade
1526	battle of Mohács, Hungary becomes a vassal
1529	siege of Vienna
1537-40	war with Venice
1541	annexation of Hungary
1553-55	war with Iran
1571	battle of Lepanto
1573	peace with Venice and the emperor
1578-90	war with Iran
1591/3-1606	Long Turkish War/fifteen-year war with the Habsburgs
1603-1639	Iranian Wars
1606	peace of Zsitvatorok with the Habsburgs
1612	extension of capitulations to the Dutch
1618	peace with Iran

1621	invasion of Poland
1622	assassination of Osman II
1624-37	Cossack attacks on the Black Sea coast
1637	fall of Azov to Cossacks
1640	recovery of Azov
1645-69	war with Venice
1648-56	Venetian blockade of the Dardanelles
1658-59	re-establishment of Ottoman control over Transylvania and Wallachia
1663	war with the Habsburgs
1683	siege of Vienna
1684	Holy League against the Ottomans between the emperor, Polish king and Venice
1686	fall of Buda
1687	second battle of Mohács
1688	fall of Belgrade
1689	Austrians at Kossovo, the Russians attack the Crimea
1690	recovery of Belgrade from the Austrians
1695	fall of Azov
1696	Ottoman counter-attack in Hungary
1697	Ottoman defeat at Zenta
1699	treaty of Karlowitz (Karlovác)
1700	peace with Russia
1713	Azov recovered
1714-18	war with Venice
1716	war with Austria
1717	fall of Belgrade
1718	peace treaty of Passarowitz with Austria and Venice: large parts of Serbia and Wallachia ceded to Austria
1723-27	war with Iran
1730-36	Iran's counterattack
1736-39	war with Russia and Austria
1739	peace treaty with Russia and Austria, recovery of Belgrade
1770	Russian fleet in the Aegean, Ottoman defeat on the Danube
1771	Russian invasion of Crimea

1774	independence of the northern coasts of the Black Sea from the Ottoman Empire
1783	Russian annexation of the Crimean khanate
1804	Serbs revolt
1812	treaty of Bucharest
1853-56	Crimean war
1885	occupation of eastern Rumelia by the Bulgarians

Ottoman Sultans (during the time of rule in Rumeli)

1362-89	Murad I	1617-18,	Mustafa I
1389-1402	Bayezid I (Yıldırım)	1622-23	
	1403-13	1623-40	Murad IV
	interregnum, civil war	1640-48	İbrahim I
	among Bayezid's sons for	1648-87	Mehmed IV
	the sultanate	1687-91	Süleyman II
1413-21	Mehmed I	1691-95	Ahmed II
1421-44,	Murad II	1695-1703	Mustafa II
1446-51		1703-1730	Ahmed III
1444-46,	Mehmed II (Fatih)	1730-54	Mahmud I
1451-81		1754-57	Osman III
1481-1512	Bayezid II	1757-74	Mustafa III
1512-20	Selim I	1774-89	Abdülhamid I
1520-66	Süleyman I (Kanuni)	1789-1807	Selim III
1566-74	Selim II	1807-08	Mustafa IV
1574-95	Murad III	1808-39	Mahmud II
1595-1603	Mehmed III	1839-60	Abdülmecid I
1603-17	Ahmed I	1861-76	Abdülaziz
1618-22	Osman II	1876-1909	Abdülhamid II

List of Ming and Qing Chinese emperors until the nineteenth century

Ming Dynasty (明代 Míngdài, 1368-1644)

Hóngwǔ 洪武 1368-1398

Jiànwén 建文 1399-1402

Yǒnglè 永樂 1403-1424

Hóngxī 洪熙 1424-1425

Xuāndé 宣德 1426-1435

Zhèngtǒng 正統 1436-1449

Jǐngtài 景泰 1449-1457

Tiānshùn 天順 1457-1464

Chénghuà 成化 1465-1487

Hóngzhì 弘治 1488-1505

Zhèngdé 正德 1506-1521

Jiājìng 嘉靖 1522-1566

Lóngqìng 隆慶 1567-1572

Wànlì 萬曆 1573-1619

Tàichāng 泰昌 1620

Tiānqǐ 天啓 1621-1627

Chóngzhēn 崇禎 1628-1644

Qing Dynasty (清代 Qīngdài, 1644-1911)

Shùnzhì 順治 1644-1661

Kāngxī 康熙 1662-1722

Yōngzhèng 雍正 1723-1735

Qiánlóng 乾隆 1736-1795

Jiāqìng 嘉慶 1796-1820

Catalogue of the finds

The catalogue is organized based on settlements. The order of the settlements follows that of Chapter 3, starting from the *beylerbelik* centers, followed by the *sancak* centers, then the towns and the palanka fortress. It is advised to use the Navigation pane in the word file to jump to the different settlements. The data includes a unique identification number (No. in the sample table line below), which is generated from the abbreviated name of the settlement and a number given during cataloging. The next data is the exact site of excavation, including data regarding the trench, layer, or other context, and the exact date when the sherd was unearthed. After the site, the inventory number of the sherd is given if there is one. Then, a detailed description follows, focusing on the material of the object and the decoration, with a preliminary identification. This part of the catalogue continues to be updated, especially in the case of the Persian and Kütahya sherds, as their identification and distinction from each other is a new finding of this work. After the description, the dimensions follow, all given in cm, with the following abbreviations: h=height; w=width; w/th=wall thickness; r/d=rim diameter; f/r/d=footring diameter. Lastly, a dating is given. In the case of Chinese porcelain, when possible, the period of the emperor to whom the production date can be connected is given (mostly Kangxi and Wanli). Otherwise, centuries are given. Question marks appear when a dating is uncertain or hypothetical.

See the catalogue here: [Asian decorative ceramics database of Hungary and the Balkans](#)

No.	Site	Inventory no.	Description	Dimensions (cm)	Dating
Plov_01	Leonardo da Vinci str. CN 600, - 159.52 m, 2018.08.2 2.	N/A	Persian or Iznik faience cup bottom sherd. The paste is porous, yellowish-white faience. Decorated with an underglaze blue painting featuring plants in a pot (?) in the well, with double rings around the well, and ornamental decoration on the outer wall, with double rings around the outside of the footring. The outer bottom is marked, featuring a five-stroke star. The glaze is corroded and become matte.	h: 1.4, w: 3.8, w/th: 0.4, f/r/d: 2.8	16-17th c.