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GLAZED WARES

as Cultural Agents in the Byzantine,
Seljuk, and Ottoman Lands

EDITED BY NIKOS D. KONTOGIANNIS, BEATE BÖHLENDORF-ARSLAN,
AND FİLİZ YENİŞEHİRLİOĞLU


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Preface

The present book is the result of the 13th International ANAMED Annual Symposium. Some of the participants are new friends, people brought together by common interests and questions. Many others we met more than twenty years ago, in the now quasi-mythical Medieval Ceramic Congress of Thessaloniki (1999).¹ Over the years, we had the chance to forge relations and collaborations and eventually to help advance the field of medieval and modern ceramics. Especially well remembered is the “Late Antique and Medieval Pottery and Tiles in Mediterranean Archaeological Contexts” conference, held in 2005 in Çanakkale and published in 2007.² The aim of that conference was to present ceramics from archaeological research or from secure stratified contexts rather than beautiful pieces with no provenance from museum collections.

We would like to thank wholeheartedly ANAMED director Prof. Chris Roosevelt, manager Dr. Buket Coşkuner, programs specialist Naz Uğurlu, publications specialist Alican Kutlay, our copyeditor Dr. Lauren Davis, and all the ANAMED staff for their unwavering support before, during, and after the symposium. We would like to mention particularly the contribution of Dr. Deniz Sever, who undertook the English-Turkish translations along with the copyediting of the Turkish texts, and also compiled the Index of the book. Furthermore, numerous students from Koç University Department of Archaeology and History of Art (ARHA) carried out various tasks throughout this process; we are deeply grateful to all of them. The fact that we, as editors, managed to bring this book to the public is a success that should be largely credited to the collective efforts of all those involved.

Nevertheless, the value of the volume at hand is the result of the merit coming from the eighteen papers included therein. The authors trusted us with their valuable work, honored us with their friendship, and helped us forge a collective artwork that will (hopefully) promote the importance of our field and attract younger scholars to continue in our footsteps. We are humbled by this wonderful outcome, and we beg the reader to consider any shortcomings as entirely ours.

1 AIECM 7.

2 Çanak.

Abbreviations

AA	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
ΑΔ	<i>Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον</i>
ΑΕΘΣ	<i>Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας</i>
ΑΕΜΘ	<i>Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και στη Θράκη</i>
AIECM 3	<i>La Ceramica Medievale nel Mediterraneo Occidentale. Siena-Faenza 8-12 ottobre 1984.</i> Florence: All'Insegna del Giglio, 1986.
AIECM 4	<i>A Cerâmica Medieval no Mediterrâneo Ocidental. Lisboa, 16-22 de novembro 1987,</i> edited by Luis Alves da Silva and Rui Mateus. Mértola: Campo Arqueológico de Mértola, 1991.
AIECM 6	<i>La céramique médiévale en Méditerranée. Actes du VIe congrès de l'AIECM2. Aix-en-Provence, 13-18 novembre 1995,</i> edited by G. Démians d'Archimbaud. Aix-en-Provence: Narration Editions, 1997.
AIECM 7	<i>VIIe Congrès International sur la Céramique Médiévale en Méditerranée: Thessaloniki 11-16 Octobre 1999,</i> edited by Charalambos Bakirtzis. Athens: la Caisse des Recettes Archéologiques, 2003
AIECM 8	<i>Actas del VIII Congreso Internacional de Cerámica Medieval en el Mediterráneo,</i> edited by Juan Zozaya, Manuel Retuerce, Miguel Á. Hervás, and Antonio de Juan. Ciudad Real: Asociación Espanola de Arqueología Medieval, 2009
AIECM 9	<i>Atti del IX Convegno Internazionale sulla Ceramica Medieval nel Mediterraneo, Venezia 23-27 Novembre 2009,</i> edited by Sauro Gelichi. Florence: All'Insegna de Giglio, 2012.
AIECM 10	<i>Actas do X Congresso Internacional a Cerâmica Medieval no Mediterrâneo, Silves, 22-27 Outubro 2012,</i> edited by M. J. Gonçalves and S. Gómez-Martínez. Silves: Câmara municipal de Silves, Campo Arqueológico de Mértola, 2015.
AIECM 11	<i>XIth Congress AIECM3 on Medieval and Modern Period Meditterreanean Ceramics Proceedings,</i> edited by Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu. Ankara: Koç Üniversitesi VEKAM
AIECM 12	<i>XIIth Congress AIECM3 on Medieval and Modern Period Meditterreanean Ceramics Proceedings,</i> edited by Platon Petridis. Athens: forthcoming.
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
A Lost Art	<i>A Lost Art Rediscovered: The Architectural Ceramics of Byzantium,</i> edited by Sharon E. J. Gerstel and Julie A. Lauffenburger. Baltimore: The Walters Art Museum, 2001.
ANAMED	Koç University Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations
AnatAnt	<i>Anatolia Antiqua</i>
AnatSt	<i>Anatolian Studies</i>
ANES	<i>Ancient Near Eastern Studies</i>
AST	<i>Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı</i>

BCH *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*

BMGS *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*

BSA *The Annual of the British School at Athens*

ByzF *Byzantinische Forschungen*

CahArch *Cahiers archéologiques*

Çanak *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 (Çanak kale, 1–3 June 2005), edited by Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan, Ali Osman Uysal, and Johanna Witte-Orr, Byzas 7 (Istanbul: Ege Yayınları, 2007).*

DOP *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*

ΔΧΑΕ *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας*

EJOS *Electronic Journal of Oriental Studies*

Hesp *Hesperia*

IAA *Israel Antiquities Authority*

IstMitt *Istanbul Mitteilungen, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Istanbul*

JACS *Journal of the American Ceramic Society*

JASREP *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports*

J ECS *Journal of the European Ceramic Society*

JRA *Journal of Roman Archaeology*

JRAS *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*

MicrochemJ *Microchemical Journal*

OJA *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*

OHACA *The Oxford Handbook of Archaeological Ceramic Analysis*, edited by Alice M. W. Hunt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017)

OHBS *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*, edited by Elizabeth Jeffreys, John Haldon, and Robin Cormack (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008)

OÜSOBİAD *Ordu Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Araştırmaları Dergisi*

PBSR *Papers of the British School at Rome*

REB *Revue des Études Byzantines*

Recherches *Recherches sur la céramique byzantine*, edited by V. Déroche and Jean-Michel Spieser. BCH suppl. 18 (Athens: École Française d'Athènes, 1989)

REI *Revue des études islamiques*

RevA *Revue d'Archéométrie*

StudConserv *Studies in Conservation*

Taoci *Revue Annuelle de la Société française d'étude de la céramique orientale*

TIB *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*

Three Stories in the Medieval and Modern Mediterranean Area: The Relationships between Italy and the Byzantine and Ottoman Worlds through Pottery

Sauro Gelichi

Introduction

The relationships between the regions of Italy and the Byzantine and Ottoman worlds have endured from ancient times right up to the present day. With regards to the production and use of pottery, exchanges have also been both continuous and frequent: if we include amphorae, it went on without almost any interruption.¹ These relationships have been largely technological and cultural. However, within the context of this continuity, we can identify certain moments in which such connections have been stronger and have produced longer-lasting phenomena over time. In this chapter, I am going to tell three different stories.

¹ The bibliography on Early Medieval amphorae is becoming conspicuous. A recent volume on this subject is: “Early Medieval and Medieval Shipping Containers (8th–12th Centuries) in the Mediterranean: Production Centers, Contents, Trade Networks (Proceeding of the Symposium, Rome 2017),” ed. Sauro Gelichi and Alessandra Molinari, special issue, *Archeologia Medievale* 45 (2018): 9–313.

First Narrative: A Circular Transfer Technology?

The first process that I would like to analyze concerns an uncertain circular technology transfer-related problem (from Italy to Byzantium and then from Byzantium to Italy?), in a period between the sixth and eighth centuries. The problem concerns the type of pottery that is known as single-fired, glazed pottery. In Italy, single-fired glazed pottery was produced during the Roman and Late Roman eras, in particular in northern Italy.² This category of pottery fully fits into the morphological-decorative framework of Late Roman glazed pottery. Analogies recognized in relation to the *limes* productions have suggested a connection that can be interpreted within the optic of recognizing identifying features of this pottery: in a similar manner to *militaria*, Late Roman glazed pottery was created within military organizations, for the military.³ This kind of pottery was distributed, especially in the north of the peninsula, throughout Late Antiquity and until the seventh century CE, also outside military areas.

New glazed pottery appears in the eighth century (in Rome, Latium, and also in the other part of Italy).⁴ We are still missing a connection that can explain the continuity in the technology of the production of this ceramics in Italy. Indeed, no specimens have been found that could be identified as the “missing links” in the evolution of pottery the Late Roman typology does not seem to extend beyond the seventh century, while Early Medieval glazed pottery did not appear before the start of the Carolingian era (second half of eighth century). This chronological gap, which will hopefully be filled in the future with the arrival of new archaeological data, can however be justified by the overall stylistic differences that distinguish Late Roman (or Late Antique) glazed ceramics from the first Early Medieval glazed products.

Two types of glazed ware are known to have appeared in the Byzantine world in the seventh century: the typology known as Glazed White Ware (GWW), manufactured (probably, but not only) in Constantinople and characterized by the use of a light colored paste;⁵ and Early Plain Glazed Ware (EPGW), made using a red-colored paste and



Fig. 1. A comparison between early glazed pottery from Byzantium (on the left) and from Rome (on the right). (Laboratorio di Archeologia Medievale, Venezia).

which involved a more heterogeneous group of products, perhaps made in different places across the Byzantine world.⁶ GWW can be dated to around the seventh and eighth centuries, on account of the Constantinople contexts in which it has been found,⁷ while we know that EPGW was already present by the start of the seventh century on the basis of a specimen recovered from a Byzantine shipwreck (II) off Yassıada, Turkey.⁸ Thus, at present the chronologies of these Byzantine ceramics also lack precision, but what we do know is that they do not date back any earlier than the Roman specimens from Lazio. The only Roman example that seems to exhibit a clear Byzantine influence is a chafing dish (a dish intended for keeping food warm),⁹ as no other forms typical of GWW have been

² *La ceramica invetriata tardoromana e alto medievale (Atti del Convegno, Como 14 marzo 1981)* (New Press: Como, 1985); Marco Sannazaro, “La ceramica invetriata tra età romana e medioevo,” in *Ad mensam: Manufatti d’uso da contesti archeologici fra tarda antichità e medioevo*, ed. Silvia Lusuardi Siena (Del Bianco: Udine, 1994), 229–61.

³ On this subject see the recent publications: *Late Roman Glazed Pottery Productions in Eastern Alpine Area and Danubian Provinces: First Results of an International Project (Atti del I Incontro Internazionale di Archeologia a Carlino – Carlino, 14–15 dicembre 2007)*, ed. Chiara Magrini and Francesca Sbarra (Desingraf: Udine, 2009); *Late Roman Glazed Pottery in Carlino and in Central-East Europe: Production, Function and Distribution*, ed. Chiara Magrini and Francesca Sbarra, BAR International Series 2068 (Oxford: BAR Publishers, 2010).

⁴ On Latium production: David Whitehouse, “Forum Ware: A Distinctive Type of Early Medieval Glazed Pottery in the Roman Campagna,” *Medieval Archaeology* 9 (1965): 55–63; idem, “The Medieval Glazed Pottery of Lazio,” *PBSR* 35 (1968): 40–86; Otto Mazzucato, *La ceramica a vetrina pesante* (Rome: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 1972); in general *La ceramica invetriata tardoantica e altomedievale in Italia* (Atti del Seminario di Studio, Pontignano 1990), ed. Lidia Paroli (Florence: All’Insegna del Giglio, 1992).

⁵ David Talbot-Rice, *Byzantine Glazed Pottery* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930); idem, “Byzantine Pottery,” in *The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors: Second Report*, ed. David Talbot-Rice (Edinburgh: The University Press, 1958), 110–13; John Hayes, *Excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul: The Pottery* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), 2:12–34; Sylvie Yona Waksman et al., “The First Byzantine ‘Glazed White Wares’ in

the Early Medieval Technological Context,” in *Archaeometric and Archaeological Approaches to Ceramics (Papers presented at EMAC ’05, 8th European Meeting on Ancient Ceramics, Lyon 2005)*, ed. Sylvie Yona Waksman, BAR International Series 1691 (Oxford: BAR Publishers, 2007), 129–35; Joanita Vroom, *Byzantine to Modern Pottery in the Aegean* (Bijleveld: Parnassus Press, 2005), 74–77.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 72–73.

⁷ The initial stages are still uncertain and, at the moment, also the timelines are based on the few well-dated contexts available. A context that is particularly rich in this type of pottery and which is used as a date-based standard is the Saraçhane excavation in Constantinople: Hayes, *Excavations*, 12–34; in the most ancient type, here defined as “Glazed White Ware I,” “the fabric is really not white” (*ibid.*, 15).

⁸ Ken Dark, *Byzantine Pottery* (Charleston: Tempus Publishing, 2001), 58, fig. 26.

⁹ On chafing dishes in Byzantine territories see: Paul Arthur, “Pots and Boundaries on Cultural and Economic Areas between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages,” in *LRCW2: Late Roman Coarse Wares, Cooking Wares and Amphorae in the Mediterranean; Archaeology and Archaeometry*, ed. Michel Bonifay and Jean-Christophe Trégliat, BAR International Series 2616 (Oxford: BAR Publishers, 2007), 15–16, fig. 1; Joanita Vroom, “Dishing up History: Early Medieval Ceramic Finds from the Triconch Palace in Butrint,” *Mélanges de l’Ecole française de Rome: Moyen-Age* 120 (2008): 293–96; and particularly Anastasia Vassiliou, “Middle Byzantine Chafing Dishes

uncovered in Lazio (and, vice versa, the most documented forms in Lazio are rare in the Byzantine world) (Fig. 1).

Is there a technological (and cultural) link between these two phenomena? Does the hypothesis of a technological transfer first from west toward east (or rather from Italy to Byzantium) and then from east toward west (from Byzantium to Italy once again) have reason to exist?¹⁰

Thus, the old hypothesis—that a transfer of technology from northern Italy toward Constantinople (the Byzantine world in general) occurred toward the sixth century, followed by a return to Italy (first Rome, then once again to Ravenna)—remains plausible. Of course, it seems to follow the path of power closely (i.e., the transfer of the empire's capitals), and some support for this hypothesis can also be gathered from the archaeological evidence: the fact that GWW first appeared in the seventh century and the presence of typically Byzantine forms that decorate the earliest Roman productions (such as the chafing dish). However, some elements of uncertainty remain and directly touch all the points listed above: the great scarcity of glazed pottery in Byzantium in the sixth century; the uncertainty of the chronologies of GWW and EPGW (despite the apparent conviction of certain manuals); the poor knowledge of the glazed pottery in Italy, especially during the seventh and eighth centuries; and, with the exception of the chafing-dish, the general dissimilarities between the stylistic repertoires from Roman Lazio and that from the East.

A Second Narrative: An Unidirectional Transfer-Related Technology?

A second process that I would like to analyze concerns, once again, a technological transfer-related issue. It took place in a later period (by now we are dealing with the late twelfth–early thirteenth centuries), and it regards the problem of the origin of the production of slip and sgraffito pottery in Italy,¹¹ especially in the north, and more specifically in Venice.¹² This problem was tackled several years ago, yet it is not inopportune to re-open it. It is, however, important to underline the technological and cultural link, although this category of products was very popular in northern Italy throughout the Middle Ages and the Italian Renaissance.

from Argolis," *ΔΧΑΕ* 37 (2016): 251–76. On chafing dishes in Roman production: Lidia Paroli, "La ceramica invetriata tardo-antica e medievale nell'Italia centro-meridionale," in *La ceramica invetriata tardoantica*, ed. eadem (Florence: Edizioni All'insegna del giglio, 1992), 43; Diletta Romei, "Ceramiche di VIII–X," in *Roma: Dall'Antichità al Medioevo; Archeologia e Storia*, ed. Maria Stella Arena et al., (Milan: Electa, 2001), 500.

10 Sauro Gelichi, "Early Medieval Italian Glazed Pottery: A Byzantine Legacy? An Overview," in *Glazed Ware in the Black Sea and Mediterranean as a Source for the Studies of Byzantine Civilization (Sevastopol, 2014)*, forthcoming.

11 Graziella Berti and Sauro Gelichi, "Ceramiche, ceramisti, e trasmissioni tecnologiche tra XII e XIII secolo nell'Italia centro-settentrionale," in *Miscellanea in Memoria di Giuliano Cremonesi* (Pisa: ETS, 1995), 409–45; Idem, "Mille chemins ouvert en Italie," in *Le vert & le brun: De Kairouan à Avignon, céramiques du Xe au XVe siècle* (Avignon: Laffont 1995), 129–151; Graziella Berti, Sauro Gelichi, and Tiziano Mannoni, "Trasformazioni tecnologiche nelle prime produzioni italiane con rivestimenti vetrificati (secc. XII–XIII)," in *AIECM* 6, 383–403.

12 Sauro Gelichi, "La ceramica ingubbiata medievale nell'Italia nord-orientale," in *AIECM* 3, 353–407; Hugo Blake, "The Medieval Incised Slipped Pottery of North West Italy," in *ibid.*, 317–52; Sergio Nepoti, *Ceramiche graffite della donazione Donini Baer* (Faenza: Lito Artistiche Faentine, 1991).



Fig. 2. *Graffita arcaica tirrenica* (from Santa Cecilia Church, Pisa). (Photo: Giuseppe Capitano, licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License).

In the Italian peninsula the use of the slip for the production of sgraffito pottery appears at the end of twelfth century, only in two areas: western Liguria (in particular Savona; Fig. 2)¹³ and Venice (Fig. 3).¹⁴ Once again, a transfer of technology is the most plausible hypothesis to explain this phenomenon because this technique was completely unknown in the peninsula. A comparison between the first Savonese productions and the first Venetian productions (less well known) still seems to indicate that the origin of the technology has been different for the two places.¹⁵ In the past, different hypotheses have been proposed. However, above all, formal parallels were sought with some productions of the eastern Mediterranean (i.e., the so-called Port St. Symeon Ware as a prototype for the Savonese *graffita arcaica tirrenica*).¹⁶ I think that a more promising way is to analyze the technical aspects of the pottery—to define its DNA: the cooking mode, the treatment of the surfaces, the type of blends for the glaze, the type of slip, etc.

However, from the first Venetian productions, formal analogies have been noted with the pottery of the Greek and Aegean area (i.e., fine sgraffito, fine and incised sgraffi-

13 On Savonese production, see Tiziano Mannoni, *La ceramica medievale a Genova e nella Liguria* (Genoa: Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri, 1975), 72–80; Rita Lavagna and Carlo Varaldo, "La graffita arcaica tirrenica di produzione savonese alla luce degli scarti di fornace dei secoli XII–XIII," in *Atti del XIX Convegno Internazionale sulla ceramica medievale di Albisola (Albisola 1986)* (Albisola: Centro Ligure per la Storia della Ceramica, 1989), 119–30.

14 Lorenzo Lazzarini and Ernesto Canal, "Ritrovamenti di ceramica bizantina in laguna e la nascita del graffito veneziano," *Faenza* 69 (1983): 19–58; Gelichi, "La ceramica ingubbiata"; Francesca Saccardo, "Contesti medievali dalla laguna e prime produzioni graffite veneziane," in *La ceramica nel mondo bizantino tra XI e XV secolo e i suoi rapporti con l'Italia*, ed. Sauro Gelichi (Florence: All'insegna del Giglio, 1993), 201–39.

15 Sauro Gelichi, "La ceramica nell'Italia centro-settentrionale nel tardo medioevo tra oriente e occidente," in *AIECM* 4, 339–48, fig. 11.

16 Claudio Capelli et al., "Ceramiche del gruppo Port Saint Symeon Ware rinvenute a Genova, Marsiglia e Beirut: Dati archeologici e archeometrici," in *Atti del XXXVIII Convegno Internazionale della Ceramica (Albisola 2005)* (Albisola: Centro Ligure per la Storia della Ceramica, 2006), 81–89.

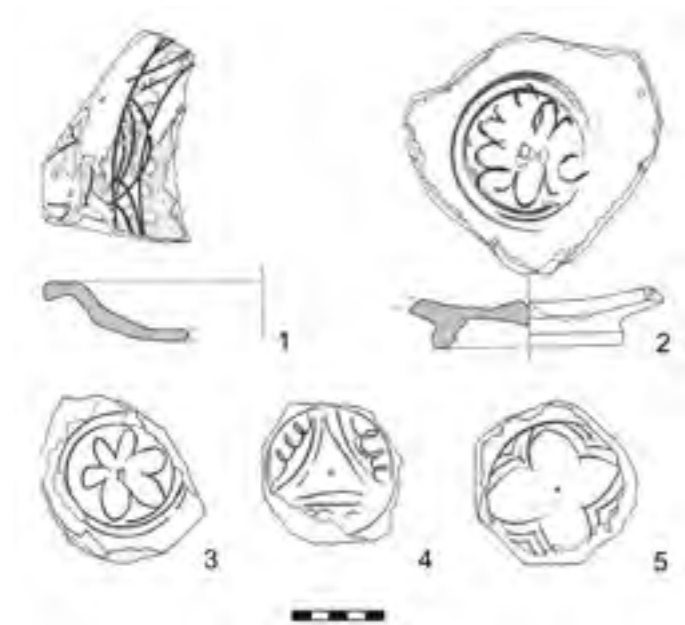


Fig. 3. *Graffita Veneziana delle Origini*. (Drawing: Saccardo, "Contesti medievali dalla laguna," fig. 1).

to, etc.). Today we know that these ceramics were produced in several centers. Even the close similarity between the *spirale-cerchio* (a Venetian production of the first half of the thirteenth century; Fig. 4) and the family of the Zeuxippus Ware goes in the same direction.¹⁷ Although we do not have any archaeological evidence yet, it seems unquestionable that this technique arrived in Venice through artisans from Byzantine areas. This also seems quite plausible, given the circulation of eastern artisans in Venice during this period.¹⁸ But we must overcome the generality of this approach and try to understand from where exactly these artisans could have arrived and when exactly it happened. Moreover, the arrival of this technique in Venice activated a production that would become very popular in the following centuries.

17 Sylvie Yona Waksman and Véronique François, "Vers une redéfinition typologique et analytique des céramiques du type Zeuxippus Ware," *BCH* 21 (2004): 629–704. On Zeuxippus Ware in Italy: Graziella Berti and Sauro Gelichi, "Zeuxippus Ware in Italy," in *Materials Analysis of Byzantine Pottery*, ed. Henri Maguire (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1997), 85–94.

18 It may be interesting to note that Negroponte (today Euboea) fell under Venetian control in 1209. Precisely in this area important factories of amphorae and slip and sgraffito pottery have been identified. The workshops of the Euboea produced the most well-known and widespread types in the Aegean (and not only) over the course of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries. On these productions, see Sylvie Yona Waksman et al., "The Main 'Middle Byzantine Production' and Pottery Manufacture in Thebes and Chalchis," *BSA* 109 (2014): 379–422; Sylvie Yona Waksman, "Defining the Main 'Middle Byzantine Production' (MBP): Changing Perspectives in Byzantine Pottery Studies," in *AIECM* 11, 397–407.



Fig. 4. *Spirale cerchio* (Venetian production). (Photo by the Laboratorio di Archeologia Medievale, Venezia).

A Third Narrative: A Question of Fashion

Finally, the last process I would like to analyze no longer concerns a technological transfer-related problem, but rather one regarding cultural influence. Thus, I would like to address the theme of the impact relating to the fascination for the exotic that Ottoman pottery produced in the sixteenth century (more specifically, Iznik ceramics) had on certain contemporary Italian majolica production, in particular those made in the Liguria area (in particular the *tipo calligrafico a volute* A that imitates the Tugrakes spiral style or Golden Horn) (Fig. 5) and, once again, in the Veneto region.¹⁹ A problem that enables us, among other things, to readdress the timeline of Ottoman ceramic production in relation to that manufactured in Italy.

Iznik's pottery became very popular. In the Adriatic region, this pottery is found in excavations (even if not in abundant quantities), but they are also found in shipwrecks, such as the one now famous by Sveti Pavao, found off the coast of Croatia but directed, with all likelihood, to Venice (Figs. 6–8).²⁰ The influence of these ceram-



Fig. 5. Genoa, *calligrafico a volute*, albarello. (Photo: Chiericato, *Dall'Oriente all'Occidente*, fig. 26).

19 On the Ligurian production, see Guido Farris and Valerio Ferrarese, "Contributo alla conoscenza delle tipologie e della stilistica della maiolica ligure del XVI secolo," in *Atti del Secondo Convegno (Albisola 1969)* (Genoa: Centro Ligure per la Storia della Ceramica, 1969), 11–45, particularly 22–23; Mannoni, *La ceramica medievale*, 125–26.

20 On the Sveti Pavao shipwreck (and on the cargo, included Iznik pottery) see Vesna Zmaić Kralj, "A Transport of Iznik Pottery," in *Sveti Pavao Shipwreck: A 16th Century Venetian Marchantman from Mljet, Croatia*, ed. Carlo Beltrame, Sauro Gelichi, and Igor Miholjek (Oxford: Oxbow, 2014), 64–104.



Fig. 6. Iznik Ware, Sveti Pavao Shipwreck, plate. (Photo: Zmaić Kralj, "A Transport of Iznik Pottery," fig. 5).



Fig. 7. Iznik Ware, Sveti Pavao Shipwreck, plate. (Photo: Zmaić Kralj, "A Transport of Iznik Pottery," fig. 11).



Fig. 8. Iznik Ware, Sveti Pavao Shipwreck, plate. (Photo: Zmaić Kralj, "A Transport of Iznik Pottery," fig. 31).

ics was such that, in some cases, they were also commissioned directly to Iznik, with the coats of arms of the clients (as in the case of these ceramics with the coat of arms of the Spingarolli family, perhaps from Dalmatia; Fig. 9); but they were also slavishly imitated by the Venetian potters (a center that produced them was certainly Bassano, but perhaps also Padua and Venice itself).²¹ In the written documents, these objects are referred to as *turchesche*.²² Specifically, one type in particular copies the polychrome floral decorations of so-called Rodhian Ware (more recently called New Floreal Style), in a rather pedestrian way. These are the so-called *Candiane* (incorrectly from the name of the center of production), which we find still produced in the first half of the seventeenth century (Fig. 10). It may be interesting to note how different examples of this type belong to nuns' endowments and bear their painted name.²³

Narratives at the End: The Social Actors of These Relationships

This three stories discussed relationships that, in specific moments, developed in connections and/or in transfers (technological and cultural). The directions of these connections and transfers have moved from West to East, but above all from East to West. They



Fig. 9. Iznik Ware with the Spingarolli coat of arms. (Photo: Chiericato, *Dall'Oriente all'Occidente*, fig. 36).



Fig. 10. Candiana pottery. (Photo: Chiericato, *Dall'Oriente all'Occidente*, fig. 43)

²¹ Nadir Stringa, *La famiglia Manardi e la ceramica a Bassano nel '600 e nel '700* (Bassano: G. B. Verci Editrice, 1987), 61-66.

²² Giuliana Ericani, "Le maioliche alla 'turchesca': La ceramica tenera," in *La ceramica nel Veneto: La terraferma dal XIII al XVIII secolo*, ed. Giuliana Ericani and Paola Marini (Milan: Mondadori, 1990), 233-43; Irene Chiericato, "Dall'Oriente all'Occidente: Le contaminazioni culturali dalle ceramiche Iznik alle Candiane" (master's thesis, University of Ca' Foscari, 2014-15), <http://dspace.unive.it/handle/10579/6591>.

²³ Andrea Moschetti, "Delle maioliche dette 'Candiane,'" *Bollettino del Museo Civico di Padova* 24 (1931): 1-58; Gaetano Ballardini, "'Candiana' ma non del tutto 'Candiana,'" *Faenza* 28 (1940): 39-47; Paolo Benozzi, "La collezione inedita di ceramiche 'candiane' provenienti da Candiana del Barone Ernesto da Rubin De Cervin Albrizzi," *Quaderni di Storia Candianese* 5 (2009): 36-75; and more recently Federica Broilo, "New Directions in the Study of the Italian Majolica Pottery a la Turchesca Known as 'Candiana,'" *TheMA* 2 (2013): 37-50, <http://www.thema-journal.eu/index.php/thema/article/view/16>.

responded to mechanisms of an essentially social and cultural nature and had a different impact on relations between Italian regions and the Byzantine and Ottoman worlds over a millennium: in the long term, they mark, however, moments of particular emphasis and therefore produce greater visibility.

Every story has its own dynamics and its explanation. It will therefore be in each single narrative that we will have to direct our efforts, rather than asking general reasons for very different processes between them. However, it may be interesting to ask who (and what) are the social actors and forces that have promoted these relationships and how they have changed over time.

In the first case, the social actors are certainly recognized, rather than in a generic Byzantine environment (as it was), in the ecclesiastical environment of the Roman Curia, where the Forum Ware, that is, the new glazed pottery, was quite popular.

In the second case, it is very probable that at the base of this “revolution” there are the mercantile forces of the commercially emerging cities, such as Genoa (which did not produce directly but delegated Savona and then diffused these ceramics in the Tyrrhenian region) and Venice which, from this moment on, began to produce on a large scale glazed graffito pottery and spread its products in the Adriatic (till the Aegean Sea).

The third case is more complex, because it is part of a phenomenon that had a long duration and generally involved an oriental taste widespread in the West. No new techniques from the East come at this point, but new colors and decorations do. Local potters introduced these new motifs on a consolidated technological tradition. However, the commission of pottery with noble coat of arms of western families in Iznik and the presence of a series of dishes with the name of nuns (this type produced in Veneto) clearly indicate the sociocultural context in which these objects were intended: noble contexts (of both ancient and new lineages). How much later did these decorations appear on the pottery of lower social classes (and, if it did, what will future archaeological studies be able to tell us about it)?

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