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SOME ARCHAEOLOGICAL NOTES ON TURKISH SARDIS

Antique Sardis, capital of the gold-rich kingdom of Lydia, starting point for the eastward march of Xenophon and the Ten Thousand, site of one of the Seven Churches of Asia, is well known to every student of ancient history.¹ Lying at the foot of the northern slopes of Mt. Tmolus (modern Boz Dağ), near the point where several natural routes intersect to connect the Hellespont and Aegean with the Anatolian plateau, the Fertile Crescent and Iran, it was the center for the rich agriculture of the Hermus (Gediz) plain and beneficiary of the natural products—gold, timber, stone—of the mountains to its south. Dominated by the great citadel, or acropolis, perched atop the northernmost spur of Mt. Tmolus (fig. 1), the antique city spread east and west at the edge of the plain below and, along with other cities of western Asia Minor, seems to have attained its greatest prosperity in the second and third centuries A.D. when it was adorned with numerous imposing public monuments.

The great turning point in the history of Sardis appears to have occurred in the year 616 when the city was destroyed by the armies of Chosroes II in the course of the Sassanian-Byzantine wars. Recovery was slow, and little evidence survives to suggest the character of the site for the next two centuries. It is clear, however, that the great city of late antiquity never regained its earlier size or prosperity and that, while a modest recovery began in the ninth century, the town that emerged was strikingly different in scale and character from its predecessor. For in place of the unified urban structure of earlier times, medieval Sardis, as it developed in the age of the Macedonian emperors and later, consisted of a fortified settlement, the Acropolis, and on the plain below a number of separate settlements—villages and hamlets with open fields between them—on the expanse that the city once occupied.

This medieval town was first captured and briefly held by the Turks late in the eleventh century when the

Turkish amir Çaka Bey briefly controlled the Aegean coastal region of Asia Minor during the ephemeral Seljuq sultanate of Nicaea. Recaptured by the Byzantines in 1098, Sardis entered an extended period of peace and recovery that lasted through the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Although occasional Turkish raids were made into the Hermus plain during the following decades (notably in 1113), none was serious enough to disrupt the life of the city. Sardis, along with Lydia generally, seems to have enjoyed a particularly secure and prosperous period during the first seven decades of the thirteenth century when western Asia Minor formed the heart of the Nicaean empire of the Lascarids. It was during this period, for instance, that the last major architectural monument of Byzantine Sardis was built, the so-called Church E (11) (fig. 2),² located just east of the Pactolus in the sector known as Pactolus North or PN (10).

With the Lascarid recapture of Constantinople from the Latins in 1261, however, imperial interest in the affairs of Asia Minor rapidly diminished and prosperity and general security precipitously declined. In the Aegean hinterland, including the Hermus plain and the region of Sardis, imperial neglect was reflected in the rapid increase in the number of Turcoman raids, until by around 1300, most of Lydia had fallen into Turkish hands, and Byzantine control was limited to a few strong fortresses such as Magnesia, Sardis, and Philadelphia. Sardis itself was temporarily occupied by the Turks in 1304, though they were soon driven off by a Byzantine relief force. Nonetheless, the Acropolis must have been definitively occupied within the next decade or so, for, although literary sources are silent regarding the fall of Sardis to the Turks, they do tell us that Magnesia and Nymphaeum were captured by the amir of Saruhan in 1313 and 1316 respectively.

Although it is likely that Turcoman raids in the decades before the Turkish conquest of Sardis resulted in a decline in the size and population of the town, the

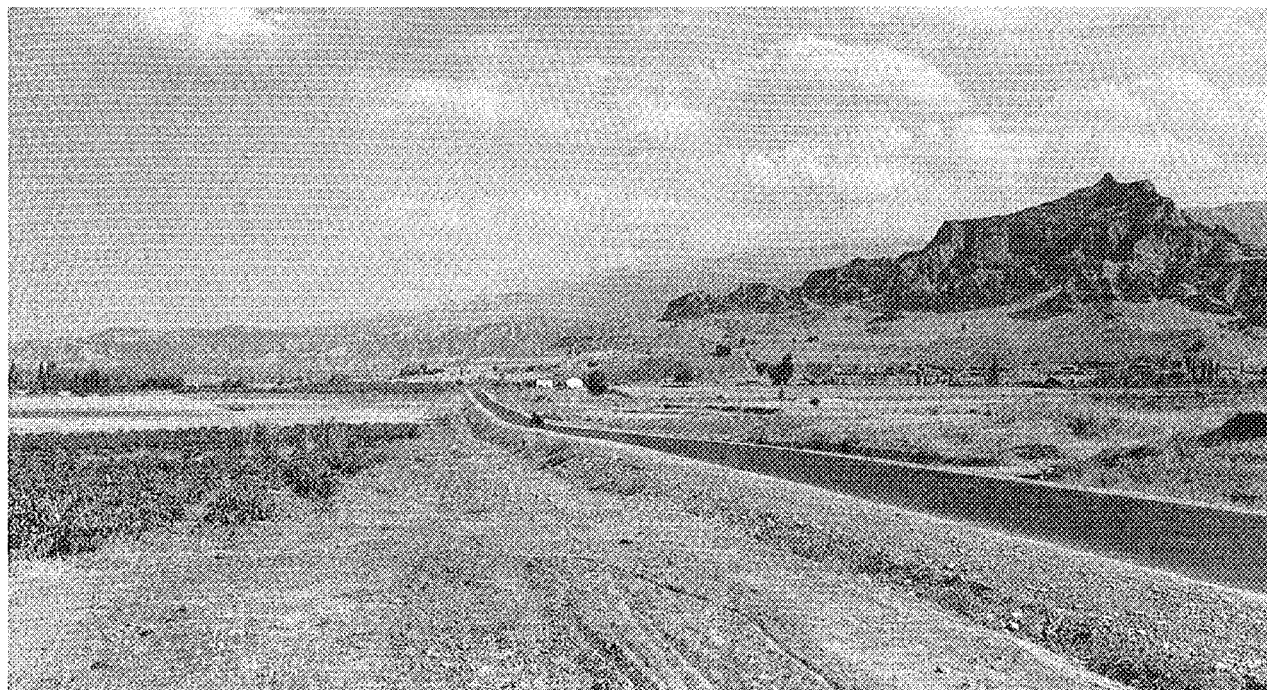


Fig. 1. Sardis with Acropolis viewed from the west. (All photos and site plan provided by the Sardis Expedition. Harvard University.)

archaeological record fails to suggest any accompanying dramatic break in the overall pattern of settlement. The metropolis of Sardis was finally suppressed by the Orthodox Patriarch of Constantinople in 1369—the culmination of centuries of gradual decline—implying that at least some of the Christian population must have fled the region in the early fourteenth century. But this depopulation was short-lived, for the archaeological evidence suggests that the Greek inhabitants were soon replaced by Turcoman immigrants. Therefore, despite the decline of the Christian community—Church E, for example, was transformed into dwellings and workshops sometime in the fourteenth century—Sardis retained considerable continuity in its material culture and in the configuration of its settlement. The Acropolis (20.1) and the dwellings within its walls were maintained throughout the *beylik* period (i.e., the fourteenth century); the late Byzantine villages at the Artemis Temple (17) and the Gymnasium (1) remained inhabited; and a new Turkish village seems to have grown up around the Nicaean-period Church E in PN.

On the other hand, the final decades of Saruhanid control were marked throughout the region by great political instability. In 1390, Sardis was annexed by the Ottoman sultan Yıldırım Bayezid and remained in

Ottoman hands until Bayezid's defeat by Timur at Ankara in 1402. In that same year Timur returned the Saruhanids to power along with the other Turcoman beys of western Asia Minor. But Saruhanid control of Sardis was ephemeral, and the town was seized by Cüneyd, the last of the amirs of Aydın, in 1405. Finally, a decade later, after the resolution of the Ottoman civil wars between the sons of Yıldırım Bayezid, the victor, Çelebi Mehmed, retook Sardis for the Ottomans. With this final Ottoman annexation, the decentralized medieval town that had succeeded the flourishing city of late antiquity at Sardis came to an end. The relative security of the fifteenth century permitted the abandonment of the Acropolis and Sardis assumed its ultimate form as a cluster of small villages in the Hermus plain under the Pax Ottomanica.

Ottoman Sardis, although it was designated throughout much of its existence as the administrative center of a *kaza*, or district, appears to have remained a modest town. Certainly, this is the impression to be had from travelers' descriptions, both Ottoman and European, which begin to make their appearance as a source for the town in the seventeenth century. The well-known Turkish traveler Evliya Çelebi, who passed through Sardis around 1680, for example, describes it

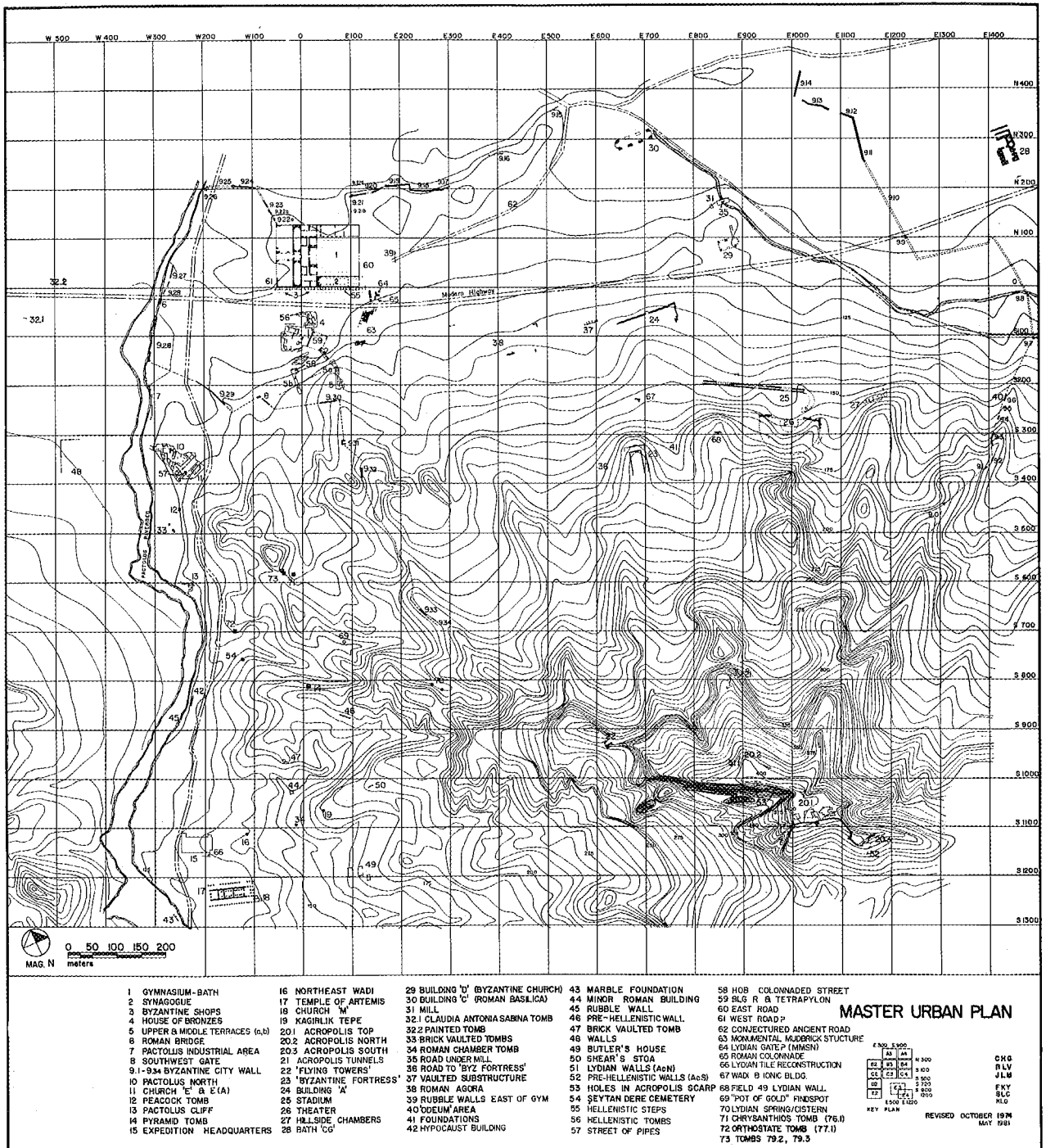


Fig. 2. Master urban plan of Sardis with sectors numbered.

as a *kaza* with forty villages under its administration. Its citadel on the slopes of Boz Dağ was strong and inaccessible, Evliya noted, but was in disrepair and devoid of a garrison. The settlement in the plain below was still flourishing, however, and consisted of three quarters (*mahalle*, probably designating distinct hamlets separated by open fields) with a total of seven hundred earthen-roofed dwellings (*hane*). In addition, he mentions the existence of mosques, *zawiyas*, unpretentious markets, khans and a bath, and states that Sardis possessed numerous vineyards and gardens renowned for their cantaloupes and watermelons. Famous also was the cotton grown in the Hermus plain below the village. Finally, Evliya records that Sardis was the site of a weekly bazaar "where a few thousand merchants . . . gather to buy and sell."³

Evliya's account of the modest scale and appearance of the Ottoman town is seconded by the contemporary English traveler Thomas Smith, who passed through Sardis a few years earlier. In his *Remarks upon the Manners, Religion, and Government of the Turks*,⁴ he describes Sardis as "now a very pitiful and beggerly village, the houses few and mean; but for the accommodation of travelers, it being on the road for the Caravans that come out of Persia to Smyrna with silk, there is a large Chane [khan] built in it, as is usual in most Towns that are near such public roads, or having anything of trade." The inhabitants of the town, he continues, were for the most part shepherds who grazed their flocks in the Hermus plain. Both Turks and Greeks were found living at Sardis, but while the former had a mosque, originally a church, with an entrance of marble columns (Church E, perhaps), the latter, whom he describes as working the gardens of the town, had neither church nor priest.

Similarly, in the middle of the eighteenth century, two Dutch travelers, J. Aegidius van Egmont and Jan Heyman, wrote in their *Travels*:⁵

The city of Sardis, once the celebrated capital and the residence of the opulent kings of Lydia, is now the habitation of buffalos and oxen, great numbers of which are seen here; Sardis being now reduced to a very mean village, its inhabitants, who are all herdsmen, living in wretched cottages of clay, which do not exceed the height of a man. . . . At present Sardis has not a single Christian among its inhabitants; but is not without a Turkish mosque, the portico of which is decorated with great antique pillars. Indeed the mosque appears not to be Turkish work, but a structure of the Greeks, probably one of their churches.

Turkish and Western travel accounts convey the impression that Ottoman Sardis was comprised of a

cluster of humble settlements composed of rude dwellings and inhabited by peasant farmers and semi-sedentary herdsmen, for the most part Turks, but with a scattering of Greeks as well. Although the Acropolis had been abandoned by the time they came, their accounts do mention the existence at Sardis of a mosque (or mosques) converted from an earlier Greek church, possibly Church E, *zawiyas*, a khan (or khans), a bath, and a market. Further, Evliya notes the existence, in the late seventeenth century at least, of three quarters and some seven hundred *hane*.

The archaeological evidence agrees in the main with this description. The Acropolis's fortifications and settlement seem to have been maintained throughout the *beylik* period. A horde of small silver coins found there—a joint issue of Cüneyd, the amir of Aydın, and the Ottoman sultan Çelebi Mehmed, dating to the years 1413-15—suggests that the Acropolis was still occupied into the first years of the Ottoman period. On the whole, however, the Turkish level in the Acropolis is both spotty and disturbed, and although the construction of a late house over its fortification walls implies that it was still inhabited even after it had ceased to serve a military function, the excavations in no way contradict the literary evidence, which makes clear that it stood abandoned throughout most of the Ottoman period.⁶

On the edge of the plain below the Acropolis, excavation has revealed at least two, and perhaps three, Turkish settlement areas: PN, the area of the Artemis Temple, and possibly the Gymnasium. In addition, late literary sources refer to another settlement site, not yet excavated, in the environs of Building A (24), directly north of the Acropolis. The village at the Artemis Temple was apparently a continuation of a late Byzantine settlement in the vicinity. Late Byzantine and Ottoman coins suggest that the area was inhabited at least as late as the early fifteenth century, and it may even have remained occupied into the early twentieth century, for Butler notes the existence of a primitive village of thatch and wattle houses and tents at the Artemis Temple as late as 1910. A systematic description of any Turkish levels in this sector is impossible, however, as they were hurriedly removed by early excavators intent on clearing the temple itself.⁷

A similarly humble Turkish settlement is attested at Building A, described by the English traveler Charles MacFarlane in the early nineteenth century as a "half-temporary hamlet composed of a half dozen homes built of clay and loose stones and a few black tents." A

small hamlet of thatch and wattle dwellings was also noted by the Abbé E. LeCamus in this same area in 1896: a photograph of one of its huts was published in his book, *Voyage aux sept églises de l'Apocalypse*. In 1910 Butler also made passing mention of a settlement inside Building A.⁸ Finally, Turkish coins and pottery found in the area of the Gymnasium have led to speculation about the continued existence, at least through the *beylik* period, of a successor to the late Byzantine-period village in that area.⁹

From an archaeological point of view, the best recorded area of Turkish settlement at Sardis, however, is that known as PN, located on the eastern bank of the Pactolus, midway between the Artemis Temple and the modern Ankara-Izmir highway, and excavated by the Harvard-Cornell Archaeological Exploration of Sardis

between 1961 and 1973 (figs. 3-4).¹⁰ Although the Turkish levels at PN were so disturbed that it was often difficult to reconstruct in detail either the individual architectural units or the overall plan of the Turkish village, they could still serve to establish a few general points. One is that the Turkish settlement at PN seems to have developed in an unoccupied area around the previously standing Church E. Chronologically, it appears to span virtually the entire Turkish period at Sardis from shortly after the Turkish conquest in the early fourteenth century until the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century, and is divided into two phases by a heavy burn layer.¹¹ The lower phase (I) is dated on the basis of coin and pottery finds to the period between the middle of the fourteenth century and the late sixteenth century. The upper phase (II), on the



Fig. 3. General view of Turkish level, PN from southeast with modern village houses built in traditional manner in foreground.



Fig. 4. General view of Turkish level, PN from southeast showing phase II foundations. Northwest corner of narthex of Church E (with part of Turkish phase I apse) in foreground.

other hand, seems to mark a rebuilding of this village which occurred in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century; the village remained inhabited until the end of PN's period of occupation. In this connection, Foss¹² has suggested that the destruction of the earlier village at PN may have resulted either from the great earthquake which struck the Manisa region in 1595 or, alternatively, from an attack by one of the numerous Turcoman tribal robber bands who infested rural western Anatolia in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The PN settlement throughout both phases appears architecturally to have been of a very modest character fairly typical of the rude villages of the region of both the *beylik* and Ottoman periods. Extant foundations are the remnants for the most part of simple village houses and their attached outbuildings, such as storage sheds and stables. As is usually the case with villages of the

region even today, the settlement seems to have developed organically, without any overall planning. Household units are typically irregular and asymmetrical. Structures were built very close, often even contiguous, to one another. Household complexes were probably enclosed in walls, and the settlement as a whole intersected by narrow, meandering lanes and alleys.

The domestic architecture of both phases at PN appears to have been much like the traditional village architecture still seen in the Sardis region today. Foundations of fieldstone and spoils from earlier structures, which supported walls of mudbrick or pisé, were laid directly on the surface of the ground: the stones were set with mud mortar in irregular courses to a height of ca. 60 cm. There was no standard thickness: the thinner foundation walls were two stones wide, and the thicker ones had rubble cores. Interior floors were of

hard-packed earth. Courtyard floors seem sometimes to have been paved with fieldstones.

The upper walls of mud brick or pisé probably rose to a height of ca. 2.0 m.¹³ Doors range from 1.2 to 1.5 m. in width. No threshold stones were found. The placement, or even existence of windows is uncertain, though analogy with later traditional village architecture suggests their presence. It is unclear as well whether wooden jambs framed the doors and windows and whether wooden doors and shutters were used, although present-day practice again suggests an affirmative answer in both cases. Stone-framed hearths, sometimes as high as 40 cm. above floor level, were built along the walls of domestic interiors. Evliya describes the roofs of the village houses at Sardis as being of earth,¹⁴ which suggests that they were flat with roof beams placed directly on the walls of the dwellings and covered with layers of reeds topped by a thick coating of clay. That at least some of the roofs were pitched is apparent from the large quantity of broken roof tiles found in the Turkish level at PN. Otherwise, however, we have no tangible evidence regarding their construction.

The Lascarid Church E, a three-aisled basilica measuring ca. 20 by 11 m. and covered by five domical vaults,¹⁵ seems to have been converted into workshops and dwelling units not long after the Turkish conquest. The interior was subdivided into several rooms by walls which closed off some of the doors between the nave and the narthex; another series of rooms was added to the west end beyond the narthex. Along with cooking pots, pithoi and animal bones, Turkish coins of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were found in the debris above the original narthex floor. In addition, a large group of Turkish glazed earthenware vessels and lamps, as well as a carpenter's plane, chisel, iron knife, and a bronze pot and caldron were found in a deposit of charcoal and ash immediately to the north of the *beylik* or early Ottoman apse-like extension to the west of the narthex (W 225/S 380). The church seems to have been damaged in the great earthquake of 1595, for spoils from it were used in the construction of some of the phase II dwellings at PN. Whether or not it was later restored and reoccupied is uncertain. One would like to identify it in later times with the mosque "formerly a Christian Church; at the entrance of which are several pillars of polished marble," mentioned by Smith¹⁶ and others. Certainly, it seems in terms of location to conform to the siting of the "ruinous mosque above the river [Pactolus] on a root or spur of the hill

of the citadel," described by Chandler in the late eighteenth century.¹⁷

The archaeological evidence fully supports the literary sources for Turkish Sardis which describe the village in the most modest of terms. Dwellings and other structures were rudely fashioned of local materials and were probably similar in appearance to those still seen in some of the more remote parts of western Anatolia in recent times. Evliya's account of Sardis as being formed of three mahalle apparently separated by gardens and open fields finds credence in the archaeological record as well. One of them was probably located in the vicinity of the Artemis Temple, where a successor to one of the late Byzantine villages seems to have survived; the second at PN, where a new, Turkish hamlet grew up soon after the Turkish conquest; and the third in the area of Building A, directly to the north of the Acropolis.

If the architectural environment of Turkish Sardis can scarcely be described in terms other than rude and humble, such is hardly the case with regard to the Turkish-period ceramics recovered from the site. The glazed ceramics in particular are remarkable for both their diversity and their quality and stand in surprising contrast to the otherwise unpretentious character of the settlement. Whether or not they are exceptional in this regard is difficult to say, since one of the common shortcomings of much of the archaeological literature dealing with antique and medieval sites in western Anatolia and the Aegean region has been its failure to record the later pottery finds, in particular those pertaining to the Turkish period.¹⁸

Although there has been a limited amount of scholarly interest in Turkish siliceous ceramics, especially the so-called Iznik and Kütahya wares, very little archaeologically recovered material has been published.¹⁹ Even where it has found its way into the archaeological literature, it has for the most part been treated in a manner so superficial and unsystematic as to be virtually useless for the construction of a coherent typology or chronology. For that reason, the finds from the Turkish levels at Sardis shed important new light on aspects of this largely neglected field.

Although glazed pottery dating to the Turkish period was widely encountered at Sardis, its identification and classification were hampered by a number of problems. First among them was the difficulty of distinguishing between the glazed wares of the late Byzantine period and those of early Turkish times; the latter maintain

such formal and technical continuity with the former that their style is commonly described as "Byzlamic." Second, although Turkish glazed pottery was found at Sardis—at the Gymnasium, Building A, the Acropolis, House of Bronzes (4), Roman Bath (28), and PN—much of this material, because of its confused or minimal archaeological context, was of only marginal value for the construction of a chronology and typology of Turkish glazed wares.²⁰ In fact, it was only at PN that a stratigraphy existed that was sufficiently coherent to hazard a tentative classification and dating for the Turkish glaze from Sardis. For that reason, the description of these wares must be based in large part on a study of the Turkish pottery from this sector.

Turkish-period pottery was recovered throughout the entire PN sector from between ca. *91.50 (surface) and *90.00 in the southeast, and ca. *88.00 (surface) and *86.90 in the northwest. Of particular interest was the large deposit already mentioned of monochrome and polychrome glazed and sgraffito earthenwares found north of the Turkish rooms added to the west of the narthex of Church E, probably to be dated to the late fourteenth or fifteenth century. The glazed-ware finding can be broadly classified as follows: (1) Ottoman fine wares (siliceous wares), which include Iznik ware of three varieties (designated here as I, II, III) and Kütahya imitation Chinese export porcelain; (2) imported wares, both Persian (?) luster and Chinese export blue-and-white porcelain; (3) glazed earthenwares, including monochrome-glazed ware, "Miletus" ware, polychrome-glazed color-splashed ware, and monochrome- and polychrome-glazed sgraffito.

Iznik wares are relatively rare at Sardis and must have been considered luxury items. The imitation Chinese porcelains and Chinese export blue-and-white porcelains are considerably more numerous and appear to have been in fairly common domestic use. The glazed earthenwares, however, are the most frequently encountered type of glazed ceramic in the Turkish levels at Sardis, and seem to have been in fairly general everyday use throughout the Turkish period. Despite their often fine craftsmanship and attractive appearance, they were widely used during the *beylik* and Ottoman periods even in humble village households such as those encountered at Sardis.

A summary description of each of the types of Turkish-period glazed wares found at Sardis follows, along with observations regarding the frequency with which they were encountered, their dating, and their place of production.

Iznik I (including "Abraham of Kütahya" and "Golden Horn" wares). This fine-quality siliceous ware is represented at Sardis by a small number of shards and three fragmentary vessels. It is characterized by a body of hard, porous, white clay covered by a thin, white slip, assured underglaze painting of vegetal forms in cobalt blue, and a thin, uniform, tight-fitting, clear glaze. Only one shape, a bowl with low, flaring foot ring, high, concave walls and everted rim, is attested at Sardis. Painted decoration is in both the "Golden Horn" and "Abraham of Kütahya" styles (figs. 5-6). Produced at both Iznik and Kütahya, Iznik I pottery (including the blue-spiral "Golden Horn" wares) can be dated to the period between 1490 and 1525.²¹ Unquestionably a luxury item, the recovery of these fine wares from the Turkish village at PN was most unexpected. It is perhaps to be explained by the location of Sardis as a stage along the caravan route linking Izmir and the Aegean with the interior of Anatolia.

Iznik II ("Damascus" ware). Only two fragments of this fine siliceous ware were recorded from PN (fig. 7). They are potted of hard, white clay with a thin, white slip on both interior and exterior and decorated with underglaze painted patterns of vegetal forms and "Chinese" cloud scrolls in sage green, azure, and turquoise blue, with contour lines in greenish-black. A uniform tight-fitting, colorless glaze of even thickness finishes both the interior and exterior of the fragments, one of which forms part of a dish with low, flaring foot ring, shallow, concave sides, and a flange rim. This type of ware is known to have been produced at Iznik and can be dated with assurance to the period between 1525 and 1555.²² The fine quality and assured painting



Fig. 5. "Golden Horn" bowl from PN.

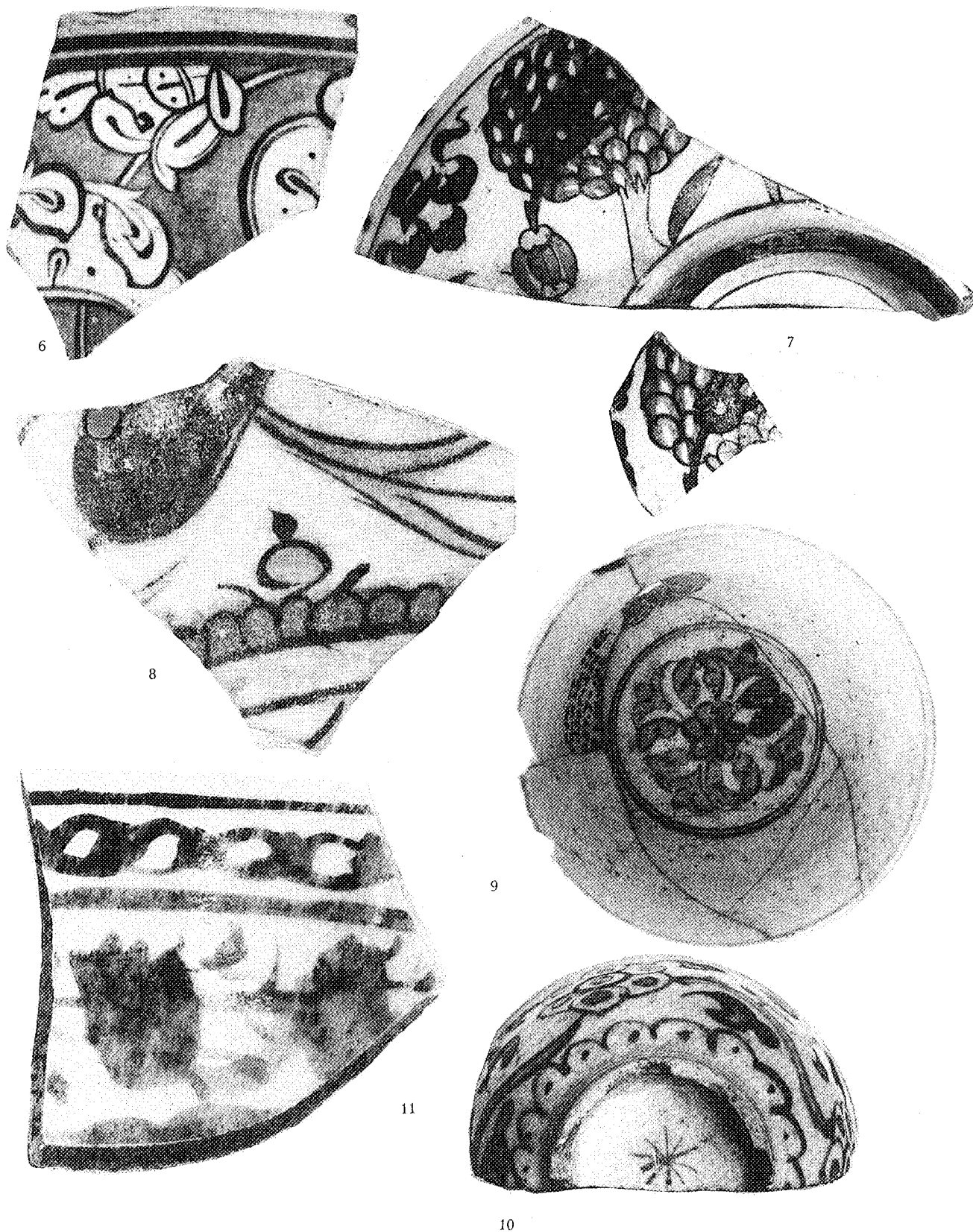


Fig. 6. Fragment of "Abraham of Kütahya" bowl from PN.

Fig. 7. Iznik II ware from PN.

Fig. 8. Iznik III ware from PN.

Fig. 9-10. Fragment with potter's mark of Kūtahya imitation Chinese export blue-and-white *fincan* from PN.

Fig. 11. Persian (?) luster from PN.

of the Sardis fragments further suggests a date between 1540 and 1555. As with the Iznik I from PN, the presence of this fine pottery at Sardis is probably to be explained by the latter's location on the caravan route up the Hermus valley, as such luxury wares would otherwise seem quite out of place in a village context.

Iznik III ("Rhodian" ware). Despite the fact that this is the most common of the Iznik wares, only a single fragment of Iznik III was recorded from PN (fig. 8). Thickly potted of the same hard, white, siliceous clay as the other Iznik wares, it is slipped on both the interior and exterior and underglaze painted with vaguely vegetal patterns in azure, turquoise blue, and tomato red, with contour lines in black. Both the interior and exterior are glazed with a thin, tight, clear glaze. The fragment should be dated to the period between the second half of the sixteenth and the end of the seventeenth century.²³ The most commonplace of the siliceous wares of Iznik, it would nonetheless have been a luxury item in the Turkish village at Sardis.

Kütahya imitation Chinese export porcelain. Numerous fragments of imitation Chinese export porcelain were found at Sardis (figs. 9-10). Bodies are of a rather hard, but porous, white siliceous clay. Most examples are slipped with a thin, white slip on both the interior and exterior, although unslipped examples were found as well. Vessels were underglaze painted, usually in imitation of Chinese blue-and-white export porcelain, often with vaguely Far Eastern landscape patterns or vegetal motifs in royal blue and cobalt. In a few instances

reddish-purple, turquoise-blue, yellow, eggplant-purple, green, brick-red and black pigments were used as well. Painting tends to be hurried and careless. Clear glazes, although often mottled with air bubbles, were used throughout. The shape most commonly encountered is the handleless coffee cup (*fincan*) with low foot ring, high, concave and sometimes fluted walls and straight or everted rim. Also encountered was a type of small bowl with low, cylindrical foot ring, high, concave walls, and straight rim. These wares were probably produced at Kütahya: several have potter's marks that can definitely be associated with the potteries of that city.²⁴ These imitation Chinese export wares should probably be dated to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Lusterware. A small quantity of thinly potted lusterware was found in PN (fig. 11). Body material was of hard, sandy, porous, siliceous, white clay, slipped on both interior and exterior with a thin, white slip. It is underglaze painted in ocher, then glazed on both its interior and exterior faces with a thin, clear, colorless glaze and overglaze painted with luster. The painting on it is hurried and careless, and the vegetal and plaited patterns with which it is decorated are splochy and indistinct. Although possibly of fourteenth-century Syrian origin, its stratigraphic association with blue-and-white china combined with the color and smudged quality of its painting suggests Persian luster of the seventeenth century. Its presence is again probably to be explained by Sardis's location along the road running east to the interior of Anatolia and, ultimately, Iran.²⁵



Fig. 12. Fragment of Chinese export blue-and-white porcelain *fincan* from PN.

Chinese export blue-and-white porcelain. Numerous fragments of thin-walled hard-paste porcelain, underglaze painted in dark blue, light blue, and ocher, and glazed on both the interior and exterior with a clear, tight-fitting glaze were found at Sardis. Again most are fragments of the small, handleless *fincan* preferred by the Turkish market, and characterized by a low, cylindrical foot ring, concave or vertical walls, and an everted rim (fig. 12). All are dated to the eighteenth century, specifically to the reigns of the Ch'ing emperors Yung-ch'eng (1723-35) and Ch'ien-lung (1736-95). It is probable that all of the Chinese export porcelains found at Sardis were produced in the kilns of Ching-te Chen, the great pottery manufacturing town in northern Kiangsi.²⁶ The relative abundance of Chinese export wares at Sardis suggests that such

imports were fairly common in western Anatolia in the eighteenth century, even in a village context.

Monochrome glazed earthenwares. The most commonly encountered of the glazed Turkish-period wares at Sardis, this type of monochrome glazed pottery is characterized by a body of porous, coarse red to buff clay, slipped on the interior in most cases and on the exterior occasionally. Most often it is glazed only on the interior with a thick, transparent, greenish glaze, frequently characterized by crackle and iridescence. Monochrome brownish-orange and turquoise-blue glazed earthenwares were also found in the Turkish level at PN, but less frequently than the monochrome green glazed wares. The shape most commonly encountered in this assemblage was a type of large dish with low, flaring foot ring, shallow, concave walls and a wide, flaring, occasionally crimped rim (figs. 13-14). Also encountered was a type of small bowl with low, flaring foot ring, shallow, concave walls and wide, flaring rim. The monochrome green glazed wares appear to have been widely used throughout the entire Turkish period, from the early fourteenth to the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century. The brownish-orange glazed earthenwares, though less common, also appear chronologically to span the entire Turkish period, but the turquoise glazed wares, presumably produced in imitation

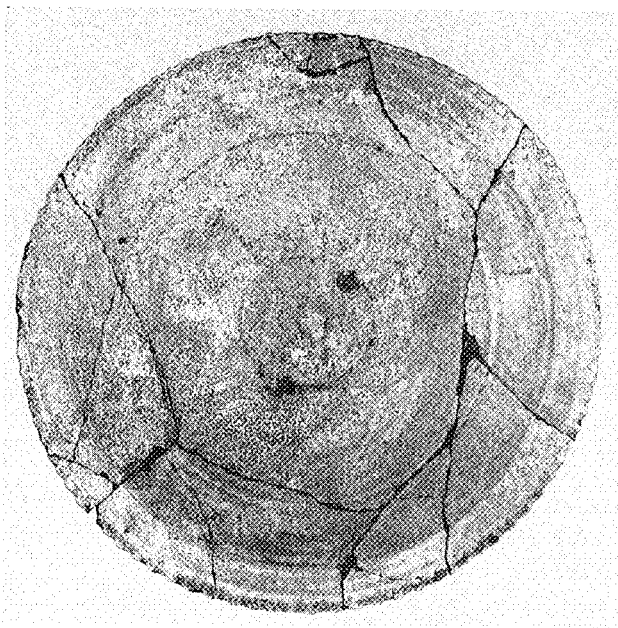


Fig. 14. Monochrome turquoise glaze earthenware dish with crimped rim from PN.

of Chinese celadon, are probably restricted to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It is likely that most, if not all, the monochrome glazed earthenwares were local products of the Sardis region.²⁷

“Miletus” ware. A substantial quantity of thickly potted, porous, coarse, red-to-buff-bodied earthenware was found, as one would expect, in the Turkish level at PN (fig. 15). It is white slipped on its interior, and in some instances on its exterior as well. Underglaze painted in azure blue, reddish purple, eggplant purple, and chocolate brown decorative motifs include the sunburst and vegetal patterns typical of “Miletus” ware, as well as unusual cross-hatched patterns. Two shapes are attested at Sardis: a type of large dish with low, flaring foot ring, shallow, concave walls, and wide, flaring rim (resembling the most common shape of the monochrome glazed earthenwares described above); and a deep bowl with low, flaring foot ring and high, concave walls.

Although this coarse, glazed earthenware was first, and incorrectly, identified by Sarre with Miletus,²⁸ its broad distribution throughout western Anatolia suggests that it was probably produced at a large number of centers in western Turkey, a point already emphasized by Paker.²⁹ While no conclusive evidence is available concerning the precise place of production of



Fig. 13. Monochrome green glaze earthenware dish from PN.

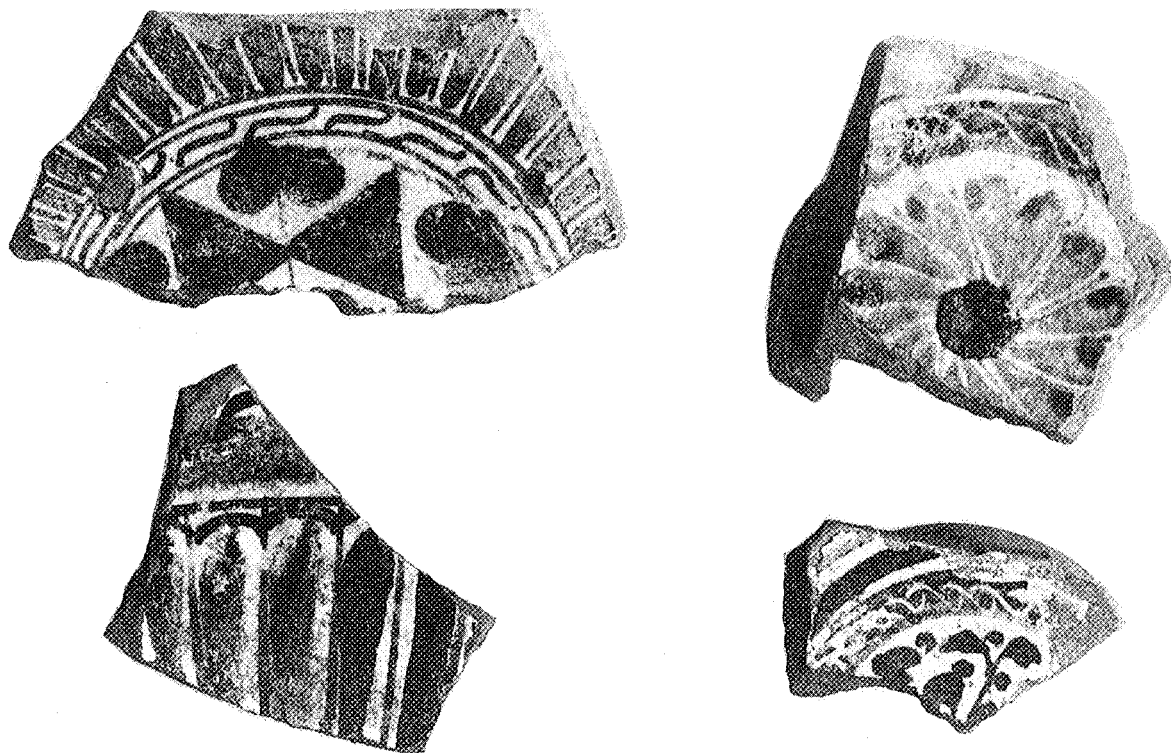


Fig. 15. Fragments of "Miletus" ware from PN.

the "Miletus" wares found at Sardis, one is tempted to conclude that, like the monochrome wares, they were local products from Sardis itself or from some other nearby site. "Miletus" ware appears to have been a fairly common village pottery at Sardis and can be securely dated to the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Polychrome glazed color-splashed earthenwares. A fairly substantial quantity of polychrome glazed color-splashed earthenwares was turned up at Sardis (fig. 16). Vessels are generally thickly potted of porous, coarse, red to buff earthenware and are slipped on their interiors (and, occasionally, on their exteriors as well) in white. Pottery of this type is decorated using a splash technique, with clear glaze in combination with brown or with green, or orange glaze with green, to produce a mottled, polychrome surface. The only shape attested at Sardis was a small, thinly potted bowl with disk base, stubby body, broad, flaring shoulder, and straight rim. Stratigraphic associations suggest that glazed wares of this type were produced throughout the Turkish period, and those at Sardis can be dated anywhere between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries.³⁰

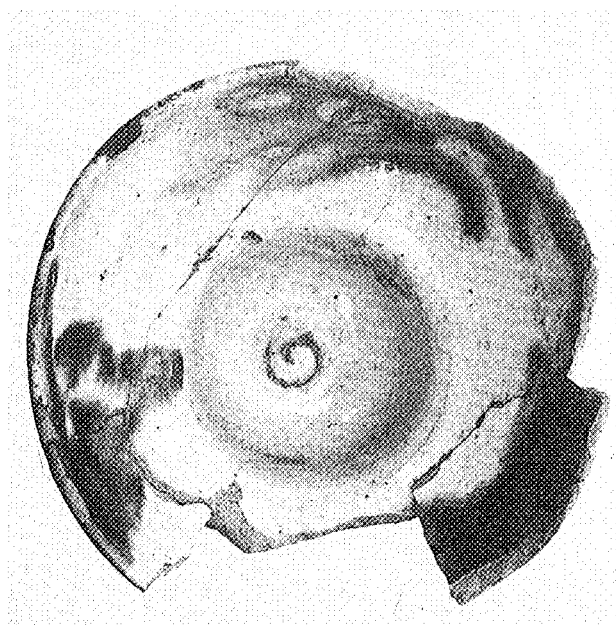


Fig. 16. Polychrome glazed color-splashed earthenware bowl from PN.

Sgraffito wares. Numerous fragments as well as complete vessels of thickly potted, porous, coarse, red to buff sgraffito-decorated earthenware were found in the Turkish levels at Sardis. The vessels were white-slipped on their interiors and, occasionally, on their exteriors as well. Both monochrome and polychrome glazed examples were found. Monochrome examples were glazed on the interior, and in some instances on the exterior as well, with transparent-green, brownish-orange, and cobalt-blue glaze. Polychrome wares were glazed in green with clear glaze, green with orange and

clear glaze, and green with orange, purple and clear glaze. Attested shapes include: (1) a type of large bowl with low, flaring foot ring, shallow, concave walls, and flaring or everted rim; (2) a type of large dish with low, flaring foot ring, shallow, concave walls, and broad, flaring rim; (3) a small bowl with low, flaring foot ring, high, concave walls, and straight rim; (4) a small dish with high, flaring foot ring, slightly concave base, vertical walls and flaring rim; and (5) a jug with disk base, ovoid body, long neck, everted rim, and a single handle extending from the upper neck to the shoulder (fig. 17). Formal and stratigraphic associations suggest such wares should be dated from the fourteenth through the sixteenth, or even into the seventeenth, century; throughout this period, they constitute one of the common varieties of glazed earthenware at Sardis.

Among the more frequently used decorative patterns is the wedge-shaped or spoked sgraffito division of the interiors of shallow (shape 1) bowls (fig. 18). Wares with this patterning seem to be associated with the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Of special note was a small monochrome glazed dish (shape 4, above) decorated with an attractive sgraffito pattern of naturalistically rendered carnations (fig. 19), a motif particularly linked with the Iznik pottery and Ottoman luxury textiles (Bursa velvets) of the sixteenth and



Fig. 17. Brownish-orange glazed sgraffito decorated earthenware jug from PN.

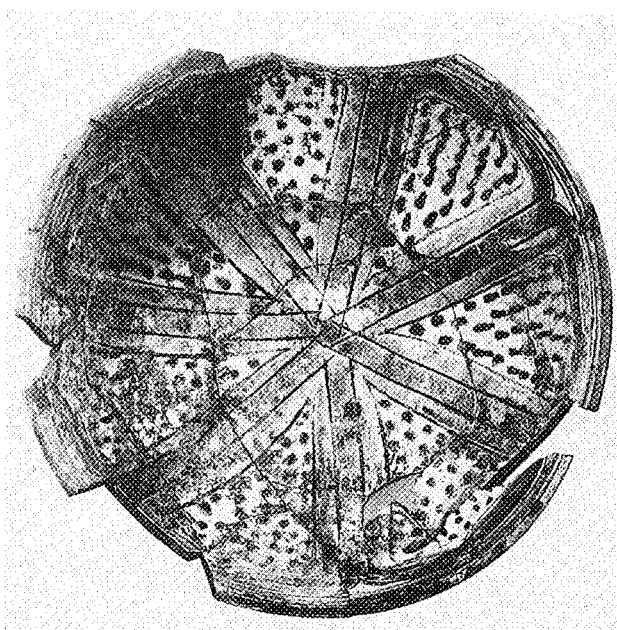


Fig. 18. Wedge-patterned polychrome glazed sgraffito earthenware bowl from PN.



Fig. 19. Monochrome green glazed dish decorated with sgraffito carnations from PN.

seventeenth centuries. Its presence on terra-cotta peasant wares is most unexpected. The place of manufacture of the sgraffito wares is uncertain, but one must suppose that, like the other earthenwares from Turkish Sardis, they were locally produced.

All the evidence, both literary and archaeological, confirms the impression that throughout its existence Turkish Sardis was a modest unassuming settlement. The only aspects distinguishing it from other villages in the Aegean hinterland of western Anatolia were its location on a site of long-standing historical significance and its function as a stage along one of the main caravan routes connecting the coast with the interior of the Anatolian plateau, Iran, and Syria. Despite its humble character, *beylik* and Ottoman Sardis are of interest for a number of reasons of which two are particularly important. First, it documents the continuity of settlement patterns and building techniques in western Anatolia from the late Byzantine period to the twentieth century;³¹ and second it sheds light on the typology and character of the glazed ceramics used in villages during the Turkish period. This latter body of material, it turns out, was far more complex and diverse than might have been supposed, ranging as it does from imported luxury wares of the highest quality, including Iznik, luster, and Chinese export porcelains, to humble glazed peasant earthenwares, some in imita-

tion of the luxury imports, others wholly the creation of a vernacular, peasant-art tradition.

Unfortunately, little comparative material, either architectural or ceramic, has been published for the Turkish period from related west Anatolian sites. In the absence of such studies the finds from Turkish Sardis possess an interest and significance beyond their humble and unpretentious character and serve to suggest, in broad outline at least, aspects of the material culture of the Turkish peasantry of western Asia Minor in the *beylik* and Ottoman periods.

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NOTES

1. For general surveys of the site and monuments of Sardis, see George M. A. Hanfmann and Jane C. Waldbaum, *A Survey of Sardis and the Major Monuments outside the City Walls* (Cambridge, 1975); also George M. A. Hanfmann et al., *Sardis from Prehistoric to Roman Times: Results of the Archaeological Exploration of Sardis 1958-1975* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983). The earlier history of Sardis is covered in John C. Pedley, *Ancient Literary Sources on Sardis* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972), which documents the history of the city through A.D. 284. For the history of late antique, Byzantine, and Turkish Sardis, Clive Foss has published an excellent monograph, *Byzantine and Turkish Sardis* (Cambridge, Mass., 1976), in which the following historical outline is treated in full detail; see in particular, Foss's chapters 2 and 3.
2. Numbers in parentheses after names of architectural features or excavation sectors refer to numbered sites on the Master Urban Plan reproduced here as fig. 2.
3. For the text of Evliya's account, see Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, vol. 9 (Istanbul, 1935), p. 55.
4. Thomas Smith, *Remarks upon the Manners, Religion, and Government of the Turks. Together with a Survey of the Seven Churches of Asia* (London, 1678), pp. 235-39.
5. J. Aegidius van Egmont and Jan Heyman, *Travels through Part of Europe, Asia Minor, the Islands of the Archipelago, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Mount Sinai, Etc.* (London, 1759), pp. 148-50. For other travelers' descriptions of Ottoman Sardis, see Jacob Spon, *Voyage en Italie et du Levant*, vol. 1 (Amsterdam, 1679), p. 264; Paul Ricaut, *The Present State of the Greek and Armenian Churches* (London, 1679), p. 77; George Wheler, *A Journey into Greece* (London, 1682), p. 263; Richard Chandler, *Travels in Asia Minor, 1764-1765* (London, 1817), p. 294; Felix Beaujour, *Voyage militaire dans l'empire ottoman* (Paris, 1829), p. 162; Charles MacFarlane, *Constantinople and Turkey in 1828* (London, 1829), pp. 206-23; Charles Fellows, *A Journal Written during an Excursion in Asia Minor* (London, 1839), p. 289; Abbé E. LeCamus, *Voyage au sept églises de l'apocalypse* (Paris, 1896), pp. 219, 225. These and other travelers' texts pertaining to Sardis are to be published with commentary by Jane A. Scott in a forthcoming volume of the Monograph Series of the Archaeological Exploration of Sardis.

6. For the Turkish level in the Acropolis, see *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* (henceforth cited as *BASOR*) 170 (1963): 33-35; also Foss, *Byzantine and Turkish Sardis*, pp. 91, 95.
7. Howard Crosby Butler, who excavated at Sardis between 1910 and 1914 and again in 1923, makes only the most perfunctory reference to the excavation of the Turkish village which was carried out at the site of the Artemis Temple, in his *Sardis II: Architecture, Part I: The Temple of Artemis* (Leiden, 1925), p. 14. For the village as it existed at the beginning of the twentieth century, see idem, *Sardis I: The Excavations, Part I: 1910-1914* (Leiden, 1922), p. 16, with plan on p. 30. See also, Foss, *Byzantine and Turkish Sardis*, pp. 83, 91.
8. MacFarlane, *Constantinople and Turkey*, p. 208; in connection with this passage, Foss (*Byzantine and Turkish Sardis*, p. 172) is certainly correct when he notes that although MacFarlane describes the village as lying at the southern end of the Acropolis, he must, in fact, have meant the northern end. LeCamus's photograph has been reproduced in Foss as figure 39. Butler's reference to the settlement at Building A is found in *Sardis I*, p. 16.
9. *BASOR* 182 (1966): 31; *ibid.*, 187 (1967): 53.
10. For brief published discussions of the excavation of the Turkish level at PN, see *BASOR*, 166 (1962): 16; *ibid.*, 170 (1963): 14-17; *ibid.*, 174 (1964): 14; *ibid.*, 177 (1965): 3; *ibid.*, 182 (1966): 25; *ibid.*, 215 (1974): 41.
11. Distinguished by Kohler, *BASOR*, 174 (1964): 14; Robertson, *ibid.*, 177 (1965): 3; R. and M. Ascher, *ibid.*, 182 (1966): 25; and Hanfmann, *ibid.*, 215 (1974): 41.
12. Foss, *Byzantine and Turkish Sardis*, p. 97.
13. Van Egmont and Heyman (*Travels*, p. 148), in the passage quoted above, state that the huts of the village did not exceed the height of a man.
14. Evliya (*Seyahatname*, p. 55) specifically describes the houses as *toprak örtülü*.
15. For a detailed architectural description of Church E, see Hans Buchwald, "Sardis Church E—A Preliminary Report," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 26 (1977): 265-99; also, Hanfmann, et al., *Sardis, from Prehistoric to Roman Times*, pp. 201-4.
16. Smith, *Remarks*, p. 239.
17. Chandler, *Travels in Asia Minor*, p. 294.
18. Butler, for example, appears to have removed, without recording, the Turkish village at the Artemis Temple; see Butler, *Sardis I*, p. 16; and *Sardis II*, p. 14.
19. The literature dealing with Ottoman siliceous wares is for the most part popular and superficial. Notable exceptions are Arthur Lane, "The Ottoman Pottery of Iznik," *Ars Orientalis* 2 (1957): 247-81; and idem, *Later Islamic Pottery*, 2d ed. (London, 1971). Also, John Carswell, *Kütahya Tiles and Pottery from the Armenian Cathedral of St. James, Jerusalem* (Oxford, 1972). Almost nothing has appeared dealing with the ubiquitous glazed earthenwares of the *beylik* and Ottoman periods with the exception of a few brief discussions of the "Miletus" ware. Of these latter, the most important to date is Mükerrrem Paker, "Anadolu Beylikler Devri Keramik Sanatı," *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı*, 1964-1965, pp. 155-82. Publications on the *beylik* and Ottoman materials from many of the important excavated sites of western Turkey and the Balkans are notably rare, and even where they are dealt with, treatment tends to be perfunctory. Exceptions are: for Miletus, Friedrich Sarre, "Die Keramik der islamischen Zeit von Milet," in Theodore Weigand, ed., *Die Islamische Milet* (Berlin, 1935), pp. 69-88; for Corinth, Charles H. Morgan II, *Corinth, The Byzantine Pottery* (Cambridge, Mass., 1942), especially pp. 171-74; for Athens, Alison Frantz, "Turkish Pottery from the Agora," *Hesperia* 10 (1942): 1-28; for Istanbul, R. B. K. Stevenson, *The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors* (London, 1947), p. 60; G. F. Hudson, "Notes on Antiquities of the Turkish Period Found on the Site of the Hippodrome," in Stanley Casson, et al., *Preliminary Report upon the Excavations Carried Out in the Hippodrome of Constantinople in 1927 on Behalf of the British Academy* (London, 1928), pp. 51-54; John W. Hayes, "The Excavated Pottery from the Bodrum Camii," in Cecil L. Striker, *The Myrelaion (Bodrum Camii) in Istanbul* (Princeton, 1981), pp. 36-41; for Alişar, R. M. Riefstahl, "Remarks on the Glazed Pottery Fragments Found at the Alişar Mound," in H. H. von der Osten, ed., *The Alişar Hüyük, Seasons of 1930-32, Part III* (Chicago, 1937), pp. 205-11; and for Iznik, Oltay Aslanapa, "Iznik Kazılarında ele geçen Keramikler ve Çini Fırınları," *Türk Sanatı Tarihi Araştırma ve İncelemeleri* 2 (1969): 62-73; also, idem, "Pottery and Kilns from the Iznik Excavations," in Öktay Aslanapa and Rudolf Naumann, eds., *Forschungen zur Kunst Asiens: In Memoriam Kurt Erdmann* (Istanbul, 1969), pp. 140-46.
20. Many finds were unexcavated, for example. Others (such as those from the House of Bronzes) were excavated in sectors with no true Turkish level, or were found in Turkish levels so disrupted and spotty as to deprive them of chronological significance. The Turkish glaze from the Gymnasium, the Acropolis, and the Roman Bath fall in this category.
21. Lane, "Ottoman Pottery of Iznik," pp. 254-55.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 268.
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 275-78; also Lane, *Later Islamic Pottery*, pp. 54-60.
24. The potters' marks found on Kütahya imitation Chinese export wares from PN include the following:

Painted in blue or black within foot ring.	✠
Painted in blue within foot ring.	✠
Painted in blue within foot ring.	✠
Painted in blue within foot ring.	✠
Painted in blue or black within foot ring.	✠ ✠
25. Sarre ("Keramik der islamischen Zeit," pp. 79-80) notes that Syrian luster of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was found at Miletus. For a discussion of seventeenth-century Persian luster (with photographs), see R. L. Hobson, *A Guide to the Islamic Pottery of the Near East* (London, 1932), pp. 65-67, and figs. 79-80; also Lane, *Later Islamic Pottery*, pp. 102-4, and plates 84-85.
26. For the kilns of Ching-te Chen, see John Goldsmith Phillips, *China Trade Porcelain* (Cambridge, 1956), pp. 2-11.
27. Although most of the earthenware pottery produced in the Sardis region today is unglazed, glazed earthenwares are still made in several pottery workshops in Menemen.
28. Sarre, "Keramik der islamischen Zeit," pp. 72-75, 78-79.

29. Pakcr, "Anadolu Beylikler Devri Keramik Sanatı," pp. 155-82. The author speculates that in addition to Iznik, where Aslanapa actually excavated kilns used in the production of "Miletus" ware, this pottery was also produced at Konya, Kütahya, Çanakkale, and other centers.
30. Lane, *Later Islamic Pottery*, pp. 40-41.
31. The continuity in building technique and in the overall character of peasant architecture in the Sardis region appears to extend back as far as Lydian times; see Andrew Ramage, *Lydian Houses and Architectural Terracottas* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978), pp. 4-10.