

Pottery of Bilad al-Sham in the Ottoman Period: a Review of the Published Archaeological Evidence

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This paper reviews the present state of knowledge concerning the pottery of Bilad al-Sham during the late-Mamluk and Ottoman periods. Dating evidence in published excavations is considered and diagnostic pottery is identified. It is argued that greater attention needs to be paid to regional variation in material culture and to the role of social and economic factors in the analysis of the evolution of specific ceramic types. The paper concludes that more detailed study of the excavated pottery of this period would provide valuable information about the social and economic history of Bilad al-Sham from the fifteenth to the early-twentieth century.

Introduction

The study of ceramics remains an integral part of the archaeological investigation of Bilad al-Sham (Greater Syria). Excavation of both historic and pre-historic sites all over this region has uncovered countless thousands of diagnostic shards and complete pottery vessels which have been arranged into typologies. The result of this detailed collocation of the ceramic record is that, for many periods, it is possible to provide a reasonably accurate date for newly excavated objects on the basis of published comparanda from other sites. It is perhaps surprising, however, that one of the least understood groups of ceramics is one of the most recent: that associated with the occupation of Bilad al-Sham during the centuries of Ottoman rule (1516–1918 CE). The aim of this article is twofold: first, to review the state of current archaeological research into the pottery of this period (excluding tiles [cf. Carswell and Dowsett 1972] and architectural items such as drainage pipes [cf. Stern 1989–1990, Tatcher 1998] and vaulting tubes [cf. Petersen 1994]); and second, to establish some ‘fixed points’ in the ceramic record which may be of use for future study.

The great number of excavations during the late-nineteenth and the twentieth century in Bilad al-Sham has provided evidence to be able to make reasonably precise chronological divisions in archaeological artefacts of the Islamic period. It will become apparent in the following sections that the understanding of the pottery wares of the period covering the fifteenth to the early-twentieth century is, however, very patchy and the types of social and

economic trends which can be inferred from such data must remain tentative at best. In spite of these significant problems there are reasons to encourage a greater attention of this period. Pottery remains, with architecture, the most consistent record of human occupation in Bilad al-Sham during the Ottoman period. It can be used to look at the levels of economic activity on sites as well as the extent of trade with other sites and regions. This data can be correlated with information drawn from contemporary written evidence in chronicles, cadastral surveys (*daftars*), official decrees (*firmans*), religious endowments (*waqf* documents), and commercial contracts. Changes in the pottery record can also be used to analyse temporal and spatial variation in social practices.

This article discusses the main ceramic types encountered in excavated contexts dating from the fifteenth to the early-twentieth century in Bilad al-Sham. The scope of the inquiry is extended beyond the political boundaries of Ottoman rule (1516–1918) to cover the latter part of the Mamluk period and the first decades of the twentieth century. This broader view is forced by the fact that the evolution of material culture often exhibits little sensitivity to changes in central government. There is considerable evidence for continuity in the manufacture and consumption of many wares from the fifteenth century (and before) into the Ottoman period. In addition, a series of imported wares appears in the period of transition between Mamluk and Ottoman rule (c. 1450–1550) and these are analysed in Section 3.1. At the other end of the period under consideration, many wares produced in Bilad al-Sham in the late-nineteenth

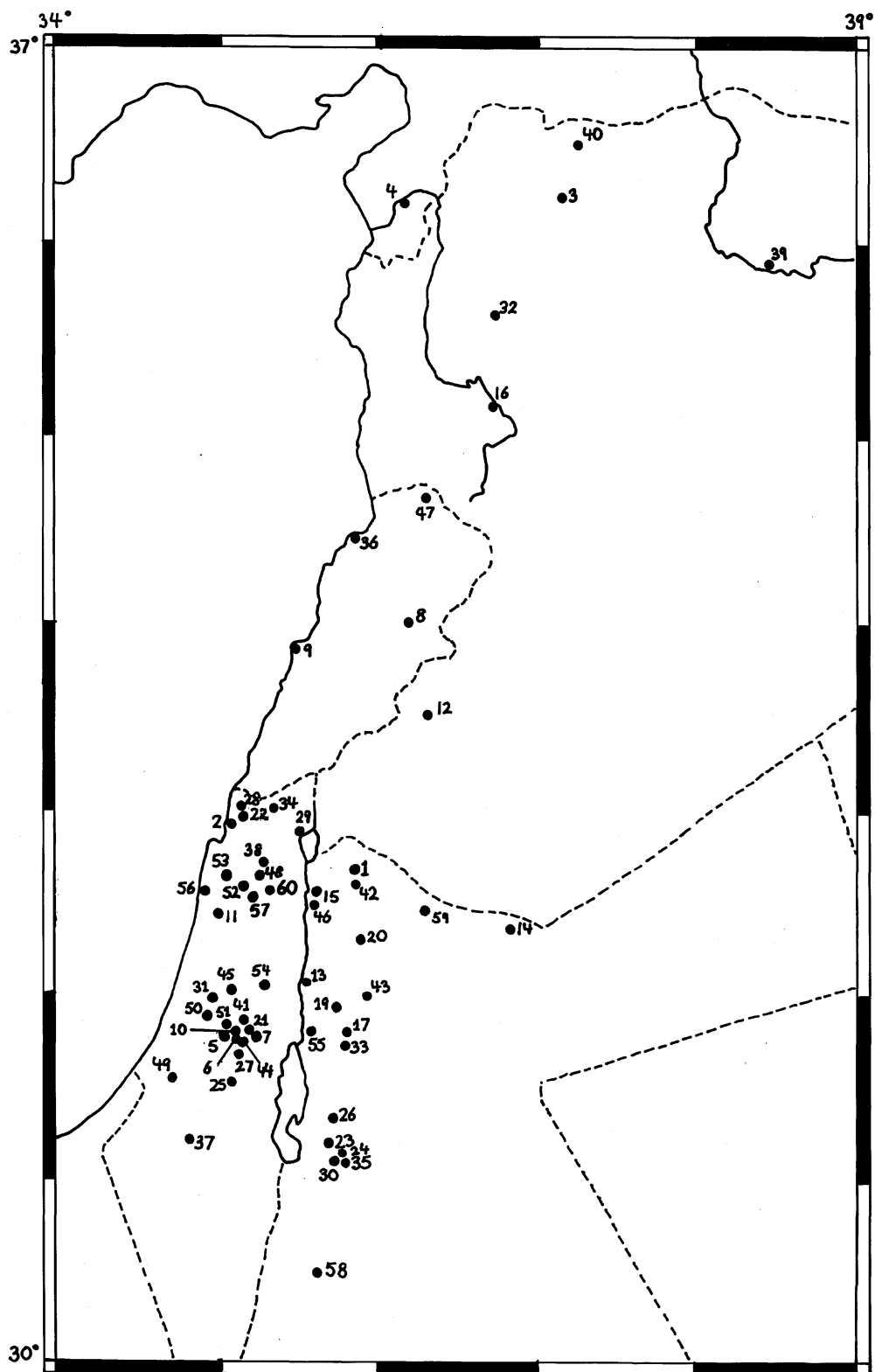


Figure 1. Map of sites in Bilad al-Sham reporting pottery of the late-Mamluk and Ottoman Periods (see Table 1).

century continued in production until recent times and so the discussion has included the observations of twentieth-century researchers. In order to provide a chronological framework for this discussion Section 1 reviews the main dating evidence from published excavations.

1. Dating evidence from excavated contexts in Bilad al-Sham

The map on Figure 1 illustrates the distribution of sites with pottery dating to the late-Mamluk and Ottoman periods. The nature of this ceramic evidence is summarised in Tables 1 and 2 in the appendix. Clearly, the distribution of the sites reflects the concentration of archaeological investigation in the south of the region and does not present a true picture of occupation in Bilad al-Sham in this period. That said, the sites themselves encompass a wide range of socio-economic profiles including villages, cities, ports and caravanserais. There is considerable diversity in the published ceramic assemblages comprising both locally manufactured and imported wares. Whilst this mass of data is useful for establishing an idea of the overall range of pottery consumed during this broad time period, more precise analysis of excavated contexts is needed if such artefacts are going to be used as dating evidence in future research. Only a small proportion of the published sites listed in Table 1 report either individual sealed contexts or stratified sequences containing pottery and other artefacts. The following paragraphs summarise the principal dating evidence.

The excavation and interpretation of late-Mamluk, Ottoman and early-Modern period contexts presents particularly difficult problems on rural sites. Surveys and excavations in Jordan and Palestine indicate that rural areas experienced a period of relative prosperity in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The number of occupied settlements is high and excavations have shown extensive building activity including both *de novo* construction and renovation of older structures. The interpretation of the material culture in these contexts is aided by the occasional presence of coins and luxury items such as glass, metalwork or imported glazed pottery. Evidence for rural occupation in the fifteenth century and later has proved to be more elusive in the archaeological record. In Jordan some villages were abandoned in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and there may be general shift from sedentary occupation to pastoral nomadism. Brown (1992, chapter 11) in her study of the Karak region suggests that the remaining

settlements concentrated in the more easily defensible highland areas in the south and east of the plateau. This change was also marked by an increasing dependence upon the coarse hand-made pots made within the villages themselves. Wheel-thrown and glazed pottery imported from the urban workshops of Palestine and Syria becomes virtually unknown.

The change in settlement patterns and material culture may not have been as extreme in villages in Palestine and Syria but the available archaeological evidence does point to an overall decline in rural prosperity. In Palestine lead-glazed and wheel-thrown unglazed pottery continue to be consumed in villages after the end of the fourteenth century but the more expensive decorated alkaline-glazed wares (such as 'blue and white' wares) are no longer reported. In summary, the end of the fourteenth century sees changes in the nature of rural occupation. In some areas this involves a shift from sedentary to a more nomadic existence. The breakdown in security of the late-Mamluk period may have prompted others to move to more secure and less accessible areas. At a general level there appears to be some decline in levels of wealth within villages and a breakdown in the distribution of luxury manufactured items from the urban centres.

The problem for the archaeologist is to identify and date these phenomena through excavation. Transient occupation of sites does not provide the sort of legible stratigraphic record which is left by phases of construction and renovation of buildings over decades and centuries. In earlier occupation levels floors made of stone flags or plaster created sealed contexts which might be dated by the presence of coins or decorated glazed pottery. Often in fifteenth-century and later contexts the floors are made only of beaten earth leaving a more confused record of the periods of occupation. Upper levels are also most vulnerable to modern disturbance. The artefacts themselves also present problems for dating. Coins, glass and glazed pottery are rare and the criteria for dating much of the hand-made and wheel-thrown unglazed pottery encountered on these rural sites have yet to be established. As a result, it is difficult in many cases to fix even approximate time periods for these excavated contexts.

Recent projects have attempted to address this problem with careful investigation of the Crusader/Ayyubid through to Ottoman period levels. The final publication of the excavation at Khirbat Faris (cf. Johns, McQuitty and Falkner 1989) will provide much new information concerning ceramic manufacture and consumption in the central Karak plateau in this period. At present, the most

important study is that of the ancient tal of Ti^cinnik in Palestine. The excavators report a sequence covering the Islamic period, and the late-Mamluk, Ottoman and early-Modern levels are discussed in a preliminary report (Ziadeh 1995). Specific pottery wares from this important site are discussed below but a comment needs to be made concerning the chronology. The dating of the first phase in which slip-painted hand-made pottery is attested (stratum 6) relies upon the presence of monochrome green lead-glazed slipware. Ziadeh states, 'although it first appeared in the fourteenth century, it only became common in the sixteenth century' (1995, 211). In fact, monochrome lead-glazed ware appears frequently in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century contexts on sites such as Burj al-Ahmar (Pringle 1986, fig. 49: 50–57), Hasban (Sauer 1973, fig. 4: 134–137), and Karak (Brown 1989, fig. 5: 2–3). There is no need to insist on so a late date as the sixteenth century for the introduction of either the hand-made or monochrome green lead-glazed wares into Ti^cinnik given that both are known on other sites in the south of Bilad al-Sham two centuries before. The presence of small grey-bodied tobacco pipes in stratum 7 (Ziadeh 1995, 210–211) indicates that the period covered by stratum 6 comprises the thirteenth through to as late as the early-seventeenth century.

The excavations at Ti^cinnik provide a valuable record of the site during periods of occupation and its subsequent utilisation as a dumping area (cf. Ziadeh 1995, 212). Particularly important are the deposits dating to the nineteenth and early-twentieth century because they illustrate changes in material culture and the reintroduction into the rural environment of wheel-thrown pottery from urban centres in Palestine and the consumption of imported items such as porcelain. This period has also been identified in excavations at Kabri and ʿAyn Karim. At Kabri Ottoman and European coins found in association with construction phases allowed the excavators to identify two periods of occupation in the Ottoman village: c. 1800–1910 and c. 1910–1948 (Kempinski and Neimeier 1994, 48–49). The pottery assemblage comprised wheel-thrown unglazed and lead-glazed wares as well as tobacco pipes and imported European porcelain. Investigation of the monastery at ʿAyn Karim revealed an enclosure wall on the western part of the excavated area. The west side of this wall formed part of the village and contained debris dating from the construction of the wall in the eighteenth century through to 1932 when the area was incorporated into the monastery grounds (Saller 1946,

165–168, 178–180, plan III). At Ti^cinnik, Kabri and ʿAyn Karim some of the pottery wares correspond to types which have remained in production until recent times. Evidence of a phase of reoccupation in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century after a long period of abandonment is reported at Umm al-Jimal in northern Jordan (Parker in de Vries 1998, 215–218; Brown in de Vries 1998, 184–190).

Excavation of cities, towns and ports has also provided dating evidence for the ceramics of the late-Mamluk and Ottoman periods. The final phase on the citadel at Hama needs to be revised beyond the destruction of 1401 in view of the presence of late-fifteenth- to eighteenth-century ceramics on the site (Riis and Poulsen 1957, figs 403–408, 799, 800, 1069–1082). Reporting on the excavation of the citadel at Jerusalem Johns notes 'good stratigraphic evidence for the dating of pottery of the Turkish period exists in the deep deposits of the east ditch which have accumulated from the fifteenth century, but no general account of this can be given here' (1950, 188–189). This material was never published although some late-Mamluk and Ottoman wares are illustrated (1950, pl. LXIII: 2–10). It is possible that the 'post-Mamluk' ceramics from the Armenian Garden may be from a foundation trench made during the reconstruction of the city walls of Jerusalem by Sultan Sulayman in 1553–1554 (Tushingham 1985, 150–151, 177, fig. 43: 23–28). A coin dating to 1502 is also reported in a kiln in the city suggesting that it operated into the sixteenth century (Abu Raya 1997). Late-Mamluk and early-Ottoman pottery has been recovered in excavations of the suq area in Beirut (Anon. 1995, 16–17) although the results have yet to be fully published. Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Italian pottery is reported from an eighteenth-century fill of Crusader vaults at ʿAkka (Pringle 1984, 40). In Damascus excavations and the examination of domestic dwellings revealed the presence of pottery dating to the late-Mamluk and early-Ottoman periods but no sealed deposits have been excavated (Toueir 1973, pl. IIIB: d, e; Carswell 1972).

Contexts dating from the eighteenth century to the modern period are reported in recent excavations at ʿAkka. At the Courthouse site pottery was found in association with a reconstruction of a Crusader wall in the eighteenth or nineteenth century (Nir 1997, 33). A well, refurbished at this time, also produced a corpus of unglazed ceramics and tobacco pipes (Stern 1997, 65–68, figs 18, 19: 136–137). Tobacco pipes were also recovered from a military trench constructed by Napoleon's army during the siege of the city in 1799 (Berman 1997, 99; Stern 1997, fig. 19:

138). At Ras al-Dabub near Jerusalem a cache of nineteenth-century military uniforms, weapons and ammunition were found in a cave with tobacco pipes and ceramic coffee cups (Barkay 1986, 12). None of the pottery is illustrated in the report. Outside of the towns there are structures such as khans and military installations which are known from written sources or architectural evidence to have been constructed or renovated in the Ottoman period. Artefacts have been located in deposits associated with these construction phases. Examples include Khirbat Minya (Stepanski 1988–1989, 75), Khirbat Zikhrin (Anon. 1983, 115), Tal 'Afiq (Kochavi 1977, fig. 15), Tantura (Stern 1994, 328), and Udruh (Killick 1983, 125). In each of the cases cited above the discussion of these late archaeological contexts is brief and uninformative.

2. Evidence of continuity in the pottery of Islamic Bilad al-Sham c. 1100–1900?

2.1: *Hand-made pottery*

Any archaeologist involved in excavations or field surveys in Bilad al-Sham will be familiar with the type of hand-made pottery which has come to be recognised as a diagnostic feature of rural occupation in the Middle Islamic period (for a wide-ranging discussion of hand-made slip-painted pottery in this period, see Johns 1998). The technical characteristics exhibited by this group of ceramics can be briefly summarised. The fabric is subject to considerable variation but most examples are poorly levigated often with the addition of sand, straw or dung as a temper. Coil construction is favoured and burnishing is sometimes employed prior to firing. The finished vessels are baked in an open fire or clamp giving rise to faults such as surface bloom, cracks and spalling as well as a great variation between core and surface colour. With some exceptions, these hand-made wares comprise medium-sized jars, small juglets, globular cooking pots and open bowls. Hand-moulded or incised ornamentation are occasionally encountered but the most common form of decoration is the addition of geometric designs in one or more colour of slip paint (Fig. 2: 3).

A style of hand-made pottery with simple geometric designs painted in red slip is reported at sites in the south of Jordan such as Ayla in eleventh- or early-twelfth-century contexts (Whitcomb 1988, 212, fig. 5: a, b) although it is not clear whether this represents an early phase in the evolution of the more complex geometric decorative style. This latter more complex style has been identified in contexts

dating to the second half of the twelfth century and becomes commonplace in contexts dating from the thirteenth through to the early part of the fifteenth century (Johns 1998, 66).

It is also possible to demonstrate the existence in this period of small-to-medium hand-made vessels without slip-painted decoration (Fig. 2:1–2). For instance, to cite a closely dated example, a coin hoard was located in an undecorated hand-made container at a village near Ramallah (Mayer 1934, pl. LXVIII: last dated coin, AH 689/1290 CE). Other undecorated examples have been found in thirteenth- to fifteenth-century contexts at sites such as Burj al-Ahmar (Pringle 1986, fig. 41: 2–4) and Tal Jamnah (Schaefer 1989, fig. 8: 1, 2). The true nature of the relationship between decorated and undecorated types is, however, difficult to assess, particularly because this group of ceramics has been less often collected and published on excavations and field surveys.

Whilst there can be little doubt that hand-made pottery continued to be produced and utilised from fifteenth to the nineteenth century, there is very little reliable archaeological information on this phenomenon. Ethnographic studies in Jordan, Palestine and Syria (cf. Einsler 1914; Crowfoot 1932; Bresenham 1985; Mersten 1985) provide evidence that hand-made pottery, both with and without slip-painted decoration was being made in rural communities until comparatively recently. This does not mean, however, that either the social conditions informing the manufacturing practices or the physical characteristics of the vessels themselves remained static during the Mamluk and Ottoman periods (cf. criticism of Crowfoot by C.N. Johns in Grant and Wright 1938–1939, 148 [and see J. Johns 1998, 77]).

Two main issues can be identified in the study of hand-made pottery through the late-Mamluk and Ottoman centuries: first, how long did the practice of making hand-made pottery survive; and second, were there significant changes in the style of the pots themselves and in the ways in which they were used. I will deal with these two issues separately in the following paragraphs.

Whilst there are numerous excavations in Bilad al-Sham which report sealed contexts datable to the thirteenth or fourteenth century (Johns 1998, 66–67), there is much less information for the fifteenth century and later. Unstratified deposits containing hand-made pottery which appear to date from the thirteenth or fourteenth century through to the early modern period are also noted at sites such as Burj al-Ahmar (Pringle 1986, phase E), Khirbat Duhala (Sari 1992, figs 8, 9), Shawbak

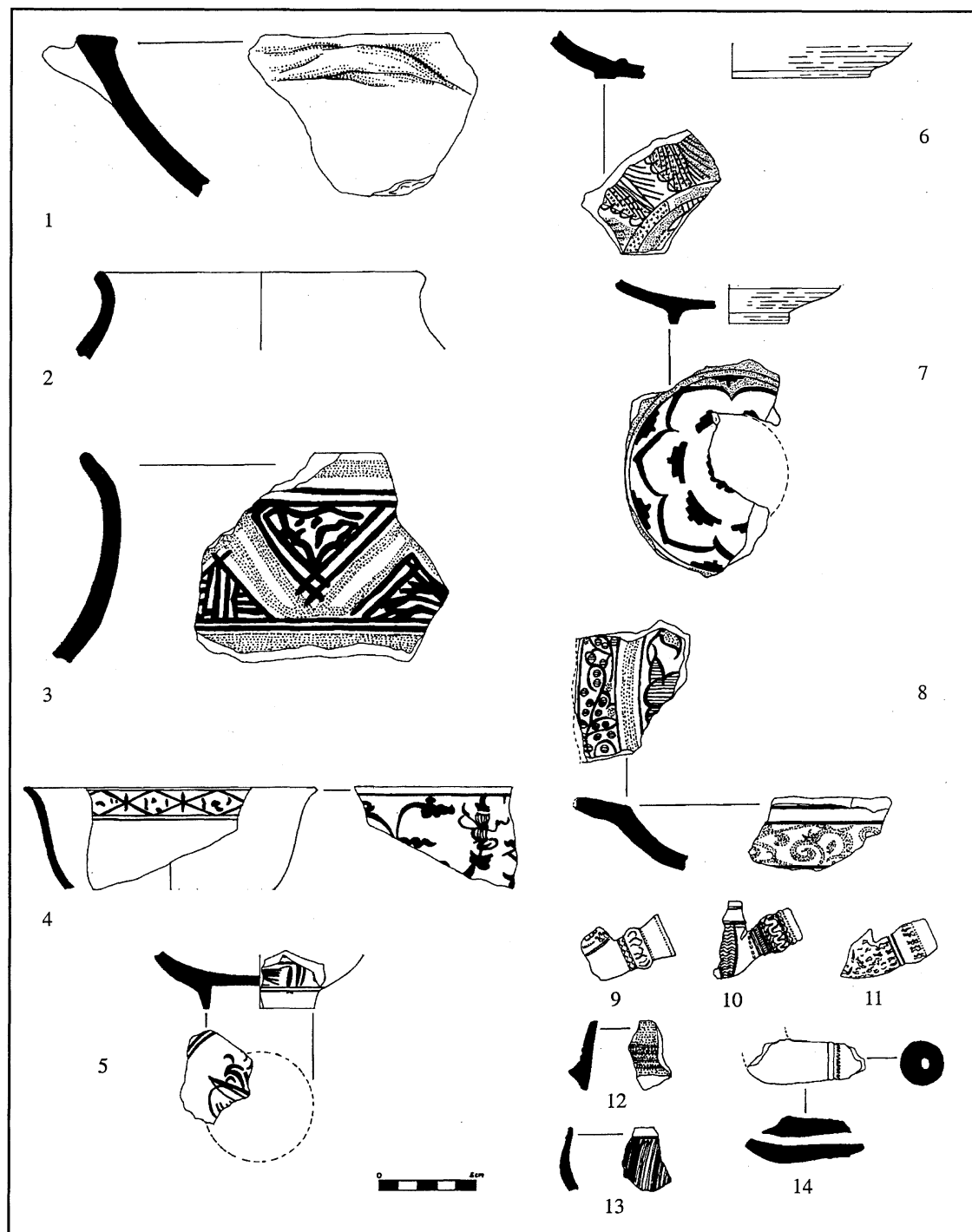


Figure 2. Pottery of the Mamluk and Ottoman periods from unstratified deposits at Karak. 1, 2: hand-made (fourteenth–sixteenth century?); 3: hand-made with slip-painted decoration (thirteenth–fourteenth century); 4, 5: Ming dynasty ‘blue and white’ porcelain bowls (early-sixteenth century); 6, 7: north Italian sgraffiato bowls (c. 1450–1550); 8: ‘Syrian polychrome’ dish (sixteenth–seventeenth century); 9–11, 14: pale grey-bodied tobacco pipes (seventeenth–eighteenth century); 13: dark grey-bodied tobacco pipe with burnished red slip (eighteenth century); 12: mouthpiece from a narghile? (nineteenth century?).

(Brown 1988, 237–240), and Wu^cayra (Vannini and Tonghini 1997, 378). Ti^cinnik presents evidence for continuity in the use of hand-made pottery. According to the revised dating of stratum 6 (see Section 1) hand-made pottery first appears in the period between the thirteenth and the sixteenth century. Its use is noted in all strata through to the final occupation of the site although the proportion of hand-made shards per context decreases in strata dating to the mid-nineteenth century and is very low by the beginning of the twentieth century (1995, 222–224). On Palestinian sites there appears to be evidence for a gradual replacement of hand-made pottery with wheel-thrown wares. No hand-made pottery is reported from nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century contexts at Kabri (Kempinski and Neimeier 1994, 49–50). Hand-made pottery appears to be absent from urban sites such as ^cAkka at least as early as the eighteenth century (Stern 1997, 65–68). It is, however, clear that hand-made pottery continued to be made in rural sites in Palestine, Jordan and Syria well into the twentieth century. Hand-made pottery also remains dominant in late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century contexts in Jordan at Umm al-Jimal, Qastal and Azraq (Parker in de Vries 1998, 215–218 and notes).

The gradual replacement of hand-made pottery by wheel-thrown unglazed wares in the period from the eighteenth to the twentieth century is a phenomenon which requires more investigation. The available archaeological and ethnographic evidence indicates that this was an uneven process with distinct regional variations. Factors which may have conditioned the abandonment of hand-made pottery include the socio-economic profile of the site and the relative level of access to the wheel-thrown wares from the urban workshops in Palestine or Syria.

Published field surveys in Jordan and Israel commonly make distinctions in the Islamic pottery such as 'Ayyubid-Mamluk,' 'Ottoman,' 'Late Ottoman,' and 'Early Modern' (see for instance, MacDonald 1988, 250–280). The majority of the shards dating from the twelfth to the nineteenth century found during surface collection in the south of Bilad al-Sham are hand-made and so one must assume that the survey teams have established criteria for differentiating the pottery of these periods. Factors regarded as diagnostic tend to be: aspects of production such as fineness of the ceramic fabric, the thickness of the body, and the quality of firing; the presence or absence of decoration; and the complexity and fineness of the decoration. It seems to be common archaeological practice to assume that the

poorer the overall quality of the object the later the date. That this assumption may prove to be correct in individual cases should not obscure the fact that it has not been demonstrated conclusively by excavation (although see, for instance, the overall reduction in quality of hand-made pottery in phase IV at Shawbak [Brown 1988, 237–240] and phase II at Karak [Brown 1989, 294–295]).

Future research into hand-made pottery perhaps needs to focus on the specific circumstances of individual sites and regions through time. Such regional patterns might account better for the changes in pottery style as well as other aspects of manufacture and consumption.

2.2: *Wheel-thrown and lead-glazed pottery*

Whilst the archaeological picture for the period from the twelfth century to the beginning of the fifteenth century remains incomplete, there is evidence for the widespread replacement of wheel-thrown pottery by hand-made wares in rural communities. The extent of this process appears to vary from region to region although it can be demonstrated that, even in fairly remote areas such as the Karak plateau (cf. Brown 1992), villages continued to enjoy limited access to specialised pottery from urban workshops. The urban settlements continued to manufacture and trade a wide range of wheel-thrown, relief-moulded, lead-glazed, and alkaline-glazed pottery during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

There is little information concerning the development of lead-glazed pottery through the late-Mamluk and Ottoman periods. Green-glazed slipped wares are attested in strata 5 and 6 at Ti^cinnik (Ziadah 1995, 211) although the dating of stratum 6 needs to be revised (see Section 1). Slipped and unslipped lead-glazed wares are reported in strata 7–11 (dated from the seventeenth to the early-twentieth century) although the numbers in all strata remain small (1995, 240–242). Glazed pottery appears in contexts dated between the fifteenth and the eighteenth century at Jerusalem citadel (Johns 1950, pl. LXIII: 5–6) and from a post-sixteenth-century context at Khirbat Zikhrin (Anon. 1983, 115). Elsewhere there is evidence for the eradication of lead-glazed wares from assemblages after the end of the fourteenth century. Monochrome lead-glazed pottery is virtually absent from the contexts after phase D (dated as c. 1265–1390) at Burj al-Ahmar (Pringle 1986, 146). Other examples of this process can be seen at Sataf (Gibson, Ibbs, and Kloner 1991, 44–45), Shawbak (Brown 1988, 237–240), and Wu^cayra (Vannini and Tonghini 1997, 378).

Further excavations of urban sites would be needed to establish what happens to lead-glazed wares (of all types) from the late-fifteenth to the seventeenth century but there appears to have been a revival of the practice of lead-glazing in the second half of the Ottoman period. In addition to the evidence from strata 10 and 11 at Ti^cinnik, lead-glazed wares are attested in contexts dating from the eighteenth to the early-twentieth century at ^cAkka (Muqari 1996, 125, fig.134: 3; Edelstein and Avissar 1997, 132–133), Kabri (Kempinski and Neimeier 1994, 49, figs. 22: 3; 23: 10–15), and Zi^crin (Grey 1994, 60). This late period also sees the limited import of lead-glazed wares from Turkish production centres such as Çanakkale (see Section 5.3).

The excavations at Ti^cinnik also suggest a general continuity in the use of wheel-thrown vessels from the sixteenth to the early-twentieth century (Ziadeh 1995, 233–240). This pattern can also be seen in phases E–E1 (dated as *c.* 1390–1948) at Burj al-Ahmar (Pringle 1986, fig. 39) although it is clear that unglazed vessels constructed of finer fabrics or with additional decoration are very scarce. Wheel-thrown pottery of different types is also noted in contexts dating between the eighteenth and the early-twentieth century at ^cAkka (Muqari 1996, 124–125), Kabri (Kempinski and Neimeier 1994, 49–50, figs. 22–23), Tal al-Hasi (Toombs 1985, 106–108), Tal Miqna (Gittlen 1993, 11), and Zi^crin (Grey 1994, 60–61). The assemblage recovered from the well in ^cAkka (Stern 1997, 65–68) is interesting because it comprises different vessel types associated with the lifting and storage of water. Saller notes the presence of unglazed pinched nozzle lamps at ^cAyn Karim (1946, pl. 35:1, 8–15, 17–19) and al-^cAyzariyya (1957, 190) and reports that the same objects were still being used in Muslim shrines in the 1930s (Canaan cited in Saller 1946, 179).

In the discussion about hand-made pottery it was suggested that this ware was gradually replaced in Palestine during the course of the nineteenth century by wheel-thrown ceramics produced in urban workshops. One of the most common of these products was the so-called 'Gaza' ware (see Table 1). Although these grey-to-black reduction-fired vessels were probably manufactured in several centres on the Palestine coast in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Rosen cited in Toombs 1985, 106–107), they have become associated with Gaza because of the number of workshops in the city in the late-nineteenth century (cf. Gatt 1885, Schölch 1993, 164–165). The technology for reduction-firing pottery was not new and the production of 'Gaza' wares can be dated back to *c.* 1700 (Rosen

and Goodfriend 1993) and perhaps even earlier (cf. Schaefer 1989, 42–43). Jerusalem, Hebron, Tulkarm, Beer Sheba and sites in the Galilee were all producing characteristic wheel-thrown unglazed wares in the early-twentieth century (anonymous writer cited in Saller 1946, 179). A type of slip-painted wheel-thrown pottery called 'Rushaya al-Fakhkhar' ware is reported from nineteenth- and twentieth-century contexts on the borders of modern Israel and Lebanon (see Table 1). This industry continues today (cf. Kempinski and Neimeier 1994, 49–50; Rosen-Ayalon 1995, 522) and other workshops producing specialised wheel-thrown vessels have been reported in ethnographic studies from this area (Hankey 1968).

3. Pottery from the period of transition (*c.* 1450–1550)

3.1: *Italian sgraffiato and Chinese porcelain*

The previous section has focused upon the evidence for broad continuity in aspects of the ceramic repertoire from the second half of the twelfth century into the Ottoman period. It is possible to identify other groups of ceramics which may prove to be more sensitive chronological indicators. In this section I want to discuss two pottery types which appear in the period of transition between Mamluk and Ottoman rule (*c.* 1450–1550).

The first group of ceramics is Italian sgraffiato wares produced all over north Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Fig. 2: 6–7). The import of Italian pottery is reported earlier in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, particularly at coastal sites associated with Crusader occupation. The later sgraffiato wares occur in much lower numbers in Bilad al-Sham and Pringle (1984, 39–40) notes that the patterns of deposition do not necessarily support the idea of consistent trade in these imported ceramics. Whilst the total numbers are certainly low the presence of Italian sgraffiato away from the ports of the Palestine coast and the major urban centres (for instance Karak [Milwright 1999a, II, cat. nos 39: 9, 11; 40:2] and the Hawran [Meinecke-Berg 1983, pl. 57: a]) perhaps indicates some degree of commercial distribution. Completely abstract designs are attested but the bands of ornamentation were often used to frame motifs such as male and female profile portraits or animals. Given the general absence of human and zoomorphic decoration in Levantine pottery in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the sporadic appearance of representational ceramics at the end of Mamluk period is an intriguing develop-

ment. It could be that, like imported porcelain and celadons, it was the quality of the hard ceramic body and glazes which attracted consumers as much as the motifs which decorated them.

Italian excavations provide evidence for the manufacture and chronology of this type of decorative pottery (for references, see Pringle 1984; Poole 1995, 507–520). The problem remains that Italian sgraffiato is only rarely attested in the Middle East. The same difficulty is encountered with the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Chinese imports (Fig. 2: 4–5). Blue and white porcelain is reported in late-fourteenth- and early-fifteenth-century levels at Hama (Riis and Poulsen 1957, 118–119, figs 364, 365) and shards of early-sixteenth-century date are known from Karak (Milwright 1999a, II, cat. nos 61:11–13) and another probable example is attested at Beirut (Anon. 1995, pl. on 16). Carswell (1972) describes the appearance of Chinese porcelain from houses in the Duma region of Damascus. Three were dated to the beginning of the fifteenth century but the majority of the 800 pieces examined date to the second half of the fifteenth century and the early-sixteenth century (1972, 22–23). The presence of such ancient items still in use in domestic buildings should caution against the unquestioning use of Chinese pottery to provide a *terminus ante quem* for an excavated occupation level (see also an illustration of a fourteenth-century porcelain platter embedded in an inscription panel dated AH 1224/1809–1810 CE in a mosque in Homs [cf. Carswell 1970, pl. II: c]).

4. Later imports

4.1: China

The previous section has noted the appearance of Chinese ceramics in Bilad al-Sham at the end of Mamluk rule and into the beginning of the Ottoman period. In the Duma region of Damascus, the same houses also contained seventeenth-century Japanese and Chinese porcelain (Carswell 1972, 23; and see Carswell and Dowsett 1972, II, pl. 33: a–c). Chinese pottery has been found in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century contexts at ʿAkka (Edelstein and Avissar 1997, colour pl. IV: 6.a–b) and in unstratified upper deposits at Ziʿrin (Grey 1994, 60–61). Chinese ceramics were also recorded in the excavation of a district in the vicinity of the Dung Gate, Jerusalem. This district was founded in the late-Mamluk or early-Ottoman period and probably demolished in the first half of the nineteenth century (Bahat 1985, 54). In the Ayyubid and Mamluk

periods Chinese porcelain and celadon was much prized and written sources indicate that sultans, amirs and wealthy merchants formed their own collections (cf. Milwright 1999b, 513–516). It seems likely that the same qualities which attracted these earlier patrons also applied to the elite of Ottoman society. For instance, inventories of the possessions and properties of ʿAzam Pasha, ruler of Damascus in the mid-eighteenth century, record the presence of sixty celadon vessels (Ruba Kanaʿan, pers. comm.).

4.2: Europe

Italian glazed wares dating to the sixteenth or seventeenth century are reported on excavations in ʿAkka (Pringle 1984, 39–40; Edelstein and Avissar 1997, 132, fig.1: 12), Antioch (Waagé 1948, fig. 88: (25–26), al-Mina (Lane 1938, 60–61, pl. XXII: 1. H, JJ) and Nazareth (Bagatti 1984, fig. 69, pls. 79–81). Pringle (1984, 40) reports that the Franciscan convent of St Saviour in Jerusalem contains a large collection of Savona maiolica pharmacy jars assembled between the foundation of the institution in 1559 and the nineteenth century. Spanish lustre wares (probably datable to the late-fourteenth or fifteenth centuries) are noted at Baʿalbak (Sarre 1925, 133, nos. 87–89) and Hama (Riis and Poulsen 1957, 132, figs 405, 406).

A second wave of imports can be traced from the eighteenth to the twentieth century. The available evidence suggests that the large European porcelain factories started to create items such as coffee cups to be exported to the Ottoman and Persian empires (cf. Vernoit 1997, 151 and notes). The Armenian cathedral of St James in Jerusalem contains four Meissen cups (one dated AH 1244/1794 CE) carrying Armenian inscriptions. It has been suggested that the inscriptions were added in Istanbul (Carswell and Dowsett 1972, I, fig. 32). A Meissen cup of the same period decorated in a Chinese style was excavated at ʿAkka (Edelstein and Avissar 1997, colour pl. IV: 5.a–b). Other modern European porcelain and stoneware dating to the nineteenth and early-twentieth century has been excavated at Kabri (Kempinski and Neimeier 1994, fig. 23: 5–6), Ras al-Dabub (Barkay 1986, 12) and Sataf (Gibson, Ibbs, and Kloner 1991, 44–45). A range of twentieth-century glazed porcelain items was reported from unstratified deposits at Karak (Milwright 1999a, I, 206; II, cat. nos 61: 14, 15). It seems likely that European porcelain superseded Chinese ceramics in the late-eighteenth and nineteenth century in Bilad al-Sham although this hypothesis has yet to be demonstrated in the archaeological record.

4.3: Turkey

The influence of Ottoman Turkish culture is most visible in Bilad al-Sham in the architecture and the use of tile decoration. Tilework is beyond the scope of this article although it is worth noting that this area of ceramic craftsmanship appears to have been an important stimulus to the development of 'Syrian Polychrome' wares (see Section 5.3). The early study of the Ottoman pottery of Iznik was hindered by the attribution of one group of decorated bowls and jugs to Damascus because large numbers were bought in the markets of this city in the late-nineteenth century (Atasoy and Raby 1989, 71–72). Whilst the Turkish provenance of the 'Damascus' group (Fig. 4) is now well established, the presence of so many vessels in the city and the existence of Syrian imitations of the 'Damascus' style (cf. Lane 1957b, pl. 48: b) do suggest that Iznik pottery was imported into the urban centres of Bilad al-Sham in the sixteenth century. The 'Tell Minis' cache of ceramics allegedly found near Ma'arrat al-Nu'man contains two shards which may be from Iznik (Mason 1995, 15, fig. 6: d, e) and other possible pieces are reported at Jerusalem citadel (Johns 1950, pl. LXIII: 10) and the south side of the Haram al-Sharif (Ben-Dov 1982, colour pls. on 364–365, 368). Iznik pottery is not attested on other excavations in Bilad al-Sham although it is possible that further archaeological investigation of urban sites in Syria might yield some examples.

Slightly more common in the archaeological record are the decorated wares produced in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries at Kütahya (Fig. 3). The largest extant collection of tiles and ceramic objects in the region is assembled in the Armenian cathedral of St James in Jerusalem (Carswell and Dowsett 1972). The archaeological record provides some evidence for a wider commercial trade. In general, the decorated wares of Kütahya were of a lower quality than their precursors at Iznik but this must have made them more affordable in the urban markets of Bilad al-Sham. Examples are attested at 'Akka (Edelstein and Avissar 1997, colour pl. III: 2–4 [the last of these has the crossed-swords motif marked on the base in imitation of Meissen]), Antioch (Waagé 1948, fig. 87: 6–7), Jerusalem citadel (Johns 1950, pl. LXIII: 9), and Zi'rin (Grey 1994, 60).

Other eighteenth- to early-twentieth-century imported glazed wares from Çanakkale and other sites in Turkey are reported at 'Akka (Muqari 1996, 125, fig. 134: 1–2; Edelstein and Avissar 1997, 132–133, pl. 1: 7–14) and possibly at al-Mina (Lane 1938, 61). There is no other archaeological evidence

to indicate the widespread trade of Çanakkale pottery or other similar Turkish glazed wares in Bilad al-Sham although this may be due to the lack of published excavations of Ottoman-period occupation levels in urban and port sites (for a discussion of these wares, see Hayes 1992, 268–298; Altun, Carswell, and Öney 1991, 103–143). Imitations of French porcelain were produced in Turkish factories in the nineteenth century (Lane 1957b, 66–67) although whether such items were ever exported to Bilad al-Sham is unknown.

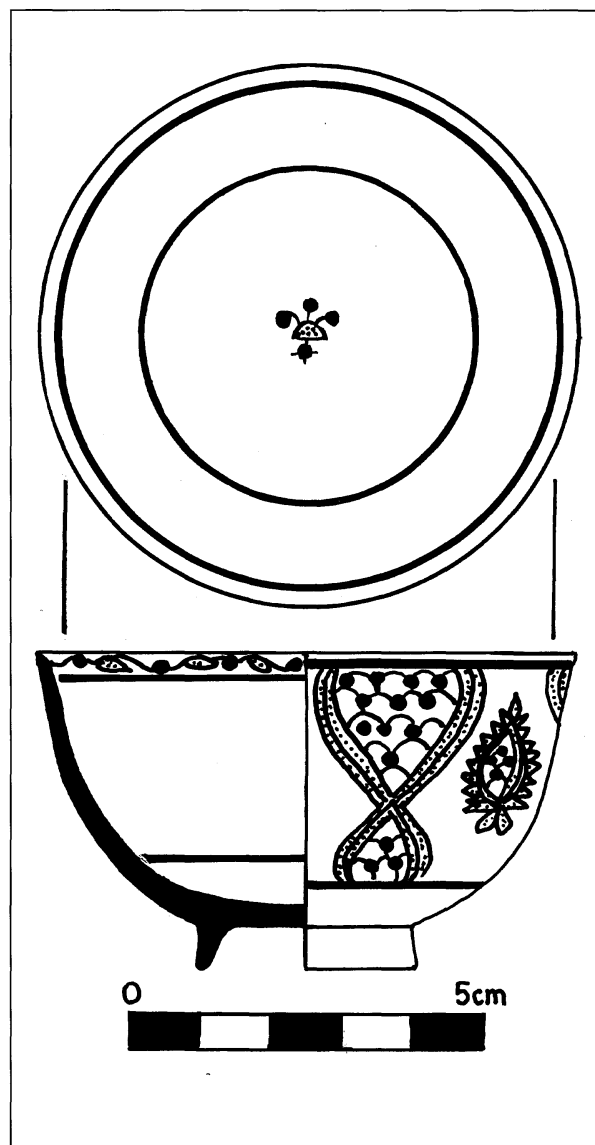


Figure 3. Eighteenth-century Kütahya coffee cup with under- and over-glaze painted decoration (Ashmolean Museum: EA C.340).

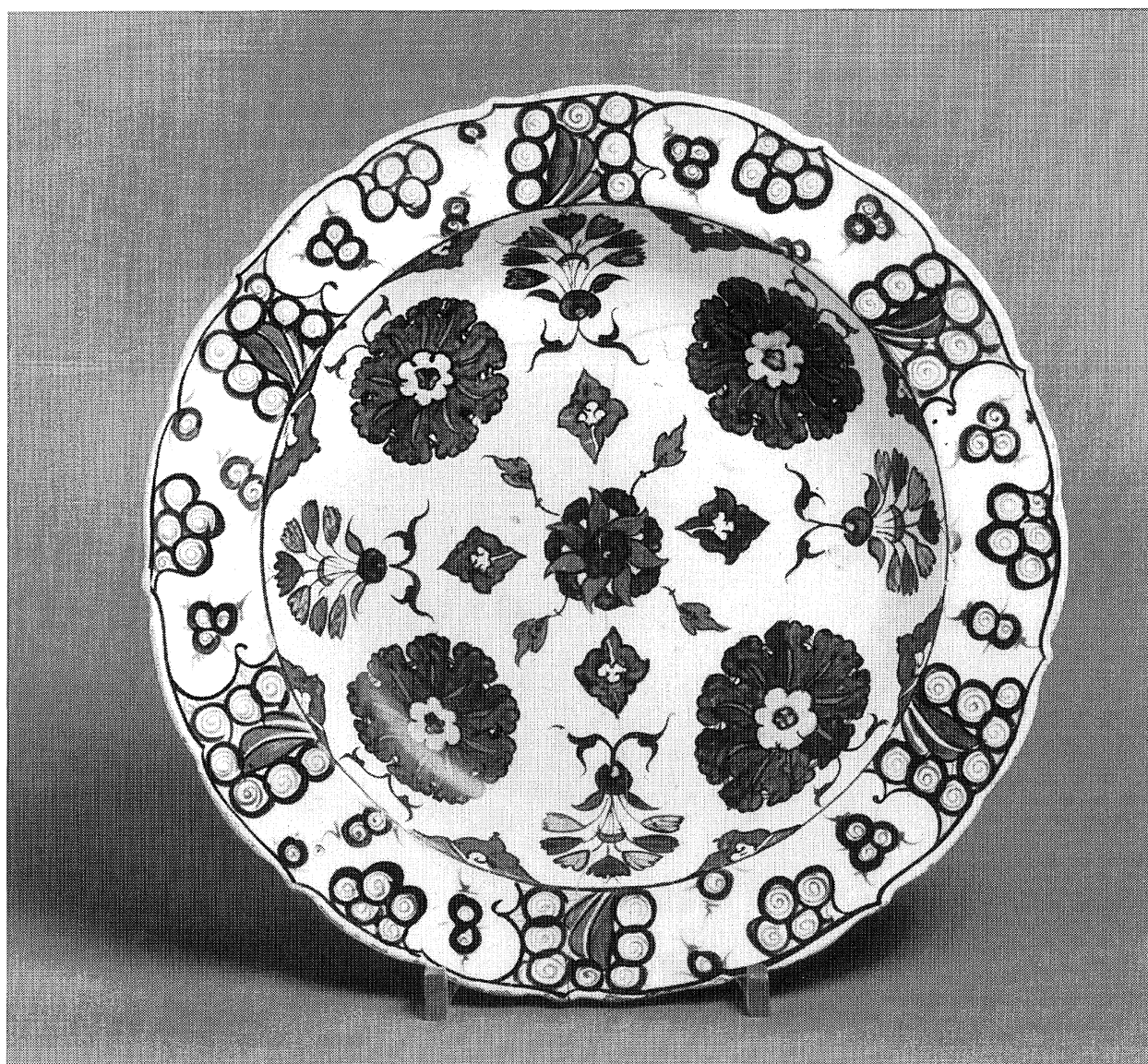


Figure 4. 'Damascus style' Iznik plate (1540–1555). Reproduced by kind permission of the Ashmolean Museum (EA 1978.1477).

5. Diagnostic Ottoman-period pottery of Bilad al-Sham

5.1: Tobacco pipes

Tobacco pipes are perhaps the most obvious diagnostic pottery object found in Ottoman occupation levels in Bilad al-Sham. Pipes have been located in surface deposits on many sites and in fewer stratified contexts (see Table 1). The form of the pipe found in Ottoman contexts is the *chibouk*: a three piece arrangement consisting of a mouthpiece, a hollow

wooden stem, and the pipe bowl. This last section consisted of a shank which fitted onto the stem and a small bowl for holding the tobacco. Literary sources indicate that the mouthpiece was often made from valuable materials such as amber, coral, and enamel although ceramic might also be used. Very few mouthpieces of any type have been recovered archaeologically (Simpson 1990a, 7–8, n. 1). The pipe was usually constructed of clay although some were gilded or decorated with semi-precious stones (Robinson 1985, 155–156). The

pipes found on excavations in Bilad al-Sham do not exhibit signs of such expensive ornamentation although other surface treatments such as relief-moulding, stamping, incising, slipping and burnishing are common (Fig. 2: 9–11, 13–14).

In the context of the archaeology of Bilad al-Sham perhaps the most important fact about tobacco pipes is that they provide a solid *terminus post quem* for the final period of deposition in a context; that is the introduction of tobacco into the Ottoman empire in c. 1600 (for a discussion of the written sources, see Robinson 1985, 151–156; Simpson 1995). Attempts have been made by the excavators at Tal Qaymun (Ben-Tor and Rosenthal 1978, 70) and Hama (Riis and Poulsen 1957, 280–281) to give an earlier date by suggesting that the pipes were utilised in the smoking of hashish. Whilst traces of hashish have been located in some eighteenth- to twentieth-century pipes found in Jerusalem (Robinson 1985, 151 n. 4; Simpson 1994, 14), there is no evidence to support the assumption that the narcotic was smoked (rather than being chewed or consumed as a drink) before the seventeenth century. Further, the composite form of the Islamic pipe is modelled upon the type found in Florida and the Mississippi delta which was subsequently exported to the Old World in the sixteenth century (Robinson 1985, 150–151).

Surviving tobacco pipes are subject to considerable variation in form and decoration. Some preliminary typologies have been assembled using assemblages from Sarāḥane in Istanbul (Hayes 1980; Hayes 1992, 391–395; and see notes in Simpson 1993, 17–18) and Corinth (Robinson 1985). The typology proposed by Hayes emphasises two main features: the volume of the pipe bowl, and colour of the ceramic fabric. In first half of the seventeenth century imported tobacco was expensive and so pipes were designed to hold small quantities. Widespread cultivation of the plant in Anatolia, and later all over the east Mediterranean through the seventeenth century, resulted in a drop in price of tobacco and a subsequent increase in the size of the pipe bowl. Hayes also proposes that pipes made of grey ceramic can be dated from the seventeenth to the early-eighteenth century and that pipes made of red ceramic are datable to the eighteenth century and later.

In first half of the seventeenth century the majority of the tobacco pipes appear to have been manufactured in sites in Turkey and Greece. Probable early examples are attested in Bilad al-Sham at Karak (Fig. 2:14) and Ti'innik (Ziadeh 1995, 210). Later the demand for pipes must have been satisfied in Bilad al-Sham by local manufacturers. In the late-nineteenth century two workshops in Jerusalem and

a further seven in Nazareth were producing pipes (Schölch 1993, 127, 130, 149) although there must have been other centres of production in the region through the Ottoman period. Some unpublished pipes from the south of Jordan at Mudaybi^c and Khirbat al-Nakhl are coarsely hand-modelled with no signs of burnishing or decorative stamps perhaps indicating that, on the periphery of Ottoman Bilad al-Sham, smokers had no access to the fine clay pipes made in Palestine (and presumably Syria) and had to improvise their own versions.

The formation of typologies of pipes from this region should in future provide a valuable dating resource for Ottoman-period occupation levels. Investigation could also be directed at the identification of other manufacturing centres in the region. The study of these archaeological artefacts could have a valuable role in the understanding of the cultural phenomenon of the adoption of tobacco in the Ottoman world.

5.2: *Narghiles*

The construction of a narghile (or water-pipe) was more complex than the chibouk and involved a composite of materials. Employment of ceramic was probably not common but it is attested in the manufacture of filter sections in the body of the narghile. Examples from excavations are rare in Bilad al-Sham. Filter mouthpieces and other sections from narghiles are reported from unstratified contexts at Akka (Muqari 1996, fig. 134: 1–2; Edelstein and Avissar 1997, fig. 3: 6, 7), Beirut (Turquety-Pariset 1982, fig. 4: 28–29), Damascus Gate, Jerusalem (Wightman 1989, pl. 63: 22) and possibly Karak (Fig. 2: 12). The water bowl might be constructed of ceramic, glass, or metal, and many were ornamented. Glazed ceramic water bowls are known from Iran in the seventeenth and eighteenth century (Lane 1957b, pls D, 79a, 87a, 88a. See also Simpson 1991) and from Turkey in the nineteenth and early-twentieth century (Altun, Carswell, and Öney 1991, pl. K: 99) although whether such items were imported into Bilad al-Sham is not known. Describing the market in Nablus in the latter part of the nineteenth century, Mary Rogers (1989, 260) reports the presence of stores of china coffee cups, tobacco pipes, and narghiles made with Bohemian glass and so the import of expensive decorated pottery water bowls should not be ruled out.

5.3: 'Syrian polychrome' wares

The term 'Syrian polychrome' is used to designate a group of alkaline-glazed stonepaste wares of the Ottoman period. Consisting of bowls, jugs, and jars,

this ware is painted under the glaze in blue, turquoise, purple, and green. The decorative forms – usually floral and vegetal – are outlined in black. Like earlier Syrian alkaline-glazed wares, the stonepaste body is relatively soft and friable, the glaze is often thick and cracked, and the underglazed pigments tend to run (Fig. 5). Examples of this style are known in museum collections (cf. Ashton 1932, 162, pl. V; Lane 1957b, pl. 48a–b) but pieces have also been recovered on excavations in Bilad al-Sham at Beirut (Anon. 1995, pl. on 16),

Burj al-Ahmar (Pringle 1986, fig. 51: 88–90), Damascus (Toueir 1973, pl. IIIB: d–e), Hama (Riis and Poulsen 1957, figs 799, 800), Jerusalem citadel (Johns 1950, pl. LXII: 7–8), Karak (Fig. 2: 8), Ma'arrat al-Nu'man (Porter and Watson pl. 13; Mason 1995, fig. 4: d), and Tal 'Afiq (Kochavi 1977, fig. 15).

The origin and development of this decorated ware is poorly understood. Lane (1957a, 272–274; 1957b, 61–63) hypothesises that the revival of underglaze-painted pottery in Bilad al-Sham can be



Figure 5. 'Syrian polychrome' bowl (late-sixteenth or seventeenth century). Reproduced by kind permission of the Ashmolean Museum (EA 1978.1478).

traced to the arrival of Persian potters commissioned by Sultan Sulayman to provide the tile decoration for the Dome of the Rock in AH 952/1545–1546 CE. He suggests that the same Persian potters moved to Damascus and continued work although there was a change of technique (from *cuerda seca* to under-glaze painting) and a move to a freer painting style incorporating new motifs such as cypress trees and flower vases. The colour scheme of these tiles seems to have derived from the so-called 'Damascus' group of Iznik pottery (see Section 4.3) and these same imports were also directly imitated by makers of pottery vessels in Syria (cf. Lane 1957b, pl. 48b). The quality of these Iznik imitation vessels was not maintained in later production which becomes increasingly coarse. There is too little evidence to speculate upon the chronology and stylistic evolution of 'Syrian polychrome' wares through the Ottoman period although comparative study of tile decoration in dated monuments in Bilad al-Sham and of later imported wares from Turkey and Europe may prove to be fruitful.

Conclusion

The archaeology of the Ottoman period in Bilad al-Sham presents a complex and incomplete picture. The previous discussion focused principally upon the south of Bilad al-Sham because this is the area where the majority of excavation has occurred since the latter part of the nineteenth century (cf. Fig. 1). This establishes an inevitable bias in the analysis of the ceramic evidence which needs to be acknowledged. With the present level of information it is very difficult to form any conclusions concerning patterns of manufacture and distribution in areas such as Lebanon and the north of Syria. Generalisations about the ceramic culture of Ottoman Bilad al-Sham should also be avoided because the available archaeological evidence points to a high degree of regional variation in the composition of excavated assemblages (for instance in the relationship between hand-made and wheel-thrown wares). The evolution of pottery styles is best seen therefore in terms of the specific social and economic conditions of each site or region through the period.

The excavated pottery of this time is perhaps more varied than might be expected. Whilst it can be assumed that most village sites (at least in the south of Bilad al-Sham) mainly utilised hand-made and wheel-thrown ceramics until the early part of the twentieth century, wealthy occupants of

towns, cities, and port sites enjoyed access to a wider variety of imported material and locally-produced decorated glazed wares during the centuries of Ottoman rule. Wheel-thrown and monochrome-glazed ceramics were probably manufactured to cater for the needs of the urban populations of the region. Through the nineteenth century the distribution of urban wheel-thrown pottery such as 'Gaza' wares expanded into rural areas.

More investigation into the ceramics of the Ottoman period is needed before it can become a useful tool for the analysis of social and economic history in Bilad al-Sham. Further excavation of Islamic occupation levels will provide a larger corpus of artefacts from which typologies can be created. The significance of variations in the material culture both across regions and between rural and urban contexts may become a focus of future study. The architecture of this period could also be utilised. The tile ornament of buildings in the region provides a dated record of changes in decorative style from the fifteenth century to the Modern period (for instance cf. Saller 1946, 177). It may be possible to correlate these changes in tile designs with the stylistic development of decorated pottery vessels. Excavations could also target occupational debris inside buildings constructed in the Ottoman period such as *haji* forts, khans and private houses.

Written records can also be exploited. The use, manufacture, and taxation of ceramics are (infrequently) discussed in European, Arabic and Ottoman sources from the sixteenth to the end of the nineteenth century (cf. Gatt 1885; Qasimi 1960, *passim*; Hütteroth and Abdulfattah 1977, 91; Cohen 1989, 76–77; Schölch 1993, 126–130, 159–165. And for the Ayyubid-Mamluk period, cf. Milwright 1999b). The introduction and spread of tobacco smoking in the Middle East is a cultural phenomenon which could be analysed through the integration of historical and archaeological data. The detailed picture assembled by economic historians of import and export trade in Ottoman Bilad al-Sham could be supplemented by the study of distribution patterns of storage jars and luxury ceramics. Information of this type is coming to light in 'Akka and Beirut as well as other sites in the Levant, east Mediterranean, and Red Sea areas (cf. Megaw 1939; Kubiak 1969; Raban 1971; Kawatoko 1996). The pottery of Ottoman Bilad al-Sham offers both problems and possibilities for the researcher but it does not deserve to remain a neglected field of archaeological study.

Appendix: Archaeological sites reporting Ottoman pottery

The following list gives locations where excavation or survey work has reported evidence of ceramics dating to the Ottoman or transitional late-Mamluk/early-Ottoman periods (further references to publications which were unavailable to me can be found in Herr and Trenchard 1996, 281–307). The presence of tobacco pipes is deemed in all cases to be representative of occupation (whether permanent or transient) between the seventeenth and the

early twentieth century. Italian sgraffiato, marbled wares, and maiolica noted below refer to the types of decorated wares imported into Bilad al-Sham after the mid-fifteenth century. Many field surveys in Jordan and Israel report 'Ottoman' ceramics but most have been excluded because the dating criteria are not specified and the pottery itself is seldom illustrated (for a list of these publications, see Milwright forthcoming). The map (Fig. 1) shows the sites listed in Table 1 (the location of the find site for number 18 is not known and is excluded from the map).

Table 1. *Sites in Bilad al-Sham reporting diagnostic pottery of the Ottoman period*

Site Name	Publications	Comments
1 Abila	John Wineland, pers. comm.	Tobacco pipes (unpublished)
2 'Akka (Acre)	Pringle 1984 Muqari 1996 Stern 1997 Berman 1997 Edelstein and Avissar 1997 Nir 1997	Sixteenth- to seventeenth-century Italian glazed wares (40) Tobacco pipes, narghile, imported Turkish glazed wares (fig.134:1–2), cooking pots, lamps, and storage jars Tobacco pipes and other pottery (65–68, figs 18, 19) Tobacco pipes (99). Tobacco pipes, Chinese, Turkish, and European imports, and locally-produced wares (132–135, figs 1:7–14; 2; 3, colour pls III:2–4; IV:5–6) Pottery associated with the reconstruction of a Crusader wall in the eighteenth or nineteenth century (31–34).
3 Aleppo	Bernus-Taylor 1981	Tobacco pipes (484)
4 Antioch	Waagé 1948	Italian and Turkish imports (91, 99, figs 87:6–7; 88:25–26)
5 'Ayn Bikura (nr. Sataf)	Gibson, Ibbs and Kloner 1991	Tobacco pipes (fig. 24:3–4)
6 'Ayn Karim	Saller 1946	Tobacco pipes, unglazed lamps, and other modern unglazed pottery (178–180, pl. 35:1,8–15, 17–19)
7 'Ayzariyya (Bethany)	Saller 1957	Tobacco pipes, possible Italian sgraffiato, unglazed lamps, and other unglazed pottery (190, 235, 281, 323–324, no. 178, pl. 124:9)
8 Ba'albak	Sarre 1925	Tobacco pipes (132, figs 65, 65a)
9 Beirut	Turquety-Pariset 1982	Tobacco pipes and narghile fragments (figs 4:25; 5:26–29)
Beirut, Suq area	Anon. 1995	Tobacco pipes, 'Syrian polychrome,' and sixteenth- or seventeenth-century porcelain (pls on 16–17)
10 Belmont Castle	Simpson 1994	Tobacco pipes (14–15)
11 Burj al-Ahmar	Pringle 1986	Tobacco pipes and 'Syrian polychrome' wares (figs 34:11,12; 51:88–90). Tobacco pipes also reported in the survey (sites 4, 12, 17)
12 Damascus, Bab Sarija	Toueir 1973	'Syrian polychrome' ware (pl.IIIB:d–e)
Damascus, Duma district	Carswell 1972	Chinese and Japanese ceramics
Damascus, al-Salihiyya	al-'Ush 1963	Tobacco pipes (fig.6.27)
13 Damiyya al-Jadida, Jordan valley	Kareem 1993	Tobacco pipes (202–203, fig. 89:4)
14 Dayr al-Kahf	Parker 1986	Tobacco pipes (166, fig. 66:365)
15 Dhira' al-Khan	Kareem 1992 Kareem 1993 Kareem 1997	Tobacco pipes (7) Tobacco pipes (216–217, fig. 66:6) Tobacco pipes (368)
16 Hama	Riis and Poulsen 1957	Tobacco pipes, 'Syrian polychrome,' fifteenth-century Florentine maiolica, and fifteenth-century Spanish imports (figs 403–408, 799, 800, 1069–1082)
17 Hasban	Sauer 1994	Tobacco pipes (273)
18 Hawran	Meinecke-Berg 1983	Italian sgraffiato (pl. 57:a)
19 'Iraq al-Amir	Brown 1983	Tobacco pipes (no.152)
20 Jarash	Tholbecq, forthcoming Clark <i>et al.</i> 1986	Tobacco pipes (pl. XI:106–107) Tobacco pipes (pl. XXVII:2)

Table 1. *Sites in Bilad al-Sham reporting diagnostic pottery of the Ottoman period (continued)*

Site Name	Publications	Comments
21 Jerusalem, 'Bet Eliyahu'	Abu Raya 1997	Tobacco pipes (102–103)
Jerusalem, 'Armenian Garden'	Tushingham 1985	Italian sgraffiato (fig.45:21)
Jerusalem, Citadel	Johns 1950	Italian sgraffiato, Spanish lustre, Turkish imports, and local glazed pottery (189–190, pl. LXIII:2–10)
Jerusalem, Damascus Gate	Wightman 1989	Tobacco pipes, narghile fragments, and Italian sgraffiato (pls 63; 67:7–8 [and see Pringle 1984])
Jerusalem, Dung Gate	Bahat 1985	Chinese pottery
Jerusalem, Ophel	MacAlister and Duncan 1926	Glazed tile fragments perhaps associated with the sixteenth-century redecoration of the Dome of the Rock (199)
Jerusalem, south side of Haram al-Sharif	Ben-Dov 1982	Ming porcelain, celadon, tobacco pipes, and possibly Turkish and Persian glazed wares (372–373, pls on 364–365, 368)
22 Kabri/al-Tall	Kempinski and Neimeier 1994	Tobacco pipes, European porcelain, and 'Rushaya al-Fukhkhar' wares (figs 22:8–9; 23:2, 5, 6)
23 Karak	Milwright 1999a	Tobacco pipes, Chinese pottery, Italian sgraffiato, and 'Syrian polychrome' (II, cat. nos.33:5–11; 39:9, 11; 40:2; 46:3; 61:11–13)
24 Karak Plateau	Personal observation of Miller 1991 survey material	Tobacco pipes (site 435, unpublished)
25 al-Khalil (Hebron)	Mader 1957	Tobacco pipes (pl. 95)
26 Khirbat Faris	Jeremy Johns, pers. comm.	Tobacco pipes and associated pottery (unpublished)
27 Khirbat Khamase	Amit 1991	Tobacco pipes (148–149)
28 Khirbat Manawat	Stern 1998	Tobacco pipes (11)
29 Khirbat Minya	Stepanski 1988–1989	Tobacco pipes and 'Rushaya al-Fukhkhar' ware (75)
30 Khirbat al-Nakhl	Mu'ta University Museum	Tobacco pipes (unpublished)
31 Khirbat Zikhrin	Anon. 1983b	Tobacco pipes and other pottery (115)
32 Ma'arrat al-Nu'man	Porter and Watson 1987; Mason 1995	'Syrian polychrome' and Turkish imports with dubious provenance (1987, pls 12–13; 1995, figs 4:d; 5:a–c; 6:c–e)
33 Madaba	Herr <i>et al.</i> 1991	Tobacco pipes (fig.3:29:13)
34 Mayrun	Meyers, Strange and Meyers 1981	Tobacco pipes (pl. 9:22:8–10)
35 Mdaybi ^c	1999 season	Tobacco pipes (unpublished)
36 al-Mina	Lane 1938	Italian maiolica and sgraffiato and Turkish imports (Çanakkale style) (60–61, pl. XXIII.1.H, JJ)
37 Nahal Minim, northern Negev	Rosen and Goodfriend 1993	'Gaza' ware
38 al-Nasira (Nazareth)	Bagatti 1984	Sixteenth–seventeenth-century Italian marbled ware, sgraffiato ware, and maiolica (196–200, fig.69, pls 79–81 [see also Pringle 1984, 40, figs 4, 5])
39 Qal'at al-Ja'bar	Personal observation from surface deposits	Tobacco pipes (unpublished)
40 Qara Mazra'a	Bernus-Taylor 1981	Tobacco pipes (484)
41 Ras al-Dabub	Barkay 1986	Tobacco pipes and coffee cups (12)
42 Ras al-Qabub	Banning <i>et al.</i> 1989	Tobacco pipes (fig.5:14–15)
43 Rujm al-Hanu	McGovern 1983	Tobacco pipes (figs 13, 14:4; pls XXI:2; XXIV:2)
44 Sataf	Gibson, Ibbs and Kloner 1991	'Gaza' wares and modern porcelain (44–45, figs 21–23)
45 Tal 'Afiq	Kochavi 1977	'Syrian polychrome' bowl (fig.15).
46 Tal Arba'in, Jordan Valley	Kareem 1993	Tobacco pipes (185–186, fig.71:9)
47 Tal 'Arqa	Hakimian and Salamé-Sarkis 1988	Tobacco pipes (30, table XVI)
48 Tal Dutha ^a (Dothan)	Saller 1957	Tobacco pipes (323)
49 Tal al-Hasi	Bliss 1894	Tobacco pipes (122)
	Toombs 1985	'Gaza' wares (106–108, pl.83)
50 Tal Jazar	MacAlister 1912	Tobacco pipes (pl. 83:28)
51 Tal Miqna	Gittlen 1993	'Gaza' wares (11)

Table 1. *Sites in Bilad al-Sham reporting diagnostic pottery of the Ottoman period (continued)*

Site Name	Publications	Comments
52 Tal al-Mutasallim	Schumacher 1908	Tobacco pipes (figs 279, 280e)
53 Tal Qaymun (Yoqne'am)	Ben-Tor and Rosenthal 1978	Tobacco pipes (fig.6:1-2).
54 Tal Saylun	Andersen 1985	Tobacco pipes (pl.15:276)
55 Tal al-Shuna south (Nimrin)	Kareem 1993	Tobacco pipes (203-204)
56 Tantura (Dor)	Stern 1994	Tobacco pipes (fig.231)
	Gibson <i>et al.</i> 1999	Tobacco pipes and other pottery (106)
Tantura maritime excavation	Kingsley and Raveh 1996	Tobacco pipes (pl.85)
57 Ti'innik	Ziadeh 1995	Tobacco pipes, modern porcelain and other pottery (figs 1; L.296; 16:7-11, 13)
58 Udhruh	Killick 1983	Tobacco pipes (fig.13:2-4)
59 Umm al-Jimal	Parker in de Vries 1998	Hand-made wares found in a late-nineteenth- to early-twentieth-century context (215-218)
60 Zi'rin (Tal Jezreel)	Grey 1994	Tobacco pipes, Turkish coffee cups, Chinese pottery, and 'Gaza' wares (60-61)
	Simpson 1994	Tobacco pipes (14-15)

Table 2. *Sites in Bilad al-Sham with possible evidence of pottery of the Ottoman period.*

Site Name	Publication	Comments
a Baysan	Zori 1966	Possible Italian sgraffiato (pl.10.f)
b Karak Plateau	Brown 1992	Evolution of hand-made pottery allied to changes in settlement patterns through the late-Mamluk and Ottoman periods (chapter 11)
c Khirbat Duhala	Sari 1992	Final occupation level (figs.8-9)
d Safad	Damati 1988-1989	Ceramics associated with a late-Mamluk period destruction of the citadel (160)
e Shawbak	Brown 1988	Final occupation level (237-240)
f Tal Mevorakh	Stern 1978	Ceramic vessel found with child burial (pls 6.4, 5, 21)
g Tabariyya (Tiberias)	Anon. 1983a	'Ottoman' pottery found in association with the eighteenth-century (?) sea walls
h Tal Jemneh	Schaefer 1989	'Gray ware' pottery found on surface and upper levels (42-43, figs.7; 8.5-7)
i Tal al-Safiyya	Bliss and MacAlister 1902	Possible Italian sgraffiato (pl.65)
j Tripoli	Salamé-Sarkis 1980	Possible Italian sgraffiato (pl.XLVII.9)
k Wu'ayra	Vannini and Tonghini 1997	Final occupation level (378)

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