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DISPERSED OTTOMAN REPEATING-PATTERN IZNIK TILES, PART 1¹

A. Four Ottoman Tiles in Providence, Rhode Island

The vicissitudes of earthquake, fire, war pillage, and robbery have over the centuries resulted in the disappearance from their original sites of a vast number of Iznik tiles manufactured in the 16th and 17th centuries in the Ottoman Empire as decoration for Ottoman buildings. Considered as expensive and precious objects in their own time, these tiles, made of a synthetic body composed of potters' clay, ground quartz, and the prepared glassy material known as frit, painted in a vast spectrum of designs reflecting the court art and the potters' art of their time, and executed in the technique known as polychrome underglaze-painting, have in recent years begun to command truly phenomenal prices in the marketplace, creating additional perils for those examples still *in situ* in Ottoman monuments. Depredations of various sorts over time have resulted in thousands of İznik tiles making their way into collections both public and private in the West, a process outlined by the author in several recent papers and publications.² Such tiles fall into two categories: those made as parts of large unified-field panels, in which a large-scale design is executed from a large paper template over a rectangular or lunette-shaped field of rectangular tiles, and those made as modular units, where identical rectangular tiles, or tiles made in sets of two or four, again created from paper templates, are repeated over and over again on a given wall surface. In the latter case, in addition to the problem of the removal, by one means or another, of revetments from their original architectural context, there is a further factor; the mass-production of such tiles in the 16th century sometimes led to

over-production, in which more tiles were produced in İznik than were necessary for a particular building commission.

The popularity of İznik tiles in the West, manifested in a major collecting phenomenon in the latter part of the 19th century, has led to their widespread dispersal into a number of unlikely places. For example, the Providence Art Club in Providence, Rhode Island, a private organization founded in 1880, now occupies late eighteenth-century premises in that city that comprise, among other things, a capacious Central Dining Room. The present dining space was designed during a major renovation in the early 1940s, at which time the daughter of the renovation architect presented to the Art Club six İznik tiles, now set into the booth walls of the restaurant, where diners may examine them closely while eating. Three of these tiles are from the great age of İznik production in the 16th century, and three were made in İznik in the 17th. The three earlier tiles and one later tile are of the repeating-pattern type; and all are of types known from examples in other collections. [Illustrations 1-4] The fifth tile, a piece of a late unified-field panel, and the sixth, a border tile from the 17th century, will not be discussed here.



Illustration 1. Tile with a central grape leaf design
Providence Art Club

The first of these tiles [Illustration 1], depicting a large grape leaf on an undulating vine with quartered floral roundels and ogival medallions in the corners, was previously published by the author.³ Probably a product of the Āznik kilns in the 1570s or 80s, it is of an unusual pattern in which four tiles, greatly similar to each other, form the repeating unit. The easily indentifiable grape leaf, ornamented by a tiny white flower and two rosebuds, is accompanied clusters of immature grapes on the vine. Red tulips and blue hyacinths ornament the quartered ogival medallions, and white tulips and carnations are found on a blue ground in the quartered cusped roundels. This sophisticated composition is further unusual in that in addition to employing the full palette developed in Āznik by the early 1570s, including two values of blue, turquoise, red, and a dark green together with a black outlining, it uses the black color not only as outlining, but as a field color in the thick stems of the vine. Another example, slightly cut down, is in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in Boston, yet another is in the Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Vienna, [Illustration 5] and a panel of 16 such tiles, from an American private collection, was sold in April of 1988 at Sotheby's in London.⁴ Tiles in this



Illustration 2. Tile with a four-fold tulip design
Providence Art Club



Illustration 3. Tile with a central rosette and four leaves
Providence Art Club

pattern are quite rare and are not widely known in Western collections; the author originally conjectured that they were made in limited quantities for a secular setting, possibly a private residence.

A second tile from Providence [Illustration 2] has a much simpler palette and design. It is composed of four blue tulips pointing diagonally inward from the corners, four lotus palmettes pointing outward on the rectilinear axes, two small curved leaves decorated with small white blossoms on each side of the tile, for a total of eight, and small rosettes in the very center and quartered in the corners of the tile. The pattern of this tile is in fact four identical tiles in one, as the four quarters of the tile are identical to each other. The pattern type itself, common in *cuerda seca* color-glaze Ottoman tilework from the first half of the 16th century, and still in use in the earliest Ottoman monument with extensive İznik tile decoration, the mosque of Rüstem Pasha completed around 1560, is rather old-fashioned, and the use of a stencil-like style, in which the elements of the flowers are separated from each other on the white slip of the tile, is another archaizing element.⁵ These factors, co-



Illustration 4. Tile with a red cloud-band and two leaves
Providence Art Club

upled with the very dark true green, suggest that this tile comes from the mid-1560s; stylistically and in the particular hue of green, their closest parallels found *in situ* in Turkey are in the tomb of Süleyman I, completed in the garden behind that sovereign's mosque in İstanbul around 1566.⁶ Identical tiles are found in a panel of six formerly in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris; another panel of six (with one slightly cut down), formerly in East Berlin, is now in the reunited Berlin Museum für Islamische Kunst. [Illustration 6] A third panel of six, combined with border tiles of diverse provenances, is in the Louvre (3919/2-254). A number of identical tiles, added to the building at some later time, are found in the library of the Aya Sofya mosque in İstanbul. Finally, an individual example is found in the Calouste Sarkis Gulbenkian Museum in Lisbon.⁷

The third sixteenth-century tile from Providence [Illustration 3], slightly cut down on the top edge as shown, is remarkably similar in color and style to the second, and must come from the same atelier at İznik, from around the same date. Identical examples are found in the tomb of Süleyman I in İstanbul,⁸ [Illustration 7] confirming a mid-1560s date for this tile and for the other Providence tile discussed immediately above. A central stencil rosette



Illustration 5. Field of tiles with grape leaf designs
Formerly in a private collection, United States

is surrounded by four blue leaves decorated with white flowers, arranged in a rotating pattern around the central motif, a popular Ottoman tile layout. The decoration is completed by halved rosettes at the middle of each edge. A single tile in this pattern is known from museum collections; it is in the Gulbenkian Museum in Lisbon.⁹ [Illustration 8]

One last repeating-pattern tile [Illustration 4] from Providence to be discussed here has the most complex history of the four. In the early fifteen-seventies, following a disastrous fire in the Harem of the Topkapı Palace in İstanbul, Sultan Murad III ordered the refurbishment of the Harem, including the building of a magnificent domed room that today bears his name.¹⁰ For that room considerable quantities of a particular pattern of tiles with a central s-shaped red cloud-band, two curved leaves, and halved lotus palmettes in the middle of each side, were created. [Illustration 9] Apparently the *bazargân başı* or chief procurement officer of the Palace, Hüsrev Efendi, skimmed some of this İznik production, which ended up on the walls of his own mosque in İstanbul.¹¹ Others were apparently moved from the Old Pala-



Illustration 6. Panel of six tiles with a four-fold tulip design
Museum für Islamische Kunst, Berlin

ce (on the present site of İstanbul University) or the Topkapı Palace to the east rear gallery of the mosque of Sultan Ahmet I around 1616, part of a major plundering of sixteenth-century tiles from existing monuments that took place in order to decorate that immense structure.¹² [Illustration 10] Others ended up in a number of museums around the world, including the Louvre, the Brooklyn Museum, the National Museum of Kuwait, [Illustration 11] the Benaki Museum, the Museum für Islamische Keramik und Fliesen in Tegernsee and the Çinili Köşk Tile Museum in İstanbul; a panel of six was sold at Sotheby's London as recently as October of 2004.¹³ For whatever reason, for a subsequent redecorating of the Topkapı accomplished about thirty years later around 1600, it was decided to have the İznik ateliers produce another lar-

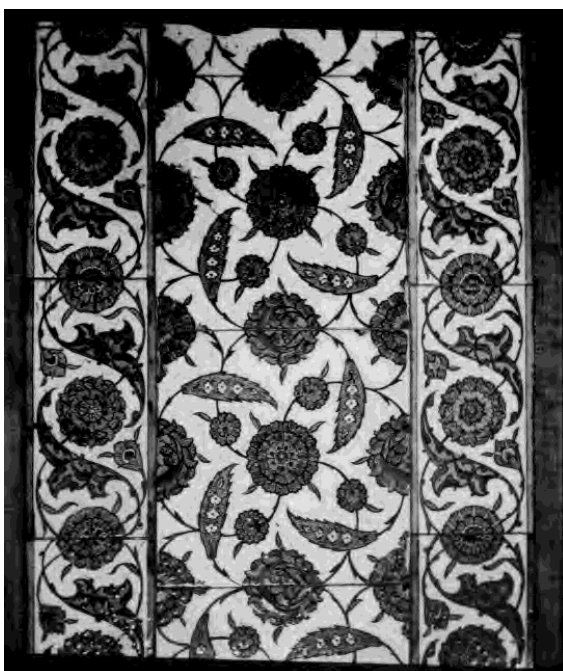


Illustration 7. Tiles with a central rosette and four leaves
Detail, interior of the tomb of Süleyman I, Istanbul



Illustration 8. Tile with a central rosette and four leaves
Calouste Sarkis Gulbenkian Museum, Lisbon, Inv. 1579



Illustration 9. Wall of tiles with a red cloud-band and two leaves
Detail, interior of the Murad III room, Harem,
Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul



Illustration 10. Wall of tiles with a red cloud-band and two leaves
Detail, east rear balcony, mosque of Ahmet I, Istanbul



Illustration 11. Panel of four tiles with a red cloud-band and two leaves
Al-Sabah Collection, National Museum, Kuwait



Illustration 12. Two tiles with a red cloud-band and two leaves, ca. 1600 – 1625
Formerly collection of Joseph V. McMullan



Illustration 13. Panel of eight tiles with quartered red-ground ogival medallions
Musée du Louvre, Paris

ge quantity of tiles in the very same pattern.¹⁴ Unlike the originals of ca. 1572, however, these later tiles were of a slightly lower technical quality; the white slip is slightly bluish, the green and pale blue are very thin, and the curved leaves bear a central decoration of overlapping white circles rather than the simple red spine of the 1572 production. It is to this group that the fourth Providence tile belongs. Similar examples are found in the Hetjens-Museum in Düsseldorf and a number of private collections; two belonging to Joseph V. McMullan of New York were on loan to Harvard University's Fogg Art Museum in the later nineteen-sixties. [Illustration 12]

B. A Widely-dispersed İznik Tile Pattern

The Providence tiles illustrate typical patterns of dispersal of Ottoman revetments. Some, relatively rare, are from unknown, probably secular, buildings. Others, usually found in the West in larger numbers, some of them removed from buildings and others evidently excess production, can be easily tied to known buildings and can thus be easily dated. However, leaving the Art Club in Providence behind for the moment, we can identify one particular İznik tile pattern, [Illustration 13] that has the widest distribution among Western collections of any Turkish repeating pattern İznik tile, is found in



Illustration 14 Pastiche wall of tiles, probably assembled late 19th century
Shrine of Eyüp Sultan, İstanbul



Illustration 15. Pastiche wall of tile shards, probably assembled late 19th century
Shrine of Eyüp Sultan, İstanbul

very large numbers outside of Turkey, and is also found today in an pastiche assemblage of miscellaneous tiles on the walls of a particular building within Turkey, the much-restored and much-modified tomb-shrine of Eyüp outside the İstanbul walls on the Golden Horn [Illustration 14]. Although a certain number of these tiles arbitrarily cemented to the shrine wall at Eyüp are unbroken, there is also one segment of wall wall composed today almost entirely of shards, including many from tiles with this pattern. [Illustration 15] The mosque and shrine complex of Eyüp Sultan was originally completed in 1458, five years after the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople. A depiction of the shrine in the Chester Beatty Library *Süleyman-name*, painted around 1579, shows it to be originally a traditional domed polygonal Ottoman türbe, much different than its form today. In 1592, probably in the aftermath of an earthquake, the shrine was extensively remodeled under Murad III, and the spectacular unified-field İznik panels which today decorate the tomb's interior were added.¹⁵ After various episodes of renewal, the complex appears to have been substantially damaged in the 1766 earthquake, and by 1798 a decision was taken under Selim III to raze and completely reconstruct the mosque.¹⁶ The exterior (south-facing) wall of the tomb was apparently re-decorated with a potpourri of tiles recovered from other monuments in the aftermath of the great 1894 earthquake.¹⁷ This exterior wall of the Eyub shrine thus falls into a category of pastiche revetments that in İstanbul today also includes the upper east gallery and west revak walls of the Rüstem Pasha mosque (itself finished around 1561),¹⁸ the north galleries of the Sultan Ahmet Mosque (itself finished around 1616),¹⁹ and the exterior of the Sünnet Odası or Circumcision Room in the Topkapı Palace (itself finished toward 1648).²⁰

Dispersed examples of the same tile are found in many collections. The Gulbenkian Museum in Lisbon has a panel of ten.²¹ In the Louvre, Paris, the Benaki Museum, Athens, and the Kunstgewerbemuseum, Hamburg, there are panels of eight tiles; the Benaki also has three individual tiles.²² Panels of four tiles each are found in the C.L. Davids Samling, Copenhagen and the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam and the Los Angeles County Museum of Art has a panel of two from the Edwin Binney 3rd collection.²³ A small fragment is in the Musée de la céramique at Sèvres.²⁴ In addition, examples have appeared in at least a half-dozen art auctions in the past three decades, one lot comprising a panel of twenty-four tiles.²⁵ Later copies, probably of European origin, of İznik tiles in this pattern are known as well. [Illustration 16]



Illustration 16. Reproduction of an Iznik tile with quartered red-ground ogival medallions. Probably 20th century; private collection

Is there any way of dating these tiles accurately? Is there any way that we might be able to determine an original site for this large number of tiles? Is there a border that might be associated with these repeating field tiles? In this paper I would like to propose possible answers to all three of these questions. To do so, we first need to look carefully at the tiles themselves. They are of four different patterns, two being a mirror image of the other two, creating a repeating pattern encompassing four tiles, with a definite top and bottom. [Illustration 13] The pattern of each is composed of a central curved turquoise leaf decorated with a red-and-white tulip, against a background of branches of a flowering prunus tree with a thick black stems. In two opposite corners of each tile there is a quartered deeply serrated palmette in light blue stippled with dark blue, and in the other two corners there is a portion – either slightly more or slightly less than a quarter – of a red-ground ogival medallion with a design in reserve white of a caliper from which spring two white tulips, two white carnations, a group of small leaves, and a white rosette. The major motif of the pattern – the ogival medallion – is thus never complete on a single tile, but rather is formed at the juncture of four tiles. The primary motif on each

tile - the turquoise leaf - is in the overall pattern a secondary motif floating against the background of undulating prunus branches. The colors are two values of blue, black used beyond the normal parameters of thin black outlining, turquoise, a thick slip-like red that tends among the many known examples of tiles in this pattern to vary from a dark tomato red to a light almost orange-red, and a dark true green, that appears in the tiny leaves attached to the tree branches.

The first question that arises is one of dating, which, since none of these tiles is known to be in an original, dated building location, must necessarily proceed from an analysis of style. Because of the presence of a true green, they must date from the early to mid-1560s or later.

The five-petaled prunus flowers in two values of blue in the background appear as early as the tile revetments of the Hürrem Sultan Türbe (shortly after 1558) and as late as the tomb of Selim II and the mosque of Ramazan Efendi (shortly after 1572). The feather-edged saz leaves, tulips, and carnations are standard features of the İznik tile repertoire from the early fifteen-sixties onward to the end of the 16th century and beyond. Curiously, one of the rare parallel tile designs with the major motif in a repeating-field pattern occurring at the juncture of four tiles is found in the first of the tiles from the Providence Art Club examined above.[Illustration 1] One last feature of the group of tiles in question that may be significant is color, specifically the dark green (characteristic of the color immediately after its introduction in the mid-sixties, after which it becomes a much brighter emerald green) and the extensive variation in the red, from a milky orange to a much darker hue, among the surviving tiles in this pattern. Could this be an indication of an early date, in the fifteen-sixties? Or could it be a consequence of rapid manufacture and poor quality control at some later date? On balance, the combination of stylistic attributes, while not contributing to a decisive dating, suggests a time of manufacture that is earlier rather than later, that is, the mid-1560s, while not ruling out a date as late as the mid-1580s

A second question then arises: for what building might this large number of tiles originally have been intended? In attempting to answer this question we must look not only at existing buildings, but at buildings that may have been destroyed due to fire or earthquake since the 16th century. The record of such disasters in İstanbul has made this question unusually complex. Since the probably date of manufacture of these tiles there have been four unusually severe earthquakes in İstanbul, along with many less devastating ones. The first was

in 1592, the second in 1718, the third in 1766, and the most recent of import for our study was the disastrous earthquake of 1894.²⁶ Fires that destroyed or damaged major mosques and palaces occurred on many occasions, among them 1574, 1714 and 1865 (the Old Palace at Bayezit), 1911 and 1917 (central İstanbul and the Fatih quarter, respectively) and 1919 (Karagümrük quarter and the area around the Edirne gate). Is there any suggestion in the history of damage to İstanbul monuments of a possible origin for the tiles in question?

One possibility is the mosque of Mihrimah Sultan. The major earthquake fault of İstanbul passes directly under the Edirne Gate in the city walls, a hill-top site that is also the location of the the mosque of Mihrimah Sultan, daughter of Süleyman I and his wife Hürrem Sultan and wife of Rüstem Pasha, who survived her father, mother and husband to die in 1578 in the reign of her nephew Murad III. According to historical records, one of the monuments of İstanbul most severely damaged in the 1894 earthquake was the mosque of Mihrimah Sultan at the Edirne Gate.²⁷ It is more than interesting that there are today no tiles whatsoever in this large and important building, which lacks an inscription giving its date but which is generally accepted as having been completed around the mid-1560s. The mosque and tomb of Süleyman himself (1559 and ca. 1566 respectively), the tomb of Hürrem Sultan (ca. 1558) and the mosque (ca. 1560) and tomb (ca. 1561–62) of Rüstem Pasha, all built by the architect Sinan, are decorated with İznik tiles. The mosque of Mihrimah, also built by Sinan around the very same time for a member of the same nuclear family, has none, either in the interior, or in the large exterior colonnade in front of the mosque. Some sources attest that this building was traditionally the site of an important royal ceremony, the last daily prayer performed in İstanbul by the Sultans and military commanders as they set out on campaign in Europe.²⁸ Could it be that this monument, an imperial foundation, an important ceremonial site, a work of Sinan at a time when virtually all of his important buildings were decorated to some extent with İznik tiles, was once decorated with tiles, but that in the course of subsequent restorations the original tiles have been removed? I believe this to be highly likely.

The question is: which “homeless” tiles can we associate with the monument?

Photographs of the mosque published by Cornelius Gürlitt in Berlin²⁹ in 1912, [Illustration 17] shortly after the moderate 1912 earthquake, shows the interior littered with small debris, and the disfiguring vertical pier extensions in the interior of the north lunette that were apparently added during an earlier reconstruction, but there is no suggestion of tiles. A search of travelers’

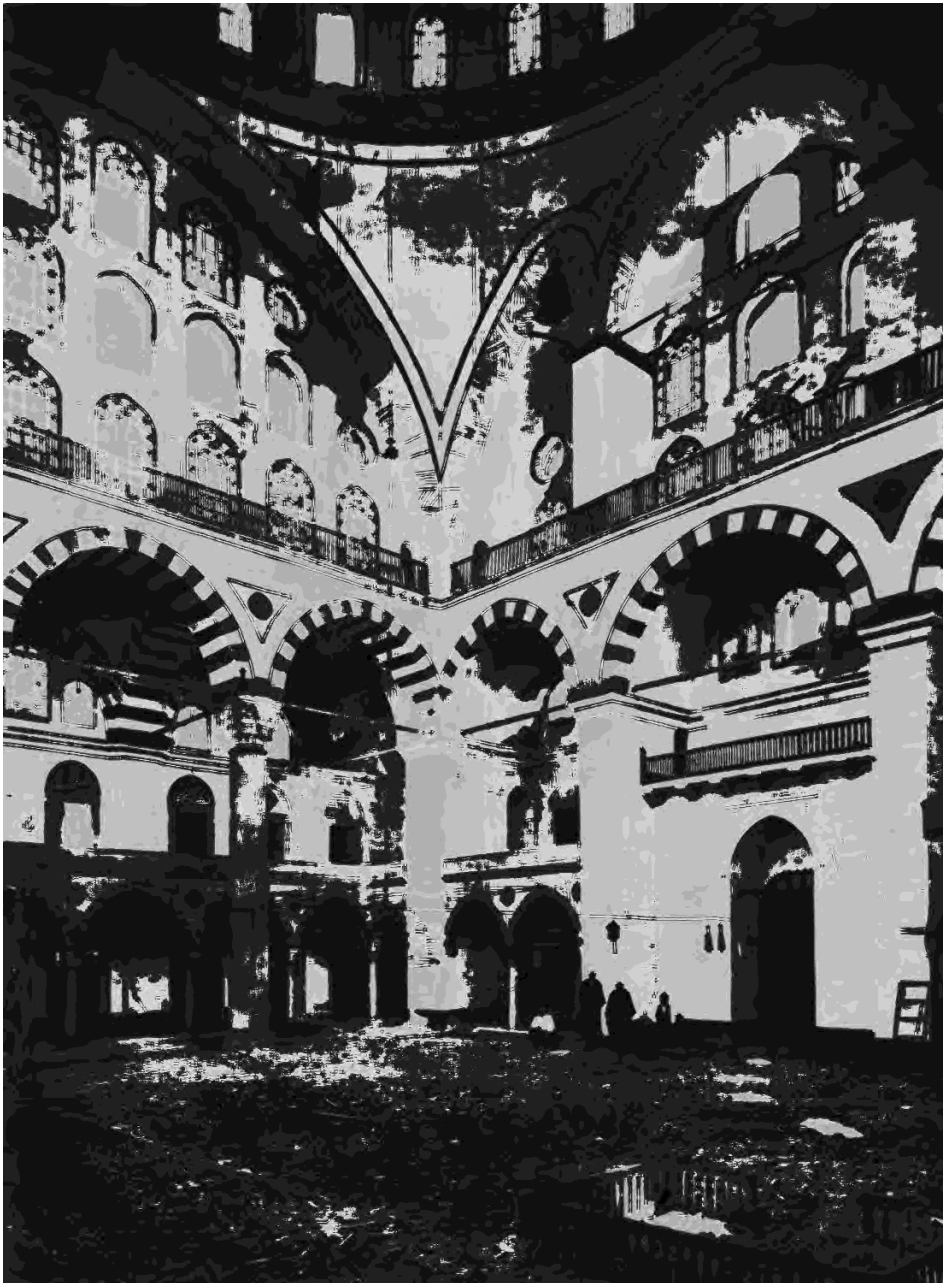


Illustration 17. Interior of Mosque of Mihrimah Sultan, Istanbul, photographed early 20th century
From Gürlitt, *Die Baukunst Konstantinopels* (Berlin, 1912)

accounts and early photography yields no evidence of tiles; the *vakfiye* or deed of endowment of the building is not extant, nor has any research to date unearthed anything like the marvelous account books for the Süleymaniye Mosque with their minute accounting of all facets of construction expenses, including the tiles.³⁰ If we accept that there is a high probability that the Mihrimah Mosque was originally constructed with some İznik tile decoration, then certainly the tiles under discussion, now dispersed widely around the world, must be considered candidates. Other possibilities do exist, and they will be examined in a forthcoming study.

Unlike the unified-field tile panels from İznik that became more popular in the later 1560s, in which more often than not the borders of the panels were integral to the entire composition rather than being made of separate tiles, fields of modular-repeat tiles such as these were of course always accompanied by a separate border, usually on a red, green or blue ground to contrast with the white ground of the field tiles. In the mosque of Rüstem Pasha, a mosque with many diverse modular-repeat tile patterns, an artistic unity was attempted through the use of a single border design that was used everywhere in the building. Were the Mihrimah Mosque to have had tiles, the same situation doubtlessly applied. Are there any border tiles now dispersed that we can suggest might have been part of the original Mihrimah revetments? In fact, if we return to the tomb of Eyüp, we find that two types of blue-ground borders are today used on the south wall of the tomb. One of these borders consists of individual tiles whose design incorporates on a blue ground a central “rotating” rosette, two white tulips with red spots on the petals, two small lotus palmettes, and a half of a radial rosette at each end. The green is again dark and almost greyish, a sign, according to our reckoning, of a date to the mid-sixties. [Illustration 18] Such border tiles are rare outside of Turkey – a single example appeared on the art market some years ago.³¹ In Turkey, they occur in great numbers in two locations, both of them what we have termed above pastiche revetments: the courtyard wall of the Shrine at Eyüp, and the east back gallery of the mosque of Sultan Ahmet I, completed around 1616. [Illustrations 10 and 19] As noted above, construction of that mosque was completed around 1616, by which time the İznik kilns were in deep decline, and the architect turned to other sources, apparently including Kütahya and the plundering of existing monuments (two of them, vezirial palaces, were pulled down to clear the site for the mosque),³² in order to decorate the huge building. If these border tiles, as we conjecture, may also have been originally



Illustration 18. South wall of Shrine of Eyüp Sultan, İstanbul,
with two different blue-ground tile borders



Illustration 19. Blue-ground tile border with two white tulips and rosettes
Detail, east rear balcony, Mosque of Sultan Ahmet I, İstanbul

intended for the mosque of Mihrimah Sultan in the mid-1560s, then their appearance in the mosque of Sultan Ahmet may have resulted in the wake of damage to the Mihrimah Mosque in the earthquake of 1592. This in turn suggests that the Mihrimah Mosque, repeatedly damaged in earthquakes due to its location directly above the fault, may have served as a source of tiles for other monuments and eventually for the art marketplace for several centuries, from the aftermath of the 1592 earthquake to that of 1894.

The Mihrimah Mosque, if indeed a source of many of these dispersed tiles, is in distinguished company. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the Ottoman palace at Edirne, ruined during the Russian siege in 1878–79, was apparently a major source of İznik tiles in the marketplace.³³ The Old Palace, situated near the Bayezit Mosque in the center of İstanbul, and today vanished, was probably another source of recycled tiles. As we will discuss in a future paper, even the tiles of important private royal monuments such as the baths built in 1572 by Sinan for Sultan Selim II in the Topkapı Palace itself have been dispersed to enter collections all over the world; the panels remaining in İstanbul today are only a part of the original decorative scheme, which included elaborate inscriptions.³⁴ Finally, an earlier incarnation of the Eyüp Mosque itself may have been the original site of many tiles now found both at Eyüp and dispersed among European collections; the low-lying and probably alluvial site at Eyüp, close to the Golden Horn river estuary, appears to have been quite vulnerable to earthquake damage. Solving the riddle of dispersed tiles will in the end require not only an accounting of what is today found in European collections and Turkish pastiche revetments, but will probably involve excavation on site to see if the evidence of shards may cast further light on the original tile revetments of a number of reconstructed and repaired İstanbul mosques. The variety of styles and chronological spectrum found in dispersed tiles suggest that there will be many such monuments.

19th century European collectors and art historians, following a long tradition in Europe, revered İznik ceramics (which they wrongly attributed to various places, the bulk of the tiles being assigned to Rhodes) as masterpieces of art, as well as orientalist trophies. Thanks to their efforts, resulting in the cataloguing and preservation of decontextualized architectural decoration in European collections, many of these dispersed tiles can now gradually be re-contextualized as architectural decoration, and better understood as ranking among the great achievements of Ottoman art.

Notes

1. This article, written in honor of the retirement of my dear friend and colleague Tadeusz Majda of the University of Warsaw, is projected to be the first in a series of articles examining the dispersal of repeat-pattern İznik re-tvetment tiles originally intended for the decoration of Ottoman monuments. Another series of articles, the first of which will be published in the journal of the Benaki Museum in Athens in 2005, will examine the phenomenon of dispersed unified-field İznik tile panels. The author is indebted to Marian Sachs, Archivist of the Providence Art Club, for assistance in the preparation of this article.

2. Walter B. Denny, Dispersed Ottoman unified-field tile panels in *Journal of the Benaki Museum* 3 (2003), pp. 23–31 (hereafter Denny 2003); *İznik: The Artistry of Ottoman Ceramics* (London, 2004), pp. 207–213 (hereafter Denny 2004); Walter B. Denny and Ahmet Ertuğ, *Gardens of Paradise* (Istanbul, 1998), pp. 154–156 (hereafter Denny & Ertuğ 1998).

3. Walter B. Denny, Oriental and Islamic Art: The Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in *Connoisseur* (May, 1978), pp. 73–80, reprinted in *The Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum* (Boston, 1978), pp. 73–80; Turkish Tiles in *Archaeology* XXXII, 6 (November, 1979), pp. 8–15.

4. Sotheby's, *Arts of the Islamic World*, London, 13 April, 1988, (Lot 348).

5. For comments on the “stencil style” see Walter B. Denny, *The Ceramics of the Mosque of Rüstem Pasha and the Environment of Change* (New York & London, 1977), pp. 55, and illus. 46, 71, 145, 150 and 151 (hereafter Denny 1977). For the four-fold module on separate tiles, in the same work, illustrations 70, 71 and 72; for the four-fold module combined in a single tile, illus. 35, 73, 74, 133, 234 and 236.

6. See Denny & Ertuğ 1998, pp. 63–67.

7. Gulbenkian 1647; see Sitare Turan Bakır, *İznik Çinileri ve Gulbenkian Koleksiyonu* (Ankara, 1999), pp. 46–47 and plate 111 (hereafter Bakır, 1999).

8. See Denny & Ertuğ 1998, pp. 63 and 65.

9. Gulbenkian 1579; see Bakır, 1999, pp. 50–51

10. See J. M. Rogers et. al., *The Topkapı Saray Museum, Architecture: The Harem and other Buildings* (Boston, 1988), pl 67.

11. See Denny & Ertuğ 1998, pp. 165–168.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 54–59.

13. Sotheby's, *Arts of the Islamic World*, London, 13 October 2004 (Lot 197).

14. The imitation of earlier tiles in a later period, and also the re-use of stencils at İznik, were evidently not uncommonly practised at İznik. See Walter B. Denny, *Turkish Ceramics and Turkish Painting: The Role of the Paper Cartoon in Turkish Ceramic Production* in Abbas Daneshvari, ed., *Essays in Islamic Art and Architecture* (Malibu, 1986), pp. 21–28.

15. Chester Beatty Library Ms. 413, folio 38; see V. Minorsky, *The Chester Beatty Library: A Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts and Miniatures* (Dublin, 1958), plate 7. See Denny & Ertuğ 1988, pp. 111–113 for the interior tiles.

16. See Mehmet Nermi Haskan, *Eyüp Tarihi* (2 volumes, İstanbul, 1993), pp. 49–53.

17. See Denny & Ertuğ 1998, pp. 178

18. See Denny 1977, pp. 58–64 and 74–78

19. See Denny & Ertuğ 1998, pp. 154–156.

20. See Denny 1977, pp. 114–122. See also Kurt Erdmann, *Die Fliesen am Sünnet Odası des Topkapı Sarayı in İstanbul*, in *Aus der Welt der Islamischen Kunst: Festschrift für Ernst Kühnel* (Berlin, 1959), pp. 44–53.

21. Bakır 1999, p. 60.

22. Louvre inventory 39/9, 2/289; Benaki Museum old exhibition numbers 353, 396 and 400; Kunstgewerbemuseum Hamburg inventory 1882-34/38.

23. Davids Samling inventory Isl. 182; Rijksmuseum inventory 11853; Others include a panel of 24 in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, four in the Hermitage in St. Petersburg; and others in the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo; Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; Çinili Köşk Museum, İstanbul.

24. Catalogued as T (esson) 17

25. Among others: Sotheby's *Arts of the Islamic World*, London, 13 October 2004 (Lot 195); London, 28 April 2004 (Lot 112); London, 15 October 2003 (Lot 52); London, 11 October 1996 (Lot 29).

26. See Mustafa Cezar, *Osmanlı Devrinde İstanbul yapıları da tahribat yapan yangınlar ve tabii afetler in Türk San'atı Tarihi Araştırmaları ve İncelemeleri I* (İstanbul, 1963), pp. 327–414. Also Ernest Mamboury, *İstanbul touristique* (İstanbul, 1957) pp 42–47.

27. Again, Cezar, *op. cit.* See also Aptullah Kuran, *Sinan* (Washington, D.C. and İstanbul, 1987, pp. 128–132.

28. The author has been unable to corroborate this information from Turkish sources; see however Edwin A. Grosvenor, *Constantinople*, Vol II (Boston, 1895), p. 614. No mention of this is made by Ottoman commentators such as Ayvansarayî; see H. Crane, trans. and annotated, *The Garden of the*

Mosques (Leiden, Boston and Cologne, 2000), p. 26.

29. Cornelius Gurlitt, *Die Baukunst Konstantinopels* (Berlin, 1912), plates 20, a-c.

30. See Ömer Lütfü Barkan, *Süleymaniye Camii ve İmareti İnşaatı* (1550-1557), 2 vols, (İstanbul, 1972 and 1979) Interestingly enough, the earliest surviving *vakıfname* from a woman's foundation is dated as late as 1602; see the volume *Tarihimizde Vakıf Kuran Kadınlar* edited by Tülay Duran and published in İstanbul by the Tarihi Araştırmalar ve Dokümentasyon Merkezi Kurma ve Geliştirme Vakfı in 1990. It is possible that the long-awaited forthcoming study on the architect Sinan by Professor Gülru Necipoglu of Harvard may shed some light on this matter.

31. See *The Unity of Islamic Art* (Riyadh, 1985), catalogue 136a.

32. Godfrey Goodwin, *The History of Ottoman Architecture*, p. 343

33. See Denny 2003, p. 30.

34. Three panels remain in the Topkapı; fragments of at least two other large panels are known in several collections, among them the Gulbenkian (see Bakır 1999, pp. 128-129); tiles from the same project surfaced in a recent Stuttgart auction held by the Nagel firm.