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THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE CHRISTIANS
IN ASIA MINOR POTTERY

This study deals with the Greek and Armenian potters especially of North-Western Asia Minor and the contribution of the former to the development of tile-making and -painting in their original homelands and in Greece after their compulsory emigration in 1922.

The indigenous populations of Asia Minor—Greek and Armenian Christians—are known to have played as important a role before 1923 in the advancement of the art of pottery in Asia Minor as the alien Muslim population and formerly the Persians. It is also known that during the period of the Turkish empire both in Cyprus and in the Greek islands which were occupied by the Turks until 1912 (i.e. Crete, Rhodes, Cos, Samos, Chios, Lesbos etc.), all the important potteries were almost entirely Greek.

As is well known, one of the countries where, during the more distant past, the quality of pottery and vase-painting had reached a very high level by world-wide standards was Persia. However after the Mongols invaded the country of Darius during the XIIIth century, Persian intellectuals and artists, including accomplished vase-painters, fled to Asia Minor, a large part of which (Anatolia) was in the hands of the Seldjuks who patronized and fostered the fine arts.

These Persian specialists in pottery along with many others of their fellow craftsmen, who were later on from time to time transported willy-nilly to Anatolia, passed on their advanced knowledge of ceramics and their artistic disposition to the native Ottomans and Christians, both Greek and Armenian¹.

There were three very important pottery centres in North-Western Asia Minor: the former Nicaea (Iznik), Kütahya in the interior, and Çanakkale by the Dardanelles². These centres are links at the end of a very long and very old chain of schools of oriental ceramic art which stretches back deep into Asia.

An evaluation of the old centres of clay handicraft of the Asian sequence reveals a flow of technical knowledge and representational values which, generally deteriorates as it goes from the east towards the west, in other words from the qualitatively superior ceramic art of China porcelain towards Asia

1. See Nomikos, *Αγγειοπλαστική*, p. 7 and sequence. Yoshida, pp. 48-120. Lane, *Islamic Pottery*, pp. 60, 63.

2. Lane, *Islamic Pottery*, p. 66; Fehérvári, pp. 145, 149-80.

Minor³, where cities famous for the making of decorated pottery were, as we have said Nicaea (Iznik) from the XVth to the XVIIth centuries, Kütahya XVIIth-XIXth centuries, and Çanakkale at the end of the XVIIIth and beginning of the XIXth centuries⁴.

3. The exchange of influence between various areas in a wider geographical zone is unavoidable, when the art in question is practised there. Fehérvari referring to art wrote: *“In art and architecture Seldjuk traditions continued in Antolia under the Mongols and during the early Beylerbeg period. In architecture however a new trend can be observed and soon after the occupation of Bursa and Iznik by the Ottomans. The new Empire required new types of buildings which were influenced to some extent by Byzantine architecture”* (p. 144).

On the same theme Nomikos wrote: *“So Byzantine and Muslim art had mingled to such an extent since the eighth century that after the fall of Constantinople the captured populations easily applied themselves to the practice of the fine arts of their captors. The exceptional flowering, particularly of ceramic art which blossomed forth throughout the Turkish Empire during the sixteenth century and which was then the only heir to the traditions and arts of the great epoch of the Caliphate can confidently be attributed to the Christian as well as Muslim craftsmen”* (*Αγγειοπλαστική*, p. 11).

Further on he continues: *“During the XVth and XVIIth centuries ceramics of a new kind made their appearance in Persia. The relics of this age have a marvellous fineness of clay and a yellowish whiteness in the enamel which renders them comparable to porcelain. The shapes of the products of this epoch are simple and so it seems more likely that they were destined for household use rather than for pleasure or decoration. The postures and facial expressions of the figures on them, the shape of the trees and the economy of the landscapes are all very similar to those on Chinese ceramics. We even meet those characteristically Chinese dragons on them”* (pp. 25-6).

In a later work he writes: *“The Turks built their mosques following the design of Byzantine churches but for religious reasons they could not also imitate the interior decoration of churches. They preserved the old Persian system which had been customary in Konya and continued even in Istanbul to adorn the walls with enamelled ceramic tiles. So a Byzantine style of building with Persian internal ceramic decoration became the norm for Turkish mosques”* (*Κεραμοσυγήματα*, p. 9).

As for artistic influences in the field of pottery and pottery-painting it should be remarked that as communications between Persia and China, which are relatively close together, were somewhat easier (Yoshida, p. 49), Iranian pottery came into contact with and was influenced by the art and technique of the artists of imperial China much sooner and more intensely. In turn, this influence, slightly altered, was handed on westwards to the neighbouring Armenians who almost as much as the Persians have a particular flair for this branch of the art. (Migeon-Sakisian, pp. 125-141).

Later on, the immigration of Armenians and Persians, already noted, into Asia Minor can explain the fact that some pottery of Nicaea bears distinctive motifs of Persian and Chinese art. For details of this influence, see Lane, *Islamic Pottery*, pp. 43, 50, 51, 52, 57, and 62, where he writes about the wall tiles of the mosque of Damascus:

“The designs are of the Persian-Chinese character that has become international and their broad handling, with stiff black outlines, suggests that they were immediately derived from tile work in the ‘cuerda seca’ technique”.

4. There was in Çanakkale—before the expulsion of the refugees—a whole quarter (the

CERAMIC CENTRES IN NORTH-WESTERN ASIA MINOR

Nicaea, the modern Iznik, in Bithynia and once capital of the Byzantine Greek state of the same name (1204-1261), later became famous for the excellent craftsmanship of its ceramic faiences which are outstanding for their pattern and colour. For this reason when it was at its artistic peak the Turks used to call it Iznik Tchinicli (Iznik the Pottery). Flowers and, more generally, shapes taken from plants are the commonest pictorial decorations to be found on Iznik pottery, though less often there are men, animals, buildings, ships etc.

At the time when their quality was at its peak, ceramics from Nicaea (Iznik) both the decorated vessels and the decorative tiles with which Muslims used to adorn their mosques, were widely distributed in Asia Minor and neighbouring regions. And so considerable quantities of these beautiful ceramics came to Constantinople and to Rhodes which during the period of Frankish domination and later was an important commercial entrepot. Mainly through Rhodes but also through Constantinople these excellent ceramics from Asia Minor became known to the European world at the beginning of the XIXth century⁵. For this reason they are known as "Rhodian" ceramics. It seems, however, that an important decorative ceramics industry which successfully imitated that of Asia Minor⁶ had developed locally in Rhodes (Lindos) independent of Nicaea and later Kütahya⁷.

In 1927, Kütahya, which is situated in the interior of Asia Minor at an altitude of 930 metres, had a population of 17.000, though before 1923 this had exceeded 32.000. Of these 5000 were Greek and 3000 Armenians. This small city which is regarded in a sense as the successor and heir to the famous pottery of the older Nicaea, had at that time two Greek Orthodox churches, two Greek secondary Schools and numerous primary schools.

Of the ceramics Nomikos writes:

"This art in Nicaea arose, flourished and declined from the XVth to the XVIIth century and its traditions were inherited by the Asia Minor city Kütahya, where they are still preserved today... The products of the factories of Kütahya which were active during the XVIIth, XVIIIth and XIXth centuries are

Tsanakadika or tsanaki-shops), where as well as the pitchers and other clay objects for household use, they had for many years been making decorative objects like those which Mygdalinos is making today. These wares—winged horses, "pards", birds, ponies, little donkeys, tobacco-jars, salt-cellars, and large vases—had a wide distribution and were sold as far afield as Rumania and Russia. (See Zographou, p. 181).

5. Nomikos, *Αγγειοπλαστική*, p. 41.

6. For the distinction between the ceramics of Rhodes, Iznik (Nicaea) and Kütahya, see Sestiel, p. 24.

7. Nomikos, *Αγγειοπλαστική*, pp. 40, 47.

artistically inferior to their Rhodian (i.e. Nicaean) models but are nevertheless popular among amateurs and collectors. These factories are today still making successful imitations of Rhodian (Nicaean) work...⁸.

A lot of these ceramics from Nicaea (Iznik) and Kütahya are to be found in Turkish and Greek museums and private collections and also in Europe: for example in the Cluny Museum (1962), the Sèvres Museum of Ceramics in Paris, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, the British Museum, the Wallace Collection, the Barlow Collection (all in London), the Royal Scot Museum of Edinburgh and elsewhere.

Çanakkale is a small city in Asia Minor situated at the narrowest point of the Hellespont. Before 1923 it had a population over 10.000 of whom 5000 were Greek-speaking Greeks⁹, and 1000 Armenians.

One of the main occupations of the inhabitants of Çanakkale was that of potter, whence the name: Çanakkale (Pottery Fort). Indeed there was an entire quarter there, the Τσανακάδικα (Pitcher shops) where a large number of pitcher-makers was concentrated¹⁰. The craftsmanship of the ceramics continued to make significant progress at the end of the last century and later. During the last two centuries of the sailing era (XVIIIth and XIXth), the port of this city was an important revictualling post for the merchant ships, most of which were Greek-owned, travelling through the Dardanelles to Constantinople and the Black Sea or coming down to the Aegean and the Mediterranean.

The sailors, Greeks and others, who passed through Çanakkale bought the striking ceramics there to sell later, or to decorate their island homes. And so the households of the Greek Aegean islands were filled with the colourful “μπαρδάκια” and “τσανάκια” of Çanakkale: and not just in those islands which have no clay suitable for pottery but even in the others where local pottery industries had always flourished. This is because faïences from Çanakkale were both different from their own and much more decorative. So one can find pottery from Çanakkale in various houses and local museums in the Aegean, especially in areas which had merchant ships at their disposal during the last century. For example The Mykonos Folklore Museum¹¹, the National Folk Museum of Lesbos¹², the Ethnological and Folklore Museum in the Library of Adamandios Koraes in Chios, the “Ornaments” Collection of the Rhodes Museum (where there are also many decorative plates of the Rhodian type) and the Herakleion Historical Museum in Crete. Certain islands also possess pri-

8. See Nomikos, *Άγγειοπλαστική*, p. 40.

9. Maravelakis-Vacalopoulos, p. 287.

10. Zographou, p. 181.

11. Kyriazopoulos, *Μουσείο Μυκόνου*, p. 26.

12. Lesbos Museum, figs. 7, 10.



*“Horse-jug” from Greek workshop in Çanakkale.
Museum of Greek Folk Pottery, “The Kyriazopoulos Collection”, Athens.*



a.



b.



c.

*Three views of the "Horse-jug", from Greek workshop in Çanakkale.
Folklore Museum at the University of Thessaloniki.*



*Faiences from Greek workshop in Kütahya.
a. Folklore Museum, Athens. b. National Historical Museum, Athens.*



*Clay receptacle with Greek coat-of-arms, in relief, from Greek workshop in Çanakkale.
The Folklore Museum of Mykonos.*



*Faience boat-oil lamp vessel from Çanakkale.
Museum of Greek Folk Pottery, "The Kyriazopoulos Collection", Athens.*



a.



b.



c.

*a,b. Bottle and plate by Minas Avramidis. Kyriazopoulos' private collection, Thessaloniki.
c. Plate by Minas Avramidis. Kyriakidis' private collection, Thessaloniki.*



a.



b.

a. "Horse-jug" from Çanakkale. Museum Benaki, Athens.
b. "Horse-jug" by Demitris Mygdalinos. Museum of Greek Folk Pottery, "The Kyriazopoulos Collection", Athens.



*Camel, by Demitris Mygdalinos.
Museum of Greek Folk Pottery "The Kyriazopoulos Collection", Athens.*

vate collections of ceramics from Çanakkale (e.g. in Skyros¹³), and also on mainland Greece e.g. in the Museum of Greek Folk Pottery “The Kyriazopoulos Collection”¹⁴, which has 24 pieces from Çanakkale, the Benaki Museum in Athens¹⁵, the National Historical Museum¹⁶ in Athens, the Macedonian Folklore and Ethnological Museum in Thessaloniki, the Folklore Museum of the Aristotle University in Thessaloniki and the Thracian Folklore Museum in Komotini.

The best-known exhibitions of Çanakkale pottery outside Greece are as follows: the Çinili Köşk Museum and the Municipal Museum of Constantinople¹⁷. The Ethnological Museum and the Private Collection of Salih Güven in Ankara, the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, the Royal Scot Museum of Edinburgh (a gargoyle-like animals), the Sèvres Museum of Ceramics in Paris and others.

It should be noted that in the catalogues of many museums (and usually in Greek ones) the various exhibitions are labelled not according to the place of manufacture but according to when the museum acquired the object. Thus, for example, an authentic small “horse-jug” from Çanakkale may be labelled “from Skyros” or “from Mytilini”, in other words from wherever the museum bought it. These catalogues also record the date of acquisition of the object, but the date of manufacture only when it is known.

Ceramics from Çanakkale which are generally speaking less sophisticated than those from other parts of Asia Minor were very rarely referred to in foreign books of the sort at least until 1971¹⁸. Indeed a few reservations about their quality have been expressed. Lane for example, writes:

*“A good deal of unpretentious but often very attractive peasant pottery was made during the first half of the nineteenth century at Çanak Kale on the Dardanelles”*¹⁹.

Perhaps unfavourable opinions of the quality of Çanakkale handicraft should be attributed to the strict and narrow-minded application of artistic values to peasant handicraft the distinguishing feature of which is a certain “clumsiness”. If however one frees oneself from artistic prejudices of this kind, one can see, deeper down, the rich and vital creative strength which many of the works of these anonymous craftsmen possess.

13. Chadzimihalis, p. 148; Pittari-Mayioletti, pp. 6-9.

14. Vavylopoulos-Haritonides, p. 32.

15. Öney, p. 76, 69, 72, 76, 77.

16. Meletopoulos, p. 80.

17. Lane, *Peasant Pottery*, pp. 232-237; Öney, pp. 67-77.

18. Öney, 1971.

19. Lane, *Islamic Pottery*, p. 66.

THE GREEK AND ARMENIAN POTTERS OF ASIA MINOR AND THEIR WORK

There is plenty of evidence to show that a large number of the potters in Eastern Thrace and Asia Minor before 1923 were Greek or Christian. It is of course impossible for all of this to be included within the confines of this article. We can, however, divide it into three categories: a) the writings of various specialists who have dealt with the matter from time to time, b) displays of pottery from Asia Minor in various museums containing pots with self-explanatory motifs as religious designs, crosses, flags, inscriptions etc., which can hardly be attributed to craftsmen of another faith. To this category also belong similar ceramics incorporated into the walls of various Christian churches from the time of Turkish domination, c) the third and most eloquent category consists of the Greeks from Asia Minor themselves, potters who fled to Greece in 1922.

If one considers the conditions under which the non-Turkish inhabitants of the various parts of the Ottoman Empire lived, one might characterize the patterns on some Greek pots as provocative to say the least. See for example the Çanakkale “horse-jug” (Plates I and II). Lane appears to be agreeing with this view when he adds to his description of a vessel the following:

“Round the neck, and in a spiral under the base, are two Armenian inscriptions disguised as ornament, perhaps to escape notice by the Muslim overseers at the factory”²⁰.

Ceramics of this sort were destined for the millions of Christians²¹ of the boundless Turkish empire and also for export or for the crews of Christian ships which called at this port. Some of these “Greek Orthodox” ceramics were decorated secretly, as we have said, by Christian potters amongst the others which were destined for their Muslim customers. Naturally these last, products of Christians for Muslims, are the most numerous.

The exchange of influence between the various neighbouring nationalities in this broader geographical area as well as descriptions of various samples of pottery decorated with Greek religious designs are recorded in many general and specialized publications on the subject. I propose to cull some of these and quote them below.

Nomikos writes:

“The Byzantine style had so far mixed with the Muslim since the eighth century that after the fall (of Constantinople) the conquered populations easily adapted their skills to the art of the occupiers. The exceptional flowering of ceramic art, especially that which burst forth during the sixteenth century throughout

20. Lane, *Islamic Pottery*, p. 50, footnote 3.

21. Charleston, p. 96.

*the Turkish Empire can confidently be attributed to both Muslim and Christian craftsmen alike. This was then the only heir to the traditions and craftsmanship of the great era of the Caliphate*²².

In the same publication, Nomikos writes: “Many more ceramics with Greek inscriptions came into our possession and acquaintance. Such amongst others is a plate formerly belonging to a family from the village of Lindos in Rhodes and bearing, in the middle, a representation of the hand of a bishop giving blessing and round the rim the following inscription in Greek:

Τὸν δεσπότην καὶ ἀρχιερέα ἡμῶν φύλαττε- Ἰουνίου 19, 1666
[“O Lord, protect our master and bishop” 19th of June 1666²³; a hymn sung by the choir at the end of the holy service while the bishop blesses the congregation, see Ἀρχιερατικόν, Athens, edition of “Apostoliki Diakonia”, 1971, p.326].

Two other plates depicting men, from the fine collection of Mrs Andromache Mela in Athens bear Greek inscriptions of similar content and date—both are from 1667.

Another plate, also with a dedication in Greek to a bishop and with motifs of carnations and other flowers, and dated April 1646, is preserved in the collection of Mr Wilson²⁴.

In another study Nomikos writes: “The Turkish branch of Islamic pottery which was fostered in all the centers of Asia Minor is the work of the Christian rayahs as well as the Turkish Muslims and to this collaboration should be attributed the striking development of its decorative motifs”²⁴.

In the same study Nomikos writes: “The Armenians who are undoubtedly the moving spirit at the pottery of Sevestia certainly practiced their craft successfully at Kütahya where even today (1922) they control the main ceramics factories”²⁵.

“The Christians helped the Turks a great deal in the development of ceramic work in Asia Minor. The effect of the Christian mind on this craft is manifest. In fact it is so strong that, apart from the shaping of the clay and the coating with enamel which are the only genuinely Muslim marks that the tiles bear, one might easily characterize them as entirely Christian work. This is because the originality, the figures and the clothes in the pictures are anything but Turkish. I do not think that the opinion that these ceramics were made by Muslims using plans prepared for them by Christians can stand. In my opinion the destination of these tiles and the spirit of the inscriptions rules out such an idea”.

As for the nationality of the potters of Nicaea (Iznik) and more generally

22. Nomikos, Ἀγγειοπλαστική, p. 11.

23. Nomikos, Ἀγγειοπλαστική, p. 39.

24. Nomikos, Κεραμοεργήματα, pp. 11-12.

25. Nomikos, Κεραμοεργήματα, p. 20.

of Asia Minor, Lane who is the important scholar concerned with Islamic and particularly Turkish ceramics, writes:

“If the Chanak wares represent a natural and spontaneous growth, those of Kütahya must be regarded as the decadent survivors of a tradition that had given the world some of the finest pottery ever made. This was the so-called Rhodian pottery of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries of which the chief place of origin was at Isnik (Nicaea) in northern Anatolia. It appears that the Isnik potters drew most of their profits from the painted tiles which they exported throughout the Turkish dominions from Constantinople to Egypt, and when in the seventeenth century building activities grew less, the tile and pottery industry naturally suffered. The craftsmen were mainly Persians, Greeks, and Armenians, for until recent times the Turks themselves have always been required to devote themselves to administration and military service rather than to industry or commerce. There are many examples of Isnik pottery bearing dates round about the middle of the Seventeenth Century and inscription in Greek, from them we may infer that, lacking large orders for tiles to decorate state buildings and mosques the potters were trying to support themselves by making vessels for their fellow Greeks. The Armenians, too, now that pottery had declined in social estimation, began to make wares to suit their own taste rather than that of their Turkish rulers; there is evidence to show that this manufacture flourished chiefly at Kütahya a city about 120 miles south-east from Brussa”²⁶.

Arseven published²⁷ amongst others two illustrated Çanakkale faience plates from Topkapi Palace Museum in Constantinople. One shows a two-masted merchant brig from the Aegean; the other is the fast little sailing-boat (beloo) which used to serve the Cyclades until as late as the first quarter of the 20th century. The same plate was published by Öney²⁸. In connection with this I would only remark that it is very well known that during the XVIIIth and XIXth century the merchant sailing fleet of the area was in Greek hands. That is why the brig on the plate has the “rayah” ensign (i.e. the flag of the Greek merchant marine during the Turkish domination)²⁹ with plenty of the horizontal stripes. The same flag appears in a multi-oared boat on the plate in Çinili Köşk Museum³⁰.

The director of the Benaki Museum M. Hadzidakis describes the following

26. Lane, *Peasant Pottery*, p. 234.

27. Arseven, pp. 167-168; Kyriazopoulos, *Μουσείο Μυκόνου*, pp. 23, 25.

28. Öney, no. 29.

29. For rayah-flags on Greek merchant ships see also the following publication: “The Centenary of the Naval Veterans’ Provident Society”, Athens 1961, figures 27 and 35.

30. Öney, no. 36.

twelve XVIIIth century painted ceramics bearing Greek inscriptions and dates. Of these, seven are to be found in Greece^{30a} :

1. Benaki Museum, Plate with a roebuck among flowers. Round the rim is an improvised and misspelt inscription written in small letters, with the name of the dedicator, Γιάννης Καλάνης Ψωμάς (=Yannis Kalanis, baker), and the date 1640 in Greek numerals (α χ μ). Photograph shown.

2. The Wilson Collection. Plate with carnations and other flowers, and a dedication to a prelate (April 1646).

3. Benaki Museum. Plate with two-storey pavilion in between two cypresses and flowers. Misspelt inscription in capitals:

Κήριε σόσον τούς εὐσεβεῖς κε ἐπάκουσον ἡμῶν -Μαῖου 25 ἔτος 1666.

[i.e. Κύριε σῶσον τούς εὐσεβεῖς καὶ ἐπάκουσον ἡμῶν (= O Lord, save the pious and hear our prayers— 25th of May in the year 1666); an antiphon sung by the clergy and the choir soon after the “small entry”, see *Ἀρχιερατικόν*, ed. by “Apostoliki Diakonia”, Athens 1971, p. 13. Photograph shown].

4. Benaki Museum. Plate with an animal (lion?) and inscription in capitals:

Δηκεοσῆνης ἤλιε νοητὲ Χρηστὲ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν Μαῖω 25 ἔτος 1666.

[i.e. Δικαιοσύνης ἤλιε νοητέ, Χριστέ ὁ Θεός ἡμῶν (= Christ, our Lord, intelligible sun of justice, 25th of May in the year 1666); Doxastikon of the Apostles sung during the verspers on Saturday before Sunday of the Blind, see *Πεντηκοστάριον*, ed. by “Apostoliki Diakonia”, Athens 1959, p. 130].

5. British Museum. Plate with a pavilion as in no. 2 but with three storeys and without the cypresses. Inscription in capitals:

Κήριε, Κήριε, μὴ ἀποστρέψῃς τὸ πρόσωπον σου ἀφ’ ἡμῶν- Μαῖου 25 ἔτος 1666.

[i.e. Κύριε, Κύριε, μὴ ἀποστρέψῃς τὸ πρόσωπόν σου ἀφ’ ἡμῶν (= O Lord, O Lord, turn not thy face from us, 25th of May in the year 1666); prayer said during the period of the Great Lent, see *Τριώδιον*, ed. by “Apostoliki Diakonia”, Athens 1960, p. 189].

6. Chios Museum. Fragment of a plate which had been incorporated into the wall of a church in the village Vavyli:

Θεοτόκε ἡ ἐλπὶς..... ἔτος 1670.

[(=O Virgin the hope of all Christians, year 1670); megalynarion of the IXth ode of the canon sung during the matins on the feast of the Presentation to

30a. According to an information given to the author of this article by the most Reverend Bishop of Philippi, Neapolis and Thasos, Prokopios, the pitchers, bearing inscriptions with liturgical and hymnographical quotations, were specially made for the ordination of priests. They were ordered to the potters by the candidates for priesthood, to be used at the ceremony of their ordination, and afterwards they were donated to the bishop.

the Temple, see *Menaion*, 2nd February, ed. by Saliveros, Athens 1926, p. 26].

7. British Museum. Plate. The hand of God giving blessing, and an inscription as follows (transcribed)

Τὸν δεσπότην καὶ ἀρχιερέα ἡμῶν, Κύριε, φύλαττε...

(=O Lord, protect our master and bishop).

8. Serail, Istanbul. Plaque for a fountain. Arabesques and a six-line inscription in capitals:

Εὐτελής καὶ ἐλάχι/στος δοῦλος τῆς Ἀφετήας / ταπηνὸς κι' ἁμαρτωλὸς—
(ΛΑ)ΣΚΑΡΙΣ (ἔτος) 1667 (= The mean and wretched slave of your lordship, a humble sinner Lascaris the year 1667). The inscription constitutes the main decoration. The lettering is the same as on the plates and possibly from the same hand (photograph in the Archives of the Benaki Museum).

9. Private German collection. (Exhibition of Muslim Craftsmanship, Munich 1912). Plate. Turk with a musket on his shoulder dragging a civilian with a rope from his neck wearing a cap and oriental breeches. Flowers on a ground. Inscription:

ΦΛΑΠΟΥΛΗΣ ΚΕΠΡΙΜΗΚΡΥΟΣ ΜΑΙΩ 8 ΕΤΗ 1669, which should read:

Φλα(μ)πούλης (?) καὶ Πριμηκ(ή)ριος...

10. On the market (1957). Plate. A church with three cupolas. An inscription in capitals as follows (transcribed):

Δὸς ἡμῖν βοήθειαν ταῖς ἱκεσίαις σου, Πανάγιε, 1670 Ἰουνίου 3

[(= O thou, the most pure one; Give us help with your prayers, 3rd of June 1670); Theotokion of the ninth ode of a canon by John the Monk sung on many occasions, see *Menaion*, Rome, p. 240, and *Παρακλητικός*, Rome, p. 626.

11. Benaki Museum. Hexagonal tile with a representation of churches and the letters NHΣTZ (?).

12. The Lavra Monastery (Athos). Tiles with the usual floral designs covering the walls of the church. On the north side is an inscription in capitals with a quotation from the Psalms:

Εἰσελεύσομαι εἰς τὸν οἶκον σου... μηνὶ Σεπτεμβρίου ἔτος 1678

[(=I shall enter into thy house... in the month of September 1678); *Ἱερατικόν*, ed. by "Apostoliki Diakonia", Athens 1977, pp. 1, 47, 89]. On the south side is another inscription, misspelt:

Οὐρανὸς πολύφωτος ἢ Ἐκκλησία ἀνεδείχθη... στερέωσον Κύριε [(=The Church is revealed a brilliant heaven... make her fast, O Lord); the beginning and end of a hymn said by the priest while he is washing his hands when the holy service is over, see *Ἱερατικόν*, ed. by "Apostoliki Diakonia", Athens 1977, p. 143].

“A brief consideration of the inscriptions, Hadzidakis continues, leads to the conclusions that between 1640 and 1680 plates and other ceramics having the main characteristics of work from Asia Minor were being produced somewhere by Greeks and for Greeks. One of the potters gives us his name: Lascaris. The dexterity with which he designs Turkish arabesques is significant because it shows that the Greeks had accustomed themselves to executing oriental decoration of this kind.

Although it is not easy to determine the exact provenance of the above ceramics, it is absolutely certain that they originated in a region that was held by the Turks in the XVIIth century”³¹.

In connection with this we would have the following remarks:

Nos. 3 and 4 of the above series were republished in “Κεραμικά Μικράς Ἀσίας” [Ceramics of Asia Minor]³².

No. 3 in particular shows considerable similarity with a plate in the British Museum, also bearing a Greek inscription, which Lane published³³; no. 2, as we have said, has also been published by Nomikos³⁴.

We note also a Greek inscribed plate of 1673 is in the private collection of an English family in Smyrna³⁵.

Bossert has published a number of ceramics from Asia Minor from the XVIIIth and XIXth century³⁶ as “Griechische Arbeiten der Dardanellen”.

The contribution of the Christians, and especially of the Armenians and the antiquity of this contribution to pottery in Asia Minor are among the subjects of *World Ceramics*, where it is remarked:

“On occasion figures also appear on these Iznik vessels, but whenever they are represented they betray the hands of Christian, probably Armenian craftsmen”³⁷.

In the same publication which is one of the more serious on the subject, is mentioned (see p. 12 of the article):

“Literary sources mention pottery production in Kütahya as early as the 17th century. Evlia Chelebi also writes of Kütahya potters that they were disbelievers, obviously referring to Armenians, as becomes evident from the many inscribed vessels and tiles. Though production must really have started in the 17th century, Kütahya pottery is known only from the 18th and 19th century. Kütahya kilns were working mainly for Armenian and other Christian communities in the

31. Hadzidakis, pp. 6-7.

32. *Benaki Museum*, Introduction.

33. Lane, *Islamic Pottery*, Pl. 47B.

34. Nomikos, *Ἀγγειοπλαστική*, p. 39.

35. Xydis, p. 15.

36. Bossert, p. 10.

37. *World Ceramics* (1968) 95.

Ottoman Empire. Later they produced tiles for mosques and palaces in Istanbul but these were inferior to Iznik tiles. Examples survive in the cathedral of St. James in Jerusalem.

Kütahya pottery is made of fine white earthenware, and patterns are painted in blue, greyish-blue, green, yellow and red on a white ground under a very fine clear glaze. The vessels made are mainly utensils like coffee-pots, and saucers, small dishes etc., often very attractive. The influence of European porcelain is quite evident on them: A number of vessels and tiles bear inscriptions and their date in Armenian³⁸.

Lane writes of a XVIth century vessel from Asia Minor:

“The spouted jug illustrated here in Plate 24A has under its foot an inscription and date in Armenian: ‘This vessel Commemorates Abraham of Kütahya, servant of God in the year 959 (=A.D. 1510), on the 11th of March’³⁹.

In the same book referring to ceramics from Nicaea (Iznik), he writes: *“They were introduced gradually, on the initiative of the Iznik potters themselves—a cosmopolitan community of Turkish subjects which certainly included Armenians and perhaps also Persians and Greeks”⁴⁰.*

He adds: *“In the nineteenth century and later the old Iznik designs have been adapted by the Armenian potters of Kütahya for use on vessels of curious shape and rather poor technique: the usual ‘Rhodian’ colour-scheme is often supplemented by an opaque pale yellow”⁴¹.*

In the same publication Lane publishes the picture of a Greek plate from Asia Minor⁴².

On this (Pl. 47B, from Nicaea (Iznik) and now in the British Museum in London), shows a three-storey pavilion in the style of a pagoda Chinese influence with many external staircases and the following misspelt inscription written in capitals round the rim:

ΚΗΡΠΙΕ ΚΗΡΠΙΕ ΜΗ ΑΠΟΤΡΕΨΙΣ ΤΟ ΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΝ ΣΟΥ ΑΦ ΙΜΟΝ ΜΑΙΩ 25 ΕΤΟC 1666 which means: “Lord Lord turn not thy face away from us. May 25 the year 1666”.

The plate no. 3 in Hatzidakis’ catalogue⁴³ of the Benaki Museum is similar; in the centre a Chinese pavilion—with two storeys this time—, is pictured flanked by two slender cypress trees. This all surrounded by the following Greek inscription in capital letters:

38. *World Ceramics* (1968) 96.

39. Lane, *Islamic Pottery*, p. 44.

40. Lane, *Islamic Pottery*, p. 49.

41. Lane, *Islamic Pottery*, p. 60.

42. Lane, *Islamic Pottery*, Pl. 47B.

43. *Benaki Museum*, fig. 30.

KHPIE COCON TOYC EYCEBHC KE- EΠAKOYCON MOY-MAIΩ 25
ETOC 1666.

Comparison of these plates bearing exactly the same date, almost the same central theme, the same kind of script, roughly the same adornment and the same spelling as Hadzidakis' catalogue (nos. 3 and 4)⁴⁴ suggests that all three were made in the same workshop by the same folk artist.

In this context Lane writes: "*A number of dishes with dates between 1646 and 1669 bear phonetically spelt Greek inscription in the border, around designs of pagoda-like buildings or poorly-drawn figures. The date 1678 and other Greek inscriptions appear on tiles still in situ in the Katholikon church of the Megiste Lavra Monastery of Mount Athos...*"⁴⁵

The present director of the Benaki Museum, Angelos Delivorias, in a recent article of his published⁴⁶ amongst others, the following three ceramics with Greek inscriptions and dates from the period of the Turkish domination: a jug with the signature ΔΗΜΟ 1791; a pear-shaped vessel with a Greek date "1837 μαΐου 21", probably Thessalian, and a peculiar cup (no. 8546) a work of rustic craft which has also been discussed by another scholar⁴⁷. This little broad-mouthed cup has two vertical handles and an engraving showing a little man, a rosette and flower-shaped patterns which surround a Greek inscription, which, according to the reading of Delivorias, is as follows:

Γράφο βοσκός νὰ πήνης.
δάσκαλος με γόγκο νὰ πήνης—Φλεβάρη 17 1848

According to M. Kriaras the word γόγκος is probably equivalent to γογγυσμός (βογγυτό), the pattern βόγγος (βογγυτό). The translation would be: I write: shepherd drink. teacher drink with groaning.

The eccentric shape of this glazed pale-yellow cup which in my opinion may also be from Çanakkale, is attributable to the following. In the wall of the vessel and a circle immediately below its lip, where there is also a small tubular beak, is a row of holes. Since the small size of the vessel (9.0×11.0 cm) rules out its use as a flower vase with holes at the side (for individual stems like, for example, the pottery vases of the Greek potters of Cyprus) I think it must be an earthenware practical joke involving water, something like the "just cup", the jug with holes or the vessel of justice⁴⁸. When this receptacle is full of liquid and is tilted the fluid will flow out of the holes before it reaches

44. *Benaki Museum*, pp. 22-23.

45. Lane, *Islamic Pottery*, p. 60.

46. Delivorias, pp. 19-24.

47. Loukatos, p. 15.

48. Kyriazopoulos, "Ceramics", *Νεοελληνική Χειροτεχνία*, p. 101.

the brim and will wet the unsuspecting person who tries to drink from it. This, I think, would match the satirical character of the inscription.

In the same article a pitcher is published which bears a representation of a caique with billowing sail and flags with a horizontal stripe, while two horsemen stand by on dry land. According to Delivorias these are St. George and St. Demetrius. I would add that the horizontal stripe on the caique's little flags may possibly be derived from the stripes of the rayah banner of the period of Turkish domination. For this flag see above, on the plates published by Arseven.

In this chapter I would like to make a few additional remarks concerning the ceramics and potters of Çanakkale.

As I have mentioned, there is little discussion of the traditional ceramics in the international bibliography of this centre in Asia Minor, despite the fact that its products are noteworthy and present a number of peculiarities. Until 1971 relatively the most important publication on this subject was a brief article by Lane written in 1939. In 1971 however the Turkish company Çanakkale Seramik Fabrikalari S.A. put Öney's book, *Turkish Period Çanakkale Ceramics*, into circulation.

The 115 ceramics belonging to five museums of which three are Turkish, one British and one Greek are published in this book which is written in Turkish and English (pp. 80, 79 pictures). I would remark here that at least four Greek museums contain noteworthy collections of Çanakkale ceramics.

This publication which comprises brief descriptions, dating, qualitative analysis and an attempt at classifying the published material is a start in the study of the ceramics of the Dardanelles — a field which in my opinion has been misunderstood. Apart, however, from saying that it is impossible to establish when the pottery-making activities of this small city began, there is no mention anywhere in the book of the nationality of the Çanakkale potters. So the uninformed reader is left with the bogus impression that because the book is entitled *Turkish Period Çanakkale Ceramics*, the makers too of these ceramics must be Turkish. But some Asia Minor pitchers have Greek inscriptions or are adorned with very eloquent Greek motifs as in Plate I and II which cannot, of course, be attributed to non-Greek potters. For this reason the author, Öney Gönül regards ceramics of this kind as imitations and simply changes their place of origin, attributing their provenance to the Greek islands of the Aegean (although the word "Greek" is not used in the text).

If this were the case we would have to accept that contrary to the demographic information published about Çanakkale from time to time, Turks only lived in this small town before 1923, where in fact they were the minority.

As a consequence then Dimitri Mygdalinos and his Greek fellow-crafts-

men from Çanakkale who came to Greece from the Dardanelles, must find another place of birth. Even the Çanakkale ceramics which came to the Greek Aegean islands will have to find a new homeland. Such, for example, were the ceramics which the ship of my great-grandfather Captain Nicholas Malouhos used to transport to Mykonos, having stopped on its way from Russia at the port of Çanakkale to buy them from the Greek factories on the Hellespont during the middle of the last century. These last, authentic examples from Çanakkale are now to be found in the Museum of Greek Folk Pottery in Athens “The Kyriazopoulos Collection”⁴⁹. I think then that extracts like the following are, to say the least, an affront to the historical facts regarding this branch of art⁵⁰: “*In various islands in the Aegean sea, many ceramic articles—some obviously imported from Çanakkale—have been found. For this reason certain sources have assumed all Çanakkale ceramics to be Greek made. As pointed out earlier, ceramic production was an important part of trading activity in Çanakkale from 18th century onwards. It is natural that such products were shipped in large numbers to the Aegean islands. It is also natural that the islanders themselves engaged in ceramic production. Nevertheless, Çanakkale ceramics are today recognized internationally and exhibited as such in foreign museums and in art markets, even though they are still little known*”. In her conclusions however she nonetheless remarks that: “*It is wrong to label Çanakkale ceramics—as certain sources have done—as Greek made. Ceramics found in the Aegean Islands differ from Çanakkale work with their different designs, colours, forms and with the more common use of overglaze painting technique*”⁵¹.

But 32 years ago Lane wrote, as if in anticipation of *Çanakkale Seramik Fabrikalari*, Anglo-Turkish publication, the following:

“*The Chanak wares were widely current in the Aegean area and examples found in various Greek islands were formerly accepted as evidence that they were made there; the dealers in Athens and Constantinople, however, are unanimous in attributing them to Chanak and in so doing have received the sanction of the authorities at the Ottoman Museum*”⁵².

UNPUBLISHED GREEK CERAMICS FROM ASIA MINOR

In addition to the above evidence, I offer here descriptions and pictures of six more Greek ceramics from Asia Minor. All six were made before 1922

49. Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou, pp. 378-380.

50. Öney, pp. 64-65.

51. Öney, p. 66.

52. Lane, *Peasant Pottery*, pp. 233-34.

and are now to be found in museums in Athens, Thessaloniki and Mykonos.

I have termed “horse-jugs” those Çanakkale decorative vessels—works of folk craft—whose upper part and the narrow mouth are in the shape of a horse⁵³.

Among the vessels of this type in the Museum of Greek Folk Pottery in Athens “The Kyriazopoulos Collection” no. 8347, is one⁵⁴ (Pl. I) with a picturesque Anglo-Greek motif. It measures 47.0×21.0 centimeters and has a broad round base from which rises the elegant pear-shaped body of the vessel. This culminates in a neck which is the erect robust neck of the horse with its small head at the top. The head is looking forward and its dilated mouth, which is also the mouth of the vessel, is open. It also has a short mane and two little clay beads for eyes. Immediately below the head, the two reins distinctly project and a little further down rise, on right and left, two gilded triangular wings which frame the head. Still further down are discerned the two rudimentary forelegs of the horse. Below the wings, the two arms of a large horseshoe-shaped moulded frame stick out, which I believe represent the yoke of the horse in harness. In each of the gaps between neck and yoke is a daisy in the round. At the back of the neck there is a hole through which the vessel is filled. There, also, is a large curved handle which represents the animal’s tail.

On the upper part of the vessel’s “belly” is a large moulded rosette with very dense relief- and print-work decoration on it. Two small flower-holders have been attached to the two sides of the body. Further down, above the base, the craftsman has continued the painted decoration with two flag-poles, which slant up from the base of the whole. Of these flags the one is English and the other the Greek naval flag. A brown glaze has been used on the body of the pot but the chromatic spectrum used in the decoration is very broad. Various parts have been painted with unbaked oil paint brown, dark brown, white, blue, yellow, gold and bronze.

All this—the horse’s head disproportionately large compared with the lilliputian legs, the enormous yoke and the huge wild cat’s tail—rising from the belly of the animal (and of the vessel) constitutes an irrational farrago of horse’s limbs and harness parts; a farrago made all the more complicated and diverse by the two pointed wings at the sides, the interposed daisies, the yoke, the large central projecting rosette, the two little flower holders stuck on at the side, the two flags and the round base.

All these features of this extravagantly bedecked ceramic which together form a bizarre synthesis, are mitigated by a harmonious colouring and the

53. Kyriazopoulos, “Ceramics”, *Νεοελληνική Χειροτεχνία*, p. 92, fig. 50.

54. Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou, fig. 1.

little horse itself which is about to flutter to the top. Besides, the components of the whole are not at all disturbing: on the contrary, they blend visually and go together to form, in effect, a surreal and aesthetically satisfying sculpture, the work of some anonymous folk-artist.

As for the Anglo-Greek decoration of this Greek ceramic from Çanak-kale, one may suppose that chronologically it can be connected with times when the presence of the English in the Hellespont was particularly frequent or permanent. Such times were either the three years of the Crimean War (1853-1856) when the Anglo-French fleet regularly sailed through the Straits, or the years 1918-1922 when Allied warships, including Greek and English were permanently at anchor in the Dardanelles and the Propontis.

The "horse-jug", no. 365 in the Folklore Museum of Thessaloniki University (Pl. II a, b, c) differs slightly from the foregoing, especially in part of the painted decoration. It probably comes from the same Greek Çanakkale factory. To be precise this "horse-jug" from Thessaloniki differs from the other as follows: the two rosettes between the yoke and the neck are slightly larger in this case. The decoration of the large rosette (which is fastened to the belly of the vessel by two little struts and its own lowest extremity) consists of a cross in low relief in the middle which is formed by two arching branches (of laurel?). The most important difference, however, concerns the flags which in this case are both Greek; the right one the naval flag and the left hand the land flag⁵⁵. In between the flags is a small relief rosette.

The colouring of this "horse-jug" which measures 46.0×23.0 centimetres is somewhat less striking than that of the former. A mustard-coloured glaze with brown spots covers the body of the vessel, giving an artificial effect of marble. The other colours—yellow, green, blue, red, off-white and gold—are unbaked and superimposed on the glaze.

In my opinion a Çanakkale "horse-jug" laden with aesthetically matching multi-coloured reliefs and bright ornamentation is one of the most impressive creations of the kind, representative of its origin. Apart from its artistic worth this specimen is also of remarkable ethnological significance because besides the two Greek flags, the uplifted horse's head and the two wings which frame it suggest the presence of a Pegasus which, whether it is accompanied by Greek flags or not, makes us aware of the nation's mythological and ancestral home.

In the Mykonos Folklore Museum⁵⁶ there is a Çanakkale folkcraft faience

55. The Greek national flags—a large white cross on a blue ground for the land and alternating blue and white stripes with a small white cross in the top left hand corner for the sea—have been in use since 1822.

56. *Mykonos Museum*, p. 26.

vase (Pl.IV). It consists of a cylindrical clay receptacle (26.0×14.5) open at the top where it is slightly wider in diameter. The main coloured decoration is in the form of falling water cascading in yellow and green upon a brown background. One side of the cylinder shows the Greek national coat-of-arms with two figures of Heracles, in relief, framed below by two large fern fronds that form a semicircle. There is ribbing around the edge of the vase. The design was made with moulds.

The following extracts from a very interesting article by Loukatos provide us not only with useful information but also explanations of folk inscriptions on modern Greek vessels generally and the psychology of the folk artist writer.

“It is well known that when a craftsman, whatever his medium be, rates his work above others and esteems it, he takes care to engrave or paint his name on it. The maker’s signature often primitive or schematic is, on all forms of folk-craft not just a personal trade mark but also a sort of extension of the creative personality, an emotional disposition towards a more lasting contact with the buyer.

After the signature comes the information. Folk-craftsmen often take the initiative in explaining to the public when, why and where they made the object. And so we have this evidence for the date, place and purpose of the various objects, all of which is so valuable as regards the history of the craft and which we are delighted to find, and search for desperately when it is absent”.

“Amongst our folk-potters”, Loukatos continues, “names are mentioned rarely and simply, just so that they may circulate among the neighbouring villages or fellow citizens. ‘Yeorgis, son of Petros’ or ‘Nicolas Siphnios’ or ‘Mastropanayis’ etc. are the humble signatures of our almost anonymous craftsmen, which are sometimes accompanied by a date, as for example we find on a wine jug in the Benaki Museum ‘Dimos 1791’”⁵⁷.

Modern Greek pottery was intended mainly to meet household needs. For this reason it was produced in large quantities and had no pretensions to excellence. In this case, all that it sought was to record the place of the relevant factory or the clay’s provenance, as, for example, we can see today on pitcher-shaped pots which are on sale, with the customary inscriptions: “Aegina”: “Siphnos”, “Kalogreza”, etc. At most when the wholesale production rises to what we might call craftsmanship and becomes a rustic ornament or a tourist memento, the word ἐνθύμιον (souvenir) might be used (e.g. souvenir of Skyros, of Mitiilini, of Chios) occasionally accompanied by the date or the craftsman’s two initials.

A craftsman in clay is usually illiterate and is afraid or ashamed of spelling

57. Loukatos, p. 15.

mistakes (in Greece he also has the worry of “Katharevousa”). We commonly come upon these spelling errors of the common people in inscriptions on both ancient and Byzantine pots. This fear of writing then prevents the potter from inscribing his inspiration on his work”.

Below are descriptions of two souvenir pots from Greek factories in Kütahya, which were still working in 1921 (i.e. on the eve of the forced exile of their makers from their ancient homeland in Asia Minor). These pots are now in two museums in Athens.

In the Museum of Greek Folk Craft in Athens, listed as no. 3304 there is a faience bottle made of white clay and with a pointed stopper. measuring 21.0×10.0 cm (Pl. IIIa).

Colourful plant-like designs thickly cover the off-white ground of the bottle. At the sides there are two flower-shaped rosettes and in the middle in a six side frame is the inscription:

ENΘYMION KOYTAXEIA 1921 (souvenir Kütahya).

In the National Historical Museum in Athens there is a small spherical faience vase (no. 5056) which has a little lid in the middle with a small knob (Pl. IIIb). Its measurements are 12×10 cm. The off-white glaze is both internal and external. The colourful decoration covers the outer surfaces, where diamond shapes with plant patterns inside and overlapping the edges have been sketched on an off-white background. In one of these frames we find the inscription: ENΘYMION KIOYTAXEIAS 1921 (souvenir of Kütahya 1921).

The main colours used in the decoration are blue, mauve, green, azure and a little brick-orange. On the bottom and inside the lid the number 1 has been scratched.

I think we can include among these “hellenophone” ceramics from Asia Minor a faience paraffin lamp in form of a little steamer which comes from Çanakkale (Pl. V). This is now in the Museum of Greek Folk Pottery in Athens “The Kyriazopoulos Collection”⁵⁸. As is known, the paraffin lamp was the main source of artificial light during the second half of the nineteenth century. This portable lamp measures 11×32.0×7.0 cm (without the works and the lamp glass). It is both a means of illumination and an eccentric table decoration. The receptacle for the paraffin forms the hold of the little ship and in place of the funnel are the mechanism and the lamp glass.

The boat is a small propeller-driven steamer of the type of converted sailing boats. The bridge is in the middle of the deck with a row of cabin doors and portholes and it supports the funnel mechanism of the lamp. There are two vents and in the prow two hawseholes, a bollard for the anchor and a little can-

58. Kyriazopoulos, *The Folklore Museum of Mykonos*, p. 34.

non. There are two more hawseholes in the stern and part of the gunwhale has been formed out of moulded semi-circular decorations. The boat has a propeller and rich painted decoration: it rests on struts which are incorporated into the keel and form the base of the lamp. Below the water line it is orange while the rest of the lamp is mainly painted black and decorated with yellow, orange and off-white. Turkish-Baroque style flourishes. These colours are unbaked.

The love of the Greek populations in the region of the Hellespont for the sea and their attachment to it are very well known. It is a fact that then, as now, the merchant fleet of the Aegean was to a large extent in the hands of Greek owners. As far as we are concerned it is more than likely that the Greek ship “Πανελλήνιον” was the inspiration behind the shape of this ceramic. This ship, under the captaincy of the Mykoniot Nicolas Sourmelis played an active part in the supplying of the various Greek army corps in Crete at the time of the revolutions of 1866 and 1878. The steamer “Panellinion” which the Turks had dubbed “Seitán Pandelí” was a propeller-driven converted sailing ship that had one funnel and was armed with cannons⁵⁹.

THE CHRISTIAN POTTERS IN ASIA MINOR AND GREECE

IN TURKEY. Before the collapse of the boundless Turkish Empire and before 1912-13 there were thousands of Christian potters, mainly Greeks and Armenians, who were moulding clay into useful shapes of every kind to serve man’s basic necessities like board, accommodation and hygiene, as well as his aesthetic satisfaction. Although in many cases they are not limited to their intended function—e.g. a storage jar may also serve as a table decoration—it was usual for the potters of the district, of common nationality and craft, to occupy themselves with a particular kind of pottery, executed in a particular style.

Along with what has been mentioned above, I would quote here a few more examples of groups of Greek potters from Asia Minor and Eastern Thrace working together during the period of Turkish domination. I mention the following:

The Greek pitcher-makers of Permena (Phanos) near Iconium (Konya) in Asia Minor, who were famous for their pitchers made of bare terracotta.

In the same region, between Iconium and Caesarea is the Cappadocian village Karvali whose Greek inhabitants made pitchers (famous in the East) as well as plates “pitharia” large jars, and clay building materials⁶⁰.

The renowned Greek potters of building material and the cauldron makers of Kios on the Propontis⁶¹.

59. Kyriazopoulos, *N. Σουρμελής*, p. 284.

60. Akakiadis, p. 21.

61. Laskaridis, p. 45.

On the Thracian shores of the Propontis, the Greek villages known as the Ghanohora were famous for their ceramic factories (where existed the Greek Orthodox Cathedral of Ghanos and Hora).

Particularly in the villages Ghanos, Hora, Myriophyto, Peristasis, Kerasia and others, hundreds of Greek kilns were at work, before 1923, producing, apart from construction ceramics of excellent quality, renowned “tsanakia” (shallow bowls), pitchers and other kinds of practical ceramics⁶².

Enos in Eastern Thrace (near the delta of the river Evros) which can trace its Greek heritage well back into antiquity and whose population in 1890 consisted of 3,000 Greeks and 400 Turks, was famous throughout the Eastern Mediterranean for its large, high quality “pitharia” large jars designed to store olive oil. This cathedral city had 17 churches, large and small, up to 300 sailing ships and many Greek schools.

I think particular mention should be made here of the numerous large guilds of Thracian Greek specialist makers of various kinds of ceramics (i.e. “hytra” a large cooking-pot, “pithos” a large jar, “tsoukali”-“cauldron”) and tile makers (tsoukalades, keramidades, keramitzides), who practiced their trade in teams or made “layinia”, “krondiria”, “pitharia”, “tsoukalia” etc. (all kinds of pitcher)^{62b}. Greek Guilds of this kind existed in Saranda Ekklisies (800 members, patron saint St. Spyridon), Pyrgos (Bourgas), Enos (patron saint St. Vlasios) Skopje, Peristasis and elsewhere during the Turkish rule. Many of these potters migrated seasonally and so practised their trade in several areas⁶³. Concerning the Greek potters of Constantinople the Curator of the Topkapi Museum in Constantinople wrote at about the middle of this century, the following:

*“In a canal near the Old Palace in Istanbul quite a large number of pieces of pottery were found, and in numerous other places cups, some of which were seen to bear the signature of the maker. As with some of the tile squares, so too on some of the pottery, writings in Greek or Armenian are to be met with, and there can be no doubt that among the craftsmen there were those who wrote in their mother tongue”*⁶⁴.

IN GREECE. The Greek population of potters in Turkey who worked at the wheels of their forefathers in their ancestral homes in Thrace and Asia Minor came to Greece in the autumn of 1922 together with millions of their

62. Maravelakis-Vacalopoulos, p. 287; Germidis, pp. 182-288.

62b. Evliya Çelebi, XVIIth cent., writing of the area around Florina and Monastirion, (Bitola) which has always been renowned for its ceramic production, includes Greek potters among the craftsmen. See V. Dimitriadis, *Central and Western Macedonia according to Evliya Celebis*, Thessaloniki 1973, p. 156.

63. Vourazeli-Marinakou, pp. 20, 104.

64. Öz, p. 44.

fellow refugees. Naturally, these men sought refuge and work at the centres of their colleagues in the various corners of Greece proper where, as a rule, suitable raw clay was to be found.

Some of them found work at the potteries of native Greeks and others started up their own small concerns, either alone or in partnership. These small businesses, which often took the form of simple cottage industries, thrived. Later on, a group of select refugee potters and vase-painters from Kütahya formed their own ceramics factory “Kütahya” in Phaliron in the Piraeus. Amongst the hand-made and artistic products of this factory are the painted wall tiles which decorate the offices of the “Parliament of the Greeks” in Athens.

At that time others of their colleagues, also excellent craftsmen and mainly Armenians, were taken on at the neighbouring and older factory “Keramikos”.

So I used to come across refugee potters almost all over Greece, for example in Thrace: Soughli, Komotini, Xanthi, Drama; in Macedonia: Nea Karvali, Florina and in and around Thessaloniki etc., in the various islands of the Aegean and Ionian seas, in the Peloponnese and in Attica, the northern suburbs of the Piraeus and especially in Aspra Homata and Kokkinia. In this last centre refugee pitcher-makers from Konya had established themselves.

It is impossible to follow here the development and evolution of all of these anonymous craftsmen in clay who revitalised with new push and inspiration this craft in the land of the mythical Athenian Keramos. We will pause for a moment at the work of two exceptional Greek refugee potter-cum-vase-painters, Minas Avramidis from Kütahya, and Dimitris Mygdalinos from Çanakkale on the Hellespont in Asia Minor.

Minas Avramidis was born in Kütahya and after he had come to Greece as a refugee, he wandered quite a lot around the various clay deposits before finally settling in Thessaloniki, on the banks of a torrent in the settlement known as “Harilaou”. Here he set up his pedal-driven wheel and he lit a small primitive kiln. The writer made his acquaintance at this workshop during the forties.

Minas, who was equally admirable as a potter and as a vase-painter, is one of the most thematically versatile artists of the kind.

His colours, which are nearly all the colours there are, he preferred to mix himself, pounding and mixing various raw materials according to old recipes from Kütahya.

His themes are all the things with which his recollections from the workshops of Asia Minor and his awareness of mythological, religious and contemporary aspects of Greece strike him. So we can divide Minas’ themes into those that follow the traditions of Asia Minor (e.g. Pl. VI) and those that are con-

nected with his new country. Though even in these last the Asia Minor origins of the artist are manifest.

There is a large collection of Avramidis' work in the Museum of Greek Folk Pottery in Athens "The Kyriazopoulos Collection"⁶⁵. Another is in the Folklore Museum of the University of Thessaloniki. There are also a considerable number of publications concerning his work: see Bibliography, below.

Dimitris Mygdalinos is one of the Greek potters from Çanakkale on the Dardanelle Straits, and he settled in Aspra Homata near Kokkinia in the Piraeus. There he worked in the little pitcher-making workshops of the refugees in order to make a living, but at the same time he was shaping his inspirations in clay.

Master Dimitris is not a painter but an admirable folk potter. His works can be divided according to type into articles for domestic use (usually richly decorated and purely artificial decorative playthings). A few of these are plain tile-coloured terracotta but the majority are coloured (without any sort of design) with unbaked colours, which was the custom in the factories of the Dardenelles.

Dimitris draws his themes from two sources which are namely, the traditions of Çanakkale (e.g. the three little animals in Pl. VII and VIII of which (VIIa) is a Çanakkale work in the Benaki Museum and (Pl. VIIb and VIII), work of Dimitris, and the traditions and everyday life of his new homeland. As regards subjects which particularly characterise his work a very significant role is played by his "penchant" for making "monsters" and the wealth of inspiration which he draws from the inexhaustible riches of Greek Mythology. As a rule his animals have a static Byzantine quality (Pl. VIIb and VIII), though their faces, especially those of the four-legged animals are usually very expressive.

In another study of mine about Dimitris, I wrote:

*"As a genuine folk artist Dimitris takes from real life or mythology whatever he needs to mould the creations of his imagination. His tendency to use mythical subjects was realised by his skill as a maker of monsters. In this he was helped through an exceptional feeling for his medium, his manual dexterity and something else—like all true artists, Dimitris does not distinguish the real from the imaginary world"*⁶⁶.

There is an important collection of Dimitris' work in the Museum of Greek Folk Pottery in Athens "The Kyriazopoulos Collection" and the following have written about his work: Zographou, Kyriazopoulos, Fatouros, Stamelos.

Speaking of these two artists from Asia Minor, Minas and Dimitris, Fatouros remarked amongst other things, the following:

65. Vavylopoulou-Haritonidou, pp. 19-27.

66. Kyriazopoulos, *Folklore Symposium III*, in press.

“From two different areas of continuous Hellenism, Minas and Dimitris, the one more as a painter, the other as a moulder are recording their historical consciousness”⁶⁷.

CONCLUSIONS

The conclusive evidence which I have used above to support the contentions of this study can be divided into three categories: a) international bibliography on the subject, b) works on display in various museums and Christian churches bearing obvious traces of Greek or Armenian origin, c) lastly, the witness of living Greek potters who fled to Greece in 1922. From all this the following general conclusions can be drawn.

1. As far as the actual artistic creation and painting of ceramics is concerned, in Turkey before 1923 main contributors were at all times and in all places Christian Greek and Armenian subjects of that state⁶⁸. As has been shown, this opinion has been accepted all over the world.

2. The present writer does not wholly agree with Lane according to whom the Turks until recently did not themselves engage in this craft⁶⁹. My own opinion is that, after the Persian teachers, there must have been a certain number of Turks at the side of the Christian potters, indulging in the noble occupation of artistic pottery.

3. As for the non-artistic side of pottery, that is, the making of household utensils there were important centres in Asia Minor and Thrace for Greek potters.

4. Art ceramics from Asia Minor were channelled into the West via the port of Constantinople but mainly via the island of Rhodes hence the name “Rhodian”. However, independent of these, both in Constantinople and Rhodes, there developed a noteworthy industry of ceramics in a style similar to that of Asia Minor.

5. By the term “Turkish pottery” which itself is part of the broader term “Islamic pottery” is meant generally all ceramic-making activity within the Turkish state, regardless of the nationality of the craftsmen.

6. Even before 1923 in the Aegean islands with which Çanakkale was in communication, potters from that town and the islands themselves were occasionally making ceramics in the style of the Dardanelles. These, however, are,

67. Fatouros, p. 381.

68. For further details see the illustrated two-volume work of John Carswell, *Kütahya Tiles and Pottery from the Armenian Cathedral of St. James, Jerusalem*, Oxford 1972, where there is also a list of inscribed tiles and vessels in the Armenian potteries of Kütahya.

69. Lane, *Peasant Pottery*, p. 232.

as a rule, of inferior quality and differ in shape from authentic, Çanakkale work. But after 1923 and the compulsory emigration of the Greek potters from Asia Minor and Thrace these craftsmen who set up in various parts of Greece did not just imitate but continued to create in the tradition which they themselves had developed in their lost homelands.

7. These Greek potters from Asia Minor who took refuge in Greece in 1922 made a manifold contribution to the reinforcement and reformation of the craft in their country, and not just in the field of their own traditional work but also in industrial production and in the field of ceramics with artistic pretensions (Valsamakis).

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