

The medieval incised slipped pottery of north-west Italy

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Riassunto. La tradizione dominante di ceramica invetriata e decorata nel nord Italia durante il Medio Evo era ingubbiata, incisa e ornata a due colori. Per lungo tempo (già cinquant'anni fa) l'unico tipo riconosciuto a nord degli Appennini era apparentemente uniforme e rinvenuto in tutta la pianura padana. Si chiamava *graffita arcaica*. Si presumeva che esso fosse derivato dalla tradizione bizantina anche se pochi dei cosiddetti prototipi erano stati allora trovati in Italia (e ceramiche bizantine sono ancora rarissime fuori del Veneto ed Emilia Romagna). Si sapeva anche del divario cronologico tra le due tradizioni italiana e bizantina. Infatti recenti ricerche confermano la datazione della *graffita arcaica*, ora denominata *padana*, al Quattrocento anche se una sua produzione nel tardo Trecento non è stata esclusa. Vent'anni fa si riconobbe un altro tipo di *graffita arcaica*, che ora si chiama *tirrenica*, in Liguria e lungo la costa Toscana. Esso però è molto più antico del tipo padano e iniziò nel Duecento. Ma anche in questo caso i suoi legami con Bisanzio non sono evidenti e forse esso deve più a contatti col Levante, stabiliti dai crociati. Recentemente alcuni tipi antecedenti sono stati riconosciuti nella pianura padana. Ad essi sono stati assegnati nomi locali, per esempio *graffita arcaica piemontese* databile alla prima metà del Trecento, *g.a. comasca* del tardo Trecento, e *g.a. veneziana* di data ed origine incerte. Ora pare che nell'Italia settentrionale ci siano stati diversi tipi di ceramiche medievali incise ed ornate a due colori, stabilitesi nel Due o Trecento. I loro caratteri al momento appaiono italiani senza nessun prototipo evidente del Mediterraneo orientale. Sembra che questi tipi siano confluiti nel Quattrocento in un unico tipo quasi uniforme, distribuito e forse anche prodotto, in ogni città della pianura padana ed anche limitatamente in Liguria. Verso la fine del Quattrocento nuovi tipi graffiti sotto l'influsso del gusto rinascimentale, si sono sviluppati, e la tradizione si propagò nell'Italia centrale, una zona prima dominata da una tecnica totalmente diversa della maiolica. Poco si sa invece degli antecedenti medievali di un'altra tradizione di ceramica incisa coperta da una vetrina marrone o verde. Dati derivati da scavi stratigrafici dimostrano l'apparizione delle *graffite monocrome* nel XV secolo. Però una chiesa novarese databile alla prima metà del Duecento porta una serie di *graffite monocrome marroni*. Dato che una tradizione medievale di ceramica monocroma era diffusa nell'Italia settentrionale, non si può escludere l'esistenza almeno sporadica di quest'altra tradizione nel Medio Evo.

Introduction

In the 13th century decorated glazed tableware was widely used for the first time in Italy. The light ground which best sets off the painted decoration was achieved by opacifying the lead glaze or by covering the surface of the darker coloured bodies with a slip made of a different clay. Further chromatic contrast could be achieved by scratching through this coat, providing a firmer line than that of the metal oxides which tended to run in the transparent glaze. (In this paper scratching will be called incising in contrast with Byzantinists' usage of the term to indicate the removal of wider areas of slip). This slipped tradition was a characteristic of the northern and eastern littorals of the Mediterranean whereas in the southern and western coastlands paint could be applied directly to the lighter surface of the body or combined with an opacified glaze (MANNONI 1975a: 61, 72; BERTI, TONGIORGI 1981: 273).

My paper will not examine other slipped wares because they are more difficult to recognise on buildings and have not been published as thoroughly as the incised types. As Gelichi (in press) is summarising developments in north-

east Italy, only Liguria, Lombardy, Piedmont and west Tuscany will be considered here. As Italian archaeology is administered locally, each region has its own history of recent research into the material culture of the Middle Ages, determining the evidence available.

Liguria has the oldest continuous tradition of systematic fieldwork, which from the end of the 1950s was extended by Mannoni to include post-classical remains. His pottery classification is in the novel form of a key combined with summaries of major developments, forms, etc (MANNONI 1975a). As a landmark in medieval ceramic studies, it has become the reference work even in regions where it is not really applicable. Together with his wife he reviewed in an important article the contexts in which these types were found in field survey (MANNONI, MANNONI 1975). Many of his excavations have been reported by his pupils often accompanied by useful tables quantifying the finds; but the only significant sequence has been prepared by English collaborators (ANDREWS, PRINGLE 1977; ANDREWS *et al.* 1978). His group operates in central and east Liguria and in the northwest corner of Tuscany, the Lunigiana. Little is known about excavations undertaken in western Ligurian towns under the aegis of the Istituto di Studi Liguri.

In the southern part of Tuscany examined in this paper, similar fieldwork was initiated within the last decade by Francovich in the provinces of Grosseto and Siena. A first account of the pottery was published as a substantial book

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in 1982. Research in Pisa, where more pertinent material is known, is of a different kind. Here Berti and Tongiorgi (1981, the husband has now replaced his deceased wife) have crowned twenty years' work with a magnificent volume on the over 600 bowls or *bacini* removed from 21 churches. Their catalogue not only describes each piece but also discusses each type in a Mediterranean-wide perspective, providing the first reliable account of the fine medieval glazed wares of the entire basin. Despite the medieval archaeologists active in the city, little stratified material has been reported, perhaps in deference to these ceramologists.

The review of finds in south France included in Démiens d'Archimbaud's *magnum opus* (1980) on the deserted village of Rougiers provides important information on the chronology and distribution of Tyrrhenian wares.

North of the Apennines the study of incised pottery got off to a head start fifty years ago with Baroni's catalogue (1934) of the 600 mainly fragmented pieces in Milan museum. As an art historian, he considered style a better criterion than provenance for attributing the origin of types. No further systematic work was undertaken after the war until I started visiting museums in 1969 and excavating in 1972 (BLAKE 1978a). As well as reviews of material in museums, Nepoti (1978) has provided the first account in north Italy of post-medieval types based on a stratigraphic sequence. Since 1980 many excavations, some on a large scale, were directed or initiated by Brogiolo as medieval inspector in the regional superintendency. When published, they should provide important data on ceramic development and consumption.

The earliest systematic worker of all was D'Andrade who a century ago documented *bacini* in Liguria and Piedmont and conserved pottery excavated in Turin (CERRI *et al.* 1981; BLAKE 1982; PANTO 1982). Interest in his work did not survive the first world war. Although a fresh start was only made towards the end of the 1970s, students launched by Negro Ponzi (1982) have already catalogued collections and obtained new information from carefully documented excavations. Some of the museum material is in print and, in contrast with the summaries in the Lombard *Notiziario* (first issued in 1982) reports have been published on recently excavated sites in the Piedmontese Superintendency's *Quaderni* (the prototype emerged in 1980), alas only rarely with quantified tables.

Not only the coverage but also the pottery employed varies from region to region, not always in correspondence with modern administrative boundaries. In this paper I have tried to review all the evidence, drawn in Lombardy from my own work (amplifying BLAKE 1978a: 156-7). For the other regions I depend almost entirely on publications, except when I have something new to contribute from my study of *bacini* (BLAKE 1980a). The evidence is presented in three sections. «Precursors» examines incised and slipped wares found in north-west Italy which could have served as prototypes for the different kinds of *graffita arcaica* made in the upper «Tyrrhenian» coastland and in Lombardy and Piedmont. Lastly some of the 15th-century developments in these regions are considered.

Precursors

1) Incised

No link has yet been proposed between decoration incised directly on the body of the pot and that incised through a slip of contrasting colour. The earliest examples of the former in the medieval period comprise unglazed vessels as well as those covered with the typical late-Roman pitted or densely applied glaze, apparently made in many places in northern Italy. The commonest incised patterns – usually on closed forms – are simple or combed wavy or horizontal lines (BLAKE 1977: 642-4; 1981a; Cortile del Tribunale excavation, Verona, pers. comm. C. La Rocca Hudson). It is now difficult to doubt the continuity of this tradition into the later Middle Ages (LA ROCCA HUDSON 1984: 64, n. 264; Piazza del Duomo excavation, Milan, pers. comm. S. Nepoti; MILANESE 1982: 104; CORTELAZZO 1984: 109-10, n. 8, 126).

In this period incised pottery of a very different quality covered with a white, green, yellow or purple glaze was being imported into Italy, probably from Egypt. All but one are associated with churches. The exceptional excavated fragment was found in a later 12th-century context on the site of the bishop's palace at Genoa. These open forms bear curvilinear ornament which in some cases consists of more elaborate stylized vegetal designs (BLAKE 1978a: 150-1; BERTI, TONGIORGI 1981: 251-4; pers. comm. M. Milanese). Among the other simpler incised types imported are the green glazed bowls on 12th-century churches at Pavia and Pisa which were probably made in Sicily (see S. Maria in Betlemme below; BERTI, TONGIORGI 1981: 226).

2) Byzantine

Technically more appropriate predecessors of the Italian tradition of incised slipped wares lie among the Byzantine types found on some churches and in a few Ligurian excavations.

One fragmentary bowl with everted or flattened rim, about 200 mm in diameter, on the 12th-century (probably a rebuild in the second half) bell tower of S. Leonardo in Mantua is decorated with an incised band containing spirals and with an imbricated (?) centre. Irregular green bands cross the side and lower centre. It belongs to Morgan's Painted-Sgraffito style found at Athens in 12th-century contexts together with a green glazed, slip-painted bowl which is also represented on the tower (PACAGNINI 1960: 97; MORGAN 1942: 141-2; FRANTZ 1938: 432, 443-5).

Little remains of the weathered glaze and slip on a small bowl with flaring side on the tower of S. Giulio at Orta San Giulio in Novara province. Part of a concentric and oblique line can be seen in the yellowish grey glaze remaining on the side. The building has been assigned to the first half of the 11th century, but the ashlar coursing and the other, lustre-decorated *bacino* point to a date a century later (DI GIOVANNI 1977: 45; BERTI, TONGIORGI 1981: 264-5).

The greatest number of Byzantine imports are on Pavian churches. S. Maria in Betlemme's facade, which should probably be assigned to the second half of the 12th century, bears six lustreware fragments, four vessels painted in brown or brown and green, two green glazed basins with short straight sides, in one case decorated with in-

cised bands filled with close-set oblique lines (see preceding section), and three incised cream coloured pots. The last, consisting of two straight-sided dishes (one now missing) and a bowl with an everted rim, all decorated with concentric bands enclosing fine incised decoration of (where visible) pairs of arcs and stylized Kufic (?), are perhaps to be related to Morgan's Developed Style of the mid-12th century (FRACCARO 1949: 15; MORGAN 1942: 127-35).

A similar association of lustred, painted and incised types remains on the smaller church of S. Lazzaro, assigned to the early 13th century (ROMANINI 1954: 441). The medallion and band on the only pertinent *bacino* (Pl. 1.1) encloses simpler, more widely spaced incised motifs. Green paint has been irregularly applied to the vertical side. It falls within Morgan's Incised-Sgraffito type, who illustrates medallions filled with similar combinations of lines (MORGAN 1942: figs 125, 127, 138, pl. 48b; for a more recent find at Corinth, see ADAMSHECK 1979: pl. 25. LRB 50). The closest parallel was excavated at Sparta (DAWKINS, DROOP 1910-11: pl. 15.10). All these are, however, associated with more tightly decorated concentric bands. Pairs of chevrons used in an even sparser ornamental scheme are common on 13th-century pottery (MORGAN 1942: fig. 113; MACKAY 1967: pl. 63.27; MEGAW 1968).

The stylistically similar façade of S. Lanfranco was, however, recorded as having been erected in 1257. The decoration on an almost hemispherical bowl has been likened to the Free Style of Morgan's Incised-Sgraffito type, which has been found at Corinth with coins of the early 13th century but more commonly with those of the second half of the 12th (Fig. 1.1; Pl. 1.2; AGUZZI, BLAKE 1978: 18; BLAKE 1984a: 530).

The most numerous incised Byzantine type so far known in the area I am examining was set on four churches along the Tyrrhenian coast. There is no integral evidence for dating these buildings; but stylistic and circumstantial information points to the end of the 12th and the early part of the 13th century (Pisa: south nave and aisle façade of S. Stefano extra Moenia, bell tower of S. Michele degli Scalzi, BERTI, TONGIORGI 1981: 39, 87, 275-6; Genoa: south prospect of S. Giovanni de Prè bell tower, CESCHI 1954: 217; Varazze: façade of ex-S. Ambrogio, BLAKE 1984a: 527-30).

The ten pertinent *bacini* are, or probably were, bowls with an inclined or near-horizontal brim about 200 mm across, in a fine light brown or brick red fabric off which the slip and yellowish glaze, often with yellow brown spots, has largely peeled. Tripod stilt scars have been reported in four cases. The sparse, schematic ornament of triangles or peltas, leaf-shapes and arcs are encircled by carefully and deeply incised lines which in the centre often form a series of broad excised bands. The exceptions are a bird at Pisa and the spirals at Varazze. As the photographs of the previously unpublished Ligurian examples are unclear and as they have been referred to respectively as an example of the earliest *graffita arcaica tirrenica* and as prototype for *ingubbiata monocroma* (MANNONI 1975a: 75, 90), detailed descriptions are provided:

Pl. 1.3. Genoa, S. Giovanni di Prè. Bowls with most of rim (or brim?) and part lower side missing. No glaze or slip visible. Light brown fabric. Decoration formed by two parallel incised lines. In centre three broad, excised (?) bands. Resting on outer band with tip on rim or on edge of cavity, three (?) simple leaves divided by reversed S band with arcs to each

side on inner leaf margin. Chevron band pendant from rim.

Pl. 1.4. Varazze, ex-S. Ambrogio. Brimmed bowl with flat centre (and with upturned rim?). Centre and lower left part remains. Traces of glaze in centre and on inner margin of brim. Fine brick red fabric. Cream yellow glaze. Incised decoration. Towards edges of brim pairs of concentric lines. Cross-hatched pelta pendant from rim band. Central annulet divided by crossed lines with a curlicue and dot in each segment.

They belong to the well known type called Zeuxippus Ware by Megaw (1968) after the Baths of Zeuxippus in Constantinople where it was first identified as Shiny Olive Incised Ware. In comparison with other Byzantine pottery, it stands out as particularly finely potted with a hard-fired fabric. The type was widely distributed in small quantities around the eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea in contexts datable to about A.D. 1200 (PRINGLE 1982: 111). Its orange brown glazed variant apparently continued later into the 13th century. As it seems to be commonest in Istanbul, it may have been made there or nearby. The chemical composition of two sherds found in Cyprus does, however, differ from pottery so far analysed from the Byzantine capital (MEGAW, JONES 1983: 262-3). An origin in the Crimea or the Caucasus has also been proposed, as more elaborately decorated examples have turned up in south Russia (LANE 1938: 43; MACKAY 1967: 260, n. 23). The diverse results of analyses of two fragments found in Venice point to distinct clays and thus to at least two production centres (CALOGERO, LAZZARINI 1983: 63).

The decoration on the north Italian examples (its has also been found at Parma as well as at Venice, BLAKE, NEPOTI 1984: pl. 9/a; LAZZARINI, CANAL 1983: pls 3-4, nos 43, 47-50, 55, 61-2, 64) resembles that of Megaw's Class II, which is distinguished by tripod stilt scars and the use of yellow brown to enhance the incised ornament. The scars have been discerned on some Pisan *bacini*; but the paint has only been seen at Venice. Nor have brims on a different plane been reported amongst the Istanbul finds on which Megaw based his classification. There is, however, a horizontally brimmed bowl amongst the catalogued examples at Corinth (MACKAY 1967: fig. 1, pl. 63, no. 27).

Only in Liguria have a few possible Byzantine sherds been reported from excavations. One yellowish glazed openware fragment bearing part of a band decorated with a palmette and schematic Kufic, similar to Morgan's Early 12th-century Sgraffito, came from a late 12th-century context on the site of the bishop's palace at Genoa. Four other sherds from the same site, covered with a yellow brown glaze and from layers datable from the mid-14th to mid-15th centuries, have been tentatively identified as Byzantine (PRINGLE 1977: 142-4), as may some undescribed fragments from 13th-century contexts (MANNONI 1975a: 75, type 58a). A brim fragment decorated with a finely executed incised band of spirals, unadorned with colour, stands out as unusual amongst the rich collection of pottery mainly of the 13th and 14th centuries rescued in via Ginevra at Genoa. It could be related to Morgan's Spiral Style of Sgraffito found at Corinth with many coins of the first half of the 12th-century, although he does not illustrate a similar brim (GARDINI *et al.* 1972: 34, pl. 2.16; MORGAN 1942: 120-3, pl. 41). An incised dark honey glazed piece from the early 13th-century Castel Delfino in the province of Savona is Byzantine in both form and decoration with, however, an apparently Savonese fabric;

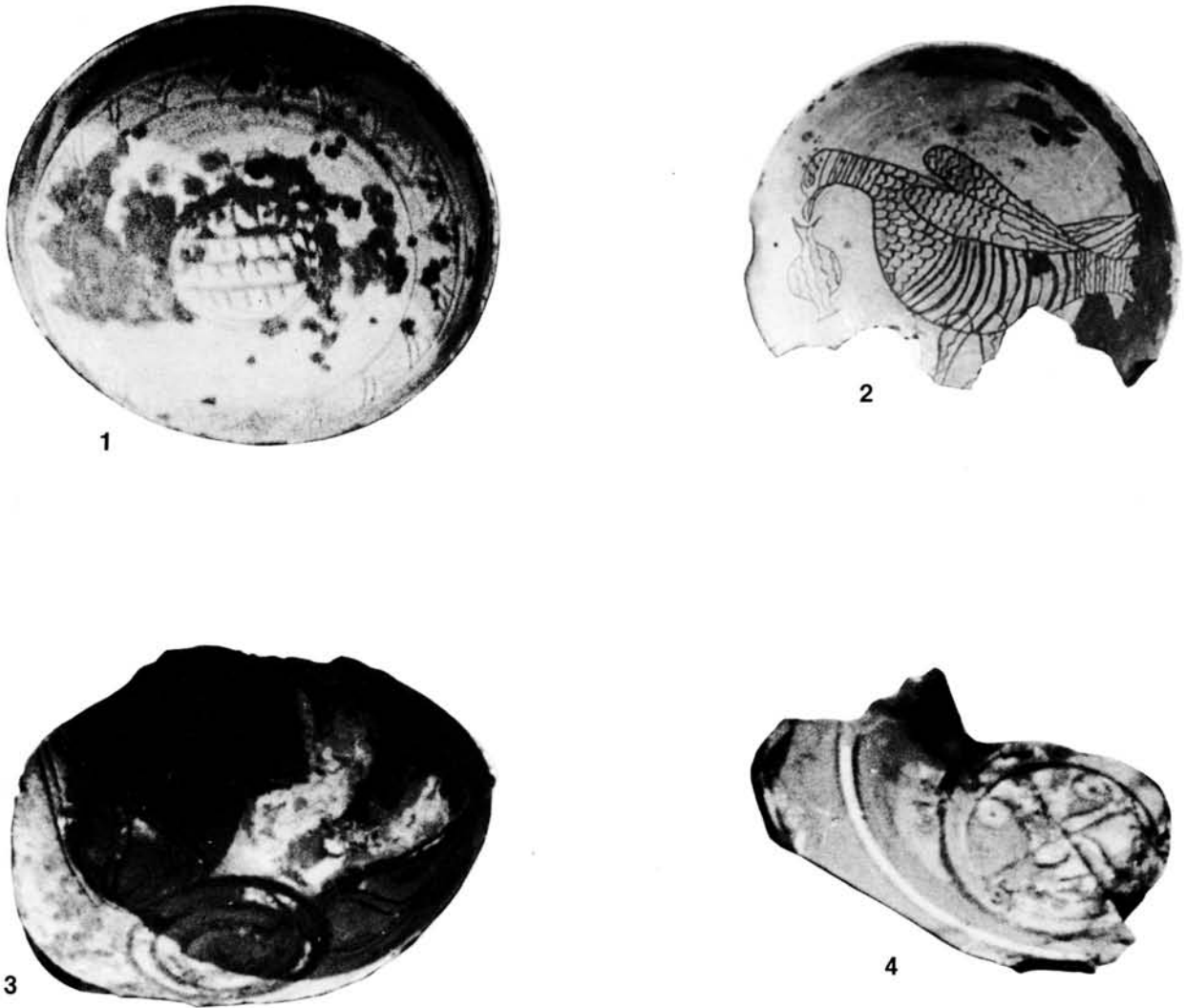


PLATE 1: Byzantine *bacini* in Liguria and Lombardy: 1. Pavia, S. Lazzaro; 2. Pavia, S. Lanfranco; 3. Genoa, S. Giovanni di Prè; 4. Varazze (SV), ex-S. Ambrogio. (Not to scale).

but similar geological formations exist in Greece, Anatolia and the Aegean (MILANESE 1982: 108, no. 26; MANNONI 1979-80: 235).

3) *Central Mediterranean*

An unusual yellowish green glazed bowl from the early 12th-century church of Sant'Andrea in Pisa is thought to be Byzantine because the groove where the cavity joins the brim is also found on the later Zeuxippus ware. However, there appears to be no published parallel for the simple decoration, limited to the broad brim, of a zigzag linking and separating pyriforms enclosing excised spots (a possible candidate is a poorly published bowl from the mid-12th-century shipwreck at Pelagos Island, KRITZAS 1971: fig. 6). The broad incised lines link it not so much to Morgan's Sgraffito Fine Style, but rather to his Incised-Sgraffito type, which he places in the last three-quarters of the 12th century (BERTI, TONGIORGI 1981: 70, 77, 274, no. 221; MORGAN 1942: 146). If indeed the scar in the cavity derives from a stilt and if the church has been correctly dated, it would be the earliest known use of a tripod stilt in Byzantine pottery (MEGAW 1968: 87). The mineralogical association examined in thin section has only been paralleled

amongst medieval samples from Sicily (MANNONI 1979-80: 236, no. 331).

A broad bowl with a brim defined by a raised ridge around the cavity edge and with a low ring base was removed from the tower of another similarly dated Pisan church. S. Sisto was founded either in 1070 or 1088 and consecrated between 1131 and 1133. The slip and the glaze, which were not applied to the outside, have peeled off, leaving only a dark green glaze over the incised concentric lines on the brim and over the network of lozenges across the entire cavity (BERTI, TONGIORGI 1981: 49, 63-4, 274, no. 173). The aeolian quartz inclusions are characteristic of other apparently Maghrebin products from Pisan churches (MANNONI 1979-80: 234-5, no. 330).

4) *Ligurian*

Mannoni has called the undecorated glazed and slipped bowls found in Liguria *ingubbiata chiara*. Some examples of his first heterogeneous type have been found at S. Vincenzo in Genoa in a distinctly earlier level than the local variant associated with the first local incised slipped pottery. A general comparison has been made with Byzantine wa-

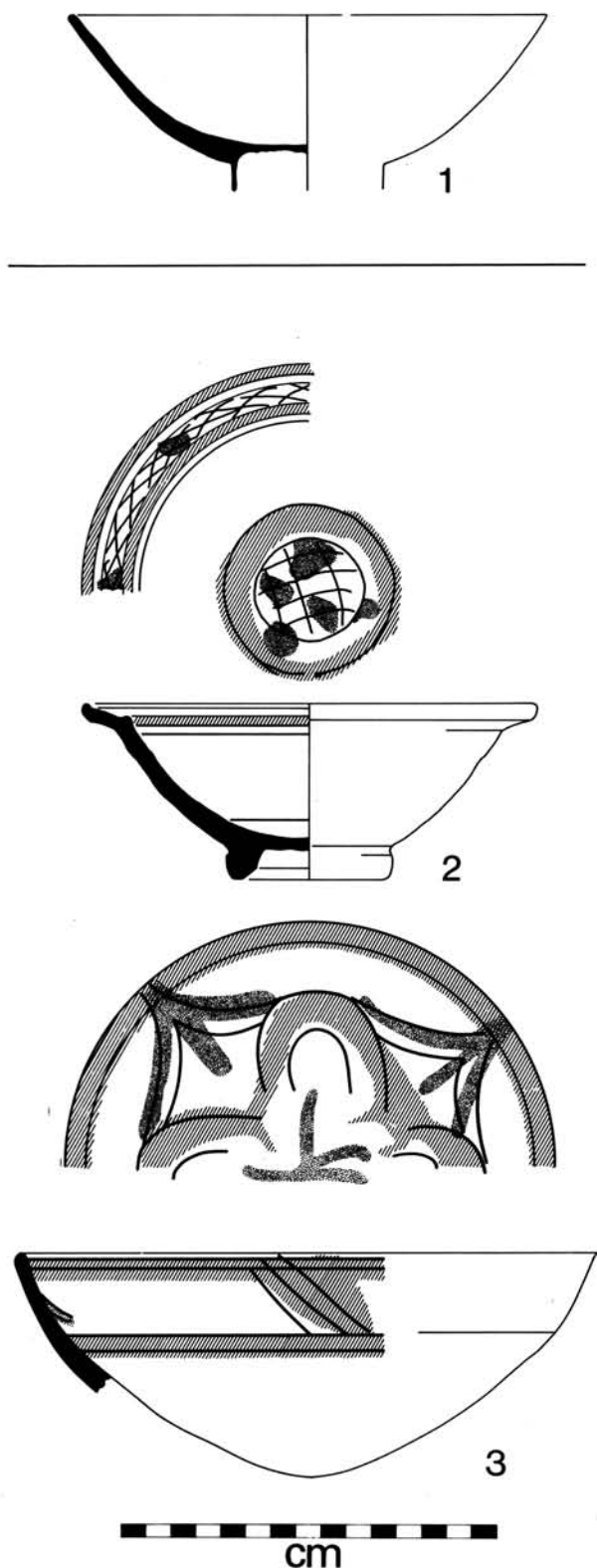


FIG. 1 — Byzantine *bacino* in Lombardy (1) and *graffita arcaica tirrenica* in Sardinia and Liguria (2-3): 1. Pavia, S. Lanfranco; 2. Sassari; 3. Genoa, S. Giovanni di Prè. (Scale 1:3).

res and their alleged diffusion in north-west Europe (MANNONI 1975a: 62-3, 174, type 45. Stamford Ware was neither slipped nor likely to have been derived from Byzantine prototypes, KILMURRY 1980: esp. ch. 10).

The principal plain type, the less straw coloured variant with a completely or partially slipped exterior, named *ingubbiata bianca*, and the painted type, *ingubbiata dipinta*, all share the form and fabric of the local incised, slipped types. Apparently this *ingubbiata chiara* was found with 11th-century coins and the other two types with 12th-century coins on the site of the bishop's palace at Genoa (MANNONI 1975a: 64, 68, types 46, 46a and 53. PRINGLE 1977: 117, 120, does not distinguish between imported and local types which were found in the assigned to A.D. 1170-1200 which precedes the first appearance of the local incised, slipped ware in the following century). The stratified forms of Ligurian *ingubbiata chiara* are well made bowls with more or less horizontal brims, thin-walled avities and a carefully finished ring base. The diameter of the often upturned-rims lies between 150 and 250 mm. The inside is covered with a thin ivory coloured slip and a very thin transparent straw coloured (in one instance light green) glaze with a characteristic devitrified iridescent surface. The outside was left bare (MANNONI 1975a: 63-4, 66, types 46, 48).

The Provençal finds are of a smaller (100/140 mm rim diameter), apparently undecorated variant (except for one painted on the brim) of the earliest finds of incised and painted slipped pottery found at Rougiers. They are associated with the latter and made of the same Ligurian clay (DÉMIANS D'ARCHIMBAUD 1980: 355-8).

At Pisa three plain or painted slipped bowls with a broad brim share the same fabric and came from different churches datable to the first quarter of the 12th century. Two are covered with a dark green glaze and the other with a transparent one decorated with green spots enclosed within an arc on the brim (BERTI, TONGIORGI 1981: 282-3, nos 175, 185, 220). The clay could be of northern Greek, Ionian, south Calabrian or of central west Ligurian origin (MANNONI 1979-80: 235, 238). The plain bowls which accompanied the earliest local incised, slipped pottery at S. Cecilia are between 152 and 172 mm in diameter. There is also on the same church an unpainted intense yellow glazed bowl with cross-hatched incised decoration limited to the brim (BERTI, TONGIORGI 1981: 282-3, nos 315, 356, 407; 107, no. 354). None of these have been analysed.

Intermediate stages between the earlier Ligurian plain slipped bowls and the later local incised and painted ware have been seen both in the few painted un-incised examples and in the unpainted bowls with a simple expanded cross or with a small cross-hatched motif incised in the centre of the cavity (MANNONI 1968: 222; 1975a: 64, pl. 3).

Graffita arcaica

The term archaic was introduced by Ballardini (1933: 13) to describe northern Italian medieval tin-glazed pottery, *maiolica arcaica*, on analogy with the development of painting styles on ancient Greek vases. It was then applied by Liverani (1935) to finds at Faenza of possible wasters of the then earliest known painted and incised slipped wa-

res, *graffita arcaica*. It has since become the established term for the earliest medieval phase of this tradition made in northern Italy.

1) *Tirrenica*

During the 13th century, incised and painted slipped ware of a particular type was widely used in Provence and Liguria and has also been found in Corsica, Tuscany, Latium, Sardinia and Sicily. Various names have been given as the type has become successively better defined since it was first published by Grosso in 1958 as *invetriata gialla*.

Ten years later Mannoni (1968: 225-6) in his first outline of Ligurian ceramic development borrowed the Po-plain term *graffita arcaica* for his first phase and employed *graffita policroma* for jugs of Po-plain character and for the less fine bowls decorated with motifs derived from his *g. arcaica* and *monocroma* (the late-medieval types are discussed below). In his definitive statement published in 1975, Mannoni divided his *g. a.* into an early *g. (a.) tirrenica* phase, as only its distribution but not its origin was then known, and into a later *g. a. (ligure)* phase characterised by some technical differences, associated with wasters found at Savona and occasionally decorated with local blazons. *Graffite policrome di tipo padano* were in this scheme placed in a separate category (MANNONI 1975a: 72-82).

Despite the fact that research initiated by Démiens d'Archimbaud (1980: 623, n. 148) has demonstrated that most samples of both Mannoni's phases found in Provence, Liguria and Pisa were made in or near Savona (with the exception of a few attributable to Pisa), she has preferred the provisional and global name *sgraffito archaïque occidental*.

Recently Varaldo (1981: 51) has advocated a return to a variant of Mannoni's earlier terminology, *graffita policroma medievale*, ignoring the traditional use of the expression archaic established fifty years ago in Italian medieval pottery studies and not realizing that he has included within his category both the local *g. a.* and the completely different late-medieval incised slipped wares of Po-plain type.

It would seem best to adopt a term already in use which clearly signifies not only the relative chronological position of the type but also its geographical location. « Occidental » is too generic and misleading as this incised tradition was apparently neither made nor has been found in north-west Africa and Spain. It thus contrasts ill with the east Mediterranean where the ware was widely adopted (WHITEHOUSE 1971: 271). Strictly speaking « Tyrrhenian » (and even *altotirrenico*, VANNINI, 1982: 352) is also inappropriate, as this Sea is bordered by Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily and the central and southern parts of the Italian peninsula, where only a few pots of this type have turned up (Fig. 2). It is known to have been made in centres on the Ligurian Sea which supplied extensively its own hinterland and part of that of the Gulf of Lions. « North-west editerranean » would be both correct and flexible enough to allow for the location of other workshops. However, as it would be ill advised to introduce yet another term, as there is no alternative « archaic » incised and painted slipped type in the Tyrrhenian area with which it could be confused and as the main need is to distinguish it from other north Italian and east Mediterranean types, it would be best to stick to *graffita arcaica tirrenica* (BLAKE 1978a: 156; MANNONI, MAZZUCOTELLI 1980: 46; WHITEHOUSE 1980: 77).

The fabric of *g. a. t.* has been described by Mannoni (1975a: 73, 76, types 58, 59) as hard, scarcely porous, pink or light pink in colour with yellow tones and made of a fine levigated clay with occasional grog and white mineral inclusions. The later type was rather soft and porous and of poorly levigated clay with obvious inclusions. The Savona wasters are red and coarse with rough surfaces. A different pink fabric containing grog has smoothed surfaces. The Pisan *bacini* are of such a porous and soft quality that their fabric has been corroded more than any other pot exposed there over the centuries as building ornament. The variation in their colour from buff to brick red with yellowish tones is attributed to firing differences (BERTI, TONGIORGI 1981: 277). However, the colour differences from a lively pink to cream white, seen in Provençal examples, reflect the proportion of calcium in the clay (PICON, DÉMIENS D'ARCHIMBAUD 1980: 125, 132-3).

The thin straw to ivory (type 58) or floury, slightly pinkish white (type 59) slip, consisting of ground quartz (MANNONI 1982a: 91), adheres poorly to the body which is probably why this ware is often found in such a poor condition. The thin, transparent, slightly straw coloured glaze (with greenish tendencies) of Mannoni's type 58 is characterized by fine crazing visible below the surface. It is distinguished from *ingubbiata chiara* by rarely becoming divitrified and from type 59 by never peeling. Type 59's glaze is glossy, straw yellow coloured and uncrazed. Tripod stilt scars are evident within the cavity of all types and the outside is covered by neither slip nor glaze. The decoration of type 58 and of the Pisan *bacini* is applied with a fine point which has cut through the slip but not too deeply into the fabric. Type 59's line is, in contrast, of medium thickness and deeply cut. The copper-derived green (often with a yellowish tone) and the more-or-less dark iron-derived yellow brown paints have been applied as spots or bands within the incised motifs. The colours are deeper on type 59. A heraldic lion and an unusual bird from the largest find in Genoa were painted in manganese-derived brown (GARDINI *et al.* 1972: 35, pl. 5.3).

The vessel forms are all open and are nearly all variants of two hemispherical bowl shapes with relatively high ring bases, which are lower on type 59 (MANNONI 1975a: 73, 76; DÉMIENS D'ARCHIMBAUD 1980: 355-8; BERTI, TONGIORGI 1981: 277). Most finds are apparently of bowls whose brims are delimited by an upright rim and a raised ridge around the cavity edge (rare on type 59; Fig. 1.2; Pl. 2.3). The commonest size is between 160 and 200 mm in rim diameter with heights varying from 55 to 80 mm. Large, elaborately decorated examples over 300 mm across and about 150 mm high have been found at Olbia in Provence and at Rome (DÉMIENS D'ARCHIMBAUD 1980: 355; MAZZUCATO 1977: 103, no. 20; also a rim fragment at Castel Delfino in the Savonese, MILANESE 1982: 91, no. 46). The brimless hemispherical bowls have a rounded or carinated profile sometimes with a more- or -less flattened and externally thickened rim. Rim diameters are in the ranges 145/155 mm (with heights between 40 and 65 mm) and 200/260 mm with the carinated form being the widest (Fig. 1.3). Some examples lie between the two shapes with the vestigial brim on the same plane as the shallow cavity and distinguished by a raised ridge. An unusual straight-sided dish at Pisa is paralleled amongst finds from Genoa (BERTI, TONGIORGI, 1981: 277, fig. 250; GARDINI *et al.* 1972: pl. 2.15).

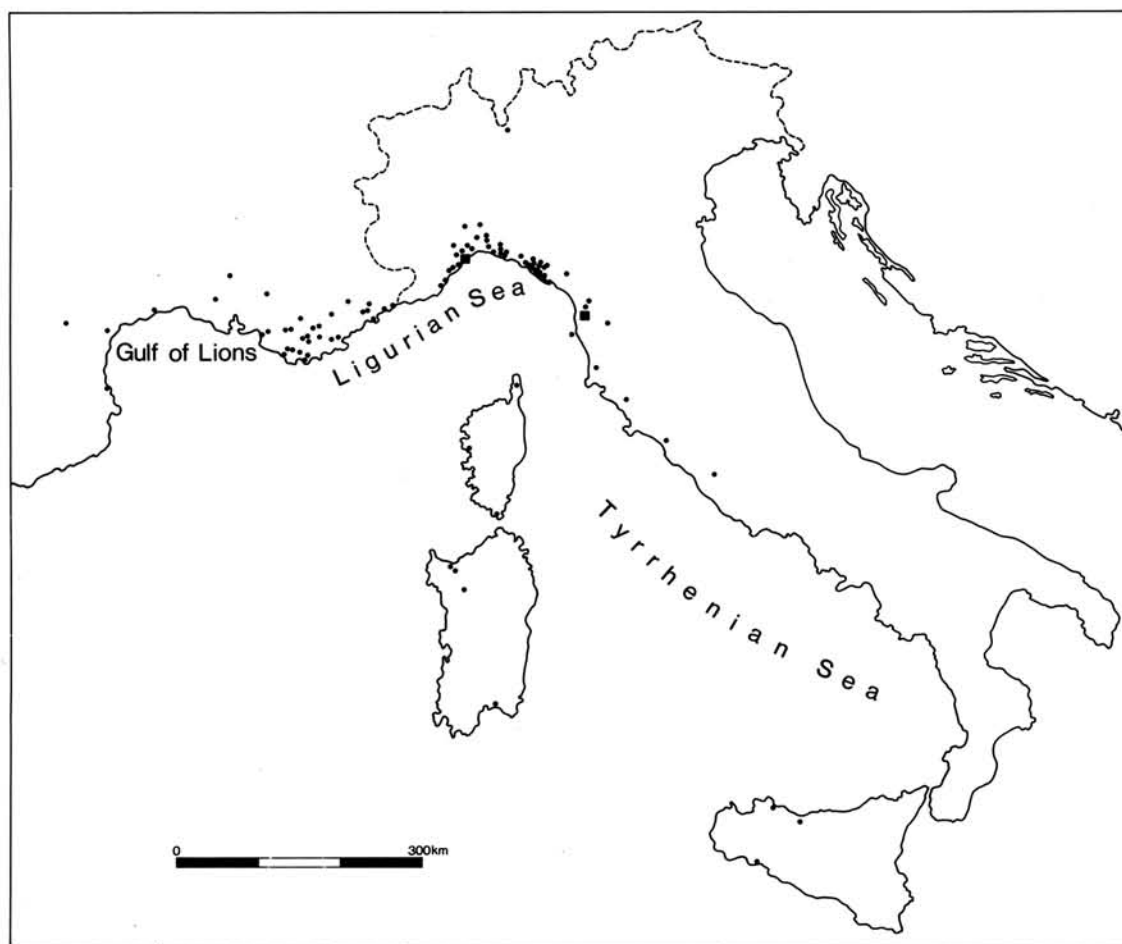


FIG. 2 – Distribution of map of *graffita arcaica tirrenica*. Square = production centre.

The commonest decorative motif is a cross-hatched roundel defined by a pair of concentric lines placed in the centre of the cavity (Fig. 1.; Pl. 2.3). Nearly all the other cavity motifs are geometrical or stylized vegetal patterns based on lobed or plain roundels (Fig. 1.3), or squares, a Solomon's knot or unenclosed radiating schemes, or consist of asymmetrical leaves branching off a common curving stem. Brims or sides are defined by pairs of concentric lines and filled with continuous or occasional cross-hatching, chevrons, arcs, interlace or oblique lines. The paints are used as spots on the cross-hatching, to fill the concentric bands and/or alternately on the brim or cavity motifs. The uncommon zoomorphic decoration is usually of birds (even in Provence, CLERGUES, 1966: fig. 2; cp. DÉMIANS D'ARCHIMBAUD 1980: 633, n. 178). Blazons, heavier colour and the absence of animal representations are distinguishing features of type 59 (MANNONI 1975a: 74, 76, 153-6, pl. 8; DÉMIANS D'ARCHIMBAUD 1980: 358-60; BERTI, TONGIORGI, 1981: 277; VANNINI 1982: fig. 8. A chromatic impression may be best gained from the colour photographs of sherds from Savona and Genoa, CAMEIRANA 1969: pl. 17; GARDINI *et al.* 1972: pl. 5.1-3; RESTAGNO 1972: fig. 3.2; MANNONI 1975a: pl. 4.58-59).

The descriptions of the bowls used to exemplify the standard forms and ornament are:

Fig. 1.2; Pl. 2.3. Hemispherical bowl with inclined brim with raised edges. Ring base with bevelled footrim and high roof. Rim diameter 175-180 mm, height 60-70 mm, base diameter 62 mm. Formed of two fragments with two areas of the brim restored. Evenly fired but a quarter distorted (hence the variable height and rim diameter). Dull light reddish brown (nearest Expo C54) surfaced, fairly hard, reasonably smooth fabric. Levigated clay contains traces of small grog (?). Slip and glaze applied to upper surface with some overflow under brim and on external wall. Thin cream slip. Thin, smooth, shiny (not crazed), transparent, pale greenish yellow (nearest ISCC-NBS 104) glaze, with a very dark brown, or even greenish, appearance over the fabric. The incised lines from 0.5 to 1.5 mm thick are deep and clear but with lighter penetration at the end of the cross-hatched lines. Strong yellow (nearest ISCC-NBS 84), with brown speckles and yellow brown in places, bands around the rim and roundel. Large, deep yellow green (ISCC-NBS 118) spots of uneven tone over the cross-hatching.

Part of the Dessi collection in the Museo Nazionale G. A. Sanna, Sassari, inv. no. 1729. Published by Vannini 1982: 369, n. 87, fig. 7.

Fig. 1.3. Hemispherical bowl covered in white paint and lacking about a quarter of its upper side. Rim diameter 236 mm, internal height 90 mm. Fairly hard and compact, red fabric. Fired upright in the kiln with a tripod stilt spaced about 95 mm apart. Thin, shiny, transparent glaze, cream yellow in colour over the slip. About 1 mm thick incised lines with yellow to dark brown paint over the concentric bands and arcs and with dark (sometimes lighter) green trifids over the pendant chevrons and forming a small star in the centre. Colours alternate over the groups of oblique lines around the upper wall.

Genoa, Loggia dei Commendatori Gerosolimitani, first mentioned in 1192. Used as a holy water stoup at the bottom of a plastered niche, about 310 mm high and 240 mm across, towards the eastern end of the north side of a stone ground-floor wall. The wall is part of a structure lying alongside, and incorporating a buttress supporting, the original building. This part of the wall is enclosed within a wing running northwards. To the east steps lead presumably into S. Giovanni di Prè whose orientation was reversed in 1508 (CESCHI 1954: 209-19; DE FLORIANI *et al.* 1978: 143-79).

The place of manufacture of at least one of the two fabrics classified by Mannoni as type 59 has been known since wasters were found at Savona (MANNONI 1975a: 79). Mineralogical and petrographic analysis in thin section of the earlier type 58 showed that the clays of nearly all the samples could have come from a number of geolithological basins within the area where the type has been found, namely in eastern Provence, the Savonese, western Corsica, eastern Sardinia, and north-east Sicily (MANNONI, MAZZUCOTELLI 1980: 46; MANNONI 1979-80: 235, 238). Chemical analysis by X-ray fluorescence of the proportion of eight major elements has been undertaken of 300 samples consisting of wasters and clays from Liguria and Tuscany and of finds from southern France as well as from these Italian regions. Nearly all the *g. a. t.* samples vary significantly in only one element, showing that the presumed earlier Provençal finds contained more calcium than the later Savonese reference sherds (PICON, DÉMIANS D'ARCHIMBAUD 1980: 129-33). These differences may not be chronological but may reflect selection for the export market, as both fabric qualities were used in the *g. a. t.* found at an early 13th-century castle in the Savonese (MILANESE 1982: 107; *cp.* DÉMIANS D'ARCHIMBAUD 1980: 633, n. 180). Neutron activation analysis of 19 trace elements in Ligurian and Pisan wasters has apparently been extended to confirm the Savonese production of the earlier variant of *g. a. t.*, although these results have never been published (MANNONI, MAZZUCOTELLI 1980: 47-8). The tentative identification of one Pisan and of some Ligurian thin sections as clay from the Arno valley has been confirmed by the X-ray fluorescent analysis of two *g. a. t.* sherds from Pisa which clearly belong to the much more homogeneous range of clays used at Pisa (MANNONI, MAZZUCOTELLI 1980: 46; PICON, DÉMIANS D'ARCHIMBAUD 1980: 133-4). Laboratory work has therefore clearly demonstrated not only that nearly all the analysed *g. a. t.* products found in France, Liguria and Pisa were made in the Savona district, but also that a few were made in Pisa. It would be interesting to know if the identified Pisan products have any distinctive typological characteristics and if

they were relatively early, late, or contemporary with, the bulk of the *g. a. t.* production, and to extend the research to finds made in other areas to see if the hypothesis of production elsewhere can be sustained for a type which outside Liguria appears to be very homogeneous (BERTI, TONGIORGI, 1981: 281; DÉMIANS D'ARCHIMBAUD 1980: 360).

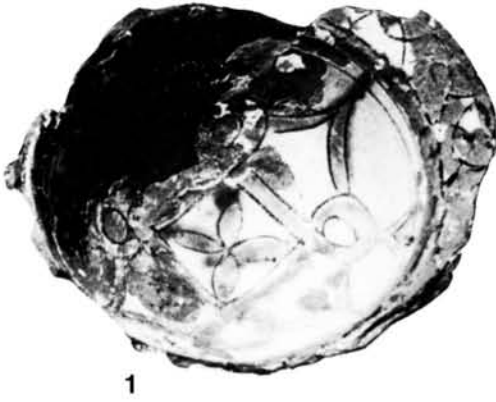
The earliest find is apparently from a 12th-century layer on the bishop's palace site at Genoa (CABONA *et al.* 1980: 114). *G. a. t.* forms nearly 8 per cent of the pottery (37% of the glazed tableware) from Castel Delfino in the Savonese, which may have been occupied only between 1208 and 1223. Most was found in zone B with the blue and brown decorated tin-glazed Maghrebin type datable to the late 12th and to about the first half of the 13th centuries (MILANESE 1982: 84, 107; BERTI, TONGIORGI, 1981: 210). At Rougiers in Provence *g. a. t.* is well represented in the second quarter and in the middle of the 13th century (DÉMIANS D'ARCHIMBAUD 1980: 38, pl. 13). In this period the typical product occurs on ten churches in Tuscany and Sardinia, spanning the 13th and the first half of the 14th centuries (BERTI, TONGIORGI, 1981: 277-8; Pl. 2.1-2). One of the earliest, S. Cecilia at Pisa, probably built between 1216 and 1252, bore 42 examples and was associated with *inter alia* the blue and brown Maghrebin ware (BERTI, TONGIORGI, 1981: 99). The building of the latest, S. Maria Novella at Marti, 30 km east of Pisa, is dated by an inscription to 1332 (BERTI, TONGIORGI, 1974: 71). Excavation at Rougiers, where *g. a. t.* formed ten per cent of the fineware, shows the type peaking in the second half of the 13th century, falling off in the first half of the 14th century and declining drastically in the third quarter of that century when only seven of the 89 examples were discarded. These proportions are there seen as a function of the increase in archaic maiolica imports from Tuscany (DÉMIANS D'ARCHIMBAUD, PICON, 1980; 38, pls 13, 15; DÉMIANS D'ARCHIMBAUD, PICON 1980: 354).

In Ligurian excavations *g. a. t.* has been recovered in a phase datable between 1200 and 1250 on the bishop's palace site at Genoa (PRINGLE 1977: 158-9), under the pavement of Albenga cathedral datable to 1270 (MANNONI 1975a: 75; LAMBOGLIA 1966: 21), in a house at Zignago in the province of La Spezia with roof beams dated dendro-chronologically to 1260/80 (CABONA 1982: 44) and in a 13th-century context at Savona (VARALDO 1981: 57). The only published sequence that spans the whole life of the type shows the following development in the quantitative and proportional presence of *g. a. t.* (derived from PRINGLE 1977: 158-9):

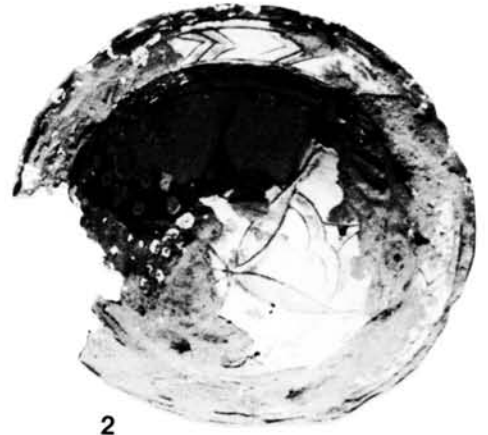
Period	Phases	<i>G.a.t.</i>	% Glazed	% Pot	Exotica	% Glazed	% Pot
A.D. 1200/1250 - 1250/1350	N,N1,P,P1	21	4.4	1.6	25	5.2	1.9
A.D. 1170/1404 - 1404	L1,P2,P3,Q,Q1	197	8.7	6.0	54	2.4	1.6
A.D. 1340/1472 - 1450/1472	N2,Q2,Q3,Q-Q3	189	5.1	4.0	32	3.9	1.8
A.D. 1472/1525	R-T	147	2.1	1.7		not calculated	

The type is relatively uncommon up to the middle of the 14th century (only two sherds were found in the earliest 1200/1250 phase). This may reflect the episcopal household's preference for exotic wares which are commoner in the first period, a point made in relation to refuse deposited on the flanks of the site

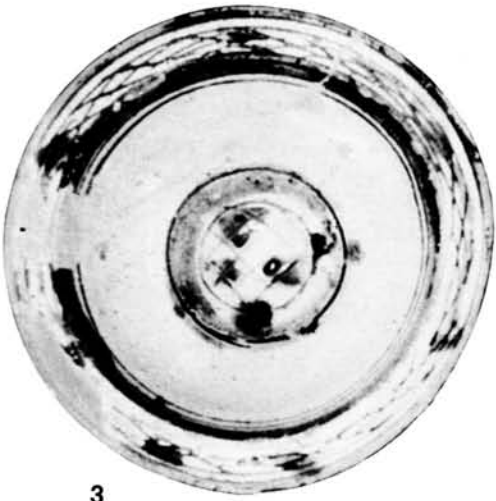
(FOSSATI *et al.* 1975: 186). In contrast with the Provençal picture, discard peaks in the second half of the 14th century and remarkably only falls off slightly in the 15th century to return finally to minimal 13th-century proportions at the end of that century. 14th-century contexts elsewhere are commonplace, although in Liguria their chron-



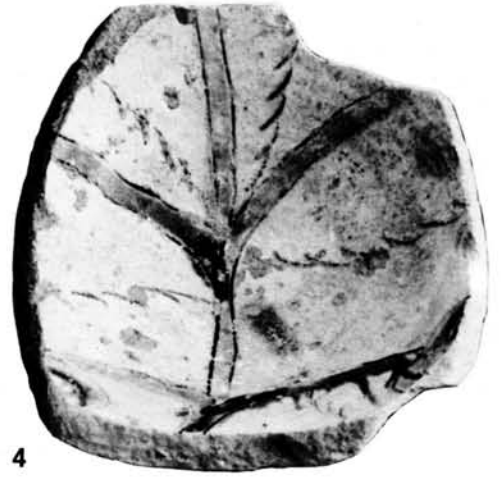
1



2



3



4



5



6

PLATE 2: *Graffita arcaica tirrenica* in Sardinia and Liguria: 1-2. Agro di Sassari, S. Barbara; 3. Sassari; 4. S. Pietro di Sorres, Borutta (SS); 5-6. Àlassio (SV), S. Ambrogio. (Not to scale).

ology is often deduced from the ceramic sequence which assumes an association with archaic maiolica in the late 14th century, followed by *g. a. t.*'s replacement by the tin-glazed type in the mid-15th century (MANNONI 1975a: 79). The most copious find of *g. a. t.* (1,070 fragments), from via Ginevra in Genoa, was unstratified and as such cannot be treated as a datable assemblage (GARDINI *et al.* 1972). At Grosseto in Tuscany, *g. a. t.* came from a phase associated with 1345 construction work (FRANCOVICH, GELICHI 1980a: 88, 102). In Sicily the type precedes the construction of the street and of a building at the village of Brucato which was deserted in the mid-14th century (PESEZ 1984: 699-700).

The formation processes of the third-period phases at the bishop's palace need to be evaluated before too much weight should be placed on the high 15th-century presence. Although *g. a. t.* may have continued to circulate in towns in the 15th century, its presence in the countryside certainly declines. At Zignago it has been found in a late 13th-century house but not on another part of the site with the later archaic maiolica (CABONA 1982: 44; FERLANDO *et al.* 1978: 356, 361). At Monte Lecco above Genoa and now in the province of Alessandria very few fragments (less than half a per cent) were found in the glasshouse occupation levels datable to *c.* 1400 (FOSSATI, MANNONI 1975: 76-80). There is no doubt that production continued as 51 fragments were excavated at Molassana castle in the Genovesato, 20 of which were associated with the coins of 1436/42 (in mint condition) and 1447 used to date the principal occupation. *G. a. t.* on this site outnumbered all the 15th-century incised types put together; but, as one per cent of the ceramic assemblage it is dwarfed by the 2,590 archaic maiolica sherds which make up over half the sherds counted (BAZZURRO *et al.* 1974: 29, 31; PESCE in MANNONI 1968: 232). Their apparent abundance right up to the 1544 destruction of S. Domenico at Savona may derive, as discussed above, from a different definition of the type (VARALDO 1981: 58).

The early 16th-century bell tower of S. Ambrogio at Alassio has been cited as evidence for the continued production and use in the Savonese of *g. a. t.* (MANNONI 1975a: 79). However, the lower stages also bear column capitals which are unlikely to be later than the 14th century (pers. comm. F. Bonora) and Spanish pottery of the Pula type. The latter are known on other churches datable to between about 1330 and 1380 and also from some later excavated contexts which suggest continued circulation of the lustred type until *c.* 1420 (BLAKE 1982: 279-80, pl. 86; 1981b).

The nine similar, incised *bacini* at Alassio are bowls with vertical walls and a flat brim ending in an upturned rim about 200 mm across with an internal cavity depth of about 40 mm. The brick red fabric is covered with a white slip and a glossy cream yellow glaze, which has almost entirely peeled off five of the bowls. The decoration is of well incised but freehand lines, yellow brown bands and a green which has sometimes run. On the brim concentric lines enclose an inverted line overlain by seven or eight irregular green patches separated by brown strokes. A brown band on the side is enclosed by a line below the cavity edge and by a pair enclosing the central motif, whose principal elements are picked out in both colours. The motifs in the cavities of the two better preserved bowls on the east face, illustrated in this paper, are:

Pl. 2.5. Faceted eight-pointed star with a coil between the points and in alternate segments. Axis of other segments marked by a row of oblique lines (no. 7 in my scheme).

Pl. 2.6. Cross terminating in a plain lobed leaf, with a coil between the arms and a pendant cross-hatched pelta between the leaves (no. 9 in my scheme).

The decoration, although seemingly *g. a. t.*, can only be paralleled at nearby Albenga and in Piedmont (GROSSO 1958: fig. 6 c-d; see below). Delimitation of the broader side wall by concentric lines, the filling of most of the cavity base with a symmetrical motif, the coils and the pendant cross-hatched peltas in the cavity all give these bowls a markedly different flavour, which is either geographical or chronological in origin.

They can be compared, for example, with the better preserved *bacini* on the west façade of S. Barbara outside Sassari previously only published as watercolours (Pl. 2. 1-2; MOSSA 1952: pl. 2.1-2). The form, fabric, slip and glaze characteristics are the same; but on the Sardinian bowls the line is more carefully incised, more undecorated space is left between the motifs and the colour is more carefully applied. An incomplete inscription on a side door records the church's consecration between 1270 and 1299 (DELOGU 1953: 194).

These distinctions may reflect development in the decorative repertoire and technique during the 14th century. One would expect a type produced over two centuries or more to change. The earliest published assemblage from Castel Delfino shows the standard ornament and both bowl forms established by 1223. Illustrated brim fragments from this site outnumber everted sides terminating in plain rims fourteen to two. Two monochrome bowls decorated with fish are, it seems, only paralleled on the mid-13th-century church of S. Francesco at Lucca (BERTI, TONGIORGI 1976: 6-7, pl. 3b) and at S. Pietro di Malaventre north of Pisa. The latter was first mentioned in 1263; but the presence of blue and brown Maghrebin pottery suggests an earlier date. The widely spaced, cross-hatched rhomboids within concentric lines both within the cavity and on the brim as well as the plain shape of the brim are unusual. All three atypical bowls may be part of the earliest experimental phase before the ornamental repertoire was stabilized (MILANESE 1982: 107, nos 75, 125; BERTI, TONGIORGI 1970: 28, 30, pl. 5a).

Finds outside Liguria appear to be remarkably uniform implying that a standard repertoire either prevailed from the mid-13th to mid-14th centuries or was exported. At Rougiers in Provence brimmed bowls are commoner in the 13th century and brimless ones are more numerous in the 14th century. Brims too may have become narrower and the execution of the ornament hastier and freer (DÉMIANS D'ARCHIMBAUD 1980: 355, 360; DÉMIANS D'ARCHIMBAUD, PICON 1980: 38, pl. 13). Mannoni's types 58 and 59, described above, represent chronological stages (MANNONI 1975a: 73-9). The decoration of the later 59 was characterized by a thicker line and deeper colour. Blazons but not birds are part of the later repertoire. Although heraldic representations are unknown in Provence (DÉMIANS D'ARCHIMBAUD 1980: 633, n. 178), a possible emblem has been excavated at early 13th-century Castel Delfino (MILANESE 1982: 91, no. 35). Formal developments of type 59 include a squatter ring base and plain brims. The glaze of the earlier type 58 apparently never

peels, but nearly all *g. a. t.* found outside Liguria suffer from this defect. As observed above, both the so-called earlier and later fabrics were found at Castel Delfino (MILANESE 1982: 107). It would be difficult on the basis of the existing reports of Ligurian excavations to postulate any development. But it seems likely that a wider range was in circulation in Liguria and that a more limited, as well as earlier, repertoire was exported.

There now only remains to be examined where *g. a. t.* has been found (Fig. 2). In 1975 Mannoni published a distribution map of 13th-century types imported into Liguria indicating 29 locations for his type 58 ranging from Alassio in the west (incredibly the alleged 16th-century tower bearing type 59) to Carpena castle near La Spezia in the east (MANNONI 1975a: pl. 11). In the same year he and his wife presented their analysis of the pottery collected in nearly two decades of field survey in central and eastern Liguria and adjacent parts of Piedmont and Tuscany. *G. a. t.* was recovered from 28 of the 150 sites listed (MANNONI, MANNONI 1975: 129-33). To their map, which also took account of 26 excavations, should be added S. Pietro in Carpignano near Savona (MARTINO 1984: fig. 210), four sites near Zignago in the province of La Spezia (FERRANDO *et al.* 1978: 334) and Codiponte in the hinterland of north-west Tuscany (GARDINI 1977: 41, 47). Since 1974 (the limit of Mannoni's bibliography, 1975a: 197), and in addition to those already mentioned in this paper, the following sites in Liguria, where *g. a. t.* has been found, have been published: Anteggi (Genoa province, CABONA *et al.* 1976: 300), Castronovo di Salino (La Spezia province, MILANESE 1978: 457), and Vico Carità (FOSSATI *et al.* 1975: 183) and S. Maria in Passione (GARDINI in MELLI 1982: 103, no. 81) at Genoa.

On urban sites *g. a. t.* can bulk large, but the 25 per cent from via Ginevra is of an artificial assemblage (GARDINI *et al.* 1972: 34). Even at the sites associated with the bishop's palace, which are deemed unusual as exotic tableware was at times as popular as *g. a. t.*, the two combined do not in any period ever form more than 7.6 per cent of the pottery (see the table above). Unfortunately no quantified data are available from other urban sites such as Albenga and Savona for which only brief accounts have so far been printed (GROSSO 1958; VARALDO 1975).

The field survey has demonstrated that *g. a. t.* reached every type of rural community forming from nearly 8 per cent of the ceramic assemblage at the early castle of Castel Delfino in the Savonese to only a very small proportion, but still the commonest glazed tableware, in the house at Anteggi in the Genovesato (CABONA *et al.* 1976: 300 – the percentage cannot be cited as the table was omitted). For an interesting discussion of the relative proportions found on different types of site, see FOSSATI *et al.* 1975: 186-8). The Mannonis (1975: 126) have suggested that the distribution of *g. a. t.* is limited to the areas controlled by Genoa or by other subordinate coastal communes. Presumably the late 13th-century context at Zignago in north-eastern Liguria reflects Genoese predominance established in 1273 (FERRANDO *et al.* 1978: 364-5). The recently published finds at Codiponte in the Lunigiana hinterland (GARDINI 1977: 41, 47) do, however, bring into question this hypothesis, which needs to be demonstrated by a negative distribution map.

In Mediterranean France the penetration of *g. a. t.* in Provence is as remarkable as in Liguria. Thirty locations

have been mapped east of the Rhone, including rural sites far from the coast and from the main lines of communication. The largest group after the extensively excavated deserted village of Rougiers is from the port of Olbia (45 pieces). Only four sites are reported further west in the Languedoc and three in Corsica. No *g. a. t.* has yet been recognized in Spain (DÉMIANS D'ARCHIMBAUD 1980: 354, 360-1; DÉMIANS D'ARCHIMBAUD, PICON 1980: pl. 12).

Churches bearing pertinent *bacini* have already been referred to in Lucca, Pisa and its countryside (BERTI, TONGIORGI 1981: 277-8). Few sherds have been reported from the Pisan subsoil, which may reflect a greater interest in publishing tin-glazed and later types (TONGIORGI, BERTI 1970: 274; 1972: 3; MANNONI 1979-80: 232, no. 258). *G. a. t.* is however, scarce on fully published and properly excavated sites even along the Tuscan coast. It has even been suggested that in north-west Tuscany *g. a. padana* (i.e. of Po-plain type) was used instead. In excavations at Filattiera sherds of this type of *g. a.* just outnumber those of Pisan archaic maiolica (16 to 15). They have been dated to the second half of the 14th century on the basis of the decoration employed on the tin-glazed ware and because 15th-century Tuscan maiolica was not found (CABONA *et al.* 1982: 344, 348-50). However, the later maiolica was also absent at Tecchia di Equi Termi where the Pisan type was associated with a coin of 1432/63 (AMBROSI, GARDINI 1975: 372-5). More complete examples of *g. a. padana* were found in a refuse pit with Pisan archaic and Tuscan 15th-century maiolica and a range of 15th-century Po-plain incised types as well as 16th-century products in both traditions. The less carefully incised design and the haphazardly applied colours point to a 15th-century date for these closed and open archaic forms attributed to Emilian workshops (see also Discussion below). It is likely that this influx of northern pottery is connected with the suzerainty of the Este family in Garfagnana between 1429 and 1451 (REGGI 1974: 147, esp. figs 1-4). If so, *g. a. padana* in north-west Tuscany should be seen as a successor and not as an alternative to *g. a. t.*, which has now been found, as already mentioned, at Codiponte in the Lunigiana. Here two brim sherds from the church have been associated with its rebuilding in 1345 (GARDINI 1977: 41, 47, pls 2.50-1). A large fragment with a narrow brim from near Meloria in Livorno province (VANNINI 1982: 374, fig. 81), three sherds collected at the Rocca di San Silvestro near Campiglia Marittima (FRANCOVICH *et al.* 1980: 201, fig. 24.62, 64) and two brim and one wall fragment from the 1345 phase of the *cassero* of Grosseto fortress (FRANCOVICH, GELICHI 1980a: 88, 89 no. 20, 94 no. 53, 97 no. 87, 102, pl. 17) are all that is known of finds in Tuscany south of Pisa.

G. a. t. is even rarer along the Latial coast than it is in Tuscany. The outside bowl from S. Omobono in Rome has already been mentioned (MAZZUCATO 1971: 103, no. 20). As well, about 20 fragments, including the common cross-hatched medallion, are reported from excavations in the adjacent forum (DÉMIANS D'ARCHIMBAUD 1980: 632, no. 160, 634, n. 188). Examples from north Latium called, or linked to, *g. a.* belong to an entirely different type made in central Italy and first found in Tuscania in the mid-15th century (RICCI PORTOGHESI 1972a: 62; 1972b: 218; LUZI, ROMAGNOLI 1981: 57, no. C/27; VANNINI 1982: 369, n. 91; MAZZUCATO 1971: 98, 103-4, no. 21; BLAKE 1974: 151-2; 1981c: 90, fig. 5; WHITEHOUSE 1972: 213-2; JOHNS

1973: 92-3). However, the inadequately described bowl found at Corneto-Tarquina has a ring base which, together with the finder's familiarity with *g. a. t.*, suggest it is an earlier import (ANDREWS 1978: 114, fig. 4.25). The jug at Grottaferrata has been compared with the Pugliese type which was probably made in the 15th century or later (MAZZUCATO 1981: 113-4, fig. 31; see below).

In Sardinia, apart from the *bacini* near Sassari (Pl. 2.1-2), there are at least two with cross-hatched central motifs on the late 13th-century church of S. Pietro at Quartu S. Elena in Cagliari province (DELOGU 1953: 192, 251). The almost complete bowl in Sassari museum, which was presumably found in Sardinia, has already been described (Fig. 1.2; Pl. 1.3). A possible but, if so, unusual (later?) example of *g. a. t.* was found in the same province with a black and brown decorated greenish glazed ring base, probably of central Mediterranean origin, archaic maiolica jug fragments, technically similar Catalan rim fragments, a possible late variant of the Pula type and 16th or 17th-century monochrome Spanish lustreware (BLAKE 1981b).

Pl. 2.4. Cavity fragment of a large bowl surviving to a height of 80 mm with a ring base 105 mm in diameter. Fairly hard, light brown fabric. Smooth, crackled cream glaze applied with the slip only to the remaining upper surface. Evenly penetrating but free incised lines of a stem with stalks supporting a simple leaf all defined by two parallel lines. Between the stem and the stalks a line formed by a series of hooks. Washy light green on the stem, alternating with yellow brown on the stalks and around the leaves. A streak and a spot of green on the ground to the right of the stem. Found during works in, and kept in a small museum in, the monastery annexed to S. Pietro di Sorres (Borutta), no. 26.

It resembles in a general way some of the foliage represented on Genoese finds (GARDINI *et al.* 1972: pl. 5.1).

In Sicily *g. a. t.* has turned up in three locations. The cross-hatched brim from San Calogero above Sciacca in Agrigento province is not made of south Sicilian clay (MANNONI 1975b: 389-90, no. 13; 1971: 460). A brimmed bowl decorated with groups of three linked arcs and a cavity fragment with the typical radiating floral motif came from the late 13th and early 14th-century village of Brucato, where about 50,000 sherds were excavated (MACCARI, POISSON 1984: 250, 324, 394, 415, pls 39b, 65g-h). Although less than a dozen sherds of *g. a. t.* remain in Palermo, they have been reported from at least four sites. All are typical bowls with brims covered with cross-hatching or occasional groups of oblique lines, chevrons or similar. The base fragments include the well known cross-hatched medallion or a star in the centre (DÉMIANS D'ARCHIMBAUD 1980: 634, n. 188; via Stazzone, D'ANGELO 1974: 70; Palazzo dei Normanni?, D'ANGELO 1972: 31; 1976: fig. 6; DÉMIANS D'ARCHIMBAUD 1980: 632, n. 160; S. Francesco d'Assisi, D'ANGELO 1974: 70, photo 8; D'ANGELO 1975: 102-3, pl. 2.1; Spirito Santo, D'ANGELO 1977: 143, fig. 5). However, an incised bowl from Lo Steri is unusual. It is apparently a simple hemispherical bowl decorated with two opposed pendant cross-hatched peltas joined across the centre by the outer of the two enclosing lines. In the space in the other quarters is a simple, unattached lenticular leaf. Only green paint, it seems, was applied around the rim, to frame the peltas and as spots over the cross-hatching. It is as well the only Palermitan find from a properly excavated stratified context, datable by ceramic association and coins to the 14th century (FALSONE 1976: 111, 114, 116-17, fig. 12). If this is Sicilian, it is probably

an aberration, as so few of this class have been reported from medieval contexts in south Italy (see below). Although its 14th-century context rules it out as a likely central Mediterranean precursor, its possible manufacture outside Liguria and Tuscany suggests an alternative source may exist for some of the Tyrrhenian (*sensu stricto*) finds identified as *g. a. t.*

Lastly there remains to be considered an unprovenanced find in Como museum which shares all the features of the Tyrrhenian type. The indented band on its brim is paralleled at Pisa; but the plant in the cavity bearing heart-shaped and cross-hatched leaves, is less carefully executed on examples from the same early 13th-century church and from elsewhere. *G.a.t.* leaves are usually divided by upright lines and the stem is often represented by a single line or, if by a pair, is without the detailing of the Como bowl (NEPOTI 1984: 124, fig. 1; BERTI, TONGIORGI 1981: pls 212 upper, 215 lower; DÉMIANS D'ARCHIMBAUD 1980: 359, b7, 633, n. 172).

This review of the distribution of *g. a. t.* clearly brings out its concentration in Liguria and Provence in terms not only of the quantity of finds (Fig. 2) but also of its relative proportions at any particular site. Very few sherds have been found in south Tuscany, Lazio and Sicily despite the amount of excavation and research into medieval pottery in these regions. As well, the few locations are all near the coast unlike the penetration of the north Mediterranean hinterland. However, the find of a possible *g. a. t.* fragment near Borutta in the Sassari countryside and the fact that Sardinia and Corsica were dominated by Pisa and Genoa for much of the 13th and 14th centuries suggest that their limited distribution in these islands may reflect the amount of research undertaken.

2) *Padana in Lombardy*

The *graffita arcaica* identified in Lombardy shares enough characteristics with that found in Emilia-Romagna to be called *g. a. padana*. Its fabric is hard, reasonably well leigated and slightly absorbent with a smooth finish. Occasional grog and glistening inclusions have been reported (FILIPPUCCI, PERIN 1983: 124; FARRIES 1979a: 231, fig. 11; 1979b: 3). The colour varies from brick red to pink or light brown. The transparent glaze covers both sides of the pot and often the base, where it is sometimes thinner. The thin off-white slip too can cover the entire surface, especially of the smaller forms.

Both open and closed forms were made. The smallest were chalices with a thin wall, a narrow brim with upturned rim and a hemispherical cavity separated from the solid base by a stem which could have a knob (Fig. 3.4). A Pavian example is 60 mm high with a rim diameter of 80 mm (NEPOTI 1981a: 84-5, no. H10). Similar bowls with an often only slightly concave disc base could also be larger and more thickly built (NEPOTI 1981a: 84-5, no. H12; Fig. 3.6; Pls 3.3-6, 4.3). Plain hemispherical bowls with rim diameters ranging from 110 to 150 mm and sometimes without a disc base were also part of the repertoire of small to medium - size open forms (NEPOTI 1981a: 84-6, nos H14-H16). The largest were basins with or without brims from about 150 to over 400 mm across (Fig. 3.7-8). The closed forms are best known at Como where Nepoti (1984: 124-5) has divided them into two basic types: the squat jug with a handle pressed into the lower body above a slightly waisted foot which is not covered by the slip

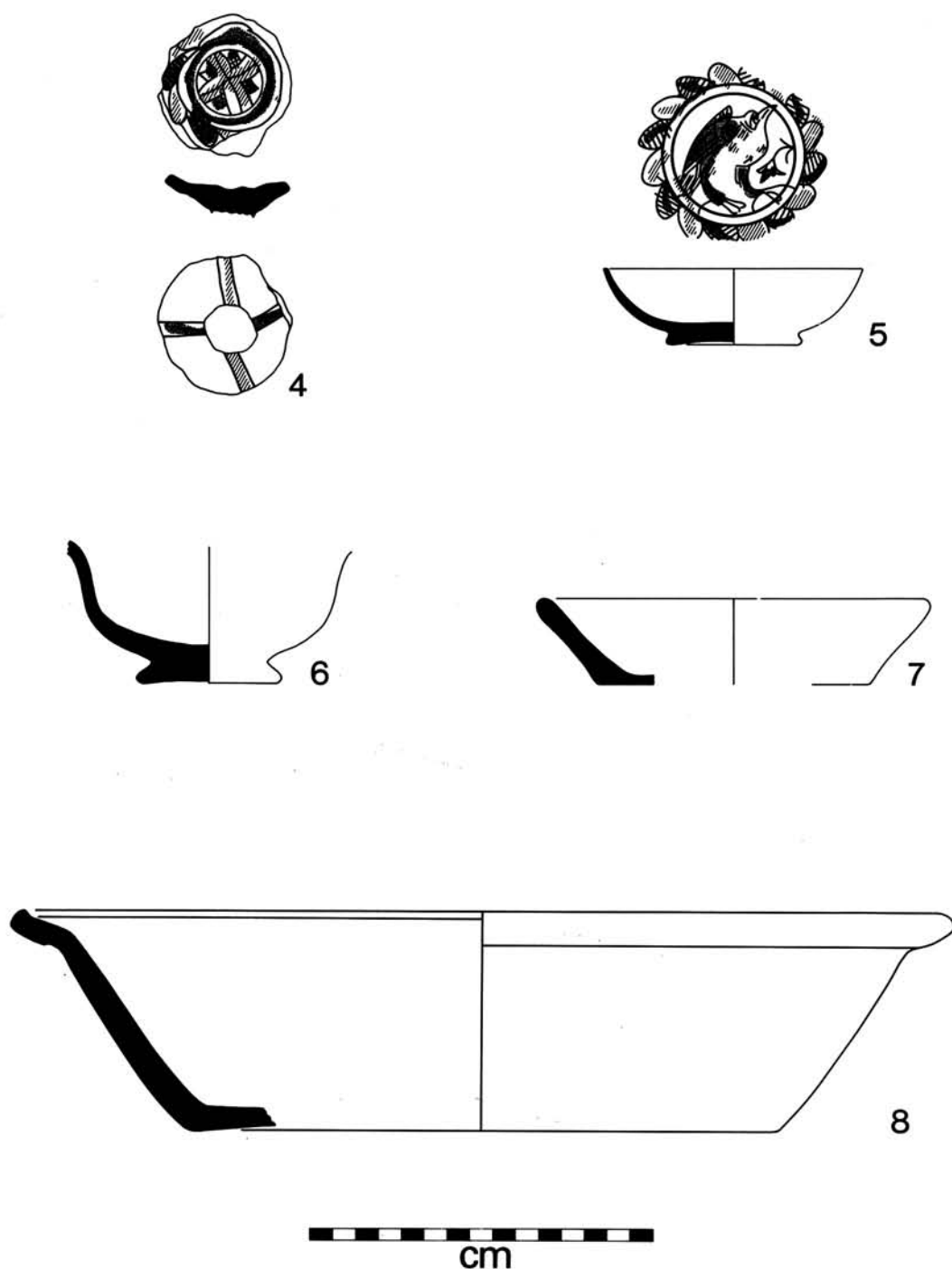


FIG. 3 - *Graffita arcaica padana* open forms in Lombardy: 4. Milan, S. Tecla; 5. Milan, S. Bernardino alle Monache; 6, 8. Como, S. Eufemia; 7. Como, S. Vitale. (Scale 1:3. Stippling = green; hatching = yellow brown).

(Fig. 4.9-10); and one with a pronounced neck restriction and slipped pedestal foot, and with a handle which « rests » on the spherical body and often has buttons where it is attached to the neck and body (Fig. 4.11). They both have a trilobate mouth and curved rectilinear or saddle-shaped handle sections. Their heights may vary from 165 to 235 mm. The only example of an albarello is described below. Occasionally a jug or bowl carination or even an upturned rim may be embellished by a raised cordon which can be thumbed like a pie crust (FILIPPUCCI, PERIN 1983: 124-5, pl. 5.38CR; Breno castle 1981; Como, Torre S. Vitale, E6907-8).

The decoration is carefully and firmly applied with a point leaving a line between 0.5 and 1 mm wide. Green and yellow brown paints were used to fill frames and to enhance elements of the designs. Exceptionally manganese purple has been applied to the button under a jug handle (NEPOTI 1981a: 86, no. H28). Its most characteristic feature is the frames which compartmentalize the ornament into rectilinear or circular areas. The decoration tends to cover the entire slipped visible surface except sometimes the pedestal foot or stem and the outside of bowls where it consists only of the painted frame divisions (Fig. 3.4). Also, the cavity side is usually left bare on those

bowls whose central motif is framed by a medallion bearing alternately hatched, sloping cusps – a typical feature of *g. a. p.* (Fig. 3.4-5; Pl. 4.1-3). Brims are usually divided into four cross-hatched segments, each with a plain or spotted, painted circle or semi-circle at its mid-point. A cross-hatched ground is also a characteristic of the bands around the necks of the pedestal jugs (Fig. 4.11). Most motifs are vegetal or geometric. The lobed leaves within linked circles or on a wavy stem within a band are common on jugs and sometimes on larger open forms (Fig. 4.9-11). They often occur on their own in the centre of bowls and below the lip of jugs (NEPOTI 1981a: 85, nos H6, H14; 1984: fig. 7) Also common on open forms are plants or tree-like runks bearing partly or wholly hatched heart-shaped leaves (NEPOTI 1981a: 85, nos H7-8; Pl. 4.1). The most popular geometrical motif on both open and closed forms is the crossed lozenge with arcs on its hollow sides (Fig. 4.9, 11; Pl. 4.3). A frequent element on bowls is a rosette of four radiating vesica shapes linked by chevrons. Quatrefoils, crosses and stars are also known (NEPOTI 1981a: 85, nos H1-4, H10-11; Pl. 3.3). Birds and human busts seen in profile complete the typical ornamental repertoire (Figs 3.5, 4.10; Pls 3.4-6. 4.2; FARRIES 1979a: figs 11-12; NEPOTI 1984: fig. 3).

There now follows descriptions of those drawn pieces cited as illustrations of form and decoration, most of which have not been published or described fully before:

Fig. 3.4. Base fragment of a chalice bowl. 60 by 50 by 10 mm. Hard, slightly porous, light brick red fabric with mica dust traces. Covered with a thin white slip and a shiny, smooth cream white glaze. Firmly incised decoration with a blunt point, enhanced by light green and yellow brown paints. Within the bowl a crossed annulet with crossed chevrons in the angles bearing alternately hatched sloping cusps. Four radiating bars outside. Excavated in 1961 from a well in front of the façade of S. Tecla, piazza del Duomo, Milan (MIRABELLA ROBERTI 1963: 84). Soprintendenza Archeologica della Lombardia, Milan.

Fig. 3.6. Part of a bowl with a slightly concave disc base and the beginnings of a brim. Base diameter 64 mm, incomplete height 62 mm. Entirely slipped and glazed. Decoration on the inside bottom with a right-facing bird within an annulet. On the side, trace of a stem supporting a bud and a veined leaf pointing sideways. On the outer side an upright heart-shaped leaf on a stalk. Excavated in 1982 from the Chiostrino di S. Eufemia, Como (NEPOTI 1984: 123). Museo Civico Archeologico, Como, E1019.

Fig. 3.7. Basin fragment with straight everted side. Rim diameter 172 mm, height 38 mm, base diameter 120 mm. Covered with slip inside and glaze on both sides. Incised and painted decoration on inner side wall of a crossed lozenge within a compartment. Recovered in 1964 from Torre di S. Vitale, Como (NEPOTI 1984: 123). Museo Civico Archeologico, Como, E6906.

Fig. 3.8, Pl. 3.2. Part of a large basin with inclined brim and upright rim. Rim diameter 415 mm, height 97 mm, base diameter 260 mm. Light red (nearest Munsell 2.5 YR 6/6) fabric. Upper decorated surface slipped and coated with a pale yellow (nearest ISCC-NBS 89) glaze. Brilliant orange (ISCC-NBS 49) coloured glaze outside. Incised decoration painted in runny very yellow (ISCC-NBS 82) and deep yellow green (ISCC-NBS 118). On the bottom, part of a foot (?). On the side, a many lobed leaf enclosed by linked circles. A framed trefoil on the brim. Provenance and store as Fig. 3.6, 5003.

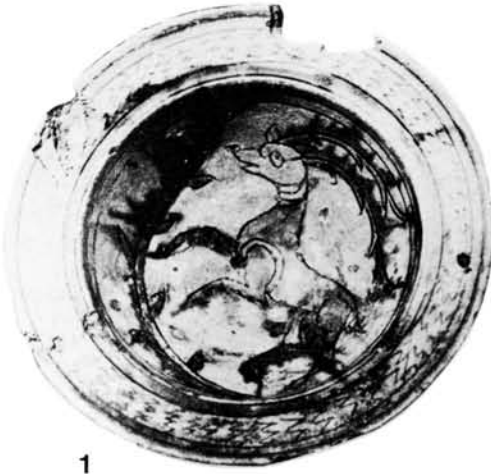
Fig. 4.10. Almost complete squat jug, now lacking its triboliate mouth. Incomplete height 219 mm, base diameter 142 mm. The saddle-shaped handle and part of the body have been restored. Hard, smooth, slightly porous, light brown fabric with a dirty brown surface. Wheelthrown.

Thin off-white slip outside as far down as the maximum girth. Firm (except on the maximum girth), incised line less than 1 mm deep. No trace of glaze or paints. In the lower register the decoration consists of lobed leaves carried by a wavy stem within a band flanked by crossed compartments. Below the lip is a right-facing bird within an oval frame with a schematic pattern of chevrons in the margins. Found with other *g. a. p.* in the territory of Como. Civiche Raccolte d'Arte Applicata ed Incisioni, Milan, no. 49 (BARONI 1934: 47; PERIN 1983:340-1).

Fig. 4.11. Almost complete pedestal jug with saddle-shaped profile affixed by a button to where it « rests » on the maximum girth and by another to the neck. Height 172 mm, base diameter 82 mm. Mouth and much of glaze on body missing. Pinkish light brown fabric with small hard white inclusions. Slipped and glazed all over. Transparent cream yellow glaze. Incised decoration shows as a dull light brown, enlivened by light green and yellow brown paints. The ornament below the rim consists of a band of lobed leaves within a linked series of circles. An engrailed band on a cross-hatched ground encircles the neck. The main decoration on the globular body is of the standard crossed lozenge with arcs on the hollow sides, separated by an ovoid frame. A simple incised rope encompasses the pedestal foot. Painted bar down the external length of the handle. Palazzo Ducale, Mantua, inv. no. 12308 (SIVIERO 1981: 91, no. 120).

Workshops existed in at least a number of west Lombard towns. First and second firing wasters have turned up in every find at Como (NEPOTI 1984: 119; HUDSON, LA ROCCA 1982a: 113). A biscuit jug from Como territory is in the Castello Sforzesco museum (Fig. 4.10; BARONI 1934: no. 49). An unglazed basin fragment decorated with a bird within an annulet has recently been found at piazza S. Stefano in Milan, but there is some doubt if another Milanese piece in the museum is a waster or a second (FIACCO, PERIN 1984: 144, 148). Unpainted and unglazed bowls with slightly concave disc bases are displayed with tripod stilts in the Museo Civico at Lodi, Milan province (e.g. SCIOLLA 1977: 67, no. 302). First firing wasters are also known at Pavia and include a chalice decorated with a rosette and a disc-based bowl bearing an incised star (NEPOTI 1981a: 84-5, no. H11; 1978: 191, fig. 47, no. 89). Finally, in 1980-81, a large group of plain, undecorated slipped and incised slipped biscuit ware, together with tripod and individual stilts (some with traces of glaze), were excavated under a cellar floor in the piazza del Duomo at Voghera, Pavia province. Nearly all the formal and decorative repertoire, except perhaps the chalice, appears to be represented (CAPORUSSO 1982; Soprintendenza Archeologica della Lombardia, Milan).

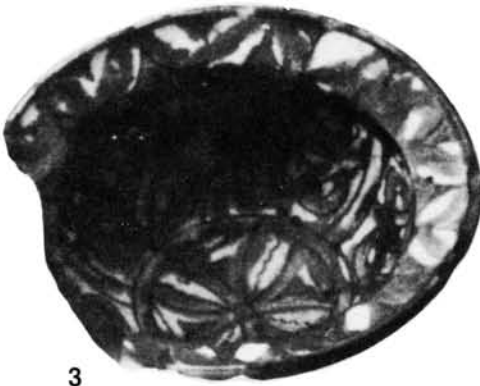
The earliest context for *g. a.* in Lombardy is a bowl on the south face of the former town hall in Monza, Milan province. As the hall is very similar to Milan's Broletto Nuovo which was finished in 1233, Romanini (1954: 517-18) assumed that Monza's Arengario was built shortly afterwards. But the town council was still trying to rebuild its premises near the Basilica's cemetery in 1291 and it is likely that an inscription dated 1293 may commemorate the building of the town hall, which is first mentioned in 1310 (SACCHI *et al.*, 1890: 20-2, 30). I know of no close parallel for the *bacino's* decoration amongst incised pottery. As a *g. a. t.* bowl is in Como museum, a Tyrrhenian origin must be considered. Although the brim decoration of indented lines exists amongst the *bacini* once at Lucca where also a fish motif similarly fills the cavity (VANNINI 1982: fig. 8 d-e), the deer and branch on the Monza bowl are unknown in the *g. a. t.* repertoire. Until the other characteristics of this bowl can be examined, it will not be possible to say whether it is a local or imported product.



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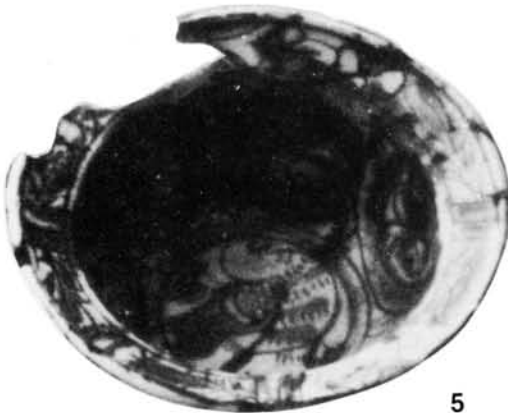
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PLATE 3: *Graffita arcaica padana* in Lombardy: 1. Monza (MI), Arengario; 2. Como, S. Eufemia; 3-6. Ascona (Locarno, Canton Ticino), S. Maria della Misericordia. (Not to scale).

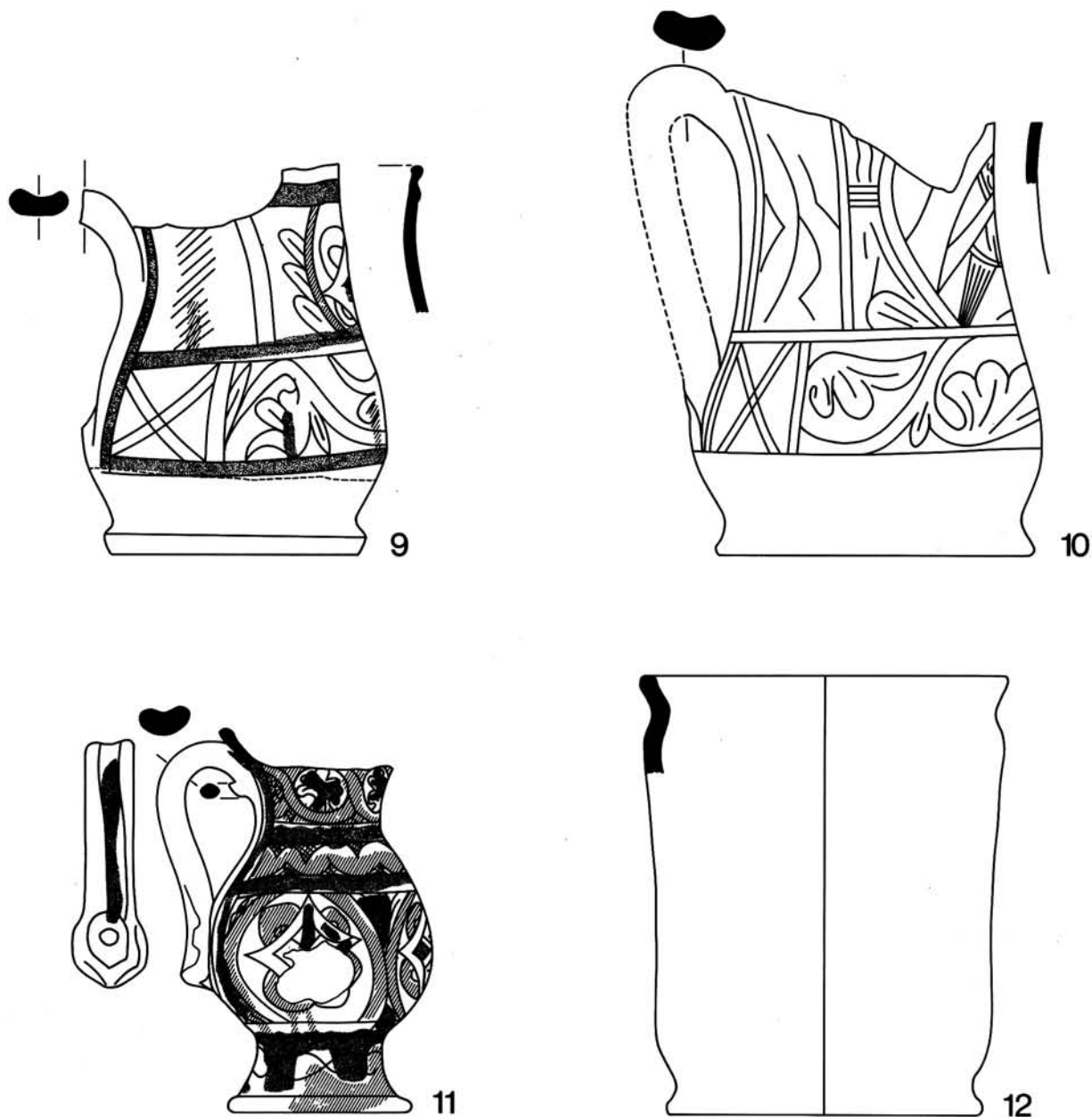


FIG. 4 - *Graffiti arcaica padana* closed forms in Lombardy: 9. Porlezza, S. Maurizio; 10. Como territory; 11. Mantua, Palazzo Ducale; 12. Pavia, Certosa. (Scale 1:3. Stippling = green; hatching = yellow brown).

PL. 3.1. Hemispherical bowl with brim terminating in upturned rim. Rim diameter 178 mm (MERATI 1966: 52). Parts of upper brim missing. Brick red fabric. Creamy yellow glaze. Incised decoration painted in green and yellow brown. Indented lines incised radially on brim defined by concentric lines, with irregular green band near cavity. Edge of cavity marked by concentric lines filled with brown. Upward-facing deer with plain head surmounted by green antlers to right -, brown body with incised pear-shaped shoulder and one green and one brown foreleg to left over long green branch.

Baroni suggested that a pedestal jug, found in Milan in 1913 and bearing an apparent caricature of Gian Galeazzo Visconti (reigned 1378-1402), was 14th century in date. But, as the other and principal side is decorated with the Bernardine monogram which was a popular motif on pottery and in other arts in the second half of the 15th century, this suggestion is, as Baroni would have realized, preposterous (Pl. 5.4; BARONI 1934: 178-9, no. 265, 254; NEPOTI 1981b: 109 for a colour photograph of the caricature).

Recent properly conducted stratigraphic excavations in Lombardy should provide some reliable data on the chronology and use of *g. a. p.* 13th-14th-century layers are either absent or unpublished or glazed pottery was not used in these centuries at some sites (BLAKE in press). Provisional results of pottery processing of the Broletto excavation in Pavia reveals the following quantities of slipped pottery in the late medieval phases (BLAKE 1984b: 5, 16):

Phase	Date	Type	Quantity	Proportion by phase
II	1198 town hall	Plain slipped	1	
III	Related courtyard pavement	Polychrome incised	40	13%
IV	1339/1402 and 1412/1447 coins	Polychrome incised	151	20%
V	1513/1521 coin	Polychrome incised	322	26%

The slipped sherd and a related glazed jug base in phase II construction deposits from the town hall came from one layer which could have been misphased or in which the sherds could be intrusive or attributable to other student error in processing (cp. BLAKE in press). The phase III pavement is made of unmortared brick and could well have been replaced or allowed infiltration after the town hall's construction in 1198. Four of the phase IV coins date to the latter part of the 14th century and the only 15th-century coin came from the uppermost layer in the phase. As *g. a. p.* was found in every layer in this phase as well as in the underlying courtyard pavement, it seems highly likely that the type was extensively used by market and town hall frequenters in the second half of the 14th century (BLAKE 1978b: 2). The characteristics of the quantified pottery have not yet been recorded in detail, but it appears that many in the early phases are smaller forms of *g. a. p.* which were slipped and decorated on both sides.

Despite this indication of 14th-century use, the rest of the available evidence in Lombardy points to a 15th-century currency of *g. a. p.* Twenty *bacini* on the east façade of the choir of S. Maria della Misericordia at Ascona, in the adjacent Swiss canton Ticino, share the same form and more-or-less the same decoration. An inscription painted on the inside of the choir wall records the laying of the church's foundation stone in 1399 and its consecration in 1442 (GILARDONI 1979: 128, n. 271).

PL. 3.3-6. Small hemispherical bowls with horizontal brim terminating in short vertical rim. Red fabric. White slip. Yellowish cream glaze. Entire surface, except rim, covered with precisely incised decoration, painted with less care in varying densities of yellow brown and of runny green. The brim is divided into three or four segments by two vertical brown bands enclosing two horizontal trifoliate green (and brown?) leaves pointed towards, and separated by, an oval brown motif. Incised line by rim and green band on edge of cavity. Pl. 3.3. is exceptionally filled by an indented brown band separating cross-hatched pendant green triangles. The side is filled by a brown guilloche encircling an upright trifoliate green leaf and with a green band in the spandrels. Pl. 3.3. is again exceptional as the side is divided by six (?) vertical brown bands enclosing framed green diamonds with a green arc to each side. Within the central

green annulet, a brown Maltese cross with a green frame and wavy line between the arms is found on seventeen of the *bacini*. The other three (Pl. 3.4-6) bear a frontal bird with inverted wings, a right-stepping bird in profile and a left-facing human bust in profile.

Different views have been expressed about the date of the Milanese church of S. Bernardino alle Monache, from whence two *g. a. p.* base fragments in the Castello Sforzesco museum were removed in 1922 (PONZONI 1930: 156). The prevailing view is that the church was reconstructed in an admittedly anachronistic style by Pietro Antonio Solari who was active in Milano from c. 1470 to 1490 (ROMANINI 1956: 617-18; MALAGUZZI VALERI 1906: 115). Baroni's (1934: 46) attribution to the early 15th century and to his father Guiniforte Solari (who was, however, only born in 1429, MALAGUZZI VALERI 1906: 62, 76) is comforted by an account of the historical events. Apparently after San Bernardino preached in Milan in c. 1428, the community wanted to change to the Franciscan order and rebuilt the church, which was renamed after his canonization in 1450 (MEZZANOTTE, BASCAPÈ 1968: 329).

PL. 4.1. Cracked and repaired. Neatly cut disc base 57.8 mm in diameter with wall 5 mm thick. Fairly hard, orange (Munsell 2.5 YR 6/8) fabric. Thin, crazed glaze all over, dark orange yellow (ISCC-NBS 72) outside and pale greenish yellow (ISCC-NBS 104) inside over off-white slip. Deeply incised decoration. In centre rooted stem with trifoliate leaf to each side and simple leaf at top. Enclosed by annulet (centre point visible), bearing alternately hatched cusps. Varied intensities of dark yellowish green (ISCC-NBS 137) and deep orange yellow (ISCC-NBS 69) paints cover decorative motifs (BARONI 1934: no. 47).

Fig. 3.5, Pl. 4.2. Similar to Pl. 4.1. 3.5 mm thick side. Trace of broken tripod stilt. Right-facing bird with leaf below breast. Strong yellowish brown (ISCC-NBS 74) external glaze and pale/light yellow (ISCC-NBS 89/86) glaze within. Varied strong yellowish brown (ISCC-NBS 74) and dark yellowish green (ISCC-NBS 137) tones over incised decoration (BARONI 1934: no. 48).

An albarello was found in 1889 in Gian Galeazzo Visconti's burial urn at the Certosa di Pavia. He died in 1402 but his coffin was transferred only in 1474 to the Certosa where he had wished to be buried. The tomb, started in 1493, was completed by the time the church was consecrated in 1497. The urn, however, was not made until about 1560. Whether, like the sword, dagger, spurs and prayerbook also found in the urn, the drug jar was a personal possession of Gian Galeazzo or whether it was provided in 1402, 1474, 1497 or 1560 or at any other time during the coffin's itinerary between 1402 and 1474 has not yet been established (BELTRAMI 1899: 34, 94-5, 99, 142-3, 157). The less careful decoration would point to a date later than the Milanese *bacini*.

Fig. 4.12, Pls 4.4-5. The well preserved albarello is 196 mm high with a rim diameter of 164 mm and a base 140 mm across. Smooth, slightly absorbent, hard, brownish buff fabric. Wheelthrown. White slip to above the foot and overlapping the mouth. Thin shiny, light brown glaze with darker brown speckles and some light olive greener patches, on the foot and within. It is smoother over the slip. Well incised, but slightly irregular, 1 mm wide lines. The ornament is divided into four compartments below an inverted line around the neck. To the right of each the Visconti emblem of a crimped, upright snake swallowing a naked person, with one arm below and the other above the body (except in one compartment where both are held below, Pl. 4.5). Below the person is a trifoliate plant (in one compartment a many lobed flower, Pl. 4.4). Half a lobed leaf stretches along the right bar of the frame. Green paint on the leaves, snake and horizontal bars of the frame. Yellow brown, in parts nearly black,

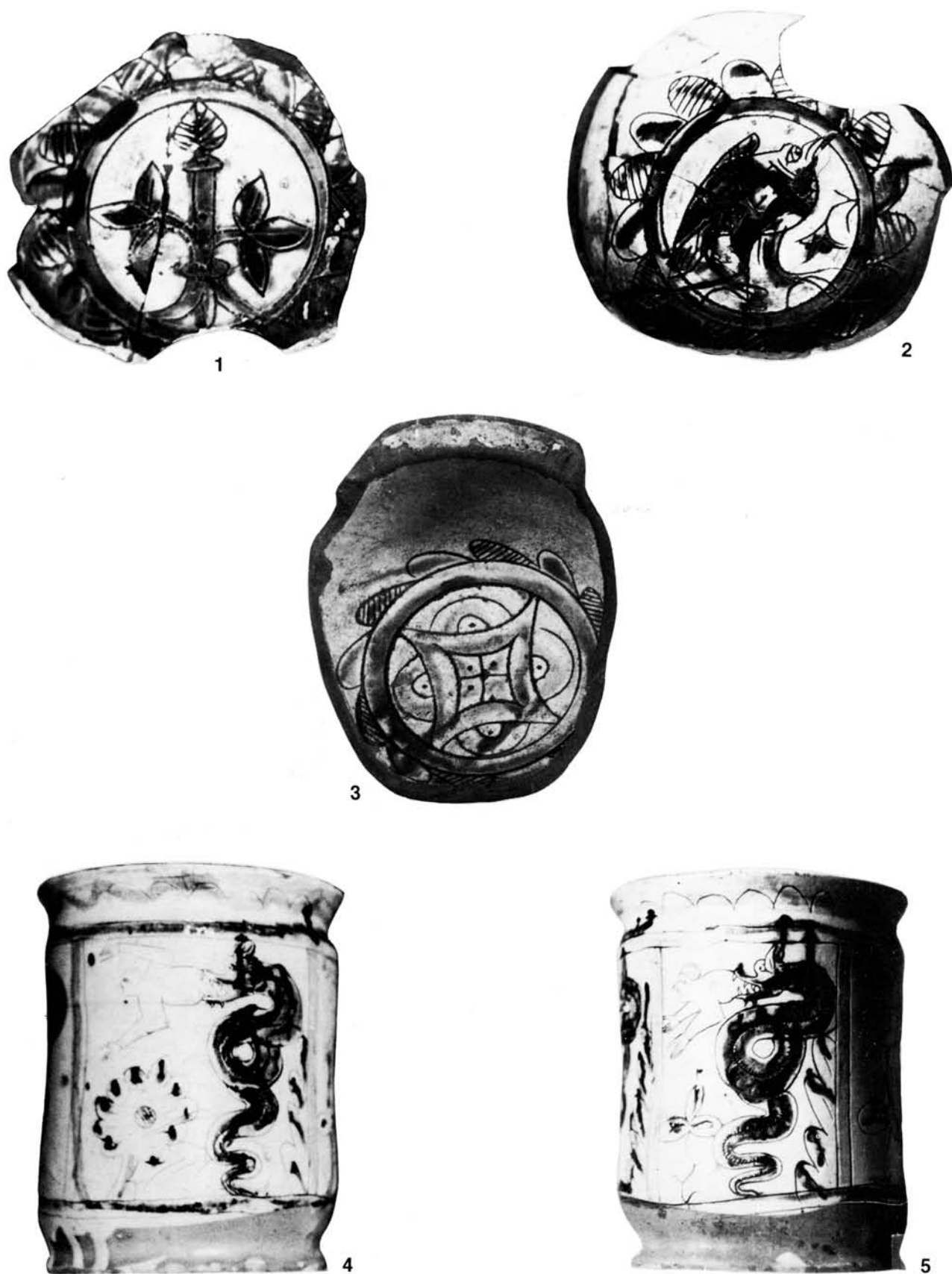


PLATE 4: *Graffiti arcaica padana* in Lombardy: 1-2. Milan, S. Bernardino alle Monache; 3. Pavia; 4-5. Certosa di Pavia. (Not to scale).

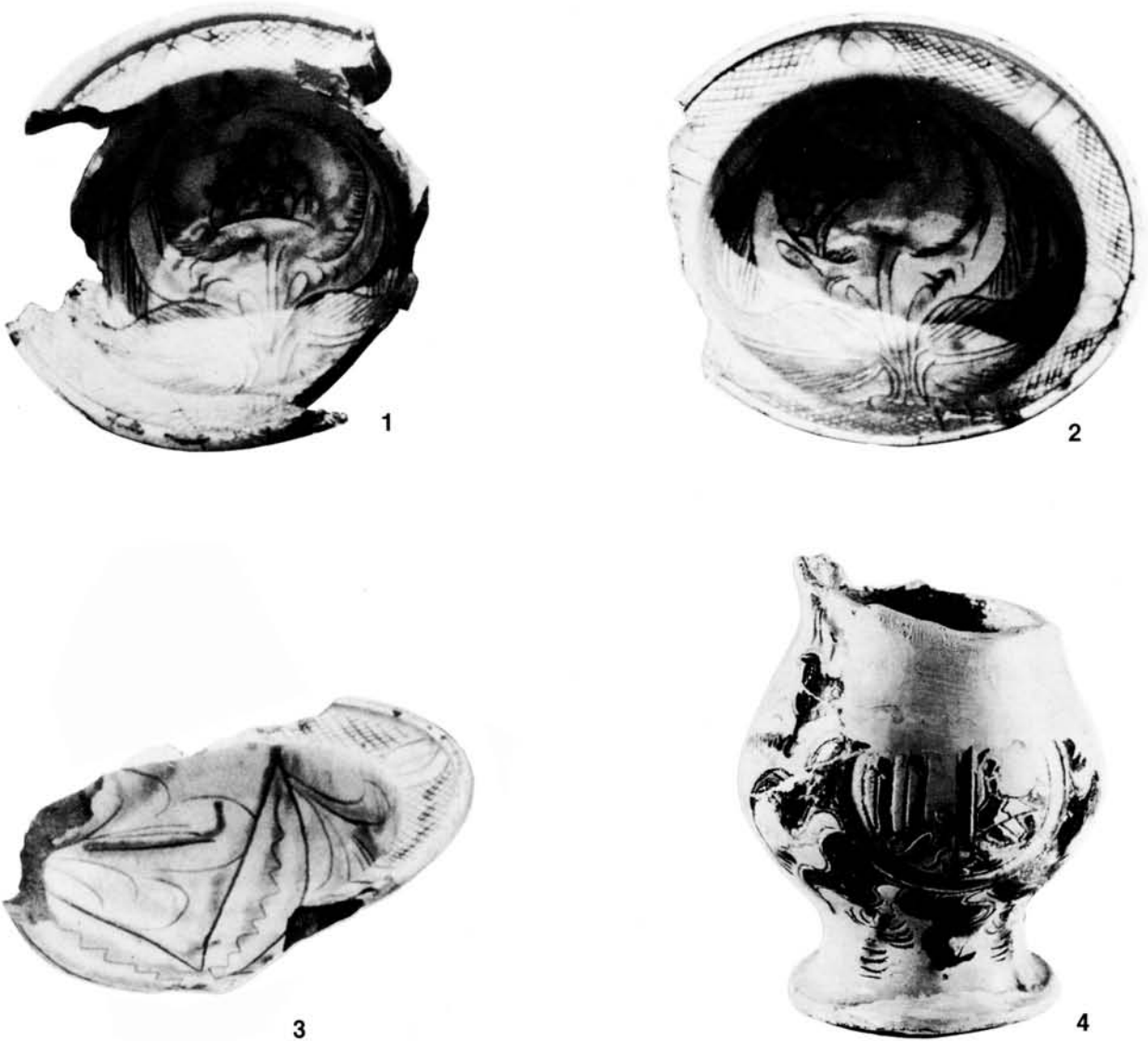


PLATE 5: 15th-century *graffita policroma* in Lombardy: 1-3. Pavia, S. Chiara; 4. Milan. (Not to scale).

paint on the vertical bars and on the plant stem. Soprintendenza ai Monumenti inv. no. 489. Examined in the Certosa and apparently now transferred to the Musei Civici di Pavia.

A final confirmation of at least the late use of *g. a. p.* is a reconstructed jug from S. Maurizio in the commune of Porlezza at the Italian end of Lake Lugano. The church, where the pot was found broken, was engulfed by an avalanche either before 1567 when it was reported ruined or by 1578 when it was *tota subitus terram*. The disaster presumably occurred after 1466/76, the date of a coin retrieved during the 1966/68 excavation by a local group (BELLONI 1968; AMERIO 1970).

Fig. 4.9. Almost complete, poorly restored jug with a raised ridge around the upper neck and a bowed rectilinear sectioned handle. 174 mm high, 110 mm base diameter. Fairly hard brick red fabric. White slip. Transparent glaze, brown over the foot. Deep but not broad incised lines. Shiny bright water green and light ferric brown paints. The decoration in the narrower band forming the lower register consists of trifoliate leaves on a wavy stem flanked by a crossed compartment. Below the lip, the usual lozenge, with arcs on the hollow sides, set within an ovoid frame bearing slanting cusps. In the upper margins a series of diagonal lines.

The type has also been found in other excavated contexts with material datable to the 15th or 16th centuries; but to what extent it is residual or has been otherwise redeposited is unclear. At the Torre Civica in Pavia, for example, *g. a. p.* formed 4.6. per cent of the pottery in the phase assigned to c. 1500 and dropped off to 1.3. per cent in the next phase datable to the end of that century (NEPOTI 1978: 213). At the Palazzo Malaspina in the same town it made up one per cent of an assemblage of 15th-century or later pottery (FARRIES 1979b). Five and a half per cent of the sherds (or between 3 and 4 per cent of the weight) of the post-medieval pottery collected during some building works at Milan is *g. a. p.* (FILIPPUCCI, PERIN 1983: 129; FIACCO, PERIN 1984: 149).

It has already been suggested in connection with the Broletto that entirely slipped and more carefully decorated smaller forms may characterize the earliest stage of *g. a. p.* Slipshod drawing of the incised lines and haphazard application of the paint appears to typify the latest stage at the Certosa. The latter may also be exemplified by some open forms displayed at Pavia and Lodi (NEPOTI 1981a: 85, nos H6, H14; 1981b: 113). The late dating of the schematic lo-

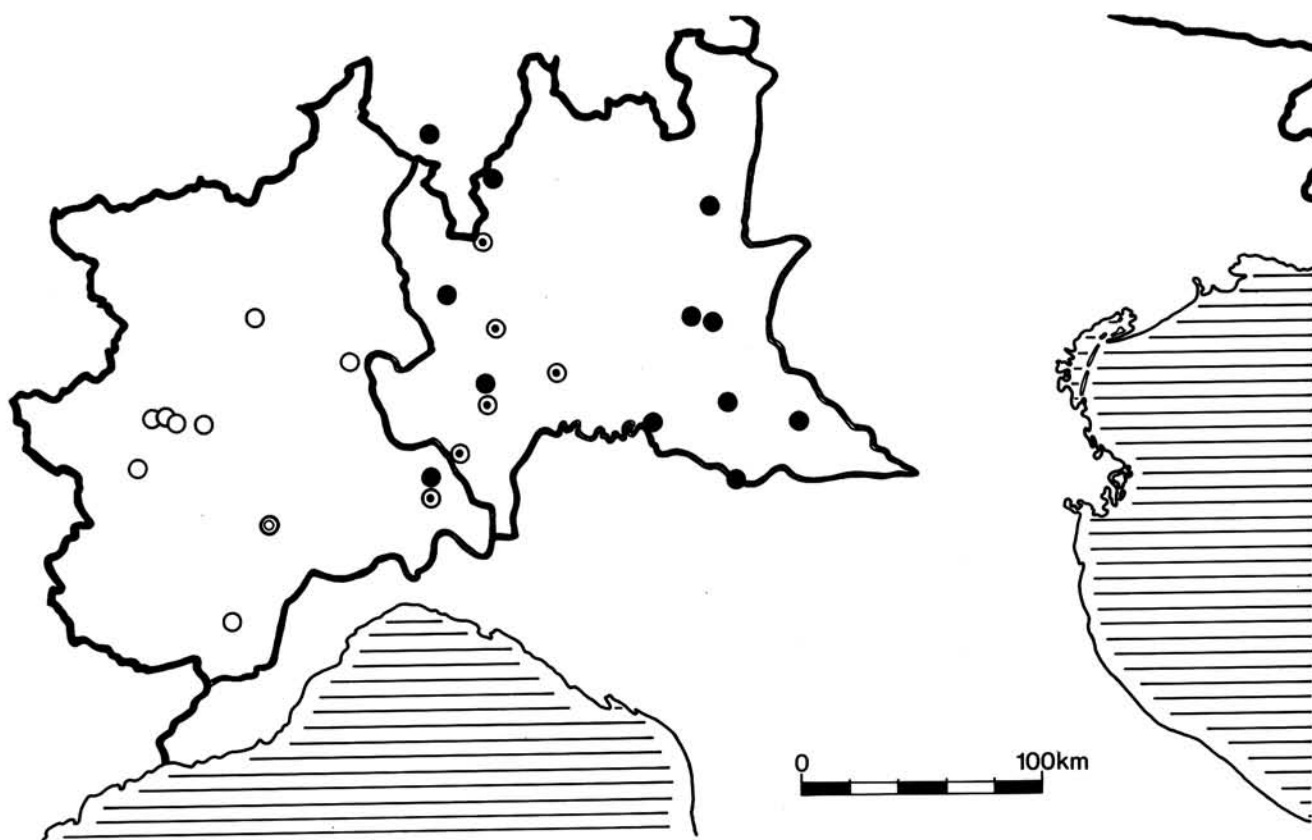


FIG. 5 - Distribution map of *graffita arcaica padana* and *piemontese* in Lombardy and Piedmont. Filled circle = *g. a. padana* findspot; encircled filled circle = *g. a. padana* production centre; circle = *g. a. piemontese* findspot; encircled circle = *g. a. piemontese* production centre.

bed leaf is confirmed by a *bacino* on S. Chiara at Pavia, built in 1476 (Pl. 5.3; see below). At Como this more careless decoration is found on a third form of jug with an ovoid body and wide, roughly cylindrical neck, thought to be characteristic of the late 15th and the first part of the 16th centuries (NEPOTI 1984: 125, fig. 9). A wavy line between bars repeated in series, a feature for example of the Voghera wasters, may also be a late motif, as it is found on 15th-century imports into Liguria (MANNONI 1975a: fig. 71). There are also examples of *g. a. p.* forms combining archaic elements with Renaissance motifs (see below).

It is already clear that *g. a. p.* has been found in many places in Lombardy; and those in nearby Piedmont will be discussed below (Fig. 5). Starting in the north-west, it is commonplace in Como and found at Porlezza and at an un-named site in the province. As well, it adorns a church in the adjacent Canton Ticino. Apart from Milan, where it has also turned up in the cathedral square excavations, the type is preserved at Legnano and Lodi. Various Pavian finds have been cited in this paper. Another was in Faenza museum before the war (MALAGUZZI VALERI 1923: fig. 98). *G. a. p.* was excavated in Brescia castle, at Breno and in the Cà dei Grii cave near Virle in the province (ANDREWS 1981: 4; BIAGI, MARCHELLO 1968: 21). In Cremona jugs were found in piazza Cavour and a basin (?) base fragment is kept in Milan museum (BARONI 1934: no. 179; also NEPOTI 1981b: 107). Apart from the jug in the Ducal palace, a few sherds are preserved in Asola and Viadana museums in Mantua province.

All the known production centres of *g. a. p.* in north-

west Italy are in the western half of Lombardy and in south-east Piedmont (Fig. 5), where the relative quantity of the material appears to be greater. The latter, as we shall see, may reflect 15th-century developments. However, an attempt to define a Comasque variant characterized by a Maltese cross with small cross-hatched central areas founders on the discovery at Voghera of wasters decorated with the same motif (HUDSON, LA ROCCA HUDSON 1982a: 113; Ascona *bacini*; BARONI 1934: nos 57-8).

3) *Piemontese and padana in Piedmont*

G. a. in 14th-century contexts in Piedmont has to date been located in so few distinct areas within the region that it is at this stage easier to treat it on a provincial basis, starting with that most closely linked to Liguria. The name *g. a. piemontese* may prove to be misleading. It was originally proposed in 1979 to distinguish the Turinese *bacini* from *g. a. t.* and *g. a. p.* (BLAKE 1982: 284). Although the chronology and local manufacture have been established in western Piedmont, it would be better to delay naming the intra-regional types *g. a. cuneese*, *g. a. torinese* or even *g. a. piemontese occidentale*, until more is known about their diffusion and how marked local variation is. It is certainly inappropriate to call these *g. a. ligure-tirrenica* (CORTELAZZO 1984: 110).

Apart from finds in those localities treated as part of the Genoese hinterland (Fig. 2), the recently published discoveries at Alba and Montaldo di Mondovì suggest how western Liguria may have inspired the local production of

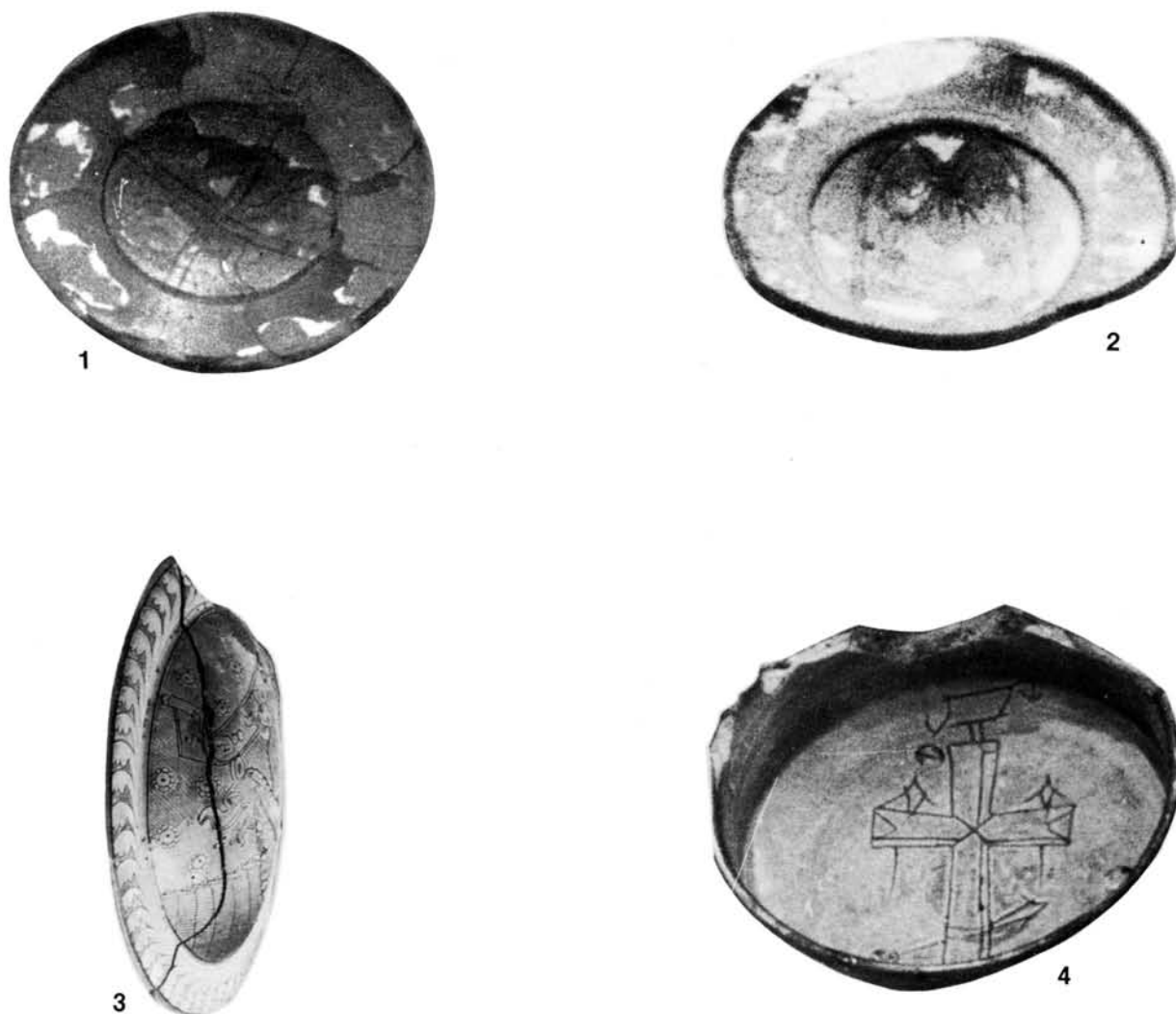


PLATE 6: *Graffiti monocroma* in Liguria and Lombardy: 1-2. Bardino Vecchio (Tovo S. Giacomo, SV), S. Giovanni Battista; 3-4. Pavia, S. Chiara. (Not to scale).

14th-century *g. a.* in the province of Cuneo. The most important group from the region in print came from the massive refurbishment fill of a room on the western perimeter of Montaldo castle (CORTELAZZO 1984). The 1,026 fragments consist of almost equal proportions of unglazed, glazed and incised, slipped pottery.

As no coins were found, the dating of this fill to the first half of the 14th century hinges on the shape of a cross-bow bolt, the stratigraphic sequence and the pottery. Apart from an uncertain earlier context at Genoa, pyramidal-headed and triangular-sectioned arrowheads have also been found at 15th-century sites such as Monte Lecco and Molassana castle (ANDREWS 1977: 196-201, no. 71). The Montaldo deposit lies over a «thin and poor» layer associated with the first mention of the castle in 1216 and under the beaten clay pavement foundation assigned to the late 15th or early 16th centuries. Some of the forms would, it is claimed, be «precocious» in a late 13th-century context; and quite distinct ones appear in 15th-century layers. However, as we shall see, there are other grounds for supporting a 14th-century date.

The fabric of most of the incised pottery is red orange

in colour and contains fine micaceous and rarely whitish inclusions. The ivory or pinkish slips fit the fabric, although some of the devitrified, crazed glaze has peeled. One assumes, on analogy with the Alba material discussed below, that these coats were usually applied only to the inside of open forms. The decoration has been carefully, firmly and deeply incised and painted in green and yellow brown of varying intensity.

Although complete profiles are rare, a surprisingly varied range of open forms, some peculiar to this province, are represented, even though the scarcity of closed forms does preclude calling this assemblage a complete table service (Fig. 6.2-6). 88 fragments belong to small bowls, between 90 and 140 mm across, with an indented hemispherical profile (Fig. 6.3). The next largest category of 52 fragments derives from brimmed bowls with upturned rims, ranging from 140 to 220 mm in diameter (Fig. 6.2). Seven of these have a carinated side. Of the 25 bases which may appertain to any of these bowls only three are disc bases and the remaining fragments have ring feet. A further 39 fragments come from flat-based and straight-sided basins with rim diameters varying from 260 to 320

mm (Fig. 6.5). 17 sherds are of large brimmed bowls (e.g. 360 mm diameter, Fig. 6.6) or of curved-walled dishes (e.g. 216 mm rim diameter, Fig. 6.4). Five bowl fragments with an external flange (e.g. with a maximum diameter of 201 mm) were the only ones decorated on both sides. They are presumably lids (cp. Spanish pottery, Casamar 1959: 192, no. 4). The only closed forms are represented by three fragments forming two jugs, at least one of which had a tubular spout.

The decoration in the cavity is often based on a cross within a quatrefoil or bearing leaves, or is filled with leaves sprouting from a stem or is framed by a roundel. The last may enclose a lily, shield, Solomon's knot, eight-foiled flower, radiating cross, fish, bird, composite animal, human profile, four radiating petals or the sort of lobed leaf usually set on a wavy stem. The brim or wall motifs are nearly all geometric, comprising groups of oblique lines, chevrons, arches, coils, an invected line and an S-chain. More elaborate motifs are to be found on large forms, such as a palmette or a wavy stem supporting leaves on the wall. Cross-hatching is often employed to fill smaller elements.

Within the church of S. Domenico at Alba, about 40 km to the north of Montaldo di Mondovì, wasters and potentially significant chronological contexts have been excavated. Two pertinent phases have been isolated: the first preceding, or related to, the construction of the church floor following the donation of the ground in 1292; and the second is associated with the reconstruction of the aisles and the casting of a bell between the mid-15th and early 16th centuries (MICHELETTI 1984: 82-5). Almost half the incised, slipped pottery has been identified as *g. a.*, much of it from the late 15th-century levels. Significantly some was found under the early 14th-century floor. Unfortunately, none from this context has yet been specifically described, nor illustrated; and some uncertainty is introduced by the statement that *graffita tarda* also came from the same layer. Although the early chronological evidence offered by this site is unclear, the first-firing wasters are crucial in establishing local production of the smaller bowls and in particular of the unusual indented hemispherical bowl which is also decorated with the characteristic Montaldo invected line around the upper wall (CERRATO, MORRA 1984: 98-102, wasters nos 14-20, pl. 41, no. 18).

Both the chronology and local origin of *g. a. bacini* have been established beyond doubt in Turin province (BLAKE 1980; 1982; CORTELAZZO 1982; PETTENATI, BORDONE 1982: figs 11-41, colour photographs). Five of the six towers on which they were placed can be dated to the first half, or to the middle, of the 14th century, one by an *in situ* inscription, two in relation to the written building history of their churches and the others on stylistic analogy. Microscopic examination of the thin sections of chips from a *bacino* on each of the last two churches revealed the same minero-petrographic associations seen in most samples from the Palazzo Madama excavations at Turin, which agrees with the composition of local clays (MANNONI 1982b: 120, 122).

Most of the 80 *bacini* are bowls with more - or - less inclined brims with an upturned rim. One detached from Buttigliera Alta has a flat base (Fig. 6.1), whereas those from the undated civil tower at Ivrea exhibit two ring bases and one disc base. Two on S. Giovanni at Avigliana are perhaps ring based, whereas the missing ones at S. Maria in

the same town have left flat-based impressions. Some of the bowls on the last church have flattened slightly concave rims instead of brims. Eight at Pinerolo are basins like those at Montaldo, but with a flattened externally thickened rim. A strap handle can be seen rising from the base behind the broken wall of a basin at Rivoli.

The fabric is red or light red. A pale yellow or pale olive glaze covers the off-white slip, neither of which is on the outside of the detached *bacino* from Buttigliera Alta; but two reverses from the undated Ivrea tower are glazed.

There is a remarkable variety in the quality of the decoration despite some common motifs, considering that the pottery was probably made at about the same time and that four of the churches are in a 10 km stretch of the Dora Riparia valley. The most carefully executed with the widest and most elaborate repertoire is on S. Giovanni at Avigliana. The more complex interlaced patterns with marginal leaves and some of the zoomorphic elements fill the entire cavity. The male bust in profile, the lion, the full frontal or alighting bird, the wading bird, the siren and the mermen blowing a trumpet are outstanding examples of incised medieval pottery anywhere. Some of these and the vegetal (palmate lobed or compound leaves) and the geometric (star or radiating petals) motifs are framed by annulets within a decorated band, usually of trifoliate leaves on a wavy stem, on the side wall. Series of individual leaves on a bent stem are common on the brim, where an engrailed, invected or indented line often forming bands, even of diamonds, could be incised instead. A characteristic is the careful and consistently coloured green painting of one side of the engrailed or indented line.

These closely covered bowls contrast with the simple motifs sparsely applied on the other Avigliana *bacini* at S. Maria, where the plain ground dominates. Apart from the concentric lines at the cavity edge or the chevrons alternating with arcs on the brim, the ornament is restricted mainly to the centre of the cavity. It consists of a six-pointed star, leaves supported on crossed stems or, in one instance, the outline of a hooded head with a stem held in the mouth supporting a large leaf. The less carefully applied paint does, however, largely lie within the incised element.

Buttigliera Alta and Rivoli seem to represent a half-way house. Carefully executed ornament occupies the cavity often with a band on the side. Leaf or geometric motifs prevail. Chevrons, oblique lines, an S-chain, guilloche or invected line, as at Montaldo, occupy the brim or side. Pinerolo to the south is characterized by lighter and often very runny paints but is otherwise similar to Buttigliera in spatial arrangement. Vegetal motifs again predominate, but a Solomon's knot, fish and a star can be seen. The undated Ivrea bowls to the north are characterized in two cases by carefully executed (compass-drawn?) designs with cross-hatching, invected lines and chevrons as marginal elements or on the brim. On the third is represented a bird holding a leaf with an S-chain on the brim.

Excavations reported elsewhere in Turin province have not encountered late medieval contexts. Although an impressive range of medieval and later structures have been identified at Novalesa abbey above Susa, pot is rare, very fragmented or from recent or disturbed layers or from earlier irregular digging (WATAGHIN CANTINO 1979: 294, 310, 316-17). It is difficult to say which, if any, of the published incised pottery is 14th century, although some

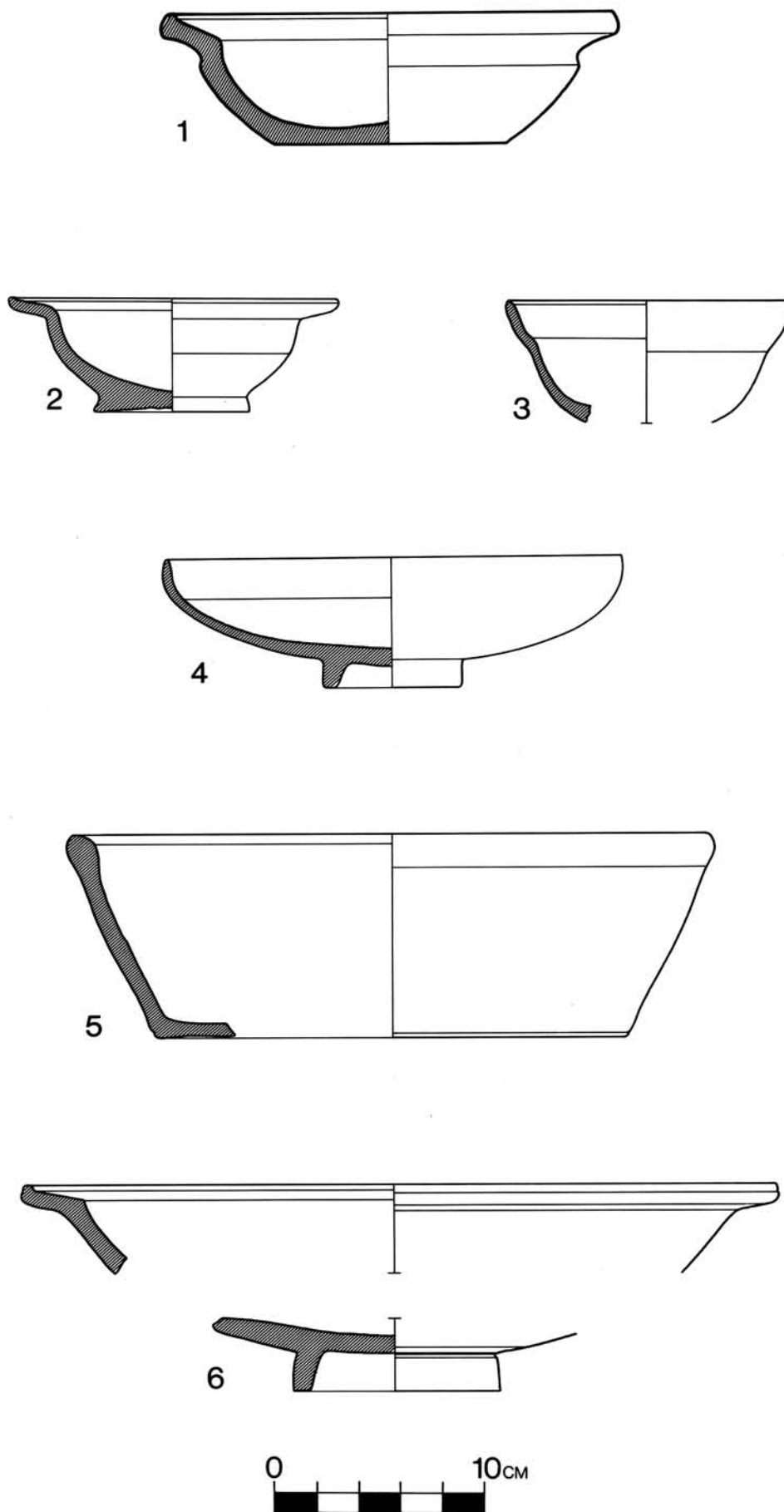


FIG. 6 – *Graffita arcaica piemontese* forms from Buttiglieria Alta and Montaldo di Mondovì (CN, after CORTELAZZO 1982: fig. 31; 1984: pls 44-48, nos 5, 27, 57, 61, 64). (Scale 1:3).

brim and base fragments are possible candidates. Open forms predominate and have flat or slightly projecting disc bases and comprise simple hemispherical bowls and dishes with a broad sloping brim. Some of the latter have marked external carinations (PANTÒ 1981: pl. 1, nos 1-2, 19, pl. 2, nos 20, 22).

Neither D'Andrade's documentation nor his display of finds made during the careful excavations in Palazzo Madama in 1884-85 have been traced. The bulk of the pottery may have come from the cess pit at the bottom of the north-west tower. It was built in 1318 and filled with crockery and glass datable from the 15th to 18th century. The only piece which has a decidedly early look is a deep bowl with an angled brim and a slightly projecting concave base. The cavity is divided by crossed stems supporting at each end a plain leaf marked by a chevron. Between the leaves there is another trifoliate leaf. A diagonal bar alternates with an arc on the brim (PANTÒ 1982; CORTELAZZO *et al.* 1982: 209, no 94; PETTENATI, BORDONE 1982: cover, colour photograph). Mannoni's analysis of a seemingly more archaic jug fragment reveals that its slip is made of caolin and that its clay could be local (MANNONI 1982b: 120, 122).

A brim fragment with an incised diagonal bar, which may also be 14th century, was deposited in a water course open between about 1583 and 1682 along the west side of piazza di Castello, in which Palazzo Madama is situated (FILIPPI 1982: 76-87; MURER 1982: 100, no 24). The undecorated side of all these excavated fragments is neither slipped nor glazed.

To the east churches again provide the only reliable early contexts for medieval incised wares of Piedmontese type. S. Agnese in Vercelli was built between 1298 and 1423 (BRIZIO 1935: 112). Below the apex of the east transept façade are displayed a small hemispherical bowl, four basins with a pair of strap handles below the sloping concave brim about 250 mm across and two larger ones about 365 mm in diameter with two pairs of handles. The coarse, light brick-red fabric is covered with a slip and an off-white to pale yellow glaze. The accurately incised design is painted carelessly in green and yellow brown, which have run. The brims are marked by an irregular line. The sides are either plain or filled with a branching scroll (i.e. a wavy stem) supporting trifoliate leaves. A series of linked, framed palmettes adorns the side of the most elaborate large basin. Birds cover the bottoms of two of the smaller basins. Compass-drawn stellate patterns with cross-hatched panels within the radiating petals and within the chevrons at the edge decorate one of the smaller and the other larger basin. The remaining small bowl base bears four radiating lanceolate leaves linked by a double arc. A nine-pointed star joined by arcs set on a partly cross-hatched ground features on the last of the smaller basins. The most elaborately decorated basin has a concentric band enclosing a plait on a cross-hatched ground. In the centre a six-petal radiating motif, with a lily between the arms, is filled with a crimped snake or fish, two of the latter with human heads. The serpent is taken to confirm the date of the *bacini* to the Visconti lordship of Vercelli between 1320 and 1427 (CICONI *et al.* 1983).

Even further east S. Marta in Novara, the earliest record of which is dated 1268, has been attributed to the first half of the 13th century on stylistic grounds (LAZANIO 1927: 45; VIGLIO 1927: 46). The eleven of the sixteen

bacini surviving on the upper part of the facade are all hemispherical bowls with a brim terminating in an upturned rim about two and a half brick courses in diameter. The greyish white slip is covered by a mottled light or red-brown glaze with tripod stilt scars in the cavity. The sparse incised design appears to be defined by a pair of concentric lines at the cavity edge. The brims are decorated with either a continuous series of linked double arcs, occasional cross-hatched chevrons separated by upright lines or crossed circles, or are completely cross-hatched. The centre bears a bird, a small cross-hatched annulet or radiating lanceolate leaves either based on a central annulet or linked by a double arc.

In the south-eastern province of Alessandria, the museum of Tortona houses, along with other 15th-century types of Lombard character which will be discussed later, some *g. a. padana*. Small disc-based bowls are incised with the wellknown roundel bearing alternately hatched cusps and containing a schematic leaf or flower, sometimes with double arcs on the hollow undersides. Although these are relatively schematic and thus perhaps later, one fine small bowl with plain semi-circles and bars on a cross-hatched brim and a coat of arms bearing three balls in the centre and a large ring-based bowl fragment decorated with a harpy within a segmented side could be early. Information has not, unfortunately, been provided on the outer coating of the small bowl which one would, in contrast with *g. a. piemontese*, expect to be glazed and possibly also slipped (CORTELAZZO, QUARANTELLI 1981: nos 670-3, 676, 684, nos 668, 721).

Another fine «early» basin with a branching scroll supporting trifoliate leaves and the with typical cross-hatching and bars on the inclined brim with upturned rim was found at Carbonara Scrivia, two and a half kilometres to the south of Tortona. As well as a glazed disc base with the usual cusped roundel enclosing a square with double arcs on its hollow sides, similar ornament appears on fragments of a jug body and a disc based bowl which are both unglazed. These first-firing wasters indicate that *g. a. p.* was made in the vicinity of Tortona (CORTELAZZO, QUARANTELLI 1981: nos 638, 679, 688).

The available evidence for incised slipped wares in Piedmont before the 15th century shows not only variety, which to a certain extent reflects links with southern and eastern neighbours, but also a distinct character. The Novarese church is the earliest context north of the Apennines for this tradition and for a type otherwise unknown before the 15th century. A similar *bacino* with a mottled strong or deep yellow glaze (brown on the fabric), also marked by tripod stilt scars and sparsely decorated, has been removed from the façade of S. Cecilia at Pisa. The church has been assigned to the period between 1216 and 1252. This ring-based bowl has an inclined brim, upturned rim and a raised ridge around the deep cavity. Although a *g. a. t.* shape, it is much larger (276 mm in diameter and 122 mm high) than any other incised bowl at Pisa. The brim decoration too has no Tyrrhenian parallel. The alternative attribution to Sicily or the Byzantine world on the basis of mineralogical analysis is misleading because the sample numbers have been muddled in publication and because the selection of a likely Mediterranean coastal area is too limited and subjective (BERTI, TONGIORGI 1981: 99, 104, 277, 281, 289, no 333; MANNONI 1979-80: 236, 238). The Pisan *bacino* corroborates the date of S. Marta at

Novara but throws little light on the place of manufacture. Ring bases, uncoated reverses and most of the motifs are common to both areas (there is, of course, no evidence of the first two features for the vessels at S. Marta). However, monochrome brown or deep yellow glazed slipped wares are virtually unreported from early contexts in either region. (An exception is a very small plain brown fragment at Montaldo, CORTELAZZO, 1984: 112.)

It is not surprising that the Tortona material would not be out of place in west Lombardy, as the best evidence for production of *g. a. p.* was found in Voghera a mere eight kilometres away. As discussed above, the type may, however, have been made in the 15th century.

The *bacini* at Vercelli and in Turin province are the best information we have for a distinctive Piedmontese painted and incised slipped ware which was widely used in the 14th century (although probably only in certain privileged locations, DONATO, VASCHETTI 1979-80: 264, n. 5). The predominance of compass-drawn and cross-hatched ornament at Ivrea and Vercelli may reflect spatial or temporal distance from the more southerly Turinese examples. The latter may be related to the remarkable group from south-west Piedmont, whose decoration and technical characteristics have an affinity with the little known and already discussed western Ligurian variant of *g. a. t.* found at Albenga and Alassio. The 14th-century date proposed for Alassio's *bacini* provides some support for Cortelazzo's chronology but does not exclude a date in the second half of that century. The proportion – just under a third – of *g. a. piemontese* in the Montaldo group is indeed high and may reflect the fact that, as the only fineware at the castle, it also fulfilled the role of imported wares found in Ligurian excavations. It is, however, not appropriate to compare the proportion of pottery in one deposit with that of an entire site or period (CORTELAZZO 1984: 111, n. 12, 124).

Despite the possible chronological and geographical variation, the Piedmontese *bacini* and the Montaldo finds of painted, incised slipped ware are united by their distinctive forms, unknown in the Tyrrhenian repertoire and presumably locally derived (cp. the unglazed basins at Montaldo, CORTELAZZO 1984: 111) or developed (e.g. the tubular spouted tin-glazed pitchers found at Trino, Vercelli province, and at Pavia, DONATO, VASCHETTI 1979-80: 269, figs 8-10; BLAKE 1978a: fig. 37, no 20). Although the Montaldo assemblage mirrors the Rougiers finds of *g. a. t.* by comprising undecorated smaller versions of the same forms, the Piedmontese decoration is richer than the published Ligurian finds and distinct even in its treatment of some shared motifs (CORTELAZZO 1984: 112, 117, heraldic shields) and in the absence of the best known *g. a. t.* element, the cross-hatched central roundel. Nor are any of the technical or decorative features of the uncertainly dated *g. a. p.* reproduced, although some forms such as the basin occur both in the Lombard and Piedmontese archaic types.

15th-century development

1) Lombardy

In the northern plain, which is considered the home of Renaissance incised wares, a great variety was made from the 15th century. In Lombardy, where the tin-glazed tradi-

tion apparently failed to take root in the Middle Ages (BLAKE in press), one would expect, if not variety, at least the whole range of decorated forms. This section of my paper is limited to examining three aspects: the continuation of *g. a. p.*, its apparent complementary relationship with the Renaissance « Ferrarese » type made in the region and the beginnings of monochrome incised types.

Nepoti (1978: 195; 1981a: 75; 1984: 125) has observed that the typical amatory, heraldic and zoomorphic motifs associated with Renaissance poetry in the eastern Po plain are rare at Como, Pavia and in Lombardy in general. A few occur on *g. a. p.* forms with archaic motifs, for example the name Lucia on a cartouche within the characteristic roundel bearing alternately hatched cusps (FARRIES 1979a: fig. 9). At Pavia a biscuit of one particular combination of a pomegranate in the bowl cavity with the brim covered by the usual cross-hatched quarters containing a plain circle and with a slipped outside also divided into quarter points to local production. Its currency is dated by the glazed examples on the bell tower of S. Chiara built in 1476 (NEPOTI 1981a: 85-6, nos H17-18; see below; Pl. 5.1-2). Nepoti has even suggested that *g. a. p.* was the Lombard equivalent fine incised type to the eastern Renaissance wares, which would explain its appearance in late 15th-century contexts.

However, in east Lombardy *g. a. p.* does not seem so common. In Viadana museum on the river Po about 20 km north of Parma, only one fragment was seen in 1972 amongst numerous Renaissance types. Outstanding were those whose principal motif is on a ground formed by a wattle hedge below a dotted sky marked by the occasional rosette. This type has been called *tipo ferrarese* (its full title should perhaps be *graffita policroma di t.f.*), named after early publication of material from Ferrara (TIBERTELLI DE PISIS 1917-18: pl 4; FERRARI 1960: 18). Further north in Mantua province, a first-firing waster fragment decorated with a female head in profile against this characteristic ground is in Asola museum. Other similar glazed fragments in the same collection include brimmed bowls with an upturned rim. There were as well one or two late variants of *g. a. p.* A waster fragment with a bird's head incised on a dotted ground was also found at Lodi, where more complete glazed examples are displayed (PERIN 1983: 342-3, n. 23; BARONI 1934: nos 174-5; SCIOLLA 1977: 67, n. 306).

Examples of *tipo ferrarese* found elsewhere in the region may therefore, have been made in Lombardy. Apart from Mantua (BARONI 1934: nos 205, 207, 212; SIVIERO 1981: 61, no 3), the type bulks large amongst Cremonese finds examined in 1970 (also BARONI 1934: nos 101-5, 129) and are common in the recent and older finds from Breno Castle (ANDREWS 1981: 4). A few sherds were dug up at San Salvatore in Brescia and one was excavated in the Torre Civica at Pavia. Presumably those on display at Pavia, although of unknown provenance, were found locally (NEPOTI 1978: 195; 1981a: 87-8, nos H33-5). On the 1476 S. Chiara tower this typical ornament is coated with a monochrome brown glaze which, if unknown elsewhere, may indicate local production (Pl. 6.3; see below). *Tipo ferrarese* seems to be on the west face of S. Maria Assunta's tower at Gallarate in Varese province, whose construction was recorded in 1458 (BARONI 1933; BREGANZE BOSSI 1855: 29, n. 3; according to Cantù 1858: 596, the date is 1475). The incised polychrome bowls on this church are painted in blue or purple as well as yellow ochre and

green, a combination which Nepoti (1981a: 75) has painted out characterizes later Lombard incised ware.

The earliest contexts for incised, brown glazed pottery have also been assigned to the latter part of the 15th century. The provisional sequence in Pavia's Broletto is as follows (BLAKE 1984b: 16-17):

Phase	Date	Brown slipped Quantity %		Brown incised Quantity %		Green Slipped Quantity %	
III	1198 courtyard pavement	4	1	-	-	1	0.3
IV	1339/1402 and 1412/1447 coins	7	0.9	-	-	-	-
V	1513/1521 coin	161	13	52	4	13	1
VI	1539 portico	267	20	97	7	7	0.5
Post	Later features	68	16	20	5	5	1.2

Reservations about the chronology, type identification and counting have already been expressed in the discussion of the earliest colourless glazed and polychrome incised pottery from this site. Although eleven plain brown-glazed sherds were apparently found in phases perhaps datable to the 14th century or early, incised brown-glazed Pottery first appeared in the early 16th century and is less significant in the later features so far examined. This chronology is supported by the Torre Civica analysis where *graffita monocroma marrone* is found in the earliest phase containing much glazed pottery which has been assigned to c.1500. Its relative significance also declines in the late 16th century, when green glazed incised pottery first appears (NEPOTI 1978: 185, 213). A few sherds of green glazed excised (i.e. *a stecca*) pottery are – despite their absence from the published table – known from the early 16th-century phase in the Broletto.

In Pavia province both green and brown monochrome glazed incised bowls survive on S. Pietro Martire's bell tower at Vigevano, which may have been erected as part of the church's remodelling between 1445 and 1480 (T.C.I. 1970: 668). Better documented *bacini* are on S. Chiara's tower at Pavia, whose construction in 1476 was commemorated in an inscription once on the portal architrave (MARIOCCHI 1903, I: 130). Apart from the bowls already cited to illustrate late variants of *g. a. p.* and apart from the possibly unusual brown glazed *tipo ferrarese* (Pls 5.1-3, 6.3), there is a *graffita monocroma* vessel whose cavity is filled with the profile of a male bust now in Pavia museum (NEPOTI 1981a: 90-1, no. H53). Six other relatively small bowls with more-or-less straight slightly everted sides are still on the tower. They have a red or dark fabric and are covered with a shiny brown glaze which in some cases bears obvious scars of a tripod stilt. The incised decoration consists of a nailed cross surmounted by a cartouche, crossed by a spear, placed on two mounds over a skull and in one instance flanked by at least one palm frond (Pl. 6.4). Other and sometimes more finely executed « conventual ware » are thought to date from the end of the 16th century (NEPOTI 1978: 188; 1981a: 77).

Finally, in Pavia museum there is a brim fragment and two concave disc bases on display decorated with late variants of *g. a. p.* motifs covered with a brown glaze (NEPOTI 1981a: 73, 89-91, nos H48, H51-2). These were presumably made in the late 15th century.

2) Piedmont

As in Lombardy, it is difficult to single out what dis-

tinctive wares were made in the 15th century, partly because of the limited impact of Renaissance motifs and because no quantified sequence has yet been published in Piedmont. Painted types will be examined before considering monochrome incised pottery.

The three dated or datable 15th-century contexts I know for the brown and green painted tradition have not proved very illuminating. The tower of Villar Dora castle in Turin province was presumably built between the 1442 order to repair and the inscription on the west wing recording its construction in 1444 (ANTONIELLI D'OULX 1969-70: 187, 190-2). Of the thirteen *bacini* placed in two rows beneath the battlements it is possible to see that a few are plain yellow and at least one is painted and possibly incised (CORTELAZZO 1982: 298).

At Novalesa at least two incised fragments (of a basin and of a closed form) were sealed beneath a level cut by an early 16th-century wall (PANTÒ 1981: 102, n. 4, nos 3-4).

The destruction layers associated with the 1461-68 Restoration of S. Andrea hospital at Vercelli contained a 1412/1447 coin and painted plaster attributed to the early 15th century. Over a quarter of the pottery was incised and painted and consisted almost entirely of small bowls with a slightly concave disc base, usually decorated simply with a five-lobed leaf within a central annulet and with the side divided into segments by bars. There were also some wasters, one of which is described as a jug fragment. The modest quality of the ceramics is thought to reflect the institution's charitable function as an infirmary and, to a lesser extent in this period, as a source of food for the poor (PANTÒ 1984: 139, 141, 156-8, 160, no. 52, 176).

Finer ware was retrieved during works in a 15th-century building off piazza Cavour in the town centre. Hares and profiles of busts were represented on hemispherical bowls with an inclined brim terminating in an up-turned rim about 180 mm in diameter (SOMMO 1981: 174, figs 3-6). Simpler pottery, tripod stilts and wasters were unearthed during a later excavation on the same site. The wasters are mainly of inadequately described *coppette*, summarily decorated with paired line crosses (cp. Ligurian *graffita monocroma?*). Almost a third of the pottery was painted incised ware, comprising bowls and two-handled basins. Less than ten per cent were closed fragments. A lamb, a star and a square band knotted at the corners are illustrated (VASCHETTI 1983: 118-19, 130-1, pl. 29, nos 47-9).

Many similar internally coated small forms, found near S. Bartolomeo at Trino in the southern Vercellese, are

characterized by geometric and schematic vegetal motifs, such as four radiating petals within an annulet or the knotted square, which are seen as taking up the archaic tradition. The wasters are standardized later products and small flat based bowls decorated like those from Vercelli. One male profile is reported (DONATO, VASCHETTI 1979-80: 268, figs 3-4, 6; cp. PANTO 1984: pl. 42, no. 60).

These Renaissance motifs appear to be even rarer further west. Presumably much of the published painted, incised pottery from D'Andrade's excavations in the Palazzo Madama at Turin is 15th century. Its decoration falls into two broad groups: simply decorated bowls with much of the upper surface left plain (CORTELAZZO *et al.* 1982: 198-202, nos 77-81; 206-9, nos 87-93); and jugs more carefully ornamented with zones of guilloche, coils, leaves on a wavy stem, invected lines and/or S-chains (203-5, nos 83-5; 222-7, nos 113-20) and related bowls (211, no. 98; 213-15, nos 101-4; 216-19, nos 106-9; 220-1, no. 111). The less numerous jugs can be large and have a strap handle and more-or-less pronounced foot. The markedly trilobate mouth of the cylindrically necked forms, looks like a late characteristic. The one or two horizontal lug handles on small bowls are a new feature (202, no 811; 208-9, nos 92-3).

A variant decorated in green only on thin-walled forms in a «*g. a.*» fabric is reported from Cuneo province both in the mid-15th/early 16th century phase at S. Domenico, Alba, and in Cuneo museum. The Renaissance motif of a pierced heart represented on a flat-based bowl has also been noted from the same phase at Alba (CERRATO, MORRA 1984: 102; MURER 1981: 113).

Despite the 13th-century Novara *bacini* discussed above, brown glazed *graffita monocroma* seems to make its first appearance in the 15th century. Only a few fragments of bowls and of a jug came from this phase at Alba. The ornament includes an eight-pointed star and coils alternating with oblique lines enclosed by concentric lines on the brim (CERRATO, MORRA 1984: 104). A yellow glazed and bigger bowl with a stylised four-petal motif at Cuneo is presumably unpainted (MURER 1981: 114, pl. 2, no. 20).

At Turin there are at least two possible 15th-century brown *g. m.* A small flat-based bowl with two lug handles has a branching scroll on the side enclosing a male profile with leaves springing from the mouth and hat which is more medieval than Renaissance in character. The other bowl with an indented external carination is divided into quarters filled with a schematic lobed leaf. Oblique lines fill a band on the side (CORTELAZZO *et al.* 1982: 193-5, nos 72, 74).

Nearly 17 per cent of the incised pottery from the excavation off piazza Cavour at Vercelli is *g. m.* Nearly all are brown glazed but include three green and one yellow. A male profile sports a hat assigned to 1450/70 (VASCHETTI 1983: 129, 130, n. 22, pl. 29, no. 46). Amongst the material found earlier on the same site are two larger brimmed bowls about 230 mm in diameter. A cock and a wavy armed cross are incised in relatively plain cavities. On the brims appear a series of spurred crescents on one and a series of ovals, enclosing a wavy line, separated by oblique lines feature on the other (SOMMO 1981: figs 7-8).

An example of both brown and green *g. m.* adorns the tower of S. Giovanni Battista at Sale in Alessandria province. It was built, it seems, shortly after the church was in

1455 (ROMANINI 1964: 440-1). The mottled brown glazed *bacino* has a brim terminating in an upturned rim, which is decorated with six S-chains divided by a group of oblique lines. The ample cavity has a pair of concentric lines incised on the side. In the middle are two concentric circles at the centre of a small rosette with each petal marked by four lines and a further line projecting between each petal. The incised design on the bowl glazed in grass green is difficult to see.

Two of the published brown *g. m.* in Tortona museum resemble those on S. Chiara at Pavia. These large brimmed bowls are 225 or 305 mm across. The smaller has the typical *g. a. p.* brim ornament of plain circles and bars on a cross-hatched ground. A carefully incised plant, also on a cross-hatched ground, fills the cavity. A female profile is represented on the cavity of the larger bowl which has a similar brim. A concave disc base from Carbonara Scrivia is decorated with a star like the *g. a. p.* biscuit from Pavia (CORTELAZZO, QUARANTELLI 1981: 185-8, pl. 2, nos 615-16, 693; NEPOTI 1978: fig. 53, no. 89).

This brief review of some of the 15th century types current in Piedmont reveals the scarcity of Renaissance motifs and the complete absence of the *tipo ferrarese*, noted in Lombardy (CORTELAZZO *et al.* 1982: 198). The human bust in profile is almost the only design in the eastern Po plain tradition represented in Piedmont. The published examples nearly all come from the eastern part of the region. Apart from the *g. m.* at Tortona which seems to have been in the same cultural ambit as Pavia, examples of this motif in the Vercellese are brown-glazed or painted, where together with *g. geometrico-vegetale* they constituted the fineware of the 15th century (DONATO, VASCHETTI 1979-80: 267-8, n. 13). Further west, more carefully executed painted derivatives of *g. a. piemontese* may have fulfilled the same role.

3) Liguria

Some unpainted incised pottery, Mannoni's *graffita monocroma*, has already been mentioned as examples of decorated *ingubbiata chiara* preceding *g. a. t.* or as unpainted instances of it. In the 15th century, and possibly as early as the late 14th, a distinctive type of brown glazed, simply decorated open ware began to be produced but was not widely distributed until the following century.

Mannoni's type 67 is characterized by a not very hard, pink coloured fabric with yellowish tones derived from marl, levigated and with inclusions of red grog added. Occasionally red-firing alluvial clay was employed. The yellowish white slip was, together with the glaze, only applied to the decorated upper surface and tends to peel. The glaze colour varies from yellow ochre to brown and is sometimes an intense green. It is thick, glossy and crazed with a tendency to peel on the more carefully decorated examples and is thin and unpeeling with a rough surface on the more schematically ornamented variant. The forms comprise hemispherical bowls (240 mm in diameter), brimmed bowls, dishes or bowls with vertical sides (160-200 mm diameter) and, apparently peculiar to the type, plates with a narrow cavity and a broad brim (190-210 mm in diameter). They usually rest on a markedly concave disc base. The typical decoration applied with two parallel points is of a cross with a wavy radiating line between the arms. On the brim or side a straight or curving pair of lines defined

by concentric lines is either disconnected or continues the cavity motif (Pl. 6.1; MANNONI 1975a: 87-8; the measurements are given by GARDINI, MILANESE 1978: 99).

The variety of fabrics implies a number of workshops. Wasters have so far been found at Albisola and Savona (GRANDIS 1979-80: 320, fig. 3; CAMEIRANA 1969: 67, 71-2, pl. 2; VARALDO 1981: 54, fig. 5).

Initially the late 14th-century start of this type was based on the unpublished excavation at Sassello (MANNONI 1968: 227) and more recently on its presence on a bell tower at Bardino in the Savonese (MANNONI 1975a: 90) and in layers of that date in the bishop's palace at Genoa (PRINGLE 1977: 124). As earlier unpainted, incised and slipped imports have been included in Pringle's table, one cannot check the date of, and the relative quantities in, the earliest contexts. An unusual ring-based fragment, found there in a phase datable to *c.* 1404, is decorated with a cross-hatched circle smaller and with more widely spaced enclosing concentric lines than that usually executed on *g. a. t.* (PRINGLE 1977: 124, no. 86, pl. 12). In fact some of the *g. m.* found at these three sites share some unusual features suggesting they may represent an early stage.

S. Giovanni Battista's bell tower at Bardino Vecchio in the commune of Tovo San Giacomo has been dated on stylistic grounds to the early 14th century (LAMBGLIA 1970: 117). But the mid-15th-century Spanish pottery on churches at Gorra and Perti, which Lambglia also assigned to the 14th century, indicates that his relative chronology of buildings in the Finale is too early (BLAKE 1972: 77; significantly (?) the same Spanish type was found at Sassello, BLAKE 1972: 95, no. 4).

The thirty remaining *bacini* and the one vacancy, judging from its impression, are *g. m.* All but one brown *bacino* are in a red fabric covered with a white or pinkish slip. The glaze is light brown with a couple darker and some olive green brown. The whole repertoire of forms is represented but the coatings only survive on the plates, which with one exception are decorated with the standard cross and wavy lines (Pl. 6.1). The singular case has a coat of arms incised in its cavity, now placed upside down in the middle of the top row on the north side. Within the triangular shield, formed by a double line enclosing a series of dots, are three lilies, a large one resting on the point of the shield with two smaller ones alongside each other above. To each side of the shield is a crossed diamond (Pl. 6.2).

This last element links it to the only other example I know of a coat of arms on *g. m.*, which was found at Sassello. The blazon here consists of five vertical bars within a triangular shield with a crossed diamond above and on the surviving right side. This fragment is supported on a ring base which links it with the early Genoese sherd.

These unusual items, the narrow brimmed bowl form (apparently absent from later deposits) and the technical characteristics shared with *g. a. t.* all point to an early start for this type. If Bardino is one of the earliest contexts, then the whole range of forms and typical decoration was available at the beginning. *G. m.* did not, however, reach the early 15th-century glasshouse at Monte Lecco and only forms 0.2 per cent of the mid-15th-century assemblage at Molassana castle. This may reflect the type's relative unpopularity in the countryside; but it was found in later levels at Monte Lecco and, as we shall see, achieved a remarkable penetration elsewhere (FOSSATI, MANNONI

1975: 79; BAZZURRO *et al.* 1974: 29; MANNONI, MANNONI 1975: 126). Only in the 16th century did it bulk large in urban deposits. On the bishop's palace site, by then a convent, *g. m.* forms less than one percent of the assemblage in the last quarter of the 15th century, 4.5 per cent in the first quarter of the following century and eight per cent between *c.* 1525 and 1589 (PRINGLE 1977: 158-9). It even makes up eighteen per cent of material collected on a nearby site; but this pottery was not stratified and absolute figures have not been published (FOSSATI *et al.* 1975: 182-3, pl. 4). Another Genoese deposit formed in the 1560s confirms the late date. All the forms save the narrow brimmed bowl were reported, but only in one instance was the typical decoration as carefully executed as at Bardino. The exception was, however, also the only one made with a red fabric implying workshop rather than chronological variation (GARDINI, MILANESE 1978: 99, 107).

G. m. was widely distributed, turning up as a common find in both coastal and inland towns in east Provence. It is rare in west Provence where it has been reported at Marseilles and, surprisingly, on the then deserted site of Rougiers in the remote hinterland (VINDRY 1972: 244; DÉMIANS D'ARCHIMBAUD 1980: 361-2, 633, n. 194). An example of the extent of the type's diffusion is given by its excavation at Lo Steri in Palermo in the same phase as a late 15th-century coin and 16th-century maiolica from Montelupo (FALSONE 1976: 119, fig. 26).

Alongside the openware derived from the *g. a. t.* tradition, painted and incised slipped jugs were imported and produced in Liguria. The name assigned to them rightly reflects the new form, decoration and glazing introduced from outside. Type 61 of Mannoni's *Graffiti policrome di tipo padano* was made in a hard red or pink, levigated fabric. A fine white slip covers its outside to short of the foot. The rather thick, glossy, slightly crazed, transparent glaze coats the outside and was applied more thinly within. It is of a light straw colour over the slip and is reported on one site as being greenish over the inner surface. The only form is an ovoid jug with a flat base, more-or-less cylindrical neck, trilobate mouth and a strap handle. The decoration is of incised, curving stylised vegetal shoots apparently within or flanking a circular frame, overlain approximately by washy green or yellow brown paints (MANNONI 1975a: 81; GARDINI, MILANESE 1978: 98). Wasters have been found at Albisola and Savona (GRANDIS 1979-80: 320, fig. 2; VARALDO 1981: 54, fig. 4.22).

On the bishop's palace site at Genoa it first occurs in a *c.* 1404 deposit and peaks in the last quarter of the 15th century, although it never forms three per cent of the ceramic assemblage in any single phase (PRINGLE 1977: 128, 159). It does still seem to have been popular in the following century as it is part of the group buried during the 1560 restructuring of the Loggia dei Commendatori Gerosolimitani (GARDINI, MILANESE 1978: 97-8, 107). Although small beer in the convent overlying the bishop's palace and apparently never reaching five per cent of rural assemblages in the Genovesato, *g. p. di tipo padano* formed a staggering 23 per cent of the unstratified refuse from vico Carità near the convent at Genoa (FOSSATI *et al.* 1975: 183). In the countryside its distribution seems to be limited to central Liguria, where for example a few sherds were excavated in the mid-15th-century levels at Molassana castle. However, the survey data does not cover wes-

tern Liguria (MANNONI, MANNONI 1975: 126; BAZZURRO *et al.* 1974: 43).

4) West Tuscany

In north-west Tuscany *g. p.* of Po-plain character have been found in excavations with a coin of 1432/63 and Tuscan 15th-century maiolica. But, as open as well as closed forms have been reported, it is unlikely that these are Ligurian products (AMBROSI, GARDINI 1975: 372-7; GARDINI 1977: 47-9). Perhaps, they were imported from Emilia as was much of the already discussed material found at Camporgiano (REGGI 1974).

No information is available on how well established the production of *g. a. t.* was in Pisa. Berti and Tongiorgi (1977: 150-3) assume that the incised tradition started in the middle of the 15th century as a bridge between the exported medieval tin-glazed tableware and the similarly successful post-medieval incised slipped types of the 16th century. In the absence of properly excavated stratified data, the only evidence for a mid-15th production is a document and a chance find of material.

The estate of a potter, who had been active at least forty years before his death in 1472, was divided between his descendants in 1485. The raw materials shared included tin, manganese and white clays, presumably used to make tin-glazed and incised slipped wares (TONGIORGI 1979: 133-5).

A large group of wasters was recovered from under the pavement of the possibly 15th-century protico of the convent of S. Benedetto. Most were medieval tin-glazed pottery but a significant number were unfinished incised slipped pottery (BERTI, TONGIORGI 1977: 8-9). The decoration of the latter resemble the radiating designs common in the tin-glazed tradition. More convincing similarities are offered by the distinctive carinated bowl with an externally concave upper wall and a ring base. This pottery has not yet been properly described. The illustrated decoration consists of carelessly excuted stylized vegetal motifs based on a cross or distributed in symmetrical quarters around the cavity. The painted lines complement rather than emphasize the incised ornament. Although other wasters have been found in the Cittadella area, relatively very few finished sherds have turned up during construction work in the city (BERTI, TONGIORGI 1982: 145-6, figs 1-2; TONGIORGI 1979: 18, n. 7, pls 18b, 19b).

The S. Benedetto and Cittadella open forms are certainly distinct from those in other groups of wasters recovered at Pisa. Although these other types are attributed to a period between the mid-15th century and *c.* 1600, some have been published with confident captions assigning them to the mid-15th century. It has also been suggested that some of the Lungarno Simonelli material may be related to the S. Benedetto-Cittadella transitional phase (BERTI, TONGIORGI 1982: 141, 146; TONGIORGI 1979: pls 27, 28a). However, Ligurian contexts for Pisan incised types are unequivocally post-medieval and favour a mid-16th to mid-17th century date (MANNONI 1975a: 82-5, 96-7; GARDINI, MILANESE 1978: pl. 5). And even pottery incised with S. Benedetto-like designs has been found in the Florentine *contado* with 16th-century material (BLAKE 1980: 96). The assumptions made by Berti and the Tongiorgi about the S. Benedetto material are, however, supported by research which has demonstrated an analogous development at Siena.

Similar ware has been reported from ten sites in south Tuscany, collected during field surveys, salvaged during building works or recovered out of context on excavated sites (except on one site where the level has been dated from the second half of the 14th to the mid-16th century). In six instances the pottery has been described as «*ingubbiata e graffita*» di tipo senese, so named as wasters have been found on three sites in Siena (FRANCOVICH 1982: 89-120 Grosseto province; wasters: 188, 202, 303-4; FRANCOVICH, GELICHI 1980b: 19-20, 90-9; PARENTI 1981: 20).

The fabric of the wasters has been described as very fine or levigated, hard, on the whole only slightly porous and as being either pink or pinkish beige in colour (FRANCOVICH 1982: 241-3, 303-4, 325). The slip is usually limited to the upper surface; but the glaze was applied to both sides. The forms are exclusively open, making use of the repertoire of late archaic maiolica which was made in at least one instance in the same workshop (FRANCOVICH 1982: 80, 151-3, 202). The decoration too is comparable to that found at S. Benedetto in Pisa; but there are as well wasters of Po-plain motifs such as the pomegranate and human busts (FRANCOVICH 1982: 154-61; figs 225, no. FI18, 269, no. 98, and 271, no. 105, are wasters and a finished product with an almost identical design as that found on a S. Benedetto biscuit, TONGIORGI 1979: pl. 18b; BERTI, TONGIORGI 1982: fig. 2.2. Related pottery was also made at S. Gimignano, FRANCOVICH 1982: 113, figs. 138-41; cp. BERTI, TONGIORGI 1982: fig. 1.1). The incised ornament was painted in green and yellow brown and sometimes also manganese brown (FRANCOVICH 1982: 80).

The Sieneese type, along with the finer *tipo ferrarese* and with 15th-century maiolica, were found in the core of the city wall probably built shortly before 1450. It has also been excavated in deposits formed during the building of a palace between 1474 and 1480. And it has been recovered from a potter's workshop abandoned before 1519 (FRANCOVICH 1982: 176, fig. 164, 196-9). As consumption cannot be gauged from kiln discards where the type bulks large (from 14 to 22 per cent), one must consider the only other quantified context, the 1474/80 palace fills, where it formed nearly five per cent of the pottery excavated (BERTI, TONGIORGI 1982: 141; FRANCOVICH 1982: 188, 198, 274).

Discussion

Origins and adoption

Traditional ceramic historians are much concerned with the origins of new techniques, often at the expense of considering the use to which they were put. However, the circumstances of adoption of fundamental changes involving new tastes such as decorated tableware can illuminate the functioning of society and in particular the articulation of increased social differentiation which is a principal archaeological objective. In the belief that pottery with a slip made of another clay is unknown in the western Islamic world, where no incised, slipped products have apparently been identified (BERTI, TONGIORGI 1981: 279; MANNONI 1975a: 175), four possible sources for the north-western Italian types have been proposed: locally in

north-west Italy (WHITEHOUSE 1971: 275; 1980: 77), directly from the east Mediterranean or via southern or north-eastern Italy (BERTI, TONGIORGI 1981: 273).

The local thesis rests on the earlier 12th-century presence of slipped ware in Liguria, which was presumably combined with the tradition of simple incised decoration applied directly to the body of contemporary north Italian glazed and unglazed pottery. As monochrome slipped bowls from an early 13th-century church at Pisa may have been made locally, Tuscany cannot yet be excluded as a source for this special mix.

A southern Italian intermediary has been hypothesized for the spread of the incised slipped technique from Byzantium and the Near East. The green glazed bowls, apparently made of Sicilian and Maghrebin clays, from early 12th-century churches at Pisa are chronologically suitable candidates for such a central Mediterranean production. A few light green monochrome glazed bowls with incised decoration have been found in Apulia and Basilicata in contexts datable to the 13th and/or 14th centuries (Lucera, WHITEHOUSE 1978: 36-7, fig. 4; 1984: 419, pl. 181.5-8; Pietra San Giovanni, NOYÉ 1976: 718-19, fig. 20.3) and to the post-medieval period (Mesagne, PATITUCCI 1977: 152; the fragment excavated near Bari does not appear to be slip-coated and was found with sherds of late-antique character, BIANCAFIORÉ, COPPOLA 1976: fig. 29.1). The medieval polychrome incised vessel from Sicily, with one possible exception, are *g. a. t.* imports. Those found on the peninsula, apart from three small fragments from Pietra San Giovanni in the province of Matera, are probably 15th century or later in date, when an extensive production was apparently established in Apulia (PATITUCCI 1977: 145, n. 16, 148-9; SALVATORE 1977: 159-61; MAZZUCATO 1981: 113-14, fig. 31; BUKO *et al.* 1984: 217, 254-5). Thus there appears to be insufficient evidence for the establishment of the incised slipped tradition in south Italy before the 15th century. However, this part of Italy may, if the antecedence of the appropriately decorated Proto-maiolica can be demonstrated, have had some influence on the Tyrrhenian decorative repertoire (DÉMIANS D'ARCHIMBAUD 1980: 358). If so, it could be the third ceramic component of the local development thesis.

Recent work in north-east Italy has put back the date for the introduction of locally produced ware of this kind by a century to the 1290s, which is not yet early enough to be a precursor for *g. a. t.* (BLAKE, NEPOTI 1984: 364; GELICHI 1984a: 56; in press).

In 1971 (273-5) Whitehouse summarized the known painted incised ceramics of the east Mediterranean and suggested that the closest type to the northern Italian wares was the so-called Crusader pottery, perhaps made in north Syria (DAY 1939: 191-2). This link has been explored in some depth in a rather acritical article by Vannini (1981) whose principal weaknesses have been highlighted in Berti and Tongiorgi's review (1983: 75-7). The relative dating is the main stumbling-block. Lane (1938: 46) assigned his Port St Symeon ware to between 1200 and 1268 on the basis of the majority of the associated coins and on the historic evidence for the abandonment of the site. It certainly came from higher in the stratigraphy than the Zeuxippus type, which has been dated both in the Byzantine world and in Italy to about A.D. 1200. Elsewhere the Syrian ware was used on a number of sites occupied by Crusaders in the 12th and 13th-centuries, one of which

was their castle only between 1217 and 1291 (PRINGLE 1982: 111). It has also been excavated in the Ayyubid-period (1171-1250) layer at Alexandria in Egypt (KUBIAK 1970: 116, n. 5). It thus seems that this widely distributed eastern type (PRINGLE 1984: 106) may not have been made before *g. a. t.* and therefore cannot have been its prototype.

If indeed « sgraffito » pottery was the ceramic *koine* of the Levant between the 11th and 13th centuries, there may well be an earlier western Asian precursor. Incredibly the evidence for most contexts is too vague to allow any preciser date within that period to be assigned to the known pieces (ALLAN 1974: 17; MITCHELL 1980: 53-4, 73-6; cp. Pringle's strictures, 1981: 46-7). Reports in the press on excavations at Istanbul may shed light on the little known early 13th-century pottery of the Byzantine heartland. Some illustrated fragments resemble *g. a. t.* and *g. a. p.* cavity motifs (MEGAW 1975: 34; STRIKER, KUBAN 1975: 315, 318; HARRISON, FIRATLI 1966: fig 40 top right; DAUX 1968: fig 5b top).

It may not be necessary to search for a hitherto unidentified source, when an acceptable prototype was widely used in the east Mediterranean and has been found in the upper Adriatic and «Tyrrhenian». Zeuxippus ware, the first Byzantine type to paint, albeit hesitantly, its rather restrained incised ornament, seems both to precede and to accompany the first Tyrrhenian bowls. It was also the first Byzantine ware separated by tripod stilts in the second kiln firing, implying that production was deliberately increased of this fineware to supply more at a lower cost to a wider market. Its successful impact is testified by local imitations and derivatives identified in Cyprus, Syria and Palestine (MEGAW 1968: 84, 86; PRINGLE 1984: 104). Although no similar clones have yet been postulated in northern Italy, one wonders what types were made about A.D. 1200, for example, in western Liguria. The places of manufacture have not yet been established, although analyses of the Venetian examples indicate more than one source, neither of which is local (CALOGERO, LAZZARINI 1983: 63). The chemical composition of two sherds found in Cyprus does not match that of any ceramics so far analysed from the Aegean or Cyprus (MEGAW, JONES 1983: 262-3). It would be ironic if this type turned out to be an Italian export, repeating the history of Proto-maiolica and Roulette ware (WHITEHOUSE 1980: 79-80; GELICHI 1984a).

Establishing an eastern prototype or accepting an equally probable local origin of incised slipped ware does not, even if one believes ideas are contagious, explain why a certain kind of pottery was produced and consumed in a particular part of the north-western Mediterranean hinterland. One could perhaps suggest that the particular tradition of decorated tableware adopted in any region was determined by the clays available. This may serve to explain why in the post-medieval period some centres specialised in types more suited to local clays (PICON, DÉMIANS D'ARCHIMBAUD 1980: 134; VINDRY 1972: 246); but inappropriate deep red coloured fabrics served as bodies for archaic tin-glazed types made in Liguria, Lombardy and Tuscany (MANNONI 1975a: 108, 116; BLAKE in press).

Berti and Tongiorgi (1981:273) have stressed that the availability of suitable clay for the slip may have conditioned where the technique was adopted. However, unsatisfactory slips were applied to the Tyrrhenian type, Zeuxippus ware and to some of the earliest incised pottery in the

upper Adriatic. In at least the Ligurian case it was made of ground quartz (MANNONI 1975a: 61; BLAKE, NEPOTI 1984:361. In Piedmont the slip, which adheres well to the body, is of caolin. Presumably north of the Apennines sources of caolin-rich clay used for post-medieval tin-glazed wares were exploited, such as that from Stradella in the Oltrepo Pavese, although this did not apparently happen in the Savonese in the Middle Ages (BARONI 1916: 15; FARRIES 1977: 20). This environmental determinism based on raw materials does not provide a satisfactory explanation for why *g. a. t.* was produced on a large scale in Liguria and not elsewhere in the north-west Mediterranean.

Diffusion theory provides framework a better explanation and the experience of the Crusaders is a suitable context for the adoption of incised slipped ware in the north-west Mediterranean, regardless of how the techniques were acquired (DAVIS 1983; DÉMIANS D'ARCHIMBAUD 1980: 634, n. 192; VANNINI 1981: 381-4). The acculturation of Provençal and north Italian lords, soldiers and merchants during the 12th century in the Frankish east and the continual traffic of sailors and pilgrims may have made Islamic table habits acceptable in their homelands shown, for example, in the apparently early penetration of *g. a. t.* in the southern French hinterland (RUNCIMAN 1965, 2: 314-16). Their adoption by the dominant class elevated, for the first time since the Roman period, pottery to a visible level where it could be used to signal social status (WOBST 1977; PLOG 1983: 138). A model was now available for others to copy in a century in which standards of living were rapidly rising (BLAKE 1978c: 441).

Having accounted for the demand and consumption of this new ceramic category, the transfer of the technology and the mechanism of supply have to be considered. Mannoni (1975a: 175) has suggested that the medium may have been Levantine potters transferred to the west, where oriental slaves and Hebrews were recorded in 13th-century Savona (MILANESE 1982: 107). The variety of types from the early 13th-century site of Castel Delfino is seen as imitations and in one instance the product of a migrant Sicilian potter. If indeed they are of local fabrics, these unusual pieces may be part of an early experimental phase before settling down to making one type. It was presumably marketed along the Ligurian Sea coast by Savonese merchants.

Graffita arcaica

Distinctive types of painted, incised slipped wares made in north-west Italy have been found in all four regions examined in this paper. The earliest is said to come from a late 12th-century layer. But, until this and other claims for precocious contexts for the apparent plain and painted predecessors in the Genoese excavation of the bishop's palace are substantiated, the earliest reliable context is between A.D. 1208 and 1223 at Castel Delfino. The first type north of the Apennines is the brown glazed bowls on the Novara church datable to the first half of the 13th century. The origin of neither these nor the late 13th-century painted *bacino* at Monza are certain, although they could be of local Piedmontese and Lombard manufacture.

Standard *g. a. tirrenica* was apparently available from its first appearance at Castel delfino to the last certainly dated context in the 1330s in Pisa province, although the type seems to peak at Genoa in the second half of that century

and was still available in the following. The original Piedmontese variety, which was presumably derived from the little published west Ligurian material, flourished in the 14th century and was produced in both more elaborate and simple versions. All the certain contexts for *g. a. padana* in north-west Italy are 15th century, but preliminary examination of the Broletto excavation at Pavia suggests that this ware may have been current in at least the latter part of the preceding century. If this was indeed so, it may even have ante-dated the type's first appearance at the end of the 14th century in the eastern Po plain (HUDSON, LA ROCCA HUDSON 1982b: 43-9; GELICHI 1984b: 180-1).

It is usually assumed that these types were used by merchants in towns and by the local elite in the countryside. The finds at Anteggi suggest that *g. a. t.* may also have been a prized possession of some peasant households. Not enough data is available north of the Apennines to support generalizations about consumption patterns. The incised slipped wares either side of the watershed were, however, two very different phenomena. To the south, the misnamed Tyrrhenian type's production was centralized and its marketing extended along the northern shore of the Ligurian Sea. To the north, the inland wares may have been made in many centres and were ornamented with motifs more clearly derived from the European decorative tradition rather than from that of the Mediterranean basin.

Although in some areas incised slipped and tin-glazed pottery had exclusive distributions and served a similar function as display tableware, their interrelationship has not yet been clarified. As Nepoti (1984: 124) has pointed out, incised slipped jugs are rare south of the Po. Whereas their role may have been fulfilled by archaic maiolica in Tuscany and Emilia Romagna, only lower quality ceramic closed forms were available in Liguria and Piedmont where presumably containers in different materials were placed on dining tables. As has been argued above, it is unlikely that the location of these potting traditions was determined by the availability of raw materials. The very occasional use of purple in *g. a. t.* and *g. a. p.* (also paralleled in Port St Symeon ware) demonstrates the presence in potters' workshops of the main colour employed in the medieval tin-glazed tradition. Gelichi (1984b: 184) has suggested that *g. a. padana's* decoration and forms in Emilia Romagna were inspired by archaic maiolica. Although there are general similarities in the design of the frame and in many motifs, the type's main elements are quite distinct and further west there is little evidence for any contact. A common source of inspiration for the ornament should perhaps be sought on non-ceramic media.

15th-century development

The temporal dividing line implied by the title of this section is arbitrary in that the only development which may have occurred about A.D. 1400 was Ligurian *g. m.* The other innovations – all seen as home grown – probably manifested themselves in the second half of the 15th-century. It is a period of significant change when the ceramic repertoire diversified in response to a new consumerism (BLAKE 1978c: 446). The incised slipped class spread over the rest of Italy as various traditions took up complementary roles or different positions in the ceramic hierarchy.

The Renaissance types of the northern plain are percei-

ved as the apogee of the incised slipped tradition. The impact of this new decorative vocabulary diminishes the further west one goes where *g. a.* or its derivatives dominated. In west Lombardy it is clear that later *g. a. padana* was executed with a freer hand, although the assumption that careful decoration inevitably precedes degeneration has been questioned in Emilia Romagna (GELICHI 1984b: 183). The two clearly coexisted in the earlier *g. a. piemontese*.

Despite the precocious examples of *g. m.* at Novara and Pisa, brown glazed incised slipped wares only became common in the 15th century. In Lombardy and Piedmont *g. m.* is a fineware, whereas it was developed as a cheap type in Liguria from whence it was even exported. There it was complemented by closed forms imported from the north and imitated.

Even though the return to the incised tradition at Pisa is linked with the decline of the tin-glazed industry (PICON, DÉMIANS D'ARCHIMBAUD 1980: 134), the decorative designs of its later successful varieties suggest that, in common with the rest of Tuscany, these were inspired by north Italian prototypes (FRANCOVICH, GELICHI 1980c: 147). In marked contrast with the similar phenomenon in Liguria, closed form wasters are very rare at Pisa and Siena (BERTI, TONGIORGI 1982: 170).

The spread to the rest of peninsular Italy may be associated with the movement of northern craftsmen seen, for example, in the building trade (ANDREWS 1982: 82; see discussion of *g. a. t.* distribution in Lazio; earlier in this Discussion; BLAKE 1980a: 103-4; FRANCOVICH, GELICHI 1980c: 147).

Such enormous strides have been made in the last twenty years in the study of medieval ceramics that Italy is now the most advanced nation in this field in the Mediterranean basin. Much, however, has still to be learnt about the chronology, social context, relative quantities and variation of *g. a.* in all parts of north-west Italy. In central and eastern Liguria, where more has been established, a thorough examination of *g. a. t.* as a class in its own right is now required. A search for meaningful variation of individual attributes may lead, for example, to a more refined chronology than that achieved by considering merely the association of ceramic types (PLOG 1983: 131-2). So much work is now being undertaken north of the Apennines that it is likely that the outline presented here will be substantially revised before the end of this decade.

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Abbreviations

« Albisola » = « Atti del convegno internazionale della ceramica ».

Expo = CALLEUX A. and TAYLOR G. (1963). — *Notice sur la Code Expolaire*, Paris.

ISCC-NBS = ISCC-NBS color name charts illustrated with centroid colors, Washington, 1964.

Munsell = Munsell soil color charts, Baltimore (Maryland), 1975.

« Valbonne » = *La céramique médiévale en Méditerranée occidentale, X-XV siècles*, Paris, 1980.

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