

## Medieval maghribi luster-painted pottery

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**Résumé.** Après avoir expliqué les origines ifriqiyennes de la céramique lustrée du Maghreb, l'auteur en décrit l'apparition à Al-Qal'a et à Bougie, et insiste sur la dernière étape de cette technique, son implantation en Espagne et surtout à Malaga. Elle montre une série de soixante objets homogènes, datables du 3<sup>e</sup> quart du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle au 3<sup>e</sup> quart du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle. L'influence de cette céramique lustrée sur la production espagnole plus tardive est indiquée en conclusion.

The purpose of this article is to attempt to establish, for the first time, a continuous and interconnected luster-painted ceramic tradition in the Maghrib (1). Closely reflecting the area's history and that of its principal cities between ca. 850 and ca. 1150 and therefore enabling one to define its route of movement and the approximate dates of its various stages of development, this tradition seems worthy of a permanent place in any future history of ceramic production in the Islamic world.

Sometime between 856 and 863 A.D. the Aghlabid emir, Abū Ibrāhīm Aḥmad, summoned a Baghdad ceramist to Ifriqiya to add to the group of luster-painted tiles this ruler had imported from Baghdad — tiles which were used to decorate the mihrab in the Great Mosque of Qayrawān (2). One

must assume that this imported artisan set up an atelier and trained local potters to help him carry out his commission. Once trained, not only did the local craftsmen assist in making the monochrome group of tiles for the Qayrawān mosque (3) but it seems reasonable to assume that they also made the less-fine monochrome luster-painted tiles which were used to decorate the walls of a palace at Raqqāda. The seven whole or fragmentary tiles found during the excavations of this Raqqāda palace — which can be dated to the last quarter of the ninth cen-

were brought from there also. Additional support for this reading lies in the fact that Iraq was the center of culture for the Aghlabids and they attempted to emulate life at the 'Abbāsid court. We know from this text that Abū Ibrāhīm Aḥmad had been branded as a sinner by important Qayrawāni religious leaders and to prove his piety he withdrew 300,000 dinars from the Bayt Māl al-Muslimīn and among other foundations he built or embellished a number of mosques. The tiles which he had originally imported for use in a reception room he decided to use to face the mihrab in the Great Mosque in Qayrawān. Needing more than he had originally ordered, he sent for a potter from Baghdad to add to them. Had the first group not come from Baghdad but from Yemen he would presumably have sent for a Yemeni potter to finish the job. The author would like to acknowledge the generous help of Prof. Maan Z. Madina, Columbia University, New York, in reading and interpreting the Arabic text.

(3) The two different groups of tiles decorating the mihrab are discussed by this author in her "The Palmette Tree: A Study of the Iconography of Egyptian Lustre Painted Pottery", *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, vol. 7, (1968), pp. 120 and 121. However, since this was written, new data has caused the author to change her mind as to where the monochrome group was made.

MARÇAIS, op. cit., p. 17, explains in some detail how different the monochrome and polychrome series of tiles are and hypothesizes in footnote 1, on the same page, that the groups divide along the lines the present author has suggested.

(1) GOITEIN, S.D., *A Mediterranean Society*, vol. 1, (Berkeley, 1967), p. 43, says that al-Maghreb was used, during the period in question, to mean all of North Africa west of Egypt including Muslim Sicily with Spain forming a subsection.

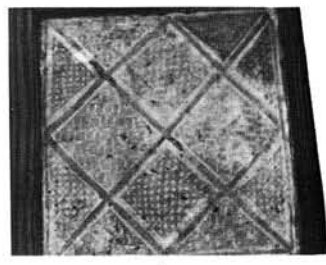
(2) MARÇAIS, G., *Les faïences à reflets métalliques de la Grande Mosquée de Kairouan* (Paris, 1928), p. 10. The context of the passage from which this information is drawn as well as our knowledge of Aghlabid practices and ceramic production in the middle of the ninth century make it very clear that *البريلة* should be read *البريلة* (written incorrectly in Marçais as *البريلة*) and not *البريلة* although both are equally possible in the unmarked text. Ibn Nāḥī was trying to impress his readers with the extent of Abū Ibrāhīm Aḥmad's repentance and munificence and consequently "precious" tiles as opposed to "Yemeni" tiles are surely what are meant especially since ninth century Yemen was not producing luster-painted ceramics as far as we know. As all the other commodities as well as the artisan discussed in this passage — wood, marble and a potter — are expressly mentioned as having been imported from Iraq and as this country was producing beautiful luster-painted pottery at the time, it only stands to reason that the tiles



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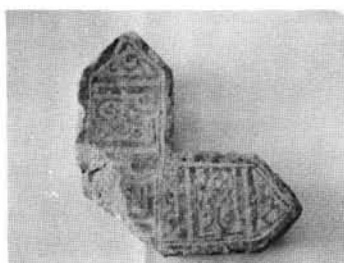
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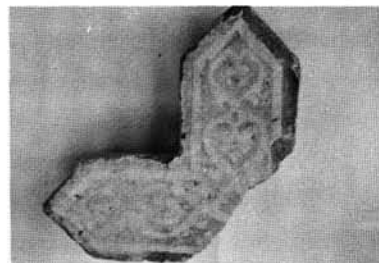
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FIG. 1: Qayrawān Museum. — FIG. 2: Qayrawān Museum. — FIG. 3: Qayrān Museum. — FIG. 4: Tunisia, specific whereabouts unknown. — FIG. 5: Tunisia, specific whereabouts unknown. — FIG. 6: Tunisia, specific whereabouts unknown. — FIG. 7: Sétif Museum. — FIG. 8: Sétif Museum. — FIG. 9: Sétif Museum.

tury (4) — bear very close iconographic and stylistic comparison with those decorating the mihrab in the Great Mosque of Qayrawān (5). (Fig. 1-6).

Thus, it seems very probable that Abū Ibrāhīm Aḥmad's desire for some Baghdad tiles as well as his request for a potter from the capital gave rise to the production of luster-painted pottery in Ifrīqiya and consequently, that it was this ruler who was ultimately responsible for the tradition which was to have such a glorious history in the Maghrib.

It must be assumed that the invasions of the Arab tribes of the Banū Hilāl and the Banū Sulaym starting in 1050-51 were responsible for the spread of this technique to the central Maghrib as we next encounter luster production in North Africa at Qal'at banī Ḥammād during the last half of the eleventh century — the luster-painted tiles excavated

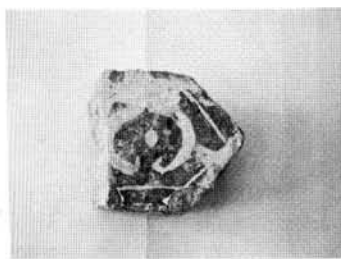
in both Qaṣr al-Mulk and Qaṣr al-Manār dating from between 1068 and 1090-91 (6). With the coming of the Arab hordes, many of the inhabitants of Ifrīqiya, including artisans, fled to al-Qal'a (7) and it would appear that the relatively large group of luster-painted tiles found at this mountain site should be attributed to an influx of Ifrīqiyān ceramists who would have brought this technique with them and either executed the tiles themselves or trained local craftsmen to do so. The date suggested above for these tiles — the second half of the eleventh century

(6) IBN KHALDŪN, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, *Kitāb al-Ibar*, Trans. by M. DE SLANE, *Histoire des Berbères*, vol. 2, (Algiers, 1854), p. 52. L. GOLVIN, *Le Maghrib central à l'époque des Zirides*, (Paris, 1957), p. 129, note 2, feels that al-Manṣūr either 1) did not build four palaces at al-Qal'a because he was only there for two years; 2) only restored enlarged and embellished those which existed already; or 3) built them after moving to Bougie. He is inclined to favor the second possibility. IDRIS, H.R., *La Berbérie orientale sous les Zirides X<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, (Paris, 1962), p. 278, says he feels it is possible that he only restored, enlarged or embellished some of these. The fact that two of the four palaces bear the same name as those built by his father Qaṣr al-Khilāfa (or al-Mulk which IDRIS, *ibid.*, p. 277, sees as referring to the same construction) and Qaṣr al-Kawkab, seems to support, at least in part, the embellishment, restoration theory.

(7) IBN AL-ATHĪR, *Kāmil fī al-tārīkh*. Trans. by E. FAGNAN, *Annales du Maghreb et de l'Espagne* (Algiers, 1898), p. 472.

(4) CHABBI, M., "Raqqāda", *Africa*, vol. 2, (1967-68), pp. 388-392, identified the palace where these were found as Qaṣr al-Ṣaḥn. However, LÉZINE A., "Sur deux châteaux Musulmans d'Ifrīqiya", *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*, vol. 39, (1971), pp. 87-102, thinks it should be identified as Qaṣr al-Faṭḥ. Both of these palaces were built by Ibrāhīm II and thus one can assume that the tiles date from between 877, when Qaṣr al-Faṭḥ was completed, and 902, the end of Ibrāhīm's reign.

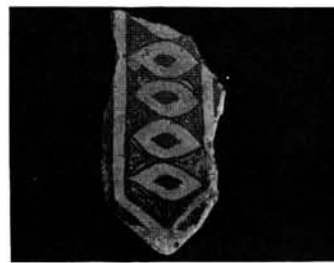
(5) Compare Fig. 1 (and possibly Fig. 5 and 6) with Marçais, *op. cit.*, Nos. 48 and 107 and 31-34; Fig. 2 with Nos. 53 and 77; Fig. 3 with 7-10, 97 and 108.



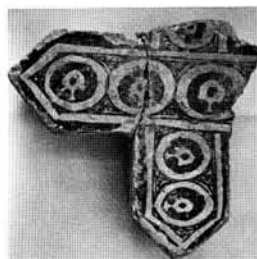
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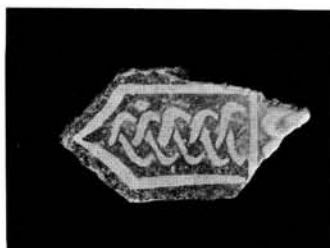
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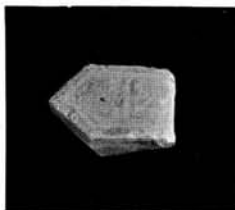
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FIG. 10: Sétif Museum. — FIG. 11: Sétif Museum. — FIG. 12: Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris. — FIG. 13: Sétif Museum. — FIG. 14: Sétif Museum. From *La Kalaa des Beni-Hammad, une capitale berbère de l'Afrique du Nord au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, by L. de Beylié (Paris 1909). — FIG. 15: Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris. — FIG. 16: Musée Stéfan Gsell, Algiers. — FIG. 17: Bougie Museum. — FIG. 18: Musée Gustav Mercier, Constantine. — FIG. 19: From *Les poteries et faïences de Bougie (Collection Debruge)*, by G. Marçais (Constantine, 1916).

— supports this hypothesis and laboratory analysis has conclusively proven that there is no question that the luster-painted tiles were made locally (8). As was the case in Ifrīqiya, this luxury technique seems to have been reserved almost exclusively for architectural decoration.

Among the forty-nine luster-painted tiles found at al-Qal'a, nine bear a silhouetted epigraphic deco-

ration of the word *al-yumn* (good fortune) in Kufic script, repeated (Fig. 7); three bear an epigraphic decoration of the word *baraka* (blessing) in Kufic script, repeated (Fig. 8); seven bear a silhouetted continuous design consisting of a series of two half palmettes enclosing a whole palmette (Fig. 9); two bear a palmette within a heart-shaped compartment (Fig. 10); one bears the latter design combined with a design of contiguous ogives on a spiralled ground (Fig. 11); five are decorated solely with the contiguous ogival design (Fig. 12); seven bear contiguous circles enclosing either palmettes or rosettes silhouetted in solid roundels (Fig. 13); and three bear a silhouetted guilloche design (Fig. 14).

Only five of the fifty-four luster-painted ceramic objects found at al-Qal'a are fragments of vessels. At least two of the five bear epigraphic decoration of the word *al-yumn* in Kufic script which seems to have been the preferred design on the luster-painted tiles, occurring as we have seen on nine out of forty-nine (Fig. 15 and 16). This decoration on the two fragmentary vessels is calligraphically very similar to that on the nine tiles. The guilloche design found on the fragmentary vessels is also to be found on the tiles. Thus, at least two of the five vessel fragments show a very strong iconographic connection

(8) Although no kilns have as yet been found at al-Qal'a, there is no question that the ceramic objects found there were made there. The quantity of ceramic utensils and decoration found at this highly inaccessible mountain city supports the theory of a local production. MARÇAIS, G., *Les poteries et faïences de la Qal'a des Beni Hammâd (XI<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, (Constantine, 1913), p. 28. GOLVIN, L., *Aspects de l'Artisanat en Afrique du Nord*, (Paris, 1957), p. 22, mentions, without giving a reference, potters at al-Qal'a. And in his *Le Magrib central à l'époque des Zirides*, (Paris, 1957), p. 140, he implies that pottery was one of the main industries of the city.

Dr. Pieter Meyers, Metropolitan Museum of Art, analyzed the clays of fifteen different ceramic sherds gathered on the site of al-Qal'a including one fragmentary luster-painted tile. There was no appreciable variation in the clay among these fifteen fragments. Thus, if, as was stated above, the ceramics found at al-Qal'a were made there, this analysis would disprove any exception made for the luster-painted pottery.

to the other luster-painted ceramics found at al-Qal'a.

However, two stylistic features appear for the first time on these objects. At least four of the five vessel fragments have details scratched through the luster and at least three have backgrounds decorated with isolated dots or groups of dots. Another new feature found on three of the five fragments is a change in the color of the luster, these being painted in a luster with a very strong reddish tone as opposed to the brownish or yellowish tone seen up to now in the Maghrib. One must assume that copper instead of silver was the metallic oxide used to obtain this color.

Of the two luster-painted objects found at Bougie, one appears to belong to the group of tiles excavated at al-Qal'a (Fig. 17) but the fragmentary vessel (Fig. 18) incorporates the two new stylistic features discussed above.

This author would like to suggest that the fragmentary luster-painted vessels with dotted backgrounds and scratched details, or simply the latter device, found at al-Qal'a and Bougie, were made in the latter center. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that one of the new stylistic devices, scratched details, appears on twelve fragments from Bougie of a totally different pottery type which Marçais connected to a type still made by Berber women in his day although the latter had no scratched details (9). Thus, it is plausible that the decorative device of scratching details on a painted design was one indigenous to the area. One of the twelve fragments (Fig. 19), is very similar to three of the luster-painted fragments except for technique (Fig. 15, 16 right and Fig. 18).

Also, one has the feeling that among the many extant luster-painted tiles made and used at al-Qal'a, scratched details, dotted backgrounds or reddish colored luster would be evident if such features were in the repertoire of the al-Qal'a potters. Conversely, since the iconography is shared but stylistic features and palette differ, one is led to the theory of two places of manufacture — two places, however, with very close connections.

A 1312 inventory of a Genoese pharmacy seems to imply that Bougie was making luster-painted pottery at that time (10). Therefore, the possibility

(9) MARÇAIS, G., *Les poteries et faïences de Bougie* (Collection Debruge), (Constantine, 1916), pl. X.

(10) DE MAS-LATRIE, L., *Traité de paix et de commerce concernant les relations des chrétiens avec les Arabes de l'Afrique septentrionale au Moyen Age*, (Paris, 1866), p. 223.

of such an industry existing two hundred years earlier becomes even more plausible. The secret of luster-painting on pottery could easily have been taken to Bougie by an al-Qal'a ceramist sometime after the founding of the former city in 1067-68 just as it had been carried to al-Qal'a during or after the Arab invasions of Ifrīqiya and just as it had been brought to the latter country by the Baghdad potter summoned by Abū Ibrāhīm Aḥmad between 856 and 863. The finding of a tile at Bougie belonging to the group from al-Qal'a demonstrates a way in which the luster technique could have passed to the new city.

Spain is the setting for the next and final chapter in the westward movement of the luster technique.

In 1940, Manuel Gómez-Moreno published six luster-painted fragments with no exterior decoration which had been excavated in the Alcazaba of Malaga and which he felt were local products and should be considered "la loza dorada primitiva de Malaga" (11) (Fig. 20-23). He considered them to be products of the twelfth century on the basis of the fact that they were found at the foot of the Tower of Homenaje among the ruins of houses datable to that century.

He demonstrated the connection between these fragments and four *bacini* (12) (Fig. 24, 25 and 26) thus corroborating Ballardini's suggestion, in a 1918 article, that the three *bacini* illustrated (Fig. 24-26) were of Spanish manufacture (13).

Six years after Gómez-Moreno's article appeared, Arthur Lane addressed himself to a similar subject, presumably without having been aware of the Spanish scholar's *al-Andalus* publication (14). Although Lane did not rule out the possibility of manufacture in Egypt or Bougie (15), he suggested that

(11) GÓMEZ-MORENO, M., "La loza dorada primitiva de Málaga", *al-Andalus*, vol. 5, (1940), pp. 383-98.

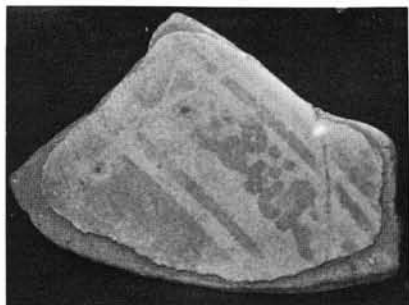
(12) He wrongly attributed one of the four, his Plate 2a # 9, to this group. It is, consequently, not included here. I am grateful to Dr. Graziella Berti, Pisa, Italy for this information.

(13) BALLARDINI, G., "The Bacini of S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna", *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 32 (1918), pp. 128-135.

(14) LANE, A., "Early Hispano-Moresque pottery: A reconsideration", *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 88, (1946), pp. 246-52.

(15) *Ibid.*, p. 249. Lane cites stylistic links with Sa'd's works as his reason for seeing a possible Egyptian provenance for these pieces. He also doesn't discount the possibility that Fātimid potters migrated to Spain, at the fall of the Egyptian dynasty, where they produced "sub-Fatimid" provincial products. The present author would point to the

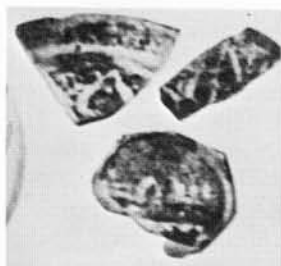
FIG. 20: Museo de la Alcazaba, Malaga. From *Lustreware of Spain*, by A.W. Frothingham (New York, 1951). — FIG. 21: Museo de la Alcazaba, Malaga. From *Lustreware of Spain*, by A.W. Frothingham (New York, 1951). — FIG. 22: Museo de la Alcazaba, Malaga. From *Arte Almohade, Arte Nazarí, Arte Mudéjar. Ars Hispaniae, IV*, by L. Torres Balbás (Madrid, 1949). — FIG. 23: Spain, specific whereabouts unknown. From "La loza dorada primitiva de Málaga", *al-Andalus*, vol. 5, by M. Gómez-Moreno (1940). — FIG. 24: Formerly, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Museum für Islamische Kunst, Berlin, present whereabouts unknown. From "Le Ceramiche del Campanile di S. Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna, parts 1 and 2", *Felix Ravenna*, vol. 1, by G. Ballardini. — FIG. 25: Formerly, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Museum für Islamische Kunst, Berlin, present whereabouts unknown. — FIG. 26: Church of S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna. From "Le Ceramiche del Campanile di S. Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna, parts 1 and 2", *Felix Ravenna*, vol. 1, by G. Ballardini.



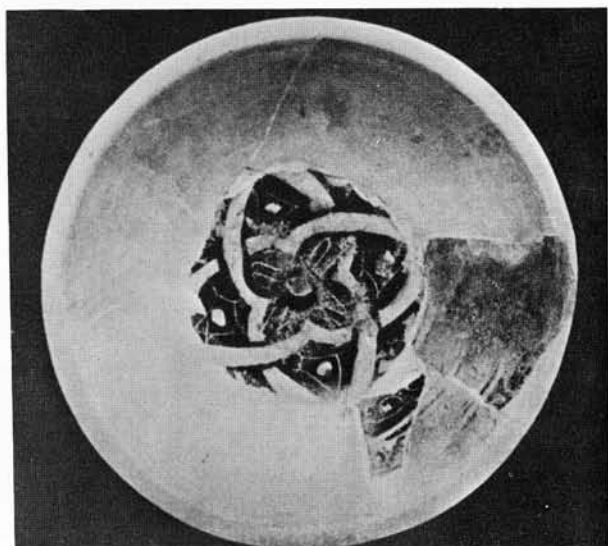
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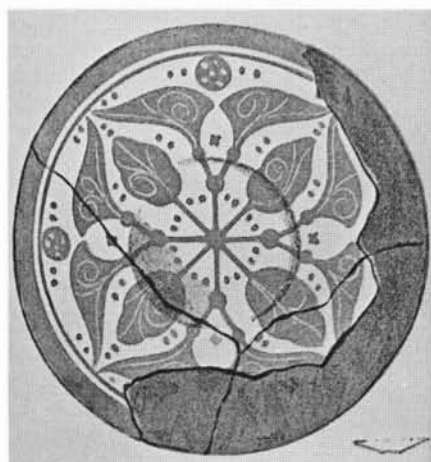
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Ballardini was correct in assuming that the three *bacini* discussed by him were Spanish products and Lane made two additions to this series (Fig. 27-28). However, when he discussed the Louvre bowl in the 1958 edition of his *Early Islamic Pottery*, he still felt unsure about its origin although he said that "locally found fragments suggest that they (*bacini*) may be early products of the kilns at Malaga" (16).

Forty-nine more complete or fragmentary bowls can now be added to this series of eleven objects discussed by Ballardini, Gómez-Moreno and Lane. Unfortunately, space does not permit the presentation of more than six new examples of this group. However, the appendix contains a list of the present locations of the remaining forty-three whole or fragmentary objects attributed by this author to the Malaga series.

The sources of inspiration for this greatly expanded series (now a well-defined group) as well as its date and provenance appear to be unequivocal. It also seems to be abundantly clear now that it exerted a very strong influence on later luster-painted ceramic products of Malaga as well as on those manufactured in other Spanish centers.

Gómez-Moreno was the first to recognize the connection between the luster-painted objects found at al-Qal'a and those from Malaga (17). He felt, in fact, that the similarity was so great that it was possible that those found at the Hammādid capital were actually made in the Andalusian center (18). We now know that the tiles from al-Qal'a were made locally and we have suggested that at least four of

paucity of related sherds found in Egypt to discount Lane's possible Egyptian provenance and the fact that all of the Malaga pieces were probably made before 1171 to discount his suggestion that they could be products of Fātimid potters who migrated at the fall of the dynasty. As to the possibility that these pieces were made in Bougie, the calligraphic style differs sufficiently from that on the fragments from Algeria to rule out Lane's second suggestion. This epigraphic decoration does, on the other hand, often incorporate certain debasements which can be found on objects of Spanish origin. BLAKE, H., "La ceramica Medieval Española e la Liguria", *Atti*, vol. V, (1972), pp. 63-64, feels that the luster-painted objects found at Malaga were imported from late Fātimid Egypt but doesn't exclude a North African or Spanish provenance. FROTHINGHAM, A.W., *Lustreware of Spain*, (New York, 1951), p. 12, dismisses Gómez-Moreno's Spanish attribution for the Malaga objects as nationalistic and supports an Egyptian provenance or the possibility that they were products of emigrating Fātimid potters.

(16) LANE, A., *Early Islamic Pottery*, (London, 1958), p. 23. It is quite clear from this statement that by this time he was aware of Gómez-Moreno's article.

(17) GÓMEZ-MORENO, M., *op. cit.*, pp. 394-395.

(18) *Ibid.*, p. 396.

the five fragmentary luster-painted vessels found there were made in Bougie. However, his early observation of a connection between the two groups is still valid. There is shared iconography such as the frequent use of epigraphic decoration, especially of the word *al-yumn* (Fig. 21, 25, 29 and 31), palmettes in heart-shaped compartments (Fig. 23, upper left and 30) and the guilloche (Fig. 20, 30 and 31) as well as the use of spirals as a secondary motif (Fig. 20-34). One also finds shared stylistic conventions such as designs in reserve on a luster-painted ground (Fig. 22-23; Fig. 32) scratched details (Fig. 20-34) and backgrounds containing a series of dots (Fig. 21, 24-27, Fig. 29, Fig. 31 and Fig. 33-34) as well as the use of reddish luster in both groups.

Thus, the sources of inspiration for the Spanish group appear to be very clear and consequently, it seems highly probable that the technique of luster-painting on pottery passed from al-Qal'a to Bougie and from there to Malaga. When and how did this further westward movement occur?

The *bacini* which have been placed in the Malaga group come from at least eleven churches whose dates range from 1063 until the third quarter of the twelfth century (19). This dating corroborates Gó-

(19) ABBAZIA, POMPOSA. 1063 (campanile) according to Ballardini, G., "Pomposa e i suoi bacini", *Faenza*, XXIV, p. 122 and 1066 (campanile) according to MAZZUCATO, O., *I "Bacini" a Roma e nel Lazio*, 2, (Rome, 1976), p. 14.

S. SISTO, PISA. 1070-88 according to MAZZUCATO, O., *op. cit.*, p. 15, and BALLARDINI, G., "Note sui 'bacini' Romanici e in particolare su alcuni 'Bacini' orientali in San Sisto di Pisa", *Faenza*, vol. 17, (1929), pp. 119, 120; BERTI, G. and L. TONGIORGI, "Bacini Ceramici su edifici religiosi e civili in Toscana", *Antichità Pisane*, 1974-I, (Pisa, 1974), p. 17, date it to the eleventh first decade of the twelfth century or just to the twelfth century.

S. APOLLINARE NUOVO, RAVENNA. XI-XII century according to MAZZUCATO, O., *op. cit.*, p. 14 and BALLARDINI, G., "Note sui 'bacini' Romanici e in particolare su alcuni 'Bacini' orientali in San Sisto di Pisa", *Faenza*, vol. 17, (1929), pp. 117-118.

S. GIOVANNI BATTISTA, GHEZZANO. XII century according to BERTI, G. and L. TONGIORGI, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

S. SILVESTRO, PISA. XII century according to *ibid.*, p. 17.

S. PIETRO IN CIEL D'ORO, PAVIA. BALLARDINI, G., "Note sui 'bacini' Romanici e in particolare su alcuni 'Bacini' orientali in San Sisto di Pisa", *Faenza*, vol. 17, (1929), p. 118, says it is XIII century; MAZZUCATO, O., *op. cit.*, p. 14, dates it 1132.

S. MICHELE, PAVIA. 1120-30 according to MAZZUCATO, O., *op. cit.*, p. 14.

S. TEODORO, PAVIA. Porter dates it to 1135, see AGUZZI, F., "I Bacini di S. Teodoro di Pavia", *Atti del 4° Convegno Internazionale della Ceramica*, (Albisola, 1971), p. 319 and MAZZUCATO, O., *op. cit.*, p. 14, says it dates from between 1135-50. De Dartein puts it in the middle or

FIG. 27: Louvre Museum. From *Early Islamic Pottery*, by A. Lane (London, 1958). — FIG. 28: Formely, in situ, Hôtel de Ville, Saint-Antoine, present whereabouts unknown. From "Early Hispano-Moresque pottery: A reconsideration", *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 88, by A. Lane (1946). — FIG. 29: Formely, in situ, Church of S. Sisto, Pisa. From "Introduzione allo studio dei Bacini Ornamentali delle Chiese Pisane", *Atti del 3° Convegno Internazionale della Ceramica*, by L. Tongiorgi and G. Berti (Albisola, 1970). — FIG. 30: In situ, Church of S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, Pavia. — FIG. 31: Museum of Church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Rome. From *Il Complesso Monumentale della Basilica Celimontana dei SS. Giovanni e Paolo*, by A. Prandi (Rome, 1953). — FIG. 32: In situ, Church of S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, Pavia. — FIG. 33: In situ, Church of S. Teodoro, Pavia. — FIG. 34: Museum of Church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Rome.



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mez-Moreno's twelfth century date for the six Malaga sherds and also allows for the possibility that the houses where they found were not twelfth as he believed but eleventh as Marçais suggested and were thus constructed at the time the Zirid Bādis built a palace there shortly after he took the city in 1057 (20).

Between 1067-68 when Bougie was founded and 1090 when the Almoravids took Malaga, these two cities were ruled by two branches of the same Zirid family. The relationship between the two blood-related houses was very amiable and therefore it is not difficult to see how artisans could have been sent from Bougie to Malaga to help the probably less urbanized and perhaps less cultured relatives to add to, beautify and populate their new provincial capital. Such an emigration may be supported by a text of Abū l-Walīd bin Janāh, a Cordovan doctor, who speaks of eastern potters in Andalusia in the eleventh century who were able to teach some techniques to the local craftsmen or to make objects in their style with local materials (21).

How did the Malaga bowls get to Italy? Idrīs informs us that the commercial prosperity of both Pisa and Genoa expanded in the second quarter of the twelfth century (22). Pisa signed a ten-year treaty of peace and friendship with the Almoravids in 1133 (23). We are further informed by de Mas-Latrie that Pisan merchants enjoyed marked favor within the Almoravid empire but that their situation was quite different under the Almohads (24).

Also, we know that at this time Malaga contained a walled suburb which was a Genoese trading establishment or "barrio" of merchants which included the Castle of the Genoese and which was set up to exploit Malaga for its magnificent products (25).

Thus, perhaps it is safe to speculate that trade in those bowls which ended up as *bacini* was one of the commercial enterprises of the Pisan and Genoese merchants who were very much a part of the

Western Mediterranean scene during at least part of the twelfth century.

There should be no question that this group of "loza dorada primitiva de Malaga" was the immediate precursor of the group of so-called Alhambra vases and that it also strongly influenced other later Spanish luster-painted pottery.

Certain iconography first seen in Spanish pottery on the Malaga "primitiva" is found on the later Spanish pieces such as the epigraphic decoration of the word 'afiyah (health) (Fig. 32) (26) and an interlace design in reserve (27). Several of the stylistic devices characteristic of the early Malaga group are also present on the later pieces. One can see groups of isolated dots on a white ground and details scratched through the luster (28). The division of the decoration into a series of horizontal bands which was so popular on the earlier Malaga pieces is continued. In addition to these iconographic and stylistic affinities, one can also mention certain peculiarities of shape which were perpetuated such as bowls with vertical walls and broad flat rims as well as both reddish and yellowish luster.

This author postulates, therefore, that in the second half of the ninth century, Ifriqiyan potters in their attempt to imitate a small group of Iraqi polychrome luster-painted tiles inaugurated a tradition which was to have a long and glorious history in the Maghrib. Starting slowly, once this technique was carried to al-Qal'a from Ifriqiya in the second half of the eleventh century, its development was rapid and its subsequent spread to Spain gave rise to an important and previously undefined production center in Malaga. This westward movement in the late eleventh century led directly to the later and long-recognized "Hispano-Moresque" group of luster-painted ware. Far from appearing full-blown on the Nasrid scene, we now know that the seeds for this late flowering in the extreme Maghrib were sown in Aghlabid Ifriqiya.

second half of the twelfth century according to AGUZZI, F., *op. cit.*, p. 319.

S. GIOVANNI BATTISTA DE POGGIO DI TALLANO, CORSICA. First half of the thirteenth century according to MAZZUCATO, O., *op. cit.*, p. 21.

S. LANFRANCO, PAVIA. Mid XII century according to *ibid.*, p. 14.

SS. GIOVANNI E PAOLO, ROME. *Ibid.*, p. 17, says third quarter of the twelfth century and Whitehouse, D., "Forum Ware", *Medieval Archaeology*, vol. 9, (1965), p. 62, says the campanile dates from between 1158 and 1181.

(20) MARÇAIS, G., *L'architecture musulmane d'occident*, (Paris, 1954), p. 213.

(21) CAMPS y CAZORLA, E., *La Cerámica Medieval Española*, (1943), p. 15. GÓMEZ-MORENO, M., *op. cit.*, p. 385, and *El arte árabe Español hasta los Almohades. Ars Hispaniae III*, (Madrid, 1951), p. 314, also mentions or alludes to this eleventh century writer. Unfortunately "eastern" is not qualified and the area in Andalusia where they were working is not specified.

(22) IDRIS, H.R., *op. cit.*, p. 679.

(23) *Ibid.*, p. 680.

(24) DE MAS-LATRIE, *op. cit.*, pp. 48 & 51.

(25) CARTER, F., *A Journey from Gibraltar to Malaga*, (London, 1777), p. 327 and Guillen ROBLES, F., *Málaga musulmana: sucesos, antiquedades, ciencias y letras malagueñas durante la edad media*, (1957), p. 83.

Pavia	Church of S. Lanfranco	1
	Church of S. Teodoro	11
	Church of S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro	8
	Museo Civica	5
		25
Rome	Church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo	5
Pisa	Church of S. Silvestro	1
Ghezzano	Church of S. Giovanni Battista	1
Corsica	Church of S. Giovanni Battista de Poggio di Tallano	1
Pomposa	Museo dell' Abbazia	1
Faenza	International Ceramics Museum	2
Victoria and Albert Museum, London		2
The Hermitage, Leningrad		2
Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit, Michigan		1
Whereabouts unknown		2
	Total	43*

(\*) These plus the seventeen objects presented in the body of this paper represent all of the luster-painted pottery of Malaga known to this author. However, this list does not profess to be exhaustive.

(26) FROTHINGHAM, A.W., *op. cit.*, Figs. 8 and 9.

(27) *Ibid.*, Fig. 12.

(28) *Ibid.*, Figs. 12, 16, 18, 42, 47 & 55.