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Mamluk Pottery: More Evidence from Fustat

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GEORGE T. SCANLON Mamluk Pottery: More Evidence from Fustat

It has heretofore been accepted that among the arts of the Mamluk period ceramics have played the role of aesthetic stepsister. Though manufacture of ceramics was copious both in Egypt and Syria, and though the variety of shapes and decoration is impressive, it can hardly be argued that the artistic norms for pottery were as consistently high as those operative in the metalworking and glass ateliers, let alone those applied to architectural decoration for two and a half centuries. The motival and symbolic patterns were of course common to all metiers, allowing Mamluk art a visible consistency in both influence and variation; but somehow they were less "artful" in execution and effect when demonstrated through pottery vessels.

Two of my recent studies have attempted to redress this balance of opinion, though to reverse it would be impossible. In the first,¹ evidence was presented from certain unstratified mounds of Fustat to indicate the sheer mass of the material remains and to establish the broad technical and decorative categories.² The second³ was particularly concerned with ceramic shapes and sought to prove that within just two of the aforementioned categories—Mamluk sgraffito and slip-painted wares based on red clays of varying composition and tightness of potting—a vigorous variety of options in size and shape can be ascertained. Further, this variety stemmed from a medley of

influences (continuing Fatimid, Persia-through-Syria, Chinese, and Cypriot), paralleling those to be found enlivening the other minor arts of the time. Again the evidence came from the registered objects of the Fustat Expedition of the American Research Center in Egypt. To be sure, these articles represent only the most exploratory of efforts and are archaeological rather than art-historical in intent, but they succeed to the degree that together they put the problem of Mamluk ceramics in a tighter and more relevant focus.

Here I shall demonstrate how the contents of one pit corroborated the findings of my first article, thereby providing a more deeply proven insight into the ceramic tastes of the Mamluk period. Further, the contents pointed to a shift, perhaps a degradation, in that taste, and in one instance yielded a type of decoration hitherto unrecorded for the era. The pit and its contents are roughly described in the Preliminary Report of the season when it was discovered and the contents carefully analyzed; its position can be gleaned from figure 1 and plan I of the report.⁴ It was the deepest pit (11.1 m) to be excavated in Fustat-B, and it demonstrated a two-period, widely spaced, reality: down to 9.5 m the contents were entirely Mamluk; beyond that point the excavation was more precise (25 cm rather than 50 cm layers), and the contents proved to be entirely of the pre-Fatimid period. Filter fragments all conformed to one or both chronological characteristics established for this period; for example, the filter was placed along the neck of the vessel rather than at the jointure of neck and shoulder, and all were concave in profile. Many had scratched pseudoepigraphical and rough floral motifs external.⁵ The few glass fragments carrying any decorative detail were also of the same date, and so was the carved bone fragment to be seen in

The Foreign Currency Program of the Smithsonian Institution supported the Fustat Expedition through contractual arrangement with the American Research Center in Egypt. Hard currency sustenance for the 1968 season was provided by the Kelsey Museum of the University of Michigan and the Corning Museum of Glass. None of these institutions is responsible for the opinions herein expressed.

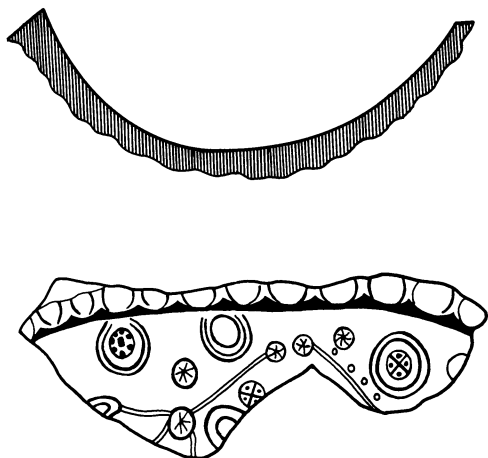


FIGURE 1. Large fragment of unglazed white-buff-ware bowl; lightly carved decoration, pinched scalloping at rim; 9th century. Kelsey Museum, University of Michigan, Fustat Exp. reg. no. 68-12-28.

figure 2-a of the report.⁶ Two fragments from the same unglazed white-buff-ware vessel (fig. 1; plate 1) carry a lightly carved decoration and a pinched scalloping about the rim. They were found in the muddy fill at the very base of the pit and therefore can again be considered definitely pre-Fatimid. Finally a more particular early ninth-century date may be hazarded because two copper coins of Maḥfūz, the finance director of Egypt in 186–87/802–03, came forth from the last 1.5 m of undisturbed fill.⁷

The contents of the upper 9.5 m proved to be completely Mamluk: no coins were found, but the ceramics cannot be considered to have come from any other period. Most particularly, the filter fragments are characteristically post-Fatimid, allowing a date later than c. 1200.⁸ Thus it was obvious that the pit had been scavenged down to 9 m or so⁹ and then refilled either from the tailings of the effort or from adjacent mounds. If the latter can be posited for pit A, then the contents should be analogous to

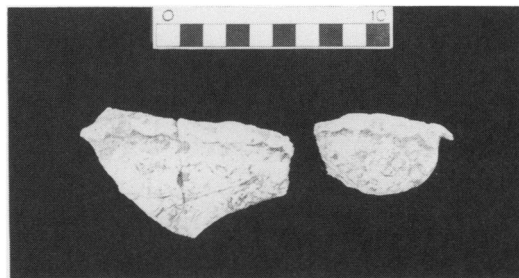


PLATE 1. Fragments of unglazed white-buff-ware bowl; for decoration see fig. 1.

those of the mounds analyzed in my previously mentioned article "Shard Count." In general this proved to be the case, in that no type listed in table 1 of that article was missing. Hence we are a little more certain which types have to be studied in depth before we obtain a complete picture of the Mamluk ceramic aesthetic.

The exact analogues can be studied first. The number of imported Lu'ang Ch'uan celadons (plate 2) was in proportion with the enormous output of local imitations (plates 3 and 4). Not only shapes but motifs were almost slavishly imitated: compare plate 2, far left and far right, with plate 3, lower right, and the carved fish in plate 2, center, with that less delicately obvious in plate 4, lower left. The small intact imitation celadon goblet in the upper middle of plate 3 is especially noteworthy. It is obvious from plate 4 that the Egyptian control of tonality and glaze rarely equaled the Chinese originals and that the incised patterns were often too heavy and never achieved (as they sometimes did in the Fatimid period, imitating S'ung celadon and porcelain models) the lightly "brushed" effect of Chinese incised wares.¹⁰

A similar truth obtains for blue-and-white imports and their local imitation. One small fragment (plate 16, lowest row, middle left) was probably part of a small cup, and the fuzziness of the underglaze drawing might lead one to assign the

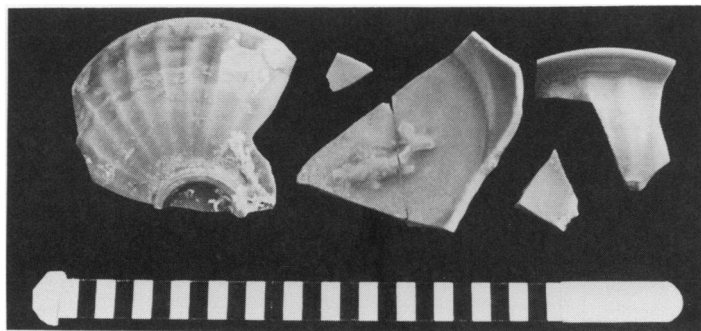


PLATE 2. Selection of Lu'ang Ch'uan celadon shards found in pit A, c. 1250–1450.

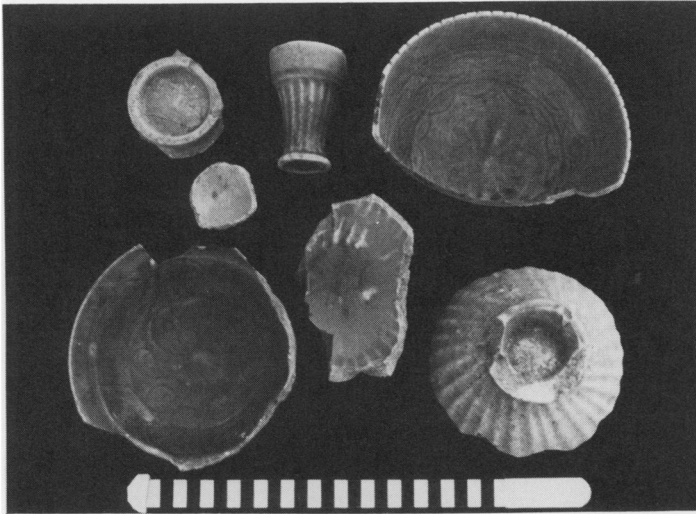


PLATE 3. Selection of Egyptian imitations of Lu'ang Ch'uan celadons found in pit A, c. 1300-1450.

original vessel to the fifteenth century. It contrasts strongly with the finely painted bowl fragment found in the same season, though further to the south in the concession (plate 5),¹¹ but an equally fuzzy drawing at the base of another blue-and-white vessel was also found in the same season to the east in the concession (plate 6).¹² The most interesting of the imitation shards found in pit A formed part of a large bowl (plate 7), whose interior was covered with a fine all-over pattern of inter-

mingled leaves, vines, and small flower clusters, and whose exterior carried a radial pattern of tapering triangular compartments outlined in blue. The blue is a trifle pale, but the drawing is precise enough to associate it with one of the master ceramists of the genre. The overall effect of the execution is unlike any of the published examples, but comparison with the latter allows us to assign the vessel to the fourteenth rather than the fifteenth century.¹³

All the imitation wares of the time were made

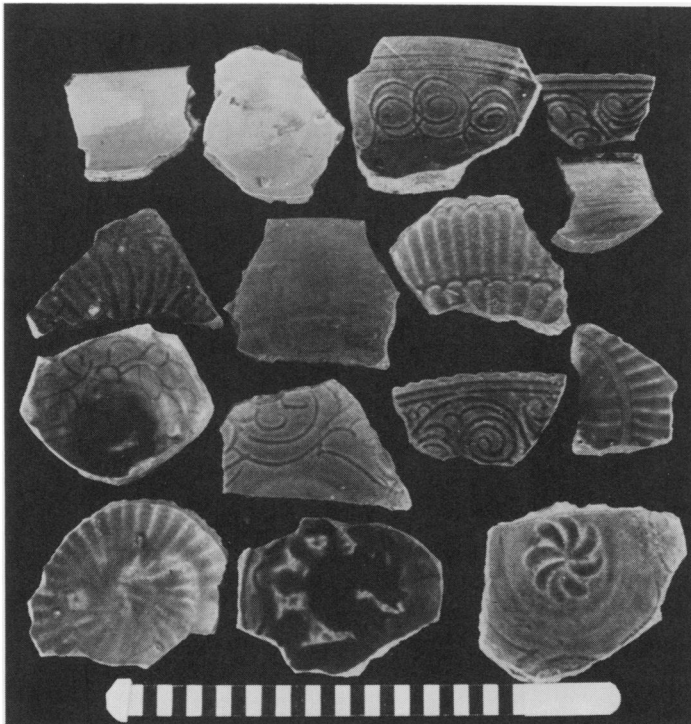


PLATE 4. Same as plate 3.

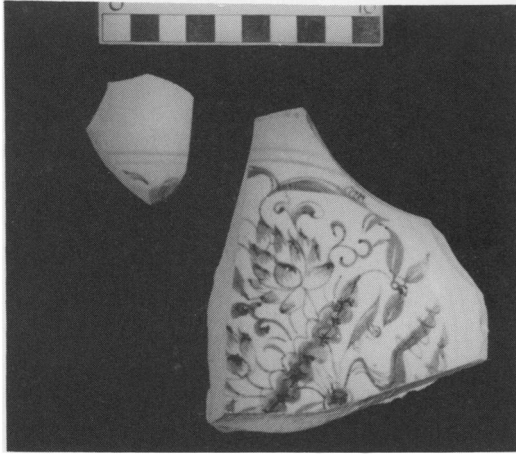


PLATE 5. Fragments of Chinese blue-and-white bowl, 14th century. Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo, Fustat Exp. reg. no. 68-9-8.

from a basic white clay which sometimes turns slightly gray or buff in firing. Though black specks or air bubbling are sometimes found in the fired clay, it is generally tight and consistent; never, however, as tight and consistent as the Chinese originals.¹⁴ The same holds true for two other ceramic wares whose decorative schema (one in blue and black against a white slip, all under a clear alkaline glaze; the other a silhouette of black design on a white slip under a transparent turquoise alkaline glaze) find their ultimate source, via Syria, in Persia. Marilyn Jenkins, in another article in this volume, groups both blue-and-white imitation wares (based on Chinese models) and blue-

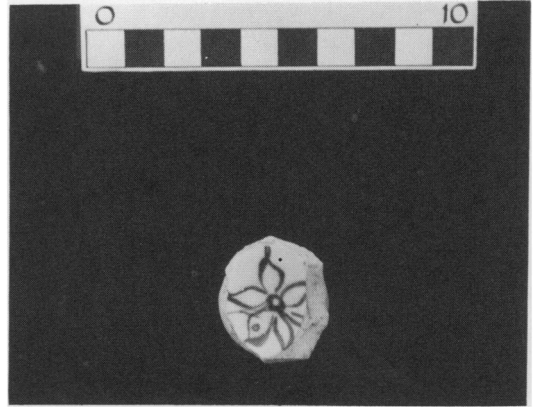


PLATE 6. Base of small Chinese blue-and-white bowl, 15th century. Kelsey Museum, University of Michigan, Fustat Exp. reg. no. 68-11-97.

black-white wares (based on Persian models) into a single category and credits Syria as the primary source of production. I believe it wiser to keep them distinct, and allow Egypt parity of production in blue-and-white imitations, on the basis of the large number of wasters found at Fustat. The blue-black-white wares (quite often with touches of red) were imitated earlier and present a more complex problem.

Sometime during the late twelfth century the prototypes of these wares (blue-black-white and turquoise silhouette) arrived in Syria (more particularly in Rakka), where they were imitated throughout the thirteenth century. These imitations found their way into Egypt and were themselves imitated in Egypt, as can positively be shown by wasters

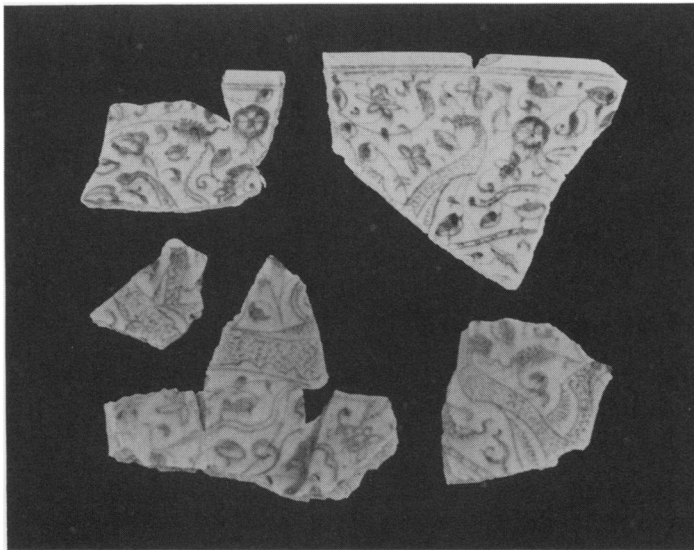


PLATE 7. Fragments of Egyptian imitation blue-and-white bowl found in pit A, 14th century.

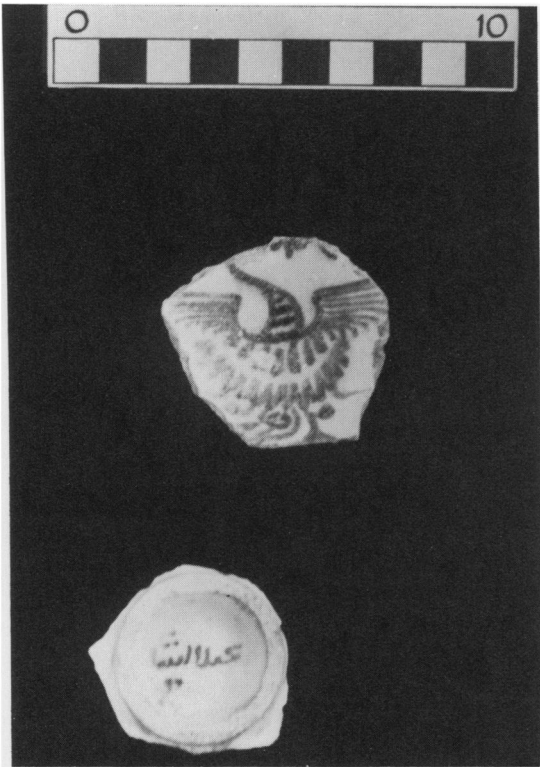


PLATE 8. Base of imitation blue-and-white bowl; potter's name, al-Shāmī, on underside (*shown at bottom*); 14th century. Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo, Fustat Exp. reg. no. 68-11-37.

whose motival components derive from Syrian examples. Attention to details provides sufficient evidence whereby the Syrian can be distinguished from the Egyptian imitation: the former is more finely potted, the clay is less coarse and generally whiter, the walls of the vessels are thinner and the overall contour more shapely, the painted motifs are sharper, the slips do not run beneath the glaze, and finally, the glaze itself is more evenly distributed on the interior and does not "pool."¹⁵ There is a further complication: the Egyptian potter may have copied from Persian originals. Fragments of Kashan luster and Kashan silhouette wares have been found in the mounds of Fustat, and the frequent imitation of Sultanabad wares (particularly with inner surfaces in very low relief) requires a model that has yet to be reported from Syrian loci.¹⁶

The Mamluk levels in pit A provided a great deal of evidence for the imitation of blue-black-white wares, sustaining the statistical evidence from the mounds analyzed in "Shard Count," though there were none with the additional red slip.¹⁷ The

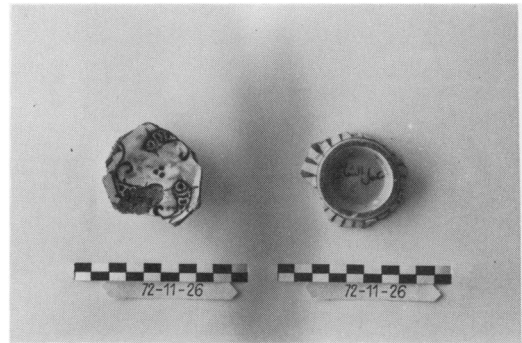


PLATE 9. Base of imitation blue-and-white bowl; potter's name, al-Shāmī, on underside (*shown at bottom*); 14th century. Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo, Fustat Exp. reg. no. 72-11-26.

fragments assembled to form the bowl in figure 2 and plate 10 came from between 2.0 and 3.6 m. The design of the swirling entrelacs and hatched area is rather good, but the application of the blue slip was too hasty and its surrounding of the central hatches was never achieved. It is Egyptian, lacking utterly the finely controlled slip painting to be found in the bowl base reproduced in plate 3-a of "Shard Count." As there is no manganese under the glaze, one is wiser to assign the bowl from pit A to some time before 1400 rather than after.

It was argued in 1968 from the analysis of the mounds that the introduction of manganese as an underglaze color indicated on the one hand the debasement of blue-black-white wares and on the other a return to favor of a color that had dominated Egyptian taste throughout the Fatimid period.¹⁸ A proportionate number of shards came from practically all the Mamluk levels in pit A to confirm the findings of "Shard Count." The radial pattern, so familiar from blue-black-white wares, dominated, but in all cases black had been replaced by manganese, and the drawing was more free

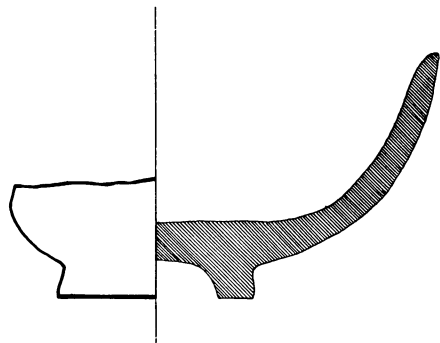


FIGURE 2. Profile of bowl in plate 10.

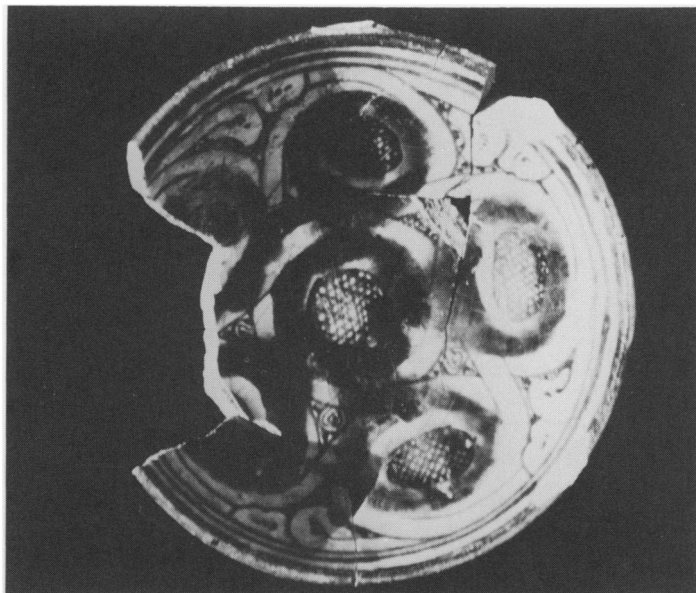


PLATE 10. Matching fragments of underglaze-painted bowl; grayish white clay, black and blue decoration on white; late 14th century. Kelsey Museum, University of Michigan, Fustat Exp. reg. no. 68-11-91.

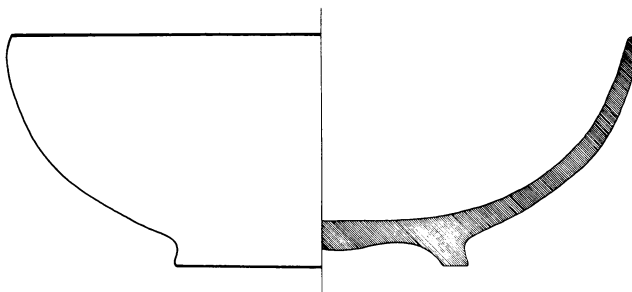


FIGURE 3. Profile of bowl in plate 11.

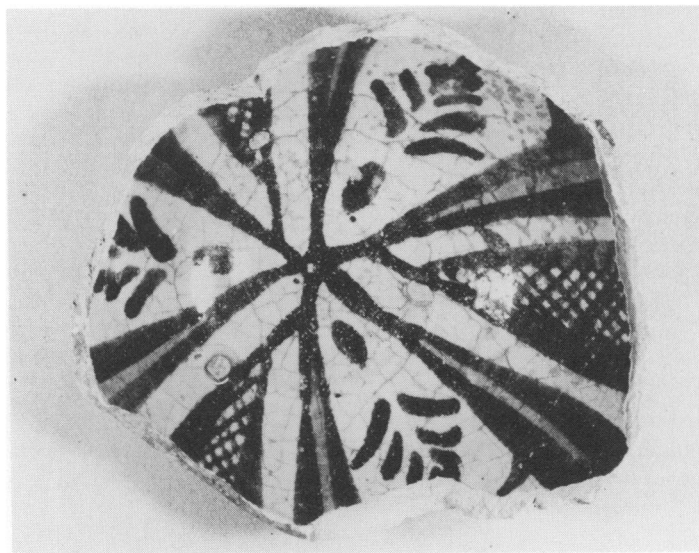


PLATE 11. Matching fragments of underglaze-painted bowl; grayish white clay, manganese and blue decoration on white; 15th century. Kelsey Museum, University of Michigan, Fustat Exp. reg. no. 68-12-59.



FIGURE 4. Profile of bowl in plate 12.

hand than geometrically and proportionately controlled, as in the fine example to be seen in plate 3-a of "Shard Count" or plates 1 and 2 of Abel's book. Its malproportionate asymmetry can be seen in the bowl of figure 3 and plate 11, which, in addition to the usual thickening radial lines and hatch-work wedges, contains the novel device of an abstract palm tree in three of the six wide panels.¹⁹ This motif is represented in neither the original Persian range nor the Syrian imitation of under-glazed painted wares. It is very familiar, however, in Egyptian ceramics, on glazed and unglazed vessels alike, from the very earliest Islamic period.

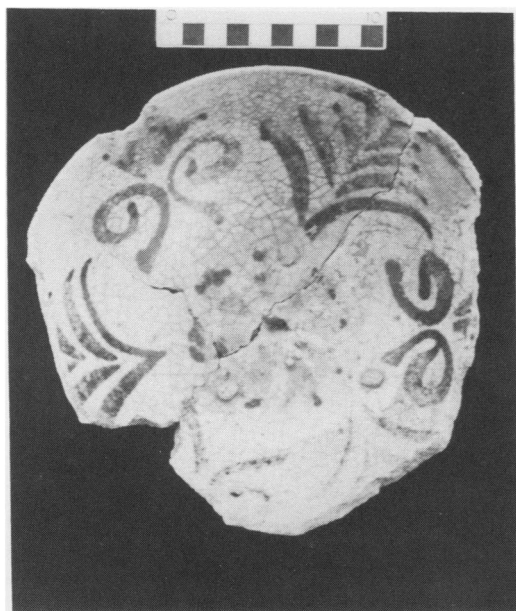


PLATE 12. Matching fragments of underglaze-painted bowl; granular buff-white clay, manganese decoration on white under greenish transparent glaze; 15th century. Kelsey Museum, University of Michigan, Fustat Exp. reg. no. 68-11-90.

Indeed one may add it to Grube's list of motival survivors from pharaonic times.²⁰ It is especially difficult to date the reappearance of such a motif, for the pieces which make up the bowl in figure 3 and plate 11 were found in exactly the same levels as those which formed figure 2 and plate 10. There seems to have been a qualitative decline in ceramic production in the fifteenth century, so we may hazard that century for all manganese substitutions for black in these imitative wares, though fully cognizant that the true blue-black-white may have been manufactured into the fifteenth century, as was the imitation blue-and-white.

This same palm-tree motif appears on another bowl composed from fragments found on either side of the 2.0 m level in pit A (fig. 4; plate 12). It is a most disappointing product of the Egyptian atelier. The original white clay is almost pure buff in color; and the vessel is weakly potted, owing to the granular consistency of the paste. The central rosette has simply disappeared in the firing; the palm trees and mirror swirls are so freely drawn and distributed that the overall effect is distressingly asymmetrical. But it is the overglaze which most disturbs: instead of being fully transparent, it is greenish in hue and unevenly distributed across the inner surface (the bowl has been reproduced in color in plate 4-a of "Shard Count"). It is clearly indicative of the decay of Mamluk ceramics: the potting is abysmal, the clay poorly composed, the drawing erratic, the two slips reduced to one with poor tonality after firing, and the glazing impure and badly distributed. The motival referents are simplistic, almost recidivist, completely unrelated to the broad conspectus of themes deriving (in white clay wares) from China, Persia, and Syria. Very few other shards of this poor glazed ware have been found in Fustat-B (no others in pit A); hence, although it signals some sort of nadir in the realm of Mamluk ceramics, it cannot signify wide-

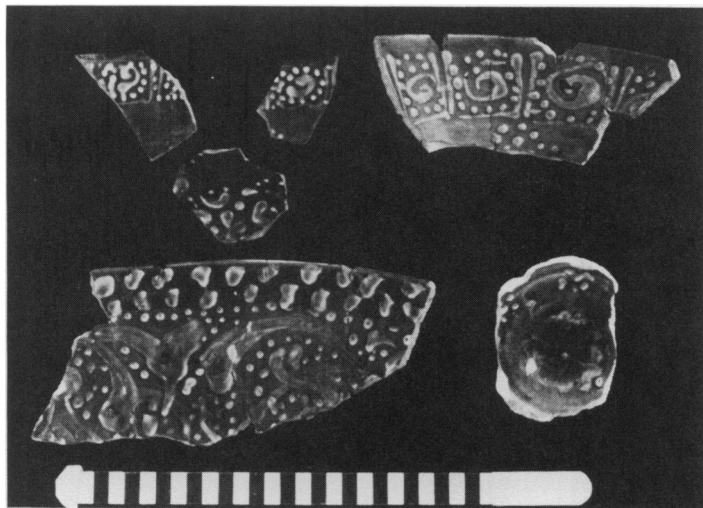


PLATE 13. Selection of thickened white-slip underglaze-painted ware; relief effect under transparent green glaze, white-buff clay; 15th century.

spread taste. Clearly it is from the middle to late fifteenth century.

No single shard of imitation Sultanabad ware (comparable to that of plate 3-k of "Shard Count") was found in the Mamluk levels of pit A, but the proportion of silhouette wares under a transparent green glaze relative to those under the more usual Persian-Syrian turquoise glaze (as noted in table 1 of "Shard Count") was maintained in the pit. The preference for green indicates a purely Egyptian taste, as very few green silhouette wares are reported from Persia and none from Syria. The deepening of the turquoise toward an almost cobalt hue (to be seen in plate 3-f of "Shard Count") may parallel the reappearance of manganese and be construed as a fifteenth-century phenomenon.²¹

Pit A did, however, provide an unusual variation within the white (and buffish white) clay wares relative to the finds from the mounds discussed in "Shard Count." This was an underglaze slip painting so thick as to be relief-like to the touch. The design was always of thickened white slip under a clear green glaze (plate 13 and the black-and-white photograph on p. 229 of "Shard Count"; all the shards therein also come from pit A). The type should be clearly distinguished from the more usual Mamluk slip wares based on red clays (discussed at length in my "Mamluk Ceramic Shapes" and amply illustrated in plate 6 of "Shard Count"). Numerically it outnumbered the shards of the latter in pit A and must therefore be considered as something of a gloss on the statistics of table 1 of "Shard Count." The designs are somewhat slapdash but echo those found in most other types of Mamluk decorated ceramics, the type of clay and decorative

technique notwithstanding. There is even a throw-back to Fatimid decoration in the stenographic "baraka" border design (plate 13, upper right).²² We are left with the question of whether to consider this ware a "white" variant of silhouette wares or a version of imitation Sultanabad ware (many of whose motifs it discreetly copies) suitable for a poorer clientele. Though the shapes were standard Mamluk, the artistic quality was never very high. With present evidence it is difficult to date the initiation of its manufacture, but its slight aesthetic effect fits well with the pattern of decline in the fifteenth century.

A more puzzling vessel came forth intact from the layer between 7.7 and 8.2 m, well above the level at which the Mamluk evidence ceased. It is a chalice-like bowl on a flaring pedestal foot, which itself has a single ribbing at the adjointure to the body. The clay is a grainy buffish white, and its light green glaze seems to have been applied without any intermediate slip. On the outside of the incurving rim a festoon applied ornament of a looped vine and small doughnut-like shapes is affixed almost at random on either side. The glaze has all but disappeared (fig. 5; plate 14). The clay is not unlike that of the bowl in figure 4 and plate 12, though the object is more securely potted; and the shape in its separate parts can be paralleled in the smaller Mamluk sgraffito vessels.²³ But it is the mode of decoration—applied festooning—that makes for typological pause, since it is usually associated with the earliest types of lead-glazed pottery in Egypt.²⁴ It is unique in the published material, and may, if it is Mamluk, represent yet another aspect of the recidivism noted above:

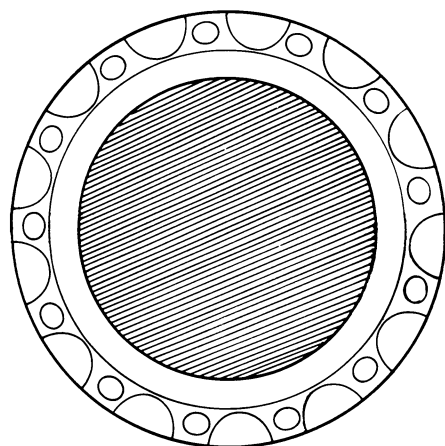


FIGURE 5. Profile of bowl in plate 14.



PLATE 14. Green glazed chalice-bowl found intact in pit A; applied decoration at external rim; 15th century(?). Kelsey Museum, University of Michigan, Fustat Exp. reg. no. 68-12-42.

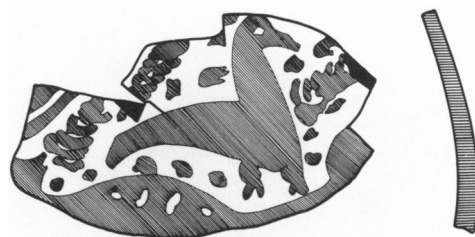


FIGURE 6. Matching fragments of unglazed vessel; rough, brown-red clay, black painted decoration on orange slip; 15th century(?). Kelsey Museum, University of Michigan, Fustat Exp. reg. no. 68-11-92.

added proof of the artistic poverty of fifteenth-century production.

This same trend is noticeable in four matching fragments from the curving wall of a vessel made from a rough, granular, brownish-red clay. It is covered by an orange slip on which has been painted a bird among disparate foliage in black slip. There is no covering glaze (fig. 6). The fragments were found just below 3.5 m and therefore well within the Mamluk fill. Very little unglazed slip-painted ware has been reported for this period, and none was found in the area analyzed in "Shard Count." Such wares were imported into Egypt from Nubia during the so-called classic Christian period (tenth–eleventh centuries),²⁵ and certain types of slip-painted unglazed wares of the Coptic-continuity types have been found at Fustat from loci of the ninth–tenth centuries.²⁶ However, the former are obvious from their superior potting and autochthonous motifs, which were never imitated in Egyptian production, and the latter were always of distinctive white clays. The example under discussion is both much less well painted and inferior in potting to either of these earlier genres. It seems doubtful that our vessel was meant to be glazed, for, with an orange slip, it falls outside the normal range of underglaze slip-painted glazed wares. We

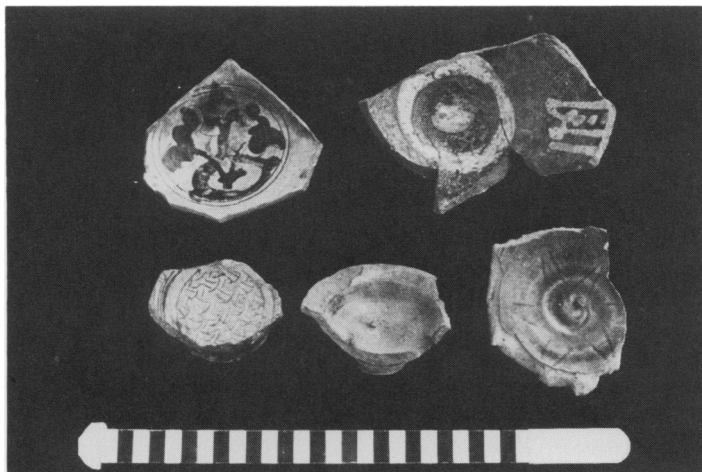


PLATE 15. Selection of Mamluk sgraffito and slip-painted glazed wares found in pit A; red and brownish red clays; 14th–15th centuries.

are left with the alternative of conceiving it as yet another possible proof of the economic impoverishment of the fifteenth century, when glazed vessels were beyond the means of some of the customers of the Cairo ateliers.

Notwithstanding these variants and exemplars of a surprising recidivism, the overwhelming number of the shards in the upper 9.5 m of fill were of red and red-brown clays, covered internally and externally with variations of two standard colors: a range from honey-gold to chocolate-brown, and green. The underglaze decorations were incised (sgraffito) or painted, or combinations of both techniques appeared on the same vessel (plates 15 and 16). The percentages echo those recorded in "Shard Count" (an exception being noted for the white clay ware of plate 13), which would seem to indicate that these types of ceramics represent the mass taste of the Mamluk era, types which certainly

existed well into the fifteenth century, though perhaps in reduced numbers. Further, most of the motival variety encountered in other publications²⁷ was duplicated in the pit under discussion. Thus if we conflate the evidence of our particular pit with that from the far larger area surveyed in "Shard Count," we achieve a more tightly focused picture of the production of the ateliers of Cairo from c. A.D. 1200–1500. Lingering tastes, imports, imitations, variations, and atypical responses to straitened economic circumstances we may now see in their purely archaeological setting. Future research must define the emergence, development, and decay (or better, etiolation) of separate decorative themes. Archaeology outside Fustat may supply a keener chronological edge in aid of such a process.

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY IN CAIRO
CAIRO, EGYPT

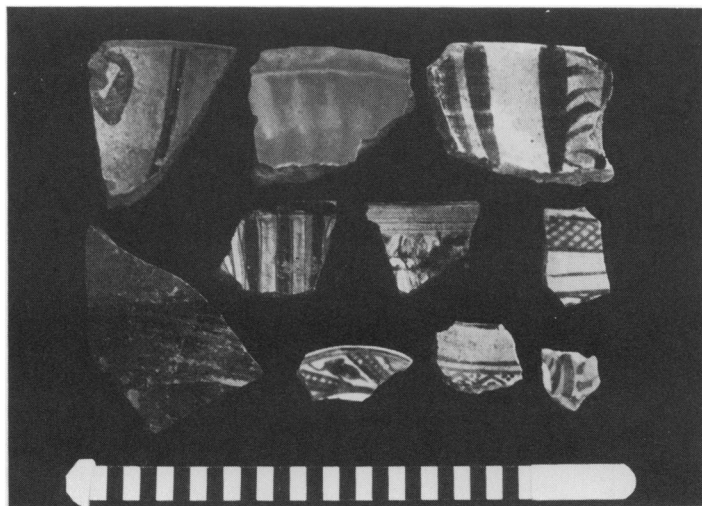


PLATE 16. Selection of Mamluk glazed wares found in pit A; 14th–15th centuries.

NOTES

1. George T. Scanlon, "The Fustat Mounds: A Shard Count 1968" (hereafter cited as "Shard Count"), *Archaeology* 24, no. 3 (June 1971): 220-33.

2. The analysis of the mounds in 1968, though original, pales before that carried out on more than a million shards accruing to the Antiquities Service from the excavations of Aly Bahgat and those undertaken by the Service after his death. This work was directed by Mr. Abd al-Rahman Abd al-Tawwab, late Director-General of Coptic and Islamic Antiquities. When the results are published, the tentativeness of our studies will be shown in sharp relief.

3. George T. Scanlon, "Some Mamluk Ceramic Shapes from Fustat: 'Sgraff' and 'Slip'" (hereafter cited as MCS), *Diamond Jubilee Volume of the Islamic Museum* (Cairo, 1980); five of the bowls discussed there came from the 1968 season.

4. George T. Scanlon, "Fustat Expedition: Preliminary Report 1968, Part I" (hereafter cited as FEPR 68-1), *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 11 (1974): 81-91, esp. p. 83 and n. 8. A double error has crept into its designation: (a) it is actually pit A in XI'-15/20, not XI'-15/20, a mistake in the printing of the report; and (b) before the drawing of the final plan I, it had been designated pit A in XI'-5, simply because the particular locus lay well beyond the concession area of Fustat-B. Following the permission of the Antiquities Service to proceed westward, the designation was corrected, but the photography of the contents of the pit carries the erroneous designation. As the pit is firmly in area A and related to the domicile described as centered on basin F (XI'-11), it can be none other than pit A (XI'-15/20) to be seen in plan I of the report. Its position is at center right of pl. XV-b, with basin F at the center of the photograph.

5. George T. Scanlon, "Ancillary Dating Materials from Fustat," *Ars Orientalis* 7 (1968): 9-16, and text fig. 4-b. A very fine example of the type can be seen in FEPR 68-1, fig. 15.

6. FEPR 68-1. The carved bone inlay pieces are discussed in detail by Marilyn Ereshefsky, "Bone and Ivory Carving in Early Islamic Egypt" (Master's thesis, American University in Cairo, 1980).

7. This latter evidence can be collated with that from the undisturbed pits G (XI'-12) and F (XI'-12/17), also associated with the same domicile as pit A under discussion. The absence of anything Fatimid within any undisturbed locus relative to this domicile forces us to see the latter as a *kharab*, that is, a ruined, abandoned residence. Cf. FEPR 68-1, p. 83 and nn. 6 and 7.

8. Cf. Pierre Olmer, *Les filtres des gargoulettes* (Cairo, 1932); George T. Scanlon, "Fatimid Filters: Archaeology and Olmer's Typology," *Annales islamologiques* 9 (1970): 37-64; and idem, "Preliminary Report: Excavations at Fustat, 1964" (hereafter cited as FEPR 64), *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 4 (1965): 7-30.

9. Other examples of the phenomenon obtained throughout Fustat-B. One of the deterrents to complete scavenging was the high water table; our fill became moist, then muddy (hence the necessity of sieving) after about 9.0 m. The same held true of pit H (VI-19) excavated in 1971, where mud appeared at 11.1 m; see W. B. Kubiak and G. T. Scanlon, "Fustat Expedition: Preliminary Report 1971, Part 1," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 16 (1979): p. 105.

10. Bo Gyllensvard, "Recent Finds of Chinese Ceramics at Fustat. II," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, no. 47 (1975): 93-117. The fish motif can also be seen in FEPR 64, fig. 5, in my "Egypt and China: Trade and Imitation," in *Islam and the Trade of Asia*, ed. D. S. Richards (Oxford, 1971), fig. 10, and the local imitation in pls. XIII-c and XVI. The Egyptian potter sometimes reverted to colors other than the variations of celadon green: cf. plate 3, upper left, and plate 15, upper center. For an earlier demonstration of this color freedom, see "Egypt and China," pp. 81-95, esp. p. 84 and pl. X.

11. This fragment has been published in color, in "Shard Count," pl. 5. It is also discussed in "Egypt and China," p. 91 and pl. XIV-c.

12. It was a surface find in quadrant VI-22; see plan 1 in FEPR 68-1.

13. Armand Abel, *Ghaibî et les grands faïenciers égyptiens de l'époque mamlouke* (Cairo, 1930), passim; types additional to those surveyed by Abel and by Aly Bahgat and Felix Massoul, *La céramique musulmane de l'Égypte* (Cairo, 1930; hereafter cited as *CME*) and the anonymous *La céramique égyptienne de l'époque musulmane* (Cairo, 1922; hereafter cited as *CEEM*), can be assayed in Bengt Pederson, "Blue and White Imitation Pottery from the Ghaibî and Related Workshops in Medieval Cairo," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, no. 52 (1980): 65-88. For two other, albeit much smaller, imitations of Chinese models, see plates 8 and 9. Both are by al-Shāmī and neither exhibits that unfortunate pooling of the covering glaze which so often destroys the effect of Egyptian imitations of blue-and-white. The fragment in plate 8 has a phoenixlike bird at its center; comparable exemplars can be found in *CME*, pl. 112; *CEEM*, passim; and Abel, *Ghaibî*, pls. XIII-XV. Plate 9 has three fishes surrounding a motif of three dots, and other exemplars can be found in *CEM*, p. 112, upper row right, and Pedersen, "Blue and White Imitation Pottery," pl. 1 and pl. 7-XXV, where all of the fish motifs come from the Ghaibî atelier. Finally, a sense of the original as opposed to the imitation of blue-and-white can be appreciated in color: "Shard Count" (pl. 5-f shows the largest shard of the bowl in pl. 7 of this article).

14. For a comparison, see "Egypt and China," pl. XVI.

15. This subject has been most thoughtfully assayed by Amy Newhall, "Polychrome Underglaze Pottery of the Ayyubid and Bahri Periods" (Master's thesis, American University in Cairo, 1978).

16. Cf. "Shard Count," p. 230 and pl. 3; George T. Scanlon, "A Note on Fatimid-Saljuk Trade," in *Islamic History: 950-1150 A.D.*, ed. D. S. Richards (Oxford, 1973), pp. 265-74, esp. p. 271 and pl. VI.

17. Until a local waster is found, one must assume that the vessels bearing a red slip in addition to the usual black and blue ones were imports from Syria. Such must be the case for "Shard Count," pls. 3-b and 3-e.

18. "Shard Count," pp. 229, 231.

19. This bowl has been illustrated in FEPR 68-1, pl. XVI-c. Two other shards from pit A where manganese has replaced black can be seen in plate 16 herein, upper and middle rows, far right.

20. Ernst Grube, "Studies in the Survival and Continuity of Pre-Muslim Traditions in Egyptian Islamic Art," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 1 (1962): 75-97.

21. It would be more helpful to consider the shards in pl. 3 of "Shard Count" as follows:

c, i	turquoise silhouette	Syria, 13th century
h, j	turquoise silhouette	Egypt, 14th century
g	green silhouette	Egypt, 14th-15th centuries
f	cobalt silhouette	Egypt, 15th century

22. For other baraka examples, see *CME*, pls. XIII-1, XXVIII-2, and A-9; and *CEEM*, pls. 7, 20, 71, and 85.

23. MCS, type I, passim.

24. Scanlon, "Note on Fatimid-Saljuk Trade," pl. 5-c.

25. W. Y. Adams, *Nubia, Corridor to Africa* (London, 1977), pp. 495-500. A very good fragment can be seen in Wladyslaw Kubiak and George T. Scanlon, "Fustat Expedition: Preliminary Report 1966" (hereafter cited as FEPR 66), *Journal of American Research Center in Egypt* 10 (1973), fig. 7.

26. A very good example was found in 1966 (FEPR 66, fig. 8); others of the same dating were unearthed from undisturbed loci in 1978 and 1980.

27. Most particularly *CME* and *CEEM*, passim; "Shard Count," pp. 224, 225, and 228, and pls. 1, 2, and 6; MCS, where all the illustrations are of the type under discussion; and Ernst Grube, *Islamic Pottery in the Keir Collection* (London: 1976), 282-92, which contains an exhaustive bibliographic survey of these types of Mamluk pottery.