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**THE CERAMICS
OF THE
LAMU ARCHIPELAGO**

Richard Frederick Wilding

A Thesis Submitted for the degree of Ph.D.
in the University of Nairobi.

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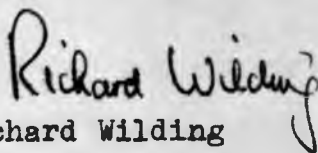
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FOREWORD.

The collection upon which this study is based derives from several sources. Most of the pre-thirteenth century material comes from the excavations of H.N.Chittick at Manda in 1966 and 1970. The archaeological stratigraphy and interpretation of these excavations were being studied at the same time as this ceramic study was in progress.

The material in the upper levels at Manda seemed ill-stratified and of little help in establishing a post-thirteenth century ceramic sequence. A series of sondages was therefore made at a dozen sites along the northern coast, all of which showed evidence of having been occupied later than the thirteenth century. In addition, reference was made to the excavations of H.N.Chittick at Shanga and Pate and of J.S.Kirkman at Takwa.

There is little useful information on the pottery of the area after the sixteenth century and the excavations at Pate and the sondage at Siu have offered disappointingly weak stratigraphical information. The study was therefore reliant upon an extensive surface collection from all sites known to have been occupied between the sixteenth century and the nineteenth century. These surface collections could not usefully be made with spatial/functional analysis in mind since they had already suffered

significant depredations from tourist and local collectors. Where relevant, material from local museum and private collections was incorporated in the discussion.

There is an immense quantity of material, amounting to over two million pieces. Save for pieces of special interest this collection was reduced to a minimum vessel count, of which the collection from the Manda excavations and associated surface collection represented some 17,000 vessels of which about 15,000 were locally manufactured. The sondages have contributed a further 8,000 vessels of which around 7,000 are manufactured locally. This is an enormous collection of pottery from an extremely wide range of technical and social backgrounds and derived from very different recovery techniques. Sophisticated Statistical analysis of such a collection in the absence of computer facilities is of necessity of limited value. The solution to the problems raised is a research topic of some weight in itself. This thesis attempts to provide the essential basic descriptive analysis, classification and technical comment upon which further, more restricted and detailed analyses can be developed.

The dating used was arrived at for the most part by assessing the date of imported material on evidence as independent as possible of the local archaeology. This sequence was then associated with

the individual trench stratigraphy at Manda, and with the stratigraphy in the sondages. This relative sequence was developed by cross-reference to material from elsewhere along the coast. Throughout this exercise attention was paid to the problem of trade delay and to the work of art historians and archaeologists working elsewhere in the Indian Ocean region, particularly where they can offer information concerning the points of origin of the material in the north Kenyan collection.

The imported ceramic sequence was then correlated principally through Manda for the pre-thirteenth century material and the sondages for the later material, with the locally manufactured pottery found in association. Nothing had previously been known of the local sequence on the northern coast save the few preliminary remarks of Kirkman at Takwa. There is no doubt that further refinements will be possible as more extensive and detailed excavations are undertaken in the area, but it is felt that this preliminary study will be of some value as a general framework.

In view of the fact that a sequence was to be obtained through a study of the wares in the first instance, the imported material was taken first and each ware represented in the collection was identified and studied independently. Each study was then

cross-referred, where possible noting stratigraphical correlations. The thesis was therefore arranged by ware. The collection is divided into five main parts according to received regional terms for clustering wares, namely Islamic, Far Eastern, Indian, European and Local. In almost all cases there can be no question of the general regional provenance of the sherds in the coastal collections. These regional terms are readily defined within acceptable working limits in the literature.

It was felt that quantification of present imported ware classifications could not successfully be undertaken with so fragmentary and partial a collection as the one to hand. Similarly it is apparent that the local vessels of the Swahili civilisation should be ~~used to~~^{used to} develop ware definitions and parameters within the context of a study incorporating the entire range of locally manufactured material, from Guardafui to Sofala. The descriptions and preliminary sequence in the thesis are sufficiently comprehensive for them to be a useful basis for just such a regional study.

In view of the fact that there is an urgent need for a simple and thorough descriptive study of the north Kenyan local material, and that this should be set within the context of what is already known of coastal pottery elsewhere, much of the terminology has been used in such a way as to be consciously compatible with the work of Kirkman

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and Chittick. There have been attempts at refining and standardising the procedure and structure within those constraints. Terms are used consistently throughout the thesis. Colour descriptions, vessel features and the like are standard and consistent. There is a simple device for analytical subdivision. The term "Ware" is used to mean "a collection of Types of clear overall technical, aesthetic and cultural homogeneity". Similarly, "Type" is "a collection of Classes with similar form and decorative style"; "Class" is "a collection of Groups with closely related shapes, motifs and paste"; and "Group" is "a collection of vessels or other ceramic artefacts with similar features, motifs and firing".

A major problem in the study of ceramics is the lack of discipline and standardisation in terminology and illustration. A glossary of ceramic terms was developed for this thesis and, though excluded in list form through lack of space, has been adhered to throughout the work. A simple system of illustration and notation was devised for the thesis. In this thesis it has been tested practically over an abnormally wide range of material and has been found to be most satisfactory.

There are many difficulties in relating the very fragmentary coastal collection of imported materials to the standard museum and Middle Eastern and Asian collections of complete or relatively

complete vessels which form the basis of our knowledge of these wares. An attempt was made to find viable criteria whereby such fragmentary material may be studied. Elements of decoration, paste, glaze, texture and fabric content were investigated at optical and microscopic levels at low magnification. The thesis suggests features which might offer information on chronological variations and ware identification.

Similarly, trend-sensitive variables were sought and identified within the local pottery collection. It is recognised that several of these variables may not have been the conscious artifices of the potters. They remain useful archaeological indicators nonetheless.

Attempts have been made to draw such sociological and economic conclusions from the pottery as may seem legitimate. These have been subsumed within the discussions of the individual wares, save of the few occasions when a more integrated discussion seems warranted.

Despite the fact that the thesis was delayed somewhat in production it remains a primary contribution to the study of the locally manufactured pottery of the coast, has furthered our knowledge of the Indian wares of the past millenium, and has clarified some issues concerning Far Eastern, Islamic and European export wares.

A historical summary has been included. This is not an attempt to contribute to the historiography of the coast. It raises and discusses issues pertinent to the discussion of the problems raised by the pottery.

The bulk of the research was carried out without the benefit of a full Munsell Scale or of a Mohs Scale. Both were acquired personally by the writer and subsequently a subjectively selected representative sample of sherds was studied with reference to these scales. It was found that the writer's previous intimate familiarity with the Munsell Scale had resulted in no serious errors in verbal Munsell attributions.

The report of the fieldwork related to this study has been lodged with the Office of the President, The Republic of Kenya; The Permanent Secretary, The Ministry of Natural Resources, The Republic of Kenya; The Chief Archivist, The Republic of Kenya; The Vice-Chancellor, The University of Nairobi; The Director, The British Institute in Eastern Africa, Nairobi, and the Secretary, The British Institute in Eastern Africa, London. A preliminary survey and site report has been lodged with the Director, The British Institute in Eastern Africa with a view to publication. A series of more detailed site studies related to the ceramic material

is in preparation.

The research was conducted under Permit GEN/13/00/C699/5 at the Office of the President, The Republic of Kenya. It was financed through a two-year full-time Research Studentship followed by a part-time Senior Research Fellowship at the British Institute in Eastern Africa. Writing-up, final drawing and duplicating expenses, together with study visits to Tanga, Aden, Cairo, London, Cambridge, Stoke, Oxford, Rome and Addis Ababa were financed by the writer.

August 1980.

SUMMARY

This work is based upon a large ceramic collection taken from the excavations at Manda and sondages and surface collections from many places in the Lamu Archipelago and along the coast of Kenya to the Somali border. Its purpose is to record and comment upon the ceramics found there.

The history of the area is summarized. It is hoped that the culture represented by these ceramics, its continuity and change, will thus be the better envisaged and understood.

The recording is complete and is accompanied by reconstructions where appropriate. It records in detail minor matters of shape and decoration, where possible putting these variations in an archaeological context.

Several new classes of local ware and a few new classes of imported wares are described. The local ware agrees with the imported wares that a significant social change of some kind took place in the fourteenth century, which was reinforced by the events surrounding the arrival of the Portuguese in the next century. This change seems to be associated with the new settlements on the mainland and the slow diffusion of the new population elements into the island communities. These new elements are associated with Bantu-speaking agriculturalists absorbed into the Swahili community and conceivably with the present Nyika groups, as Kirkman has suggested. In the local vessels the change is accompanied by a move from geometric incised horizontal bands on and below the rim, and red-slipped short wall carinated bowls to a proportional increase in the

hole-mouth vessels and a tendency towards smoothed, undecorated pieces.

Until the end of the last century, the small Indian earthenware collection consists almost exclusively of cooking pots of no spectacular commercial merit and would suggest the settled Indian presence from the tenth or eleventh century onwards which is generally assumed but rarely substantiated. The carinated everted rim bowl is paralleled in the local ware, but this exception proves a rule of remarkable mutual independence of tradition of the Indian and local schools.

Firmly rooted as it is in the Early Iron Age ceramic traditions, the local tradition nevertheless evolves in its maritime environment into a unique kit, very different from anything around it. Cultural modifications, ^{coming} some most noticeably from the mainland rather than from overseas, and particularly during and a little after the fourteenth century, are noticeable, but the tradition remains remarkably stable throughout the thousand years or so of Swahili culture.

The ceramics from outside the Archipelago give a clear idea of the complexity of the commercial structures into which the Archipelago fitted. The geographical framework was, by the nineteenth century, one which covered much of the old world, from Canton to Stoke. The economic framework is less clear but is hinted at on occasion. It served the parochial needs of settlers and was tied to a small population, basically that of Manda for the first four centuries or more. The

region was served primarily from the Persian Gulf. There then appears to have been a change in the demand for imports. The Portuguese and the Indians met much of this demand, shipping direct from India. This connection continued into the colonial period alongside the still valuable but less predominant Gulf trade.

The massive influx of Chinese wares after the fourteenth century, and the Iranian competition with a new and varied range of glazed wares for export, are other interesting features of the collection.

Some little way has been made in the matter of the local and coastwise manufacturing and trading techniques. The open clamp was the principal kiln; the wheel was not used though vessels were sometimes turned on a dolly. There is marked site variation of decoration and treatment of rim shape within general form and decorative range of the region. This is clearly visible only with a detailed record of the minutiae of shape and decoration. There seems to have been little local trade in ceramics. The normal range of trade in local wares is probably less than ten kilometres. The coasting trade was restricted to large water jars and the enigmatic sandy buff ware which occurs only in Shanga. The less specialised were made locally in the settlements where they were to be used. Potters marks appear, as they do further south, in the fifteenth century and indicate a change in manufacturing methods, though the techniques remain the same. It is felt that these

marks indicate joint clamping.

The report provides a useful dating framework into which the stratigraphy at Manda and in the sondages can be fitted and which can serve as a basis for future archaeological work in the area.

Perhaps the most significant contribution of this work is that in addition to providing information of direct archaeological interest, it gives extensive and detailed illustration of the ceramics themselves. It insists that there is a variety of form, texture and style which has hitherto only been hinted at; and a range of artistry in the everyday implements of this community which no briefer, less prolifically illustrated report could suggest.

The technical and artistic information available in the collection, particularly insofar as the sherds are almost all from archaeological provenances, is sufficiently important and interesting in itself to warrant this study. Minor contributions are made to the history of the nineteenth century European export wares; some progress is made in the study of the repertoires of the Islamic wares, particularly the Islamic Monochrome and the Black on Yellow wares; and there are advances in the study of the range of Chinese export material. Our understanding of the local ceramics is broadened and the illustrations and descriptions are a fine comment on the wealth of creativity even on the humblest of vessels within a versatile local tradition. Several new shapes are recorded and

their distribution discussed. Less pleasantly, the decline of the local craft is noted after the eighteenth century.

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PREFACE

Miss Jacquetta Hawkes' recent paper entitled "The Proper Study of Mankind" has caused less vituperative correspondence than one might have expected. It is possible that the sort of men in the archaeological profession who do not like to read Pindar after dinner, or who cannot do so save in translation, are also the sort of men who consider it unnecessary to respond to Ms. Hawkes' lampoon. In general that is a wise reticence, and I make so bold as to challenge her on one point only. It is that her distinction between the "Frankenstein's monster" and the work of those of "strong historical imagination", between scientist and artist (whatever these terms mean) in archaeology, is quite inappropriate. The union of these two approaches to knowledge is surely firmest in archaeology if in any profession.

Rawson pinpoints the two extreme views of the study of pottery in his recent book dealing with the aesthetics of these artefacts. He observes, "By taking an existential back-step, so to speak, we are enabled to witness in humanity's pots a virtually unlimited variety of concrete realisations which uncover and authenticate his life and action, his world of meaning." One trusts that even Ms. Hawkes will look for something more prosaic than that. Rawson proceeds in almost the same breath to display an odd intellectual schizophrenia; he maintains that whatever the actual case may be, it is certainly

clear that pots, even the simplest, can only be "mere facts" to those of us who classify them academically. Ms. Hawkes rightly objects to such a sterile view of academic study. It is to be hoped that the aesthetic and academic distinctions drawn by Rawson and Hawkes are hallucinations. It is not possible to study ceramics without an intimate knowledge of the variations in shape and surface of pottery and of its modifications by generations of potters; this knowledge will result in a profound appreciation of the artistic qualities of the vessels and the beauty of the forms. The figures illustrating minor variations and the "specialist" treatment of the pottery are integral to the full enjoyment of the vessels and no appendix on aesthetics need be proffered. The aesthetics announce their presence through the illustrations; the exaltation of potting needs no pseudo-artistic commentary.

There is no purpose in recording a group of artefacts without attempting to glean from them all the information one can about the community which used them. It seems odd that Ms. Hawkes should need to draw attention to this commonplace; no "scientific" archaeologist would deny it or operate without it uppermost in his mind.

The purposes of the present paper are therefore to record the pottery tradition of the North Kenyan coast with a view to publicising its variety and beauty; to study through the pottery as far as is possible the life of the communities involved and their economy; to attempt to apply a relative and absolute

chronology to the collections with a view to the easier dating of the settlements, and to add some valuable art-historical information about schools of potting particularly in Iran, India, China and locally, which is available in these Kenyan collections. None of these purposes conflict; all will be dealt with in tandem in the body of the text and contrary to Ms. Hawkes' suggestion, will not be relegated to the appendices.

One appendix must however be written. This is an illustrations rubric. One of the several failings of the "artistic" origins of the discipline of archaeology is its lack of discipline; this is nowhere clearer than in classification, nomenclature and illustration. I append my particular solution with no injunction that others use it, merely with the statement that I use it and am best understood with reference to it.

Complications arise with sophisticated statistical analyses at this early stage in the work. No computer was available and the technical problems of making detailed cross-site comparisons are formidable, given the varied nature of the sondages and excavations, as are the varied specific archaeological criteria which need better comprehension through more excavation and the publication of the existing site reports. At this stage a resolution of these difficulties (without computer and site reports) cannot be attempted. A detailed index and concordance gives the information needed for the Manda report to be

completed; this was a preset function of this paper.

In the illustrations and the text I have described not only the stratified material but also the post sixteenth century predominantly unstratified material. Much of it has been hitherto ignored and on occasion its study has been actually discouraged as archaeologically irrelevant. The material culture of the past is the brief of archaeology. The sixteenth to nineteenth centuries are part of that past. Our knowledge of the Swahili architecture and carpentry of that period is considerable; our knowledge of the ceramics of this period is negligible. The ceramics of the period are to be seen in quantity in surface or immediately subsurface locations far more commonly than in museums. It is apparently debatable that Archaeology should concern itself with museum collections though one is surprised to find this so. It remains irrefutable that the study of fragmentary evidence in surface and subsurface locations is the true province of the Archaeologist even when this evidence sheds light on more recent historical unknowns than are in some quarters considered respectable. The ceramic interest and the archaeological interest are both plain.

It would be a curious state of affairs if it were archaeological practice to study nineteenth century copies of earlier historical documents of unknown date and provenance with a view to clarifying the social and factual significance of both for the mediaeval period, while it ^{were} ~~was~~ anathema to do the same thing with artefacts of more or less known date and provenance.

This so much the more curious since in the Lamu Archipelago the case for the historical exercise has already been made.

My thanks are due to the British Institute of History and Archaeology in East Africa for the studentship, part of which I used to do this work. I am particularly grateful to Mr. Neville Chittick, whose interest and support has been very much appreciated. In addition to the generous preliminary analysis facilities provided by the Institute I should like to give special thanks to their employee Simon Reuben for his unflinching assistance and friendship both in the field and in Nairobi. I am also indebted to the students who on various occasions spent time on the sorting, especially Gerda Lindquist, Doreen Bolnick and Bridget Hughes. Some of the preparation of illustrations was done with the assistance of friends and I would like to thank Bridget Hughes, Ann Heffernan and Nicola Sandford in particular for their preparation of some of the tracings from my drawings. Acknowledgement of their assistance is in the indices to the illustrations in the form of their initials suffixed to entries. Habte Argaw's help with filling the sections has been of very great value.

I am extremely grateful to Dr. James Kirkman for his company, advice and help. These I value tremendously. James de Vere Allen and Omari Bwana at the Museum in Lamu were always ready to assist in the day-to-day business of the fieldwork and I am most appreciative of their friendship and hospitality. Nothing in the Archipelago can be done without the help, friendship and

interest of the local people...or without their boats. I am immensely grateful to the people of the villages in the area, particularly to Muhammad Famau for all that he did and to the headmen and officials of the islands.

The officials of the Kenyan Government have showed nothing but interest and encouragement and my thanks to them are that this report will be at least a beginning in the work of emphasising the wealth and fascination of this intriguing aspect of a local culture whose contributions to Kenyan civilization have been and will continue to be considerable.

My wife's patience, support and interest have been at times monumental and throughout a crucial factor in the completion of the work.

An Introduction to the early history of the
north Kenyan Coast.

Studies in the early history of the East African coast invariably concentrate on the period after the arrival of the Muslim settlers who appear to have founded the famous Swahili towns. There has yet to be a good assessment of the pre-Muslim period. The archaeological evidence for these early times is scanty and the documentation thin and often obtuse. Mr. H. N. Chittick speaks of microlithic industries evidently dispersed along the length of the Swahili coast. He attributes these to an unknown people, "probably allied to the Bushman and Hottentot peoples"¹ for which probability he gives no evidence. He presumably relies upon the logical probabilities that since so many other places in Africa are known to have been occupied by "Bushman and Hottentots", or short, steatopygous hunters and gatherers before the arrival of the Bantu-speakers, then this area also was so occupied. He may also have seen stone tool collections which he feels are reminiscent of known Bushman assemblages elsewhere in Africa. This is the more enigmatic since the little evidence there is suggests a very different group of people on and along the coast before the arrival of the Bantu-speakers, and since the surface collections presumably giving rise to these comments seem nowhere to be found in the national Museums in East Africa. If one could locate these collections they would be very important subjects of study. There are rock

paintings in the Amboni caves near Tanga in northern Tanzania, but there are no answers to questions about their authorship, age or accompanying tool assemblage.

Nothing of this phase in human development, either represented by stone tools or cave paintings, is known from the north Kenyan coast.

At Kwale and its environs, Mr. R. C. Soper has conducted some fascinating work on early Iron Age sites associated almost certainly with an early influx of Bantu speaking agriculturalists.² This work and the same scholar's work in the Usambara mountains reveals a pottery tradition for the first millenium AD which shows only a vague resemblance to the local pottery of the coastal sites even in the site which is early enough to be more or less contemporary.

The isolation of the coastal culture from those upcountry is pointed up by the fact that there is a consistent theme throughout Swahili history up to the eighteen forties, that the coastal peoples rarely or never penetrated the vast "nyika" plains behind the coast strip. It is just vaguely possible that there was some kind of communication from the Vanga area inland towards the Usambara and Pare mountains of northern Tanzania and some slight ceramic evidence would support this. There is logistical logic encouraging one to look at that route if at any at all between the Juba River and the southern Mozambique coast. At this point the hills come almost to the coast and it is possible to keep to the water and game stocks that

these provide, following the ridges deep into the plains, reaching to the western foothills of Mount Kilimanjaro some three hundred miles inland before meeting difficult, dry "bara" scrubland. In terms of historical evidence for this, there is little. The famous passage in Ptolemy³ sometimes used to show a coastal knowledge at that time of upcountry routes towards Kilimanjaro (or the Simien mountains of northern Ethiopia: a division of interpretation largely influenced, one suspects, by the domicile of the commentator) is internally just as consistent with the thought that the information came via travellers' tales down the Nile. Even if the reference does reflect coastal knowledge (and that knowledge as described by Ptolemy is vague enough) of the Kilimanjaro area, it gives no indication of direct coastal involvement in the affairs of the area, still less of a trade run staffed by coast men.

With regard to this possible coastal involvement in upcountry trade, the polished semi-precious stone beads from Njoro River Cave,⁴ Hyrax Hill,⁵ the Nakuru Burial site⁶ and Ngorongoro⁷ have raised an eyebrow or two. All the stones used for these beads are available on or around the central and western highland of Kenya and the Kilimanjaro-Ngorongoro region, although perhaps carnelian is not so easily found. Dr. Leakey is aware of the odd contrast between these beads and the rest of the finds. For example, in her Njoro report Mrs. Leakey notes that "the whole series of stone beads shows a most skill-

ful and careful workmanship in marked contrast to that of the bone beads and pendants which are extremely crude although made from more tractable material"⁸ Leakey plays tentatively with one solution for this odd phenomenon. It is clear that the raw material is available without importing from the coast or from across the northern desert. She observes that "these finds may be taken to indicate that such beads were manufactured locally; but it is possible that foreign influence was responsible for the inception of the industry".⁹ That "foreign influence", if present, would undoubtedly have been coastal. Even more interesting than the stone beads in these stone age sites is the presence at the Nakuru Burial site of a piece reported to be "Faience".¹⁰

Commerce between the coast and upcountry may find its origins over two and possibly three thousand years ago. But there is nothing to suggest that the people of the coast controlled it or operated the caravans across the Nyika. Prior to the nineteenth century, the contacts, such as they were, seem all to be purely commercial and involving no upcountry movement of population even on expeditions. The pattern appears to be one of upcountry caravans, jealous of their control of the routes, bringing the commodities of the interior to the coast for exchange there. There is some late evidence which may, if assumed valid for earlier times, help to explain the mechanism of this isolation of the coast. All down the coast in the eighteenth and nineteenth century the Swahili

were "allying" or more commonly paying their mainland neighbours (often apparently with grain) not to interfere with the fields close to home; in these circumstances they had small chance for mounting an expedition upcountry. They were stopped, in the Kilwa area, from moving freely at all on the mainland.¹¹ Dr. J. Lamphear emphasises that the initiatives in upcountry trading seem all to have been held by the mainland tribes.¹² The operations of the Kamba in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries conceivably shed light on the way in which the caravans were organised.¹³ Produce deemed profitable for coast trade was collected in a few centres over a period of a little less than a year and then a caravan of porters was organised, perhaps within the clan or a group of clans, and apparently using professional porters, whose rewards were not land but a share of the trade (a process not yet fully understood). The caravan marched to the coast in time to meet the coastwise shipping running with the monsoon. The monsoon which seems to have attracted the most attention is the north easterly. It was the vessels from the north east African coast and from the Persian Gulf and Arabia which were the basis of the trade at the coast. The items for trade are very similar to those listed by the ancient writers: ivory and rhino horn with possibly a few slaves out, and beads and cloth in. The caravans based in Kitui are still remembered. It is worth remarking that salt and iron appear to have been at least as important items of trade as ivory and slaves in the southerly

Tanzanian routes, and one suspects that this is an element of the commerce that has been under-recorded not only by the slave-conscious missionaries and early European travellers but also by the writers of the more ancient documents.

In the absence of earlier accurate information about this commerce it is not possible to say how much of the demonstrable wealth of the pre-seventeenth century coastal settlements is attributable to their being the termini of these upcountry routes, and how much it depended on the mainland plantations and the mangrove stands. However, this function was clearly very important, even if not quantifiable. The lack of coastal control over this apparently vital ingredient of the economy is the more interesting. It is a lack of control which is complete, even to a remarkable ignorance of the vast world which lay just two miles inland of the coastal towns.

Pliny exemplifies this isolation from the hinterland nicely. He records that "it is said that in the parts interior from the east coast there are people whose whole face is flat without a nose; and that some have no upper lip and others no tongue. We hear also of people who have no nostril or any opening in the face beyond a single hole through which they breathe and through which they drink by means of an outer straw, the grain of which, growing wild, they eat. Some tribes use nods and gestures instead of speech, and before the time of Ptolemy Lathyrus, King of Egypt, were ignorant of the use of fire". 14

The continent behind the coast was unknown, dreadful, and perhaps more significantly, apparently a matter of indifference to the coast. It remains to historians and archaeologists a different world. The indigenous population of the coast prior to the coming of Islam and apart from the apparently rapidly absorbed settlers from overseas is a mystery. Ptolemy, whose work may well have rested in part on the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* as on Hippalus,¹⁵ refers nervously in a famous passage to the "Man Eating Ethiopians" living over the water from Rhapta. These people were apparently pastoralists and were, like Pliny's people, tall. Ehret is in the process of trying the somewhat dubious if theoretically valuable techniques of glottochronology on the Dahala language on the mainland opposite and south of Lamu.¹⁶ The people described in the early references seem to be tall pastoralists and not bushmen hunters. Ehret can see in the Dahala language a Cushitic base with elements of Bantu and Somali and is at present of the opinion that the Cushitic seem to have entered the language in two phases, the earlier and fundamental contribution around 2000-1500 BP and the other considerably later, possibly as late as four or five hundred years ago, but probably somewhat earlier. This later intrusion would undoubtedly be the Oromo language moving south. The earlier elements are most interesting. If it really is the case that Ehret finds he is able to prove his hypothesis, southern Cushitic-speaking agriculturists would be the most likely candidates for

identification with the dominant population in the mainland behind the Lamu Archipelago. Thus there might soon emerge the picture of the north East African coast at the turn of the Christian era or slightly before which shows tall pastoral nomads in the Horn, with "tall" farmers, related to the dominant populations in the south eastern Ethiopian Highlands, occupying the area south. The demarcation line on the few palaeoecological inferences we can draw might be around the Juba River. Ehret also feels that there was an East Nilotic influence in Dahala followed by Bantu. The Bantu cannot have reached the area until after the third century AD and is most unlikely to have reached it until considerably later. Crude glottochronological guesses at the start of Ehret's work suggest to him that one should consider a time-depth of around 500 - 1000 years for the East Nilotic influence. This East Nilotic element is very interesting indeed and work is now going on in an attempt to identify associated economic and other behaviour traits through the lexicon.

A date somewhere in the third quarter of the first millennium after Christ is the most likely for the arrival of Bantu-speaking people into the area.

The early date of AD 102 assumed by Elliot¹⁷ for the arrival of Arabs from Himyar is inconsistent with the rest of the evidence. These Himyarites are said to have encountered "Kishuru" people in the area between the Juba and the Tana. The word Washokoro is, as Elliot pointed out, used occasionally

by Tokomo of the Giriama. These Kishuru have hitherto been assumed to be Bantu-speakers because of the etymology of their name. This assumption is not necessary. The Kishuru might be remembered in a Bantu word coined during the early years of Bantu penetration into the area to define non-Bantu speakers. This becomes the more likely in consideration of the rest of the collection of stories made by Elliot. According to these, the Kishuru lived not only on the coast between the Juba and the Tana but also "from the sea for a fifteen days journey to the Abyssinian border".¹⁸ "No other tribe but the Kishuru live there." Thus far, these people could as easily be southern Ethiopian Highlanders as Bantu-speakers; indeed they are much more likely to be so. Then follows the curious twist. Elliot goes on to record that the Kishuru moved south "to the Wanaand Shungwaya"¹⁹ pushed south by the "christianised Himyaritic tribes from Abyssinia". If we are to give any credence to this at all, the scenario is of a Semitic-speaking group in the Horn or (from the little we know of the distribution of the Semitic speakers) from the hills around the Upper Awash Valley, pushing the Kishuru south out of the plains of what is now southern Somalia and over the Juba. This still ties in with the presence of tall pastoralists in the Horn, unless the Semitic speakers themselves were pastoralists. Hitherto the assumption has been that they were farmers.

The overall picture of the population of the area between the Horn and the Zambezi River is thus exceedingly vague and

confused in the north and simply empty in the south.

It is not yet known if anyone lived permanently on the coast itself, as opposed to the hills behind, before the ninth century. Stone artefacts were found at Kilwa, but none have been recorded found north of the Tana River on the coast, and indeed no pre-Islamic levels have identified in any of the coastal archaeological sites of the area. Ibn Hauqal has a reference to an area south of what seems to be the north Somali coast which he disconcertingly calls "cold" and which he claims is "miserable", with a sparse population, and with cultivation only in the neighbourhood of the King's residence. Most interesting of all is the assertion that the and the cultivators are "White Zanj".²⁰ The possibility that pre-Islamic settlers from outside Africa settled on the coast must be considered more carefully elsewhere. King

As one might expect of merchants, the early writers are very much more specific and consistent about commodities than about people. The impression one receives is of imports of grain, oil, ghee, sugar and cotton cloth from India, and woollens (?), copper, tin, silver (apparently worked) and wine. The exports were aromatic gums, cinnamon, tortoise shell, rhino horn and ivory. It is not clear when the apparent early need for imported grain shifted to an ability to export grain. Millet was exported by the end of the eighteenth century. This improvement is probably associated with the establishment of plantations on the coast in the middle

ages.

Slaves seem only to have been important in the commerce through the more northerly ports. Ivory seems to have been a more important export from the southerly ports. This is an interesting thought given the preference in India and China for the more easily carved, less brittle and more "colourfast" soft ivory from East Africa. Now that the elephant herds are gone from the Abyssinian plateau it is not easy to establish what kind of ivory those animals were carrying. Since the people in the area have taken the trouble to wipe out the species in the entire northern highlands one is drawn to the conclusions that the effort was profitable to them, and that the elephants in that area very likely carried the favoured soft ivory. Today, the few elephant herds left intact in the Ethiopian Highlands, tiny pockets of a few animals, bear the soft ivory. If by the turn of the Christian era, ivory was already more abundant in the markets along the east African coast than in the Red Sea, the difference is less likely to be a measure of the type of ivory or the economy but more of the greater antiquity of the commerce in the north and more advanced depletion of the herds.

Slaves on the other hand seem to have been more easy to procure from the north than from the south. The numerous wars of the early Aksumite empire and the well-organised trade routes right down into southern Ethiopia and through the western borderlands into the Nile valley seem to have been more

fruitful of slaves than the areas behind the East African coast.

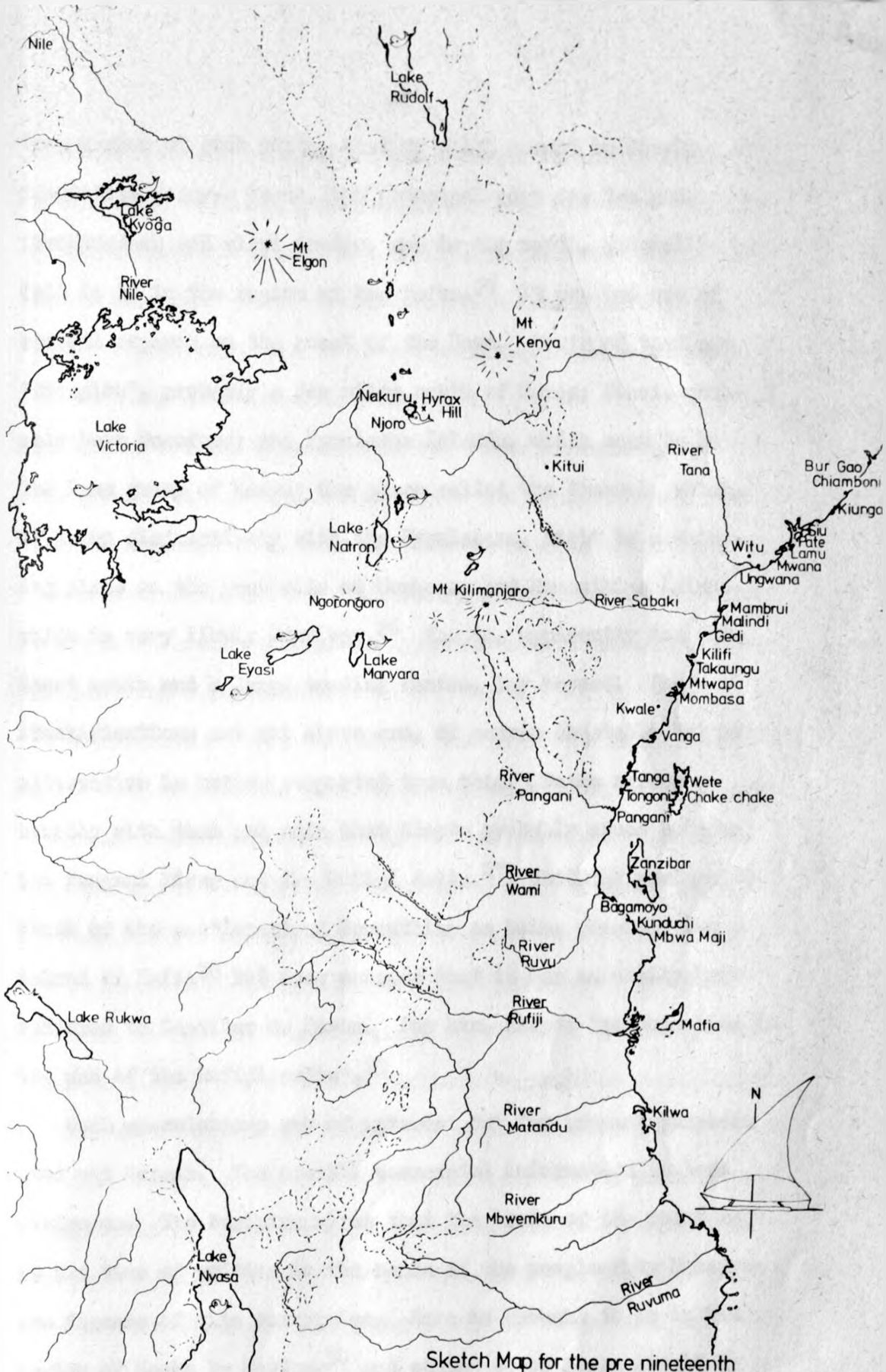
It is not clear when cowries become important export commodities for the East African coast. They are not mentioned in the early records, which nevertheless are specific about the export of tortoiseshell. Certainly in the post-Portuguese period, and in a slightly different form today (to agents for tourism) the trade has been very large, catering particularly for Indian markets. Morice reports that two to three hundred tons a year were exported from Pate alone.²¹ One would suspect that the stinking heaps of suffocating shellfish massacred in hundreds of thousands annually could not but extinguish the species most favoured within a few years. The trade in the quantities Morice mentions and which one sees carried out at so little profit to the collectors today cannot last and by the same token cannot have been begun long ago.


There are no early references, and very few in any period before the nineteenth century, to the export of mangroves. The trade in wood is often specified for other places along the Indian Ocean littoral but never for the East African coast. This is a commodity for which there has certainly been a steady demand in Arabia and particularly in the Persian Gulf for the two thousand years concerning this paper. The antiquity of the mangrove industry is therefore an enigma. The Swahili language has a highly sophisticated and complex vocabulary for mangroves and the business surrounding their exploitation. This is a feature often used to argue antiquity for the occupation thus treated.

At present there is no evidence whatsoever to permit discussion on the matter of mangroves.

The famous comment of Al Idrisi's, that an important item for export from "Mulanda" on the northern Swahili coast was iron,²² has been discussed elsewhere with reference to Manda.²³ Since Al Idrisi also mentions high quality iron with reference to Sofala,²⁴ a reference of equal obscurity, and the only reference for the export of iron from the East African coast, the matter is best left there. There is no evidence that this item was ever a central export element in Swahili trade. Outside Manda there is little enough evidence of this although "Indian steel" seems to have been an item of import later.

The Akgumite fleets do not seem to have made regular sorties far outside the Red Sea, in any direction, much less down the coast beyond Cape Guardafui. It is reasonable to suppose that there was insufficient disparity in the nature of the exports from the two areas to make such sailings worthwhile. The obviously second-hand nature of the Greek documents from this early period suggests that the Greeks were not involved directly in sailings from the Red Sea ports either. One is left by simple process of elimination with Arab, Persian and Indian fleets, all of which are known to have had some interest in the products available on the east African coast and all of which were in a position to provide the necessary vessels. The Periplus remains the basic text for the listing of ports along the coast which were in use in the pre-Islamic period. It refers



Land over 1000m (approx.) 
 1:4,000,000

Sketch Map for the pre nineteenth century History of the East African Coast
 Showing most of the major Swahili coastal settlements

to a number of such ports, most of which cannot be firmly identified today. Opone, the principal port for the gum, frankincense and slave trades, was in the north, generally felt to be in the region of Ras Hafun.²⁵ It was but one of several emporia on the coast of the Horn. South of that are "Serapion", probably a few miles north of Merca; Nikon, probably Fort Durnford; the Pyralaeon Islands, which seem to be the Lamu group of Kenya; the place called the Channel, which, if taken disjunctively with the Pyralaeans, might be a watering place on the west side of Mombasa; and Menouthias Island, which is very likely Zanzibar.²⁶ Rhapta, apparently the furthest south and a large trading centre, lay beyond. The identifications set out above are, of course debatable but no alternative is better supported than this. Datoe agrees broadly with them and adds that Rhapta probably stood between the Pangani River and the Rufiji delta.²⁷ Chittick prefers to think of the settlement of Menouthias as being possibly the island of Mafia²⁸ but does concede that it may as easily have referred to Zanzibar or Pemba. For him, Rhapta "perhaps lies in the mud of the Rufiji delta".²⁹

Such speculations are of interest but for present purposes need not detain. The overall commercial information is less ambiguous. The *Periplus* notes that the trade of the coast is at the time of writing in the hands of the people from Muza who are farmers of this enterprise. Muza is thought to be in the region of Mocha by Matthew³⁰ and stated to be Mocha itself by

Chittick. Mapharitis, undoubtedly in the Yemen, is assumed to be Himyar by Chittick. Charibael, the ruler of Himyar mentioned in the Periplus, is identified by Chittick as Karib'il.³¹ These traders are said to have settled on the coast, intermarried, and were apparently speaking the local language. They may have carried their local wives home to Arabia, spoken the local language for commercial purposes only and never have settled on the coast, while retaining a monopoly over the trade. This is less logical and runs in the face of the documentation which insists that some at least settled. The unfortunate fact is that there is absolutely no archaeological evidence as yet of these permanent pre-Islamic settlements.

It is curious, given the later history of the coast, that the export of gold from Zimbabwe via Sofala is not better understood. It has often been assumed that in the more northerly Swahili settlements, as at Kilwa, the transshipment of gold for ports in the Persian Gulf and India was an important part of the economy. Equally, were that true, these northern towns would presumably have much to gain in handling goods destined for Sofala and Zimbabwe: in short, a flourishing business in coasting goods depended upon the gold trade. Such a traffic is not readily visible in the archaeology. Although it is true to say that the early locally-made pottery does appear to have some affinities with that of the Bantu-speaking groups from the south and from Central Africa in the Early Iron Age, the connections are tenuous.

It is very tempting to make a connection between the dates of

the foundation of the Swahili towns and of the Zimbabwe mining exercises (both towards the end of the last millenium) and the collapse of most of the Swahili settlements and the decline of the power of the Monomotapa (both in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries).

This would, however, be too simplistic a view of the relationship between Monomotapa fortunes and Swahili wealth. There is very little inferential evidence for the effect of the gold trade on the northern towns. Nevertheless, it is probably true that one should consider this gold trafficking and the associated coasting in an assessment of the economic life of the northern settlements. There is no doubt of the crucial part played in the economy of its southern settlements by the trade with Central Africa.

Ancient coins have been used to speculate not only upon the tourist market but also upon the early trade contacts with East Africa. Several hoards have been reported, which usually include collections of Roman coins from the imperial period, with particular emphasis upon Carus, Constans and Constantius; there are also a few from Byzantium, the Ptolemies and the T'ang dynasty. Mixed with these (one hoard came to light in a shoe box in the Zanzibar museum and one came out of the revolution in 1963 in a sweet tin) are often Sung, Portuguese, British Protectorate and even Congolese coins from the time of Leopold. The tendency has been for modern archaeologists to dismiss such collections as worthless commercially, useless academically and

therefore beneath their dignity and calling to record. However, ultimately useless or useful as such hoards may or may not seem to be, fortunately most of them have been recorded and the information is as useful as the inscription at Kizimkazi, which after all tells us what we knew already: that there were Muslims on the coast, but which is apparently, though "unstratified", more worthy of attention. If none else, the numismatists stand to gain. It is reasonable to assume that not all of these hoards have been left in the guest-room cupboard by forgetful wives of the British civil servants who brought them from England as hobbies or reminders of home. The collections offer the only non-documentary help to the Periplus and other pre Muslim references to the East African coast, none of which has received archaeological verification. The large number of Roman coins re-opens the question, closed for the moment by archaeologists, that there may have been the direct trade between the Red Sea and the East African coast that the documents refer to. It is also possible of course that these coins arrived after transshipment at Siraf or another gulf port. This circuitous route has the advantage of making use of all the documentation without damaging credibility with speculation about the gap between Mogadishu and Guardafui and of explaining the total lack of anything from Alexandria and the Red Sea in the area south of the Horn with the possible exception of two small vessels from unsatisfactory levels in Manda and likely imported later than the fifteenth

century. Given the strict Imperial Chinese ban on the export of cash, the presence in East Africa of not one but several T'ang and Sung pieces is an interesting comment upon both the inefficiency and the necessity of these repeated bans. It remains of interest why this specie should be regarded as of value so far from home. The first known East African coinage comes from the reign of Abu ibn al Hasan at Kilwa, dating from the late twelfth century.³² The absence of coin currency before this did not prevent Manda from becoming by the twelfth century a town of commercial importance and material wealth which not even Kilwa was destined to overshadow.

The appeal of specie is difficult to understand, and if it were stimulated by some social uncertainties of which we are not aware in this early period, one would have expected to find more. Is it too frivolous to consider these southern hoards as the small change in a Persian sailor's pocket? It would seem that the sailors coming to the Lema archipelago were of an altogether different type since, to my knowledge, no hoard has been found in that area!

This ban on the export of cash has been cited as a cause for the rise in exports of Chinese artefacts³³ in the thirteenth century. This is well documented. In 919 a regulation was introduced permitting the sale of "silks, brocade, porcelain and lacquered wares"³⁴ in payments for imports. But this is too early to explain the rapid increase in Chinese ceramic exports

to the Indian Ocean area. This did not take place until one hundred and fifty or, more properly, two hundred years later. There had been bans before, and the commercial activity in ceramics, which were the only recoverable artefacts of those listed by Kuwabara, while there was by no means the volume of the fifteenth century. For ceramics at least, therefore, a different cause for the sudden rise in exports must be sought. The alternatives would be to show a change within the Chinese commercial structure which emphasised the proportion of ceramics over lacquered ware and cloth in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, or which resulted in a massive burgeoning of all previous Chinese exports, measurable by the ceramics. Neither of these alternatives is tenable at present.

At least one contemporary sees the problem as being less a matter of government export regulations and more a matter of security. Sulaiman,³⁵ a merchant involved in the trade, blames "des frequents qui éclatent à Khanfu"³⁶ and also the insecurity of the sea route beyond the Indian Ocean.

In the years of change of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries a few historians gave a great deal of credence to the possibility that Phoenicians, Chinese, even Greeks, settled the coast. They were always in a minority and they are products of their time in that some European settlers found it hard to relate the poverty and technical simplicity of the people they settled among with the sophistications advertised by the ancient ruins of Zimbabwe and the Swahili coast.

The Phoenicians are supposed to have coasted to the Zambezi valley and then moved inland, settling in the highlands of modern Zimbabwe. There is no evidence for Phoenician presence south of Guardafui. The stories of Phoenician circumnavigation of the continent are at best vague and depend for their credibility on a complex and suspect argument about how close to the wind a Phoenician vessel could sail and what way she could make in a head current at the Cape Verde on the other side of the continent.

Talbot Smith refers to "a ruined mosque on the island of Mageni off the coast of the Jubaland Province of Kenya Colony said to date to a pre-Islamic period and to be connected with the worship of Astarte Phoenician (sic) Goddess of Love". This is dubious stuff. No such tradition for any building now obtains on the coast, and if it was "said" by anyone it was said by recent European visitors. By the same token the "half forgotten tradition of a Worship of a Golden Calf in connection with Lamu, Patte and other places in the Lamu District of Tanaland" are now completely forgotten.

Mr. Breuwer's connections between the minaret of Kizimkazi at Zanzibar, the towers at Great Zimbabwe and his ill defined and exemplified Phoenician prototypes are, like the rest of that absurd book, spurious.³⁷

The Greeks certainly were interested in the Red Sea, as were the Romans. Until the beginning of the Christian era there is no evidence that either group of merchants was sailing regularly

beyond the Bab al Mandab. But there is no doubt that the impression left by both on the Middle East and by the Greeks on areas further east and south was in some part at least, aided by the export of Greek artefacts for several centuries into the Christian era, from Alexandria. Coins in quantity from Hellenic Egypt, Imperial Rome and early Byzantium occur all along the Swahili coast.³⁸

Mr. C. W. Haywood³⁹ refers to an "urn" shaped like a Greek amphora. He says it is greyish in colour; Chittick resists this suggestion, pointing out that most Alexandrian amphoreae are pinkish. I suspect that his real reason for discussing Haywood's statement is that he rightly finds him an unreliable raconteur elsewhere. In fact, in the Ethiopian collections of the east Mediterranean amphorae, representing as they do what was available in the Red Sea at the right period, one sees that they are by no means all pinkish and would easily, in salt water, be of a firmly greyish cream colour. However, a greyish cream storage jar, unless carefully recorded, has to be more likely a cream paste jar from the Persian Gulf. Neither the coins nor the doubtful amphora are evidence of either Greek settlement or Greek merchants on the Swahili coast.

The fleets of Rome, described by Strabo⁴⁰ certainly ran from the Red Sea to India via northern Somalia and made the journey fairly often after the Yemen expedition of 25 B. C. But this was still probably not the normal mechanism. Before the Yemen raid the tendency was to tranship to Indian (and Persian?)

bottoms somewhere in the Bab al Mandab area.⁴¹

There is no reason to assume that the Red Sea-based fleets of the next six hundred years behaved differently. If they passed Bab al Mandab they relied for their East African products on picking them up on the northern Horn or the Arabian coast in the Aden area and then proceeded East. By the same token the Indian vessels seem to have borne north of west and left Guardafui to the south. The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea and the few other references to the East African coast are notoriously vague and one suspects that this is because the "feeder" coastwise traffic north from the East African coast was not in the hands of the Red Sea merchants and the information concerning it was at best second hand, or by courtesy of a handful of adventurers from the north. There is no ground for thinking of regular sailing south of Guardafui by Roman or Hellenic vessels.

Direct Chinese trade links with East Africa have also been much discussed.⁴² Tuan Chieng Shih was not writing for a client who took contact with Africa for granted; his account is tinged with adventure if not with plain fantasy. Similarly Cheng Ho's famous voyage to the East African coast⁴³ was a matter of comment, and clearly outside the normal run of commerce.

Tuan Ch'eng Shih, writing from accounts of others in the ninth century fails to resist an account of the exotic palates of Africa - speaking of blood-and-milk whisks. He also indicates that ivory and ambergris are exported from the coast, and some-

times the locals sell each other. There is also the crucial information that the ladies are clean and well behaved: plus qa change. Neither Tuan Ch'ang nor any of his countrymen appears to have savoured these delights for himself before the visit of Cheng Ho in the first half of the fifteenth century. The direct Chinese contact with East Africa was negligible until the sixth decade of the twentieth century. Prior to that, trade articles from each terminus were carried via Persian Gulf or Indian ports in non-African and non-Chinese bottoms. Most of the trade was carried on through Canton, which is regularly referred to in the Arabic sources.⁴⁴ But there is no doubt that goods were traded at other Far Eastern centres also, such as Lung Pien in northern Vietnam and probably several other places in Annam⁴⁵ and Java.⁴⁶

The Indonesians are a persistent theme in the historiography of the East African coast. There are Arabic references to the arrival of the Waq Waq from the Far East. Al Idrisi's reference is the most famous, indicating that at least some of these Far Eastern visits were less in the way of settlement and more in the way of raiding and trading or both.

Nevertheless, there was settlement also. The Indonesian traits in Malagasy societies are not just restricted to music and boats. It is generally accepted for example that important Malagasy customs concerning adoption, name taking, the judicial position of the women, and several cults concerning the death of a King, and concerning burial in general, are

derived from Indonesian practice.

It has even been suggested that the ceramics of the Early Iron Age in Africa are related to those of Sa Hunynh and Kalanay in South-east Asia.⁴⁷ This is a far fetched comparison though some more specific links, as with the burial jar lids cited from Madagascar by Solheim, might well bear scrutiny.

The build of the Ngalawas of the southern coast of East Africa and of the twin masted outriggers of Madagascar and West Africa has long been in the centre of discussion about Indonesian inspiration in boat building on the East African coast.⁴⁸ If one may discount the independent invention of the very specialized form taken by the hull and twin mast, and the more generally similar, functionally comparable outrigger, one would expect the idea of this type of vessel to come more or less direct across the ocean to Africa, along with its makers.⁴⁹ Jones is particularly interested in a link between the Celebes and Africa.⁵⁰ The alternative to this direct route, a diffusion of the idea all round the north coast of the Ocean, would offer similar vessels along that coast, from Indo-China or at least Siam, to India and the Persian Gulf, and on to the Bander and the Lamu area. Such a chain of similarly inspired vessels does not occur, although in Ceylon there are twin-masted boats.

There are many other Indonesian - African links, particularly with Madagascar. This is perhaps the most notable in linguistics, where Dahl⁵¹ and several others have drawn attention

to the similarity between Malagasy and the Borneo language of Maanjan. There is some debate as to how dominant this link is, as opposed to the African element,⁵² but there is no doubt as to the existence of the link.

Whatever form this contact took - colonisation, or diffusion through trade with the settlers in Madagascar (and the latter is the most likely) - the direct contact is clear to most historians of Madagascar. Further, while the boats and the xylophones⁵³ are common features of societies south of the Lamu area, they are absent in the Lamu area itself, and appear always to have been. The diffusion of these appears to have moved out from the south and not to have reached the northern coast.

The Indonesians, like the Romans, seem never to have been blessed with the sand of Manda between their toes. In the Manda ceramics only one sherd is even remotely similar to any pottery in areas where Indonesian connections are proven in Africa.

There is just a possibility, though lacking in proof yet, that the problem of the Indonesians can be settled with a more logical reshuffling of the evidence. If there are Indonesian traits in Somalia and to a lesser extent along the Swahili coast, particularly in the south; if rice was imported with the Indonesians and the lexical links of the word for it (mchele) are Indian: if many of the Indonesian lexical influences in Malgache take the Sanskrit form:⁵⁴ then it is at least logical to conjecture that the Indonesians, like the Shirazi after them did

not sail direct across the sea (it is a difficult crossing though not impossible direct from Indonesia,⁵⁵) but came round the Indian Ocean northern shores and down the coast from Somalia to Madagascar. They would, in this hypothesis, have met well-established pastoral communities in the north and farming and hunting communities on the Swahili coast and would have pressed on until the more welcoming, more easily commandeered coasts of Madagascar appeared. Thence, a secondary wave of Indonesian traits may well have diffused through the agency of the communities in contact with the new settlers. This would have had to take place after the second century A.D. to satisfy the Sanskrit evidence and before the eighth century A.D., since while plenty of stories abound about other visits, settlers and traders after that time, none refers directly to Indonesians. Such speculation is entertaining, and is of value in encouraging the reconsideration of the evidence; it is not any more probable as yet than the more standard theories.

The early settlers on the coast are connected with the problem of the arrival of certain floral domesticates. Rice and bananas are thought to be Far Eastern domesticates. The route or routes by which they came to Africa are unknown. Rice was apparently not used in the Nile valley until after the arrival of the Arabs.⁵⁶ The archaeological finds on the East African coast and the few documentary references offer no suggestions of an Egyptian presence in any form. One would not expect rice or any other crop to be "diffused" successfully into an area

without an intensity of contact which would be visible in the archaeological record. The chloritic schist bowls and lamps of the coast are very similar to those in Madagascar,⁵⁷ and the presence of such a lamp in Aden⁵⁸ and another in Fustat is also interesting; but this is no indication of direct links; indeed given the range of such vessels in Africa and Madagascar these two lamps emphasise the lack of contact with both north and south. Furthermore, the popular faience beads of Egypt are entirely absent in the East African material reinforcing the argument of the isolation of East Africa from Egypt between 3000 B.C. and 1000 A.D.

If rice came to the coast from the North, it more likely came direct with the Arab sailors rather than from the Nile basin. Further, it most likely came only with settlers, not just with seasonal visitors who could not tend it properly. On present evidence it cannot therefore have reached the north Kenya coast before the establishment of Manda in the ninth century. The possibility that rice came as a fellow traveller with the Indonesians is superficially attractive. In the absence of evidence to the contrary it must be assumed that the cultural traits brought from Indonesia, which might include rice, would have been diffused without the agency of Indonesian pioneers all over the area of dispersal. They would have been diffused by contact and example. There is little enough evidence in the Swahili sub-culture in the Lamu archipelago, and one might have assumed that these Indonesian traits did not

diffuse far enough north. Grotanelli, however, is confident that some Indonesian traits are engrained in Somali culture.⁵⁹ This begs questions about the antiquity of the Somali presence on that coast, and the possibility that, since Grotanelli documents some of these traits among the Boni (not altogether convincingly),⁶⁰ they might also have been on the coast among the Bantu-speakers who were absorbed subsequently into the Islamic society of the towns. It challenges one more productively to consider whether rice was at all one of the Indonesian traits. A far easier argument would have it that rice was not introduced by the Indonesians direct, at least not to the northern coasts, unless they themselves came to those coasts from the north after a circumnavigation of the northern shores of the Indian Ocean. More likely it came with settlers direct from Arabia, the Persian Gulf or from northern India, since the Swahili word for it is *ūchele*, which seems to be Indian in origin. The arrival of rice with these settlers, who are already documented as having definitely come, and as having built the first archaeologically verified permanent settlements so far found, would be the least fanciful.

It is generally assumed that bananas reached Africa early in the first millenium AD with Indonesian settlers, or settlers who had been subject to Indonesian influences, and nothing prevents consideration of the arrival of rice at the same time. The settlement of the coast by anyone before the ninth century remains problematical, and rice is not likely to have been

cultivated on the coast until the arrival of the permanent settlers from Arabia and Persia. After the ninth century it must have rapidly established itself, and al Idrisi notes, two centuries later, that rice was not only consumed but also exported.⁶¹ Ibn Battuta's discerning palate submitted itself to rice with "flesh, fish or fowl" at Mogadishu.⁶² Rice presupposes a more regular occupation of the coast than monsoonal visits by its would-be farmers. Given the absence of known settlements in the area, the presumed predilection of the pre-Manda inhabitants of the area for the hinterland, and the total absence of other Indonesian influence in the area, the possibility that the knowledge of rice-growing reached the Lamu area from the south is minimal. Apart from a chance grain impression the discovery of rice in the archaeological record is unlikely given the fact that rice is generally threshed by simply flicking over the stalks with the foot and in most places there is no specialized equipment other than the storage bin which is likely to remain for the archaeologist.

Bananas may have reached Africa south of the Swahili area. This is quite likely. They may however be partially of indigenous development with fifteenth or sixteenth century additions of new South-east Asian strains. Like rice, they must have reached the northern coast at latest soon after the ninth century for al Mas'udi writes of the people on the coast eating bananas.

Bananas may well have been grown by farmers behind the coast

long before the ninth century, but this crop may be explained by the arrival of Bantu-speaking farmers with cultural links to the south and south-west, not by coastwise contacts. However these might have reached the Lamu area, a widely held botanists' view is that bananas in East Africa must have been derived from ancestral material originating in Malaysia.⁶³

Millet was in Ethiopia by the turn of the Christian epoch. Regrettably, al Mas'udi omitted the Latin and English names of the species in question, but one might propose that the bananas and millet he saw on the coast would be a natural adjunct of the culture brought with Cushitic-speaking settlers of the hills behind the coast. Unfortunately for this theoretically satisfactory conclusion the ceramic traditions on the coast show nothing in their form, shape or decoration which would suggest antecedents in a tradition from the southern highlands of Ethiopia. Few ceramic parallels with northern or western traditions, however slight and dubious, appear in the early coastal collections, least of all in the cooking-pot repertoire. Strong similarities do however encourage one to see a southern and south-western Early Iron Age connection. At all events, like bananas, the crop appears to have a much longer history on the coast than rice.

The connection with southern Ethiopia is of great interest. Cosmas Indicopleustes claims to have been far enough south to see an albatross on an Aksumite ship on a regular run down the coast servicing an Aksumite expedition inland for gold.⁶⁴ It is this story which permits the fanciful to connect the architecture of

Aksum with that of Zimbabwe. The Aksumites are said to be trading with "Central Africa".⁶⁵ It would be tempting to see Aksumites marching inland from the Zeila coast or, possibly, even marching up the Juba or the Wabe Shebelle to Kaffa and the other gold-bearing areas of the highlands for their gold. Be that as it may, the links between Southern Ethiopia and the coast seem certain to have been there and need immediate and careful attention.

The East African coast may have been as much in commercial touch with the south Ethiopian highlands as the Aksumite Empire was with the traders of the northern highlands and the western marches. Indeed one should read Cosmas Indicopleustes as noting that the Aksumites were also sending caravans into the south. It would be curious if so difficult a journey as that from the coast, through the Aksumite lands and through the mountains to the south, was made when the relatively easy and short routes east from the southern highlands were not used.

It may be that despite the availability of natural resources in the inhospitable coastal hinterland, their exploitation was no competition for a long-distance trade overland from the southern highlands of Ethiopia; a situation comparable to that behind the Red Sea ports. Miller⁶⁶ postulates a route from the Swahili coast, possibly from the Pylaeon Islands via the Omo valley and via the Wabi Shebelle valley. Miller also sees the possibility of a route running along the Chercher Hills to the

northern Ogaden and the Zeila area. These are all likely routes,⁶⁸ especially given what little is known of oral traditions along all three routes. Datoo points up difficulties in these land routes⁶⁹ but these depend on a questionable interpretation of the functions and trade mechanisms of the routes. All three are eminently logical routes for commerce between the southern highlands and the coast. Elephants, while extinct in north eastern Ethiopia, are not extinct in Hararghe province, and the few herds left still range across the line of the northernmost of these southern routes proposed by Miller, and produce the soft ivory which doubtless comprised the ancient exports to India and China mentioned both by Periplus and in the Chau Ju Kua.⁷⁰

Certainly such a route across the northern Ogaden existed in the fourteenth century and after. Galadon, reported at a dozen or so sites in the Hargeisa area,⁷¹ at Dagahabur,⁷² and Chena'Hasan,⁷³ was clearly imported in some quantity and is associated with stone-built towns generally accepted to have been involved in long distance trade.

Before the ninth century it seems that the cultural influences on the coastal strip came from the hinterland, from Southern Ethiopia and possibly from Southern Kenya. The model this suggests is of people farming on the fertile ground on and around the game-rich Mundane Hills behind the coastal strip, and hunting not only for meat but for ivory and rhino horn. These people went down to the coast at certain times of the year

when the monsoon brought in the dhows from the North (some time between November and January) and conducted trade with the sailors, selling ivory, rhino horn, tortoiseshell and surplus grain in return for iron tools, (spears and bush knives likely at a premium) glass and possibly cloth. One need not seriously consider that they took Roman coins also!

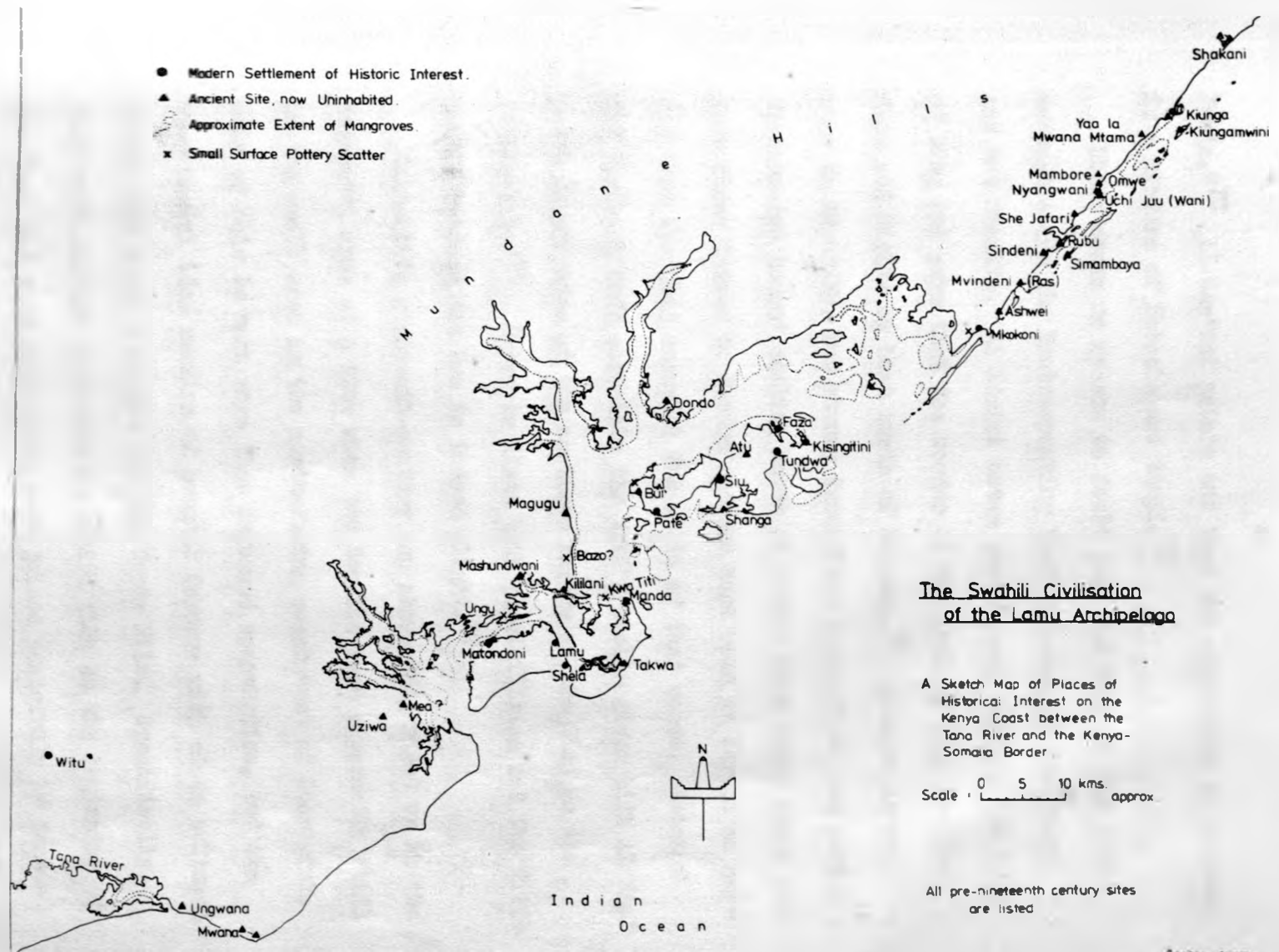
The modern inhabitants of the Mundane Range are the Boni. Their language is Cushitic. Presumably on the strength of this Dracopoli claims that they came from "the southern regions of Abyssinia".⁷⁴ They comprise a very small group; Fitzgerald in 1898 noted that fewer than 1000 were left.⁷⁵ Perhaps the same number are in the forest today. One suspects that their hunting and gathering way of life, obtaining a small surplus for luxuries, is an established balance with its environment, not the ravaged remains of a hypothetical catastrophe which it is commonly believed to be. The Bantu-speaking farmers have left the area but one would have to establish how much they affected the Boni than the coastal shambas of the island populations do today before suggesting that their departure heralded the decline in numbers of the Boni from a hypothetically larger tribe into the tiny group it now is. Nevertheless, stripped of its drama, this idea that the Boni represent a larger group of non-Bantu-speaking farmers, possibly without iron, living in the area before the Oromo attacks, remains attractive. Most would then have left, moving south or into the towns off the coast, like the Bantu-speaking refugees, and the rest would have adapted to the life

of the forest, or may have been those living like that before, either as a submerged or subservient caste attached to the farming community or as specialists within it.

Fitzgerald and Eliot describe the Boni bringing ivory, rhino horn, ambergris and rubber to the shambas of the coastal Islamic settlements in Dodori and Wangi creeks and taking away millet.⁷⁶ The same happens today though the nature of the trade goods has changed a little and the trade is now along the Mokowe-Kiunga track, not coastwise. This is essentially the model imagined for the relationships between the early coastal towns and the immediate hinterland, although the farming community not client to the coastal towns has disappeared. Ehret's work and comments on the Dahala might apply to the Boni also.

While it is clear that Bantu-speaking groups were above the Tana in the first millenium AD. it is not clear where, or who, they were, or what they were doing. They could have been slaves, or escaped slaves of the coastal citizens (if such there were), or they could have been early Iron Age farmers, moving North up the congenial agricultural lands between the Nyika and the coast, or they could have been a mixture of these elements.

These Bantu-speakers were certainly well established in the ninth century during which at least some of them were Muslims.⁷⁷ They extended well into modern Somalia. Al Istakhri for example says "The land of the Zinji is more extensive than the land of the Sudan. It does not adjoin any other country except the land of al-Mabasha and lies opposite to Yemen, Fars, Kerman and



The Swahili Civilisation
of the Lamu Archipelago

A Sketch Map of Places of
Historical Interest on the
Kenya Coast between the
Tana River and the Kenya-
Somalia Border

Scale : 0 5 10 kms. approx.

All pre-nineteenth century sites
are listed

India."⁷⁸ Al Mas'udi points out that the population of Berbera is a mixture of Habasha and Zinji.⁷⁹

There seems no reason to doubt that the Zinj of the Arab documents are the Bantu-speaking black farmers of the coast, and not Somalis. Al Idrisi notes that Barawa adjoins the land of Zinj and says that the border of the land of Zinj is three days and nights by boat north of Mulanda.⁸⁰ Mulanda is not easy to identify, but strong favourites are Malindi and Manda. Seventy-two hours' sailing north of either town would bring one very close indeed to Barawa and one must read Al Idrisi as saying that the Zinj occupied the whole of that coast. Meinhof and Storbeck both associate the Wabi Shebelle river with Al Mas'udi's description of the northern border of the Zinj as the "Upper Nile".⁸¹ Matveyev lists both possibilities and the difference between the two is indeed slight.⁸²

Gastaldi's sixteenth-century map shows Zinj right up in the Guardafui area at a time when the Somalis were apparently still in the small area on the north-facing coast west of Guardafui. None of this is much more than informed speculation, but the very useful idea remains of coastal farmers with close cultural links with South Ethiopia and the Upper Nile. Specifically they were already in residence behind Witu at the beginning of the era, and soon afterwards were joined peacefully by Bantu-speaking farmers from the south. Neither the farmers nor the hunters to the north would have any internal reason for being attracted to permanent settlement on the infertile coral islands

or on the less fertile and thickly-bushed immediate coast. The slightly higher ground behind the coast was altogether more congenial. Templar's survey of the ecology of the area also suggests a higher rainfall and more forest - even as late as the first millenium AD - and he says "...So long as man lived by hunting he probably avoided the coastal strip to a great extent. When he did visit it he possibly confined himself to the clay lands, which were, perhaps, more open, and also to some of the better drained parts."⁸³ We might expect the same to apply to the farmers. Only some time in the first millenium AD do farmers from the south, speaking Bantu, enter the area, and they probably remain a minority for some time. Bantu-speakers do not seem to be on the coast at the time of the Periplus and may well not have arrived until the second half of the first millenium AD. The Swahili language has many aspects of "proto-Bantu", carrying, for example, seventeen of the eighteen presumed classes in the class concord system and containing a lexicon including 44% of the starred forms.⁸⁴ This could perhaps be compared to the 60% or so of Romance words in English. Swahili is very African, and particularly it is a very Bantu language. If the symbiotic relationship between Bantu and the Early Iron Age in this part of Africa is correctly assumed, on present evidence the Bantu-speaking farmers were not on the coast before the third century AD.

If the hypothesis that the Bantu-speaking farmers entered an area already occupied by Cushitic speaking farmers is correct, a

difference in agricultural practice might be visible. As yet, no archaeological evidence indicates pre-Bantu-speaking groups farming in the area. This may well be due to the haphazard nature of archaeological survey undertaken along the hills behind the coast. The only firm indications come from Soper's work in the Kwale area, where pre-Bantu-speaking farmers, if in the area, did not use the same settlements and almost certainly did not use iron. In this respect the traditions recorded by Cerulli⁹⁵ are worthy of note. According to these, the Oromo, already pushing south along the coast around the Juba valley before the fifteenth century (and possibly as early as the seventh), met resistant farmer groups fighting with wooden arrows. Finally, having retreated across the Tana River, the fugitives learned to use iron points.

Iron was certainly at Manda in the ninth century and at Kwale in the third, so the seventh century date suggested for a southward Oromo push might well explain the destruction of non-Bantu farming groups north of the Tana.

The early pre-Bantu farmers would not be expected south of the Tana after the third century where they would not signify in competition with the iron-using Bantu-speaking agriculturalists. If the hypothesised early northern incursion took place any post seventh or eighth century agricultural settlement on the mainland north of the Tana is to be expected to be under the protection of Bantu-speaking groups. Likely those groups allied themselves to the island trading settlements exploiting only the

mainland coast in patches opposite the islands and not concerning themselves with clearing and farming the hills behind.

The establishment of permanent coastal settlements was closely associated with the trade in ivory and other luxuries, but cannot be justified simply in terms of that trade. Some new feature of the relationship has to be sought in the ninth century which would account for the settlement of Manda at that time. If Ehret's glottochronology is right, one might expect Somalis to be moving south at the end of the first millennium. Did this force the Cushitic farmers and the Bantu farmers together and force both onto the islands, and the hunters into subject-
 ion? The latter possibility is indicated by the subordinate position of the Hani to the Somali in the nineteenth century; the former is most unlikely. Rather than make the rapid and very drastic change of economy and social structure implied by a move to the islands, the farmers would move away south. This is exactly the response specified by the numerous traditions among the Nyika and Begeju - indeed in the retreat areas the traditions mention a move South from a place or area called Shungwaya. It seems clear that Shungwaya legends among the peoples of the central highlands of Kenya, and the Shabala, are recent innovations, and the original legends were only with the Kijikanda. Ehret's identification of these immigrants from the north as Somali is less satisfactory historically. Whatever it might have in its favour glottochronologically it would be the only evidence of Somali (as opposed to more generally East Cushitic)

groups south of Guardafui before the sixteenth century.

While such internal changes need not affect the basic trading pattern, they may well affect the reliability of the provision of export goods at the right time of year when the ships could take the monsoon into the area. The disruption caused by the social predominance of those not producing or storing ivory and other goods for which the traders came might well encourage the traders to establish a well-protected post capable of storing goods out of season. They would very naturally choose one or more of the little islands of the Lamu archipelago.

In addition to these conjectures, the documentary materials and oral traditions (which mention no such economic reasons) describe the arrival on the coast of refugees from various unpleasant futures in Oman and Persia. Whatever their reasons were, settlers certainly came to Manda in the ninth century, and established first a mud-hut settlement, but very quickly after that a town with at least a nucleus of stone buildings.⁸⁶ The building material was dressed coral, all of it dead coral, the fineness of texture used depending on the amount of dressing required. The overseas connection in the first four hundred years of the life of the settlement was, if the pottery is anything to go by, very strong with the port of Siraf. It is the undoubtedly strong link with Fars that makes the modern traditions about Shirasi origins of the pre-Arab people of the coast particularly interesting.

In the fourteenth century, the archaeological ceramic finds

tentatively suggest a slight reorientation of trade links to embrace more Arabian material. The architectural evidence is more forceful, at least for the Kilwa area. In recent times, from the seventeenth century onwards, Omani interests in the area have been great.

The seaward-facing trading settlements were not associated with Phoenicians, Greeks or Romans, and, though economically affected by them, not directly integrated with the watu wa bara (the people of the mainland). They were closely tied in with coast-wise trade north to Arabia and seaward trade north east to the Persian Gulf and north India. These links were in trade and in family ties but the settlements on the coast were not simply isolated colonies. The Swahili language is not founded on Sumerian structure⁸⁷ but on Bantu. These settlers, while preserving genealogical and commercial links with their points of origin, came to stay and intermarried locally. There is a bewildering array of legends and historical references to the arrival of different groups of these settlers. In many cases it seems possible to relate these arrivals to persecutions in the points of origin and this helps to explain the finality with which the settlers appear to have established themselves on the East African coast, it also offers an explanation for the rich and cosmopolitan yet firmly indigenous Swahili culture.

While most of the pre-Islamic settlers certainly came from the Arabian peninsula, there is the possibility that they may

also have come from elsewhere. Early Indian settlement in the area is much debated. It has been accepted by most historians that the Indian presence on the East African coast is from the same regions of the subcontinent with which there was historically-known trade. These are the Indus delta, Cutch, Kathiawar and Gujerat, and the coast down to the Bombay area. Of Indian merchants reaching Africa from these areas there is no doubt. Francis Wilford's famous retraction of some of his statements⁸⁸ about Hindu references to Indian exploration still leaves one with the basic observation that Indians knew a very great deal about the continent of Africa and that their knowledge was by no means limited to the coast. The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* refers not only to trade between Africa and north-west India but also to the Indian settlement on Socotra.⁸⁹ Not only did the Tamil states maintain large merchant fleets in the tradition of their predecessors, who were so successful that there was "no year in which India did not drain the Roman Empire of a hundred million sesterces",⁹⁰ but also men from the Indus delta and from Cutch settled at Bahrain in the seventh century A.D. It is, from this kind of information, a short step to a deduction that Indians were settling on the Swahili coast as soon as there were trading towns to settle in.

Mathew speculates on the presence of Indians on the coast possibly even as early as the eighth century. He notes the Maldive cowries and Indian beads and the Indian systems of weights and measures. There is little factual evidence of Indians in

residence on the coast until the documentation provided by the Portuguese. There is circumstantial evidence such as the fact that the Indian influence is seen in the shouldered and trumpet-rim bowls with geometric incised patterns on the neck. These vessels, along with related vessels certainly imported, occur from at least the ninth century onwards at Manda. In the secure days of the British "residency" in Zanzibar, the authors of the Zanzibar contribution to the Empire Exhibition in 1924 were able to assert: "When the Assyrians were defeated by the Empire of the Chaldeans, Medes and Persians in 606 B.C., the Chaldean King Nabonidus encouraged dhow trade by opening up sea routes between Babylon, China, India and East Africa - the direct result of which was fast immigration of Hindus to Africa."⁹¹

We have since learned more caution. There is no doubt of a commercial marriage of interests between the north-west Indian coast and the East African coast from an early period. How early that period is, is open to question. If stone beads or the imported bead blanks are an Indian contribution to African economy then the connections are three or four thousand years old. However the doubtfully Indian beads of the Leakeys' excavations, like the definitely Indian beads of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries on the Swahili coast, indicate trade items only, not settlement. The demonstrably Indian features in the Swahili architecture, such as a large covered praying area, nicked and ogival arches, and corbelled vaults, domes and occasionally arches, are none of them indicative of extensive Indian

settlement although they almost certainly indicate the presence of Indian craftsmen.⁹²

Indian fleets on the coast before the fifteenth century are not a feature of the records, though one feels logically that they must at least occasionally have come and there are occasional close parallels in local and north-west Indian ceramic traditions. That deep-sea commerce seems to have been very much in the hands of the Persian Gulf fleets and Swahili fleets. There is no doubt that some, if not all, of the Indian trade was carried on by transshipment at Bandar Abbas, Siraf or some other Gulf entrepôt. This pattern is visible right into the nineteenth century.⁹³ Particularly tantalising are the traditions of the arrival of the WaDebuli.⁹⁴ The WaDebuli are remembered as being the first immigrants (though presumably after the absorption of the "men of Muza"), and as white. Sir John Gray has summarised the evidence for the WaDebuli.⁹⁵ They were apparently in positions of some importance in sixteenth century Kilwa. A commercial link of some kind existed between the Bahmanis (with whom Gray associates the WaDebuli) and East Africa exemplified by Abyssinian 'settlers' and slaves there. Rhyming couplets in southern Swahili are similar to those in the Daccan, and the Bahmanis were the first to use cannon while the WaDebuli are credited with the use of cannon.

*Elbow
building
attributed to
too*

These Indian connections cannot all be accepted uncritically; the generalisations about African origin are not enough to prove Swahili coast connections. Africans there were in the Daccan,

but they are seemingly associated with Ethiopians (Habshi) and not East Africans (Zanji). Habshis are certainly regularly featured in the histories of western states of India, and those of the Daccan; as important military leaders (like Yaqut Sabit Khan Habshi and his son Icthiyan-al Mulk), scholars such as Sheikh Sayyid al Habshi Sultani. The biography of Malik Ambar, who ruled the west coast of the Ahmadnagar region of the Daccan between 1602-26, emphasises this Ethiopian connection. Similarly the "Janjira" Africans of India and the Deccan are more likely etymologically to be southern Ethiopians: non-semitic forest peoples, for whom the contemptuous general term "Gangero" was used until recently despite the concurrent specific application of the term to a small group in Kaffa province. While it is true that Zanji names occur not at all in material so far collected, it is clear that they too were contributing substantially to the life of West India and principally by their work on the plantations. The evidence as it sits to date sees Habshis more widely spread geographically, for instance into the Deccan, and socially, for instance into the aristocracy, while the Zanji seem to have been labourers on the coastal plantations. The specifically East African link with the Deccan, then, is not proven strong.

The port of Daybul, invaded by the Arabs and Islamised in the ninth century and destroyed in the middle of the thirteenth century, may at either of those times have disbursed emigrants in significant numbers, some of whom could have come to the East African coast. Khan identifies Daybul with the modern Banbhore,

about 60 kms. east of Karachi, and has conducted very interesting excavations there. In many respects the pottery assemblage is very similar to that found at Manda, particularly concerning the range of Sgraffiato and other Persian lead glazed wares. The early Indian contacts with the East African coast were there. We know of the use of Zanji as well as Habash on the coastal coconut and rice estates, particularly on the Gujarati coast of the middle ages.

In the pre-Portuguese sites of the Lamu region this connection with north western India is underlined by the presence of a collection of sherds from storage vessels, small pots, and most commonly, carinated ledge rim bowls which are most unlikely to have been useful as commercial containers. These pots are well fired, harder than their local equivalents and attractively decorated in the restrained way appreciated in that period, with elegant scalloping on the neck junction and often sharply corniced rims. They were mostly for cooking. They may, for their technical superiority, have been imported for the domestic luxury trade but they may just as well represent the physical presence on the coast of a few Indian families taking care of the Gujarati commercial interests in this important area. The Portuguese found the "Banyans" to be very powerful in the commercial world, and in an attempt to isolate and undermine this position they were forbidden to conduct business with them.⁹⁶ There were direct sailings to and from India.⁹⁷ Indian masons were employed for the construction of Fort Jesus; an Indian, Muhammad Rukn al

Din al Dabuli became Sultan of Kilwa. Mookerjee, on no grounds presented, observes that India "had trading settlements...all over the east coast of Africa".⁹⁸ This exaggerates and is ill-founded but there clearly is no doubt of Indian settlement of some kind. It remains to indicate the commercial interests of these settlers, and also to indicate a terminus post quem for their arrival, a model as to the nature of their arrival (be it rush, flow or trickle), an observation on non-commercial reasons for their arrival and an assessment of the size and composition of this population.

The legend of the WaDebuli is clearly central to the historian's task since it would, if understood as presented above, be an early indication of Indian arrival. The pottery is of importance to the archaeologist since Indian influences are tangible and dating may be possible.

Although Arab communication with the coast and settlement there is fairly well documented long before the emergence of Islam, it can only have been on a small scale, and must have been in different places from those carrying the later settlements. After the intensive study of the offshore islands it is almost certain that these early settlements were on the mainland and apparently much less anxious about the intentions of their mainland neighbours than their successors in the Middle Ages.

The Arabs, from the first settler to the larger ninth and tenth century settler groups, seem to have so closely identi-

fied themselves with their new homes that Islam did not spread rapidly in the settlements. If the presence of the pre-Islamic Arab settlers spoken of by the hook of Zanj is to be credited this slowness to adopt Islam in later years may be more comprehensible. As late as the tenth century Al'Mas'udi describes Qanbalu as part Muslim and part Zanj⁹⁹ (or black), Qanbalu might be Zanzibar, but wherever it is, it is interesting to note how the new religion was seen by Al Mas'udi to attract only the immigrants. The non-Muslims are described not in those terms but by their colour. In the mid-twelfth century Al Idrisi¹⁰⁰ says that the towns south of Barawa are pagan, and Ibn Yaqut is even less charitable, feeling that the whole coast south of Mogadishu is pagan.¹⁰¹ This agrees with Ibn Hauqal who in the tenth century declines even to honour such heathens with a description.¹⁰² Ibn Majid also, while noting havens of Islam (he uses, I think, the term meaning "place of sermon", not meaning simply district as Tibbetts would have it),¹⁰³ observes that "on the coast of the mainland above Zanzibar they are infidels".¹⁰⁴ This sits ill in geography with the assertions of the other observers but it supports the basic contention that Islam was restricted to the trading towns and possibly only to elements of those. The early settlers from Himyar had presumably been totally absorbed by the time Islam as an Arabian unifying force had come to East Africa. One curious reference is that found in the Chao Ju Kua and quoted by Elliot.¹⁰⁵ It runs as follows:

"The country of the Tseng Po is on an island in the South of Hu Ch'a La (Gujarat?). In the west it bounds on large hills; its inhabitants are of Arab descent and observe the rites of the Mohammedan religion; they wear blue cotton cloth and shoes of red leather; their daily food consists of rice, or flour cakes and roasted mutton. Their villages are mostly built terrace shape in the ravines of their wooded hills. The climate is warm and there is no cold season. The products are elephants' teeth, raw gold, ambergris and yellow sandal wood.

Every year the country of Hu Ch'a La and the settlements on the sea coast of Arabia send out ships to barter with this country, the articles of exchange being white cloth, porcelain, copper and red cotton."

This passage has often been taken to refer to the East African coast. The direction south of Gujarat is taken as the licence of a secondhand account. Certainly in most respects the description would fit the East African coast, but there are three major difficulties aside from the poor directions. First, if the direction is more accurate than we allow, the rest of the description fits Ceylon better than East Africa; second, sandal wood was almost certainly not a major feature of exports from East Africa; third, there is absolutely no other document and no archaeological evidence, to support the statement concerning the nature of the settlements, indeed not only are there no terraces but few enough ravines. The description concerning the settlements would theoretically fit better the hills behind the coast but this does not meet any known historical or archaeological evidence. We know of Persian, North West Indian and Chinese interest in Ceylon which was certainly a more crucial place economically than East Africa.¹⁰⁶ Given these difficulties it would be better not to use the Chao Ju Kua in attempts to recon-

struct the arrangements on the coast before the building of the Swahili towns.

The tradition that a group of Muslim settlers arrived on the coast at the time of Harun al Rashid (eighth century) is supported only by the discovery in Zanzibar of a dinar of Ja'far al Barmaki, who was a wazir of Harun al Rashid. This coin is dated to 798 AD but is not found in an archaeological context and its provenance in Zanzibar is therefore not at all reliable. Other traditions are equally difficult to substantiate. The brothers Sulaiman and Sa'id, joint rulers of Uman are said to have moved to the East African coast as a result of having been defeated by the Umayyad army sometime in the eighth century. Though I know of no Umayyad military campaigns there, this may refer to the embarrassment of the Ibadhis of Uman after their defeat by the Umayyads at Wadi'l'Kura in 760-61 AD. These men settled on the East African coast and intermarried. They may be the people whom de Barros called the Enozaidi, or (presumably) al Hu Zaidi, that is, Shi'ites.¹⁰⁷ The present population on the coast is predominantly Sunni, but this suggestion that there might be some Shi'ite influence in the area appears elsewhere in the history of the coast. As noted above, de Barros (and thereafter Stigand, Coupland, Trimmingham and Guillain) speaks of people who would seem to be Shi'ites, who came from Al Akba (near Bahrain), founding the towns of Merca and Mogadishu, Mombasa, Pemba and Kilwa among others.¹⁰⁸ Al Mas'udi twice visited East Africa, on a Sirafi ship for one trip,

and on an Umani ship for the other.

The contacts with the early Muslim world of the Arabian Peninsula and the Persian Gulf are clearly to be taken seriously even if the traditions are vague and disparate. The group of emigrants about whom we know most are Shirazi; that about which we know least is that of the Shi'ites who, though they could theologically have come from Persia also, seem not to have done, and appear to be a distinct group. Professor Lewici and Dr. Schacht have done some extremely important work in the western Sudan attempting to isolate the Khariji, and more particularly Ibadhi, influences in Sudanese historiography with a view to assessing their contribution to the early history of Islam in that area.¹⁰⁹ Schacht has attempted, among other things, to identify an Ibadhi architectural type. This includes the use of wooden minbars instead of steps built into the structure, of interconnected minbar-mihrab niches, and of a step minaret, often only a few steps high. He goes on to isolate features of Sudanese mosque architecture which, though not always demonstrably Ibadhi structures, may suggest that influence.¹¹⁰ These regional features include the short square tower with prominent corners and a cupola, so common in the architecture of the Mzab. Marles has published a short description of the mosques of N. Ghana and draws attention to the use of the small meditation room at the qibla end of the roof and occasionally (when there is a tower at the minaret) set in the base of the tower.¹¹¹ This is known in Hausa as the "haluwa", and while by no means firmly

associated with the Ibadhis, is not well-integrated into the Sunni architectural tradition as understood in that area. By the same token the "chumba kidogo" (simply meaning "small room") on the roof of the new Rodha mosque built on the waterfront at Lamu is not easily understood as a regular feature of Sunni mosque architecture. This and the step minaret often occur in mosques on the North Swahili coast which are still used. It is worth noting that tower minarets, indeed minarets of any kind on the Swahili mosque of the period before the seventeenth century, have not been found. Further, only in the very south, at Gedi and Ungwana, do step minbars occur in pre-seventeenth century mosques. Elsewhere the minbar is not extant and was presumably of wood. In all cases north of Kwana, the pre-seventeenth century mosques do not have a door in the qibla end of the wall to the right of the mihrab. These features might possibly hint something of the kind suggested by Schacht were it not for the fact that an intercommunicating minbar/mihrab niche complex occurs in the mosque recently deserted at Sindeni and thought to be of the seventeenth or early eighteenth century; and that the haluwa in the Lamu mosque is so late and built at such a time of architectural upheaval that one might think as much of a French minstrels gallery as of a survival of a submerged Ibadhi theme some five hundred to a thousand years deep. Neither is it yet apparent that Schacht's isolation of these architectural features really does exclusively suggest an Ibadhi, as opposed to a more generally Khariji, influence or indeed, as he

himself says, simply to "an archaic feature of Islamic religious architecture which has survived especially in remote and isolated districts".¹¹²

Nevertheless, something happened in the thirteenth century and something again changed the tack though not the direction of the Swahili culture in the sixteenth century. The relevance of these modifications to the Ibadhi or Khariji question must be established, even if only negatively. The late thirteenth century break noticed by Chittick at Kilwa and associated by him with the new Mahdali dynasty, purportedly from the Yemen, is a break seen also in the Lamu archipelago.

In the northern case there is no satisfactory historical evidence of new dynasties from outside, but the Black on Yellow ware cuts across the sites in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries banishing Sgraffiato vessels and preceding a larger influx of Chinese pottery in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Sgraffiato does not linger on into the fifteenth century as it does at Ungwana. It is a temptation to see the arrival of the Black on Yellow ware in the north earlier than Chittick supposes for the south. Such slim stratigraphical evidence as exists in the Lamu archipelago shows the Black on Yellow vessels below the first occurrences of late thirteenth and fourteenth century Chinese pieces. The characteristic north Swahili coral stone architecture, perhaps represented at its earliest (outside Manda) by some of the tombs at Dondo, and represented in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries at a couple of

dozen sites in the Lamm archipelago region, is simple and functional with restrained carved geometric decoration.

The apparently new architectural modes and the ceramic change might reflect the final decline of Siraf and Kish, and the supremacy of Murmus. They might also reflect the rising power and commercial interests of Aden, now free of Fatimid domination. Chittick, with no evidence but excellent instinct, notes this possibility when he hypothesises that the Black on Yellow ware is South Arabian. The presence of Ibadhis in the neighbourhood of both Aden and Murmus is interesting in this regard. It is not, of course, firm evidence of any kind, but it is interesting to speculate thus on Ibadhi interests in East Africa before the Umani influx of the post eighteenth century period.

Mr. J. de V. Allen has drawn attention to the fact that the plastic arts do seem to go through another fundamental change of style in the sixteenth or seventeenth century.¹¹³ The austere, geometric patterning on the carved coral borders to the mihrabs of that period and the elegant geometric panels on the tomb at Dondo certainly support this thesis when set against the much more baroque tendrils and painted fancies, elaborately-carved plasterwork and ornate furniture of the later period. Particularly, the guilloche pattern disappears completely by the end of the seventeenth century. The guilloche in West Africa has been tentatively associated with the Ibadhis. It is just possible that an early, austere and possibly heretic Khariji

influence accounts for the earlier art forms while a Sunni revival of influx in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries accounts for the later. This is highly speculative, but it does point up some extra interests in Chittick's re-appraisal of the chronology of the Pate Chronicle and his assertion that the Nabahanis likely did not come to power until the sixteenth century. Could the ousted dynasty, the Batawi, have been heretics? There is no evidence for this, but it is of interest that just after the time Chittick suggests, in the late sixteenth century, the artistic and architectural styles show signs of changing.

Chittick draws attention to the Nabahani dynasty of Pate and it is a useful focus.¹¹⁴ His sondages in the town of Pate show that the fourteenth century settlement was not the thriving and important town which the Pate Chronicle would have us believe.

It is not as certain as Chittick would have us believe that the town was non-existent in the early thirteenth century. Whatever his sondages may have suggested, it is a fact that Sgraffiato of a twelfth or thirteenth century date has been found on several occasions in the town and it is possible that there was some small settlement at Pate before the beginning of the fourteenth century. It is nevertheless indisputable that, as he points out, according to his reappraisal of the chronicle, the Nabahani arrived from Uman in the fifteenth century and took control of the town in the sixteenth century. These Nabahani intermarried with the ruling house, the Batawi and it is through

their connection that they presumably found their way to power. The Nabahani are presumed to be the Nebhan of Uman who were Ibadhis. It is a matter for conjecture whether a Sunni would marry a heretic Ibadhi; it is for certain that an Ibadhi would not marry a pagan Sunni. It should be assumed that the Batawi were Kharijites and probably Ibadhi. Attention should be drawn to the arrival, recorded in the Pate Chronicle, of the Hatiimi from Barawa "and their country was formerly Andalusia". Andalusia of course also has Ibadhi connections. The date offered by the chronicles is in the sixteenth century AD, a date called into question by Chittick's general destruction of the chronology suggested by the chronicle. However it does seem that Ibadhis were in Pate in strength by the sixteenth century and ruling the town. It also is worth recalling Allen's observation that both the Hatiimi and the Nabahani today emphatically deny that their families had ever been other than Sunni. He concludes that we might care to see the rejection of the early motifs of Swahili material culture, including a rigid rejection of the use of the guillochs, as a late sixteenth or a seventeenth century claim for legitimacy as Sunnis on the part of the ruling class of Pate. Pate being in the dominant position she was, would likely set the pattern for the entire archipelago. The political impetus for such behaviour is easy to see. The Umanis, already interested in controlling the area in the seventeenth century were themselves of the Ibadhi persuasion. It is possible that the resurgent Swahili independence referred to by Berg¹¹⁵ and demonstr-

able by the persistent rejection up and down the coast of foreign overrule, be it Portuguese or Umani, made it politic for the ruling class of Pate to assert their independence by denying the faith of the Umani. The Famau of Siu are the only ones who can claim consistency of purpose in this regard; it is nevertheless true that it was the people of Pate who attempted to take Lamu and thus help retain Mazrui legitimacy over the northern coast at a time when the Mazrui were taking a Swahili stand against the Umanis in the early nineteenth century.

It is certain that there was a major cultural upheaval in the archipelago in the late sixteenth and seventeenth century not entirely explained by the Oromo and Portuguese. The arrival of new clans from Iberia and Uman and a determination to resist Umani political pressure, combined with a revived interest in counterbalancing Umani maritime interest in the archipelago with those of Gujerat, could well indicate the causes of this cultural change.

Nothing is known of the theology or even names and origins of the rulers of Manda. Manda was clearly an important town until the thirteenth century and only then did Bul, Siu, Dondo and Shanga offer serious economic competition - only even later did Pate manage to wrest economic supremacy from all. A consistent theme of the ceramic imports is a heavy preference for the glazed wares of the Siraf and Bandar Abbas coast. The water jars were, and remain today, a steady article of trade

from Basra, but the predominant connections were with Iran. There seems therefore to develop a picture of a Shi'i, if not an Ibadhi circle of trade, embracing Basra, Uman, Siraf and Bandar Abbas, and it is significant that Ibadhi influences are referred to in Sind "in the middle ages" by Lewici. One wishes that he were more precise - since it is with Dabhol (Daybul), the principal port of that area, that the Manda people seem to have had some contact.

The Shirazi traditions are a better substantiated and related subject. The port of Siraf, port for ~~Fars~~^{Shiraz} and therefore the most important port in ~~Shiraz~~^{Fars} during the ninth and tenth centuries, had very clear connections with East Africa. The home port of one of Al Mas'udi's transports was Siraf and there are many stories about the arrival in the East African ports of Shirazi settlers.

Many of these stories reach modern folk thought via the various copies of the Kilwa Chronicle. Chittick has applied the same careful analysis to this document as he did to the Pate Chronicle, and emerges from his labours with the conclusion that the suggested date of arrival of the Shirazis in the tenth century and their arrival direct from Siraf are both false contentions. He convincingly asserts that the Shirazis first arrived in the Mogadishu area and then slowly moved south, arriving in Kilwa in the second half of the twelfth century.¹¹⁶ The evidence of ninth century Tin Glaze and Sasanian Islamic pottery on the South Somali coast emphasise this

early contact between the north Swahili coast and the Persian Gulf.¹¹⁷

The Shirazis were Shi'ites and are said to have been Kharijites, and it is in their influence on the East African coast that one may solve the riddle of the Ibadhi intimations of the northern coast. If Chittick is right that the Shirazis landed in the Mogadishu area and slowly moved south, then it has to be assumed that some at least stayed in the northern area and did not proceed south. It may well be that a model even less distinct than the slow southward penetration suggested by Chittick should be considered. The constancy of the Persian Gulf trade with the East African coast and the domination during the middle ages of the Persian side of that trade permits consideration of small groups of Shirazis coming at different times to different places and settling on the coast to carry on trade. The southward movement may indeed have occurred, but in a much less well organised and coherent way than suggested by either Chittick or Freeman Grenville¹¹⁸ (from whom he,^{Chittick,} claims to have taken the idea). Neither does any of the material put forward by Chittick preclude the possibility of direct Shirazi emigration to the southern Swahili coast. They may as well have gone to both those places and to many others direct, though later than the first movements to the northern sites.

That said, it is true that the earliest record of Shirazis on the coast comes from Mogadishu. There is a tomb there protecting the body of a man surnamed al Khurasani (AH 614/AD 1217)

and in the inscription over the qibla of the mosque of Arba' Rukun is a dedicatory inscription dated AH 667/AD 1268-9 and referring to one Khusrau ibn Muhammad ash Shirazi.¹¹⁹ Persians, indeed Shirazis, were certainly in Mogadishu by that time. But these northern swallows may well be late arrivals or at least not heralds of a Shi'ite summer. Even at Kilwa where there was a Shirazi dynasty, there are no other mosque inscriptions to Shirazis, and if they were subscribers to, or of that part of the Shi'ites persuasion which had sympathy for, Kharijite susceptibilities about the impropriety of raising men above their station, then this is what we should expect. Meanwhile there are other inscriptions referring to other Muslims at this very early period. In Mogadishu, the dedicatory inscription on the Jamia is dated 1st Muharrem AH 636 (14. 8. 1238 AD); that on the mosque of Dakhr ad Din is dated Shaaban AH 667 (Apr. 27 - May 6 1269 AD).¹²⁰ In Zanzibar at the Mosque of Kizimkazi Dimbani, there is the famous Kufic inscription to the "high and great shaikh As Said Abu Imran Musa, son of Hasan, son of Muhammed..." and dated to Dhulqa'da AH 500 (1107 AD).¹²¹ There were other Muslims on the coast at this time who were not Shirazi but were, in at least one of the cases quoted, Shi'ite. There were settlements of like-minded Muslims in the area before the coming of Chittick's royal line of Abu ibn al Hasan. Movement between these settlements in the form of intercommunication along the coast was doubtless already established and a network was in use into which the Shirazis could

fit. No pioneering down the coast, no slow establishment of lines of communication need be considered. The domestic pottery along the coast is amazingly similar for the early period, particularly along the northern coast, and the pastes differ often, implying a homogeneous community the length of the coast. Kilwa domestic pottery does, however, show marked differences from that of the north despite the postulated ease of movement in the area between Mogadishu and Zanzibar. It is therefore necessary to conclude that either insufficient work on the locally-made pottery of the southern coast has been done, or that the Abu ibn al Hasan dynasty and its subjects had no lasting contact with the northern coast; at least not long enough to pick up a wife or two.

Attention paid to the Shungwaya stories has been alluded to. The archaeologist is far less likely to give credence to any such myth than the anthropologist capable of winnowing the truth more effectively. The idea of so many tribes spread over so vast an area all having exploded from Shungwaya, an area on the southern Somali coast, at the instance of an Oromo attack from the North, stretches the imagination tight - the subsequent population explosion has been truly prodigious; the Washungwaya must indeed have been a nation of heroes, if only in retreat.

Shungwaya itself, if Bur Gao as has been suggested by Grottanelli,¹²² is a post-fifteenth century town and, pace Grotanelli, Cerulli and others, it may not have been a town at all. Nothing in the Arabic text of the Book of Zanj supports a description of

Shungwaya as a town though it may have been an area. The possibility that Shungwaya may be on Pate Island¹²³ is highly unlikely. It does not disabuse one of the assumption that Shungwaya is a region north of the Lamu Archipelago and south of the Wabi Shebelle, is associated with Bantu-speakers, is likely near the mouth of the Juba where many Bantu-speakers lived, and some still live, and is probably the furthest area north for their extensive settlement. A further assumption is that this is the first area from which most of the farmers were forced to move south under pressure, be it military or economic, from pastoralist intrusions. The time for this is not given reliably in the traditions and historians studying the problem are disunited, each with as weak an argument as the next. Since the Oromo themselves were well down the north Swahili coast by the sixteenth century and may have begun to make their move south of the Juba in the fourteenth century or earlier, it might be reasonable to conjecture that Bantu-speaking Northerners moved south, intermingling with the existing Bantu-speaking population sometime between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries. The Oromo do seem to have moved south from the Juba very very quickly, reaching Kilifi in under a hundred years. This assumes that the desertion of the coastal Swahili towns is correctly associated with the coming of the Oromo, and the dates for the desertions are correct.

Morton feels that only the Segeju and the Giriana have genuine Shungwaya traditions.¹²⁴ Prins, more charitably, gives the

true Shungwaya legends to the Kilindini, Bajun, Segeju, Digo, Duruma, Giriama and Pokomo,¹²⁵ all of whom incidentally, either certainly or almost certainly, were affected by Oromo pressure pushing them south. Prins dismisses the claimed authenticity of the myth amongst all others.

The connection between the Shungwaya myth and the Shirazis is almost certainly a late innovation derived from a misreading of Krapf and may be discounted for the present.¹²⁶

Within this enlarged Bantu-speaking population it may be possible to see the appearance in the archaeological indications of the newcomers. Kirkman's finger-impressed vessels and their relatives in the Lamu area immediately spring to mind as being phenomena in the local ceramic tradition which admirably suit the hypothesis that these refugees were settling in the Swahili towns of the coast north of the Tana, and behind the Swahili towns of the south Kenya coast.¹²⁷ This would also explain the earliest appearance of these phenomena in the north although it would not explain the far higher percentage among indigenous motifs of fingernail impressions in the South than in the North. That would have to be explained by a more populous settlement of the Kilifi area than of the areas north, implying either a greater resistance to their absorption in the north, perhaps as a result of extensive and established development of the hinterland and a heavier population than the Kilifi area or an inability to settle in the hinterland and safety for only a few in the Swahili towns themselves (the most likely), or

a firm resistance to their migration south of Mombasa and a consequent build-up of refugees near to the extremes of the safe settlements. Using these last two hypotheses there is, just the faintest chance that some may have moved up the Sabaki to Ukambani, in the process carrying with them that most uncharacteristic of potting features in the Bantu-speaking world, the potters' mark,¹²⁸ and also the Shungwaya myth.

Attractive candidates for a barrier on the south are the dreaded Zimba. The Zimba are described in such a stereotyped way, as cannibals, savages, ruthless in civilian massacre, rapine and destructive of property, that they are a scarcely credible group. They are said to have swept up the coast from the south, possibly from Madagascar, possibly from the mainland opposite Madagascar.¹²⁹ Dr. J. C. Miller was presumably led to compose his very convincing "Requiem for the Jaga"¹³⁰ on a similarly subjective impulse. The Zimba seem a truly diaphanous figment of imagination of several generations, but it is clear that there were several disturbances of the peace behind the coast south of Kilifi in the sixteenth century, of a kind hardly conducive to agriculture, always a vulnerable occupation.

The first Portuguese vessels on the coast were those of Da Gama in 1498, though if their vessels suffered from the same depredations from souvenir hunters and vandals that the modern monument to their arrival in Malindi has, they certainly would have needed more than a Swahili or Hindu pilot to bring them safely to India. Malindi remained a favoured port of call for

for the Portuguese thereafter. The Portuguese were destructive. They imposed their exclusive commercial system and underlined the fact that their vessels carried arms by demonstrating their firepower on a large number of Arab, Swahili, Persian and Indian hulls, which showed a remarkable propensity for sinking with no more violent a response than a curse from their passengers.

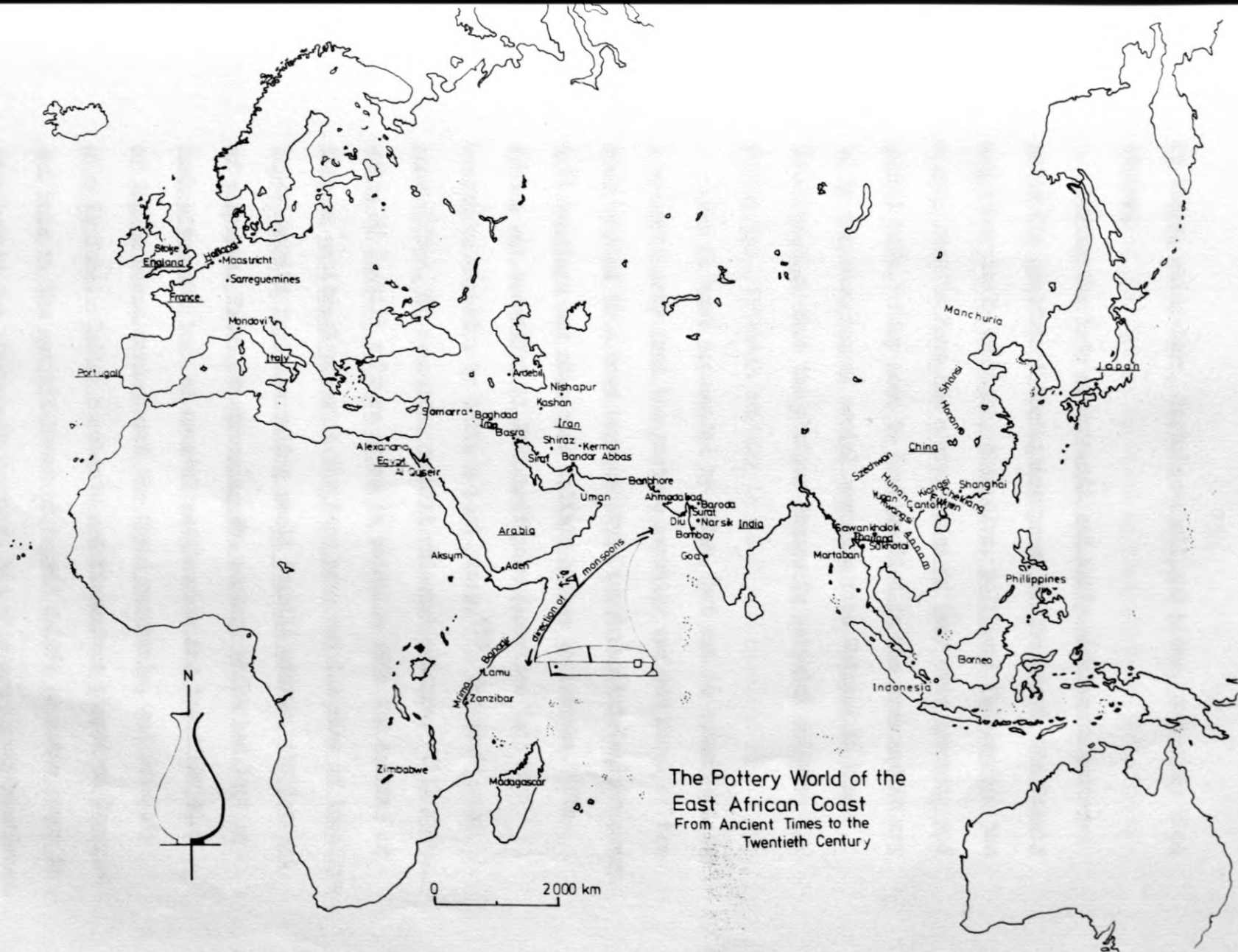
Coincident with the ravaging of the seas by these pirates came the Oromo, by land. They were to hold the area between the Juba and the Tana from then right into the twentieth century.¹³¹ It is not clear whether they really came down like a wolf on the fold, or whether, with their great herds and non-urban way of life, they destroyed the farmland and emptied the towns in an equally effective but less militant way. There are no records of armed confrontation and there is no archaeological evidence of burning and pillage. The towns just seem to have died on their feet. Similarly the settlement of the Mijikenda on their hilltops is preeminently sensible for farmers growing millet and rearing cattle for whom the lowlands of the coastal strip are economically most undesirable. It would not take a ferocious Oromo to move the new settlers into the hills. Much is made of the Oromo refusal to permit Swahilis to trade inland. Until the nineteenth century they showed no desire to take the risk of breaking the hold of the Wardai Oromo over the mainland between the Juba and the Tana. At that time of course, the Oromo were well aware of their new importance in the economics of coastal commerce with the hinterland, and reacted to this situation to

their own advantage. It is important to mitigate this impression of intransigence by observing that at exactly the same time that the Swahili claimed to be thus importuned they felt safe enough to establish plantations on the mainland and, in the case of Bwana Simba of Witu, even to flee there from the islands and set up a new Sultanate. Nevertheless, the Swahili phrase "Shamba ya bara haina imara"¹³² sets the tone for these mainland adventures.

Oromo violence may not be so mythical as Zimba appetite but one suspects that the Oromo have suffered from a bad press as a result of the loss of the coastal towns. At no time in this history does the archaeology show signs of a fundamental change of economy, though vacillations, particularly in the importance of coastal plantations, do seem likely. One is thus safer than usual in reading history into the existing economy. The establishment of one trading settlement on the coast in the ninth century followed by over a score more after the fourteenth century, necessitated a regular local food supply and encouraged the export of products in the direct control of the settlers. Thus coconut plantations, rice paddies, and mangrove stands must soon have been exploited, and the farmers of the area south of the Tana, and pioneer farmers from the islands with shambas on the mainland, would have found excellent markets from their millet - and indeed all the agricultural products mentioned would, and still do, make very lucrative articles of export for Oman and the Persian Gulf.

There is no evidence to suggest how important the slave trade was. Slaves certainly left the coast for India, and were doubtless imported to the archipelago from Kilwa and Central Africa to work on the plantations, but, one certainly doubts their importance as an export commodity from the Northern coast. The Ethiopian export trade in slaves was very much more important, as its predominance in the Indian material suggests. Whatever the volume of trade may have been from East Africa, the Zinj revolts in Basra show its antiquity. But there is no evidence for regular slave-raiding expeditions. The system was much more likely to have been the acquisition and despatch of a specific number to meet a specific order from a slave employer with a specific project in mind, be it a building contract in Basra, or a new plantation in Cambay.

The disruption of trade at the time of the coming of the Portuguese preceded the Oromo invasion of the northern coast by less than a century, and this double disturbance, the one threatening the dhow trade and the other destroying the coastal towns and the plantations, combined to cause a major contraction in the economy of the northern coast and a number of Swahili towns in the area. Towns on islands, like Faza, Siu, Pate and Lamu, benefited from the reduced economic competition from the coastal settlements and were able to attract all coastwise trade to themselves. They were also able to arrive at a modus vivendi with the Oromo which did not usually result in the re-establishment of the mainland shambas but did permit the continuance of trade



The Pottery World of the East African Coast From Ancient Times to the Twentieth Century

in ivory, rhino-horn, tortoise-shell and hides, and maybe also timber.

During the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century after the decline of Portuguese power on the coast, the Omanis and other South Arabians, themselves political failures on the coast, seem to have had a great deal of sway over economic and social life. Many seem to have settled in the area and it may be to the changing of social emphasis from Shirazi to the South Arabian that the obvious change in material culture during the sixteenth century is due.

This is best documented by Allen, but can be summarised as a movement away from the austere geometry and cut coral of the early period to a more baroque style involving intricate tracery, wall hangings and elaborate foliate arches to mihrabs. The famous and beautiful Al Inkishafi poem describes this new wealth as already, by 1820, a past glory.¹³³ Though it was short-lived, it remoulded Swahili material culture. This flowering of Swahili culture seems to coincide with the decline of Shirazi political power in the Lamu area and the rise of locally-based Swahili families ruling small Swahili states, the largest of which was Pate. Buttressing the economy which had lost so much after the loss of coastal settlements and the disruption of Indian Ocean trade, were the Omani merchants, and possibly also Indians. Indian merchants and financiers played an important role in the establishment of Sayyid Said's economic power in Zanzibar in the nineteenth century, but they are rarely mentioned

earlier. Their domestic pottery, very closely related to that of Gujarat and Cambay, is found in quantity in eighteenth-century levels and may represent the presence of Indian families rather than of merely commercial contacts. Whichever is the case, to judge from the ceramic record, trade with India burgeoned in the eighteenth century and was showing signs of doing so by the end of the seventeenth century. These new infusions of cultural stimuli, from Arabia and India set the Swahili culture off onto a renaissance of great vitality and originality. The architectural traditions remained what they had been for five or six hundred years, but the domestic interiors changed dramatically, carrying the old Swahili ideas through into new interpretations of wall decoration, furniture, metallurgy and of oral arts and literature which resulted in the remarkable culture still extant today.

Only in the field of ceramics did the old traditions crumble. Faced with the mass importation of the late Islamic Polychromes, earthenware pots from India and a positive flood of Chinese porcelains (an inundation initiated by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century and carried on by them and the Dutch in the seventeenth), the Swahili potters must have raised two hands in horror and gone off to make halwa or to write poems. The quality of local pottery after the sixteenth century declines sharply and irrevocably. The fashions were for imported items, the money was there to buy them at prices lower and in quantities higher than ever before, and the local potters could not compete.

Since the architects, carpenters, weavers, goldsmiths and silversmiths met the new stimulations so successfully it is interesting to speculate why the potters did not. One important reason for the failure of the Swahili potting tradition in the Lamu archipelago is the fact that the potters were women. The natural conservatism apparently concomitant with the craft of pottery combined with the social disabilities and extremely restricting controls on domestic life of the wives of strict Muslim husbands - or at least of husbands living in a strictly Muslim environment. What little of value was left in the Swahili ceramics craft became dominated by men. Unable to meet the new competition by experimenting with new shapes, decoration and textures, undercut by the low prices of mass importation, and living in an environment unconducive to initiative or the exercise of business acumen, the good ladies ceased to fight. Their often atrocious modern vessels give a rare example of that situation where a water jar and a cooking pot stand witness to a lady's surrender.

1. J. J. Leach, *The Pottery of East Africa*, London 1975-80, vi, 2007-8, 2011-2.

ISLAMIC POTTERY

The Islamic tin glaze seems to have appeared in a pale yellow-
buff soft surface. The glaze is closely akin to the alle-
ghia yellow glaze. ISLAMIC POTTERY made through a proper
physical analysis is important for establishing the true rela-
tionship between these two. It is certainly different from the
pale yellowish buff, so-called "Islamic yellow" glaze of the
eighteenth century Chinese type of lead-glazed ware.

As has been pointed out before, the tin glaze ware of
Egypt: "Does any potter make a pot in haste for the
sake of the pot itself and not in hope of
water?
....The first is for the sake of the second,
like mounting on the steps of a ladder."

Jalā lu'ddīn Rūmī.¹

Some scholars (see previous pages) that have explained the
glazed ware only from Egypt, and that the production
and related matters in the other areas of production (Iraq,
Spain and elsewhere), were green and purple. It also notes
the different "Islamic glaze" texture of the glaze from these

1. Jalā lu'ddīn Rūmī. The Mathnavi ed. & trans.
R. A. Nicholson, London 1925-60, vi. 2883-4, 2891-2.

the Islamic area. In reports on the, as far as possible to be
possible to argue with him and may accept his statements.

TIN GLAZE WARE

The Islamic Tin Glaze ware is white glazed on a pale yellow-buff soft earthenware. The fabric is closely akin to the alluvial yellow fabric of lower Mesopotamia though a proper physical analysis is important for establishing the true relationship between these two. It is markedly different from the pale yellowish buff, so-called "straw yellow" fabric of the eighth-century Chinese types of lead-glazed vessel.

As has been pointed out before, the Tin Glaze wares of Mesopotamia and their derivatives are not coated with a tin oxide glaze at all.¹ Dayton, who has at least chemical analysis rather than guesswork to his credit, notes that "the white glazes are typical alkali glazes...with a high calcium content, but contain no tin".² Lane³ gives a closely dated description of Tin Glaze wares. The danger of his conclusions is that they appear to be based on the dating at Samarra,⁴ dating that is of dubious value.

Lane claims (no grounds given) that blue splashed tin glazed wares only came from Mesopotamia, and that the predominant splashed colours in the other areas of production (Egypt, Syria and Samarkand), were green and purple. He also notes the different 'candle grease' texture of the glazes from these peripheral kilns. He limits the production of lustre wares to the Baghdad area. As regards origin, we are at present in no position to argue with Lane and must accept his statements.

Concerning dating, however, it is worthwhile being a little more cautious. A summary of Lane's dating is as follows:

Plain tin glaze: 836 - 882 AD (Does he mean 892 AD?)

Brown and Yellow splashed glazes: C860 - C892 AD

Greenish or brownish monochrome: C892 - early 10th century.

Thus, splashes in yellow, red, brown or black are thought to be ninth century. Since he specifies brown and yellow as being typical of the later "Samarra" period we are led to expect a c.836 - 860 AD time bracket for the reds, very dark browns and black.

Egyptian vessels in this glaze do not appear before the tenth century, during which century the Mesopotamian material disappears. Thus it is important to establish criteria whereby the tin glazed vessels from these areas may be distinguished.

'Candle-grease' glaze, while a term not in the mainstream of current trends in the methodology of nomenclature is, unlike much of the current trends, explicit enough. There are no "candle-grease" glazes at Manda. The Manda glazes are of a clear lustrous amibitty kind. Later (presumably tenth-century) Egyptian vessels have unglazed bases. All the diagnostic sherds of bases of tin glazed vessels at Manda bore signs of glazing.

The vessels in collections from Egypt have a greyer cream paste which is coarser and sandier than Mesopotamian pieces. One such may be at Manda⁵ but needs to be compared directly with Egyptian and Samaritan material to see which it more closely fits.

It is important to improve on these criteria. Meanwhile it

is necessary to assume first that Lane is right about the decline of production of the glazed wares in Mesopotamia in the tenth century and second that the 'candle-grease' bare-bottom tests are valid ones. On these assumptions our material from Manda is pre-tenth century or at very latest early tenth century. The terminus post quem is much less satisfactorily established. The early ninth century date depends upon the dating of Samarra.⁶ In Siraf⁷ and at Manda, tin glazed sherds occur regularly (in Manda almost always) with Sasanian Islamic material. The tin glazed material could thus be from the seventh or eighth century. Little guidance is available here. At Manda C14 dates associated with this pottery are:

N 338 $\bar{N} = 550 \pm 780 (1170) \pm 110$

N 339 $\bar{N} = 559 \pm 470 (1480) \pm 110$ ⁸

They do not at present assist us in the dating of the pottery sequence. The temptation is to note the eighth century with approval and assume that the dating provided by Lane for the tin glazed ware is about right. It is salutary, however, that Sasanian Islamic material would by the same date have been arriving in East Africa (in the seventh century) and that tin glaze is invariably with it. It is in any case unlikely that C14 dating will help, given its wide standard error, even if a happy clustering of results is achieved with further sampling.

The material from Siraf is much more accurately dated and more satisfactorily excavated than at Samarra and a careful study of that sequence is recommended when it is published in full. At

Siraf the dating offered by Lane is to some extent supported. Plain and blue-splashed sherds occur in Period 2a (c825-50). "The first fragments with turquoise or brown decorations do not appear until Period 2c" and "Fragments bearing a combination of turquoise and brown occur in Period 2d only"⁹ Period 2d is thought to be about the end of the tenth century.

Chittick¹⁰ mentions a fragment of lustre ware "probably of the eleventh century" from a Sgraffiato/Yueh context in Period IIb (eleventh century) at Manda. This sherd is unlikely to be as late as the eleventh century unless it represents an Egyptian import, which it does not. It is probably a vestigial sherd from the earlier levels. Nevertheless such evasions must be tentative, albeit attractive: Kirkman has Tin Glaze at Ungwana in an early thirteenth-century context.¹¹ There is also a Tin Glaze sherd at Bui. None of these sherds from late levels in East Africa has the characteristic "candle-grease" glaze or a coarser, greyer cream body that is associated with Egypt. These sherds, being four, weaken arguments about vestigial occurrence, but at present there is nothing to distinguish them from the ninth-century material and we must assume that that is what they are. Most of the forms have little in common with other Islamic wares or Chinese material after the tenth century, and the Bui sherd represents a form certainly well-established by the tenth century in Chinese white wares.¹²

Whitehouse prefers a date for the first appearance of the tin glazed wares in the first half of the ninth century; he

observes that "the occurrence at Qairawan of tin-glazed tiles with lustre decoration, almost certainly exported from Baghdad in 862, strongly suggested that the technique of making tin-glazed pottery was established in Iraq by the middle of the ninth century",¹³

The shape of the tin-glazed vessels is very reminiscent of T'ing White wares¹⁴ and there is no doubt that the rather complex (and technically impressive) production of the opaque tin glaze at the time of the import of the white T'ing wares is connected with an attempt to produce local copies of the more expensive Chinese originals. The nicked rims and the internal vertical ribs¹⁵ are additional and conclusive evidence of this relationship. The wide flat footring which seems a feature of the T'ang white ware repertoire, and was found on such a vessel at Samarra,¹⁶ is found at Manda in Tin Glaze.¹⁷

Chinese pieces had doubtless already received the close scrutiny of the Mesopotamian potters. Baihaki¹⁸ notes the presence of Chinese pottery in Baghdad at the end of the eighth century. Many of the pieces were probably jars carrying export commodities like scent¹⁹ but many others were certainly the fine white bowls.

It appears that T'ing white ware continued to be produced well into the twelfth century²⁰ but while the matter of the stylistic distinction between T'ing and T'ang remains subjective, and while the attempts to distinguish the two depend upon the study of Imperial and virtually complete wares, there is little

of value for the archaeologists. Ribbed and nicked bowls occur in T'ang dynasty material²¹ but I have found no description or illustration of T'ing vessels with this combination. Thus very tentatively one suspects a T'ang date. Imported ceramic collections in the Middle East strongly suggest a ninth century date for the arrival of T'ang white wares in the Middle East. For example, the presence of obvious Islamic copies in early ninth-century levels at Siraf shows that T'ang white wares were made and exported by that time even though there is no known kiln site in China with such wares that early.

It is virtually certain that Tin Glaze vessels were made in the Mesopotamian area from the first half of the ninth century to the end of that century or the beginning of the tenth. The presence of kilns near Baghdad exporting lustre wares places one of the areas of manufacture. It is not yet known if there were others in Mesopotamia.²² Whitehouse found what appeared to him to be glaze ovens at Siraf but he has not as yet said what kind of glazed vessels he thinks were made at that pottery.

The copper red in the tin glaze²³ presents a very interesting technical problem. The tin glaze itself acquires its opaque milky texture and colour by being fired in an oxidising atmosphere which seals the metal oxide into the glaze. The red, however, is the result of the subjection of copper oxide to a reducing atmosphere whereby pure copper is left in the glaze. In certain Ming vessels the oxidising atmosphere was used for firing, but red copper flashes were produced by very rapidly

lowering kiln heat, thereby reducing the copper oxide, and then by raising the heat again in an oxidising atmosphere once the copper was sealed into the glaze. This appears to be the only satisfactory way of obtaining copper splashes in an oxidising kiln; and one is left to conjecture whether the piece of Tin Glaze with ruby splash found at Manda was a result of a conscious manipulation of kiln temperature or was the result of an error or accident during firing. It is also possible that the copper was added accidentally or otherwise to the glaze before firing and was sealed by the glaze before oxidisation could take place.

The potters had copper for alloying with gold for the creation of lustre colour for the glaze. A logical outcome of this access to copper would be its use by itself.

An interesting feature of the lustre classes is that the sherds bearing only lustre appear to occur slightly later than those bearing lustre and blue splashes. The occurrence of the sherd in Level 2 of MH 1 at Manda is not very significant, this being a mixed late level. A time bracket for this phenomenon is not available from the excavations but Lane²⁴ implies a mid-ninth century date for the beginning of the mixture of colours. Sherds bearing yellow and brown are consistently later than blue and yellow, or yellow by itself. This is particularly interesting in view of Lane's remark that "about AD 860 a biochrome palette of brown and yellow was regularly adopted".²⁵ This is, of course, quite consistent with the Manda findings sequentially, but Lane gives no reason for his assumption of an 860 date and, if this is

based on Samarra, could be wildly wrong. Nevertheless it is reasonable to remain confident of, more loosely, a late ninth century date for brown and yellow and a mid-ninth century date for blue and yellow; and marginally earlier ninth century date for the yellow by itself. At Manda yellow-splashed tin glazed sherds are rather fewer than the blue-splashed variety; they number 67 while the blue-splashed sherds number 149. In no case is the design of the yellow splashing clear. There is no 'ribbing' on any of this group. Indeed, while the collection is too small to encourage categorical statements, it would seem that the ribbing of vessels, on plain or blue splash types, is a phenomenon of an early period of Tin Glaze production, failing to survive to have the new colours used in conjunction with it.

Schnyder²⁶ feels that the lustre variant is not only a recognisable phase within the Tin Glaze ware, but is also geographically distinct. He sees the possibility that the lustre was made in the Basra area, before 871. In 871 the Zanj Rebellion may have encouraged the potters to leave Basra and move to Susa and Egypt, thereby starting up those two apparently derivative industries. He goes on to say that there is every likelihood that though lustre wares were begun in Egypt and Persia, that the Polychrome Lustre, a little of which is at Manda, was never made outside Mesopotamia.²⁷ It is apparently assumed in his article that this material ceases to be made by the beginning of the tenth century.

Wilkinson is also of the opinion that the early Tin Glazes

(and he is less specific about their colour features) was made in southern Mesopotamia in potteries in the region between Baghdad and Basra and only later in Persia and Egypt.

The lustre colouring outlived early Tin Glaze vessels and appears on the twelfth and early thirteenth century Rayy pieces, although these later pieces are brighter and yellower. These late pieces came particularly in bichrome with blue, reiterating the late ninth century predilection.

Schnyder speaks of a "poorer quality" in these Rayy pieces but does not define. Certainly Tin Glaze material is friable and the glaze in almost all cases at Manda is seriously decayed. On the grounds of association, however, with Sasanian Islamic and early Chinese White and Yueh pieces, and consistently earlier than Sgraffiato, it is possible to say that almost all of the Tin Glaze found at Manda is from the early period of its manufacture in southern Mesopotamia.

The Lustre classified as from Rhages generally has a darker, more glossy, more thickly applied glaze than anything found at Manda. Perhaps this thick, soupy glazing is what is meant by poor quality.

The Persian material also gives a different motif range, less concerned with geometric or abstract designs and more proliferate with animals, birds and people. Pope rightly points out that there is nothing in Tin Glaze from Samarra which carries a motif of an animate being.²⁸

The lustre on these vessels is the "Arabian Lustre" of silver

or copper oxide applied by itself or mixed with other colours underglaze and then fired in a reducing glost kiln during which the colours invariably flow. The lustrous brown of the few Manda examples would suggest the use of copper oxide rather than silver oxide. Indeed this difference may be useful in the establishment of quantifiable distinctions between the late Persian and the early Mesopotamian lustres, the former, with their brighter yellow colouring more likely originating in silver oxide. In this as in the glaze, the neutron activation analysis of the constituents of the feature will be of great assistance to the clarification of the complex matter of the Tin Glaze materials.

On no occasion was a blue-splashed²⁹ Tin Glaze sherd found below yellow splashed sherds and of the ten occasions when sherds of both kinds were found in the same excavation six times the blue splashed sherds were significantly higher in the sequence than the yellow splashed, and of the four occasions when the two kinds were found in the same strata, only two can suggest rough contemporaneity, and the other two strata concerned are upper mixed levels.³⁰

The blue may have been first introduced as an embellishment to the yellow splashes. Of the nine times in which the two kinds occur in the same excavations, on one occasion the blue-splashed representative was below the yellow and blue sherd but the latter was in a mixed level at the top of the cutting; on three occasions the single-coloured splash occurs above the multi-

coloured variant; and on five occasions the two kinds occur together.³¹

Lustre and brown splashes with blue-splash vessels occur together on three occasions; on two of these occasions the sherds are contemporaneous, and on one the lustre and blue sherd is earlier. From so small a sample no conclusion is possible. There is no significant difference in the sequences between the occurrence of blue splash and lustre and brown.

A very interesting feature of these distributions appears when one sets the occurrences of splashed glazes against those of the monochrome tin glazes, of which there were specimens at Manda of (apart from white) a deep royal blue, olive green and reddish brown. It can be seen that the monochromes are generally slightly earlier than the splashed wares and that the blue monochromes appear very slightly earlier than the blue splashes, and the brown monochrome very markedly earlier than the brown splash sherds.

A consistent feature throughout the tin glaze 'period' is the monochrome white vessel which is present in quantity from the lowest levels and periods throughout the minor vagaries of the other colours and their combinations. This may not accurately reflect the distribution because it is quite likely that the absence of colour from some sherds classified as of white vessels is fortuitous, and that the fortuitous absence of a second colour on sherds under a monochrome splash heading have both biased the proportions somewhat. A further difficulty is

that there is a large number of glazes certainly 'tin glaze' but too worn and badly blinded to permit more accurate classification. No fewer than 78% of the total are in this group.

There is an interesting small group of speckled glazes. The group is too small and fragmentary to render commentary useful on the distribution of this speckling over form or shape. The speckling is yellow (two in early Period I levels) - which is probably an early 'lustre' and blue (3 in post-first occurrence levels where firmly stratified).

Such speckling is not a usual feature of Tin Glaze collections. It is possible to make vessels with this speckling accidentally, simply by having elements of copper or silver oxide, or cobalt or manganese oxide well mixed in with the glaze slurry. These may then have been accidents, or may offer yet another example of the experimental, innovative nature of the Mesopotamian potters, even when under pressure to replicate the form of competitive imports.

The standard of potting in the Tin Glaze wares varies enormously. Some of the glazes are brilliant copies of Chinese white wares; considering the entirely different materials the Islamic potters were constrained to use, and the riskiness of the procedures involved in producing these opaque glazes at low temperatures, the skills required were of a very high order.³² The same cannot be said, however, for the production of the body, which is often below standard and sometimes a caricature of bad work. Indeed the majority of the collection is lump.

Huge tear marks and poor kiln control during the glaze firing resulted in dramatic blemishes, including regular scuffing and pinholing.³³ It would seem that the majority of the vessels made were bowls, and that ~~the majority~~ of these bowls ^{most} were moulded. The mouldings often included widely-spaced vertical ribs on the interior of the bowl, following the style of the T'ang and T'ing wares. These bowls generally have a footring which was excavated. On the flat bases the string marks from a very irregular mullet are commonly seen. In many cases, the bowl (or the mould) was not centred, or the battledore slipped, and a wide variety of shapes of footring appear on the same vessel.³⁴

The rims were often everted and Chinese-style nicks cut above the ribs on removal of the vessel from the mould. Everted rims account for a high proportion of the total rims recovered and are on all the section fragments of footring bowls that were found. The footring bowl is a heavily conceived vessel with a crown moulded interior and turned, or possibly jiggered, exterior. At the interior groin is a rounded step changing the direction of the curve towards the centre of the base.³⁵ In a few exaggerated cases this becomes a ridge.³⁶ Vessels of this class carry the ribs and rim-nicks. It is not possible from a study of the vessels from Manda to recognise individual moulds. The footrings have been excavated so erratically that the position of the internal step vis-a-vis the ring and the thickness of the base is also erratic. The sections of the rings are

variations of the pigeon-toe, kneed, pinched heeled, square and buttress. It is gratifying to note that while each vessel shows an inconsistent footing section, in no case in the Manda collection does the section change type. The mean of means wall thickness of these vessels is 8.92 mm. and these bases have a mean diameter of 11.6 cm. This form is characteristic of blue splashed bowls. 74% of these bases have blue-splashed decorations and 12.4% are monochrome white. It is not possible to distinguish any relevant chronology for the use of blue splash or monochrome white on these bowls.

The other main class of footing bowls is much more finely potted and often bears tool marks on the outside wall, indicating the use of a rib template, jig or fettling knife for shaping and thinning. The average wall thickness of this class is 5.9 mm. and the mean base diameter 10.6 cm. — only slightly smaller than the ribbed bowls. 50% of the bases of this form are from white monochrome vessels. These bowls occur earlier than any other Tin Glaze form in Manda, but, in view of the small collection and the heavy concentration of ribbed vessels in early levels, the significance of this must wait. They have no internal mouldings and are entirely plain.³⁷ They do, however, like the other bowls, have highly eccentric footings. These rings also appear to have been excavated and a slight upturning at the inside junction of the ring and base indicates where the tip of the battledore has been held.³⁸ The excavation appears not to have been performed on a fast wheel in view of

the marked eccentricity. A slow wheel might well have been used. These bowls were moulded probably on a crown mould and then their walls were thinned, maybe by jiggering, and their footrings cut. Footring forms include buttress, round, straight kneed and heeled; of which the heeled form is the most common. On occasion it would appear that the battledore groove at the edge of the base went all round, thus producing a plaque base.³⁹ There are three bases with very thick rims accounting for about half the diameter; two of these have the moulded interior step and the other is plain.⁴⁰

There is a large class of flat-based bowls.⁴¹ These bowls are of two kinds. These have smaller bases with a mean of means thickness of 6.5 mm. and a mean diameter of 9.7 cm. Of the class, a group of 8 are bases to wide bowls of the kind supported by the footring bases, and 4 have straighter walls at a more obtuse angle from the horizontal. These latter have a broader base (as would be expected) of a mean diameter of 13.8 cm. and a coincidentally higher mean of means thickness of 7.4 mm.

These two types appear to be contemporaneous at Manda. No section fragment is available. Monochrome white and monochrome lustre glaze types are represented. One should perhaps expect the straight rims to match the form suggested by the smaller group of flat bases, and an everted form of rim to suit the bases with more curvaceous walls. One of these flat bases is finely beaded and markedly smaller (mean thickness 4.75 mm. and base dia. 2.5 cm.) than the other vessels. The form of the

whole vessel is not clear.⁴²

Large, not to say massive, ledge plates with a mean diameter of 33.5 cm. and a mean of means thickness of 9.4 mm. occur consistently later than any of the other forms.⁴³ They represent only a small proportion of the total Tin Glaze assemblage and although this is distributed tightly in the late Tin Glaze levels, they are even there a small proportion of the Tin Glaze material.

Of these ten plates, eight are decorated with blue splash; three are monochrome white vessels. The ribbing of the bowls, inspired by the Chinese imports to the Persian Gulf, appear to have been well appreciated by the clientele. The potters used the feature on these plates, - a very un-T'ing thing to do⁴⁴ - and on three examples that were recovered from Manda, the step, found on the base circumference of bowls has been placed (inevitably as a small ridge) at the shoulder of the plate.⁴⁵

From the rim collection it is possible to distinguish three main form groups - bowls with everted rims, bowls with straight rims, and high-sided bowls with straight rims. Bowls with everted rims represent by far the greatest proportion of the collection. The largest class of these everted rims comes from vessels similar to that illustrated on Pl. 7.⁴⁵ It is not possible to establish what proportion had footrings and what proportion had flat bases; neither, in terms of studying external form, is this particularly important, but it is not unreasonable to assume a proportion similar to that of footing bases to flat

bases. The mean of means thickness of this class of everted rims is 5.2 mm. and the mean diameter is 20.5 cm. The rims are gently everted with no suggestion of a ledge and the walls tend to 45° somewhere near the mid-point. These moulded vessels are generally in later levels than first occurrence for the ware in the most reliable sondages and appear in such cases slightly after the bowls, sometimes first appearing in last occurrences of bowls. This may not be dating evidence since the plates would tend to have a longer service life.

These vessels were made in monochrome white and blue splash (9 examples 22.5% and 10 examples - 25% respectively), and are the only rim forms in which the monochrome moderate olive glaze has been found. This is also the case for monochrome dark greenish-blue except for the little lamp mentioned below. Six of the seven monochrome brownish orange vessels are in this class, and the exception is closely related - one of the more sharply everted rims. The solitary rim of the small group of very pale greenish-blue sherds is also in this class, which also carries a wide range of the splashed colours: one brown and yellow, two polychrome and five lustre.

A closely related class is that of a very similar form but with much smaller dimensions.⁴⁷ We are fortunate in having a section fragment which shows the full form of the vessel. There is a small group of slightly more abruptly everted rims, From these four rims, only one could offer a diameter (10 cm.). The mean of means thickness of these sherds at 5.5 mm. is not signif-

icantly different from the other everted rim bowls. The glaze type distribution in these is unclear.

There are 21 sherds with everted ledge rims and walls at an angle of roughly 45° near the nip-point.⁴⁸ One is considerably larger than the others, having a thickness of 8.5 mm. and a diameter of 22 cm. The others, with a mean of means thickness of 4.2 mm. and a mean diameter of 22 cm., are rather more finely potted. Two everted ledge rims occur with significantly deeper angles to the walls,⁴⁹ tending to $55-60^{\circ}$ just below the rim. These are slightly thicker than the previous ledge rim class (4 mm.) and only one offers a diameter (18 cm.). These measurements mean little at present.

There are nine bowls with gently upturning walls ending in a straight rim. These have a mean of means thickness of 4.45 mm. and a mean diameter of 19.6 cm. and are of blue splashed and pale bluish-grey monochrome glazes.⁵⁰ There is unfortunately no indication of the base form of these vessels but they are identical to Chinese bowl rims of the period and this might suggest either a straight-sided flat base or a footring. A similar bowl, less rounded and of an unrecognisable glaze-type within Tin Glaze, is considerably finer and smaller, having a mean thickness of 3mm. and a diameter of 11 cm.

The plot thickens even further when one wishes to discuss the classes of straight rimmed bowls. In very few cases do they offer indications of vessel shape. The main group is of sherds of a mean of means thickness of 6.2 mm. and a mean diameter of

20 cm., with a roughly 45° angle subtended by the wall around the mid-point of the upper body. These are in blue-splashed or monochrome white glazes.

Equally mysterious is the small group of straight rims with the faintest suggestion of an eversion around the mid-point of the upper body.⁵¹ The mean of means thickness is 4.1 mm. and the mean diameter 20.8 cm.

A very much better clue to vessel form is offered by a single straight rimmed sherd subtending about 40° from vertical with a slight carination around the mid-point of the wall.⁵² This little carinated bowl has a mean of means thickness of 3.5 mm. and a rim diameter of 7 cm. There are three rims from straight rimmed drum bowls. None of these offers a hint as to which glaze type within Tin Glaze they bore. One⁵³ has an in-thickened rim with two horizontal incised lines on the exterior below the lip. This is very reminiscent of the styles of Sasanian Islamic and Siraf cream wares.

There are five small dishes with shallow walls and vertical (or in one case inturned) rims. One section fragment is available and has a flat pinched base. It is most unlikely that such small vessels had footrings and the existing base probably represents the others as well. One example each of these is of blue splash, speckled blue, green splash and monochrome white glazes while the fifth is indeterminate.

A small Tin Glaze lamp has been found.⁵⁴ The glaze is a monochrome deep blue. Tin Glaze seems a rather odd glaze to

use for a lamp, in view of its sensitivity to secondary heating; the lamp is perhaps an indication of the elemental nature of the desire to better one's neighbour, as an incentive for surpassing reason and utility, in the purchase of household items. The earliest forms are those which are directly comparable to T'ang vessels, that is the bowls with everted rims and those with straight rims. These vessels remain common throughout the Tin Glaze period. The straight walled bowls appear very slightly later than the everted forms, first occurring as they do in the fill against the sea wall in LPC and in Level 5 of LPB, well above the everted form in LPB and LPA. There is one particularly interesting sherd with a monochrome bluish-green glaze, in colouring exactly like the Sasanian Islamic green glaze, but definitely in a "tin" rather than an alkali glaze. The sherd is of a bowl base with the familiar moulded step on the base periphery. The heeled footring is irregular in height and in width. This bowl seems to have been made in conscious imitation of the Sasanian Islamic glaze.

This bowl is one of a small group of vessels (four in all), with this monochrome green glaze. One sherd is the handle of a small lamp. This is a vertical ring handle (15 mm. vertical diameter and 9 mm. horizontal diameter) with a roughly 9 mm. square section. The thickness of the lamp wall is about 5 mm. and the depth of the lamp was probably around 10 mm. The other two vessels are also bowl forms, with a slightly hollowed flat bases.⁵⁵ One of the bowls has three spur-marks slightly plucked,

on the interior base and three on the exterior.

Tin Glaze sherds have also been found at Bui in the middle and lower level, but not in the earliest levels. These occurrences seem to represent small monochrome white-bowls with straight or very slightly everted rims of a diameter of around 10 cm. Only five vessels are represented.

The overglaze painting also known to have been used on Tin Glaze is not always easy to identify at a cursory glance. The paint flows deep into the glaze and indeed, in cases of bad glaze decay, the painted areas are left more or less intact because of the resistance offered by the admixture of the paint to most if not all of the thickness of the glaze.

There is a small group of vessels whose glaze has in most cases disappeared, and whose decoration is an overglaze brown or purple brown paint work. In no case is a sherd able to indicate overall pattern, but enough is visible to show a free boldly drawn floral design and an intriguing formalised tendril centre. These are quite different from the simple geometric ribs and splashes of the rest of its collection. The paste of these vessels is marginally higher fired and harder, and is coarser.

No analysis of the paint was feasible though it should be done. It seems to be a manganese lustre paint. Apparently similar vessels were found at Siraf.⁵⁶ Blue black painting under a very badly deteriorated glaze was found on vessels of a similar paste at Samarra.⁵⁷ These, even when so badly

decayed as those at Manda, are not quite the same colour as the purple browns at Manda. Nevertheless they are in other particulars closely related.

They are also paralleled, if not directly duplicated in the Wasit collection. Unfortunately it was not possible to find the relevant Wasit shards, but those described in the report⁵⁸ must in some cases very closely compare. Neither the dating at Wasit nor that at Samarra is secure, but the presence ^{at Wasit} of these vessels is worth noting. Some, at least, of these vessels are thought to have been made in lower Mesopotamia⁵⁹ and to have been in production towards the end of the Abbasid caliphate. Something of the kind was made at Sirwanshah in the tenth and early eleventh century⁶⁰ but the date offered by Pope is too late for the Manda material as indeed it probably is for the Wasit, and possibly the Samarra, vessels. At Manda, these vessels are in levels of first occurrence or at all events in early levels of Period I and are likely to have been imported therefore in the ninth century.

In later levels at Manda, none of which are considered well sealed, there are three shards, apparently of three different vessels, which are tin glazed and have black overglaze paint. The motifs are indiscernible. These vessels are moulded and have the internal moulded ribs mentioned as of T'ang inspiration.

Another overglaze painted vessel calls for particular attention. The motif is in a strong dark blue, and calligraphic.

The body is a fine compact yellow paste, much like the other tin glazes. The sherd is strongly reminiscent of the ninth or tenth century Nishapur bowls illustrated by Wilkinson⁶¹ and numbers 31, 25, 24 of the Islamic Pottery Exhibition catalogue⁶² of the Victoria and Albert Museum. The thickness is very even, between 6.5 and 7 mm. and the potting of a finer standard than that of the other blue and white vessels in the Manda Tin Glaze collection.

These four vessels may represent Persian kilns making the derivative Persian Tin Glazes after the ninth century. Their slightly late Period I contexts would agree with a tenth century date. The exact origin of the vessels is a matter for more careful physical and chemical analysis in all the middle eastern collections and in Iran itself at likely kiln sites. At present no more can be done than note presence and likely local chronological context and provide a provisional impressionistic description.

SASANIAN ISLAMIC

This material has been comprehensively described by Pope,⁶³ and occurs in many sites in the Persian Gulf and occasionally in the Red Sea area, for example at Petra. It is assumed to be Persian, and its style certainly is strongly reminiscent of Sasanid art. The paste, however, militates against a Persian origin. It is of the fine, alluvial yellow material common in the lower Mesopotamian region and indeed is indistinguishable macroscopically from the clay used in export vessels from Basra until the present day. For a brief discussion of the possibility that such clay was used at Miraf, see the section on "Miraf Wares". Wilkinson says that he regards this material as Mesopotamian and observes that "there was no glazed pottery in Sasanian times and probably not in the Umayyad period".⁶⁴ He adds that the alkaline glaze (used on the Sasanian Islamic vessels) was not used in Persia until the twelfth century.

Khan, on the other hand, reflects the more generally accepted view when he describes the Sasanian Islamic material at Banbhore as "alkaline glazed Umayyad Pottery", and dodges for the moment the issue of whether it was made in Iraq or Iran, at that period.

Even if one retains the original theory that these vessels were made in Iran, Wilkinson seems a little uncertain of the period of production of this material. Very similar pieces were in production nine hundred years before the foundation of Handa, but those are plainer and coarser. Wilkinson ascribes a seventh-

eighth century date to Sassanid Islamic material illustrated on pl. 17 of his book⁶⁵ but in the text he observes that "... as far as Iran is concerned, glazed earthenware was not in general use until the early ninth century of our era...". The material was certainly common along the Fars coast in the ninth century, and specifically at Siraf in that period; and a large amount of it was found at Lamkhore in putative ninth century contexts.⁶⁷ Clearly the experts are very uncertain about the origins of the material, but a ninth century date is consistently put forward, and is very acceptable to the Wanda excavators.

At Wanda it is in the lowest levels associated with Tin

glass and Yuch material. The colours of glass cover all the pieces; there are light and dark blues, and a lighter bluish-green. When subjected to secondary burning both of these glasses bubble and develop ruby-red patches, revealing the copper content in the glass. It is not possible from the Manda material to come to any firm conclusions about the relative chronological differences in the shades of blue.

Designs are within the range described by Pope,⁶⁹ this being applique rosettes and slip-trailed filled cordons and barbotine motifs, carved niches, incised eagle, bear and flower motifs, such as the acanthus palmette, and geometric motifs.⁷⁰

The whole vessels carried a wide range of motifs and the Manda material is too fragmentary to permit any close study of the motifs. Most of the vessels imported were large, heavily

potted jars and basins.⁷¹ Chittick⁷² likens the basins to Roman Mortaria, a very valid formal comparison. There are a few much more finely potted small bowls and jars. The large mortaria bear no applique or carved decoration though are sometimes heavily rilled. The straight wall basins, or vats, are restricted in decoration to the various patterns based on the chip carved motif in association with geometrically arranged incisions. The large jars⁷³ carry a far wider range of motifs, in applique, incision and carved modes.⁷⁴

The green-glazed sherds predominate, representing about 75% of the total Sasanian Islamic assemblage. There are also more green-glazed vessels than a strict 2:1 ratio with blue vessels would suggest. But the collection is not large or complete enough to bear statistical examination of significance of this. Neither indeed is any other collection. A similar green preponderance in pre-ninth century collections has been noted however. Siraf ware occurs with Sasanian Islamic in the lowest levels of LPK, MHH, above isolated Sasanian Islamic sherds in MHE. These wares at Manda seem to arrive contemporaneously with Siraf wares. Whitehouse's study of the wide range of stoneware and earthenware made in Siraf leads me to doubt a pre-ninth century date for Siraf wares and suggest that the Sasanian Islamic assemblage is from the last years of the production of these wares. Certainly they were manufactured well back into Sasanian times, but these vessels are a late phase of the work. The presence of these vessels does not indicate a pre-ninth century

date for the lowest levels at Manda.

There are three types of base represented in the Manda sherds. The predominant form is a flat foot rim (58.4%) splayed, and often with a bevel before the flat. The base on all these sherds is hollow.⁷⁵ A small class of thinner vessels (around 10 mm. mean thickness) displays a less sharply indented base and a less violently splayed foot rim. The average thickness of these bases is 15.44 mm. There are three very massive bases.

The second base type also exhibits a foot rim, but only a small area of the rim is the standing surface.⁷⁶ The proportion of all Sasanian Islamic bases of this tip-toe ring base is 32.3% and there is little variation of form. All rings are squarish in section, and all are heavily thickened at the internal groin, making a total thickness from standing surface to internal groin very great indeed by comparison with the wall thickness; it is of the order of three times the thickness. This heavily-thickened interior groin may well be in order to take extra weight thrust on the base junction by the small standing surface of the tip-toe foot ring. When dry, a far thinner junction could easily take the weight of any vessel; the thickening can be explained either as a clumsy mistake or as a measure to prevent sag and warp in the shape of the vessel before final firing. The phenomenon is too consistent for the former possibility and thus one concludes that the vessel was of a very considerable size to need such precautions. The extra thickness

provides these large vessels with good stability; it could be that the potters consciously left the base heavy for this reason. These bases are set commonly on smaller, lighter vessels than the flat rim bases.⁷⁷

The third base type, comprising only 11.6% of the total, is a flat base without a foot ring. The wall tends to curve downwards before reaching the base.⁷⁸ The base is slightly indented, leaving only a small area as standing surface. There is a marked thickening in this type of base as in the second type, although the feature is not so exaggerated. The reason for the thickening is probably the same: that at leather stage and during drying the fine angle of the wall can only be maintained and the weight of the vessel sustained by a strengthening of the base junction. This type of base falls into two classes a small thin base (one example has a mean thickness of 10 mm.) and a massive base for a very large vessel (three examples have a mean of means thickness of 25.5 mm.).

None of these bases was found with sufficient wall for one to ascertain the shape of the whole vessel but a study of known shapes from elsewhere and from contemporaneous wares from the same region gives some clues, a discussion of which follows later. There was no significant stratigraphical difference between these three base types; all appear to be contemporaneous.

A large number of rims was found which displayed a very great variety of vessel form. Of the 73 shapes, 37 (50.7%) came

from pots. All the pots were placed in one category. Without exception the rims of these pots are lipped, and 27 of these are slightly inthickened also.⁷⁹ A bimodal distribution appears in a histogram of both mean thickness of sherd and diameter of rim. This bimodality suggests two groups of pot, and is dramatically exemplified in two very similar sherds⁸⁰ one almost half the size of the other. The first has a mean of means thickness of around 8.9 mm. and a mean of means diameter of 10.6 cm., but no more than is to be expected in that larger pots have thicker walls and smaller rims. With two exceptions this group consists of necked pots with the neck slightly incurved. The fact that the straight-necked vessel is in the lowest deposit in which this group is represented probably means nothing. There is no other evidence for suggesting that its provenance (MHHS) is any earlier than LPB7 a, where the next lowest sherd occurs. The only body decoration on this group is the incision of one or two horizontal lines on the bulb of the neck in 50% of the sherds. There are a few of the long-necked out-thickened rim jars known from the earlier "Parthisch-Sasanidische" tradition so abundant at Samarra.⁸¹ (Commoner, however, are the short-necked, broad, high-girthed jars⁸² generally with the neck slightly inturned.) There are also bowls and vases. The bowls are divisible in two classes; those with everted rims and those with outfolded rims.⁸³ The vessels with lipped rims are much more common. Seventeen vessels are represented (23.2%) and these are all heavy straight-walled, wide-mouthed bowls. The walls are ribbed

horizontally on the exterior and occasionally slightly so on the interior. The lip is wide (always at least twice the thickness of the wall) and is formed by folding the paste back on itself. Wide grooves occur on the upper flat surface. The rim in all cases is slightly inthickened. The simple outfolded bead lip small bowl type found at Samarra⁸⁴ is not found at all at Manda. A very small group of bowls (5.4%) is much more thinly potted and smaller in size. These vessels have slightly everted rims.⁸⁵ The mean diameter at the rim of these vessels is 15 cm. and the mean of means thickness is 8 mm. All of these bowls occur in upper levels and consistently overlie the other bowl shapes.

There are two other types of vessel, that with a straight rim and that with a straight thickened rim.⁸⁶ Between them, these two types account for 23.1% of the total rim assemblage. Within the straight-rimmed type there are two classes. There is a solitary small bowl with a square rim and a single groove along the top surface. All the other sherds of this type are from large vases with heavily carved designs on the exterior walls.⁸⁷ In two cases the rims are slightly bulbed at the lip.

There are also several thickened rims. These fall into four classes. Class 1 is of 7 flat-lipped thickened rims. None of these rims sherds shows sufficient wall section to permit one to reconstruct a vessel form. In most cases the wall is vertical for a short distance and then takes a sharp inward concave curve. A horizontal groove on the exterior of the area directly below the rim occurs on two of these sherds. The sole representative

that would imply a party of forty or more for some of the mortaria?!) and that the smaller vessels were drinking-water jars and small bowls. One lamp was found in Sasanian Islamic pottery; ⁹⁵ this is of interest because of the unsuitability of the glaze. Woe betide the young lady who omitted to check the wick! The sherds, which were from a level of burnt material showed very serious damage by fire. The application of post-firing heat turns the colour (be it originally greenish or bluish) a dirty sea green and often produced patches of a deep ruby-red, and the bubbling, pin-holding, re-annealing and crawling are very serious. ⁹⁶ There is an amusing example of clumsy healing. ⁹⁷

The paste appears to have been fired fairly low which is as well for such poorly joined coil work. It is not known at what temperature range this very early glaze was fired but it is clear that the potters had difficulties with crazing and with bubbling. Clearly such a piece of information is easily obtained and experiments on the sherds should be undertaken. No attempt seems to have been made to check this, it being a universal phenomenon with Sasanian pottery. There was a great deal of creep during firing, and indeed there are signs that the glaze was so viscous that it crept before so much as reaching a kiln. The result of the creep is a very uneven distribution of the glaze - large, sometimes grotesque, pools and blobs of glaze settle above applique decorations and hang from the inside of jar necks. This alkaline glaze is described by Lane ⁹⁸ as

"Parthian glaze", and has a very long history of use from the third to the sixteenth century.

It would seem from the stratigraphical evidence that Sasanian Islamic material was entering East Africa after the tenth century; and that very small quantities were probably imported right up to the Portuguese period. The presence of the little bowls and pots⁹⁹ in thirteenth to sixteenth century levels is significant despite the fact that not all the levels in question are unmixed. These types do not appear at all in the lower levels despite a very high representation in these levels of other Sasanian Islamic types. It is also worth noting that the incidence of the older heavier bowl and pot types drops dramatically in the same levels in which the little bowls and pots appear. These former may be regarded as either a vestigial population or representatives of change in taste. Only the medium size pots continue throughout, and into the nineteenth century.¹⁰⁰ Kirkman has a vessel of Sasanian Islamic type in Fort Jesus which came from a galliot sunk off the Fort in 1676. A single sherd of the same material was found at Mkokoni in a surface collection, and again at Mbui in a fourteenth century context with no single pre-fourteenth century sherd in evidence. Isolated sherds are also in collections of the fourteenth-sixteenth century from Dondo and Sui, and in surface collections from Kiunga, Tundwa, and Lamu. It is in fourteenth to sixteenth century levels in sondages all over the islands, but always in very, very small quantities. M. Pierre Verin finds the material

in consistently fourteenth to sixteenth century contexts and Khan, in his report on Banbhore observes that "this type persisted to the later periods also and several of them were found in the upper levels".¹⁰¹ It is clear that this ware continued to be made throughout the period from the sixth to the seventeenth century at least and can only offer exclusive close dating assistance if the forms are closely studied. Nevertheless these later finds are exceptions and the entire post-tenth century collections on the East African coast represent .0005% of the ninth-tenth century Manda collection, and the basic assumption of a ninth-tenth century date for the ware remains generally valid, if the ware is the predominant import as it is at Manda. All of the post-tenth century sherds are from fine, small jars and the heavy vessels described in the Manda material are totally absent. These more delicate shapes are therefore apparently indicative of a later school.

The flat bases appear to belong to the large basin rims although no complete section has been found. I include a reconstruction from imagination of one such vessel taken from two sherds from different places.¹⁰² The large pots all seem to have foot-rings. The walls attached to the bases are all slightly convex, in contrast to those on the flat bases which are all straight. This convexity is what one should expect in consideration of a jar. It is not clear from the Manda material whether any Sasanian Islamic vessels had round bases - certainly none have been found; but the small pots are presumed to have had round bases.

ISLAMIC SGRAFFIATO

Quite the largest group of sherds in the Manda collection is the Sgraffiato group. Its preponderance is due largely to the coincidence between the period of manufacture and the prosperity of Manda. Sgraffiato is a common group of wares made in many parts of the Middle East over a long period of time, and should thus be a very useful indicator of commercial links and of absolute chronology. Dr. Kirkman justly notes that "An intensive study of Sgraffiato...is long overdue: and would greatly assist the problem of dating the many sites in the Indian Ocean, where there are neither inscriptions nor coins."¹⁰³ Unfortunately, common ware though it is, it is highly enigmatic. No very satisfactory relative chronology has been established between types from the different kilns, and indeed the attribution of a particular sherd to a particular kiln is an extremely hazardous task. The present collection at least offers a few time markers.

What little is known about the ware has been the work of art historians working on fine-quality whole or almost whole vessels preserved in the Museums of the Middle East and Europe.¹⁰⁴ Little archaeological material has been available and the regional and chronological points of interest have been worked out in terms of complete vessels. Thus very little of the published work helps the archaeologist to identify his myriad fragments. A long and conscientious pilgrimage to the museums does, however,

convince me that all of the Sgraffiato material at Manda is Persian in origin and is thus part of the general Iranian/ East African trade pattern between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries.

Most of the material is in the form of open bowls. The interior is slipped and glazed; the exterior reveals the hard earthenware pink fabric, fettled on a wheel. A jig was not used, as the attempts to thin and smooth by paring left irregular fettling marks, slight splits with the grain and occasional chattering, giving the impression that the clay was often a little hawse by the time the fettling was begun. The footring bases were excavated on a wheel. The pots appear to have been coil built but some sherds show signs of external fettling on a wheel.

The material is divided into four main stylistic types, Matched, Champeve, Simple and Plain. A fifth, and closely related, type is the group without Sgraffiato etchings but in other respects the same material. This has in the past been included in the Sgraffiato spectrum. In the report it is appended to the Sgraffiato under the title Early Islamic Lead Glazed Polychrome: a good reason perhaps for the previous habit of calling it just Late Sgraffiato.

Received opinion has it that the splashed designs represent attempts by potters of the Near East to copy splashed T'ang stonewares. The colours associated with this splashing in the Manda collection certainly reinforce this opinion, as does their

early occurrence.

The collection at Manda sits within a time bracket bounded by the tenth and the thirteenth centuries.

The Early Patch Polychrome Simple Sgraffiato is the subject of discussion for several authors. Lane¹⁰⁵ describes similar vessels as of the "Samarra" tradition. It is not useful to retain such a designation, but Lane's general observations that these vessels were made at several places in the Iraqi - Syrian region remains the basis of modern opinion on the matter. Nothing more specific can be certain at present, though Lane mentions Samarra, Baghdad, and Al Mina as likely kiln sites, and even Susa, though little enough proof of this has emerged from the work undertaken there by the French Mission. Lane also mentions the presence of similar vessels from Afrisiyab (Samarkand), including wasters, and from Nishapur.

The closest similarities to the glaze types in this collection are with the Nishapur sherds in the British Museum. The type described in the site reports from Nishapur also fits the Manda material fairly well.¹⁰⁶ Only Afrisiyab has good evidence for causing one to think that a kiln site has been found. Lane's suggestion that these vessels were made in Mesopotamia is conjecture, though credible; his statement that they began to be made immediately after the introduction of the T'ang splashed wares to the area is acceptable.

It is reasonable to assume that the potters of the Middle East would attempt a cheap local replacement of the expensive

and rare imported article as soon as possible after its first appearance. Evidence from Nishapur, where such vessels are dated by coins to the late eighth century or early ninth century support this assumption.

The Manda excavations by no means rule out a ninth century date for these vessels, since they are finally associated with Sasanian Islamic, Tin Glazed and Siraf unglazed wares. However, none of these vessels appears in the lowest Manda levels and a slightly later date, towards the end of Period I is more acceptable. Perhaps a date in the tenth century would be more likely for the first occurrences of the type in Manda.

The East African overseas trade links as suggested both by the tradition and by the earliest pottery assemblage of the Manda excavations were predominantly, if not exclusively, with the Iranian Gulf. In connection with this, though historically several places on the Gulf are known to have had some association with East Africa, Siraf is the most commonly mentioned.

Whitehouse feels that Sgraffiato does not appear before the middle of the eleventh century, on the basis of his excavations at Siraf.¹⁰⁷ If this is the case, and the assumed immediacy with which the Sasanian and Tin Glazed material reached Manda after production is correct, the earliest Sgraffiato in East Africa is unlikely to have come from Siraf. Thought must be given to more extensive commercial links with other towns in the Persian Gulf or the northern coasts of the Indian Ocean. The two areas most attractive for consideration are the Mesopotamian seaboard

and the Sind seaboard particularly Basra and Banbhore respectively. In this latter regard it is interesting to note Kirkman's comment that the Matched Sgraffiato he has at Gedi is "unmistakeably of an Eastern rather than a Western type; identical sherds were found at Bhambor in Sind".¹⁰⁸ The subsequent account of ideas concerning the origins of the types found at Manda adds weight to Dr. Kirkman's statement, in that it points to predominately "Eastern" origins. It is equally interesting to note that the western "Minai" polychromes and the other related cream bodied wares and the moulded "Lakabi" types are not present in the East African collections.

Dr. Whitehouse describes the earliest Sgraffiato vessels at Siraf as plates and dishes with a yellowish glaze splashed with greens and browns. It is not altogether clear from the preliminary reports what these plates and dishes look like. Neither is the description and illustration of the splashing clear, nevertheless it may reasonably be assumed that these splashed glazes are indeed like those found at Manda.

The date of first occurrence suggested by Whitehouse, (post 1055) is slightly inconsistent with the period for first occurrence at Manda, though Whitehouse's original feeling that the first occurrences at Siraf might be as early as between 977 and 1055 was more consistent. There are also some difficulties with the description of the materials. The polychrome and brown bichrome bowls and dishes of the first period at Manda do not accord with such descriptions as we have from Siraf: neither need

they if the material from Manda is earlier. There is rather more agreement that the hatched vessels occur slightly later than the polychrome and brown bichrome glazed vessels. At Siraf these vessels are regarded as being later than first occurrences and perhaps late eleventh century. Despite the absence of close dating at Manda, the sequence of pottery encourages the acceptance of a late tenth century to early eleventh century period for the earliest Hatched vessels. Mr. Chittick found Hatched sherds in the earliest levels at Kilwa and for excellent unconnected reasons regards these levels to be from the late tenth century. Talbot Rice gives a ninth or tenth century date for this same material using quite different criteria.

If the colour distinctions which occur among the Sgraffiato at Manda are significant features of the general development of Sgraffiatos, the polychrome, brown and brown bichromes are early (perhaps late tenth or early eleventh century) and the yellows and monochrome greens suggest a later date. The Sgraffiato in East Africa certainly occurs over a long period. Pope's dating of the polychrome Hatched vessels has them beginning in the tenth century and reaching a peak of production in the eleventh. Pope feels that the "Aghkand" ware as he calls it was probably made in Adharbayyan possibly in Aghkand itself.¹⁰⁹

The yellow and green splashed wares which Pope describes as "the Green and Ivory type"¹¹⁰ are not dated closely by the Middle Eastern collections, but Pope is sure of the origin: "we can

confidently assign (them) to Mazandaran". He makes no distinction between the use of Hatched, Champleve, or Simple techniques but generally terms these ivory and green glazed vessels as "Amul" and gives an eleventh to thirteenth century period to them. Karabacek is of much the same opinion.¹¹¹ This fits excellently with the consistently late date in the Sgraffiato sequence of the yellow and green vessels in the Manda collection. If this date is reliable (and Pope offers no reasons for depending upon it) the predominant yellow and green group among the Hatched ware suggests an eleventh century date for the first occurrences of that part of the Hatched ware collection. Neither does Pope's broad time span for the production of these glazes prejudice consideration of the Ungwana and Kilepwa Hatched vessels as evidence of imports as late as the thirteenth century, and not as merely vestigial sherds. However the term "Amul" or "Amol" is more generally used to include not only its glaze types described above, but also the green and yellow splashed vessels with green line or underglaze painting added. Nothing of this green lined material occurs in the East African collection. These green lined vessels are felt to have been made toward the end of the period under discussion, namely during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It is therefore possible to deduce from published and museum material precisely what the East African archaeological collection shows, that this kind of ware was commonest in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and is occasionally to be found in the thirteenth century, by which time the overall

rate of import of Sgraffiato had dropped dramatically and consequently certain late types are absent in Swahili settlements.

Dr. Kirkman found a Hatched vessel in Period I at Kilepwa, and two more in slightly later levels. Phase I of Period I is dated by Kirkman in the thirteenth century, as are similar sherds from Ungwana.¹¹²

These are late dates for the arrival of Hatched wares in East Africa, and are important as indications of the period over which such wares were imported.

This is the material which Lane describes as "Zendjian Sgraffiato,"¹¹³ and he notes a later polychrome splashed ware for the same area, bearing nashki script. He claims that this is not common until the twelfth century. The only evidence he offers for this is a vessel carrying the date 1134 in the Berlin Museum. A piece of this occurs in the late levels at Manda in a context which would independently suggest a late twelfth or early thirteenth century date. Lane suggests that there was a limited period of production of this material in the twelfth century which may well have been restricted to one potter, Abu Talib. Lane's reasons for reducing the production to one potter are not convincing, but the twelfth century date suggested for the appearance of polychrome nashki pottery is reasonable conjecture. The Manda evidence, such as it is, would support a late twelfth or early thirteenth century ^{date} for the manufacture of this type of vessel, supporting an earlier rather than a later date rather more readily.

Lane gives a tenth to twelfth century period for Hatched wares.¹¹⁴ The type he seems particularly to have in mind are the plain yellow vessels, often with a green rim, which he claims imitate silver work. Lane gives no reasons for his suggested date and we may feel free to modify his conjecture in the light of the East African collections. The East African material and Pope's slightly longer period for the production of these vessels accord more readily with each other than Lane's suggestions with either.

It is very interesting to attempt to use Fleury's suggested sequence of Kufic styles and their dates¹¹⁵ for studying the small calligraphic collection, and using that it is quite likely that what he would call "Simple" Kufic script on these yellow wares, as on the other glazes of the Hatched group occurs earlier than the mid-eleventh century and, given that its calligraphic degeneracy is not advanced, dates more probably from the tenth century. This accords perfectly with the Manda stratigraphy and associated finds. Kirkman's late Hatched sherds are not calligraphic and the Hatched calligraphic vessels at Manda seem to be early manifestations of the Hatched ware in East Africa. The Manda material suggests a time bracket of late tenth century to eleventh century for the calligraphic Hatched Sgraffiato with a likelihood that the material ceased to be imported by the mid-eleventh century. It should be noted that though he deals only indirectly with nashki material Fleury also would apparently argue a late date for this calligraphy.

The Manda excavations indicate that the polychrome Hatched vessels and the yellow and green hatched vessels occur earliest at Manda. It is not at all clear at Manda how long the Hatched Sgraffiato continued to be imported. The "Late" Sgraffiato described by Dr. Whitehouse in the Siraf deposits is Hatched and is dated between the eleventh and twelfth centuries.¹¹⁶ It is not clear what the glaze colours are but if they are green monochrome, or variegated yellow and monochrome yellow, this would happily support the findings at Manda; most of that part of the collection is late in the sequence and the bulk of the population occurs well below the first occurrences of the fourteenth century Black on Yellow ware, and invariably, if found late, is in levels containing vestigial Tin glaze and Siraf unglazed material. It is my belief that the few Hatched vessels that were found by Dr. Kirkman represent the very latest imports from the Iranian Gulf. Sgraffiato may well have been imported right up to the time of the arrival of the Black on Yellow wares. I regard the two wares as chronologically discrete but contiguous.

The occurrence of the Champeve type slightly later than the Hatched vessels was noticed at Manda and is confirmed at Kilwa. It is clear that at Manda the Hatched vessels occur in proportionately greater abundance in the lowest levels of occurrence than do the Champeve types. There is no indication from the stratification what sort of period may be represented by the gap between the first occurrences of the two; but both occur initially in association with early Chinese white porcelain and only the

Hatched material occurs with Sasanian Islamic material in initial appearances in clean levels. The Champleve first occurs with Siraf wares and cannot have been very much later. If it is correct to date the end of the early Sasanian exports to the late ninth and tenth century, then the Hatched types first occur in Manda in the tenth century, and if it is correct that the Siraf vessels persisted in popularity of use through the tenth century and later than the Sasanian material, then an early eleventh century date for the first occurrences of the Champleve is the most likely. This material seems to be accepted generally as having come from the Garrus district of Western Iran, and wasters have been found at Yastkand, but no date has been established archaeologically for them. Dr. Whitehouse does not mention them, and this could be right if his material is all post-1055. The predominantly yellow, yellow-brown and green colours found at Manda on the Champleve vessels confirm Lane's description. Kirkman has Champleve types at Gedi, Kilepwa and Ungwana in thirteenth century contexts and does not regard the material as vestigial. He also has it at Ras Mkumbuu in, at earliest, a late thirteenth century context. ¹¹⁷

Pope's description of the Kurdistan Champleve concurs well with the finds at Manda although it is maybe the exception which proves the rule suggested by Kirkman that most of the material is "unmistakably Eastern". ¹¹⁸ He describes the cream (I take this to be pale yellow) as a colour of secondary importance and mentions that sometimes the yellow has random streaks of green

with the brown. No polychrome Champleve occurs at Manda at all. Pope's period for these types (he sees them as a ware) is from the tenth to the twelfth centuries. This then is slightly later than the period for the first occurrence of the Hatched vessels but is contemporaneously declining in popularity with the Hatched vessels. Pope is one of the authorities who is sure that these types come from the Garrus region of Kurdistan; he adds that wasters have ~~not only~~ ^{not only} been found at Yastkand but also at Ghezeloand.¹¹⁹ This Champleve is the "gabri" ware mentioned in some texts. The tenth to twelfth century is an admirable period for the Manda material, but the thirteenth century date for the Champleve elsewhere on the coast at first sight jars slightly. The period of the manufacture and export of the Champleve types may well have lasted longer than Lane or Pope believed, or Dr. Kirkman's vessels may be the very last of imports of vessels made many years earlier: they were, after all, in the service of immigrants many of whom are likely to have come from established homes in the Iranian Gulf.

More satisfactorily, the glaze colours of the Champleve pieces at Ungwana are likely (though not certain) to be late if the Manda colour sequence has general reference, and a period for import from the middle tenth century to the late twelfth century is not inconsistent with any of the evidence. Within that period the glaze colours may have varied according to the Manda pattern; they appear to have done, but the sample is too small for certainty.

The early marbled polychrome Simple Sgraffiato types are not described in the literature. Similarly the Flourish type of Simple Sgraffiato is unmentioned in the literature unless it be the eleventh to twelfth century "meaningless scribble" type referred to by Lane. This date fits with the consistent association of Flourish types of the Simple Sgraffiato with Hatched or Champleve material, but its slightly later first occurrence than either, in the Manda material would suggest a mid-eleventh century to thirteenth century bracket for the Flourish Sgraffiato, emphasising the likelihood of a shorter time towards the beginning of that period.

The apparent contemporaneity of the appearance of the Floral Scribble version of the Simple Sgraffiato and the Champleve suggests at latest a mid-eleventh century date for the introduction of that material. The period of popularity seems contemporaneous with the Flourish and Marbled Polychrome types save that the scribble floral vessels are predominant in the immediately pre-Black on Yellow levels. It is not clear, given the sondage nature of the excavation, if this preponderance is significant. There is no doubt, however, that these designs are known to be twelfth and thirteenth century elsewhere.¹²⁰ In all cases the first occurrence is probably in the eleventh century, since it closely follows the first occurrences of Champleve, and in all cases the peak population is somewhat later, in twelfth and thirteenth century levels. Within this period the colour variations appear to operate as rough chronological markers.

HATCHED SGRAFFIATO

The shapes of the bowl form in this group are varied, but fall into three main groups: small with straight rims,¹²¹ large with straight rims or out thickened rims,¹²² and restricted bowls.¹²³ There is also a small group of charger dishes.¹²⁴

There is only one example of the restricted bowl shape. This has a rim diameter of 11 cm. and a mean wall thickness of 6mm. The bowl is gently carinated in the upper body and the wall above the carination is straight, leading to a straight round lipped rim. The glaze is pale yellow and yellowish green splashed. This bowl is unstratified from Manda.

The charger dishes are three in number and are very handsome.¹²⁵ The glazes on these are: on the first, a monochrome strong green, akin to the "apple green" described by Dr. Kirkman¹²⁶; on the second, dark yellowish green, pale yellow and reddish brown splashed; and on the third olive green splashed with reddish brown. Two of the rims are frilled: in one case the section is of a flat lip inclined outwards at about 45°, the frilling being negative; and in the other case, the frilling is positive on a flat lip. The great thickening towards the base is thus potted in order to take the strain of so wide and heavy a vessel on so small an area of load-bearing when the vessel is moved. This thickness is twice that of the rim and appears clumsy in section. The potter has, however, hidden this massive thickening by constructing gracefully curved walls

around it. The need to strengthen the walls of a vessel when by nature of its function it is to be moved many thousands of times in its lifetime is the more obvious when the rim diameter is considered. One is 28 cm. across, and the other measurable one is no less than 37 cm. across. In two of these three examples, Kufic motifs are incised on the interior wall. The large green dish has a ledged rim with an estimated diameter of 33 cm.; on this the inscription is on the ledge.

There is a group of open, straight rimmed round lipped bowls: ¹²⁷four, very open with a wall angle of no less than 50%. Three come from below the levels of maximum occurrence but not from the lowest levels of occurrence for Hatched material, and of these two have yellow and green, and one has yellow and brown splashed glaze. One of these bowls has a frilled rim. The two rim diameters available are 19 cm. and 24 cm. These vessels are considerably earlier than the other bowl with a diameter of 23 cm. which comes from a very late Manda level. Despite the slight discrepancy in the diameters, the wall thickness (4.75 cm.), general form and detailed shape of these vessels demand that the bowls be put in the same group.

There is one group of more finely potted open straight rimmed round lipped bowls with a rather less open wall, subtending to around 30-35°. ¹²⁸ These are all from the latest levels of Hatched Sgraffiato in Manda. All but one of the seven have the greenish yellow/yellow green splash type of glaze, and the exception has a dark yellowish green/strong green/reddish brown

polychrome splashed glaze. The mean of means thickness is 4.1 mm., suggesting rather finer potting of smaller vessels with a mean diameter at the rim of 19 cm., but this is slightly forced since one of the vessels is markedly smaller than the rest, with a mean thickness of 3 mm. and a rim diameter of around 13 cm.¹²⁹ It also is the exception with the polychrome glaze. This vessel taken out of the group, the other vessels give a size reflected by a mean of means thickness of 4.3 mm. and a mean rim diameter with very little variation of 20 cm. This is not very different from the earlier open bowls, but does nevertheless imply that the later bowls, apart from being less open, are also slightly more finely potted and rather smaller. There is no useful distinction in glaze range between the two groups. These minor variations are not sufficient to indicate a change in the function of this type of bowl in Manda society.

The shallow cornice rim open bowls with a beaded rim¹³⁰ come from the Hatched levels, are glazed with the pale greenish yellow/yellow green splashed glaze and have a standard size of 5.5 mm. mean of means wall thickness and 26 cm. at the rim diameter.

There is a group of four thin beaded lip straight rim bowls with a constant rim diameter of 20 cm. and a constant mean of means wall thickness of 4.4 mm. These are all monochrome very pale greenish yellow and all come from the Late Hatched Sgraffiato levels.¹³¹

There is also one bowl rim which is very slightly everted,¹³² one straight rimmed bowl with a thick external cordon immediately below the lip,¹³³ and another with a slightly flapped straight rim.¹³⁴ None of these is in reliable levels at Manda and are described for the ceramic interest only.

There is a single sherd from a large pot,¹³⁵ glazed on both sides and exhibiting the early green, brown and yellow T'ang style splashed.

The hatched vessels represent 18.2% of all the Sgraffiato vessels recovered, and come exclusively from Manda. They are in all technical particulars similar to those found at Gedi; of these Dr. Kirman notes that "The Sgraffiato with designs with a hatched background is unmistakably of an eastern rather than a western type; identical sherds were found at Bhambore in Scinde."¹³⁶

This attribution to the eastern centres of Islamic ceramic technology is undoubtedly correct and the association with the sherds from Bhambore supports Rice's feeling that these vessels are from the ninth or tenth century, observing that "thinly engraved designs which are very similar appear on metalwork of the period".¹³⁷

All the Hatched sherds from Manda carry glazes which are combinations of various greens, yellow, green and yellow, or green, yellow and brown. Of 21 hatched bases 18 are purely pale yellow and all but one have the hatched motifs surrounded by an incised single or double circle, with a diameter roughly

that of the base. The splashed colours are thus predominantly on the interior walls of the vessels. Nine of the vessels are plates (the measurable diameters are 20 cm., 23 cm., and 26cm.) and the rest are bowls. The exact shape of these bowls is not altogether clear since there is no example of a full section, but a study of the rims and bases together suggests the most likely range of overall shapes. The mean of means base diameter is 10.2 cm. and the likelihood is that these bowls are shallow and wide with gently convex walls.

Kufic script is used as a motif on 14% of the Hatched vessels including one of the plates and two of the dishes.¹³⁸

Most of the examples are not legible but one carries a repetitive motif of the letters, meaning "on". Other sherds show the Kufic in a slightly debased form and purely in an ornamental capacity. Flury suggested tenth or eleventh century date for most of this simple Kufic work on pottery has been referred to already.¹³⁹ This calligraphy is not so dramatically debased as would, to judge from his illustrations,¹⁴⁰ imply a later date.

At the same time the stratigraphical evidence strongly resists a later date, showing the Kufic sherds consistently early in the Hatched Sgraffiato sequence. Other related motifs consisted of hatched curvilinear blocks running in irregular juxtaposition round the cavetto.¹⁴⁵ These abstract motifs persist slightly longer than the flower motifs and the Kufic, but appear at about the same time.

A flower motif is employed on 39% of the vessels of the

Hatched group at Manda. The flower is in the base circle and highly geometric.¹⁴¹ It is picked out in simple lines and the background slip at the edges is hatched to increase the contrast. The flower is a standard quatrefoil with a four pointed leaf backing it. This motif appears slightly earlier than the equally stylised tendril motif.¹⁴² These flower bases occur initially in Sasanian Islamic levels, whereas the tendril motifs appear at about the same time as Champeve material. The initial occurrence of both simultaneously is in the only pit where the two occur together in an early context.

Tendrils are found on the bowl walls in about 25% of the bowl population of the Hatched types, on the bottom of one of the three plates,¹⁴³ and on about 27% of the base centres. Carefully executed geometric designs are rare in any of the Sgraffiati at Manda. Three bases only show concern by the potter for more than the slightest geometric accuracy.

Bands of hatching enclosed in random curvilinear shapes are common on bases.¹⁴⁴ None have occurred on walls. Two such shapes opposed occur occasionally. Other examples of this decorative style are not sufficiently complete to be convincing in respect of the minutiae of execution.

"Lattice" Sgraffiato of the kind mentioned by Mr. Farries and Pope in Iran,¹⁴⁵ occurs at Manda.¹⁴⁶ One has a tight lattice work backing on an unrecognisable fragment of design, and much more widely spaced lattice work occurs in several other cases, amounting to around 2% of the total hatched collection.

Only two hatched bases do not have a circle with a motif inside it. Both are from first occurrence levels.

The green hatched bowl with the everted rim is unusual also in the incised design.¹⁴⁷ It shows that the design (which is indistinct) was divided into panels; similar indications are given by the fragments from four other bowls, of which only one is hatched. This is a reminder of the minor variations between the decorative alternatives available to the potters of these different types of Sgraffiato.

On one occasion, only does hatched design appear on the same sherd as Champleve, and although the very fragmentary nature of the material does not permit firmness on the point, it is at least likely that this exclusiveness is significant.

There is no stratigraphical significance in the distribution of the forms of the hatched Sgraffiato vessels. It is worth noting however that the two small dishes with flilled rims are both from the very lowest levels of occurrence of the Hatched Sgraffiato.

Of the footring bases all of the 82 which can indicate initial wall angle at the groin, fit the angle for the slightly curved wall bowl with the everted or straight rim. In addition to these and the rims, 30 other similar vessels were represented by body sherds. The total number of bowls in the collection is thus 114 of which only 28 show rims. Of these rims, 10 are everted and 18 are straight rims.

Only two vessels in the Hatched group have flat bases.

Only two vessels in the Hatched group have flat bases. All the rest are of the heeled and kneed type. a single incised line in the base. In one case (a bowl base surface found from Sharr) ¹⁴⁸ the calligraphic motifs are more closely spaced and CHAMPLEVE SGRAFFIATO periphery band. They form a frieze round the lower body.

The term Champleve is lifted from metalworking and enamelling and refers to the gouging out of wide areas of a vessel's surface, creating "beds" for the enamel. In Sgraffiato pottery the slip is cut away over large areas revealing the red or pink body. These beds are then painted. Nearly all of the Champleve beds and associated incised lines are brown. The range of browns is very great, extending from yellowish brown and brownish orange through to very dark browns in the moderate strong and greyish ranges. Very occasionally there are olives and brownish greys. The value of the chroma also varies but is generally high.

Design is very difficult to establish on the Manda fragments. Nevertheless a few observations can be made. There is a small class of vessels which have a broad Champleve circle on the inner groin. This acts as a base for simple incised decoration up the walls. Some pieces suggest that this decoration may include stylised arabic but this is not certain. Another design is a double cordon in the base inside interrupted at random points by short champleve stretches. Above this circle are calligraphic designs in Champleve. In no case do the calligraphic

motifs combine to mean anything in Arabic or Farsi. Similar interior wall designs occur on a circle of a single incised line in the base. In one case (a bowl base surface find from Shanga)¹⁴⁸ the calligraphic motifs are more closely spaced and mounted on a cavetto periphery band. They form a frieze round the lower body.

Vessel shape is consistent. Almost all of the sherds are from bowls with shallow splayed footrings. The usual shape at the rim is straight or very slightly everted.

One other major group of designs among the Champleve wares is that in which small patches of slip are left in a large bed, and this "blob" decoration is interrupted by a series of bands of slip.¹⁴⁹ This "blob" Champleve is never associated with hatching at Manda but it occurs on vessels with ordinary Champleve and is used to represent a collar or foliage, or sometimes a bird's wing. None of these corporate designs occur at Manda. The "blob" decoration is used abstractly. There is no satisfactory evidence to suggest a different date or period of import for this distinctive type.

Two sherds have closely spaced incised curves with the Champleve patches along their length, stretching from rim to base.

There is no discernable chronological sequence for the various glaze colours and combinations. The Champleve vessels were, unlike the Hatched vessels, largely monochrome (64%); of the polychrome vessels splashed glazes account for 22% of the

collection and striated vessels account for 12%.
 No single brown polychrome or green and brown sherd appears in the Champleve from Manda. 32% of the Champleve sherds are yellow and brown splashed, and of these 29% occur at lowest levels of occurrence for Champleve sherds and are present at the lowest levels in eleven out of the seventeen pits yielding Champleve. Of the other six pits, five earliest occurrences of this ware are yellow monochromes; yellow monochromes also occur alongside the yellow and brown splash on three occasions. One first occurrence in these six pits is a yellow and green splashed sherd which is one of only two in the whole Champleve collection. The earliest occurrences of yellow monochromes represent only 19% of the population of these sherds. It is of course conceivable that some of the yellow monochrome sherds, particularly those from the lower wall, come from bichrome vessels. The impression is that the yellow and brown bichromes are the commonest early Champleve colours, yielding to yellow monochrome, which is much commoner in the later levels. The number of yellow and green vessels is not enough to make any contribution to the sequence of colours.

No Champleve sherd had an everted rim at Manda, and the largest group was of straight-rimmed round-lipped bowls.¹⁵⁰ There was also a large dish, 25 mm. in rim diameter and 3.6 cm. high.¹⁵¹ One other rim comes from a dish of uncertain shape.¹⁵² Although most of the Champleve bowls are of fairly standard

size (th. 5.5 mm. rim diameter 21 cm. base diameter 9 cm.), one is much smaller (th. 5 mm. rim diameter 12 cm. base diameter 5 cm.).¹⁵³

A Champleve sherd was found at Hidabu, near Lamu, in the bottom levels of a small sondage put in by Mr. Chittick; this and the discovery of Hatched sherds on the beach east of Lamu and at Wiyuni argue that there was a settlement in the neighbourhood of Lamu, probably to the east of it, at latest in the twelfth century.

A surface collection made by Mr. Chittick at Siu also includes one Champleve sherd. Sherds of Simple Sgraffiato are also in this collection of Mr. Chittick and are all of the late green, green speckled and yellow and green types. This vestigial Champleve in such company can hardly argue for a pre-twelfth century date by itself. Nevertheless, the distribution is clearly early, although possibly slightly later than the Hatched vessels. A period of import and use after, but soon after the earliest deposits of Hatched vessels is most likely.

these dishes is significantly smaller than the others, having
SIMPLE SGRAFFIATO
 a rim diameter of only 26 cm¹⁵⁵ and one significantly larger,

measuring some 79 cm. The others are closely clustered around

31 cm. The walls are thick, with a mean thickness of around 2.5 mm. This does not have any significance for sgraffito hatching or Champeve techniques. This, as a group, is called Simple Sgraffiato. There is a considerable note of markedly thicker walls than bowls of a similar capacity. In caution to be sounded however. In view of the fragmentary nature of the material from Manda, there is almost certainly a small part of this collection which does in fact come from another type of vessel.

The number of sherds thus confused is probably slight and principally concentrated on the base junction, this thickening undoubtedly does not affect the overall conclusions. Simple Sgraffiato is divided into several sub-types, ^{largely} according to the type of motif employed.

very graceful lines when the dish is seen complete and from the surface. The rim is flattened,¹⁵⁶ inclining outwards at about 45°, sometimes slightly concave, sometimes slightly

CALLIGRAPHIC

convex. The calligraphic markings run around the ledge rim.

One other sherd bears a calligraphic inscription. The Several sherds of straight rimmed open bowls have deep calligraphic (or pseudo-calligraphic) friezes enclosed by parallel lines top and bottom. Three of these sherds were found in a reliable context associated with T'ing, Siraf, Tin Glaze and Hatched Sgraffiato sherds. However, they do not occur in first occurrence assemblages of these early wares and do not demand a date earlier than the eleventh century. There is also a large group of dishes with a mean rim diameter of 31 cm.¹⁵⁴ One of

these dishes is significantly smaller than the others, having original colouring, a rim diameter of only 26 cm.¹⁵⁵ and one significantly larger, measuring some 39 cm. The others are closely clustered around 31 cm. The walls are thick, with a mean thickness of around 9.3 mm. This does not have any significance for seriation since it is a feature of earthenware dishes that they are markedly thicker walled than bowls of a similar capacity. In this particular case the lower body thickens dramatically in comparison to the upper body. This is unlikely to be the result of bad potting. Dishes have to be lifted and moved regularly, often with a load in them. Since the strain is principally concentrated on the base junction, this thickening is a natural technological solution. It is amazing that this thickening, which looks so grotesque in section, is hidden by very graceful lines when the dish is seen complete and from the surface. The rim is flattened,¹⁵⁶ inclining outwards at about 45°, sometimes slightly concave, sometimes slightly convex. The calligraphic markings run around the ledge rim.

One other sherd bears a calligraphic inscription. The inscription is in Nashki and the characters are distinguishable.¹⁵⁷ This sherd is curious in several ways. The principal decoration is on the exterior, the glaze is on both interior and exterior, and the shape is unique. The sherd strongly suggests a carinated bowl. The glaze on the exterior is brightly splashed in yellowish green, very pale green, and yellowish brown. The glaze in the interior is too badly damaged to ascertain the

original colours.

Another sherd of interest bears a fruitlike motif in the base. This sherd comes from a mixed level and a relative date cannot be obtained for it.¹⁵⁸ The base diameter is 9 cm. and the bowl form above it is certain.

A large bowl from Manda with a splashed polychrome glaze is divided into radiating oval panels of double parallel lines, each connected with the rim by a double line leaving the panel half way up and reaching the rim half way between the two panels. Each panel has a wavy line incised up its centre.¹⁵⁹

In Manda these sherds appear consistently with the Champleve material. There is insufficient evidence to discern their relationship with the Hatched material, but it may be accepted as a reasonable assumption that these vessels are predominantly an eleventh century or possibly twelfth century phenomenon.

The difficulty with this classification of all calligraphic material together is the comparative material from Gedi where there is a piece of Sgraffiato from a fifteenth century context which offers the only direct formal comparison with the carinated bowl, (not close), although it bears no calligraphy. In view of the fact that this is only a formal comparison and the motif is quite different, and that the context at Gedi is not sealed and only in an area where a fourteenth or fifteenth century date would least strain the evidence,¹⁶⁰ it is reasonable at present to suggest that this Manda calligraphic piece is genuinely earlier, and contemporaneous with the other pieces.

The famous and rather pedantic date of 1055 for the intrusion
 of Nashki on the Arabic calligraphic scene is not seriously
 challenged by the Manda material. The only sherds which could
 conceivably have been deposited earlier than the mid eleventh
 century, those of the straight rim bowls, are in very weak
 positions well up in the calligraphical distributions of the
 three early Islamic wares with which they occur. There app-

ears to be no calligraphic sherd in the excavations which could

support a definitive statement that this type of decoration
 came in a Sgraffiato after the twelfth century. None is found
 in the eleventh century, and yet the bowl has been found
 for example, in association with Black on Yellow ware in clean
 levels, and so one may presume that by the fourteenth century
 this material was not even vestigial.

The neatness of this is upset somewhat by the bowl found
 set in a tomb at Dondo.¹⁶¹ This has an interior frieze of calli-
 graphy. The preservation is extremely poor, but it would seem
 that the vessel is of the Simple Sgraffiato group, but with a
 Kufic frieze, possibly interwoven with palmettes. This bowl is
 of interest in many other ways. It is fascinating. It is one
 of less than half-a-dozen Sgraffiato vessels on the entire
 Swahili coast which are glazed on both sides. The exterior
 decoration is unique in this collection. It is coloured a very
 pale cream and then decorated with a carination cordon band of
 bold slashes of russet gold under a horizontal line and a
 frieze of repeated double garlands in the same rich colour.

The closest parallels to such decoration are in the Mesopotamian

Tin Glaze repertoire. The bold free-hand work and striking colour contrast on the exterior must have clashed violently with the undoubtedly more constricted intense sgraffiato work under darker, less contrastive colours on the interior. It is a great shame that the vessel is so badly weathered on the interior for it to be impossible to be certain of the colour combination there.

The little that can be said of it in terms of glaze, colour and decoration all point to a pre-twelfth century date, probably in the eleventh century, and yet the bowl has gazed out from the wall of a tomb which is almost certainly a full two hundred years younger.

The shape of the bowl is also unusual. There is a very low carination with a raised round cordon above, the footring is extremely high and its shape unique. The rim section only has relatives in the late Islamic Monochrome bowl collection from its post-seventeenth century period. Clearly this bowl is of immense interest and it is hoped that a closer study of the unpublished museum material in the Middle East, Russia and Iran can help to place it.

What appears to be a very similar vessel is still in situ in one of the tombs at Dondo. ¹⁶²

LINE CALLIGRAPHIC

Several forms carry horizontal friezes of linear decoration based upon Arabic calligraphy. None appears to say anything, and the calligraphy seems to have been purely decorative. It is markedly more debased than the earlier material to the point where many letters are illegible.

The forms are simple bowls and dishes. Six are open bowls, with three of the four extant rims straight and bulbed and the fourth an everted ledge rim. Not enough vessels were recovered for very satisfactory statistics. This is particularly disappointing in view of the difficulty in identifying the size range. The diameters of the two straight rim bowls represented by rims with measurable diameters are 43 cm. and 28 cm. The diameter of the everted rim bowl is 26 cm.

The dish class is more coherent. There are four dishes. They have a mean of means thickness of 9.3 mm. and a mean diameter of 31.75 cm. which means less since there is a large variation. The shape is nevertheless very consistent. The rims are all thickened sharply at the lip and the plane of the hollow lip is around 40° leaning outwards. These are all from the late levels of the Sgraffiato sequence and carry the late colour range. They fall therefore into the twelfth to thirteenth century period.

FLOURISH

The commonest of the recognisable designs found on the Sgraffiato at Manda are the flourish motifs on straight rimmed bowls in browns, yellow and greens (11 brown and yellow, 6 monochrome brown, 3 splashed polychrome, 9 bichrome green). There is no yellow and green or splashed yellow, neither is there a green and brown. There is only one monochrome yellow. The colour range of these vessels suggests an early period of first production for them, though the presence of the yellow monochrome, and the large number of greens, indicates a longer period of popularity than the calligraphic material.

There is one bowl, from a level of earliest occurrence, of Flourish type, which has a slightly everted rim and a rather larger rim diameter (28 cm.) on walls of a thickness comparable to that of the other bowls (5 mm.). All but one of the Manda bowls has the heeled and kneed footring, but the exception has a kneed flat base.

These bowls are distinguished by their paucity of incised decoration and by the independent motifs on the bowl walls, and less commonly (2 cases) on the centre. These motifs are not of any consistent form and are merely random flourishes of a stylus.¹⁶³ Two show some indebtedness to geometric design but remain flourishes. In all cases the flourish is on or close to the incised line, immediately below the rim on the interior. On those vessels which do not have this line, the flourish

remains in the same position on the wall. It is interesting to note that in the two cases where the glaze is splashed unevenly, leaving a dark patch on one side of the bowl, the flourish is in both cases in that dark patch. Two examples are not sufficient to be certain that this is a conscious decorative artifice, but the phenomenon is worth noting. Five other bowls have the flourish astride the top incised cordon, leaving an empty cavetto. In only one case is the motif well down the cavetto.

These Flourish Bowls appear in quantity later than the Hatched or Champeve sherds but first occurrences are with the early Sgraffiatos. There are only a few residual sherds after the advent of the Black on Yellow ware. One assumes from the Manda distribution a late eleventh to thirteenth century bracket for them with their most common distribution in the twelfth century.

Another small group is of straight rimmed bowls with fat lips pulled outwards and slightly hollow.¹⁶⁴ Below the rim on the inside is a wave pattern enclosed in a parallel line cordon. The fragmentary nature of the material prevents certainty but the impression given is that the walls are otherwise undecorated. A related rim frieze, but without the parallel lines,¹⁶⁶ is found on one sherd of a small everted rim bowl. These sherds first appear in an early period associated securely with Sasanian Islamic, Tin Glaze, Siraf Earthenware and the Sgraffiato Hatched and Champeve wares. But all but two of these ~~that~~ are in post-

first occurrence contexts for these associated wares, the others being in the middle of the Sgraffiato Simple period, associated with Champeve sherds. Thus a date in the eleventh century would perhaps fit these best. The class should thus appear at Manda at about the same time as the Champeve. All of these vessels have a yellow, green and brown splashed glaze which is marbled rather than patchy and is unique to the form of bowl and the type of decoration, with the single exception of the calligraphic bowls mentioned elsewhere. All the vessels are bowls and all but one are straight rimmed open bowls. The colours are green and combinations of green and yellow, and brown and combinations of brown and yellow, with the green group most heavily represented.

SCRIBBLE

There is a large collection from Manda of Simple Sgraffiato whose incised designs are imaginatively executed in a partially or totally abstract swirl of garland and curlicue bonanzas.¹⁶⁵ This loose curvilinear scribbling lends itself particularly well to making semi-abstract floral compositions.¹⁶⁶

Vessels in this group are decorated by all the glazes represented in the Manda collection, except the very rare blue. 55.7% of the glazes are green, either green monochrome (22%) or green variegated (23.7%). 23.8% of these vessels have

yellow or yellow and green glazes, and 25.3% have brown, brown and yellow or brown and green glazes; 5.1% of the collection has the early trichrome splash.

The yellows and yellow-green bichromes are consistently later than the browns, brown bichromes and the polychrome splash, and are never associated in a primary context with Sasanian Islamic or Siraf vessels, this despite the fact that the few early trichrome vessels could theoretically, according to the glaze sequence, have been made that early. The polychromes and brown splashed glazes show no significant difference in sequential distribution. Green occurs throughout the scribble floral Sgraffiato distribution but the significant change is that green monochromes occur in consistently higher stratigraphical positions than green variegated sherds of 59% of all monochrome green occurrences are the latest example of Simple Sgraffiato found.

This supports the discovery of green variegated sherds associated with Flourish and Calligraphic materials to the exclusion of the green monochromes. It is not possible to detect any difference in sequence between the yellow monochrome and the yellow and green bichrome vessels, which both have a high proportion of their population in the uppermost Sgraffiato levels (40% and 50% respectively). It is possible however that the considerable difference in percentage of sherds in the uppermost levels between these and the monochrome green suggests a slightly later vogue for the latter. This possibility is strengthened by

the general colour distribution of glazes for the Simple
 Sgraffiato which indicates the absence of the monochrome greens
 associated with initial occurrences of Siraf and Tin Glaze
 Wares. Some of this material certainly occurs early. Sherds
 very similar to the early glaze range sherds from Manda are
 found at Nishapur in what is said to be an early ninth century
 level¹⁶⁷ and are definitely there later. The "meaningless
 scribble" material is also at Fustat¹⁶⁸ and at Samarkand.¹⁶⁹
 Lane claims that it is also at Kish and Kurah in the eleventh
 and twelfth centuries, though I have been unable to see these
 sherds. Despite the generally eastern flavour of much of this
 material some of it is apparently more closely associated with
 the "Amul" style and may well come from one of the centres near
 the southern shores of the Caspian.¹⁷⁰

27 of the Scribble floral bowls have everted ledge rims
 and the other 73 are all round lipped straight rimmed bowls.
 There is no stratigraphical significance in the distribution of
 the two shapes, and there is no suggestion that each form takes
 distinctive colours.

One straight rimmed round lipped bowl was found which was
 different in shape from the others.¹⁷¹ In the upper region of
 the lower body the wall turns sharply towards the vertical. As
 with all the other Scribble floral vessels, the base has a heel-
 ed and kneed footing, varying to a heeled straight footing at
 points. The incised decoration is on the upper exterior body,
 and both the interior and the exterior are glazed. The interior

is a brown and green splash whereas the exterior is variegated green. This vessel is associated with Hatched Sgraffiato in a satisfactory context and is thus an early example of the yellow, Scribble type. In a very few cases, none were well stratified, there are sherds carrying the painted green incisions, generally associated with "Amul" types. These types are felt to be from the twelfth or thirteenth centuries and were found from the period at Tammisha.¹⁷² There is no dating or stylistic interest in the Manda sherds. It is likely that the Plain Corded pieces carry on later than their close relatives.

PLAIN

Some of the bowls have a single line running round below the rim on the interior and the rest of the vessel has no incisions. These are all straight rimmed point lipped bowls, and are in variations of the green glaze. The variations are fifteen in yellowish green with olive grey or strong green splashes or striations; nine in yellow green with brown splashes; six in monochrome yellow; one in monochrome green and one in yellow with green and brown splashes.

It is of course impossible to indicate from so fragmentary a collection as that from Manda the proportion of these vessels to others in view of the fact that only the rims differentiate these vessels from the Early Lead Glazed vessels. It is also impossible to tell how many of these are from Flourish bowls;

but it is significant that whereas only one sherd (3) of the Flourish bowls was glazed yellow, 19% of the Plain Cordon bowls are glazed yellow, yellow and green, or variegated yellow, exhibiting a rather later range of colours. Equally important is the fact that of those occurring in levels of first occurrence for Simple Sgraffiato, a high percentage is of variegated greens and the single yellow brown bichrome. Dependent upon the glaze there would thus appear to be a considerable overlap with the Flourish Sgraffiato, but that there is likelihood that the Plain Cordon pieces carry on later than their close relatives.

JARS

There are four jars represented by fragments in mottled green glazes and a T'ang style trichrome. Three body fragments, unfortunately from three different bowls, offer some concrete indications as to shape. It would appear that horizontal blind handles were applied below the neck, on the upper body, and that the jar form was very similar to those hailing from the Far East in Sung times. All of these jars are from the latest Sgraffiato levels at Manda and are likely therefore to have been made in the twelfth or thirteenth century.

VESSELS UNDIAGNOSTIC BY SGRAFFIATO MOTIF

Unfortunately by far the largest number of the finds of Simple Sgraffiato sherds bear no recognisable motif at all. These have been considered from the point of view of glaze colour and form alone.

There seems to be some indication of change in vessel form and shape over the long Simple Sgraffiato period. While the straight rimmed flat lipped bowls with the marbled polychrome glaze and zigzag interior frieze appear early in the Simple Sgraffiato sequence, the majority of them appears in the middle and upper Sgraffiato levels.¹⁷³ In these same levels exclusively is a large group of similar bowls, each of which also has a polychrome glaze. Five of the nine have a polychrome glaze but it should be noted that this glaze is not marbled. Of the four remaining, two are splashed glazes of dark green on yellowish green, one is strong or deep yellow splashed on a predominant moderate brown, and one is moderate olive splash on a strong yellow green.

The variety of size among these vessels precludes their consideration as a group in those terms although shape and glaze combination clearly ally them. It should be noted that the polychrome sherds are the earliest in this group and one of the variegated green examples is similarly from an early Simple Sgraffiato occurrence. A vessel of this latter kind has been found on the surface at Shanga, in circumstances where one

would be very surprised indeed to have to consider a pre-thirteenth century date for it.

Two of the early bowls in this group have a slightly flapped rim.

Some idea of the shape of these bowls may be obtained from the rather larger couple of straight rimmed round lipped open bowls with polychrome glazes from a middle Simple Sgraffiato level with the same angle of wall as the flat lipped bowls.¹⁷⁴ These bowls both have very small bases in comparison to the rim diameter, and in order to cope with this the lower part of the body is considerably thickened, in fact to close on twice the thickness of the wall below the rim. The rim diameters of these are 33 cm. and 26 cm., and the measurable base diameter (heeled and kneed) is 5 cm. The wall thickness above the base junction is in one case as much as 1.3 cm.

There are three dishes.¹⁷⁵ One has a rim diameter of 28 cm. and an overall height of about 3 cm.¹⁷⁶ The mean thickness of the latter two vessels is 6 mm. with a low deviation.¹⁷⁷ The wall of the first vessel is near vertical, and those of the other two subtend to about 35° below the straight rim. In all cases the lip is flat and flanged, horizontal in the first case and inclined out at about 45° in the other two cases, and hollowed. These dishes have polychrome glazes and occur early in the sequence for Simple Sgraffiato.

There are two bowls with rounded nip points. One, from a late Simple Sgraffiato level has a vertical straight round

lipped rim emerging direct from the nip point.¹⁷⁸ The glaze is monochrome strong bluish green and the diameter at the rim is 18 cm. The second bowl is also late, and was found on the surface at Shanga.¹⁷⁹ It has a slightly waisted, slightly everted round lipped straight rim emerging direct from the nip point. The glaze is also a monochrome green, but rather lighter than the other vessel being more in the moderate yellow green range. These should perhaps be associated with the other Simple Sgraffiato bowls with more gentle external nip points all of which are from late levels.¹⁸⁰

There are two straight rims on vertical walls. They give little indication of the overall form of the vessel. One has a round lip and the glaze, a variegated green, is applied externally also. Below the rim on the exterior is a row of thumb pressed dimples.¹⁸¹ The rim is 16 cm. This is probably from a vessel very similar to the Scribble Sgraffiato floral bowl which was recovered almost intact and revealed a vertical walled bowl on a wide footing.¹⁸² This dimpled vessel is from a late Simple Sgraffiato context.

The other rim is flat lipped and flanged, the flat area is inclined outwards at about 45°. The rim is slightly waisted.¹⁸³ This, the very small diameter (9 cm.) and the thinning towards the bottom (6.5 mm. at the rim and 3 mm. at the base of the sherd) strongly suggest that this sherd is from a jar or pot of some kind. It is a great shame that we do not have more of this unusual vessel. The glaze is polychrome splashed and the sherd

is from one of the levels of first occurrence of Sgraffiato ware.

Two bowls with round lipped straight rims of a common diameter of 22 cm. and a mean wall thickness of 6 mm. come from late levels in Mr. Chittick's trenches at Manda. One has a yellow brown splashed glaze and one is of variegated greens. From the same place and also from the latest Sgraffiato levels is a pointed lipped straight rimmed bowl with a diameter of 18 cm. and a variegated green glaze. The little green glazed animal heads at Manda¹⁸⁴ are bosses from flying buttress handles. There is no indication from this head, or the similar one from Kilwa¹⁸⁵ or those from Samarra,¹⁸⁶ as to the shape of vessel which carried these handles.

COLOURS

83% of the Hatched vessels represented in Manda have splashed glazes; of this number 20% are polychrome splashed, 3.6% are green and brown splashed, 1.8% are yellow variegated, and 75% are green and yellow. It is likely that this figure should be higher because many of the sherds in the monochrome group (15%) are very small, that is to say with a maximum diameter of less than 10 cm. Further, of twenty-one hatched bases at Manda eighteen are purely pale yellow and this offers a much higher percentage of yellow monochrome than the sherds from the walls

would sustain: thus the splashed colours are predominantly on the walls of the vessels, and the following figures are based upon wall sherd counts.

Between the various types of glaze represented in the Hatched Sgraffiato pottery (Splash, Monochrome and Striated) there is no convincingly different chronological distribution. All the hatched vessels are in green, greenish yellow, green and yellow or brown and yellow glazes.

It is clear that any difference that there might be in date between brown, brown bichrome, and polychrome and the yellow bichrome group must be small, if existent at all. The yellow, variegated yellow and monochrome green sherds are never first occurrences on Hatched Sgraffiato and always first appear either with yellow and green or above it. It is not, of course, certain how many of the all-yellow sherds come from a yellow and green vessel, but it is likely that few did.

The yellow and green sherds are seen in general to be rather later than the brown group in the Simple Sgraffiato class, and are the commonest glaze colour in the earliest Hatched levels. In twenty-three cases of the thirty-three pits in which Hatched Sgraffiato occurs at Manda, the earliest Hatched sherds are yellow and green splashed and the number of such sherds in these lowest levels amounts to 36% of the total population of yellow and green splashed Hatched sherds. Most of these glazes are associated with Nishapur and dated to the ninth and tenth centuries. The Manda collection is content with this.

On the other ten occasions the vessels are polychrome splashed, representing 32% of the population of such sherds. There is no satisfactory indication of an earlier assemblage with the polychrome group than with the bichrome group, so an extrapolation from the Simple Sgraffiato evidence would suggest that the polychrome group is rather earlier than the others. This is not certain although it is tempting in view of the fact that the colour distribution is otherwise similar.

Of fourteen occasions when yellow monochrome or yellow bichrome (with brown or green) are in levels of first occurrence of Simple Sgraffiato, four are associated with first occurrences of Siraf ware, all are associated with Siraf or Tin Glaze materials, and all are above the first Sasanian Islamic occurrences. Of ten occasions when splashed green and green bichromes with brown are in levels of first occurrence of Simple Sgraffiato, five are in association with late Sasanian Islamic material and not with Siraf material. Of six occasions in which brown vessels occur in the lowest levels of occurrence for Simple Sgraffiato, three are in levels where brown is the only Sgraffiato glaze represented at that level. Of twenty-seven occasions when brown bichromes or polychromes (with yellow or green) are earliest occurrences of Simple Sgraffiato, eleven are occurrences where browns appear alone before all other colours, and of these eleven, six are the yellow brown and green splashed vessels which are said to be copies of the famous T'ang splashed wares, and certainly give every appearance of being conscious copies

of that type.

A small group of trichrome splashed glazes have the colours running into each other in a more marbled way than the usual splashed effect of the T'ang-inspired vessels. These are all associated with the wavy band group which occurs late in the Sgraffiato sequence and are as a group distinct stylistically and stratigraphically from the early splashed vessels.

This suggests forcibly that the browns appear earlier in Manda than the greens and yellows and possibly that the greens may have preceded the yellows by a short time. The latter inference is probably unwarranted. However it is worth noticing that the early Calligraphic material is exclusively of browns and greens and supports a suggestion that the splashed greens, though not as early as the brown, are earlier than either the yellow equivalents or the yellow and green combinations. All the dishes are glazed with the yellow, green and brown splash combinations. Of the bowls, four are in the splashed polychrome, two are of the yellow and brown bichrome, one is monochrome brown and four are splashed greens.

An interesting feature of this is that the majority of the early Hatched sherds have yellow and green splashed glazes. In all cases where Hatched Sgraffiato is preceded in the sequence by Simple Sgraffiato sherds, the glazes in the simple sherds (representing 10% of the total occurrence of the Simple sherds) are always in the brown splashed group; 32% of the Polychrome sherds of all Hatched types also occur in the earliest levels for the

Matched occurrences, so it would seem that the polychrome is an early mark of both Simple and Hatched types.

Thus, glaze colours of these Sgraffiato wares offer some useful clues to relative dating. Variegated green-and-brown and brown bichromes appear to be the earliest glazes, with variegated green, polychromes and green with brown bichromes all absent in the Champleve and stratigraphically rather earlier than the yellow and brown bichrome, which occurs commonly in the earliest Champleve levels and in no context certainly before the Champleve material.

The yellow-and-green, yellow monochrome and variegated yellow occur slightly later, and the variegated yellows are not at a peak of popularity until after the beginning of the Champleve period. The monochrome greens in all cases occur first in association with, or slightly later than, the first occurrences of yellow monochrome and generally contemporary with, but in no significant pattern vis a vis, variegated yellow. This speculatively suggests twelfth and post-twelfth century period for this group. Incidentally, many of the greens are matched on sherds in the stores in the British Museum, labelled "Carus" and dated to the twelfth century. The "apple green" scribble Sgraffiato of Dr. Kirkman is at Gedi in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.¹⁸⁷ The same colour pattern is reflected in the small stratified collection from Bui.

In addition to the likelihood of a longer life being

SPUR MARKS

represented by the repaired vessels, that need to repair show a supply which did not meet demand. In this circumstance a

Thirteen vessels only (all bowls) have spur marks. Of these one has spur marks on the base, and all the others have them in the cavetto. The base marks have glaze clinging to them of the same colour as that applied to the inside. These bowls were therefore fired in batches of vessels with the same glaze. No bowl has spur marks on both sides, implying that the stacking was only two vessels high. No form other than the bowls was found with spur marks. In all cases the number of marks is three, suggesting a pontil with three castellations. All of these examples are on Simple Sgraffiato bowls, on vessels with colours suggesting a late date in the sequence. This might possibly mean that the practice of stacking in the kiln may only have been a late development in the potteries making Sgraffiato wares.

REPAIRS

A large number of sherds from the Sgraffiato vessels were drilled for repairs.

The habit of repairing these vessels, one common for other contemporary wares, reveals the certainty that many of these vessels may have been recorded in abnormally late levels as a result of the abnormally long life afforded the vessels by this repair.

In addition to the likelihood of a longer life being

represented by the repaired vessels, the need to repair shows a supply which did not meet demand. In this circumstance a longer life for all Sgraffiato vessels than for more easily supplied contemporaries should perhaps be assumed, in that the rarity value will naturally increase the shelf life of the vessel.

Of course, that none of the smaller shards in the group are from Sgraffiato vessels, but most are not. The ware falls into two groups, Early Polychrome and Early Monochrome; both are, however, put together and in deference to the fact that many of the monochromes are mottled, and that polychromes are in the majority, the collection is called Early Italian Polychrome. These early polychromes are in the standard Sgraffiato palette of brown, green and yellow. But that palette is rather more restricted. 27.5% of the collection has a monochrome yellow green glass, 23% has variegated greens, almost invariably olive-green splashed or streaked on yellow-greens, 22.3% are yellow-and-brown splashed. Of the others, 10.5% and 9.1% are of monochrome brown and yellow respectively, 19.4% of yellow-and-green splash, 1.5% of green-and-brown splash, and less than 1% of polychrome and variegated yellow. Thus, most of the polychromes are in fact dichromes. This distribution is slightly puzzling. According to the colour classification, it is clear that these plain lead glasses should appear at the same time as Champlevé, and the bulk of their population should be in the late Champlevé and post Champlevé period. The puzzle is the

Large number of EARLY ISLAMIC POLYCHROME are to be spread evenly

through the life of the ware. It would seem that the groups

There is a large group of vessels which are of the same paste and have the same range of lead glazes over white slip as the Sgraffiato, but which have no sgraffiato decoration.

It is likely, of course, that some of the smaller sherds in the group are from Sgraffiato vessels, but most are not. The ware falls into two groups, Early Polychrome and Early Monochrome; both are, however, put together and in deference to the fact that many of the monochromes are mottled, and that polychromes are in the majority, the collection is called Early Islamic Polychrome.

These early polychromes are in the standard Sgraffiato palette of browns, greens and yellows. But that palette is rather more restricted. 27.5% of the collection has a monochrome yellow green glaze, 26% has variegated greens, almost invariably olive-green splashed or striated on yellow-greens, 22.5% are yellow-and-brown splashed. Of the others, 10.6% and 9.1% are of monochrome browns and yellows respectively, 19.6% of yellow-and-green splash, 1.5% of green-and-brown splash, and less than 1% of polychrome and variegated yellow. Thus, most of the Polychromes are in fact Bichrome. This distribution is slightly puzzling. According to the colour classification, it is clear that these plain lead glazes should appear at the same time as Champeve, and the bulk of their population should be in the late Champeve and post Champeve period. The puzzle is the

large number of variegated greens which seem to be spread evenly through the life of the ware. It would seem that the greens were used on the Early Lead Glazed pieces before they became fashionable on the other Sgraffiato types.

There is a small group of bowls with everted ledge rims. the diameter of the rims of these bowls varies greatly between 11 cm. and 28 cm. Two of these bowls are glazed in a monochrome green, three in a variegated green, and one in a yellow-and-green splash. All are in the top two levels of the Manda excavations and the colours used are in firm agreement with so late a date.

There are four other shapes of everted rim bowl. One, with three representatives, has a rounded lip with a false cavetto. This has an average wall thickness of 5 mm. and a diameter at the rim of around 21 cm. It has a creamy-white glaze with a yellowish-green band on the rim. Another has a yellowish-green glaze striated with olive-green. The third representative of the shape has a monochrome moderate reddish-brown glaze.

Representing the second shape there are four with an out-thickened rim. Three are of a standard size with an average wall thickness of 6 mm. and diameters of 23, 24, and 25 cms. They are all yellowish-green mottled with olive-green. The fourth is smaller, with a wall thickness of around 5.5 mm. and a diameter at the rim of 20 cm. This vessel is yellowish green with darker green (olive-grey to greyish-olive) striations.

The third group is of angled everted rim bowls with a rim diameter around 25 cms. and a consistent appearance in the very

latest Sgraffiato levels at Manda. One of these was also found well down in the Dondo sondage.¹⁹¹

The fourth group consists of two open bowls each with grooved outthickened rims.¹⁹² One bowl is the largest in the entire collection, with a rim diameter of over 34 cms., and the other is among the smallest, with a rim diameter of about 11cms. Both are of unsatisfactory provenance but are in the 'late green' glaze group.

There are three body sherds with bases which give evidence of the presence of a bowl shape almost unique to the early polychromes. A few examples exist among the Simple Sgraffiato.¹⁹³ The bowls have a gentle carination at a point rather higher than half way up the side of the vessel. After the carination the wall turns inwards. No single vessel has been discovered in East Africa with complete section extant. However there are enough fragments to offer suggestions as to the shape of these bowls. These are all tapered round lipped rims over a gentle carination. One rim is straight and slightly bulbed above the carination, it is slightly everted and the glaze is monochrome yellowish-green.¹⁹⁴ The rim diameter is 18 cms. Perhaps more significant is the large group of slightly restricted, slightly waisted round lipped rims. The section of these rims fits that of the base/body sherds and a strong inference is that these rims fit the carinated bowls. Of twenty-seven such rims, one has a diameter of 13 cms., sixteen of 12 cms., four of 11 cms., and five of 10 cms. The remaining rim did not yield a reliable measurement. This

uniformity is almost as good, (though less convincing due to the smaller sample) for the bases. These have two diameters at 8 - 9 cms. and one at fractionally below 7 cms. It should be noted that these bowls are glazed on the interiors and above the carination on the exterior. The bases are all finger furrowed, as are the interior walls below the carinations. Less convincing for the suggestion that the rims and bases join, is the glazing. The glazing of the three bases with carinations is in one case greyish-brown-and-yellow splash (3A8), in one olive-green, yellowish-green and moderate to dark brown, predominately green (3A7) and in the other, strong brown, pale yellow-green, olive-grey and very pale yellow-green, olive grey and very pale yellow splash, predominantly brown (3A9). In the first and last cases the green and brown splashed areas are well glazed, but the yellow is merely a fringe bordering patches of unglazed paste. In all cases there are large areas of unglazed paste. The glazed areas are in excellent condition and the thought that there has been differential weathering of the surface is unacceptable. This very odd unglazed patching on the interior of the bowls is unique to the three bases. None of the rims thought to be associated has this phenomenon. Equally discouraging for an attempt to link the rims with the bases is the fact that the glazes on the bases are not of colour combinations to be found on the rims. Brown and yellow splashes are seen on two of the rims, bearing a splashed glaze of moderate reddish to strong brown, and orange yellow, and by three others with brownish grey striated

with very pale yellow. No rims have the splashed polychrome and none have green and brown bichromes. The glazes of the rims are commonly of the "egg and spinach" kind (yellowish green), orange yellow splash with patches of very pale yellow. There are eleven such examples, and all of these have an external glaze of strong yellow splashed with yellowish green and olive grey. Mottled green (yellowish green on a lighter yellowish green) occurs on three rims, and a very similar olive green mottle on strong yellowish green occurs on a further two rims. The monochromes are represented by two greyish to moderate brown, and three pale yellow. There is no apparent stratigraphical significance in these varieties.

The deep finger furrows emerging spirally from the base occur on three bases not showing the carination. Two of these are predominantly brown glazed, with strong brown, pale yellowish green, olive grey and very pale yellow splashing very similar to the ones already described, and the third has an "egg and spinach" glaze. No other sherd in the entire collection has such pronounced finger furrowing. This, and the similarity of the glazes and the configuration of the base sections, suggests that these bases may also be associated with carinated bowls. Among the certain bases in this group, two are shallow hooded and kneed footrings with a plaque, and one is a slightly hollow flat base. of the putative bases in this group, one is of the flat footing type, and two are flat kneed bases. The two polychrome bases suggested to be of this group have diameters of

7.5 cms. each and so fit well into the standard overall measurements for this group. The egg and spinach base, however, is considerably larger, with a diameter of 12 cms.

The greatest number of Early Polychrome vessels are in the shape of open bowls with round-lipped straight rims.¹⁹⁵ Of thirteen measurable vessels, the rim shape variations are but slight, varying only in the length of the straight wall before the lower body curves towards the base. Three of these vessels are glazed in variegated greens. The rim diameter for these varies greatly, being 14 cms., 17cms., and 20 cms. This large variation is a feature of the whole group. In only three cases are the bases extant. There are no flat bases¹⁹⁶ and one heeled and splashed footring base with a deep plaque. If the glaze distribution through time is to be accepted, these are twelfth century or later. Two other straight round-lipped rims come from a regularly curved open bowl with a rim diameter of around 19 cms. No hint of the type of base is available.¹⁹⁷ Both bowls have a vivid yellow glaze speckled with reddish brown. There is also a straight rim with a flat lip inclining at about 45° inwards. This has a variegated green glaze and a diameter of 12 cms.¹⁹⁸

There is a large collection of bases. Five of these are flat, and forty-eight are heeled and kneed footring bases with plaques. There is no significance in the distribution of glazes over these two types. The average diameter for the footring bases with no deviation above 10% or so is 8 cms. The except-

ions to this occur in the flat base group where there is one diameter of 4.5 cm. and two of 10 cms. and 11 cms. respectively. The rest of the diameters in this group fall into the general category. These are all bowl bases.

Twenty-six of these early polychromes and monochromes are mended. This represents a little over 10% of the total number of vessels of this class recovered from Manda. This is a high proportion and indicates the value attached to these vessels. It also adds a cautionary note that these vessels probably stayed in service for many years after their arrival on the coast before being discarded and, like most of the imported material, are perhaps not very accurate indication of the terminus ante quem for the strata in which they are found.

These vessels were used throughout the Sgraffiato period and what little stratigraphical evidence can be brought to bear on them indicates that they follow the general glaze variations through the period. They are exactly coterminous with the Sgraffiato deposits and are clearly very closely connected with that group of wares. It is a disappointment that so little is known of these vessels outside Africa and that the Manda collection is so scrappy and inconclusive. Much of the material is so fragmentary that it is not even possible to be certain of the splash range of the glaze on some fragments.

divided into a series of horizontal bands by further pairs of horizontal lines, and also were band decorated by a zigzag of pairs of lines. In the case of each class

ISLAMIC CARVED

There is a small class of vessels with the characteristic pink paste and lead glaze over a white slip of the Sgraffiato early monochrome and polychrome groups, which has a quite distinctive body treatment.¹⁹⁹ Shape is difficult to discern from the material at Manda and it would seem that few more helpful pieces have been found anywhere else. The rim is that of a vertical wall bowl with an out-thickened lip. The wall of the bowl curves inward some 5 cm. from the top but the shape of the rest of the bowl is uncertain. The curve in the wall and the top-heavy shape strongly suggest a flat or low ringed wide base, and the most usual treatment of such a base in this early Islamic group of wares is a broad splayed foot-ring. The shape seems to be standard, with a regular diameter at the rim of between 21 and 14 cm. Unlike all the other Islamic lead glazed bowls the interior is not the principle area for decoration; indeed one shard is not evenly glazed at all on the inside - glaze has been splashed on, leaving bare patches of paste. There are no incisions or other decorations on the interior. The exterior surface is divided into a series of panels by vertical applique ribs. Each panel is devoted to a standard pattern of a rectangle of two parallel incised lines, divided into a series of horizontal bands by further pairs of horizontal incised lines, and with each band decorated by a zigzag of pairs of incised lines. In the crook of each zigzag

is a wedge-shaped impression, often framed by an extra incised V. The similarity between this decoration and elements of the wider and more decorative range of the Sassanian Islamic vessels is too close to be accidental.²⁰⁰ The precise nature of the relationship between the two wares is not clear.

Glass variations within the small group of examples from Handa are considerable. The principle colour is a rich yellowish-brown or gold (five examples). This brown is also found splashed with yellowish-green and olive green on two sherds. One sherd is predominantly olive green splashed with yellowish-green.

All but one of these sherds are exclusively associated with Siraf stonewares, Sassanian Islamic, Tin Glass and early Sgraffiato vessels.²⁰¹ Thus at Handa an eleventh century date for these carved bowls is in order.

Khan mentions this ware in a paragraph referring to "the Persian influence in the culture of Bhanbore".²⁰² The literature on Persian ceramics is silent on this type of vessel, and while conceding the similarity of glass and paste to the Persian material of the period, one should not be prepared to forego consideration of the Northwest Indian^{He} ^{region} itself as a possible area of origin for this ware. Dr. Naqvi²⁰³ speaks of similar material occurring in several sites of the same period in North-western Pakistan, near the modern Iran but further east and south than the area generally meant by "Persian" when discussing ceramics. At Bhanbore Mr. Willotte reports a predominantly tenth century collection of

Chinese vessels. ²⁰⁴ There is a large number of Yueh and T'ing sherds. At no point does either Khan or Willetts make explicit the relation between this collection and the carved bowls or indeed any other ware but a ninth-eleventh century period must be assumed. Vorin has the vessels in several Madagascar sites in contexts not contradicting the suggested Manda date ²⁰⁵ and that at Banbhore. Whitehouse makes no mention of this material at Siraf. Siraf declined sharply after the fall of the Buyids in 1055; if this ware had been brought into East Africa, the Indus valley and Madagascar before that time, it would certainly have appeared in pre-1055 Siraf, when that port was one of the most important entrepots in the Gulf, with particularly strong connections with Manda. Its absence in Siraf strongly suggests that the ware was not on the market by the mid-eleventh century. At Manda, however, its association is with pre-twelfth or early twelfth century wares, and at Banbhore its presumed date is somewhere between the ninth and eleventh centuries. The type occurs in no other place on the Kenyan coast, and in view of the uniquely early period in which Manda was occupied, being the only excavated pre-twelfth century site, this is what one expects of an eleventh century type. Thus a short later eleventh century period for the use of the carved bowls is suggested. The Kilwa excavations present difficulties for this suggestion. Similar bowls were found there in thirteenth century levels. ²⁰⁶ Until we have details of the nature of the Kilwa deposits carrying these vessels, this particular discussion cannot be pursued.

The Islamic carved vessels were not at all common imports to Manda. They represent a tiny part of 1% of the eleventh century assemblage; but if the very short late eleventh century date suggested is a correct one, the ware will prove to be a very useful indicator for the dating of associated materials.

An interesting footnote to this is the question of the apparent presence of this ware at Samarra.²⁰⁷ This is as firm an indication as any of the suspect nature of the Samarra chronology. On occasion a greenish blue or a bluish green fill paint is also used. Mr. Crittack observes without documenting his reasons that there is some evidence for saying that the vessels were made in the Aden area. The samples seen by me of the incense overlay of surface finds at the important site of Kadh as Salla did not include this ware.²¹⁰ Dr. Kirkman observes that a lot of this material has been found in the Redwanah.²¹¹ There are indeed black and yellow ware pieces at the present in Aden, but these do not give much assistance in ascertaining an origin for the ware. The close similarity in shape of both flat base and footring base beads between vessels of this ware and those of the Saffiano range, particularly in late Saffiano types, is likely to prove significant, although at present the precise meaning of this similarity is not clear. In Manda the ware appears contemporaneously with the last occurrence of Saffiano material, most commonly with later varieties of the Single Saffiano.

BLACK ON YELLOW

Very little is known about this ware. It does not appear in the standard texts on Islamic pottery. Dr. Kirkman found this ware (his E. EMI) in the pre-mosque period at Gedi,²⁰⁸ thus in the twelfth to early fifteenth century levels. Mr. Chittick has the material at Kilwa²⁰⁹ where he feels it to be characteristically fourteenth century, but with first occurrences earlier. The fabric is glazed strong yellow over-painted with black linear patterns. On occasion a greenish blue or a bluish green infill paint is also used. Mr. Chittick observes without documenting his reasons that there is some evidence for saying that the vessels were made in the Aden area. The samples seen by me of the immense overlay of surface finds at the important site of Kaud as Salla did not include this ware.²¹⁰ Dr. Kirkman observes that a lot of this material has been found in the Hadramaut.²¹¹ There are indeed Black on Yellow ware pieces at the museum in Aden, but these do not give much assistance in ascertaining an origin for the ware. The close similarity in shape of both flat base and footring base bowls between vessels of this ware and those of the Sgraffiato range, particularly in late Sgraffiato types, is likely to prove significant, although at present the precise meaning of this similarity is not clear. In Manda the ware appears consistently with the last occurrences of Sgraffiato material, most commonly with later varieties of the Simple Sgraffiato.

It appears to immediately supersede the Sgraffiatos. J. S. Kirkman's excavations at Ungwana and Gedi have offered more accurate dating for this late period than the Manda excavations. At Ungwana a solitary sherd appears in Period II (1250 - 1350) and the main group of G.G.H. ^{at Gedi.} One is in Period III (1350 - 1450); later occurrences are in the fill of Tomb B (Period IV, 1450 - 1500). This suggests a fourteenth century date for the ware. Dr. Kirkman observes that "Its absence from the lowest levels at Gedi, Kilepwa and Ungwana indicates that it does not go much beyond the fourteenth century...(the ware is)...uncommon after the middle of the thirteenth century." ²¹² I take "thirteenth" to be a misprint for "fourteenth". Mr. Pierre Verin finds this ware at Mahilaka in a context which makes a fourteenth century date acceptable. ²¹³ The short "life" of Black on Yellow ware makes it potentially useful for dating.

The forms are all bowls. There are two types, straight-rim bowls ²¹⁴ and everted-rim bowls. ²¹⁵ There is no stratigraphical significance in the distribution of these two types which we thus assume to have been imported contemporaneously. 50% of the bowls had straight rims, 27.5% had everted rims with ledges and 22.5% had slightly everted rims. Sixteen bases were found at Manda, ²¹⁶ of which three were flat and square, ²¹⁷ five had splayed footings with deep base cones (in fact two of these bases were spinners) ²¹⁸ one had a shouldered footing, three had straight heeled footings, three had very low shallow-

beveled footrings and one had a low shallow-beveled footring with a plaque base.²¹⁹ The glass on almost all the sherds was very badly deteriorated and the usual condition leaves a delicate matt vivid to strong yellow. Black linear painting is the decoration. In no case is the whole of the exterior glazed. There is only a short overlap of glass covering the lip. 40% of the sherds with distinguishable patterns on them have interlacing double wavy lines forming a frieze around the area below the rim on the inside.²²⁰ 9% from bowls with everted rims, have pendants of nested triangles on the interior wall.²²¹ The ledges on all the everted rims which are well-enough preserved for decoration to be clear carry a wavy black line.²²² A comparatively large class (26%) is that with several wavy lines all encircling the area below the rim on the interior wall but not interlacing.²²³ One rim has pendant diagonal hatching. 13% of the sample have a single wavy line running round the interior wall below the lip.²²⁴ In one case the black wavy lines are augmented by blue splashed patches. No design is discernible from the sherd. It is clear that the multiple wavy line friezes below the rim, whether interlaced or not, were by far the most popular designs.

The paste is greyish-pink and contains a very large amount of quartz. The quartz does not appear under the binocular microscope to be a temper. The clay was collected with the high quartz content already in it. Freshly broken sections thus reveal lustre-dusted surfaces. This characteristic

differentiates the paste of Black on Yellow ware from earlier, Sgraffiato and later Islamic wares. One is led, therefore to expect a different origin for the Black on Yellow ware. H. N. Chittick has suggested a Hadramaut origin for this material ²²⁵ and it would certainly seem that this odd Islamic paste suggests an area outside the Persian Gulf. Dr. Kirkman has suggested a Hadramaut origin and his argument is straightforward and likely "on a trouvé beaucoup dans le Hadramaut et il se peut qu'elle en soit originaire". ²²⁶

Of the rims, 14.5% have lacing holes. ²²⁷ It is interesting that the sherds with lacing holes come from the levels where Black on Yellow wares are most abundant. This fact, together with the very short period of popularity of the ware, suggests that these bowls had short lives. Such an assumption would limit the "tail" of vestigial sherds in levels from periods after the cessation of manufacture and import of this ware. The presence of the two spinners is particularly interesting.

These vessels represent a very low ebb in craftsmanship and would normally be thrown away with the wasters. It is worth noting that they were obviously considered saleable items on our coast. In this connection, the Sawankhalok wasters in the Dar es Salaam museum provide another puzzling example of the sale of waste pottery on this coast. At Bui, Black on Yellow vessels were found in the mid-settlement levels, and straight wall bowls appear in the topmost levels at Shakani.

In 1966 Mr. Chittick picked up three Black on Yellow ware

sherds at Shanga. Two were footring bases and the third was an everted rim. The sondage put in by myself in 1971 revealed six footring bases and another everted rim, but also seven straight walled bowls and one flat-base bowl were recovered; this considerably upsets the Manda proportion of variations within the ware and highlights the impropriety of resting too much conjecture upon such ratios, and fragmentary collections.

Three sherds were also surface finds at Dondo, one being an everted rim and one being a footring bowl base; body sherds occur in the upper levels of the Dondo sondages. There is an interesting low splay footring plaque base from one of these sondages.²²⁸ An everted bowl rim was also found at Lamu. This rim has the wavy black line running along the eversion. An interesting surface find is the Black on Yellow rim from Wiyuni (Lamu), which has a green monochrome painted everted rim; this is the only one of its kind found. Other surface finds are from Mashundwani, Matondoni, Pate and Uziwa.

One sherd, with a large tear mark, sits in the study collection of the British Institute in Eastern Africa.²²⁹ Its origin is not clear, but it does show that on occasion, the glaze covered at least part of both walls of a bowl, and reveals a repeated wavy line decoration which is more expansive than the more austere examples in the North Kenya collection.

One and agreement of date is that both the floral type and the later Somali type of Ivesian blue and white vessel also occur, and indeed were commonly, in place, on a well-developed area.

PERSIAN BLUE AND WHITE

The history of the early Persian blue and white wares is still very unclear. The straight rim bowl in the Ashmolean Museum which is illustrated by Lane²³⁰ and that from the Reitlinger collection²³¹ are the two best parallels in published material to the small group found in the Lamu Archipelago in fifteenth century levels.²³² The ~~fifteenth~~^{fifteenth} century date suggested by Lane is consistent with the date deduced for the levels at Shakani, Dondo, Manda and Shanga in which the Black and Yellow vessels are joined by early examples of the Islamic Monochrome ware. Both are in association with Persian Blue and White vessels. Fehervari also lends his voice to this consensus, basing his position on his Iranian excavations and art historical work.²³³ These vessels presumed to be of the Timurid period are found consistently earlier than the few rather poor quality fragments of Kubachi blue and white ware from the latter half of the sixteenth century, found on the surface at Manda and Lamu. Many small body sherds from the hatch and swirl rims and honeycomb parallel cavettes of the style of Kubachi bowls indicate the presence of these vessels,²³⁴ but not one good section fragment has been brought to my notice.

The difficulty with this seemingly comfortable identification and agreement of date is that both the Timurid type and the later Kubachi type of Persian blue and white vessel also occur, and indeed more commonly, in pink, or a well-levigated cream,

earthenware. In these cases the blue is painted onto a white slip. There is no certain chronological distinction. The earlier of the two found at Shakani is cream and the later is pink; the only stratified vessel at Dondo is white and the surface scraps are pink. These pink fabric vessels with a white slip are not mentioned by Lane, but the motifs and overall surface appearance are readily recognisable in his illustrations and in the collections he cites. The pink fabric variety seems to be a contemporary development to that of the Islamic Monochrome vessels and inspired by the success of the early white-fabric blue and white Persian imitations of the Chinese imports. They would therefore, be slightly later than the first of the Timurid vessels. A late fifteenth century date for the first of these pink fabric vessels might by logic be preferred, but it should be noted that the stratification does not yet exist to prove the point. The first appearance of both pastes in these blue and white vessels is in the fifteenth century. A particularly interesting piece with the blue painted into sgraffiato grooves comes from the surface at Pato.²³⁵ There is satisfactory correlation between particular shapes and fabric colour. All of the collection are bowl fragments, there are a few small straight rim bowls with rim diameters in the neighbourhood of 10 cms., and a few shallow straight rim bowls.²³⁶ There are also two everted rims from bowls about 10 cms. deep and some 30 cms. across.²³⁷ Another thoroughly exciting bowl comes from a soffit in the

mosque of the domes at Mwana. Since Mwana has not been excavated and is close to the Lamu archipelago group of sites, I note this bowl here.²³⁸ It appears to be of a fifteenth century date, and is of a pink fabric. The original vessel was a superb piece with an extremely beautiful floral cavette.

There is no material which would indicate a Syrian origin or a fourteenth century date. Lane notes that these vessels were made at Meshed and Kirman, basing his assertion on

literary sources.²³⁹ Bandar Abbas is very close to these sites. It appears to have been the most important port for the export of these blue and white wares, and the presence of these sherds implies ships from that port in the East African trade. A transshipment at Uman is most unlikely for ceramics of any kind, least of all these poor quality vessels. What

transshipment was known to have taken place did so at Bandar Abbas.²⁴⁰ The enormous quantities of Islamic Monochrome certainly came to the archipelago from Persia and can only, in these quantities, have been shipped direct - and presumably from Bandar Abbas which was also providing the Dutch and English (and later the French) with a high proportion of their Islamic wares, including Persian Blue and White wares.

Raphael le Mans, of the Dutch East India Company, observed in 1660 that the best of the Persian Blue and White, made as it was by Chinese potters brought in by Shah Abbas, or by their students, "is difficult to distinguish from the Chinese ware".²⁴¹ The Swahili apparently had no such difficulty.

While they had access to the Persian material they clearly preferred the Chinese, importing very little of the Persian Blue and white ware.

A piece of blue on blue Persian pottery is tantalizing. It is altogether too small to be of ceramic interest, given the considerable amount already known. Dark greenish blue voids are mounted on a border, in a field of light greenish blue. The body fabric is a pale pinkish buff with sand and grog temper. The piece is in a fifteenth century or early sixteenth century context. ²⁴²

Fitzgerald noted "Persian soda-glazed tiles" on the tobs in the Klunga and Ukisboni areas. ²⁴³ There are still small fragments of the dark blue on light blue tiles in private houses in the area but none visible on the tobs. The vandals have been at work.

PERSIAN BLUES

(Nangwene Puris)

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of the rim has a toothed purple band outside a line running along the ledge, and the ledge carries intumed double oblique pendant from a line running parallel to that supporting the panels. ²⁴⁵ No occasion there areas enclosed by these purple lines are filled with patches of bluish-green. It would seem that the blue patches were applied first and the lines added afterwards. No other motif is discernible but there is in the base a form which could well be part of an arabesque motif.

Several other fragments have been found on the surface at Mandi, Uria, Mny Pass, Kumbore, Mnyuni and Orange. All the sherds are as fragmentary as the stratified ones, but one does have a toothed border next to the lip, and two have purple

cross-hatching or PURPLE PAINTED WARE.

The Manganese Purple collection. It is of a deep dish or shallow bowl with a straight vertical rim 17 cm.

Two pieces of this ware were found at Manda in top levels, suggesting a fifteenth or (less likely) sixteenth century date.²⁴⁴

The paste of one sherd is a pale buff pink; the transparent lead glaze thus yields a pale pink or mauve colour. The other sherd has a buff paste, and the glaze is thus greyish-pink. The vessels are both bowls with a mean wall thickness of 7 mm. One shows a footring (dia. 7 cm.) very ill made and therefore impossible to class; the other shows the wide ledge rim of a bowl 20 cm. in diameter at the rim.

Both vessels are underglaze painted with broad manganese purple linear motifs. The lip of the rim has a toothed purple band outside a line running along the ledge, and the ledge carries intumed double chevrons pendant from a line running parallel to that supporting the panels.²⁴⁵

On occasion the areas enclosed by these purple lines are filled with patches of bluish-green. It would seem that the blue patches were applied first and the lines added afterwards. No other motif is discernible but there is in the base a form which could well be part of an acanthus motif.

Several other fragments have been found on the surface at Manda, Uziwa, Siu, Faza, Mambore, Wiyuni and Shanga. All the sherds are as fragmentary as the stratified ones, but one does have a toothed border next to the lip, and two have purple

cross-hatching covering the entire ledge. ²⁴⁷ At Gedi

A second form occurs in the surface collections. It is of a deep dish or shallow bowl with a straight vertical rim 17 cm. in diameter and with an average wall thickness of 8.1 mm. It is presumed that these vessels had footring bases. There are two, both from Shanga. One bowl with a wide ledge everted rim has two parallel purple lines next to the rim, supported by a linear arcade reaching across the shoulder, and down into the centre of the bowl. One other sherd associated with the arcade bowl has a large hatched area on the body of the vessel, suggesting a sunflower motif. ²⁴⁶ The blue emerges as an independent motif on one Manda surface find, where a bright blue band runs round the body.

²⁴⁹ The top stratified levels at Uchi, She Jafari, Shanga and Shakani also carry these sherds. The associations in all these cases are with early Islamic monochrome and appear to be slightly later than Black on Yellow occurrences which are more abundant below these Manganese Purple levels. The floral and geometric patterns on the ledge rims of the bowls from these excavations are all too fragmentary to assess the overall design.

There is one charming little finely potted straight wall bowl with a delicately everted rim, from the Mambore surface collection. It is marred by a plucked bleb or kiss scar on the rim. ²⁵⁰ This is the only sherd from this ware on which potting standards drop this far.

The Manda dating in the fifteenth century is supported by

Kirkman's work. These vessels were found at Gedi.²⁴⁷ At Gedi the first example occurs at the end of the fourteenth century or in the early fifteenth century and occurs most commonly in the late fifteenth century levels. As Dr. Kirkman points out "this class appears to be the same as the F group found on the Baroda Jail site with a coin dated 1458 - 1511".²⁴⁸ The sherd at Uziwa was found on the surface associated exclusively with fourteenth to fifteenth century celadons, Black on Yellow pieces and late fifteenth century and early sixteenth century blue and white fragments; thus a late fifteenth century - early sixteenth century date is suggested by this find also.

The base fragment bears a spur mark from a tricorn ring. These bowls were fired upright. Lamu Museum possesses two handled jars in this ware also.²⁴⁹ A few more such jars were seen still in use in homes in Siu, Pate and Lamu. There is no reason to believe that, despite the fact that these vessels are still in homes and fragments from jars have not been found in sixteenth century contexts, these vessels are necessarily later variants of the ware. For the present it must be assumed that the period of production of this ware is discrete to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The origin of the ware is uncertain. It is however certain that the ware is Iranian. Pope²⁵⁰ mentions Manganese painted wares, but the "Sasanian feeling"²⁵¹ is not apparent in the East African sherds. While this may be less a feature of the sherds than a measure of the feelings of Pope and the present

writer, a more certain distinction is that no North Kenyan sherd has recognisable animal or bird forms. All the motifs appear to be geometric or floral.²⁵² In addition neither body treatment,^{nor} technique of decoration nor vessel form are characteristic of the Sasanian tradition.

Furthermore Pope's wares from West Persia in the seventh to ninth centuries and from East Persia from the ninth to the twelfth century are three hundred years earlier than those on the East African coast.

The influence of Far Eastern potters of the same period on these potteries of the Islamic world is exemplified here. Some of the pot sections are more than reminiscent of the Far Eastern Stonewares jars of the same period. The potter has simply scaled down the overall size and made allowances for the different fabric.²⁵³

ISLAMIC MONOCHROME

The Islamic Monochrome vessels are found in the latest Manda levels. It is thus of little value to make independent observations about variations through time of this material. It is nevertheless worthwhile to set the impressions obtained from Manda alongside the conclusion of Kirkman and Chittick drawn from better stratified material elsewhere. The glaze is a simple lead silica applied direct to the body without a slip. The effect of this absence of a slip is that where the glaze is applied unevenly (as it invariably is in this ware) the colour is patched and its tone markedly modified according to the thickness of the glaze by the buff or pink body. In a few cases there are patches of bad short glazing but these cases are rare. In addition, the potters mottled and speckled their glazes. The glaze is sturdy, suffers little from attrition or shelling and often shatters the fabric along a break. On cooling the glaze mildly shivered parts of the fabric. In other cases, particularly on the buff fabric, the glaze crazed on cooling. The conflicting behaviour indicates a lack of uniformity in kiln control and in measures against mismatch.

The paste is of two types, buff and pink. The two appear contemporaneously at Gedi. There is no evidence in Manda for the belief that the buff paste arrived earlier than the pink, although the buff-bodied vessels are more common in the late

fourteenth century and fifteenth century, than in the later levels. 50% of the buff-bodied vessels are in levels of first occurrence of Islamic Monochrome whereas only 42% of the pink bodied vessels are in a similar position. Although it is not possible to distinguish any difference in the first or last absolute dates of buff or pink bodied wares, a higher proportion of the former was imported in the early monochrome period, that is to say fourteenth century to mid-fifteenth century and pink wares took a much larger proportion of the market after the mid-fifteenth century.

Kirkman gives a careful account of the relative sequence of the glaze colours. In general, the Manda finds tend to confirm his conclusions. The earliest occurrences are, with only two exceptions, all greens and blues. Most of the greens are bluish or strong green. There are also olive greens. One group of bluish green sherds is speckled with black. Among the pink bodied sherds the green is bluish only, from dark to strong. Among the buff bodied sherds the variety of green is greater. The same is true of the blue glazes on the buff paste. In the lowest levels the colours are moderate strong greenish blue, moderate blue and deep purple. Among the pink pasted sherds, there is no purple, but the other two colours are represented. This is in accord with Dr. Kirkman's finds at Gedi. But contrary to the situation at Gedi, speckled vessels do occur from the very beginning in speckles of purple, dark blues, lighter blues and blue browns.

Over 45% of the total number of Islamic Monochromes are blues and nearly 53% are greens. Of these greens 32% are true monochromes or mottled or speckled with other greens. This also is in accord with Kirman's finding that green "celadons" and blues predominate. Of the first occurrence buff bodied vessels, 60% are green and 39% are blue. This is in contrast to the early pink bodied vessels where the green and blue glazes are distributed evenly between the two main colours. In the case of both pink and buff bodied wares about 58% of all green and blue occurrences are in the lowest Islamic Monochrome levels.

The distribution of the later colours at Gedi is not so clear at Manda. Light blue and pale lavender (this is a white glaze, rosed by the paste beneath), like mottled and speckled forms, are contemporaneous with the early Gedi types. There are two manganese purple sherds only,²⁵⁴ and only one black glazed monochrome sherd. Unfortunately all of these came from the surface; a suitable place for the black in view of the Gedi evidence that black is a late type but not a suitable place for manganese purples, thought to be early manifestations of monochromes. It should be noted that the black sherd (on a buff body) is the only one in the entire collection to be glazed on both sides at a point well down the wall. This is a marked difference from the Gedi collection where "Bowls were generally glazed on both sides."²⁵⁵ Fragments of two

black glazed jars come from the Main Pillar Tomb at Omwe. The Omwe finds do not help with dating. ~~The spreaded variations may~~

The predominant green and blue glazes change over the fifteenth century. Initially, and more characteristic of the buff bodies than the pink, glazes of strong green, or yellow/yellowish green sometimes speckled black are the commonest; followed in almost all other cases by blues, (including mottled blue glaze and a purple on blue speckled glaze). This situation is changed late in the monochrome period when the few buff bodies still used carry blues in preference to greens. With the exception of the mottled and speckled glazes mentioned the others are later as Kirkman observes from Gedi, probably mid-fifteenth century to as late as the eighteenth century.

Most of the vessels in this ware are shallow open bowls with everted rims.²⁵⁶ These everted rims are ledged on the inside, the ledge inclining inwards and sometimes demarcated further at the lower edge by a differential cordon. Eleven vessels of the buff group have very short ledges, in width less than twice the thickness of the rim. These are proportionately deeper bowls than the others and are glazed in mauve,²⁵⁷ grey speckled with brown,²⁵⁸ olive,²⁵⁹ olive speckled with black and strong blue,²⁶⁰ and pale olive, moderate greenish blues,²⁶¹ and with strong green speckled with black.²⁶² There are also six pink paste bowls of this kind, three are light blue speckled with deep purple,²⁶³ one is strong bluish green,²⁶⁴ one is a brownish mauve, speckled with strong blue²⁶⁵ and one is

moderate blue. Some of these are late colours by the Gedi finds, particularly the grey and mauve, and the speckled varieties may also be put into a late category at Gedi. However fifty of these bowls, of which four were pink, were found in deposits of first occurrences of Islamic Monochrome. The grey speckled buff rim²⁶⁶ and the olive speckled vessels are later occurrences but the other speckled varieties are from first occurrences. Mr. Kirkman's "mauve" is possibly a more accurate term than the same word in my vocabulary, for while I attempted to distinguish thinly glazed vessels with a blue glaze (looking mauve) from true mauve glazes, when in doubt (and some sherds are so ill glazed that there is doubt) I called them mauve, that being the impressionistic colour. The Manda evidence therefore suggests a date for this type of bowl slightly later than the wide ledge bowls and supports the glaze distribution suggested by Kirkman, with the exception of the speckled varieties, which occur from the outset in the Islamic Monochrome period at Manda.²⁷⁰

The largest group of rims is from everted rim bowls with a wide ledge. There is no doubt that Kirkman is right in seeing these ledge rim bowls, especially the green ones, as strongly influenced by the heavy ledge rim Chinese celadon bowls. The massive and high footring with small diameters are also reminiscent of the Chinese celadons. Exactly half of these are buff bodied and half pink bodied. 70% of these appear in first occurrences (as against 40% of the short ledge bowls). Of those

appearing in first occurrence all were glazed in colours which are early elsewhere on the coast. This pattern, with the wide ledged bowls more common in the early period and the short ledges becoming more common in the latter half of the fifteenth century, confirms the impressions gained by Kirkman elsewhere on the East African coast. It is significant that Islamic Monochrome found on the later coastal sites are, when ledged, all of the short ledged type.²⁶⁷ Although all the vessels from Manda are bowls, one restricted vessel, probably a pot of some form, was found in Pate in a fifteenth century level.²⁶⁸ This has a yellowish green glaze. The neck only was found; it is a straight cornice rim, vertical on a gently inclined wall, the rim diameter is 9 cm. and the wall, remarkably thick for a pot neck, varies in thickness between 9.5 cm. and 8 mm.

There are several small classes of open straight rim bowls. Three small bowls have straight lips, two flat ledge lips inclined outwards²⁶⁹ and one outward sloped flat lip with a groove set in.²⁷⁰ The first two of these bowls are from fifteenth century levels in Manda. Of those with plain flat lips one has a black glaze and the other has purple speckled on a moderate blue glaze.

There is also a delightful little carinated bowl with a very carefully applied strong blue glaze, applied internally and onto the external wall from rim to carination. The rim is flat, delicately frilled on the outer edge, and beaded.²⁷¹ The carination is beaded. The gap between these two is filled by

another cordon, resulting in a corrugated upper wall. The wall is 6.5 mm. thick, below the corrugation, and the rim diameter is 14 cm.

A rather larger group of open bowls, both numerically and physically is that of round lipped, straight rimmed, curved wall bowls.²⁷² Of seven examples in this group of good provenance, three are glazed with strong green on pink bodies, two have black mottled on strong green on buff bodies, and one each has green mottled glaze of strong on yellowish green, a moderate blue glaze mottled moderate blue on a pink body, and a moderate blue glaze speckled purple on a buff body. The green glazed pink and the mottled blue pink bodied, and purple speckled on blue buff bodied bowls are not in early Islamic Monochrome levels and are probably from the middle fifteenth century, or later. Most of the surface find bowls and those from the top levels of the later coastal sites of the area, such as Kiunga and Bui are in this category. The black speckled on green buff bodied vessels are from early monochrome levels. Three similar vessels came from Pate and imply the same chronological distinction. Two similar vessels with mottled blue glazes on pink bodies were found on the surface at Shanga and Manda.

There are two base forms, flat and footring. Of the flat bases, only one is in stratification and is associated with late fifteenth to sixteenth century Chinese material. All the torus rings are in buff paste and are exclusively in late fifteenth century Chinese Blue and White sherds and late secondary or late Islamic Monochrome levels. This last Sgraffiato sherds. It is almost certain that Sgraffiato was

not imported in the fifteenth century. It is rather more likely that these sherds are residual or that the level is disturbed. None of the flat bases is of assistance in the matter of dating. The flat bases are a small group,²⁷³ representing only 7 or 8% of the total base collection; all the others are footing bases. 8% of the footing bases have plaques,²⁷⁴ a fifteenth century phenomenon in Manda. The footing is in one type differential with the inner groin on a lower plane than the outer groin. In the other type the two groins are on the same plane. The rings show considerable variation but there is no stratigraphical significance in the distribution of the various forms; 34% are kneed and heeled, 32% are buttress rings, and 17% are torus and heeled rings. Thus in external form 47% are kneed and these, with the related torus form account for 64% of the vessels.

There is no discernable stratigraphical difference in size among the pink paste vessels but the buff paste accounts for 86% of the lighter smaller vessels. It accounts for less than 1% of the heavier form. The buff vessels in the light form are certainly earlier than the pink, and they carry the green glazes in about the same proportion as the rims. But in the heavier form, none was in an early level; indeed only two were in firmly stratified contexts at all and each was associated with late fifteenth to sixteenth century Chinese material. All the torus rings are in buff paste and are exclusively in secondary or late Islamic Monochrome levels. This last

observation runs against the general suggestion from the rest of the collection that the buff pastes are more common earlier. It may be explained as an accident of sampling, an easy matter in the stratification of the late levels, or by the concentration in late occurrences of buff paste vessels in the torus ring base form.

No single section fragment is available and it is quite impossible to tell if the few flat bases were fitted to a special shape or if they were used with the full shape range.

interior, may account for LATE MONOCHROME glaze by water entering through the cracks which is characteristic of this, as it is of the Persian Monochrome vessels found in stratified contexts before the seventeenth century are with one exception bowls. 275

In or shortly after the seventeenth century this predominance ceases. Then most of the vessels of this ware are imported in the form of pots. The most common shape is the high-shouldered jar with cornice rim and blind stirrup handles on the shoulder. 276

The glaze on vessels of this phase of the Monochrome tradition has only rarely been well-preserved; more usually the pieces still used in houses and lying around the tips have severely eroded glazes. The glaze on these Late Monochrome vessels is different in composition from the Early Islamic Monochrome glaze; it is very much more friable and is usually badly blinded. It is common to find no more than ten square cms. of glaze on the whole pot. The rest of the surface is pitted and rough, often a millimetre or so lower than the paste surface below the glazed areas. The very friable yellow paste in which all these late pots are made was clearly ill-suited to the task to which these vessels were put. It is primarily because of these noticeable differences in the fabric that the late Monochromes have been separated from the main Islamic Monochrome descriptions. The interior is usually much better preserved than the exterior. Constant use with water may have disintegrated the surface by differential contraction. The continual wetting and drying of the exterior, as opposed to the constant humidity of the

interior, may account for its destruction by water entering through the craze which is characteristic of this, as it is of the earlier monochrome ware.

The most commonly represented colours of glaze are in the green and yellow chroma. Pale bluish-green and yellowish green are particularly common. These vessels are found in great quantity and were obviously imported in considerable numbers, probably mostly during the eighteenth century, but possibly also during the first half of the nineteenth century.

There is no reason to associate the buff paste with the Mesopotamian buff pastes; despite the obvious differences in durability, it is very difficult indeed to distinguish under the microscope from the buff pastes of the Persian wares of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

There are some distinctive shape features in these late bowls. The commonest base is a low footring base with a mild carination just above the groin.²⁷⁷ There are no everted rims at all and a very common rim is a curious bulbed straight rim sharply pinched or grooved just below the lip on the inside.²⁷⁸

Only one of these vessels, a bowl base, was found at Manda, and that was from a surface level. The presence of this sherd does not necessarily push the period for the late Monochrome back to the sixteenth century; other late material was found on the surface at Manda; for example there was nineteenth century material.

LATE PERSIAN MATT GLAZED FAHIGONWARES

collections. All specimens are from the surface of Lamu,

Shala, Hsu, Schikani, Sushimono, Ugo, Sushimi, Kinagi, Saito

There is in the archipelago a large population of glazed pots of clearly Persian Gulf origin. They fall into two form categories, jars and bowls. The jars are coil built and the pots are made of the sixteenth century to the first half of the eighteenth century, it may be that the locally attributed eighteenth century date for the first arrival of these wares is correct. The overall Persian Gulf flavour of the shapes is undeniable.

There was an attempt to distinguish types by fabric hardness; the resulting average difference of 1 Moh's degree was unconvincing and not of itself indicative of differing origins for the vessels. The vessels form a distinguishable type within the general late Persian Islamic tradition, varying significantly from most vessels in the Islamic monochrome ware only by virtue of the matt glaze and the different shapes.

They are potted in a pink earthenware related to the pink fabrics of the Persian monochromes and sometimes give the impression of having had a mild, perhaps accidental salt glaze. On other occasions, the glaze is more clearly a friable version of the Islamic Monochrome in greenish yellows and, rarely, yellowish greens. Where local people were prepared to comment on the

vessels at all, they all resisted any suggestion that they came from Basra. The unopposed consensus was that they were made in Persia and arrived in the Lamu area in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This locally-attributed eighteenth century date for these wares is not at variance with the

collections. All occurrences are from the surface at Lamu, Shela, Siu, Sahakani, Mashundwana, Ungu, Suakini, Kiunga, Uchi Juu, Kiungamwini, Magugu and Kipungani. Since it is felt that none of the coastal sites had permanent settlement from the middle of the sixteenth century to the first half of the eighteenth century, it may be that the locally affirmed eighteenth century date for the first arrival of these wares is correct.

The small jars are in two sizes performing two separate functions. The small type carries around three litres. The neck is gently drawn in and the rim is folded.²⁷⁹ Thumb-pressed applique boss handles are on the shoulders of most of these vessels. The exterior glazed area comprises the top and a variable proportion of the lower body. The base is flat and the wall above it is always unglazed. The usual height is around 26 cms. and the girth between 18 and 20 cms. The rim diameter is between 8 and 10 cms. The base and rim diameter are always within a centimetre of each other. The formal similarities between these and the reconstructed Islamic Monochrome pot²⁸⁰ and the complete pot from Kilwa in an Early lead glaze²⁸¹ are so consistent and close as to insist on a traditional relationship,

The larger jars can carry upwards of twenty-five or thirty litres. One with base and rim diameters of 18 cms., no less, is a very large vessel. Assuming the same proportions as the smaller vessels, this stood over half a metre high, probably around 55 cms. Fragments from the shoulder of a second vessel

of similar size have also been found.

The bowls are all straight rimmed, and a very characteristic feature of them is the deep groove below the lip on the interior, which accentuates the slightly thickened rim, or at least gives the impression of a thickened rim. All the plain straight rims have a slight out-thickening. Thus this thickened rim appears to be de rigueur for these bowls. Footrings are common bases, but the flat base is only represented once.

It is not clear when these vessels ceased to be imported, but a closely related, very much better made - possibly wheel turned - small pot, which is assumed to be derivative and successor, is in a private house in Siu and is said to have been acquired at the end of the nineteenth century. This implies a maximum span of about one hundred and fifty years for the import of the hand-built jars and slow wheel turned bowls from the middle of the eighteenth century. This conjecture fits well with local opinion and can stand for now.

ISLAMIC UNGLAZED WARESINTRODUCTION

All of these vessels are grouped into five major fabric classifications of Islamic Pink, Grey, Cream, Sandy-brown and a very porous thin grey "Gudulia" fabric, so-called because this is the fabric found all over the Islamic world in vessels built to keep water cool. Some of them, in the first three categories, are known to have been manufactured at Siraf in the ninth and tenth centuries, but all five fabrics are found right through the last eight hundred years in the Swahili world. The vessels generally associated with Siraf occur initially in the lowest levels at Manda and are at all times closely associated with Sasanian Islamic ware. The soft cream and pink types disappear with the end of Period I at Manda and, being thus strictly associated with Tin Glaze and recognisably of Sirafi origin, may serve as time markers for Swahili commercial contacts with Siraf. The number of individual vessels imported seems to have been considerably less than the number of Sasanian Islamic pieces, with which they were in direct competition, as general storage jars, though over which they had some advantage only as water jars. The smaller vessels, particularly the so-called "egg-shell cream" thin-walled flasks and small jars, did have a larger popularity. The heavy Sirafi jars went out of favour at Manda at the same time as the Sasanian jars, but, like the

gracile and smaller Sasanian pieces, the small unglazed grey Islamic vessels, particularly those loosely termed "gudulia", continued to be imported in small quantities for many hundreds of years. They occur very occasionally at Manda and in better stratified late levels throughout the region until the seventeenth century. After that there is no direct evidence of the import of these small gudulia but they do occur on the surface with sixteenth to twentieth century collections from Siu, Lamu, Matondoni, Wiyuni and Kililani. The post sixteenth century period also saw the introduction of large heavy grey fabric water pots, in the old pink fabric styles. Many of these small fine pieces do not seem to have been made in Siraf, and are more clearly in the Iraqi ceramic tradition, plain or with simple incised wavy cordons, and a finely finished porous surface of a kind still achieved by the Basra potters. Also demonstrably in the Iraqi school are the large fifteen-to-twenty-litre wide restricted mouth porous coarse cream pots. These, like the fine pieces, are still imported from Basra.

The ledge-rimmed vessels with hatch incised ledges are more puzzling. These belong to no recognisable Persian Gulf industry, and the very friable sandy paste is not recognisably from elsewhere in the Swahili world. They are related to no regional ceramic tradition, and their origin remains a puzzle. Given the rim style and the fairly common white slip, one should perhaps look further east, along what are now the south Iranian and the Pakistan coasts.

ISLAMIC UNGLAZED CREAM WARE

The finely levigated cream fabric of the many porous storage vessels and the collections of small vessels is of a kind immediately recognisable as from the Persian Gulf and identical even under the microscope to the paste of the porous storage jars now being exported from Basra. These slightly porous vessels play a very important role in the hot days of Mesopotamia, providing a source of cool water; as Sarre puts it: "In dem heissen Klima Mesopotamiens benutzte man noch heute mit Vorliebe unglasierte Tongefässe weil sich in ihnen infolge der Durchlässigkeit des Materials und der Kälte erzeugenden Verdunstung die in ihnen aufbewahrte Flüssigkeit verhältnissmässig kühl erhält. Grosse amphorenförmige oder bauchige, in hölzernen Gestellen ruhende Gefässe werden an einer von Sonnenstrahlen geschützten Stelle des Hofes aufgestellt und täglich, mit dem für den Hausbedarf benötigten Wasser gefüllt, des morgens in Schläuchen von dem nächsten Flusse oder Kanal durch Tragtiere herbeigeschafft wird."²⁸²

Given the important role played by these porous jars in life in Mesopotamia and the fact that the climate has changed but little in the period under discussion, a marked conservatism of form as well as function is to be expected. It is found particularly in the forms and indeed shapes, of the wide mouth jars, the little narrow necked handled gudulias and the moulded and barbotine gudulias.

The form in question for the heavy vessels is invariably a large fifteen to twenty-litre storage jar, either with a moderate low shoulder and slightly corniced rim, or with a globular body and hole mouth. It is the hole-mouth jar which is the most common among later assemblages. There are closely related but very much thinner vessels in late fifteenth and sixteenth century levels other than at Manda. No change in function is suggested by these newer vessels because, despite their being more finely potted, their capacity was doubtless the same. The late type is usually lightly incised below the rim, often rilled. A very similar vessel is still exported from Basra, but is markedly smaller, carrying maybe ten litres less. In none of these later cases is the interior bitumenised. The cream fabric is obviously very similar to the Mesopotamian Gudulia and Tin Glaze material and indeed there may be some overlap in the recording between Tin Glazed sherds which have now completely lost their glaze and the sherds labelled "Siraf Cream" by Chittick in his 1966 sondages and by myself in this collection. Mr. Peter Farries, who has worked with the Siraf material and has also seen the Manda material, considers that many of the Manda unglazed cream vessels are from Siraf.²⁸⁵ The kilns for these vessels are known and dated at Siraf, and the period of production in the ninth and tenth centuries fits well with the date assumed for the early levels at Manda and implied by the earliest Tin Glaze and Chinese stoneware occurrences, with (4-5) found in the larger vessels indicate the Siraf kilns and which these vessels are associated. Whitehouse is satisfied

that cream unglazed ware was made at Siraf and possibly elsewhere on the Fars coast, for instance near Shirumi.

This fabric was clearly made in more than one place on the Persian Gulf and in view of this I have chosen to call vessels made of this fabric Islamic Unglazed cream earthenware, rather than Siraf Cream. This nomenclature embraces all vessels of this fabric, whether they are known to be from Basra, as the modern ones are, or from Siraf, as many of the ancient ones are.

The coarser paste of the larger vessels is also indistinguishable from that used for the Sasanian Islamic vessels which were certainly not all made at Siraf. Wilkinson notes that Sasanian glazed material was made around Basra but never in Persia before the ninth century. The Siraf pottery comes very close to questioning that by making glazed vessels in the early ninth century, but the likelihood remains that much of the Sasanian Islamic material is from north of the Gulf. This opens the possibility for an Iraqi origin for much of the heavy unglazed material also. There is a possibility that the small vessels whose fabric is softer and a little less grey may represent a separate kiln for unglazed ware, but they can be refired at slightly higher temperatures to the harder greyer body very simply; it is not therefore certain that more than one kiln must be represented. But the geographical distinctions between hard and soft are not clear. At least some of the harder fabrics (3-5) found in the larger vessels indicate the Siraf kilns and

at least some are likely to be from the North. Some of the softer vessels must be from Siraf, where they are called Siraf cream egg-shell and Siraf cream by Farries and Chittick, and some are in all respects the same as the finer versions of the modern Basra jars. The few unglazed small pieces of this kind known to come from lower Mesopotamia and the large collections of such pieces are invariably harder (by about 1 point) than most of the eggshell vessels in the Manda collection. In view of this slight extra weight of negative evidence against a northern origin for the soft cream vessels, particularly the small thin vessels, I assume tentatively that most of these types are from Siraf, but remain sceptical of the general value of such attributions at present. The alluvial origins of the pastes would be sufficient to limit the value of discussion of origin by using thin sections. It may, however, be possible to distinguish types slightly more satisfactorily, if not points of origin, by simple application of the Moh's scale to this collection after a framework has been established for the Mesopotamian and Sirafi collections.

Neither does ~~no~~ formal or shape distinction by area seem certain. ~~either~~.

The flying buttress handle, sometimes with an elaborate button feature on the peak, is common on the Samarra collection of small pots and jugs, and occurs at Wasit too. They are not reported from Siraf. The few fragments bearing this feature at Manda are all in the same hard (c. 3+) and rather greyer cream, ^{body} similar to that of the Samarra vessels. This is hardly

sufficient to be categorical in any way, and the Manda material is too fragmentary to warrant further discussion on this point.

The cream varies in tone between yellowish and greyish, but this variation is slight and related to the slight differences in hardness alluded to previously. The small group of vessels with a very slight pinkish tone are texturally very closely related to the other two cream groups, though their different shapes may indicate a different pottery within the Persian Gulf. The examples are too small for the shape distribution differences to be significant at present. There is however one vessel with fabric of quite a different colour and texture. The amphora base with bitumen lining has a strong pinkish tinge to its fabric and is very much more reminiscent of the softer hawse fabrics used in Egyptian vessels than those from the Gulf. The question of the region of origin of the amphora is at least open; the Persian Gulf origin of the other unglazed cream vessels is clear. In view of the large numbers of Egyptian and East Mediterranean amphorae in Ethiopian collections, at a similar date or a little earlier, it would not be difficult to imagine a few such vessels being carried round the Horn to the Swahili coast.

Impressions of rodent bones, lumps of charcoal, shells and large quantities of sand.

The larger of the pebbles do not seem to be identical, but sand and shells were certainly used.

BITUMEN - COATED VESSELS

All vessels of this type are very heavy bulb jars with rims straight on the exterior and thickened in a cyma reversa on the interior.²⁸⁴ In all cases the bitumen coating is on the interior only; and extends over the whole surface. The exterior of all the jars represented (6 vessels) is lightly rilled horizontally from the girth to the rim.

This type of jar, referred to as a "globular jar", is mentioned by Whitehouse.²⁸⁵ He mentions the bituminous deposit. Argument by logic is a dangerous procedure, but it does seem very reasonable to accept Whitehouse's suggestion that these jars were lined with bitumen in order to store lamp oil. These vessels appear in Period I at Siraf and were thus being made by 825 AD.

The mean of means thickness of these vessels is 2.6 cms. and the mean rim diameter is 18.8 cms. but the standard variation is great. The largest vessels we have has a rim diameter of 23 cms. and a massive wall of a mean thickness of 3.3 cms. - and a thickness of no less than 4.6 cms. at the thickened rim.

A great deal of debris is set into the bitumen. Included in the bitumen of one sherd for example are unidentifiable fragments of rodent bone, lumps of charcoal, shells and large quantities of sand.

The temper of the paste is not easy to discern, but sand and shells were certainly used.

Whitehouse describes lamps which he says were also at Manda. There are no sherds from the 1966 excavations matching Whitehouse's description of the lamps, but there are three fragments of such a vessel from the 1970 excavations. I suspect this claim that the Manda fragments are from a lamp. The Manda vessel was definitely closed on all sides at the narrow end. About two-thirds of this narrow end are represented by the Manda sherds and the bitumen is settled thicker in the point. This vessel is more likely to be similar to the jars from Samarra.²⁸⁶

These Samarra vessels are also bitumenised; they are significantly larger than the vessels described by Whitehouse (80-90 cms. as opposed to 40-50 cms.) It is possible, given the obvious nature of the shape of the vessel from Manda, and the great difference in size between the Samarra and Siraf vessels, that I have misunderstood Whitehouse's description. We await further illustrations from Siraf. The paste of this vessel is pinker, finer and softer than that of the Yellowish Siraf creams otherwise referred to. A remarkably similar tall, narrow amphora shape is found elsewhere in Iraq from earlier periods. A good idea of the possible shape of the Manda vessel is to be seen in the much earlier Uruk/Warka collection and is a handleless bulb body waisted neck narrow vessel with a thick pointed base.^{184 287} Incidentally an indication of the consistency of this south Mesopotamian material is the fact that this Warka vessel and the one at Manda are so remarkably similar not only in

shape but also in fabric.

GUDULLA

This is the material described by Whitehouse at Siraf as "cream eggshell".²⁸⁸ A large class of this very thin pottery (with a mean of means thickness of 5.6 mm.) is in the form of open bowls with splayed flat bases of a mean diameter of 7.4

cm.²⁸⁹ The paste is soft (Moh's 1-2) and pale yellow. It appears to be of alluvial origin. No inclusions are apparent.

The other major form is that of a flat based pot with near vertical sides. This group is even more finely potted, with a mean base diameter of 10 cm. and a mean of means wall thickness of 4 mm.²⁹⁰ One flat based vessel has a mild carina-

tion on the lower body, but in respect of thickness and base form is otherwise similar to the others.²⁹¹ Several body sherds offer some assistance regarding the shape of this carinated vessel; in one sherd the wall turns sharply inwards above the carination and appears to end in a vertical rim.²⁹²

There are seven examples of this junction between the inturned wall and the vertical rim above. In one case the vertical portion goes on for 3.7 cm. above the junction, thus forming a vertical walled neck.²⁹³ In two cases the junction is beaded.

Two of these sherds indicate that the upper body was elaborately decorated with incisions in designs of hatched and cross-hatched panels and bands often associated with simple floral

motifs of the kind described below.²⁹⁴ One body sherd is of an inturned wall from the upper body, with a small decorated stirrup handle applique and a low bridge at the top.²⁹⁵ This resulted in either a ridged straight rim or a vertical neck like the other examples. In a second sherd the wall turned to the vertical after the carination but there is no indication of the nature of the rim. Equally fragmentary are the rims. There are four very finely potted straight rims from vertical walls.²⁹⁶ They have a mean of means thickness of only 3.7 mm. and a diameter of 9 cm. These rims are all decorated with horizontal rilling. One body sherd from a cylindrical vessel has such rilling at its upper end and one may suspect that some of these rims are from beaker-shaped vessels. 8 - 9 cm. high vertical necks on pots are also very likely.²⁹⁷ There are three domed lids;²⁹⁸ and there is a highly entertaining flat base with a barbotine wave pattern applied to its base surface. This must have been a most uncomfortable place for an applique decoration and cannot have been a good stabilising influence on the vessel.²⁹⁹ This is perhaps best compared in decorative style with the material emerging from Mira in the eighth and early ninth centuries,³⁰⁰ where it is called Barbotine ware,³⁰¹ and with the Barbotine illustrated by Sarre.³⁰² The fragments suggest a common shape for these handles.³⁰³ A long shaft with a round or ovoid section rose vertically or near vertically from the side of the vessel and turned sharply inwards at the top to meet the rim or neck.

Three of the handles have a button applied to the shoulder. ³⁰⁴

One has a deep furrow along the back. One also has a barley sugar finish. ³⁰⁵

The button finial on the crown of the flying buttress handle is a common feature on the little gudulia from Samarra. ³⁰⁶

The common form of decoration is achieved by incision of abstract and floral patterns and by rilling. ³⁰⁷ There are however sherds from three separate vessels which were decorated with applied abstract linear designs. In one case, a combination of parallel lines and applied buttons is reminiscent of the motifs on Sasanian Islamic material. ³⁰⁸

In another case deep niches were carved out, seemingly by a finger. This is a form of decoration noted by Chittick in his gudulia ware finds at Kilwa, and is associated in this case with punched circles of the kind so popular in ivory, brass and wood all over the Islamic Indian Ocean world and extant in ivory spindle whorls from Manda and Pate and in the ivory knife handle from Manda. ³⁰⁹

These vessels are softer and yellower than the so-called "relief" earthenware of the Susa excavations. ³¹⁰ and the motifs, while reminiscent of the Sasanid material, could well be Lower Mesopotamian.

The second form is an amphora or jar of sorts with a high vertical neck and a broad flatter informed upper body of a more or less thickness of 7 cm. ³¹¹

The third form, in common with the "eggshell" ware, is a bowl; the base is flat and beveled and the bowl is open with a

OTHER VESSELS

There are four other vessel classes in this soft yellow paste. Most are repetitions of the "eggshell" forms in heavier pottery. There are six rims from beakers or vertical necked pots. Four are a distinct group which are all out-thickened and have slightly insloping rims and are decorated with horizontal grooves along the thickened area.³¹¹ One, a cornice rim, is rilled, one is grooved and two were first rilled and then a finger was drawn vertically across the grooves at intervals thus leaving rill panels. The average thickness of the rims of these vessels is 1.1 cm. and that of the walls is 5.25 mm. The mean diameter is 17 cm. The other two sherds from vertical wall vessels of an indeterminate form must be described individually. One has a probable wall thickness of 1.3 cm. and is out-thickened below the lip to 2.5 cm. the area of bevelling carries diagonal hatching.³¹²

The second sherd has a wall thickness of 6 mm. and an out-thickened bulbed rim with a round lip, and there is a small frieze of diagonal impressed band hatching on the shoulder of the lip.³¹³ The maximum thickness of the rim is 1.2 cm. The second form is an amphora or jar of sorts with a high vertical neck and a broad flatly inturned upper body of a mean wall thickness of 7 mm.³¹⁴

The third form, in common with the "eggshell" wares, is a bowl; the base is flat and beaded and the bowl is open with a

mean wall thickness of 1.15 cm.³¹⁵ Also in this group is a straight flat base with a wall which turns vertical shortly after leaving the base. The shape of the vessel is quite open to conjecture. It is possible that this is the base to a straight rimmed beaker of the kind whose rims may be those described above. The other group of these heavier sherds is handles.³¹⁶ All are of the form previously described but are very much larger (section: 3.5 x 2.1 cm. as compared with 1.4 x 1 cm.). Two of the five handles have fragments of wall at the process and the walls have a mean thickness of 8 cm. with no standard deviation. Four of the handles are plain but one is seen in section to be two cylindrical strips attached.³¹⁷ One has a moulded side with diapers repeating in a line with paired V interpolations, and each with button quarters.³¹⁸

Similar forms occur in vessels of the same colour paste, with occasional sand and shell inclusions, fired slightly higher to a hardness of 4-5 on the Moh scale. In no case however are these harder vessels of a mean wall thickness below 5 mm. This group contains eight handles of large amphorae, four plain,³¹⁹ one with a deep furrow running along the back of the handle,³²⁰ one with a shallow furrow,³²¹ one with three such furrows,³²² and one with a roller-impressed pattern of a simple complementary fish spine motif along the centre of the same area of a flat section handle.³²³ All but one of these handles fit amphorae with vertical necks, with the exception fitting a slightly inverted neck.

Wall neck junctions of these high-necked amphorae are numerous among the sherds. There are no fewer than nine. They all have incised or impressed decoration on the upper body;³²⁴ and the wall neck junction is always beaded. The area of decoration is never large enough to permit one to reconstruct the motifs used, but one sherd deserves special mention.³²⁵ Parallel horizontal incised lines divide friezes of triangular finger impressions, round disc impressions and concentric pinched circles. These latter are the principal features of the decoration of the ivory objects recovered from Manda.

It is clear that the vessel shape of these amphorae was not unlike that illustrated by Adams in his classification of Neroitic pottery.³²⁶ These "Neroitic" amphorae are Greco-Roman in inspiration, and are some hundreds of years earlier than the Manda vessels. No direct connection between these two occurrences is likely, and Manda was certainly importing from Shiraz rather than from the North. Significantly, however, there were forms which were common to the whole Nile, Red Sea, and Persian Gulf areas over a very long period. Similar vessels were recovered from Samarra and Wasit. The same can be said for the straight walled bowls, Lekythoi and pilgrim flasks.

These vessels are coil-built and in general are well united at the junctions. Occasional vessels however show distinct signs of the coils and sometimes the vessel has broken along the coil. The most common decoration is diagonal incised parallel lines between which are two rows of leaves set askance

one to the other.³²⁷ There are also crudely executed rosettes. The elements of the rosettes and the leaves are merely two incised curved lines cut in such a way as to form a rough ovoid. Abstract patterns of short straight lines of ovoids within diagonal panels, comb point impressions and S incisions, comb point impressions set diagonally within square panels, and bands of cross-hatching, are all motifs common to this group of vessels and unique to them.³²⁸ There are also a few sherds from amphorae with the frieze of horizontal parallel lines associated with horizontal zig-zags that is found on other classes of "Siraf" wares and on Sasanian Islamic wares.

Bearing in mind the very large size of these vessels and the fragmentary nature of the sherds, no attempt has been made to assess proportioned distribution of these decorations. The decorated sherds were found to yield a negative result in a search for slight chronological variations of style.

One entertaining puzzle is a sherd which appears to be a handle to an amphora with a rather rococo button on its shoulder.³²⁹ It could also be several other things, the most likely of which is a Christmas cake centrepiece decoration.

A similar soft buff clay (Moh 2-4) occurs with a coarser temper, and the clay itself is less well levigated. The temper consists of grog, straw and pieces of shell; some of these buff pastes have a slightly pinkish tinge.

The forms represented in this paste class are similar to those already mentioned, but the shapes are distinct. There

are four open bowls with straight walls and straight rims with rounded lips.³³⁰ In one case the rim is slightly out-thickened. The mean of means thickness is 9.1 mm. and the mean diameter is 20 cm. It is not clear what sort of base these bowls had. But apropos form it is worth noting the plates of class HI in the Christian Nubian Pottery classification.³³¹

There are also five body sherds from amphorae. The average thickness is 6.75 mm. and therefore very similar to the softer-bodied amphorae. The decoration of the upper body is nevertheless quite distinct. In four cases the wall is deeply furrowed horizontally and between two sets of V-grooves is a deeply incised V-groove zigzag, after the fashion of the Sasanian Islamic vessels.³³²

There are also two straight walled beaker forms represented by two rims. One of these sherds has a diameter of 41 cm. and has a hole in the rim. It is double-corniced and below the second cornice is a simple incised zigzag frieze supported by a horizontal incised line. The mean thickness of the wall is 6 mm. with no deviation. The second sherd represents a rather smaller slightly restricted vessel with a rim diameter of 13 cm.³³³

The rim is slightly inverted and the cornice rim surmounts three deep horizontal U-grooves. Beneath the third groove is a shoulder below which the wall turns to the vertical. The thickness of the wall at the shoulder is 1.1 cm. and the maximum thickness of the rim is 1.7 cm.

Two restricted vessels, probably jars of the same sort, are represented by two rims of identical shape, with walls inclining at about 45° and everted sharply at the top leaving

a flat top. The mean of means thickness of these is 7.5 mm. and the mean diameter 14.5 cm.³³⁴ Each of these has a groove running round the body below the rim. Related to these is a rim of similar form with a bead cordon. There is one everted rim of a very heavy bowl (dia. 42 cm., mean thickness 1.3 cm.)³³⁵

Six flat bases with slightly outward sloping walls were found. The average thickness is 1.3 cm. and the mean diameter at the base is 12.4 cm.

Two of the sherds with this paste are black slipped on both sides. They both come from vertical sided shallow cornice rims of the kind (unslipped) illustrated.³³⁶ The mean of means thickness of the walls is 9 mm. with virtually no standard deviation, and the mean diameter is 19 cm. without deviation.

Six black-slipped coarse cream sherds were found, all with the round zig-zag and horizontal rilling and grooving described elsewhere. These sherds are unlikely to belong to the more austere vertical walled bowl, and appear to be body sherds of vessels of an amphora shape. No rims or bases of such amphorae were found.

Islamic cream vessels in a relatively hard earthenware are found in late collections,³³⁷ and seem to have had a life of import between the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries. The earliest occurrence is in a fourteenth century context.³³⁸ The shape appears to be standard; it is a straight-necked jar without handles. The decoration is restrained if present at all, most often consisting of a cordon of thumb impressions above

the shoulder or below the girth. Such vessels stand fifty to eighty centimetres high and have flat bases.³³⁹ The first shape is a "carrot" jar with a long straight wall neck, tapering slightly towards the rim. The second popular shape is a high shouldered jar with a short usually everted rim. This second type is found with a plain neck and with arch buttress or flying buttress paired handles over the neck junction. Both vessels stood around half a metre high and many still serve as water storage jars in the archipelago. These latter, like the first type, are made in all three colours of the hard unglazed pastes but carry a more limited range of decoration than the ninth and tenth century articles. The walls of the lower body are invariably plain, and those of the upper body sparsely decorated. A simple wave comb-incised cordon normally suffices. One motif is characteristically late, not appearing in the early material at all; this is a frilled cordon.

While the small vessels, like the bowls, have a very restricted distribution through time, being characteristic of Period I, (the eighth to tenth century period in the Lamu Archipelago), the large storage jars have a longer history. Indeed, while there clearly are some such jars in the early periods at Manda, Islamic cream earthenware jars do not become common in the ceramic populations of the area until very much later. There is a number of these vessels still in use, and a few of these have found their way into private collections or the Lamu Museum collection. The date for these extant jars can only be guessed

at. At present there is little more to say on their date than that these vessels, simply because they are still complete in some numbers, are very likely to be fairly recent. Their durability is greater than any other vessel in the cultural assemblage of the Swahili since they are permanently stationary and are not subjected to extremes of temperature change.

There are no direct comparisons in shape with the jars of the early period other than the straight neck, sloped cornice rim vessels mentioned above. The style of building is very conservative. The straight necked shallow cornice rim on a 30-40 cm. high wide necked soft cream fabric jar which is still imported from Basra has a pedigree of a thousand years on this coast.³⁴⁰ The thumb indented frilled cordons on some of the vessels are reminiscent of nothing younger than the Sasanian jars. Nevertheless, there do appear to be some stylistic innovations on these later vessels which could be noted. There are other reminiscent features. In addition to the frilled cordons there are the deep wavy line incised cordons and collars, often associated with rilling or bands of incised parallel lines.³⁴¹ These place the jars firmly in the tradition of western Iran and the Sasanian Islamic ware. The predominant influences on these storage jars are from western Iran and the coastlands of Mesopotamia. But there is also a new range of shapes, particularly of rim, which are quite distinct in inspiration from those of the upper end of the Persian Gulf.

The commonest exposition of this different influence is the

stepped cornice rim,³⁴² associated with vessels with very markedly narrower rims fitted to vessels of much the same size and function. Both types of vessel are delivered with paired bridge or, more commonly, flying handles, but in the case of the vessels known to be from the Persian Gulf this is an occasional matter, whereas on the narrow-necked vessels this provision is almost universal. There is no good technical reason for presuming that this variation in the distribution of handles has anything to do with function, and a theory that it represents a different group of potters is preferred, supported as it is by other stylistic differences.

The closest parallels to this kind of treatment of the rim of a storage jar comes from north-western India. The narrow necked, twin handled, cornice rim jar is a feature of the ceramic traditions of the north-west corner of the subcontinent for hundreds of years and in itself assists little with dating. It is, however informal conjecture to say that a post-fourteenth century date is likely. This would allow time for the founding and development of the Gujarati kingdom, and for the rise to commercial pre-eminence on the western coast of the Bahmani kings. The rim style is common to both areas, but perhaps more firmly associated with the Bahmanis.

A proper thin section analysis would be sufficient to establish whether in fact these vessels are of Indian fabrics. Enough is known both of the fabrics of the Persian Gulf and of those of Gujarat and the Bahmanis for this to be feasible. Broken

fragments could not be taken for the present work since the owners of these complete and often still used vessels would not have looked upon this with enthusiasm. Meanwhile, the stylistic observation is that there is a post-tenth and presumed markedly later than tenth century influx of a common west Indian style, most commonly associated in that sub-continent with the fifteenth century, but continuing to be made well into the twentieth century in the same areas. The fabric does not seem on the surface to be different from the Islamic vessels of the Persian Gulf with which it was imported and with which it is associated in the minds of its modern users. Tentatively supporting this idea is the occasional presence of the Gulf style decoration on narrow necked cornice rim jars.³⁴³ It may therefore emerge that these vessels were made under the influence of Indian pottery in the Gulf. It is more likely that, though strictly speaking remaining in the category of Islamic Green earthenware, they should be separated from those of the Persian Gulf tradition and accepted as Indian imports. In no case were vessels of this kind found in any stratified sequence. This implies that, if indeed in use, they were certainly not beginning to break and go out of use by the sixteenth century. Being large storage pots they would certainly not have been left behind when a settlement was left, if they were still usable.

a grey interior.

Another common shape is a tall inwardly flared straight

PINK FABRIC VESSELS

A majority of the early large storage vessels are in a hard pink earthenware, invariably grogged, often with a very coarse grog temper. These, like their cream counterpart, carry on the shoulders and the short straight necks a range of motifs which is clearly very much in the Sasanian tradition. There are the inclined incised zigzags, the flared gouged hatching and impressed dot cordons banded by incised lines.

A principal jar shape is the massive straight necked incised band cornice rim vessel, sometimes with bridge handles,³⁴⁴ sometimes without.³⁴⁵ The rim is deeply rilled and below this in the neck junction is a band of V groove diagonal incisions over a point band.³⁴⁶ The rest of the upper body is decorated with bands of radiated diagonals and comb-dragged or simple sharp or regular waves separated by horizontal rilling or single lines.³⁴⁷ There is evidence for the repair of these vessels.

Vessels of this shape, though generally rather thinner, are very common in collections from post-sixteenth century sites. Features of these late versions are the inclusion of coarse line tempers often with straw added, the absence of the incised decorations, and the occurrence of vessels less well soaked in the kilns, often flashed, bloached and generally revealing a grey interior.

Another common shape is a tall inwardly inclined straight

decoration of this ware again generally falls into two separate groups. One group of sherds with no rim or base or body shape sherds, is thinner (of a mean of means thickness of 1.4 cm.) and is hollow-cordon decorated. The other group is thicker (1.9 cm.) and has bands of incised round zig-zags associated with incised horizontal rilling and point bands. The unique feature about this small collection is that the two groups are not mutually exclusive. Two sherds have hollow cordons associated in incised horizontal bands of zig-zag. In one case the cordon is decorated with a point band. I strongly suspect that both of these sherds came from the same vessel, rendering the combination of decorative technique the more closely associated with the Sasanian/Siraf style.

There is one small vessel of this type represented by a bulbed body sherd of a mean thickness of 5.5 mm. This was clearly from a small pot form but the shape is not discernable.

SOFT PINK WARES

There is a small class of unglazed vessels in a paste textured very like that of the soft cream wares, but shaded a delicate brownish pink colour. The hardness (Moh 1-2) is the same as the cream wares also; like the soft cream vessels these were

coil built. There are two forms represented by the Manda sherds. One is a wide-mouthed vertical-sided basin or bowl with a straight rim of a consistent diameter of 19 cm. There are two such vessels, both decorated by horizontal incised lines; ³⁵³ one also has a few deep V incisions and the other has a series of bands of rilling, achieved by using a six-tined comb. One of these vessels had a handle, but there is not enough of it left to be certain of its form. The handle was mounted on a bead cordon. It is not likely that the handle was vertically applied. This leaves open the possibility that these sherds are from enormous amphorae, perhaps a metre or more in height. The average thickness of these sherds is 1.1 cm. and since all the sherds are rims or from the upper body, so massive a jar is conceivable.

There are three certain amphorae represented in three cases by handles and in one case by a body fragment. These sherds suggest a mean wall thickness of 1 cm. One other handle, identical in form, has a white slip.

Three half-mouth pots are represented, each with an out-
WHITE SLIPPED PINK by out-folding. The average wall thickness is 1.42 cm. and the mean diameter is 31 cm. There is a large class of stonewares of Moh's 3-4 of a pink fabric, coarse in appearance and lending to a greyish or buff pink in the centre. The temper is coarse ground grog. The

body is slipped on both sides with a creamy white paste. The most popular shape is a large straight-sided bowl with a mean diameter of 45.5 cm. and an average wall thickness of 1.47 cm. Only one vessel has a rim diameter of less than 43 cm.³⁵⁴ (and is 32 cm. across). The wall subtends an angle of about 40° and the rim is back-folded out. Four of the ledges have a rounded zig-zag band incised along them. In the same form as the bowls but of a different shape is a single back-folded rim with a curved wall reaching almost the vertical at the tip. The diameter of the rim of this bowl is 34 cm. and the mean thickness is 1 cm. It is therefore considerably smaller than the straightwalled group.³⁵⁵

There is one other unrestricted vessel in the class. It is a bowl with a very slightly outward inclined wall, straight rim and square lip. The mean wall thickness is 1.45 cm. and the diameter is 44 cm.³⁵⁶

Two straight rims from yet another unrestricted vessel have been bevelled off with a knife when the vessels were already drying. The points where the paste has been dragged into flat-topped ridges are clear.³⁵⁷

Three hole-mouth pots are represented, each with an out-thickened rim made by out-folding. The average wall thickness is 1.42 cm. and the mean diameter is 31 cm. These measurements indicate a very large vessel indeed, and it is most frustrating that the overall form of the vessel is uncertain. A very similar vessel occurs in the grey collection.

There are 500 flat bases with walls subtending about 25° . The average thickness is 1.95 cms. and the only diameter available is 22 cms., so we are clearly dealing with very substantial vessels. There is no indication on any of these base sherds as to which of the forms they fit.

The very many body sherds indicate that two main motifs represent the decorated range for these wares.

Some vessels had applied belt cordons, and some had combined patterns of bands of incised round zig-zags associated with parallel horizontal lines. There is no sequential distinction between the occurrence of these two motifs and no attempt was made to quantify their relative frequency of occurrence. The great size of the vessels and the uncertain nature of the overall surface treatment does not preclude the possibility that both types of decoration occurred on the same vessel.

DARK PAINTED WHITE SLIPPED PINK

A small group of white slipped wares has a secondary coating. The fabric is identical to the other pink coarse wares. It is not altogether clear what colour the second slip was. Some sherds suggest that the second slip was a pinkish grey or pinkish brown, others (the majority) show a darker slip which may most usefully be called black. Forms represented are massive jars with walls of an average thickness of 1.9 cm. with

straight vertical out-thickened rims of a mean diameter of 23 cms. The exterior surface is deeply incised with bands of diagonals, horizontal rilling and round zig-zags, as well as point bands, in the usual style.

Fifteen vessels are represented, of which all but three are in the massive coarse fabric pottery. The three, which are only body sherds, are thinner (1.54 cms. average) and the fabric, while the same colour and hardness, and with the same temper, is more finely levigated and compact, and the grog is ground fine, whereas in the other type of paste the grog is coarse. The only design motif on these sherds is a hollow belt cordon applied to the exterior.

WHITE SLIPPED PINK SOFT

A paste of a similar colour but rather softer (Moh 2.3) is represented in the white slipped pink wares class. The paste is very heavily tempered by a superabundance of quartzite and seemingly is sand, and the fabric is very stridly - especially in comparison with particularly firm hard earthenware of the previous classes.

There are three closely related very large bowls, apparently each with a spout in the wall. The fabric of these is more open, and closely tempered. All three sherds have incised parallel lines on the outer wall. These vessels were coil built.

These bowls appear to have been shallow, perhaps 15 cms. in a rim diameter of 40 cms. and has a mean wall thickness of 1.15 cms. In one case the lip is grooved and the exterior wall is horizontally furrowed, each furrow being about 1.5 cms. wide and having an incised curve zig-zag band in it. A spout has been applied to the wall immediately below the lip.³⁵⁹ This spout is horizontally grooved, the rim is out-thickened and the lip is grooved.

All of the sherds represent coil built vessels of the same form, a bowl with a slightly inturned square lipped cornice rim supported by a pronounced cordon.³⁶⁰ Beneath the cordon in all cases is an open cross hatched band of incised U grooves. These bowls (there are 8) were fitted with short wide vertical handles with two furrows (2 examples) or one furrow (1 example) on the back. These handles are much more surreptitiously applied than those of the other Islamic unglazed wares. The top of the handle is fitted into the furrow between rim and cordon and the base of the handle is luted immediately below the band of hatching. The hatching was incised after the application of the handle.³⁶¹ In one case the face of the cornice is decorated with an incised zig-zag band.

The size of these vessels, like the body treatment, is standard. The mean diameter at the rim is 40 cm. with very little deviation, and the mean wall thickness below the cordon is 9.9 mm. The thickening of the rim between cordon and lip is also very standard - 1.46 cms. This class are still in use.

One very odd absence is that of the "unglazed painted" pottery noted by Whitehouse at Siraf,³⁶² and by Bibby at Qala at al Bahrain.³⁶³ The absence is even stranger in view of the apparent long popularity of this ware.³⁶⁴ This material is certainly present in East Africa. It ~~is~~ ^{occurs} at Kilwa,³⁶⁵ but apparently in none of the north coast sites.

GREY

There is a grey fabric collection but this is not entirely homogenous. One group is of large storage jars³⁶⁶ and everted rim basins³⁶⁷ which are all in strict imitation of the pink vessels of the same shapes. There is room for suspicion of these grey vessels. All come from the "Mansion House" area of the Manda excavations. This building gives every indication of having specialised commercial functions and of having been burnt down. The "MH" levels produce vast quantities of the large Sasanian Islamic storage vessels, their glaze red patched and bubbled in the heat of the fire of destruction. It is most likely that these grey, short, straight rim unglazed jars and the large ledge rim basins are Islamic Unglazed Pink vessels refired during the destruction of the building.

There is, however, a large class of grey high-necked cornice rim storage jars often with twinned flying handles.³⁶⁸ None of these was found at Manda. Many of this class are still in use.

They are all from surface collections. They are commonest in surface collections at Kiunga, Kiungamwina, Uziwa and the other pre-nineteenth century sites. They are not commonly picked up at Siu, Faza and Lamu. These vessels are late revivals of the earlier ones and are almost certainly imported between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries.

A very interesting little collection was found at Manda. All of the rims of this class are out-thickened shallow cornice rims in walls subtending between 30° and 40° . The mean of means wall thickness is 1.5 cm. and the mean diameter of the rims is 46.5 cm. There are a great many hollow cordon sherds, and one base which shows what could be the first of the cordons of a wall. The angle subtended by the wall at the base is at 25° - 30° not inconsistent with the bowl rims. If this is the case, the cordons decorated the underside of the vessel walls - an odd circumstance.

The paste is one of the finer type, with grog temper, but is fired a dark slate grey throughout. One sherd, however, shows a small patch of pinkish grey in the centre. It is possible that this body is merely the pink fine stoneware fired higher. The distribution at Manda does not suggest, as it does for the heavy jars and basins, that these vessels have been refired - though this possibility exists.

WHITE SLIPPED GREY is cut like is 13 cm. This sherd probably represents a portion of the lower body of a small pot. Sherds of One small class of rims is in a grey finely levigated paste of M 2-3 and sugary texture. All the sherds are from ledge lipped bowls with an average thickness of 7.8 mm. with little variation. Readable diameters are between 30 and 40 cm., with one exception - that being at 20 cm. ³⁶⁹

The ledges are all cross-hatched or hatched. A small body sherd from an amphora was also found. No indication of the size of the vessel was obtainable.

One sherd was found in a satisfactory ninth century context. ³⁷⁰ Most of the others are associated with Sgraffiato collections. ³⁷¹ This unsatisfactory state of affairs leaves the dating of the vessels as a problem. Nevertheless, none has been found outside Manda and this would suggest a period between the ninth and thirteenth centuries for these vessels.

One body sherd, with a corded rim and a band of point impressions, is very reminiscent of the much larger rim of a

GREY GUDULIA There is also a tall neck with two cordons on its upper portion. ³⁷² A vertical handle was recovered intact. There is one vessel in a grey finely levigated paste of a hardness of about 3. The vessel is wheel turned, ³⁷² It has been cut, presumably before firing, and this uneven cut line crosses a band of vertical furrow rilling.

The mean of some wall thickness is 5 mm.

Four rims of basins, vertical rilled bands of jars are in

The diameter at this cut line is 13 cm. This sherd presumably represents a portion of the lower body of a small pot. Sherds of this kind occur in seventeenth to nineteenth century collections all over the area. One such from a surface collection at Kipungani, shows in its flat base, the mat impressions, indicating the article upon which it was stood during building or during biscuit drying.

Some of the earlier collections, argues for an origin in Arabia, Mesopotamia or the Persian Gulf. The mean or mean thickness of the wall of these vessels is 6.5 mm. For the record, the mean diameter is 12.2 cm, and that of the two overlapped rims is 11.25

GREY/BUFF GUDULIA

A small group of gudulia wares was found with a greyish-buff paste of a hardness of 2 - 3. The paste is slightly lustrous due to the inclusion of what appears to be small quartzite particles.

There are clearly handled jars of the same kind represented. One body sherd, with a cordon mounted on a band of print impressions, is very reminiscent of the much heavier Siraf ware amphorae. There is also a tall neck with two cordons on its upper portion.³⁷³ A vertical handle was recovered intact

except for the button on the shoulder.³⁷⁴ The form of vessel represented by these sherds is not clear; the shape is uncertain in all cases: though it is most likely to be a straight-necked pot or jar with flying buttress handles. The mean of means of gudulia ware into the area possibly even as late as the nineteenth century. These two grey gudulia groups are considered

Four rims of beakers, vertical walled bowls or jars are in

the collection. Three are out-thickened at the lip; ³⁷⁵ two are overlapped and one is bulbed. ³⁷⁶ The fourth rim is markedly everted from an inverted upper body. ³⁷⁷ The lip is thickened and has a deep single groove along it. This is strongly reminiscent of North-west Indian rim treatment and is almost certainly influenced by Indian work though the paste so well known in the Persian Gulf and not readily discernible in Indian mediaeval collections, argues for an origin in Arabia, Mesopotamia or the Persian Gulf. The mean of means thickness of the walls of these vessels is 6.3 mm. For the record, the mean diameter is 12.2 cm. and that of the two overlapped rims is 11.25 cm. but one of the overlapped rims is so variable that accuracy is impossible. It could well be that the other rims, of which we have much smaller portions, are as ill made. However, assuming that the average rim diameter is meaningful, one might expect a round pot of about 6 litres capacity.

These vessels are all from the upper levels at Manda and the earliest occurrence in a sealed context is associated with Period IV material. They are almost certainly all from small pots.

This suggests a fifteenth century date for the arrival of the ware. Examples of this ware occur on the surface in many parts of the archipelago, particularly at Wiyuni, Matondoni, Siu, Faza and Shela. Implied by this is the likelihood that this type of gudulia came into the area possibly even as late as the nineteenth century. These two grey gudulia groups are considered

to be related formally and chronologically, though they probably represent at least two different potteries.

a sketch of the painted motif on the sherd is important.

This sherd is from the surface at Manda and is almost certainly

CURIOSITY

From the surface at Manda comes a small bowl base which is clearly from the Islamic world but a little difficult to locate exactly.³⁷⁸ The paste is a slightly hotter fired version of the white or cream / white fritty paste, commonly seen on northern Gulf pieces of the sixteenth century. The glaze is strong blue and there is a heavily incised geometric crosshatching on the centre, apparently acting as an anchor for a freer floral scribbling on the cavetto. These incisions are filled with a moderate very dark blue. If there is a slip it is a self slip.

A second sherd of some interest is a high fired thin body sherd from a vessel of unknown form, with an apparently intentional random chitter and chip.³⁷⁹ The fabric is finely levigated and is largely pinkish grey in colour, with pink patches. The level from which the vessel comes could permit one to think of a twelfth century to fourteenth century period.

A third puzzling sherd is a wildly splashed thick floral painting on a soft cream earthenware related to but higher fired and less well levigated than the cream earthenwares of Siraf and Basra.³⁸⁰ The paste is fritty and a light blue tending to strong and dark blue and was probably underglaze painted. The glaze

has since disappeared. The history of this vessel is unknown, a sketch of its painted motif on the sherd is reproduced. This sherd is from the surface at Shakami and is almost certainly post sixteenth century.

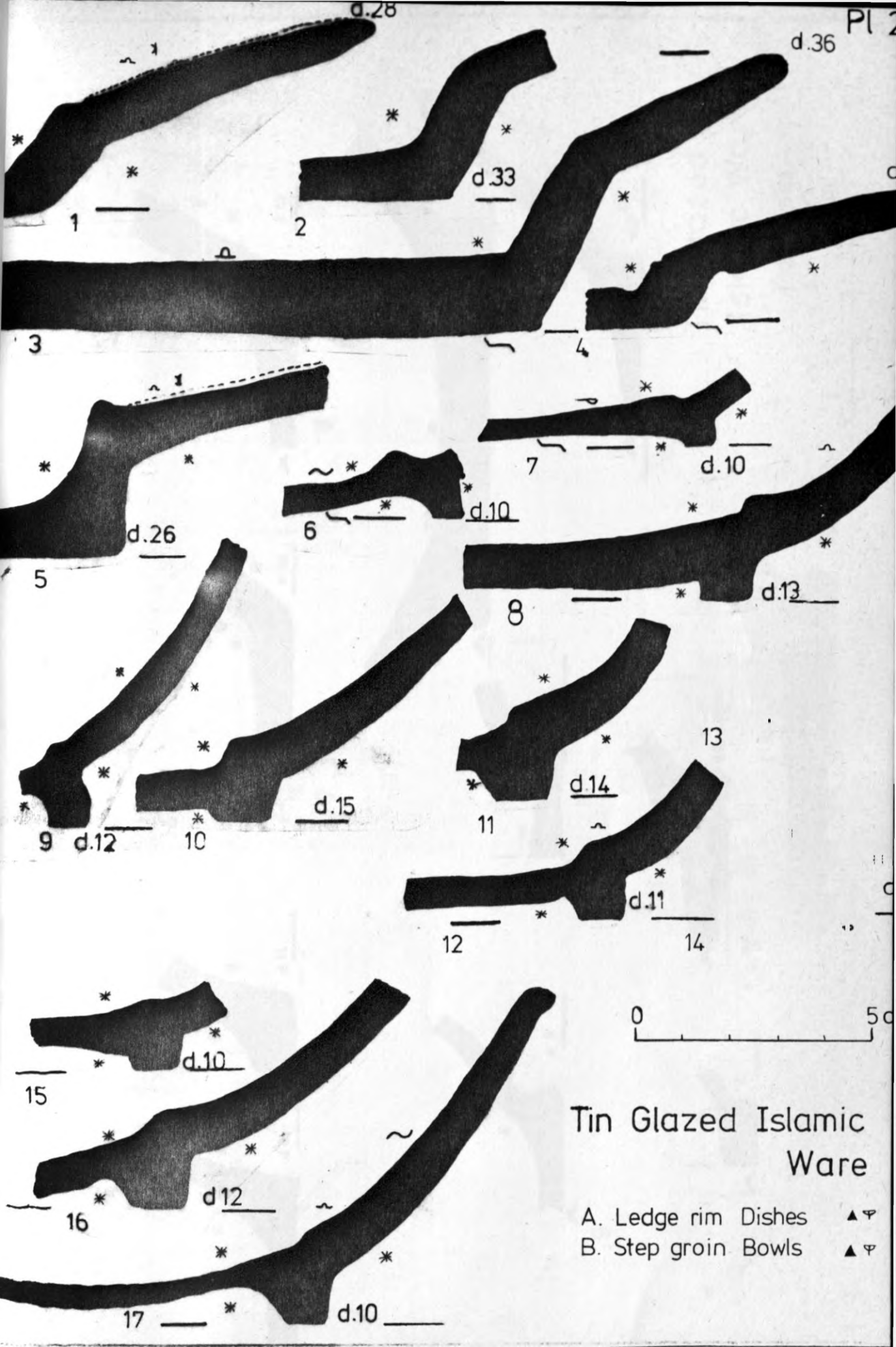


Fig. 5



Tin Glaze

Blue Splash Bowl



Tin Glazed Islamic Ware

- A. Ledge rim Dishes ▲▽
- B. Step groin Bowls ▲▽



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3



5



6



7



9



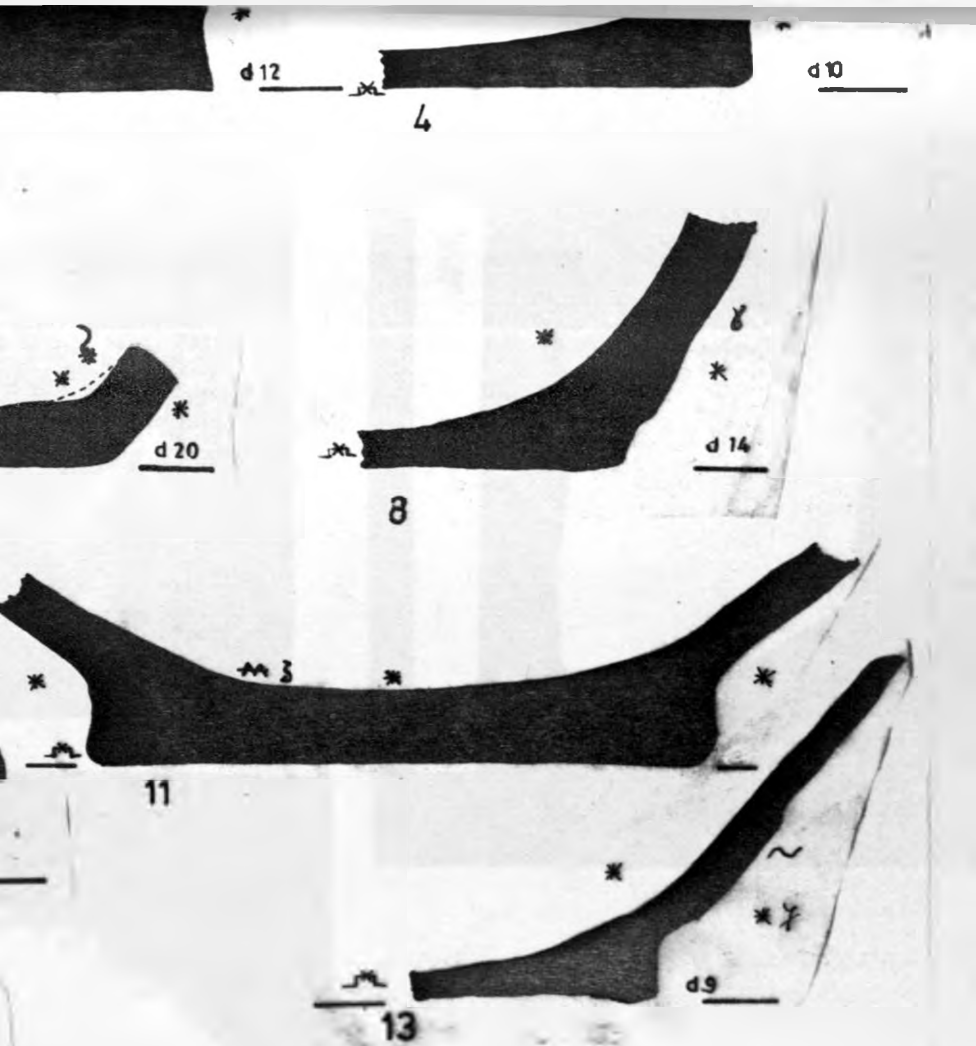
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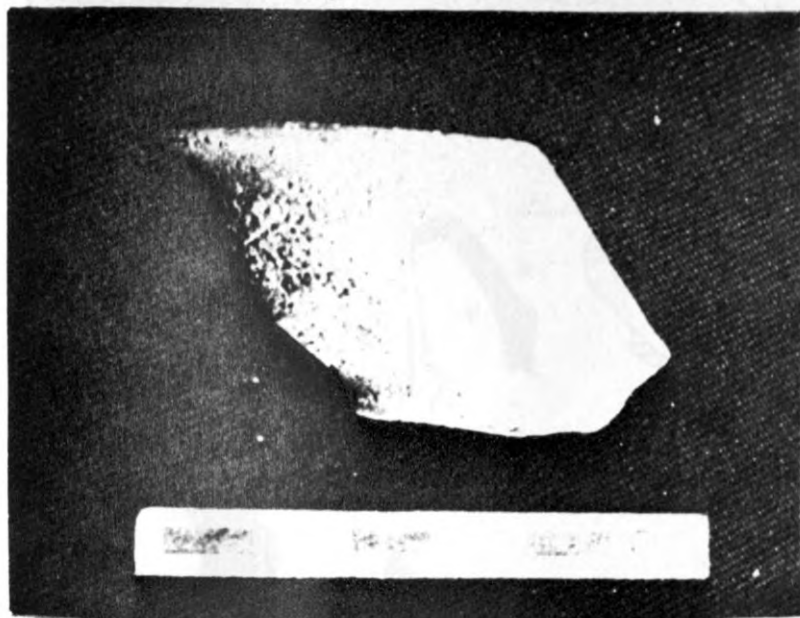


Tin Glazed
Islamic Ware

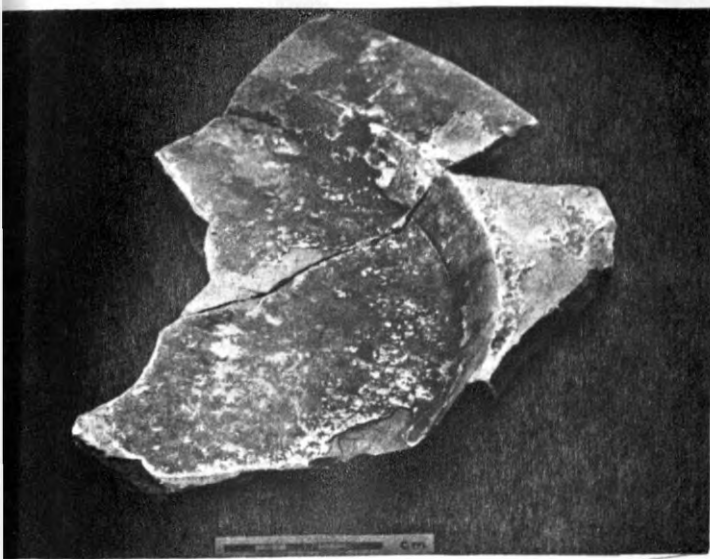
Flat Bases τ

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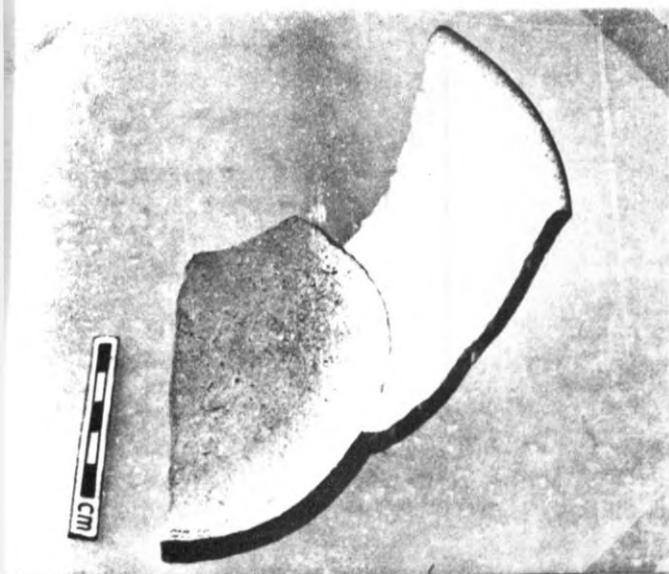
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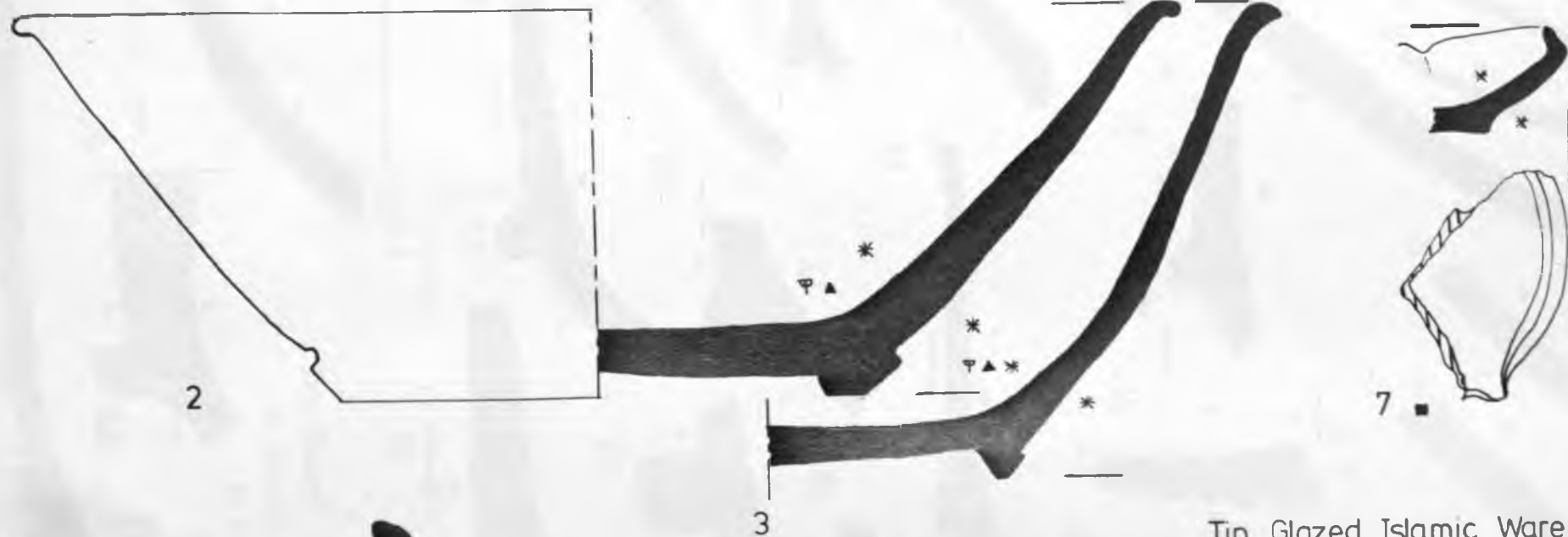
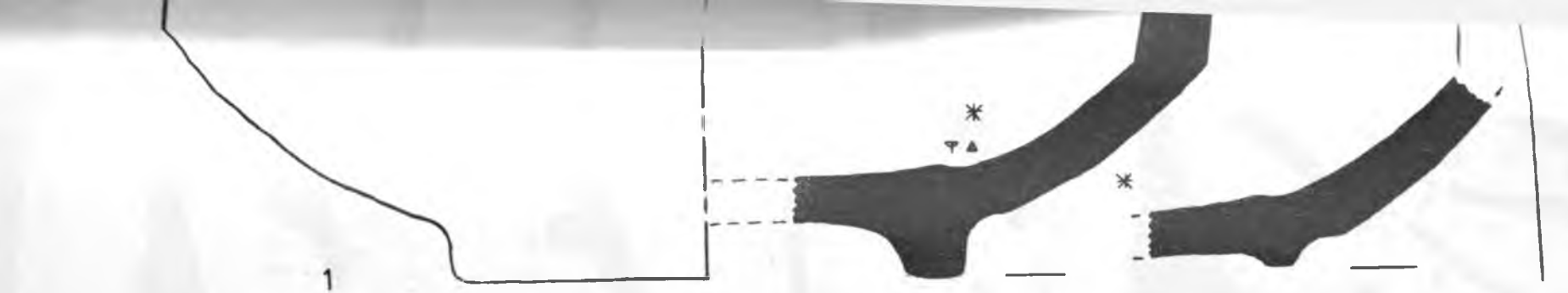


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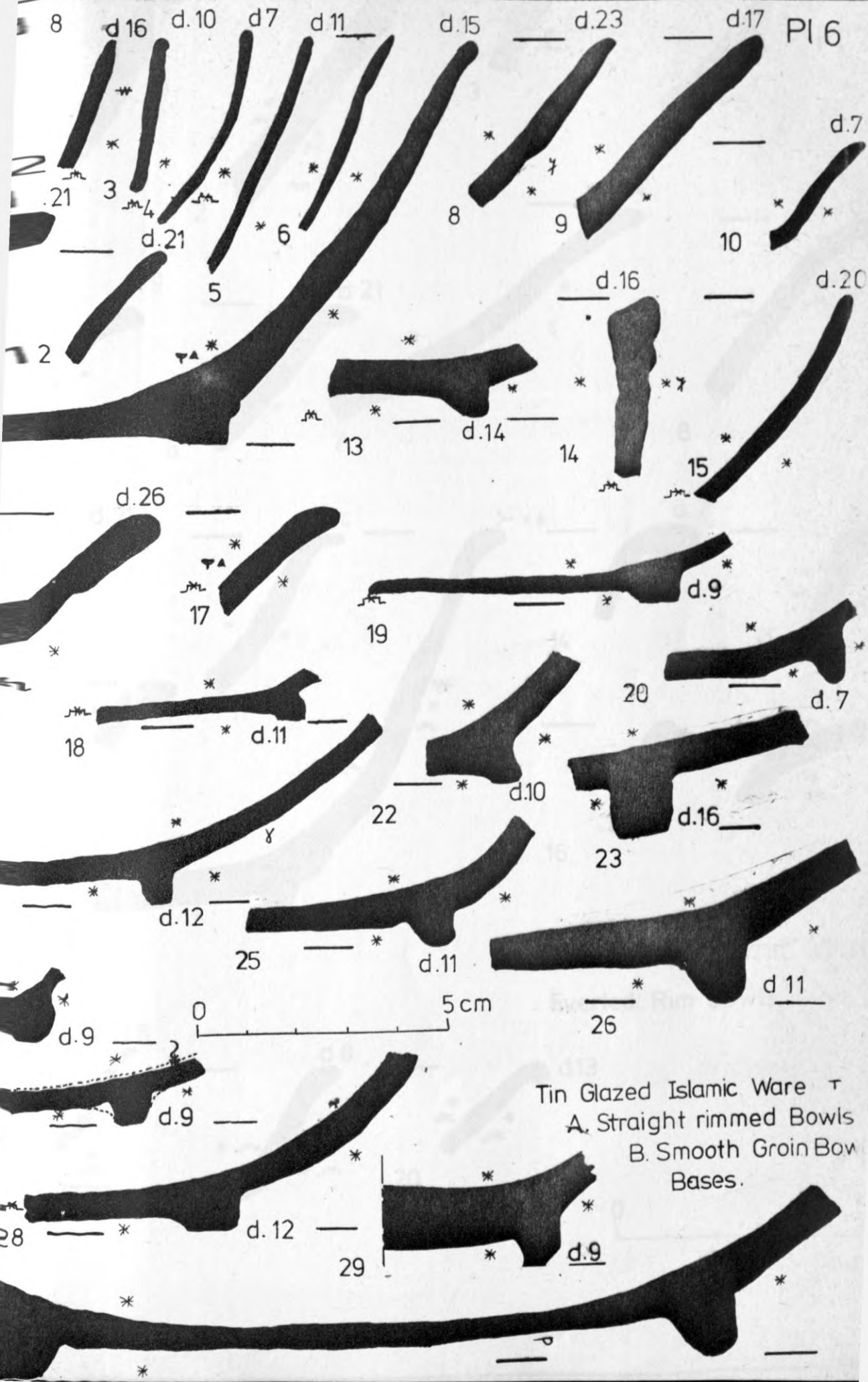
Islamic
Tin Glaze

Forms

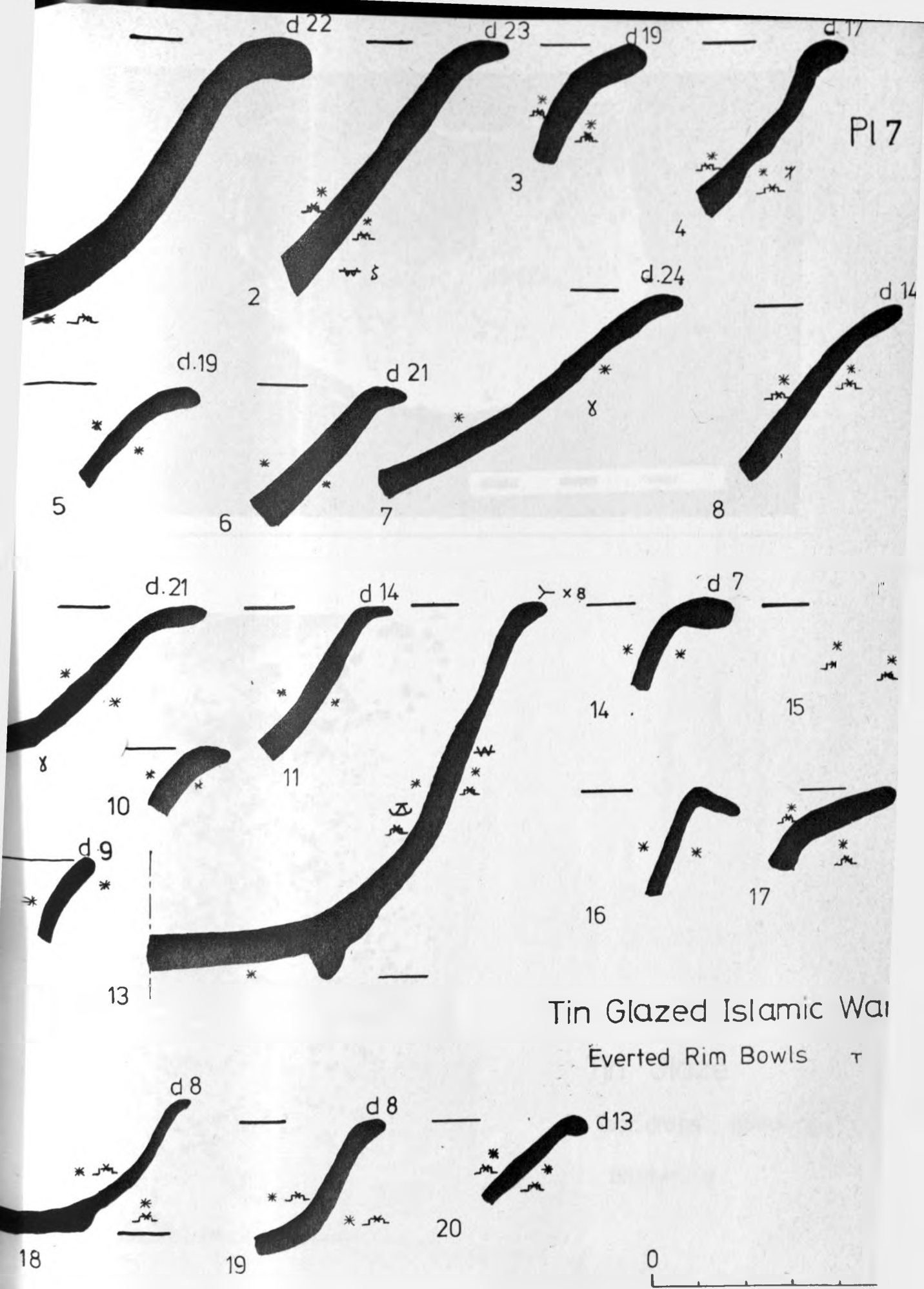


Tin Glazed Islamic Ware
 A. Bowls
 B. Lamps

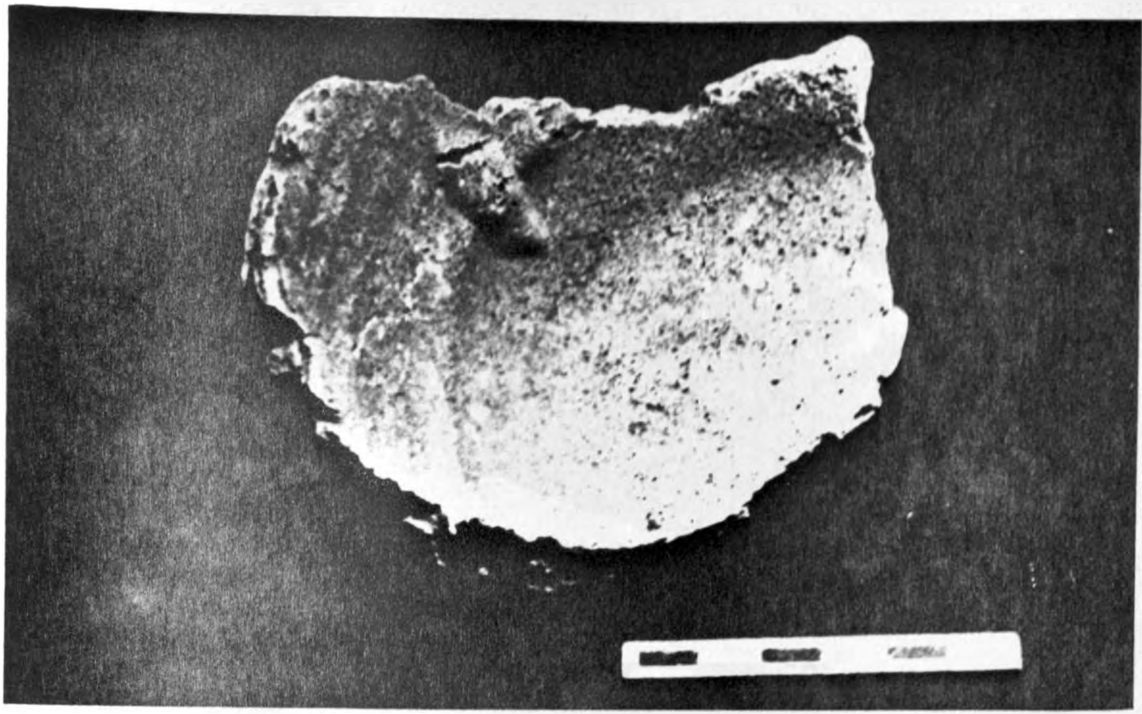




Tin Glazed Islamic Ware
 A. Straight rimmed Bowls
 B. Smooth Groin Bow
 Bases.



Tin Glazed Islamic Ware
Everted Rim Bowls

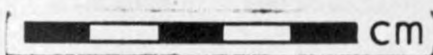


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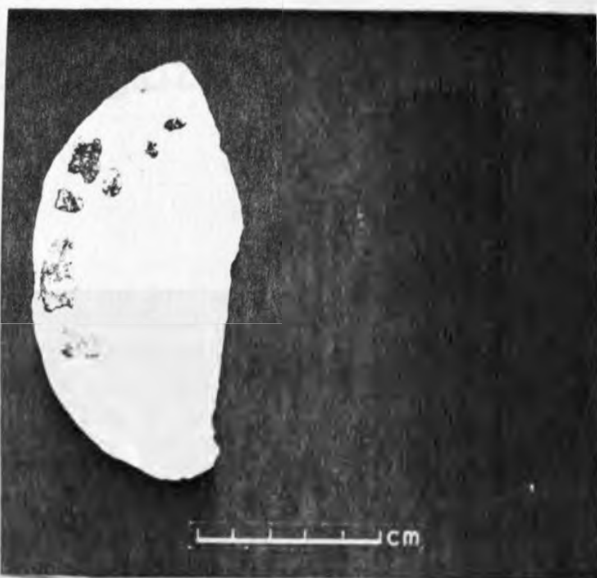


Tin Glaze

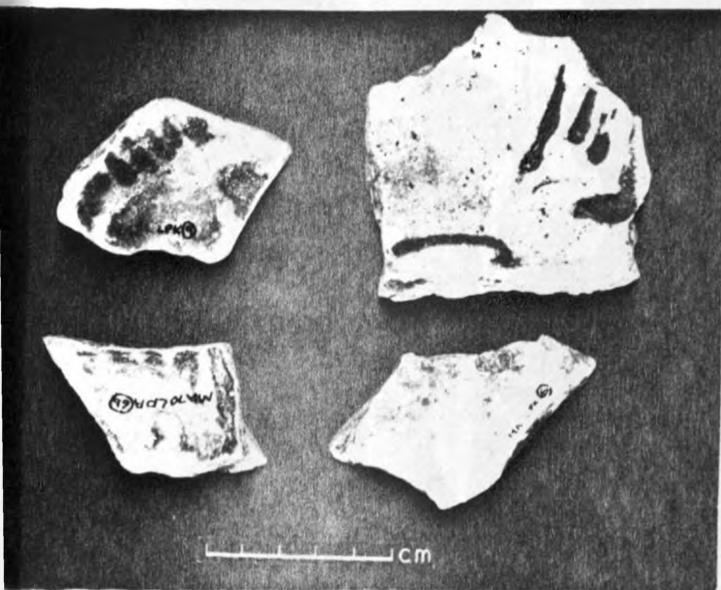
Tear drops pinholes r
 blistering



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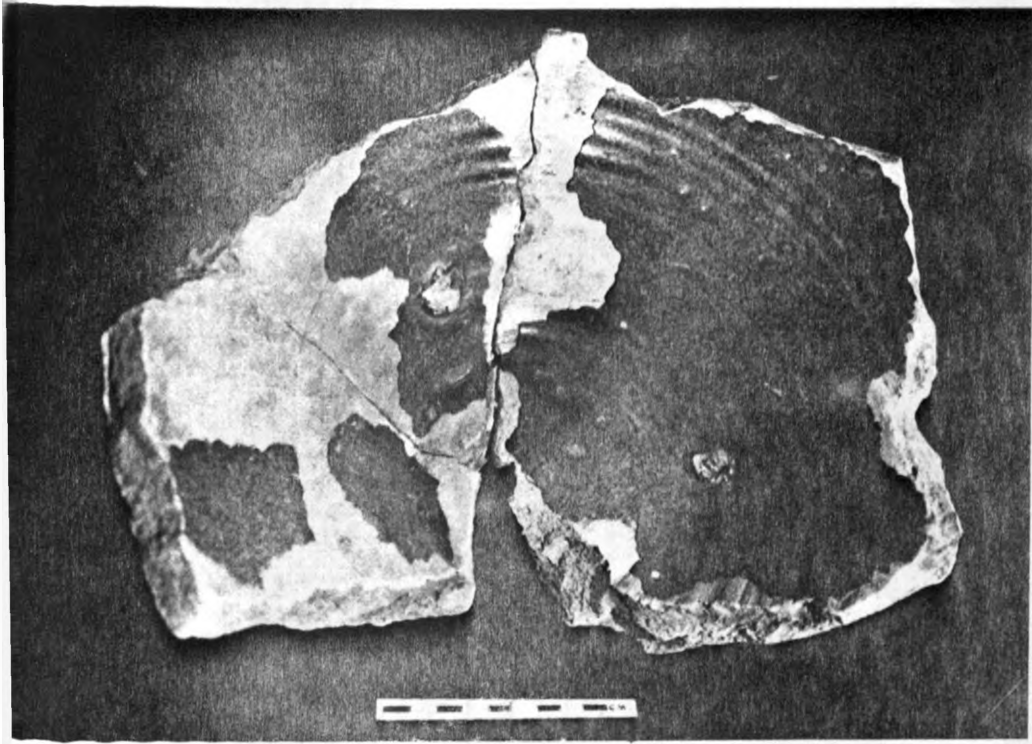


Islamic
Purple brown painted
bowls



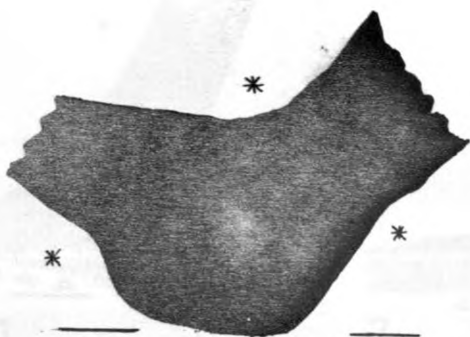
ht. 70 cm

Islamic Unglazed Jars



Sasanian
Islamic

Spur marks in a
Basin

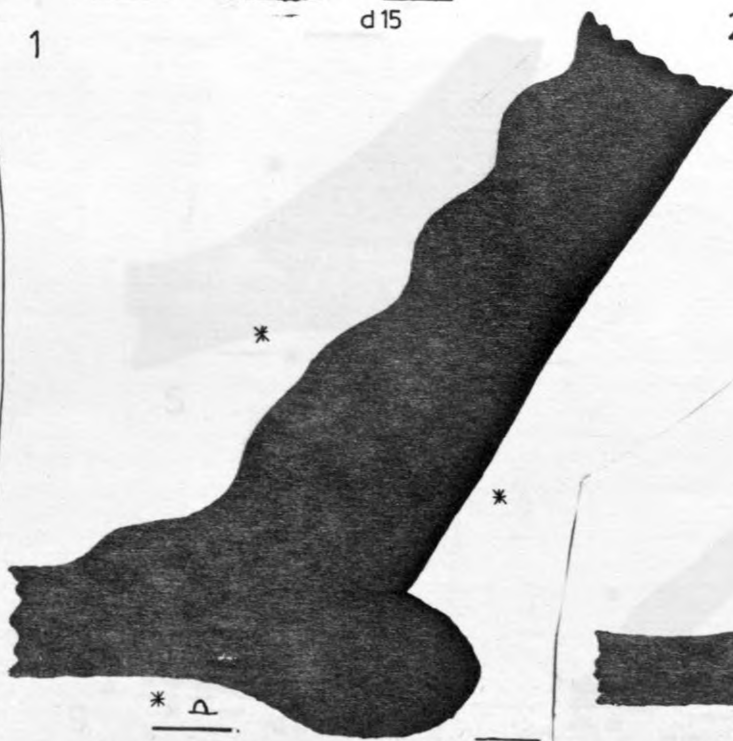


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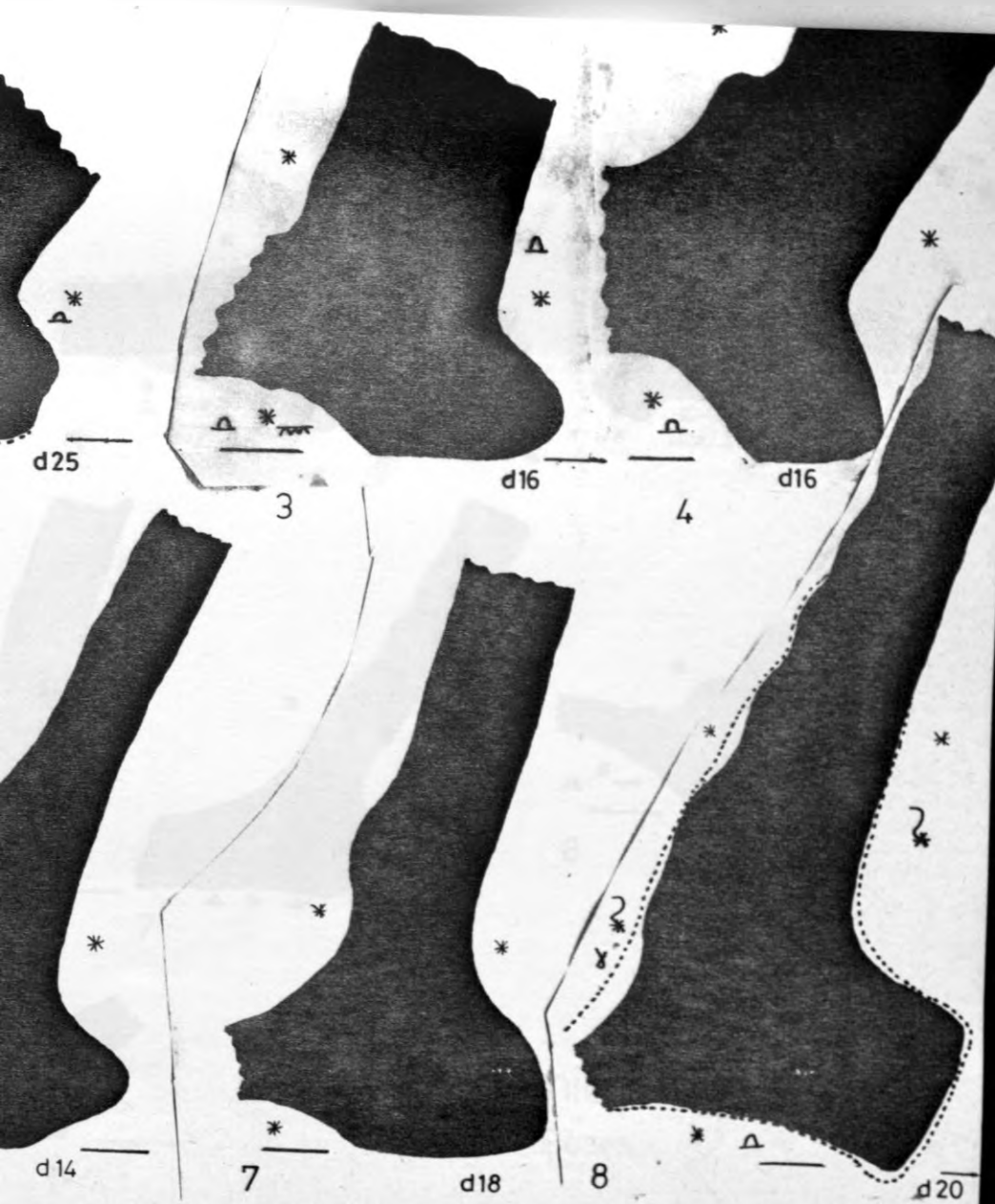
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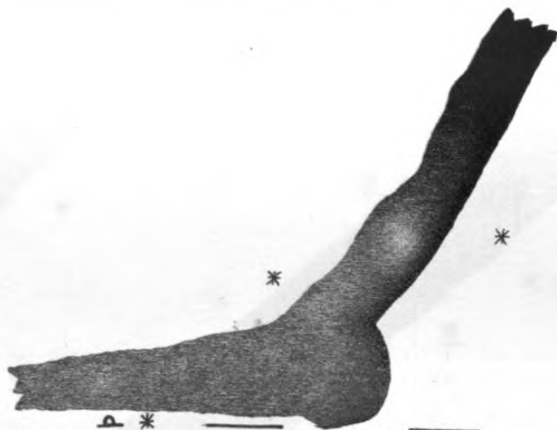
5cm





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d16



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d17



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d24



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d6



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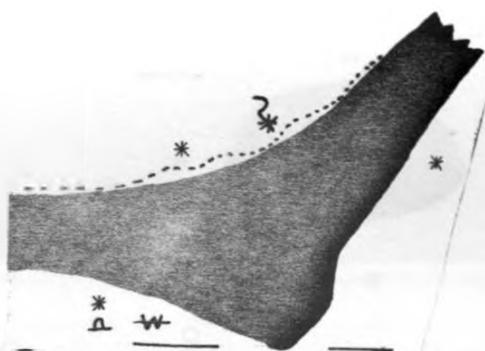
d13



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d14



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d9



d6

Sasanian Islamic

Light Bases 2 ♀

0 5 cm



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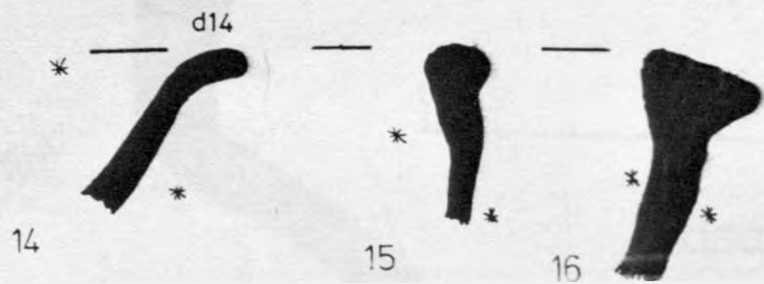
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12



Sasanian Islamic
Mortaria
and Bowls

⌘ ♣



Sasanian Islamic

5cm

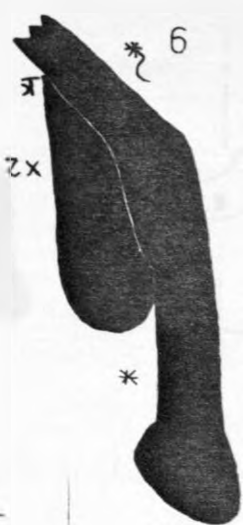


P10

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x2

P18



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P10



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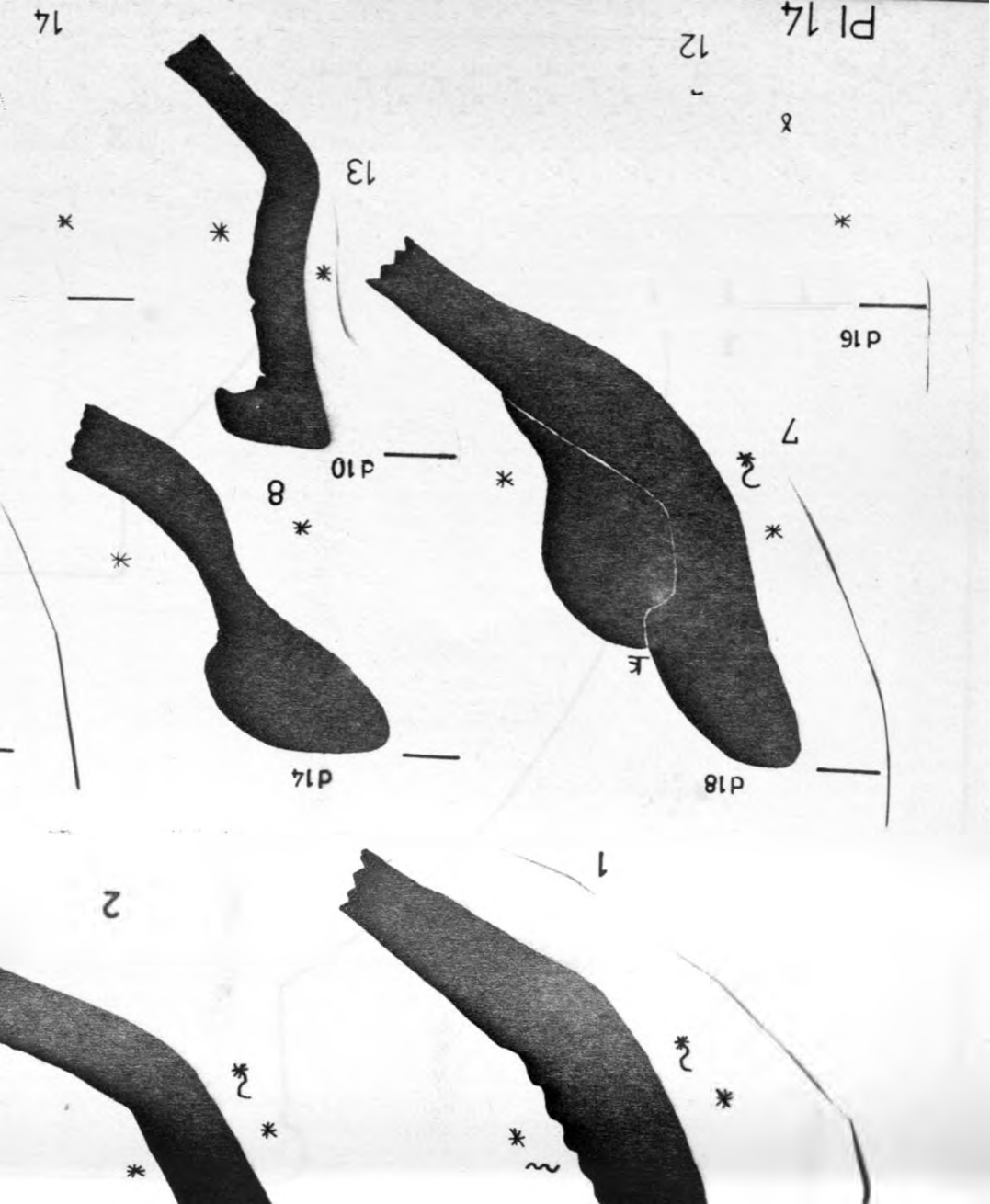
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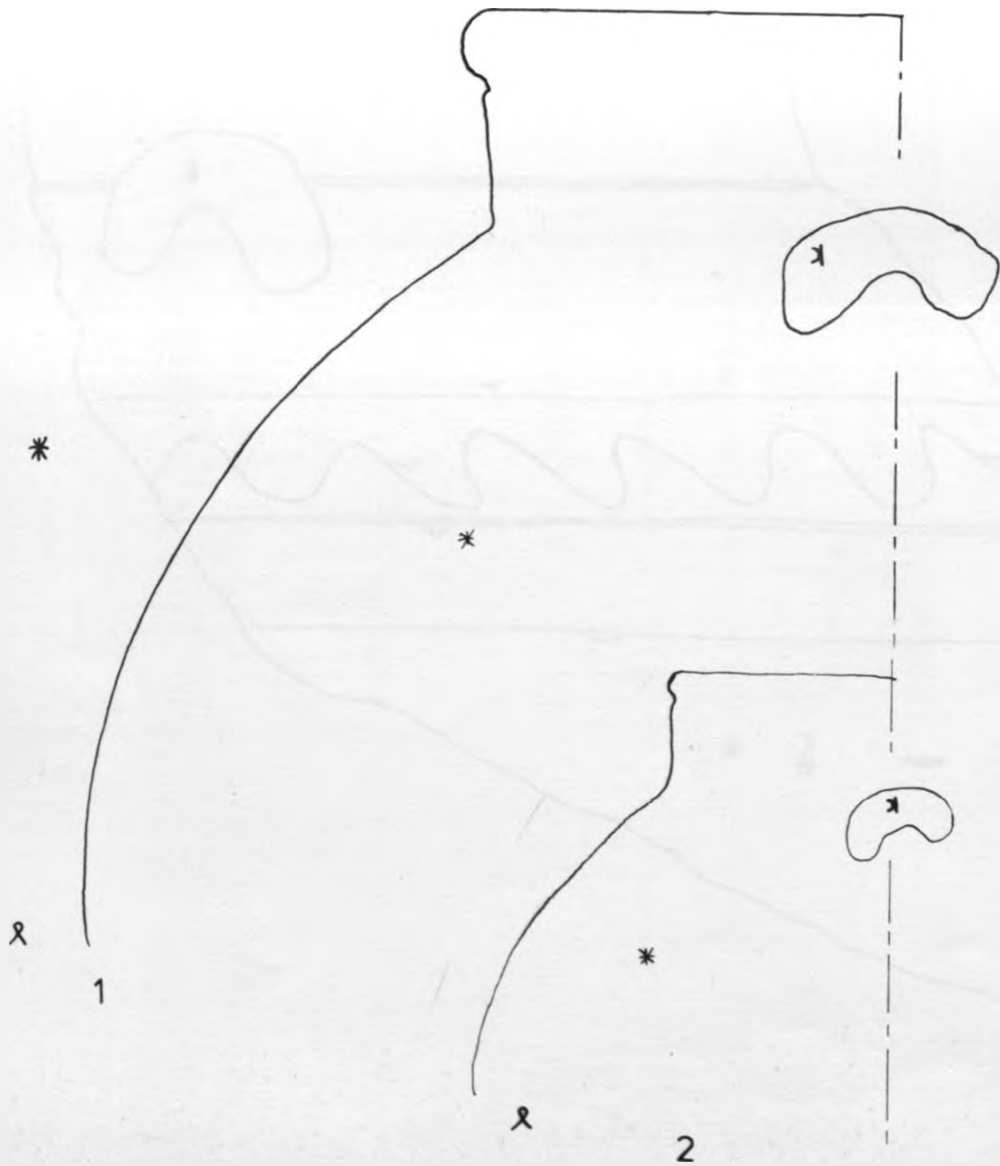
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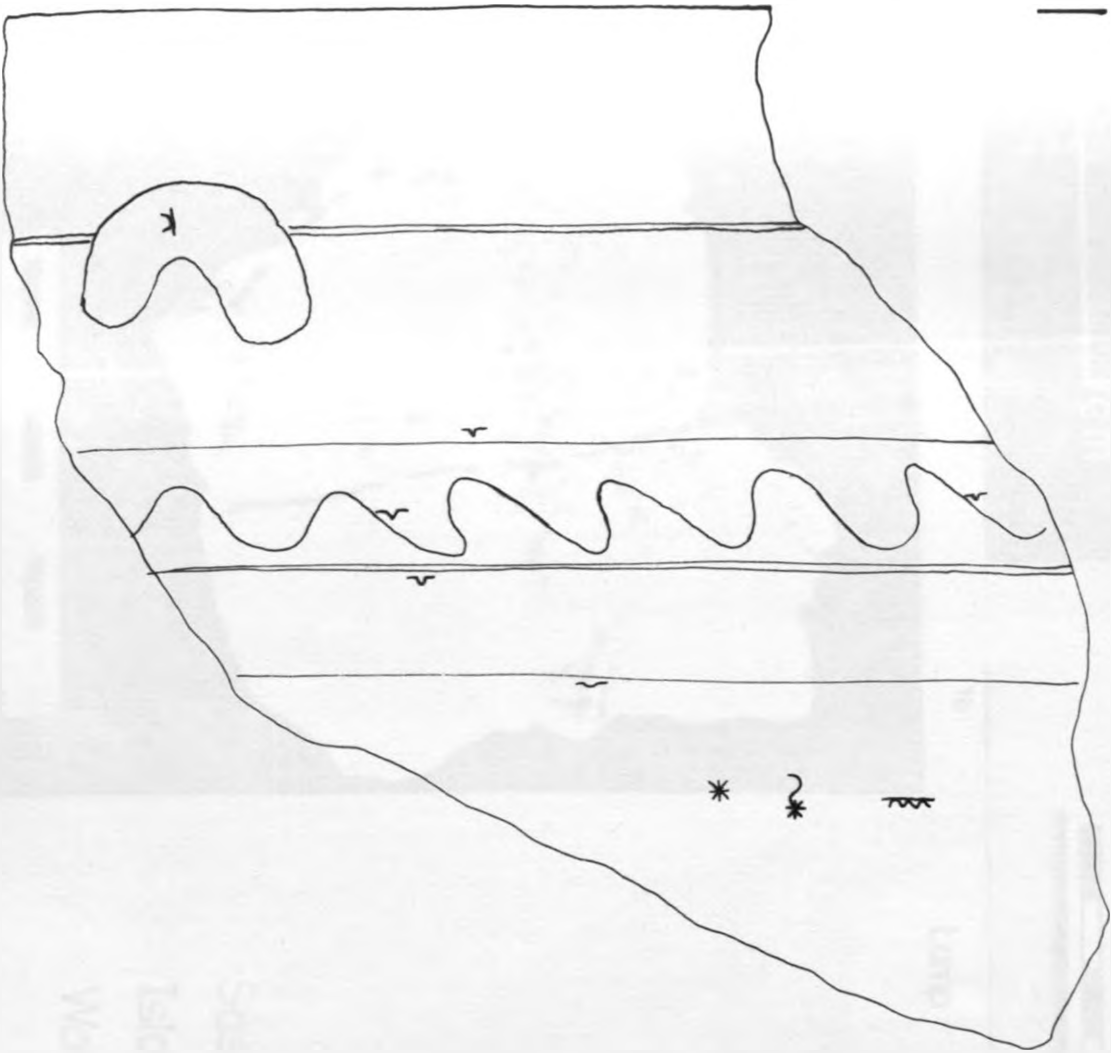


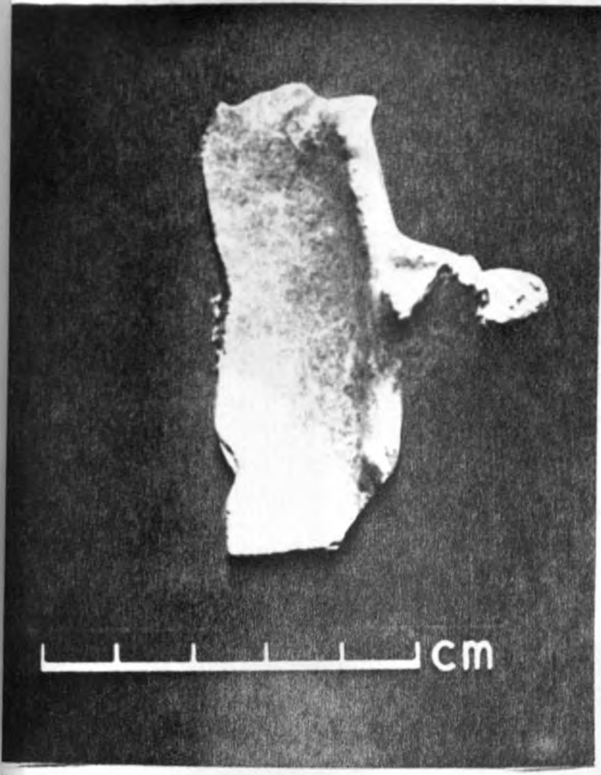
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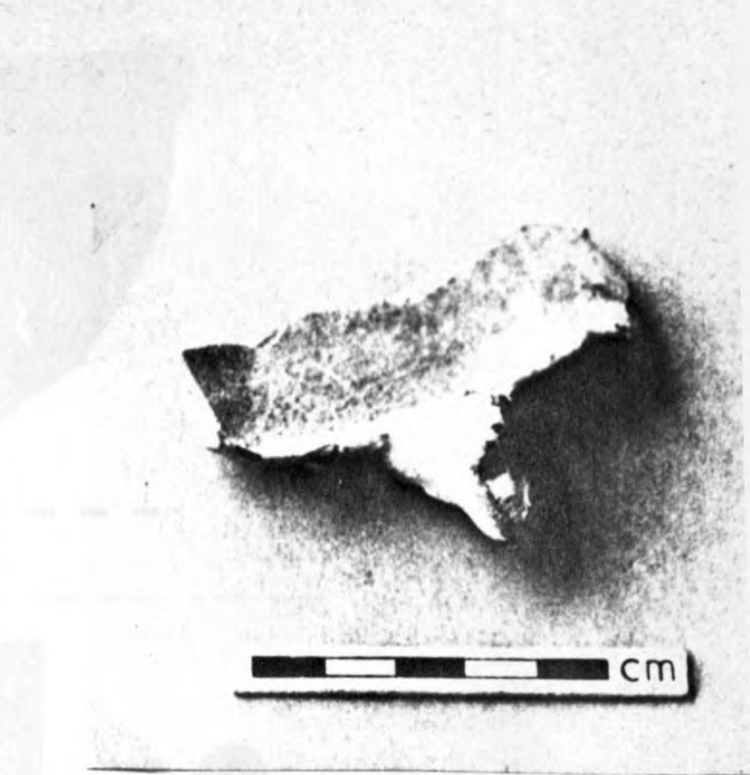


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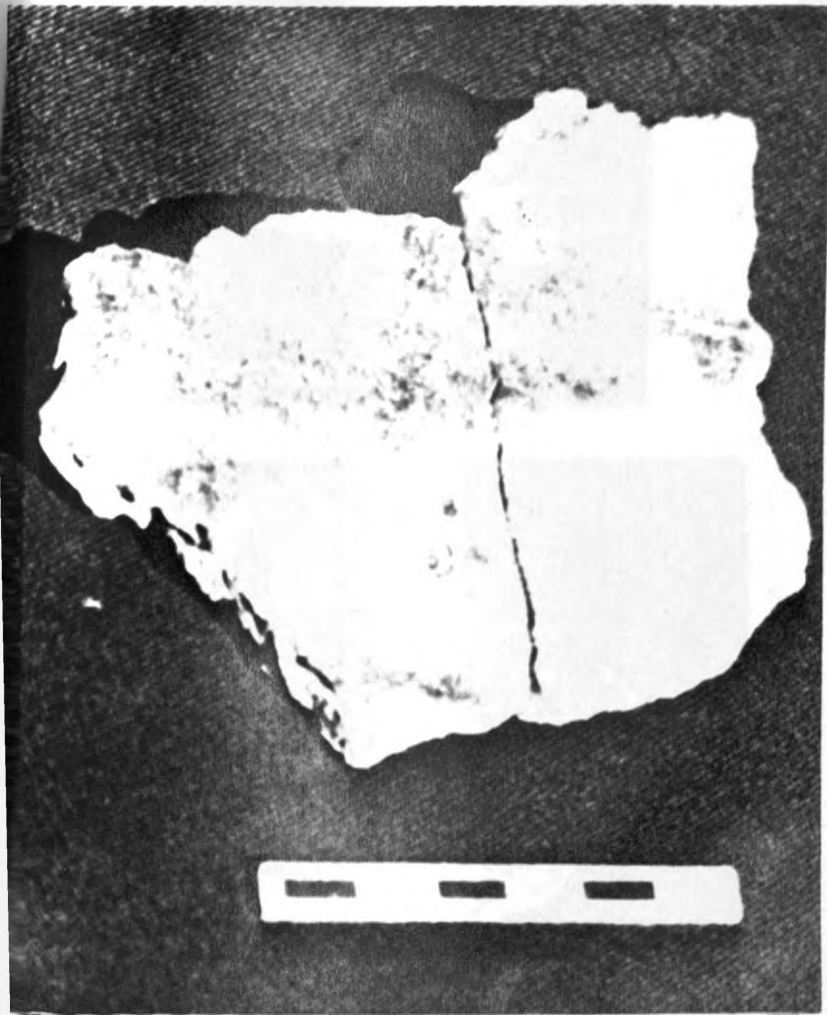




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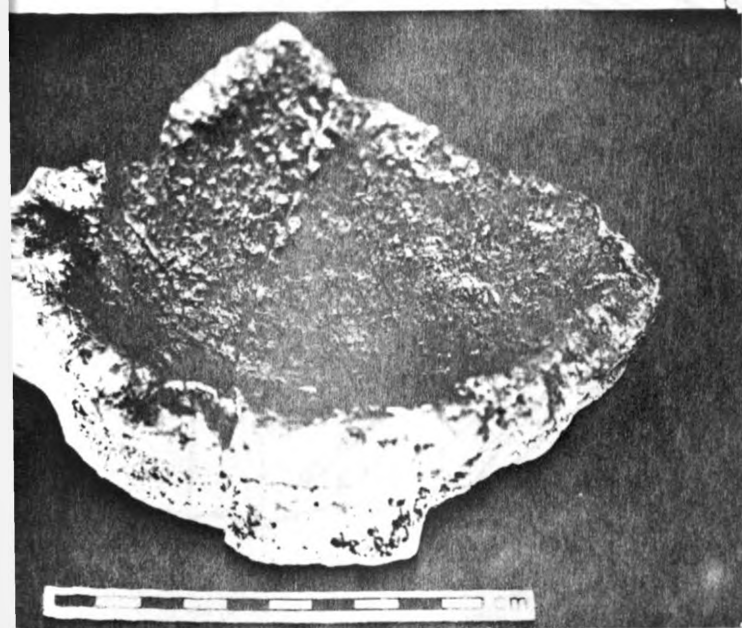
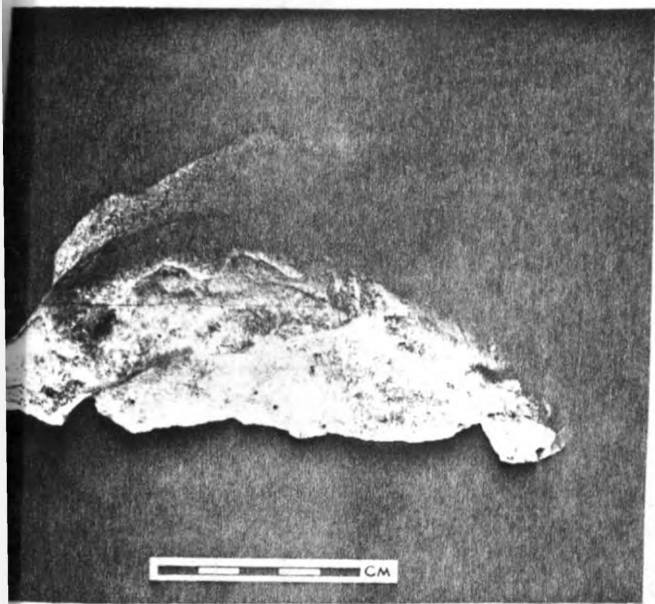
1b



Tear Drop

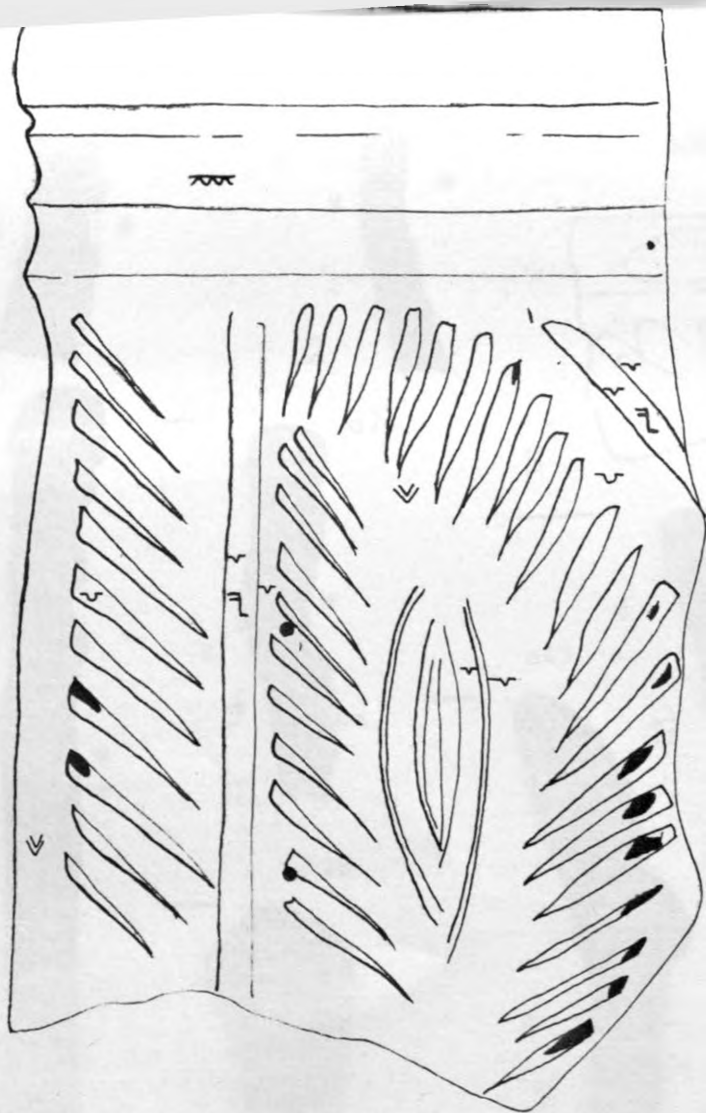
Lamp

Sasanian
Islamic
Ware



3

Sasanian Islamic Ware
Crazing, Pinholing and
Spur Marks



*

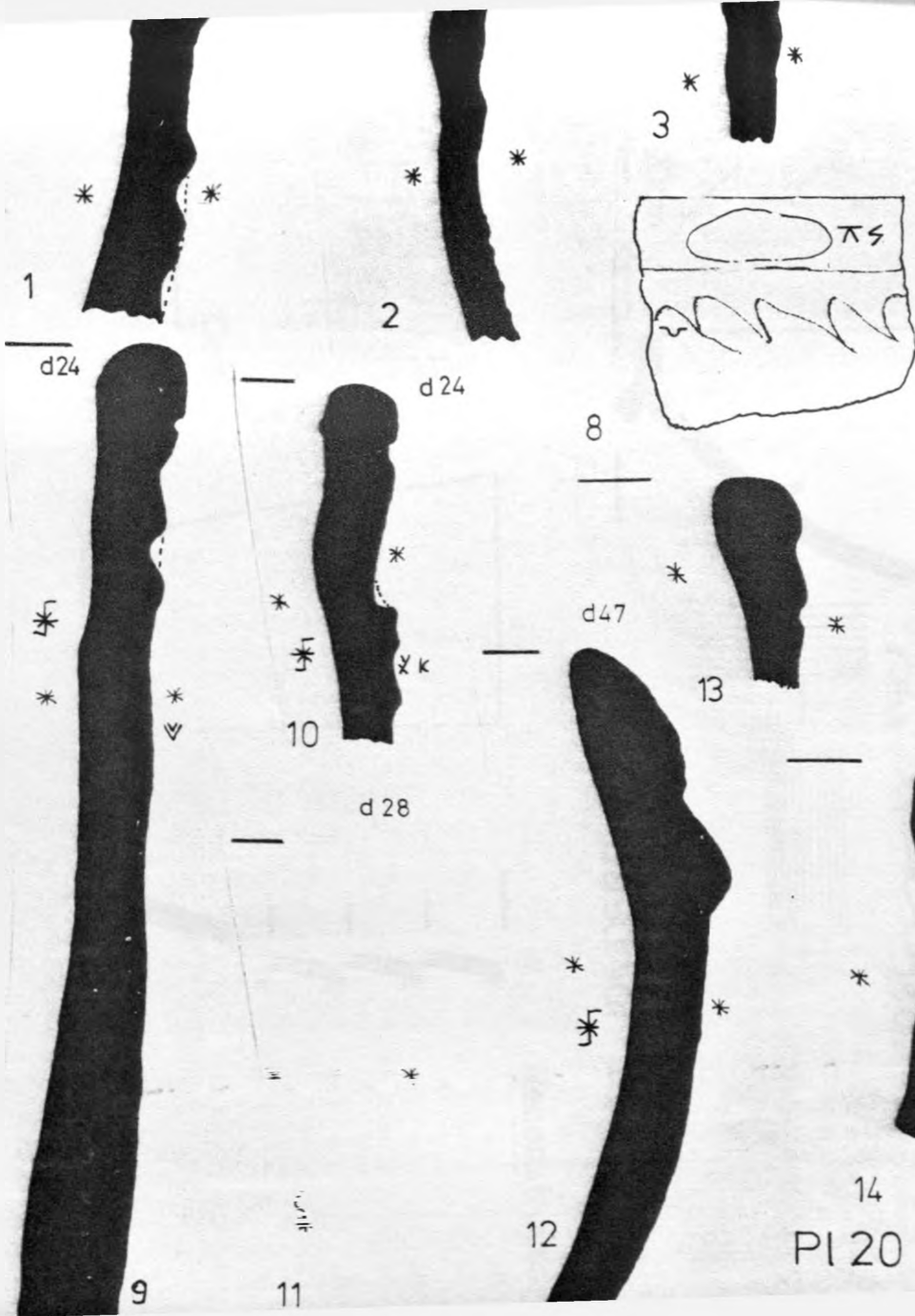
27

0 5cm



Sasanian Islamic

Basin 𐬰𐬀



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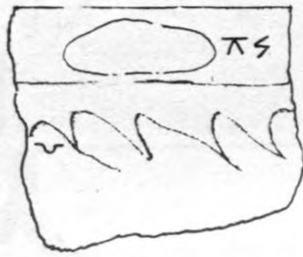
d24

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d24

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d28

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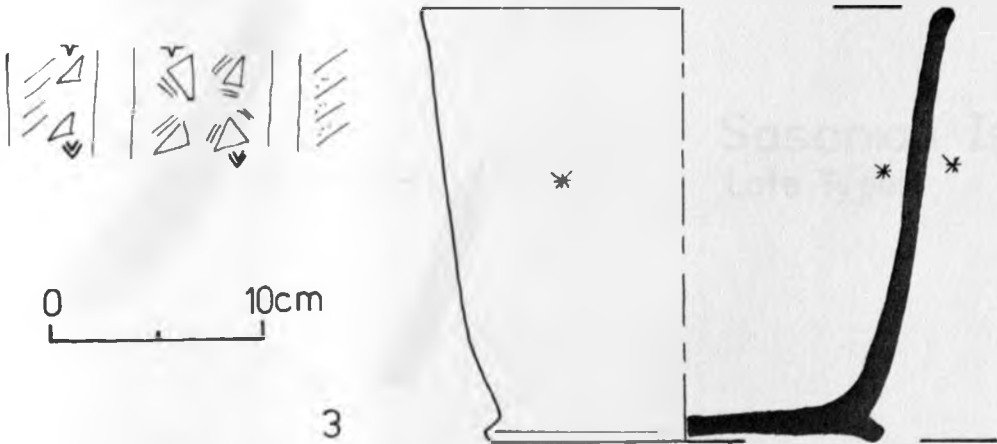
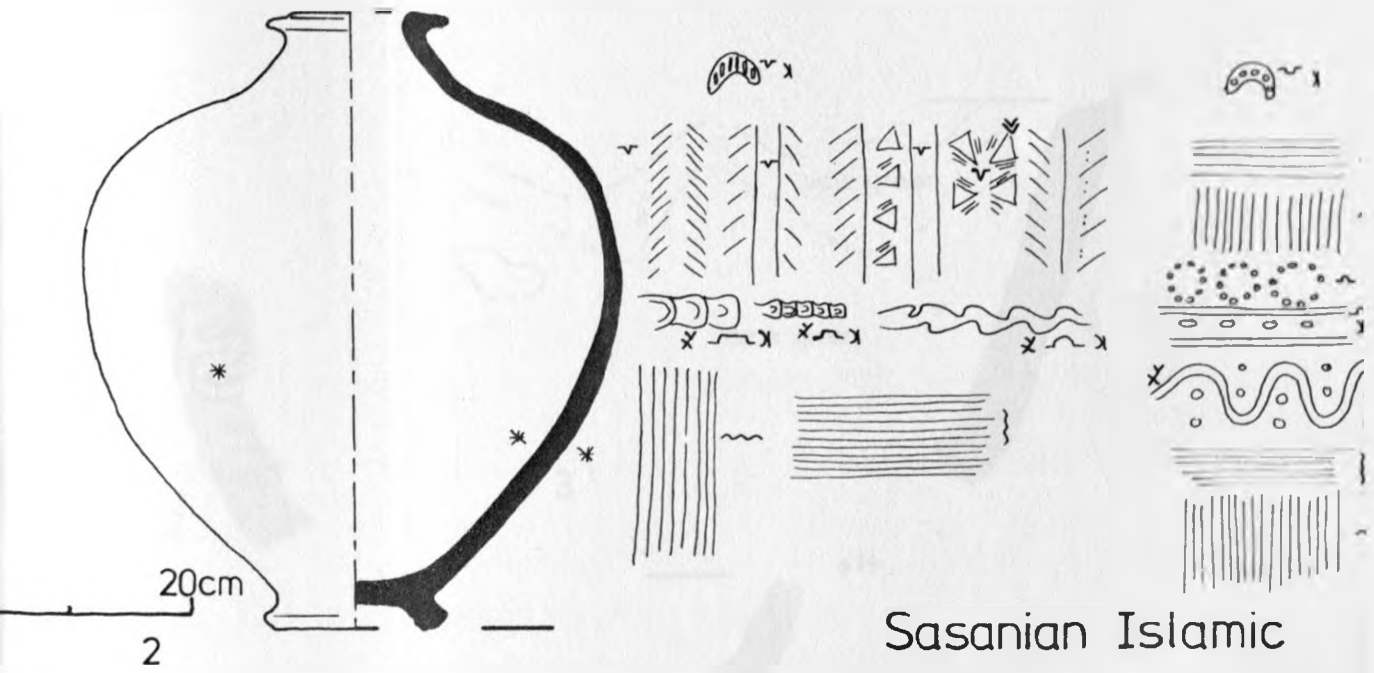
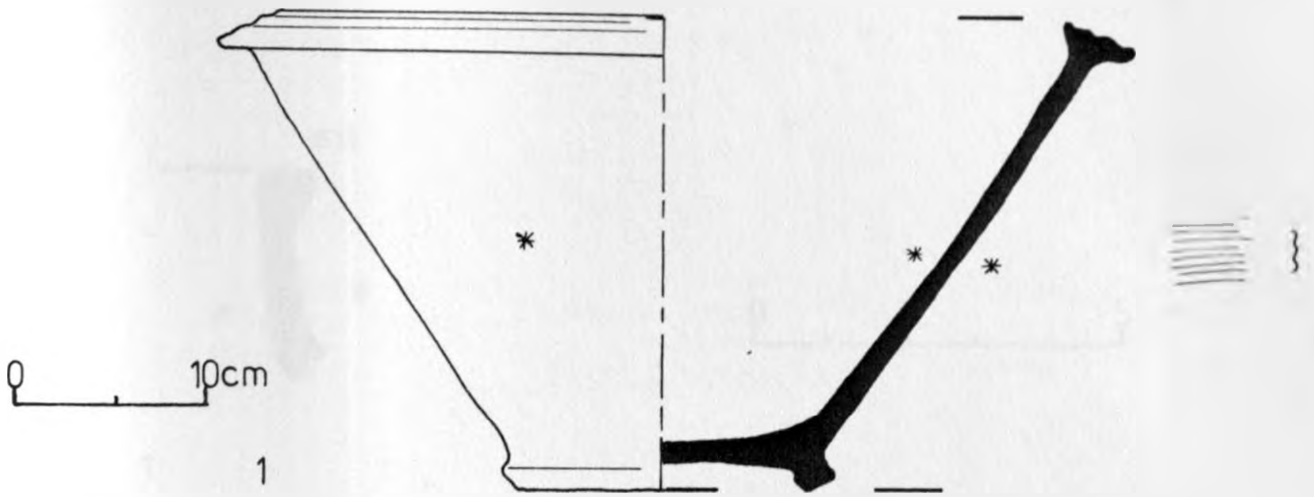
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Sasanian Islamic

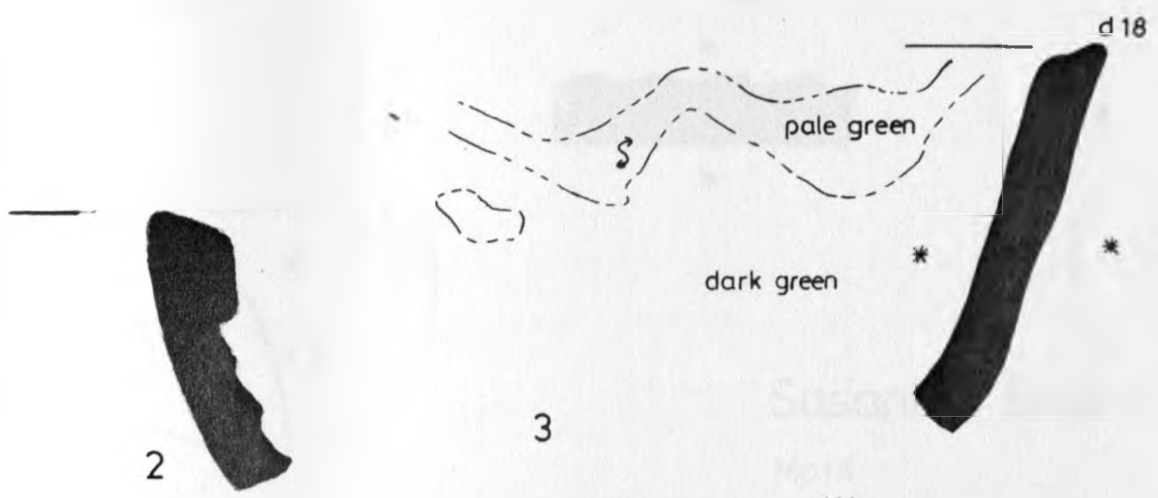
Basins and Jars



Reconstruction
⊗

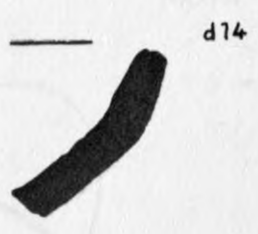


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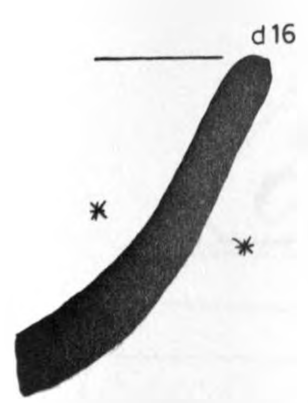


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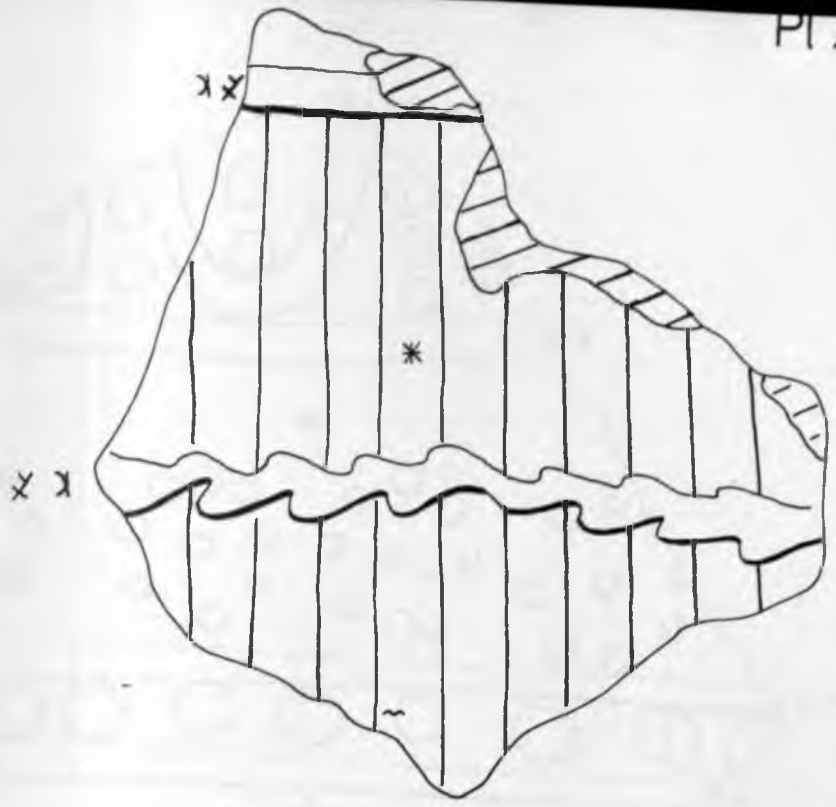
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6

Sasanian Islamic
Late Types



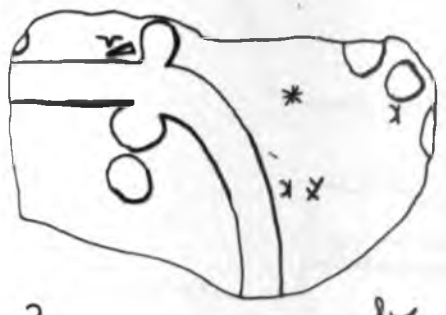


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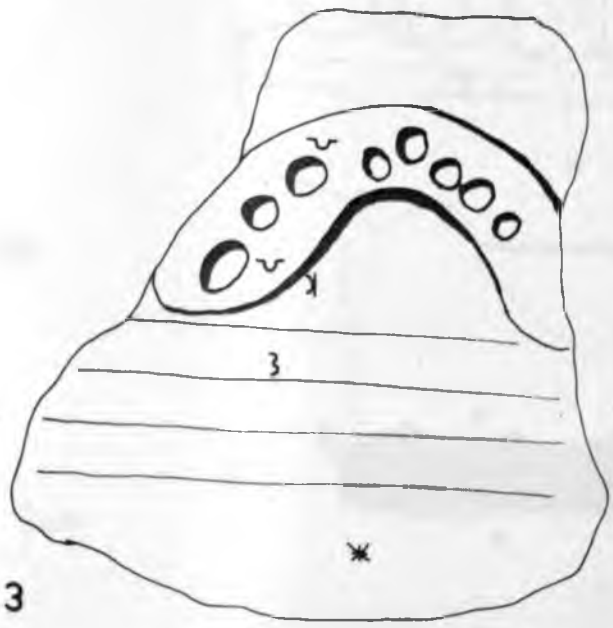
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Sasanian Islamic Motif

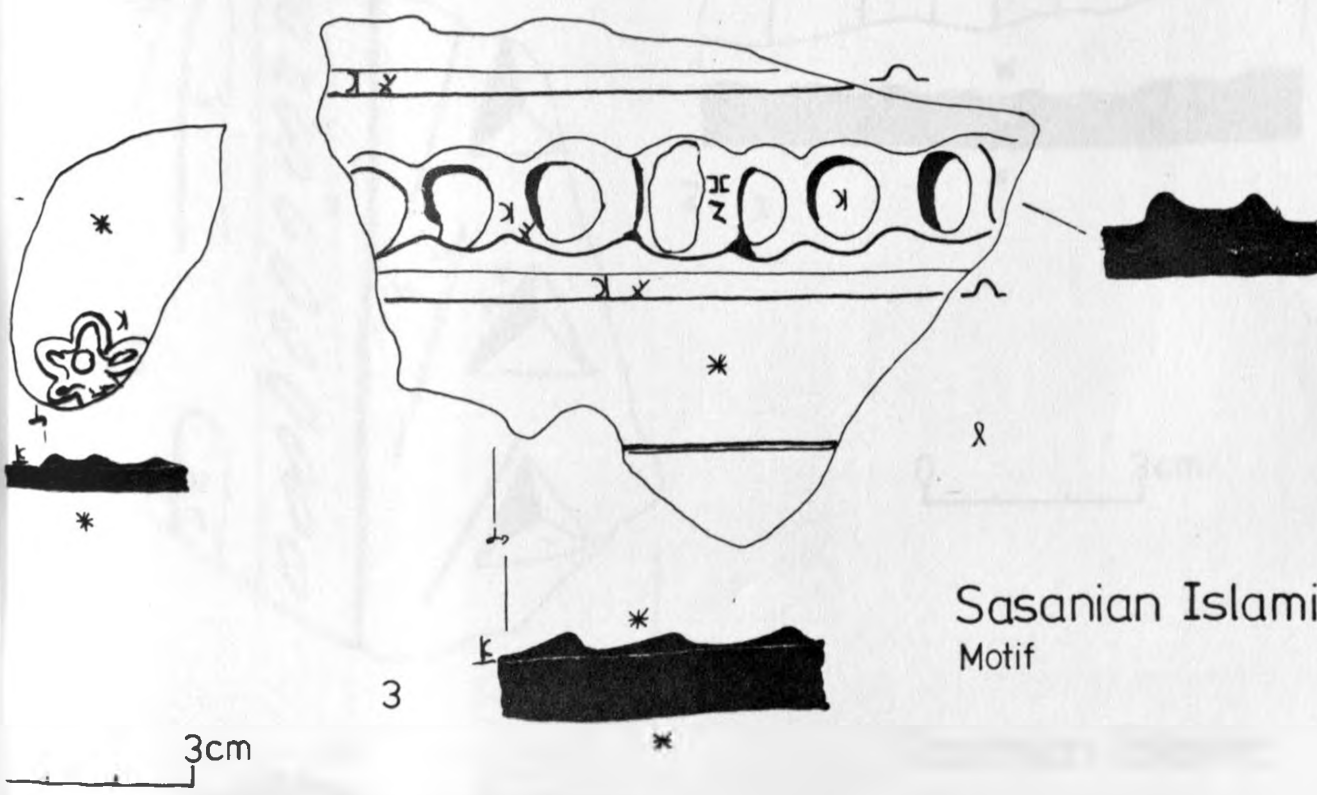
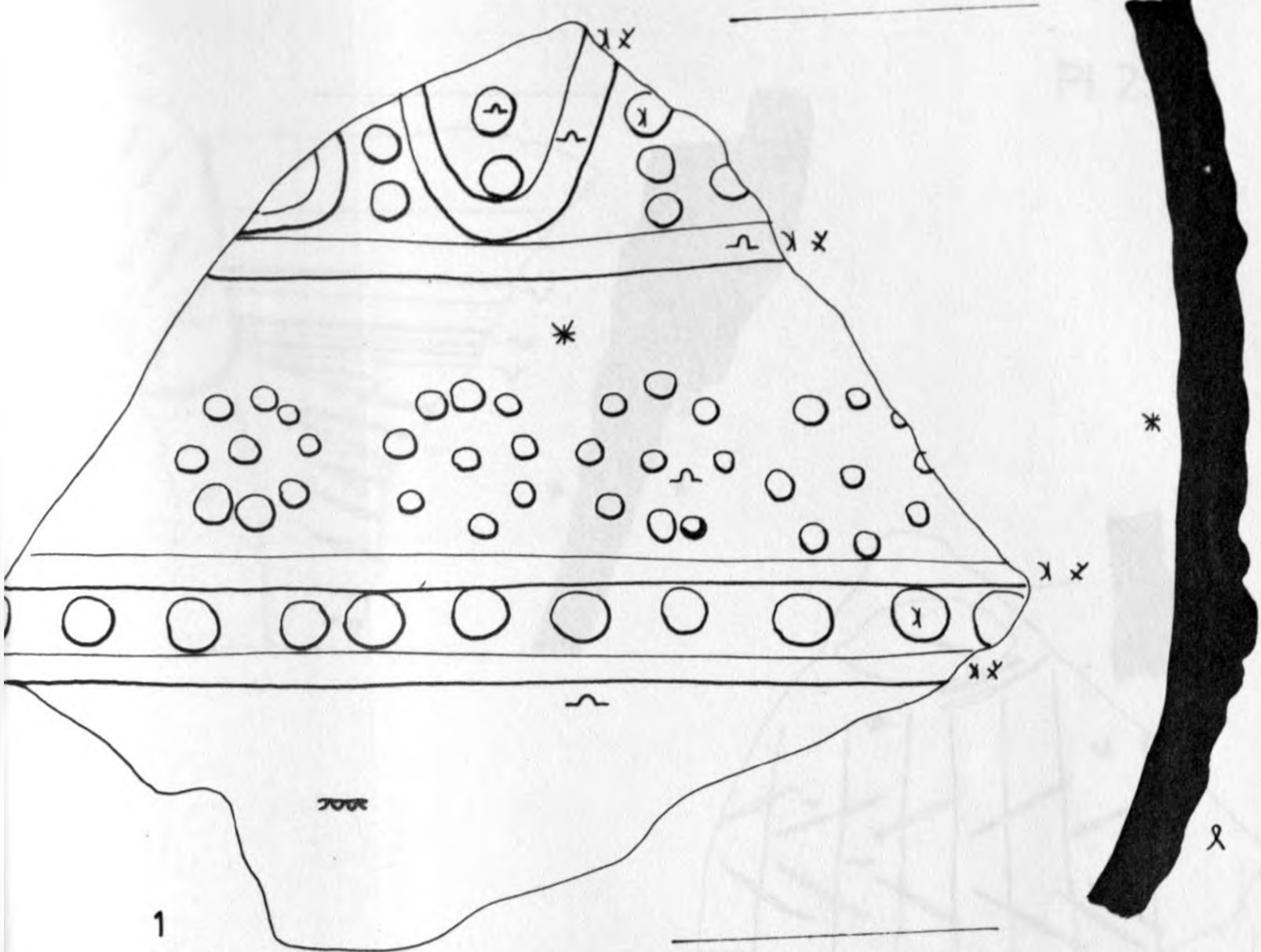


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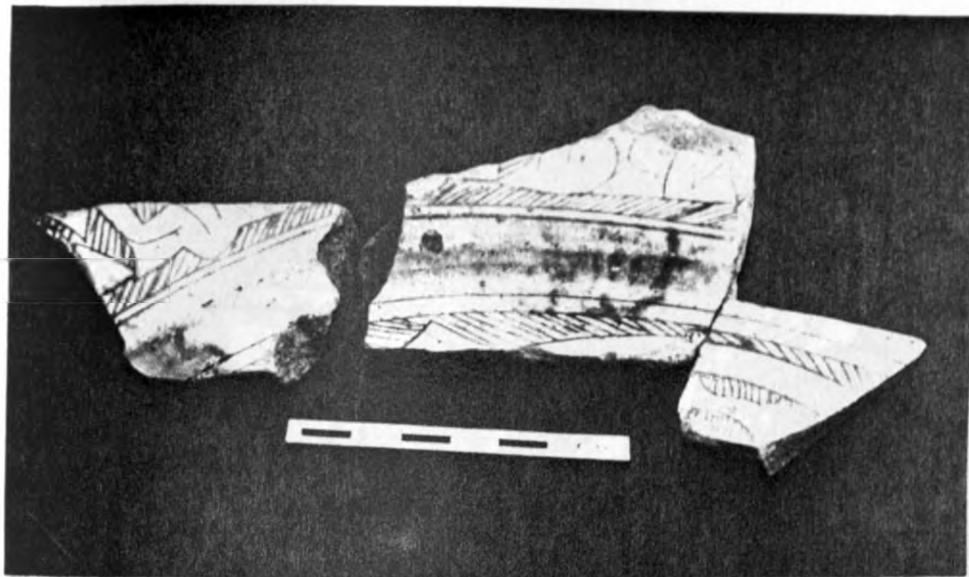
Sasanian Islamic Motif



Sasanian Islamic
Motif

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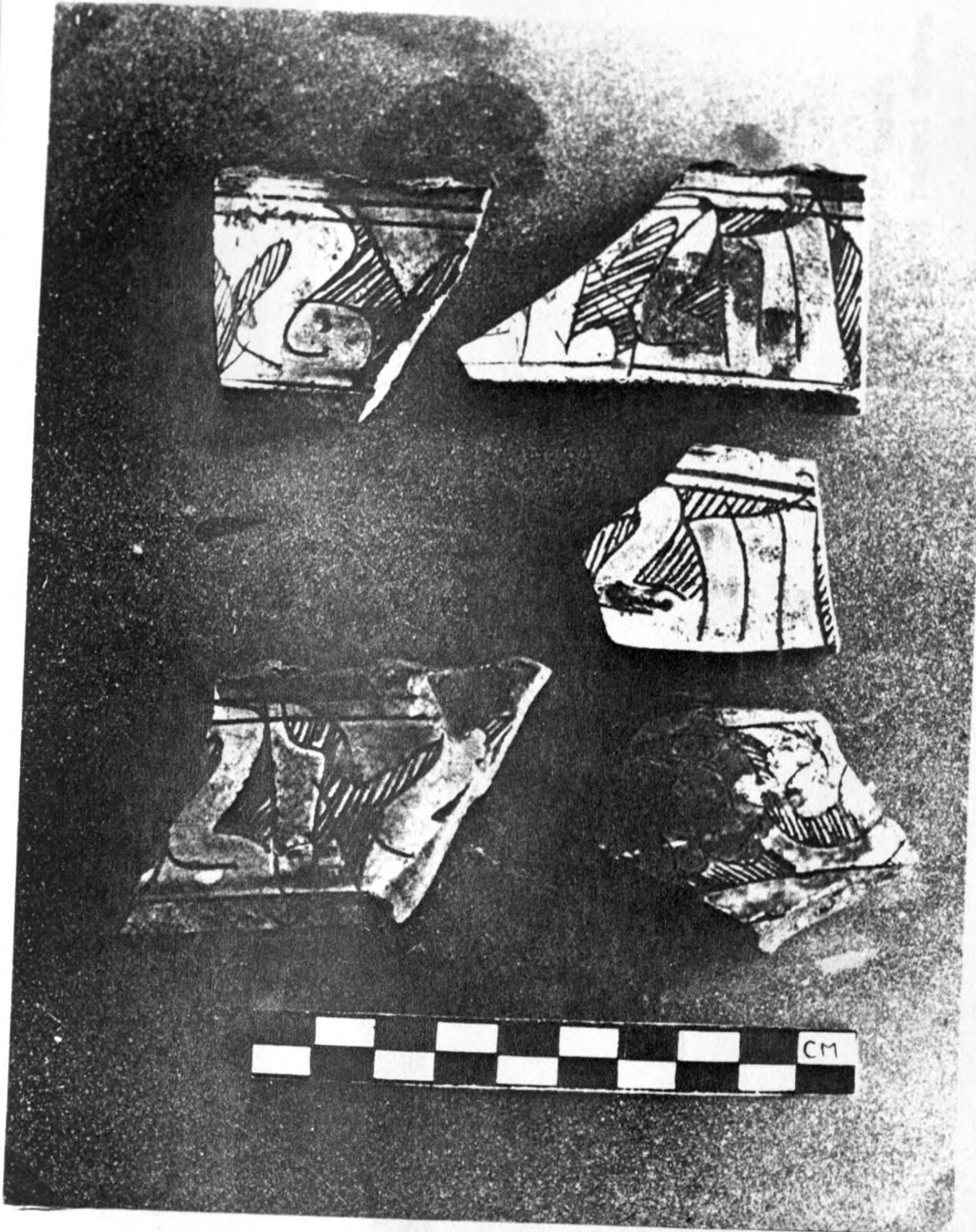


2

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Sgraffiato
Hatched



Sgraffiato
Hatched

Dish cavettos



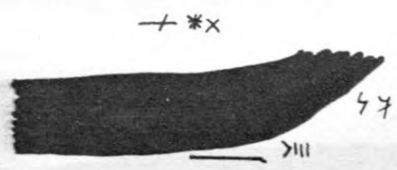
1



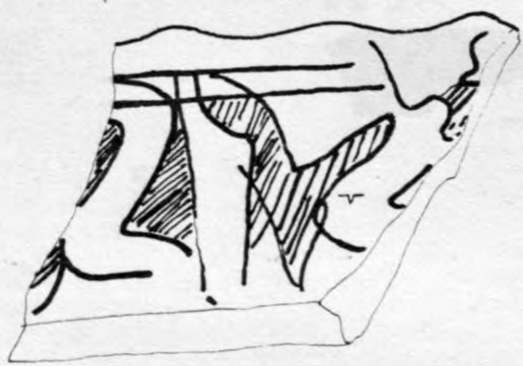
2



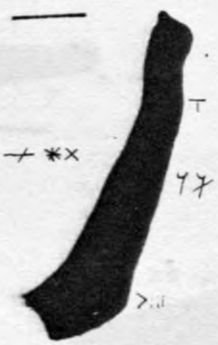
4



5



7



d 37



3

d 16



6



Sgraffiato

Hatched

Epigraphic motifs
on flat based dishes

0

5cm



1

d 37



3

d 30



5

x* →



6

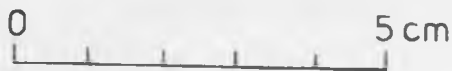
PI 29



2



4



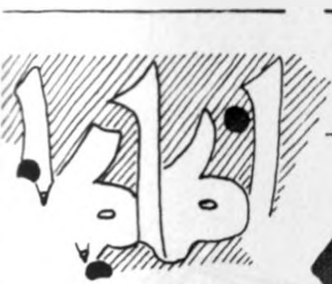
d 36



Sgraffiato
Hatched

d 15.5

d 22



1

2

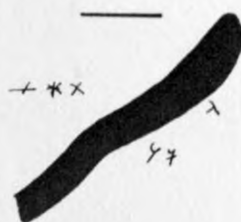
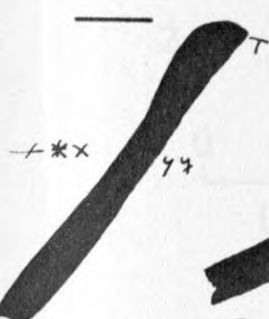
3

d 22

d 16

d 23

d 26



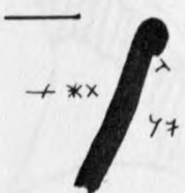
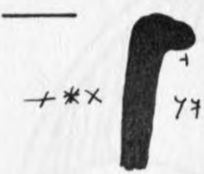
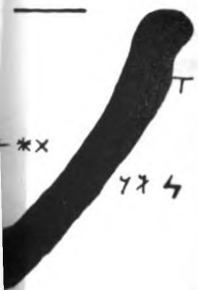
4

5

6

7

d 16



9

10

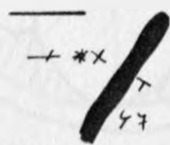
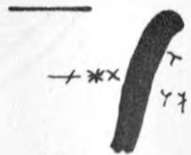
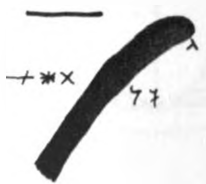
11

d 28

d 20

d 28

d 13



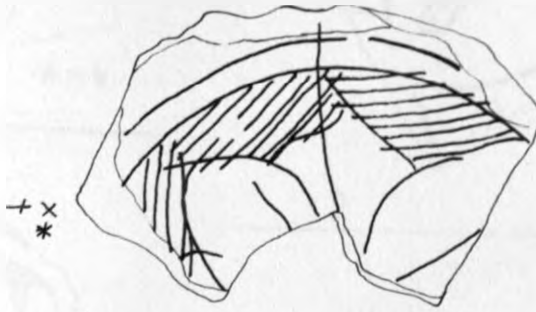
12

13

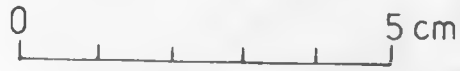
14

Sgraffiato
Hatched
Bowls T

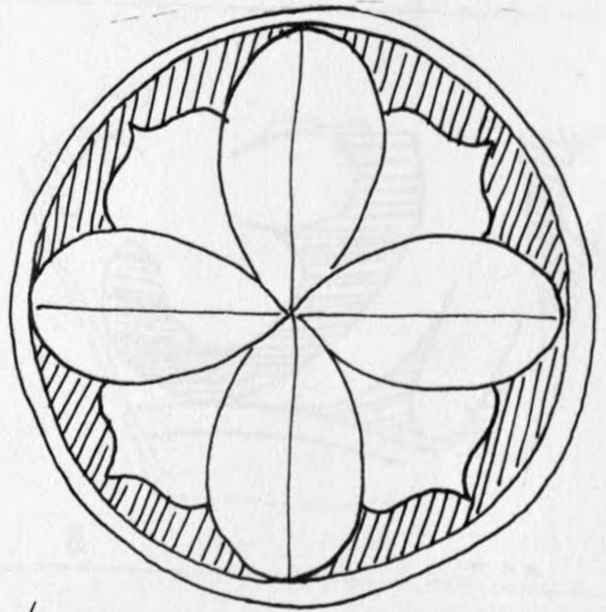
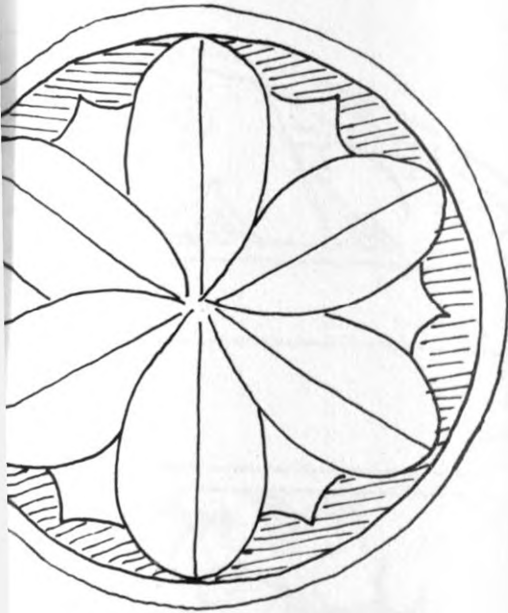




2



Different potters' renderings of the floral motif

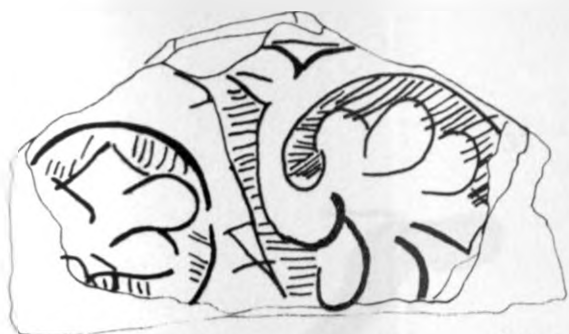


4



Reconstructions of the floral motif common in bowl centres

Sgraffiato Hatched



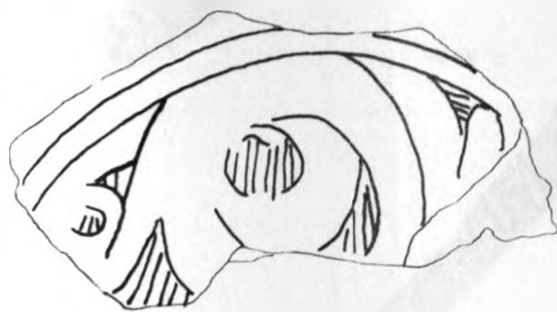
1

+ x *



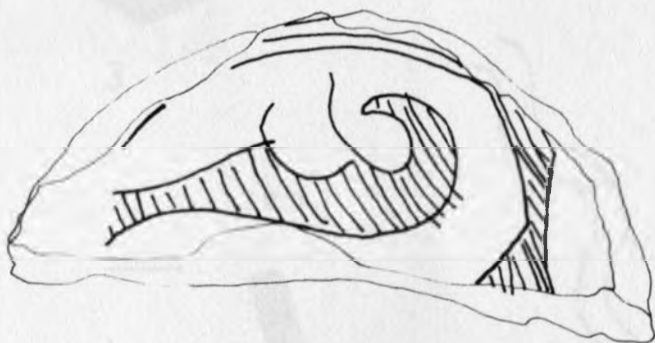
2

+ x *



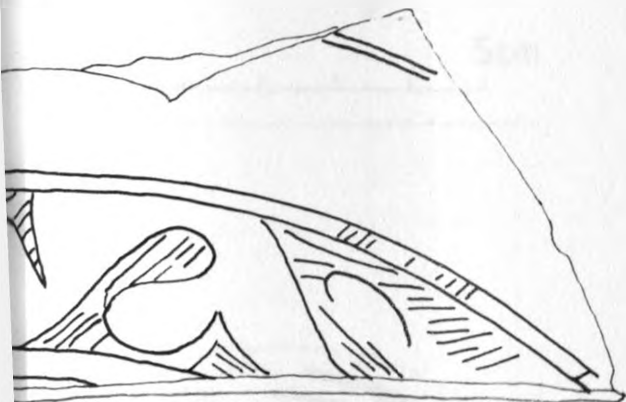
3

+ x *



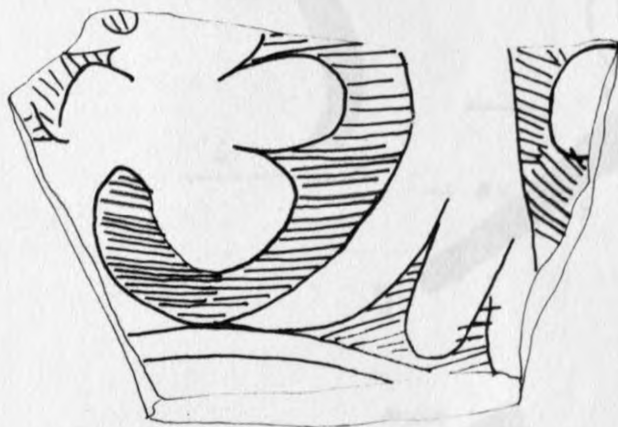
4

+ x *



5

+ x *



6

+ x *



7

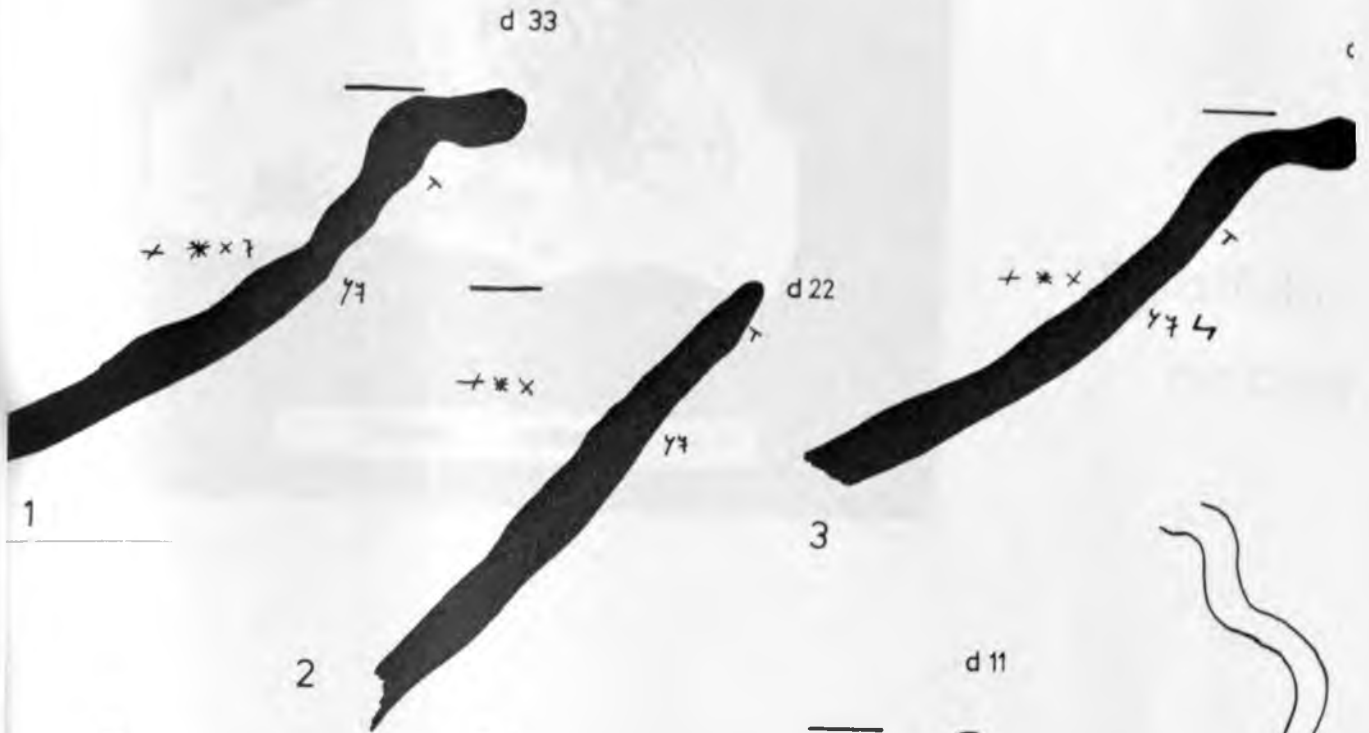
+ x *



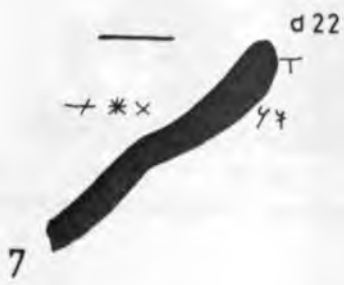
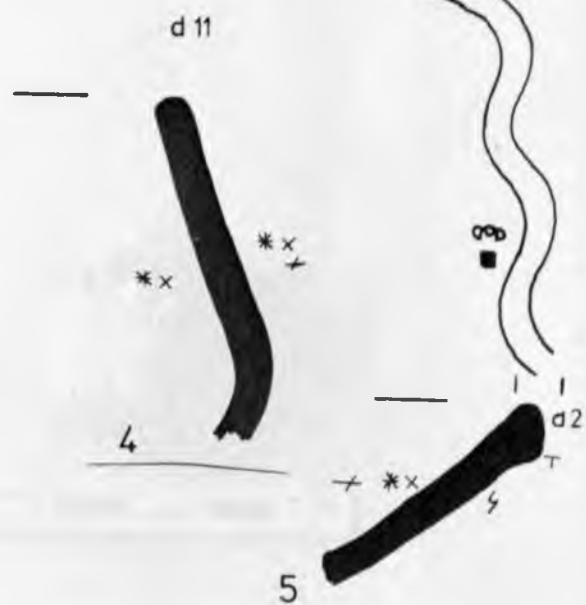
Sgraffiato

Hatched

Variations of the curlicue
tendrill motif



0 5cm



Sgraffiato
Hatched

T



Sgraffiato
Hatched

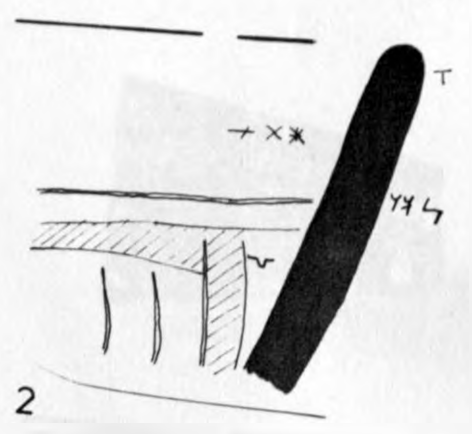
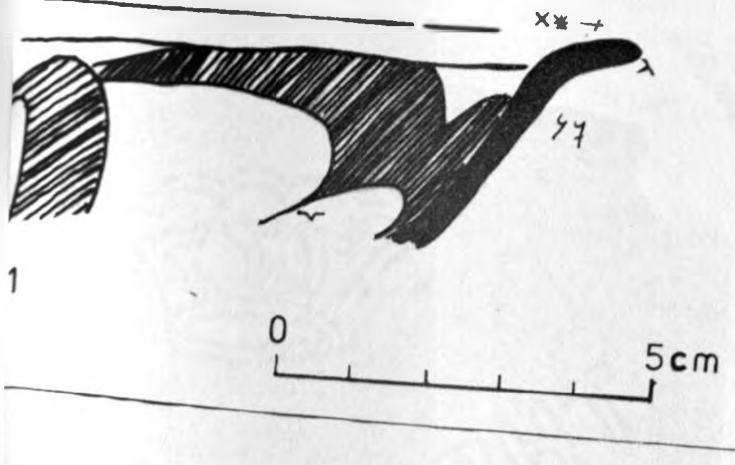
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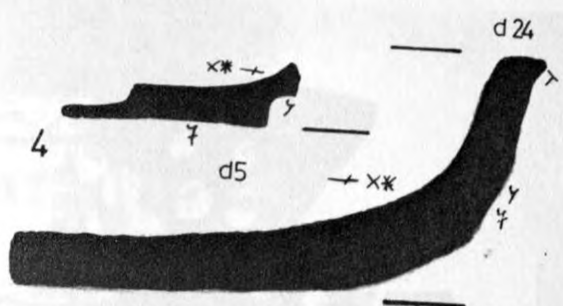
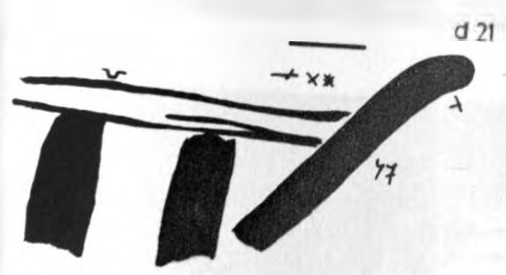
2



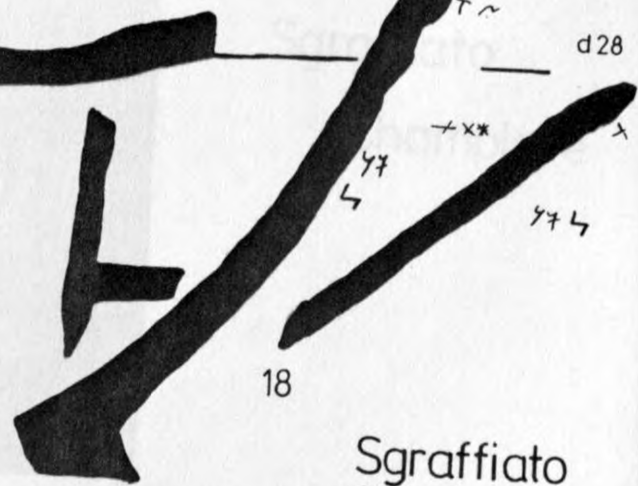
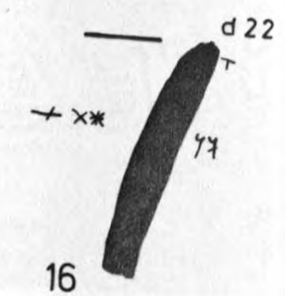
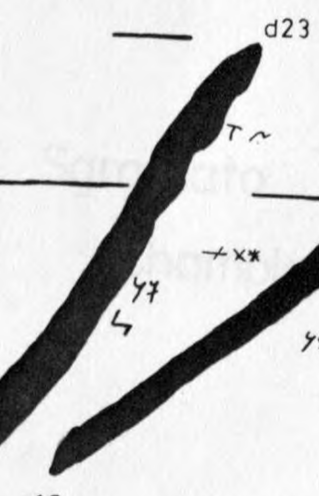
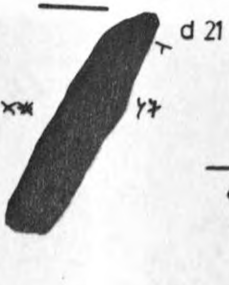
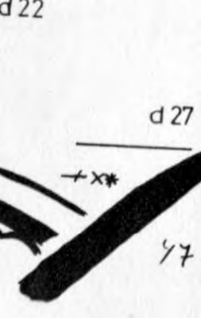
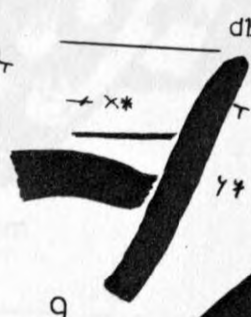
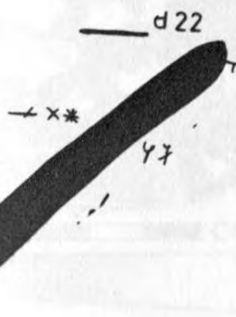
Sgraffiato
heads



Sgraffiato
Hatched T



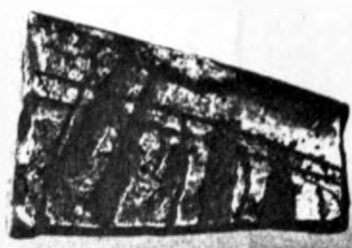
5



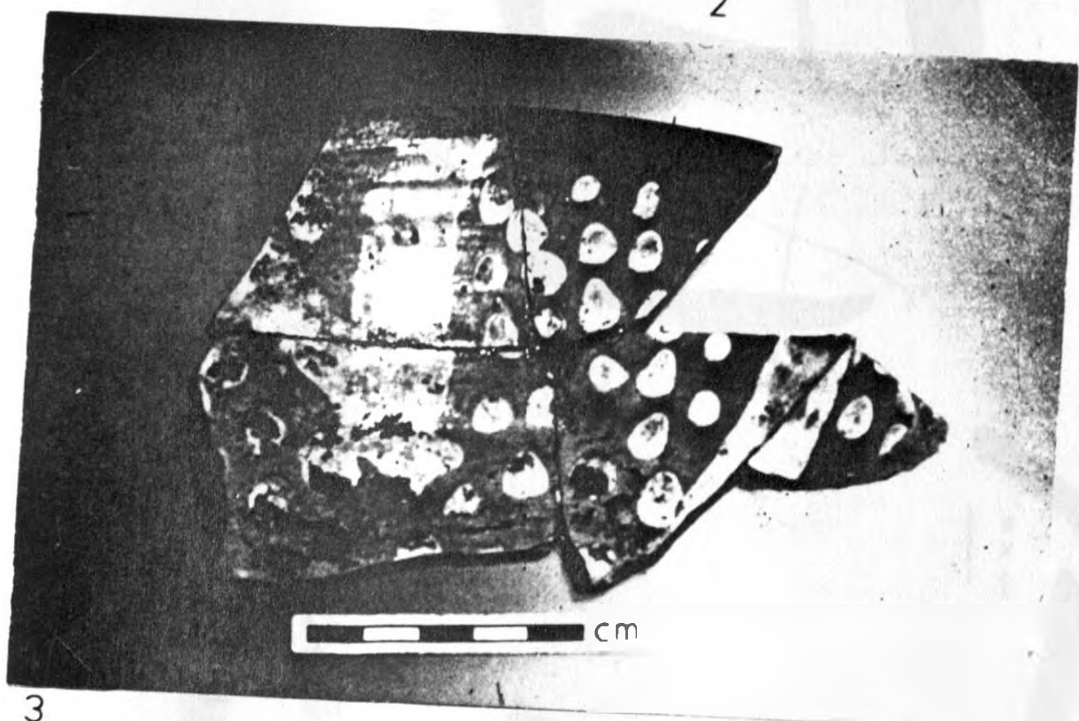
Sgraffiato
Champleve T



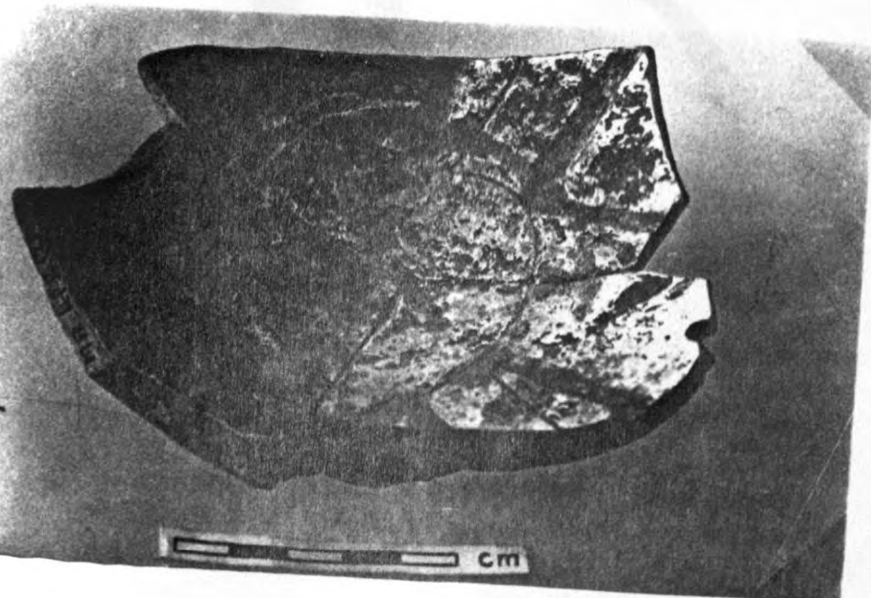
1



2



3



Sgraffiato
Champlevé

0 5cm



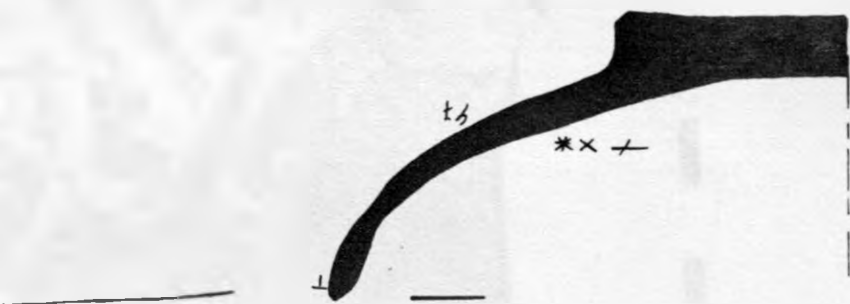
022





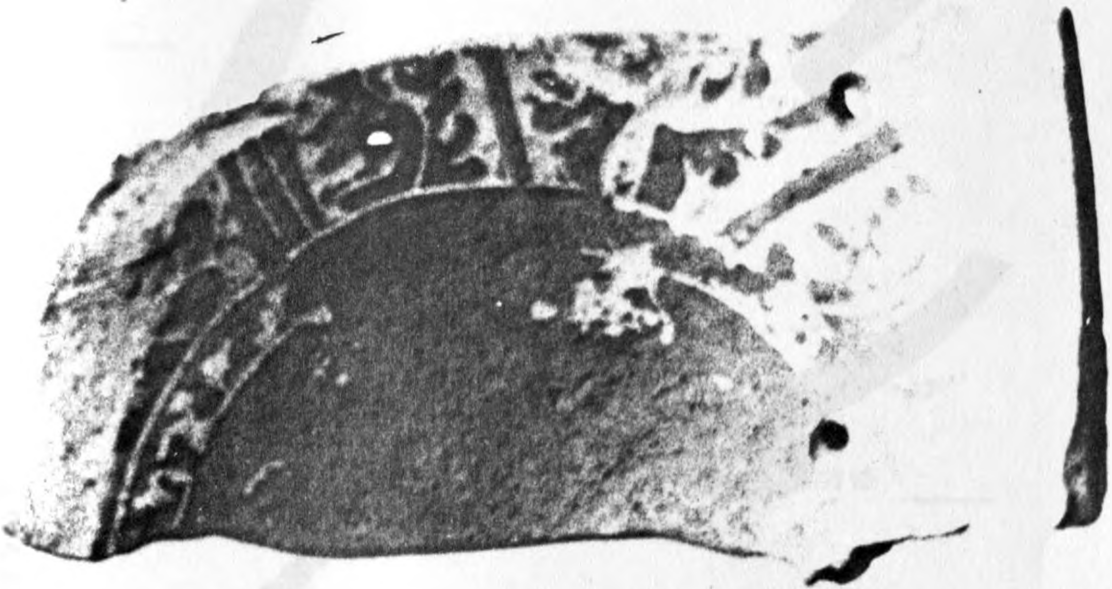
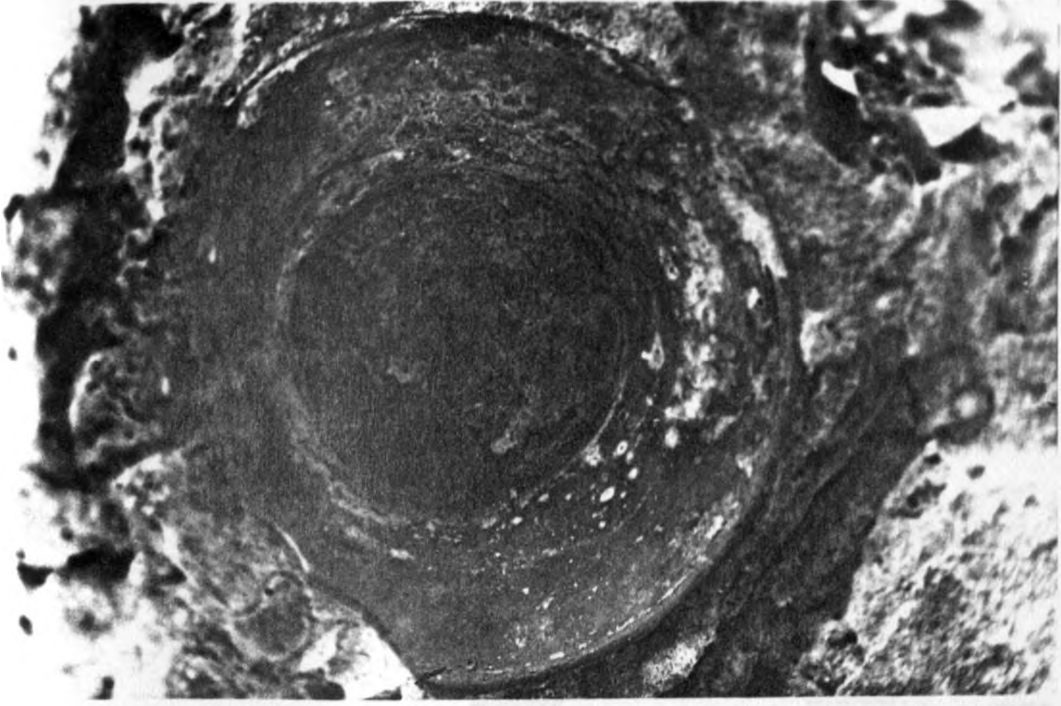
3

2

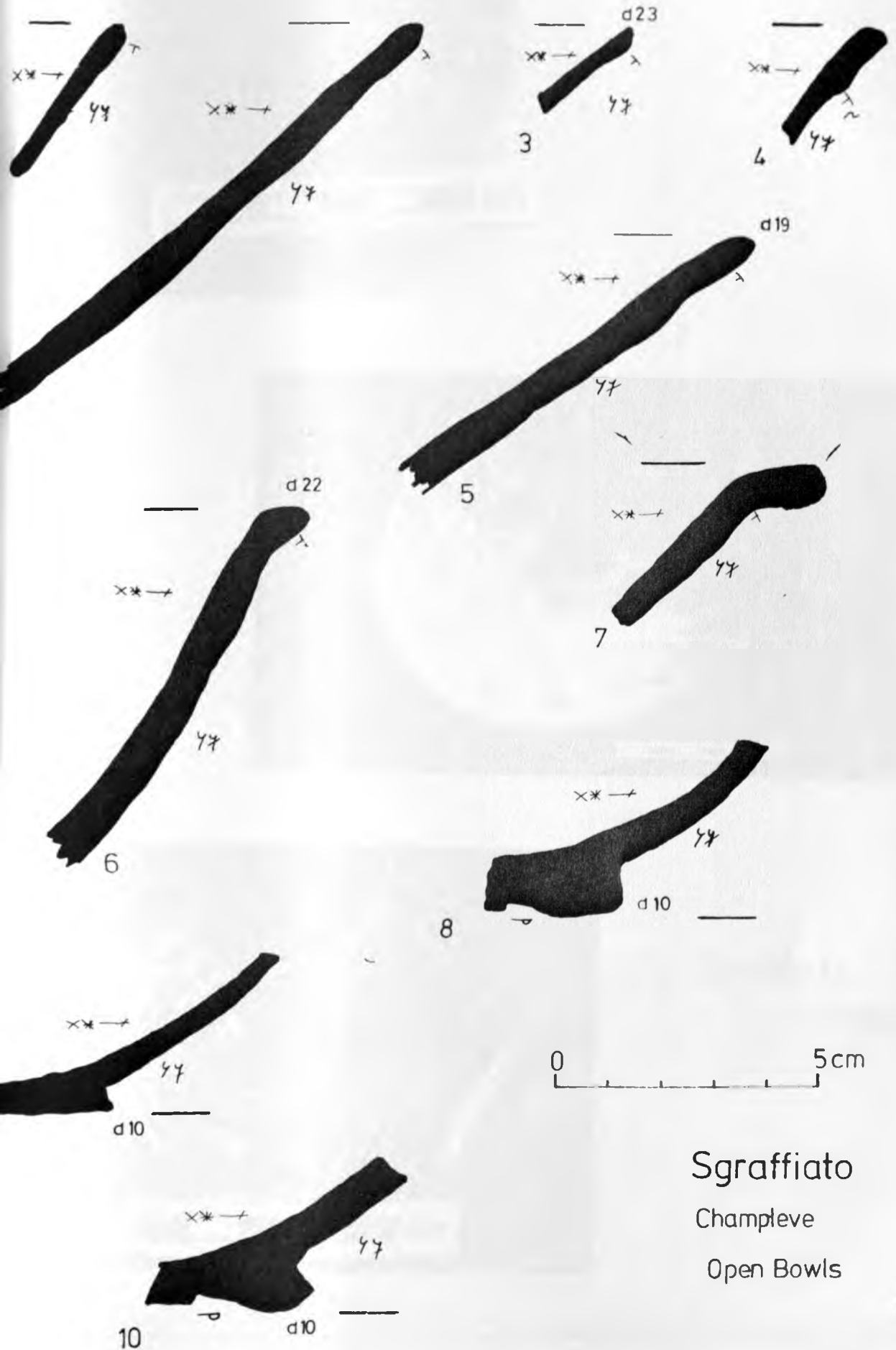


1



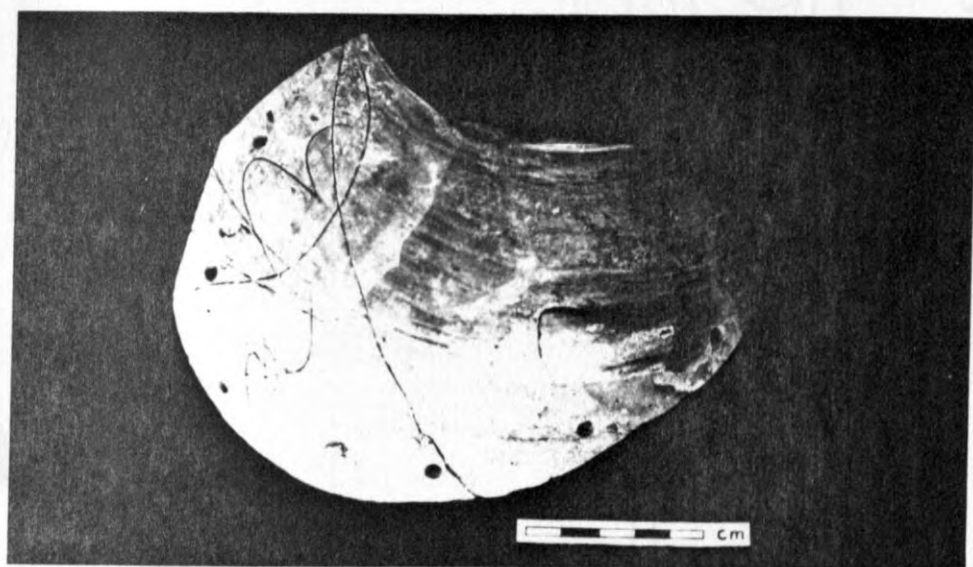


Sgraffiato

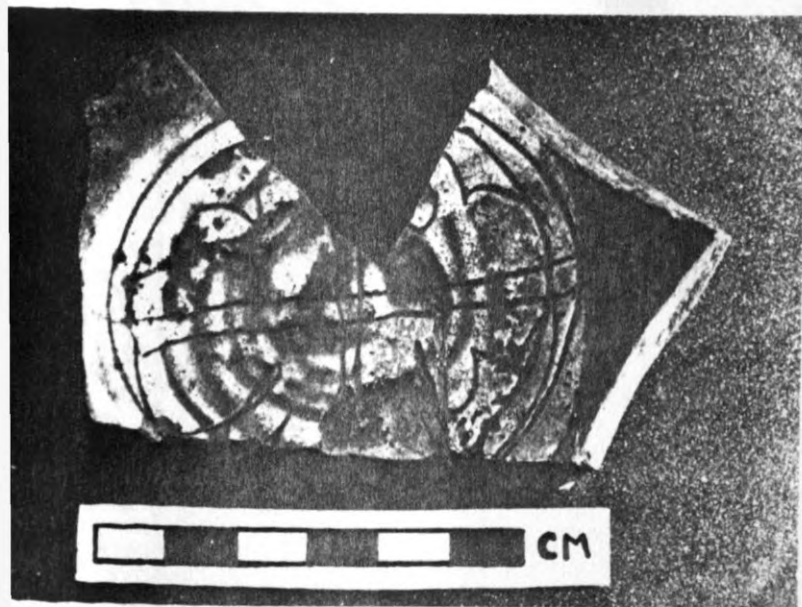


0 5cm

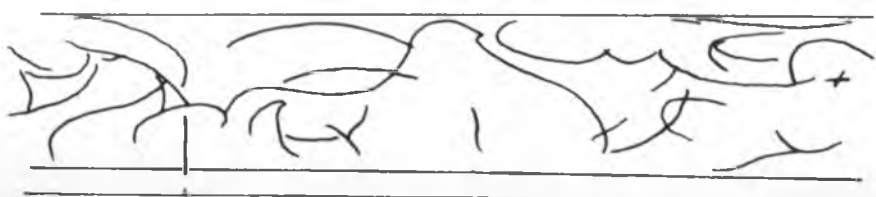
Sgraffiato
Champleve
Open Bowls



2



Sgraffiato
Simple



x* +
w

x* Δ

4 0

a.



x* +

x* Δ

b.

Pl 41



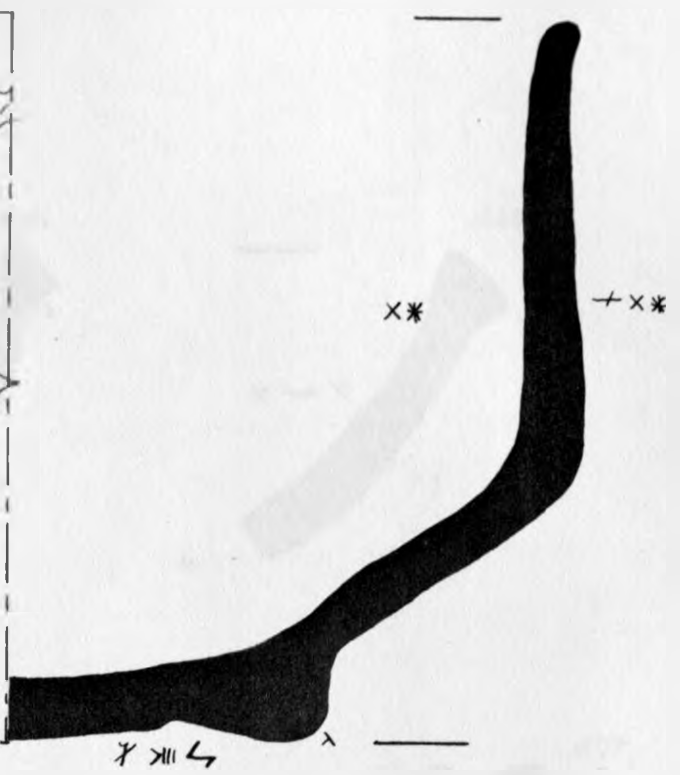
Sgraffiato

Simple

Lustra Bowl



1



2



3

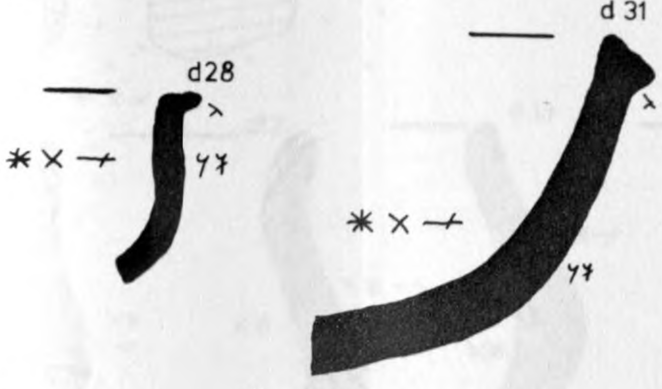


Sgraffiato
Form

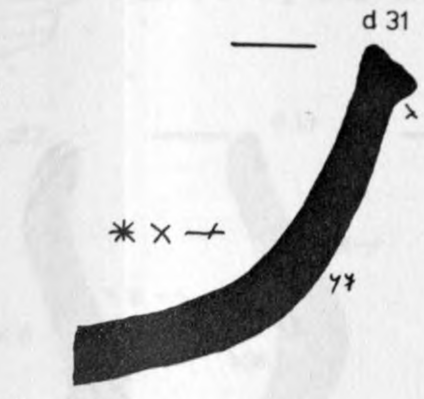
T



1



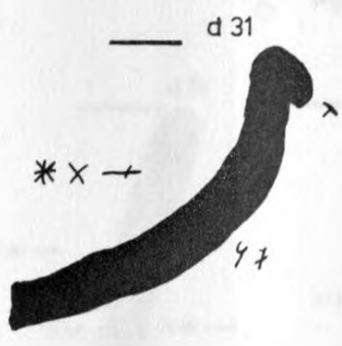
2



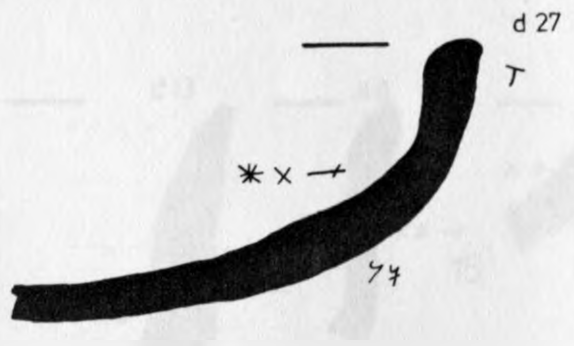
3



4

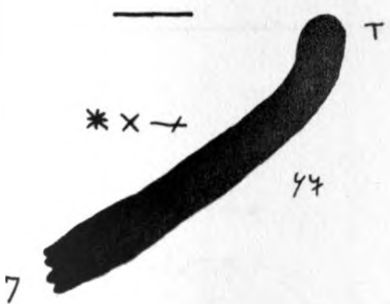


5



6

nos. 1-7 : 0 5cm

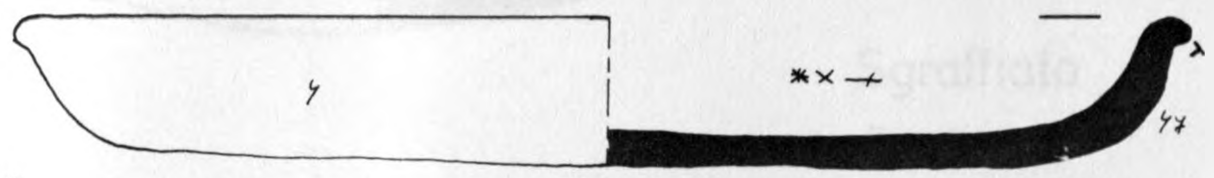


7

Sgraffiato

Simple

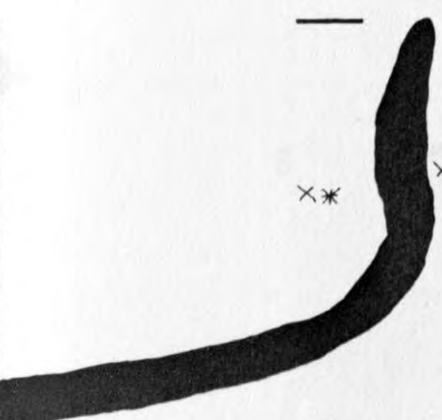
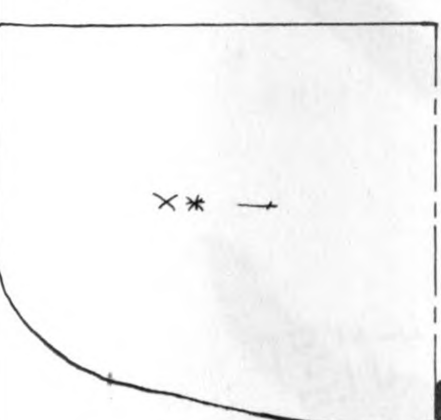
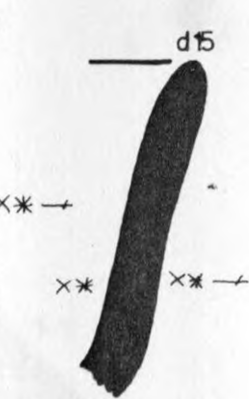
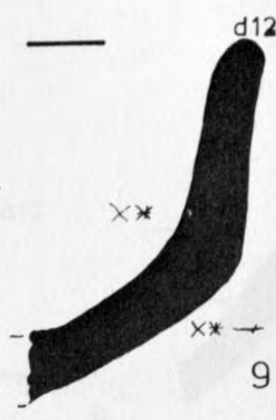
Dishes



8

1:2

lustre
 strong yellow
 greenish yellow
 strong yellow green
 very pale greenish white

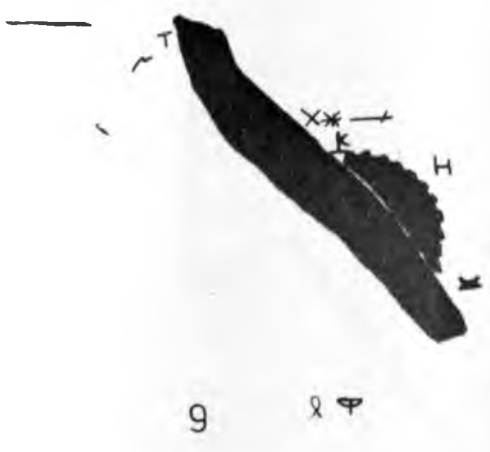
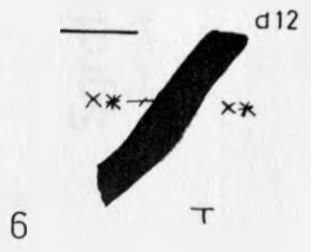
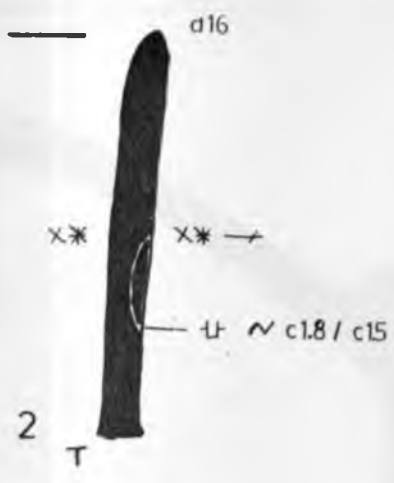


Sgraffiato

Simple

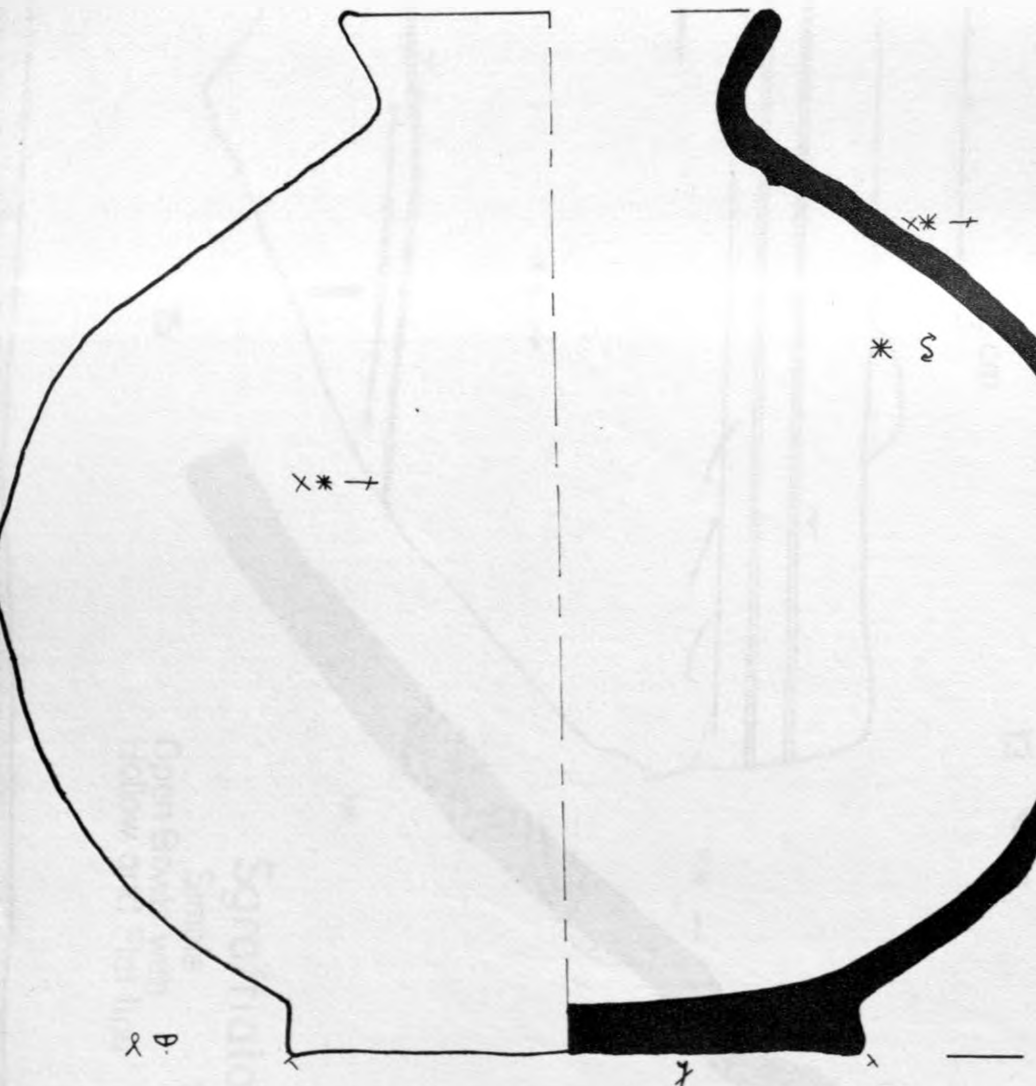
Round Base Bowls





Sgraffiato
Simple
Unusual Forms

1:2



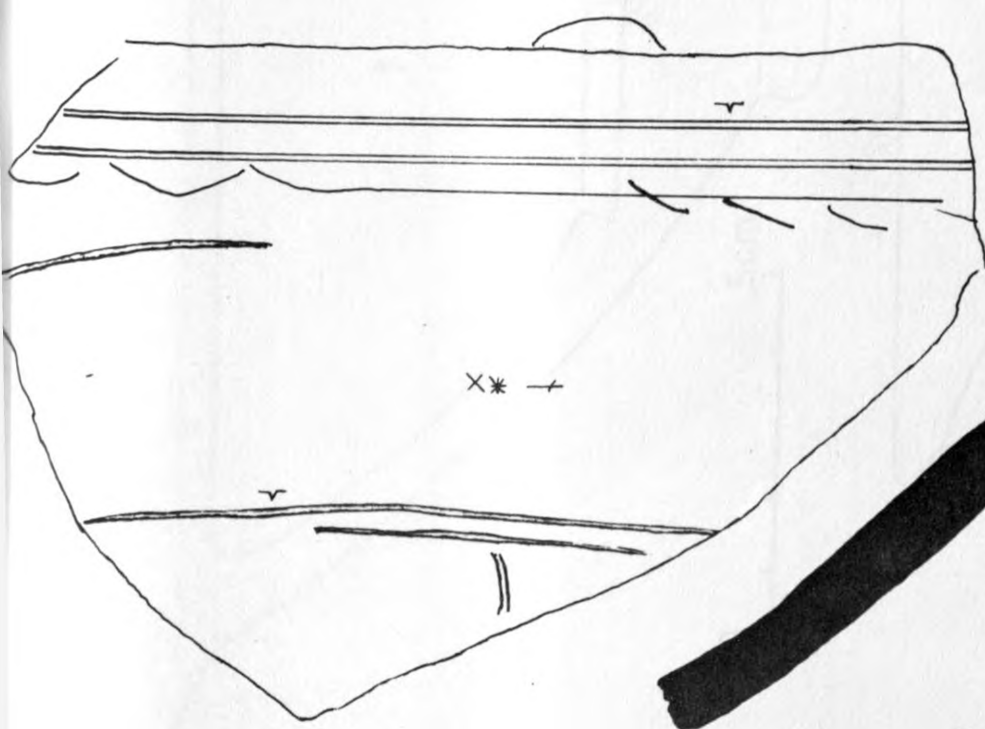
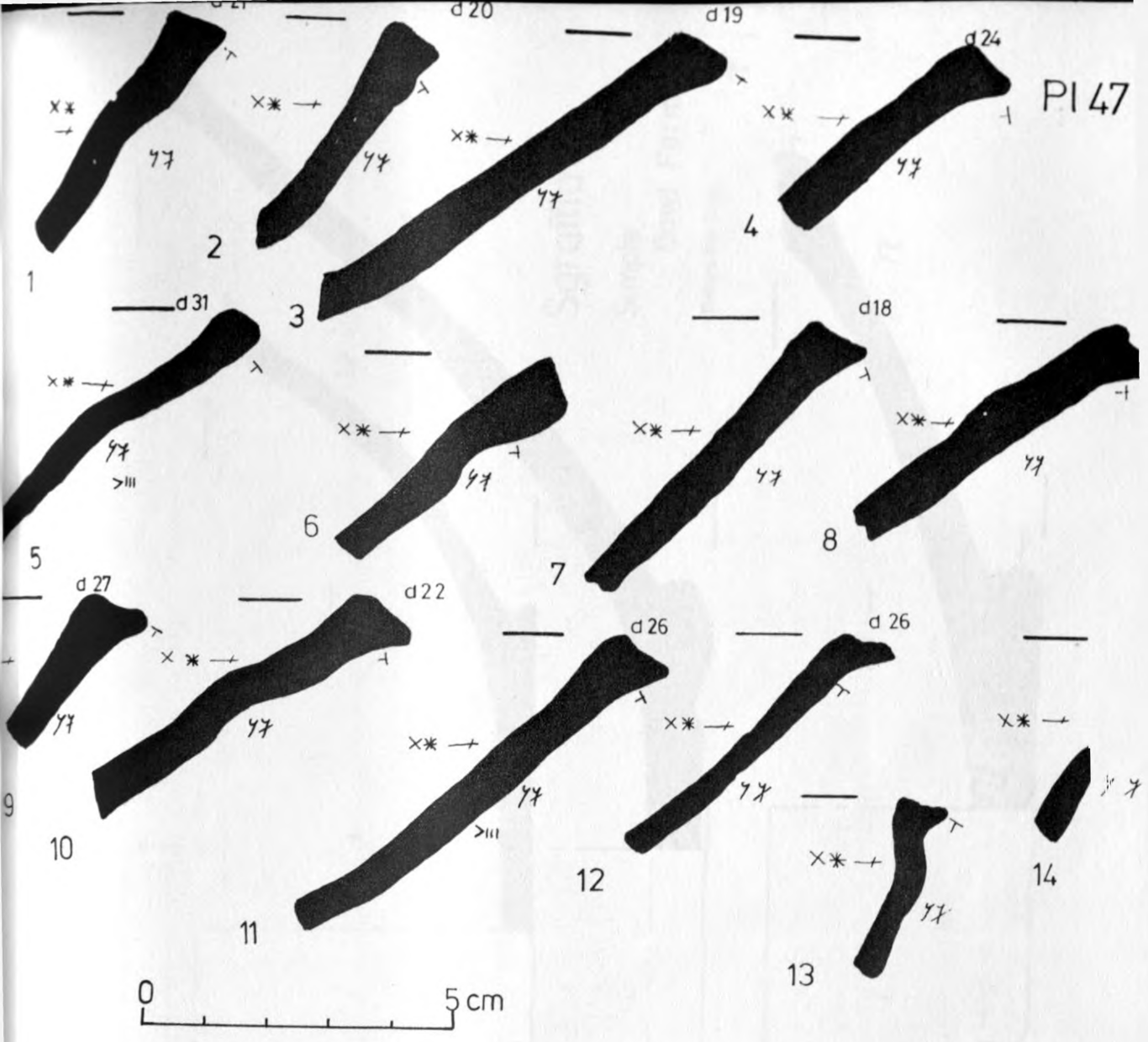
PI 45



Sgraffiato

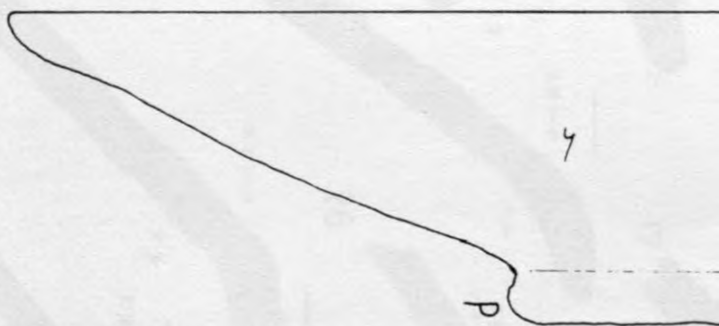
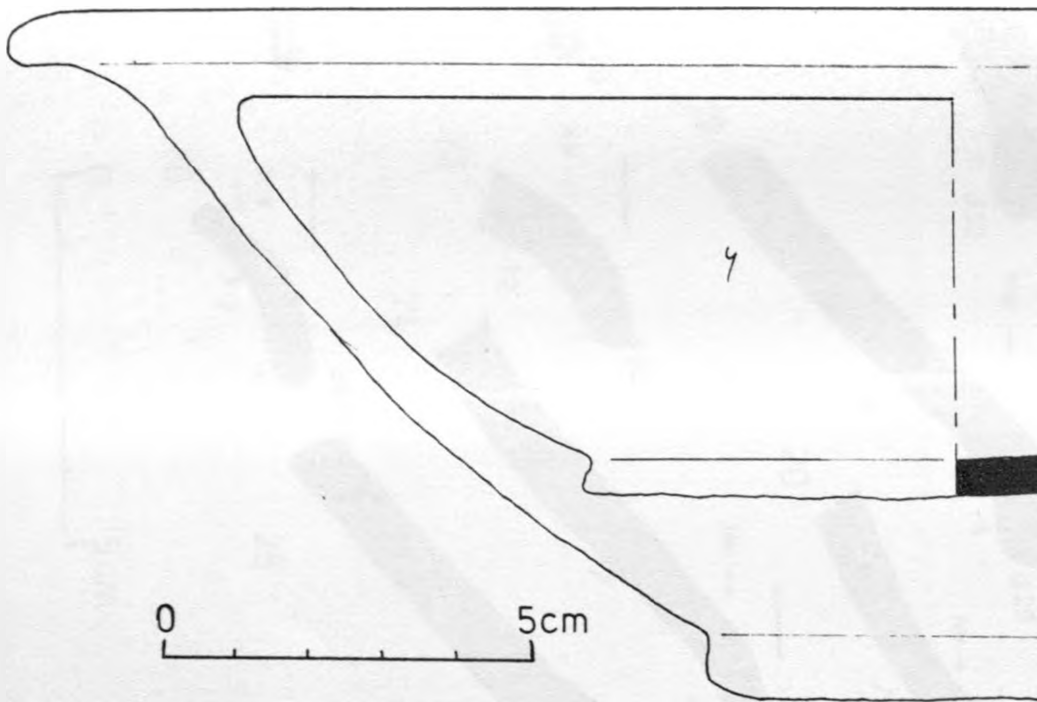
Simple

Reconstructions
of pots



15

Sgraffiato
 Simple T
 Open Bowls with
 Hollow and Flat lips



PI48

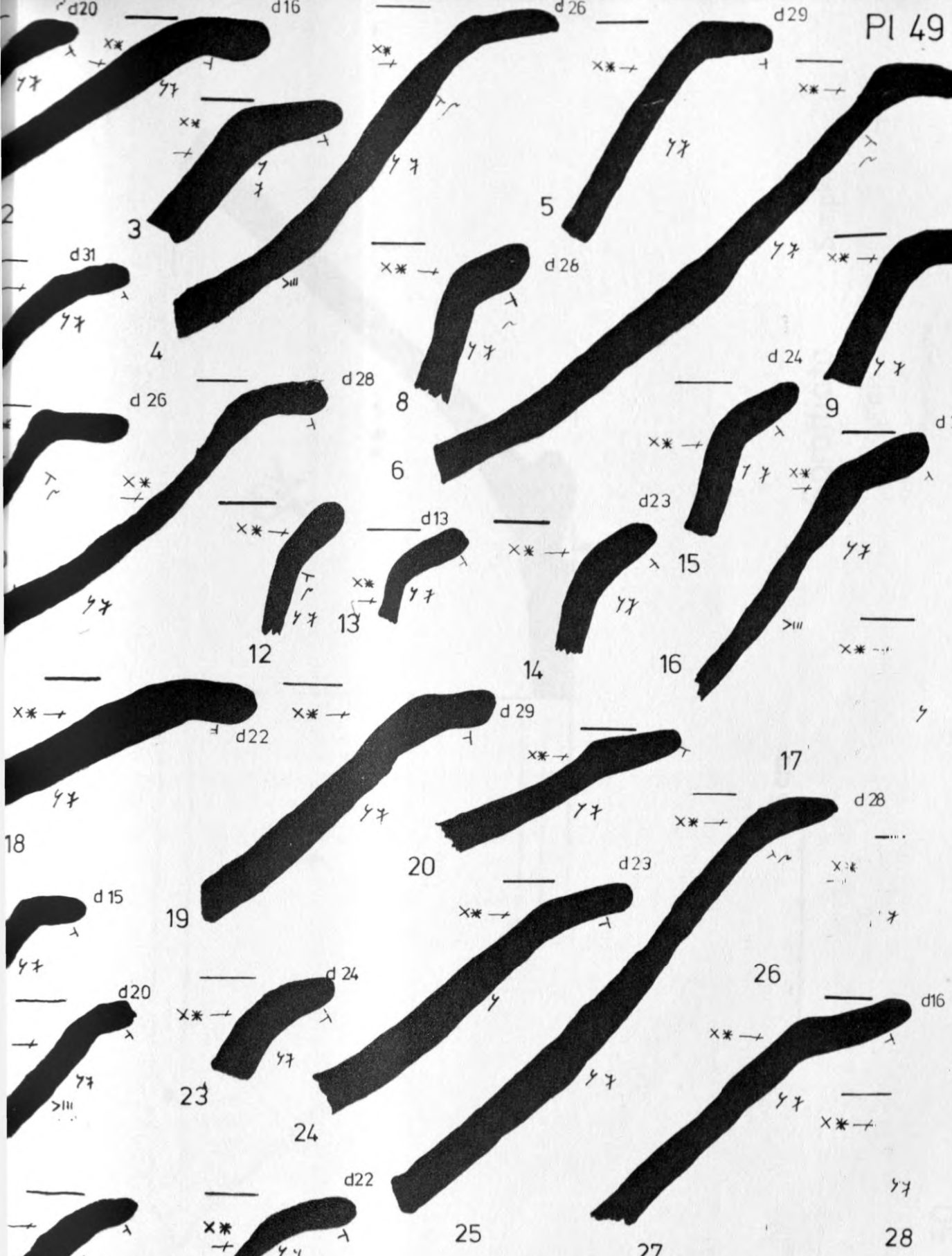


Sgraffiato

Simple
Bowl Forms

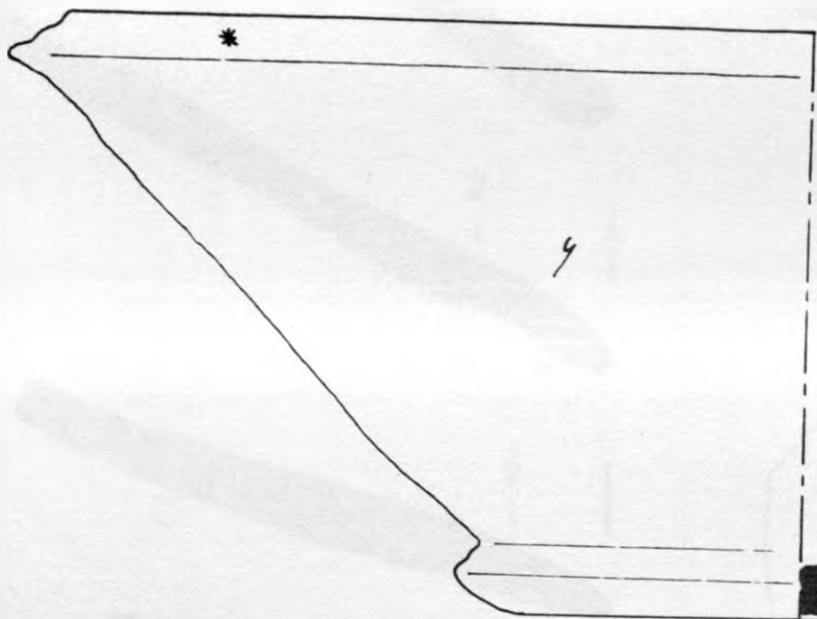
Reconstructions





0 5cm

Sgraffiato
Simple
Everted Rim Bowls



0 5 cm

PI 50



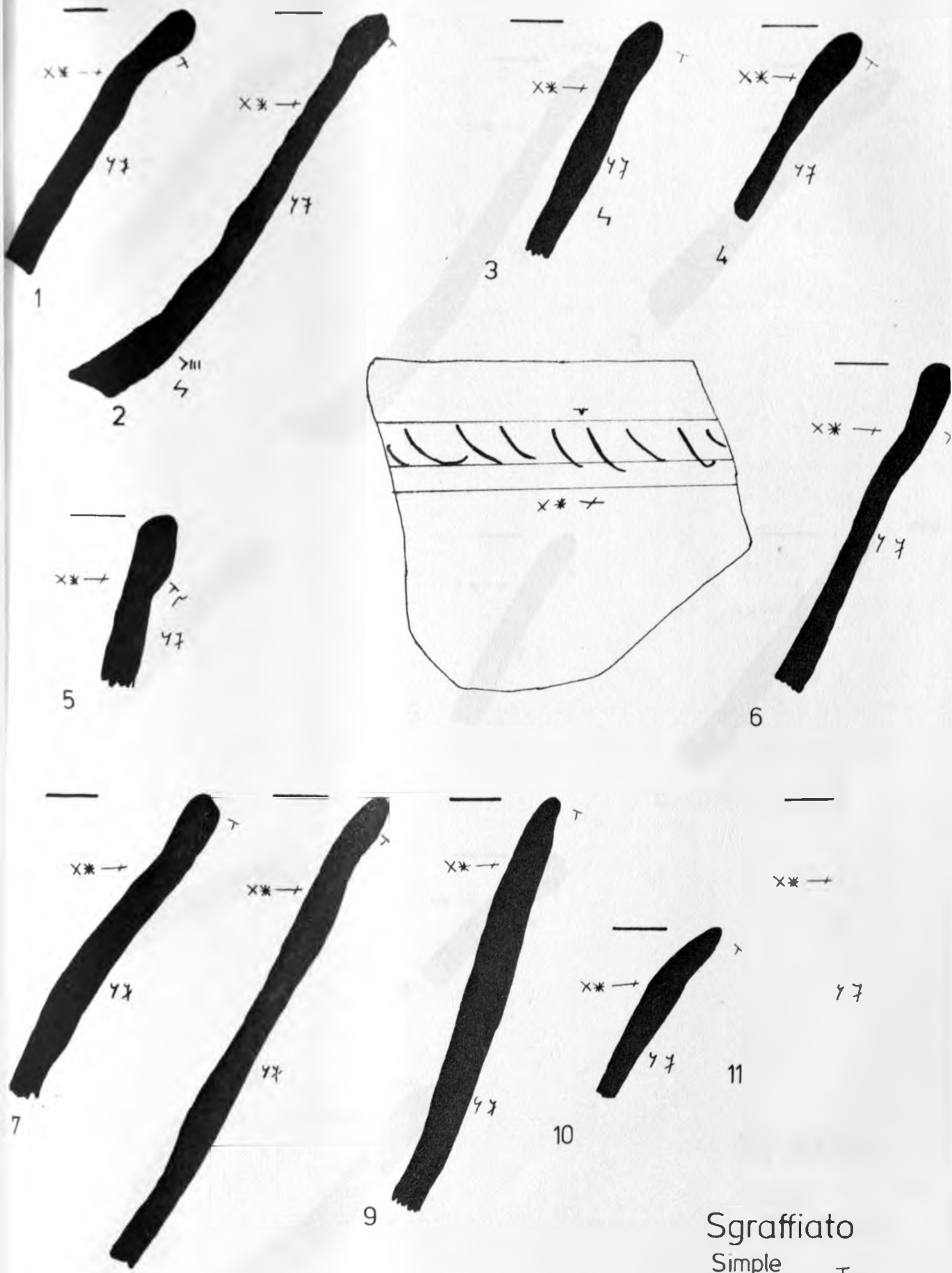
Sgraffiato

Simple

Flourish Bowl

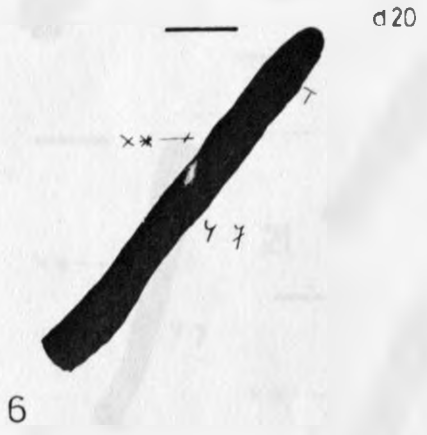
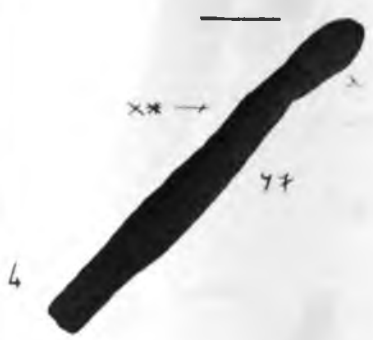
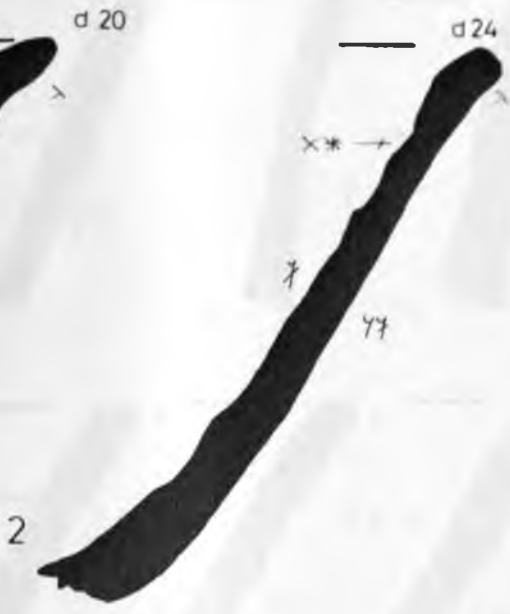
T

Reconstruction



Sgraffiato
 Simple T
 Open Bowls

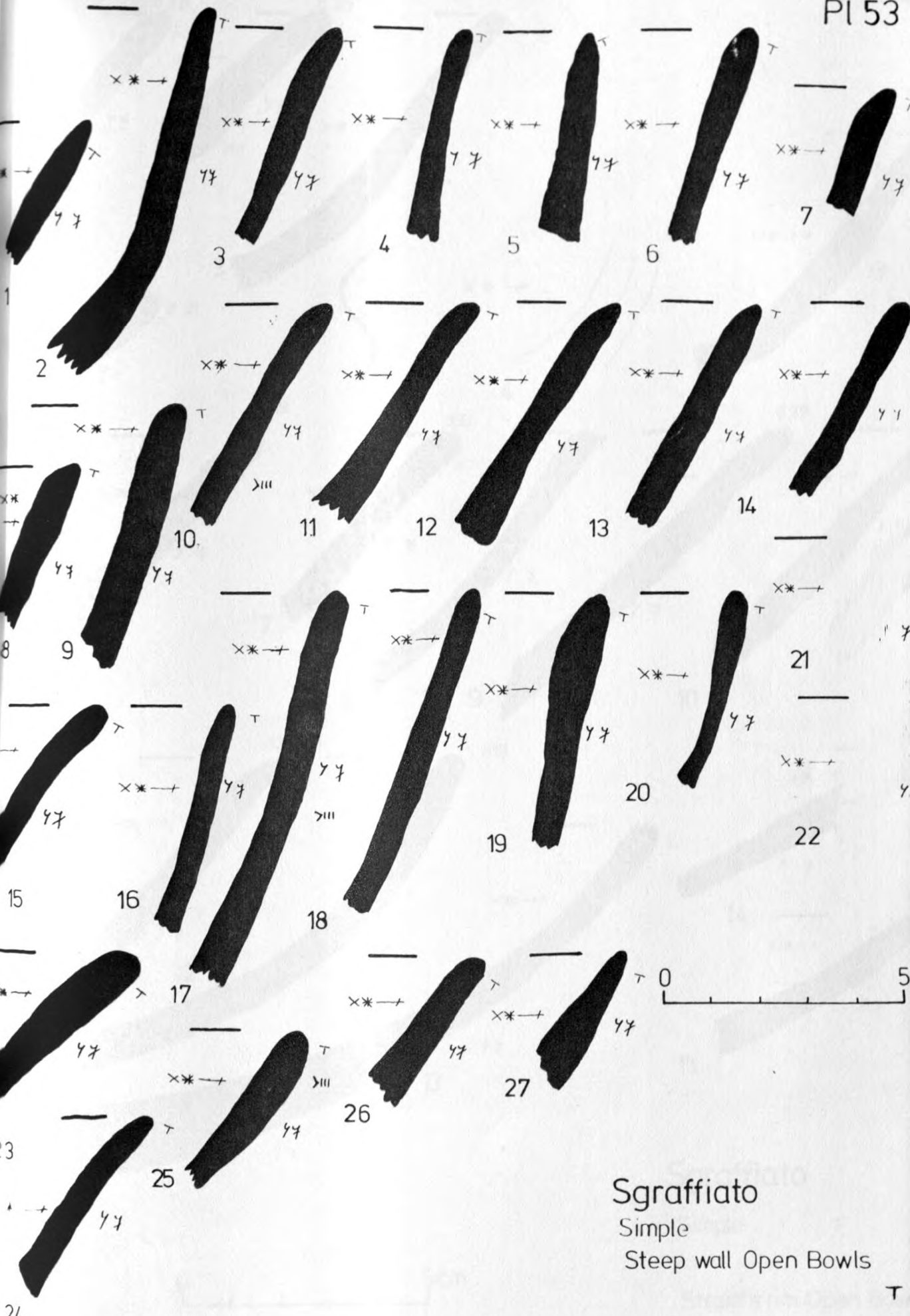
0 5cm



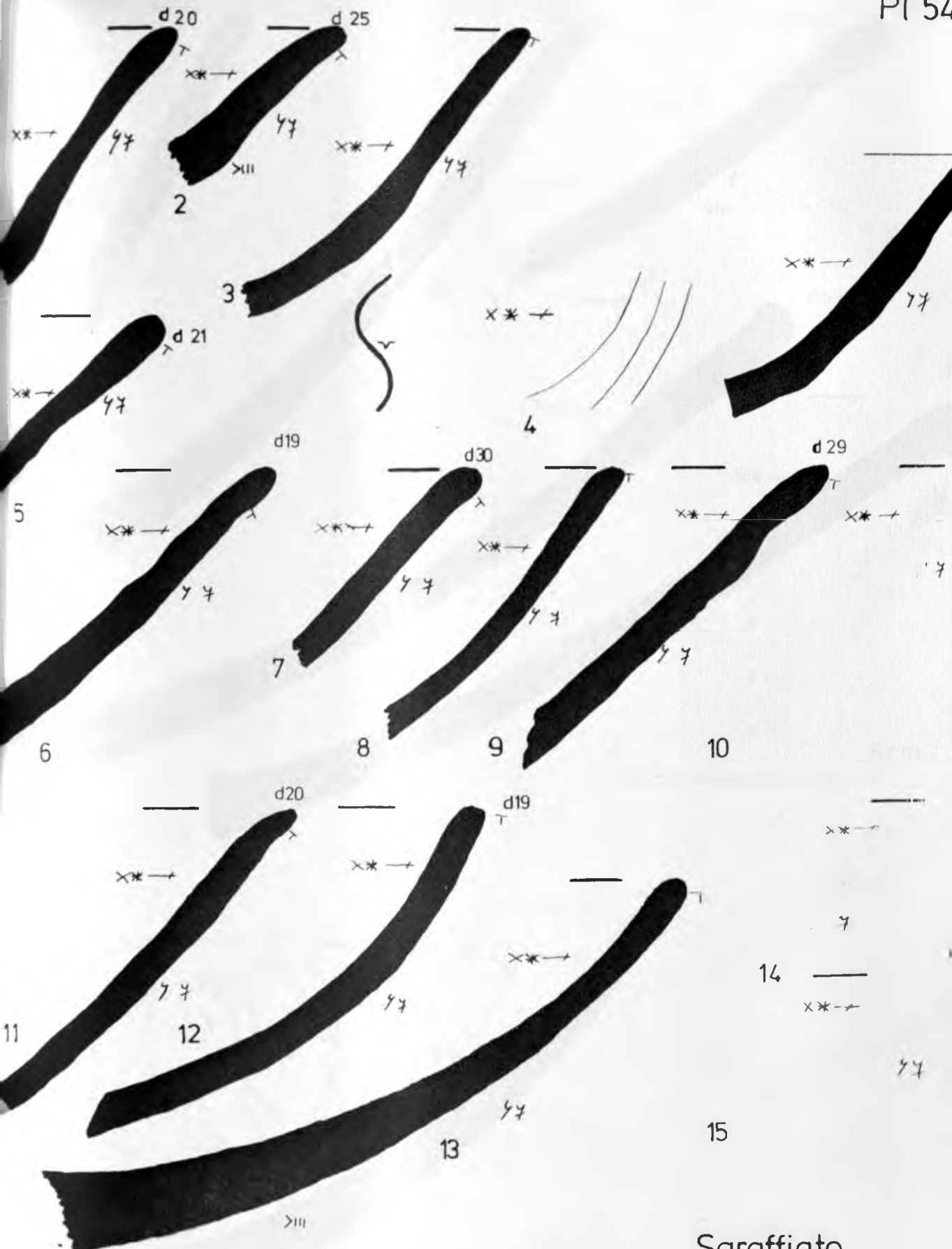
Sgraffiato

Simple Open Bowls





Sgraffiato
 Simple
 Steep wall Open Bowls



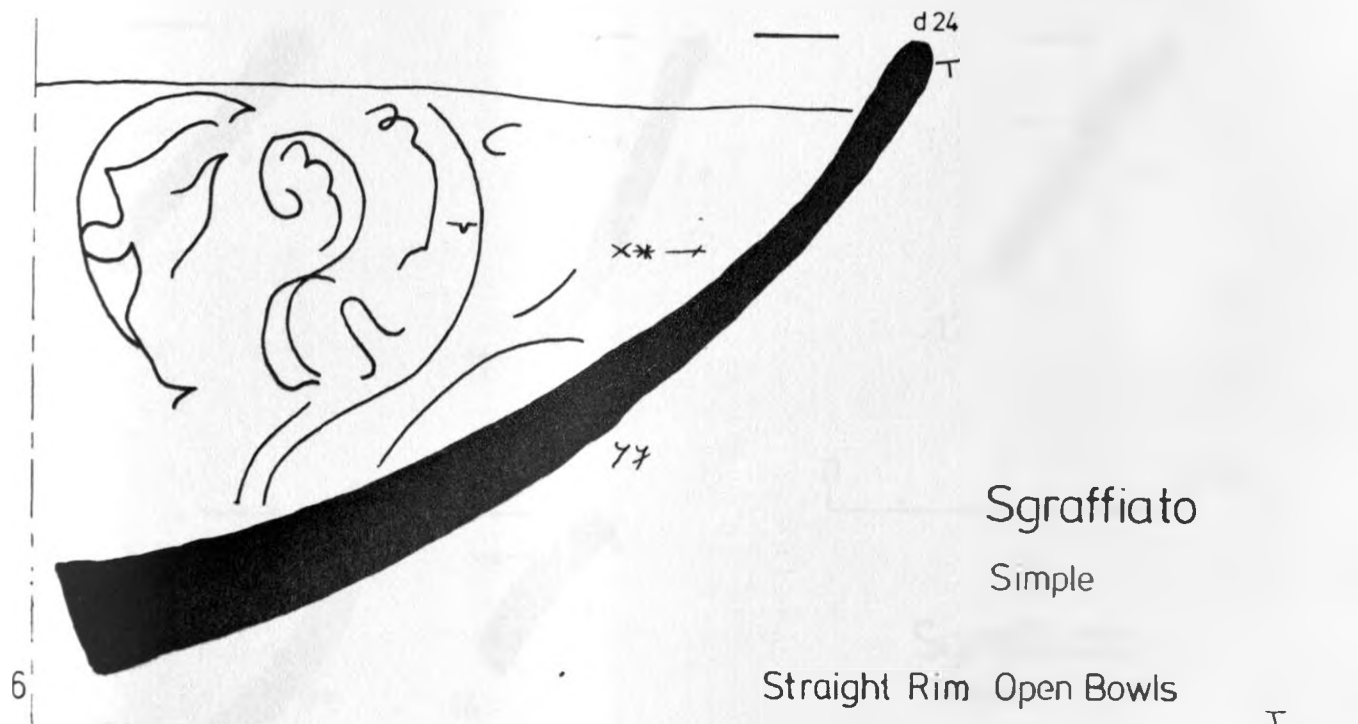
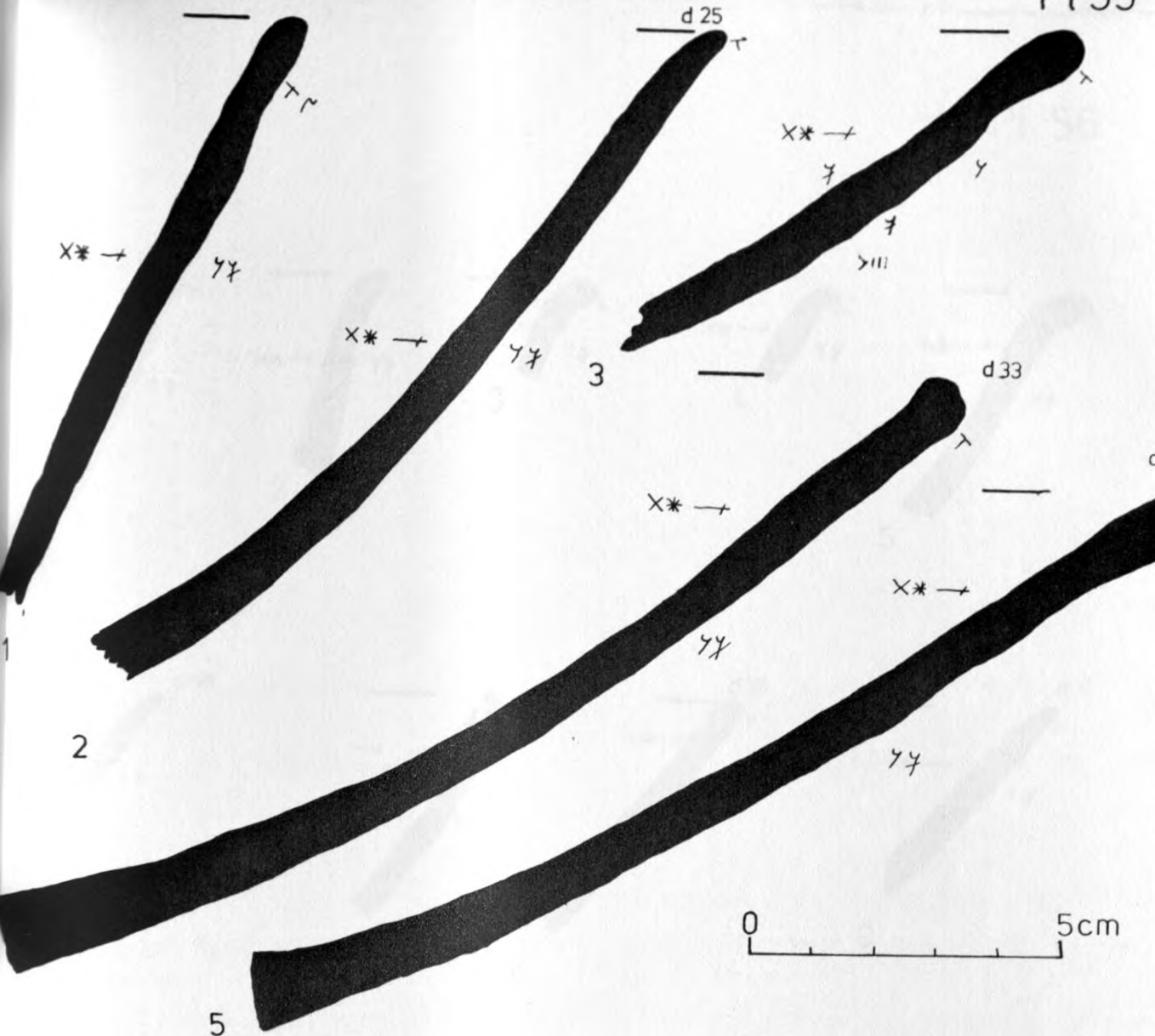
Sgraffiato

Simple

T

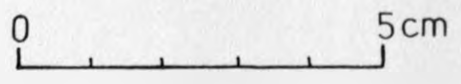
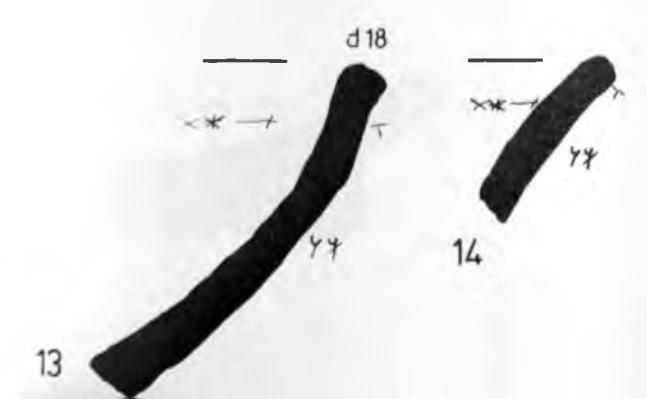
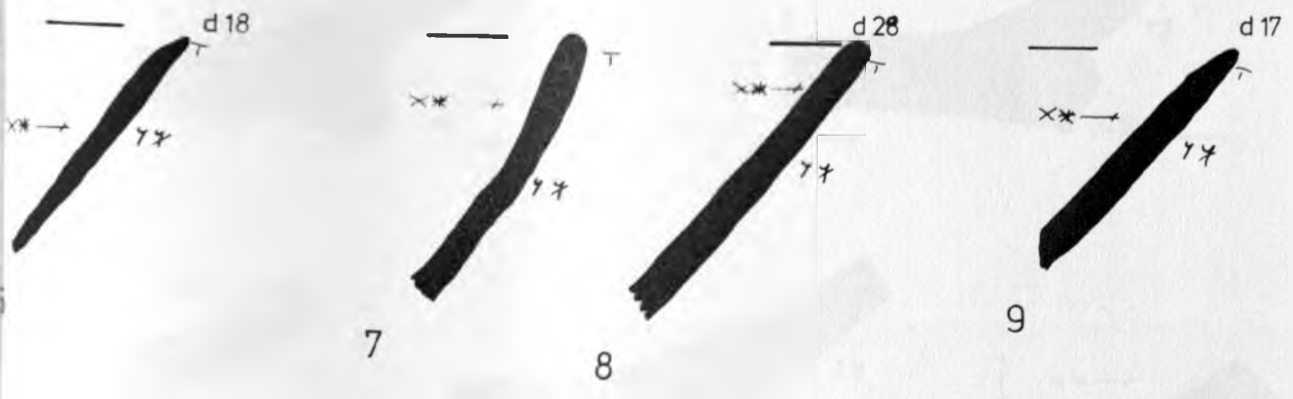
Straight rim Open Bow





Sgraffiato
Simple

Straight Rim Open Bowls



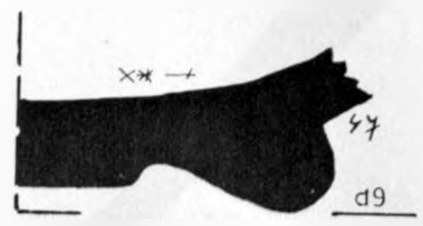
Sgraffiato
Simple

Fine potted Open Bowls

T



1



2



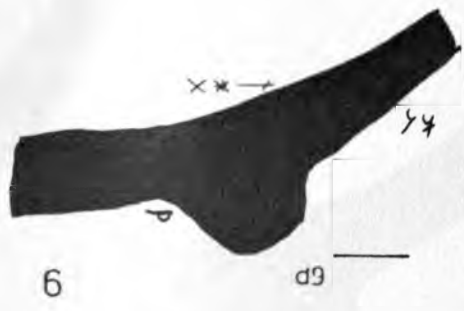
3



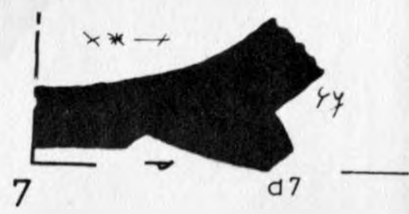
4



5



6



7



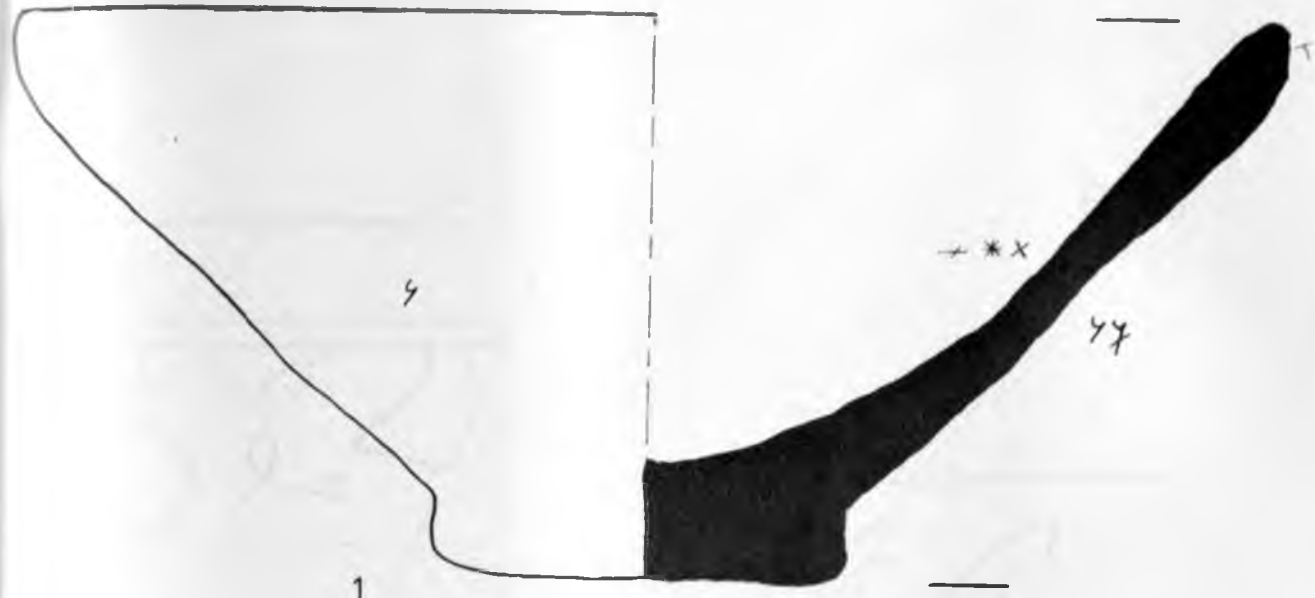
8



9

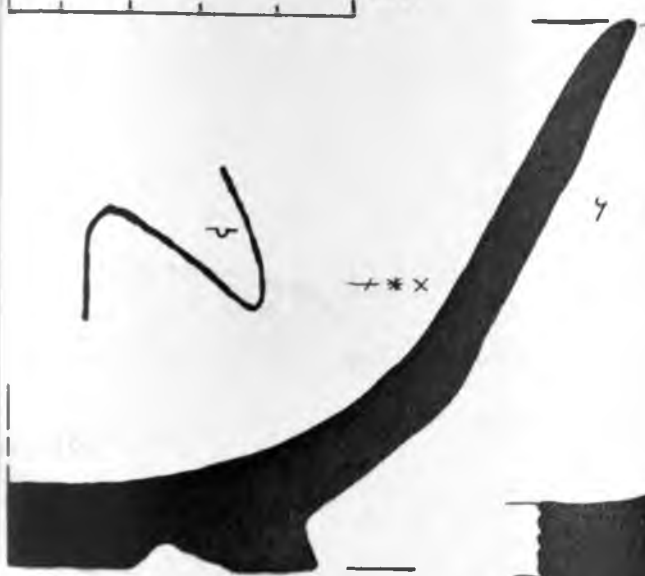
Sgraffiato
Simple
Bowl Bases

T



1

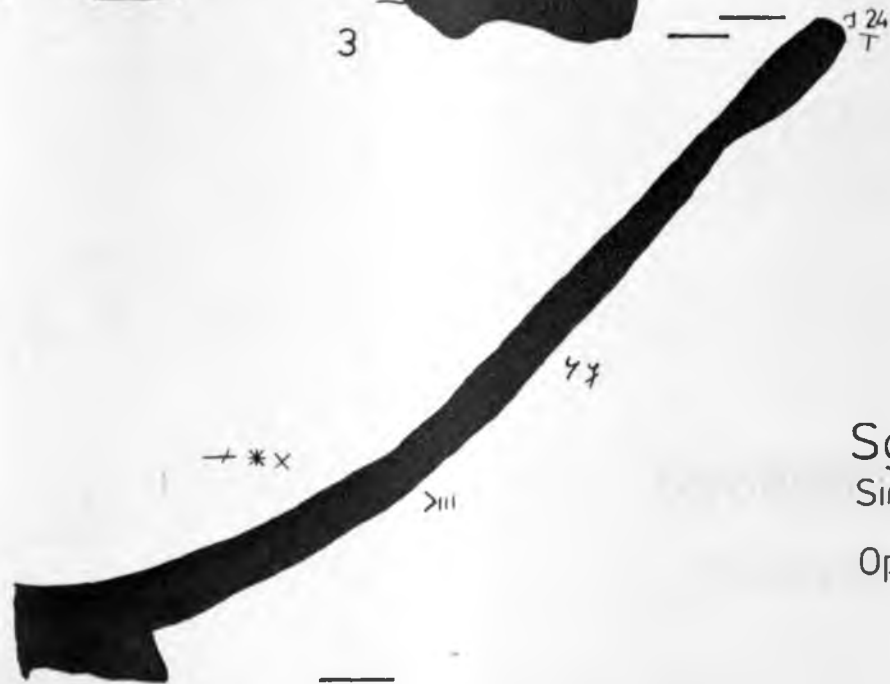
0 5 cm



2

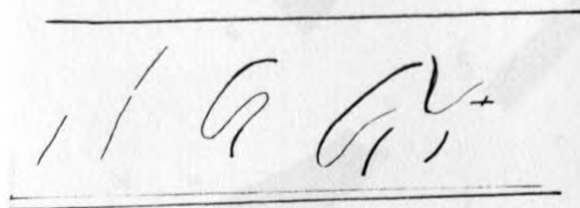
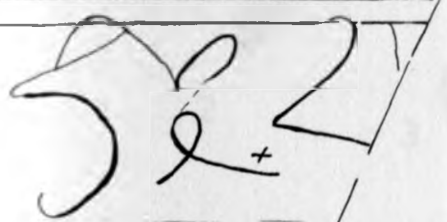


3



4

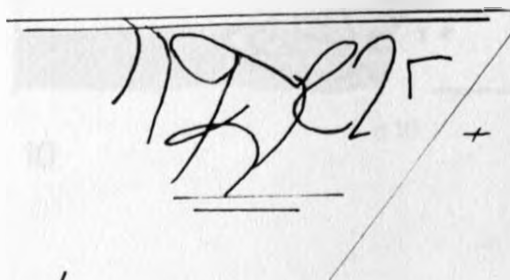
Sgraffiato
 Simple T
 Open Bowls



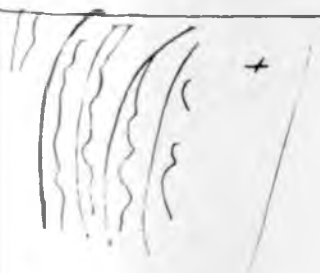
2



3



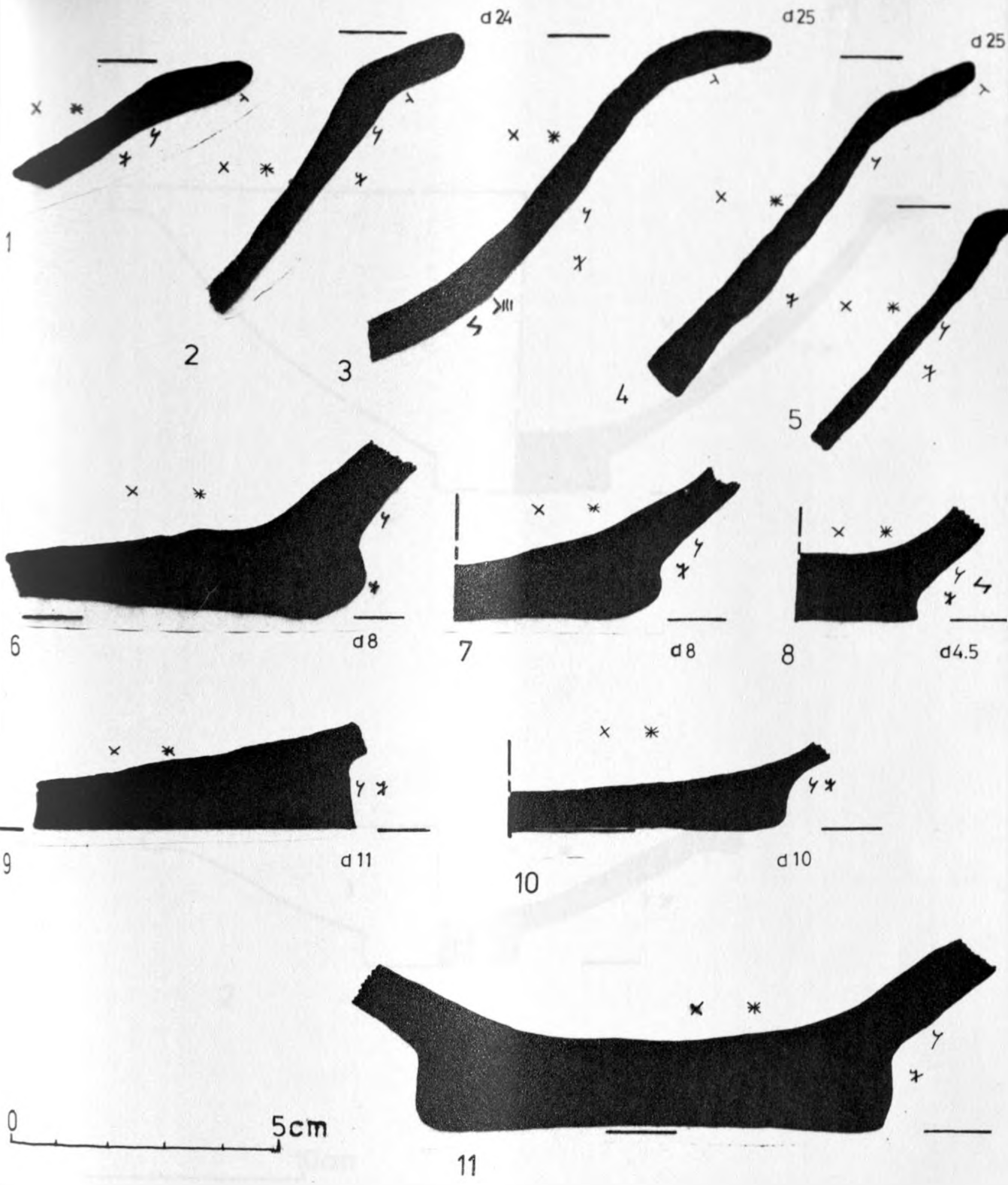
4



5

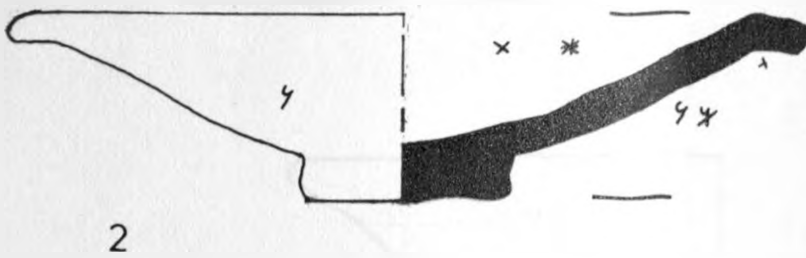
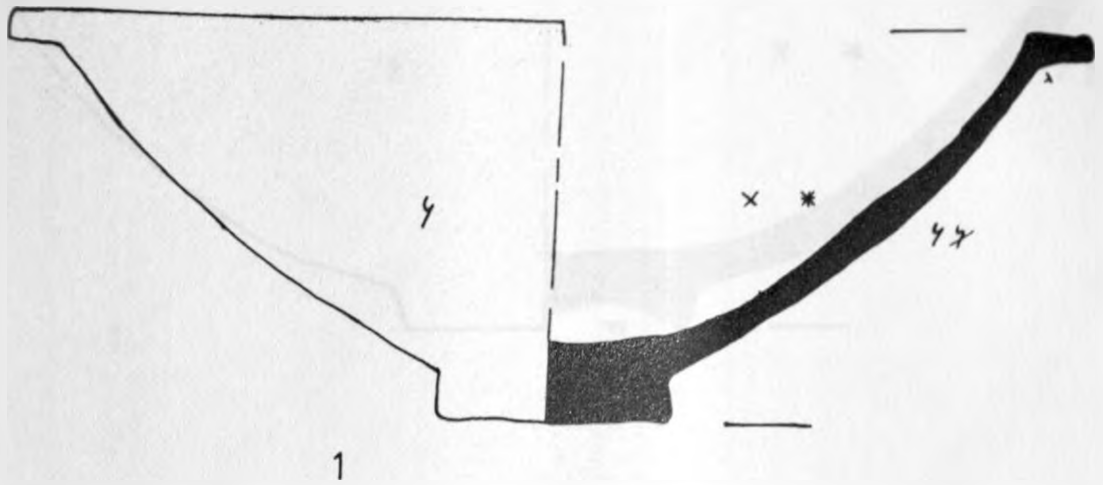
Sgraffiato

Simple motifs



Early Islamic Polychrom

Everted Rim Bowls and Bowl Bases

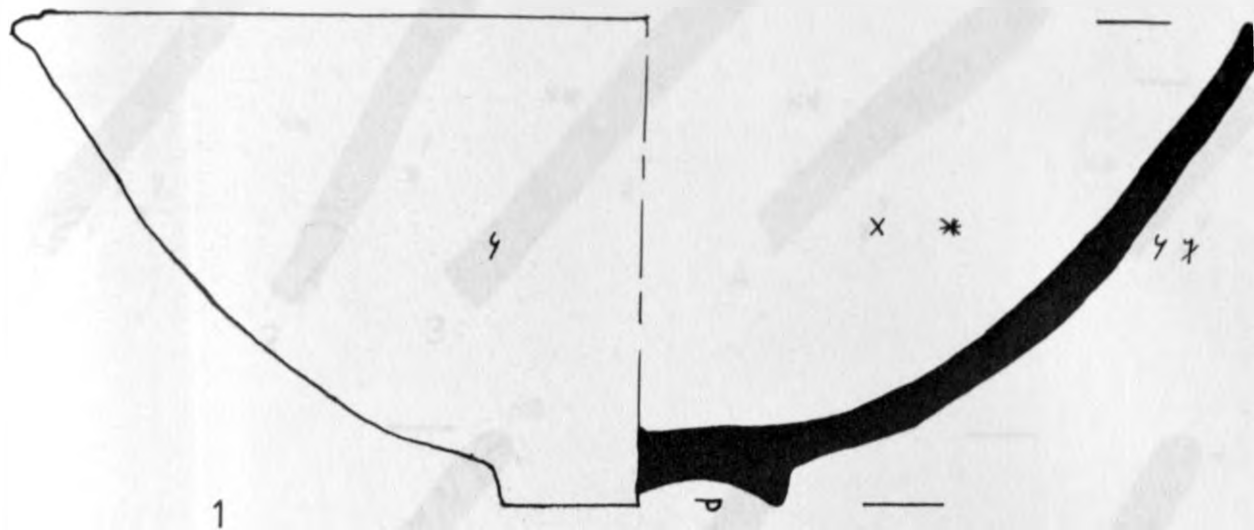


0 10cm

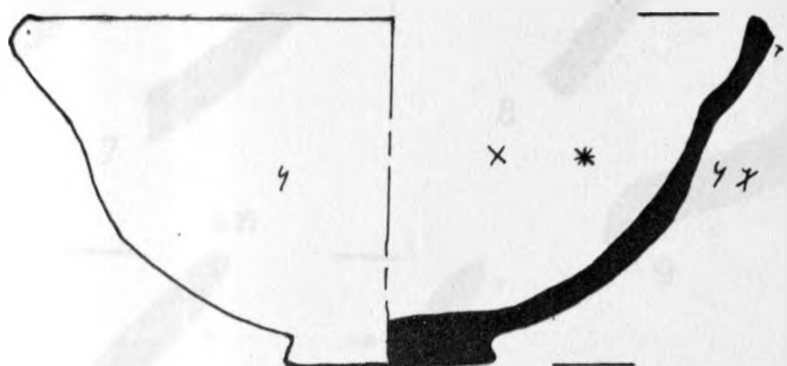
Early Islamic Polychrome

Ledge rim Open Bowls τ

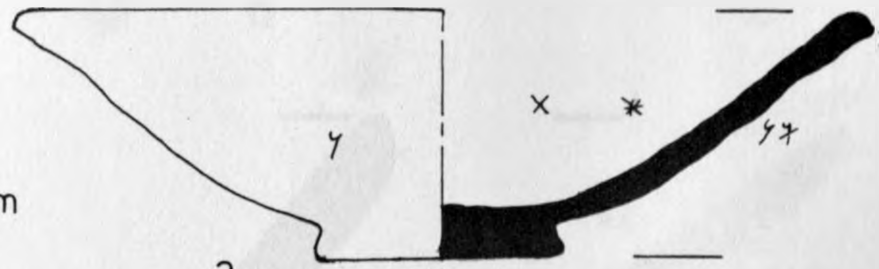
Reconstructions



1

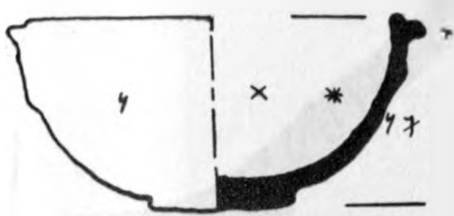


2



3

0 10cm

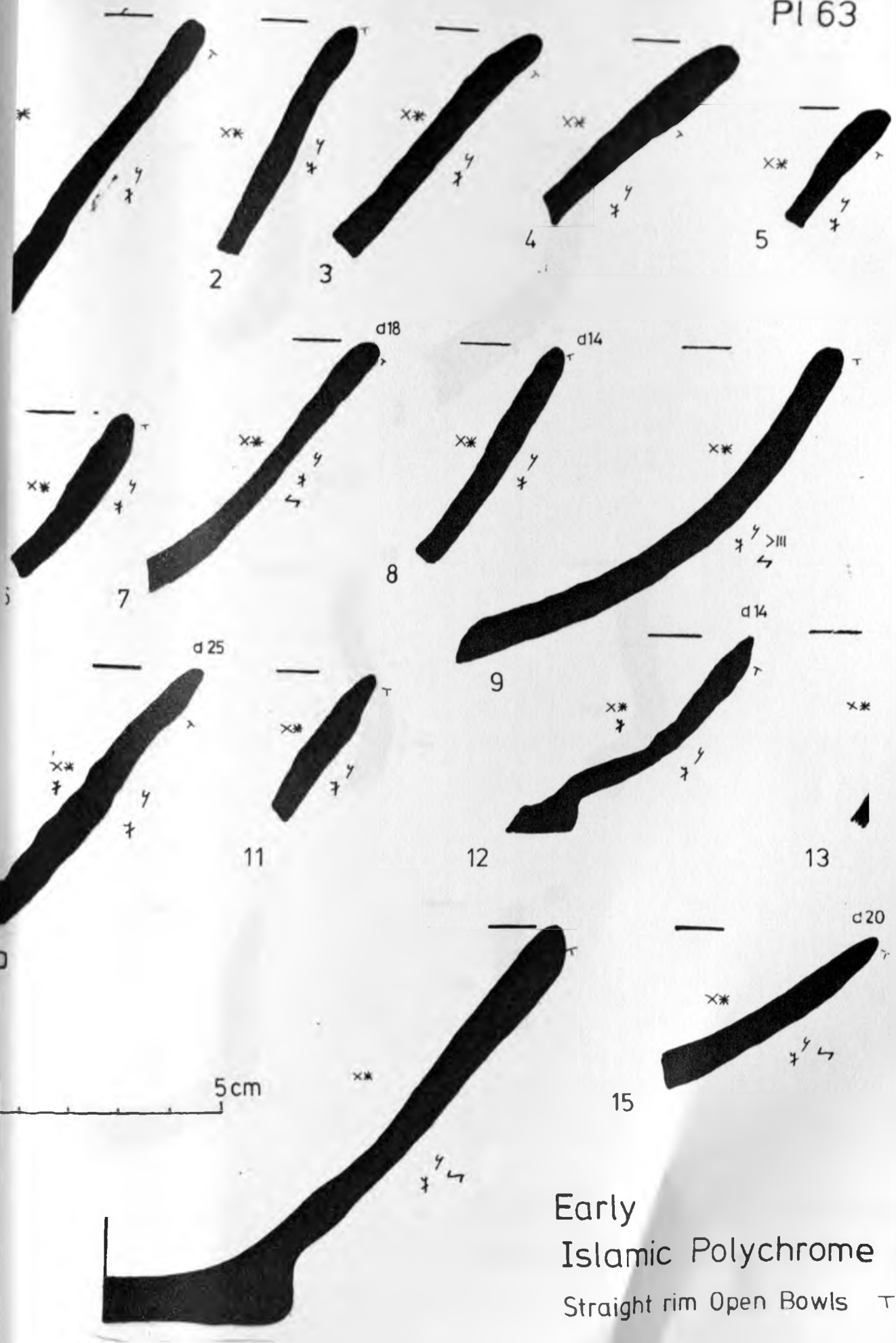


4

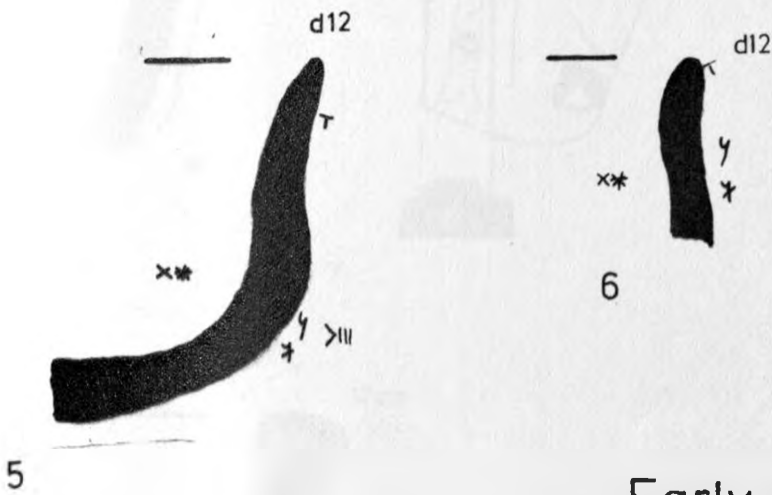
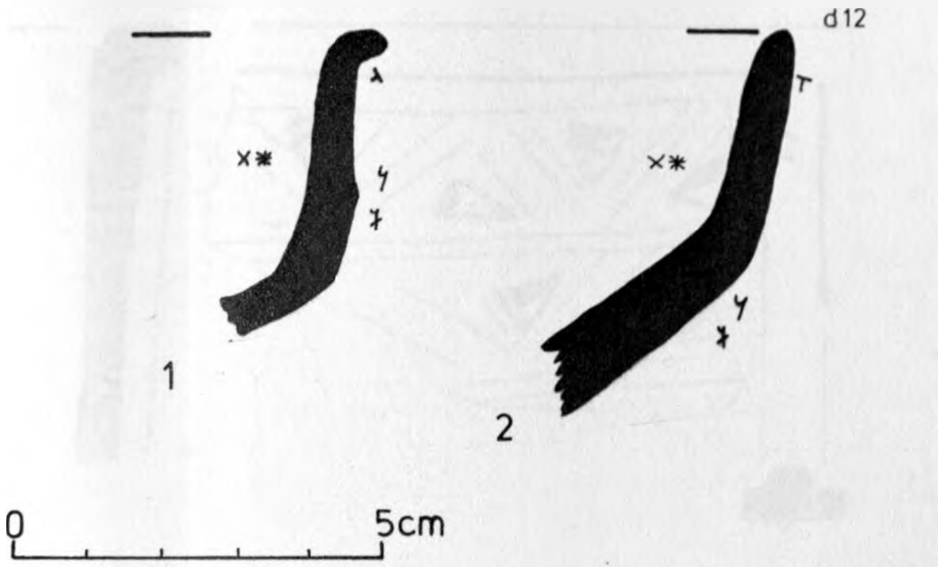
Early Islamic Polychrome

Open Bowls T

Reconstructions



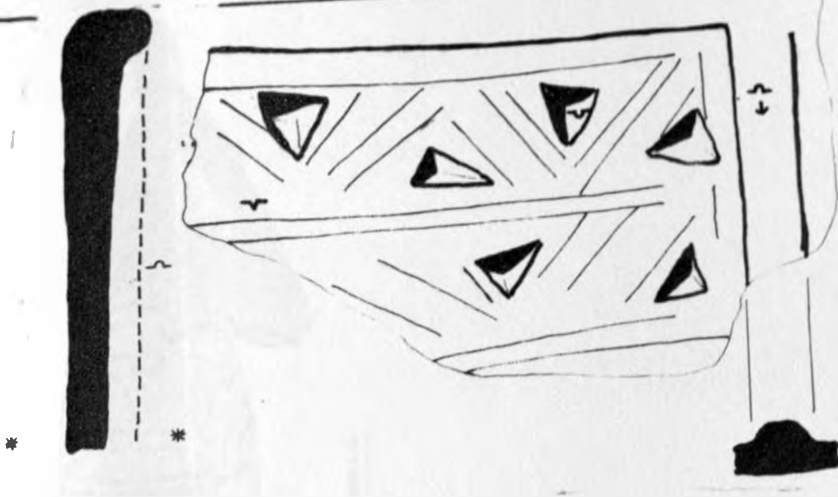
Early
Islamic Polychrome
Straight rim Open Bowls



Early Islamic Polychrome

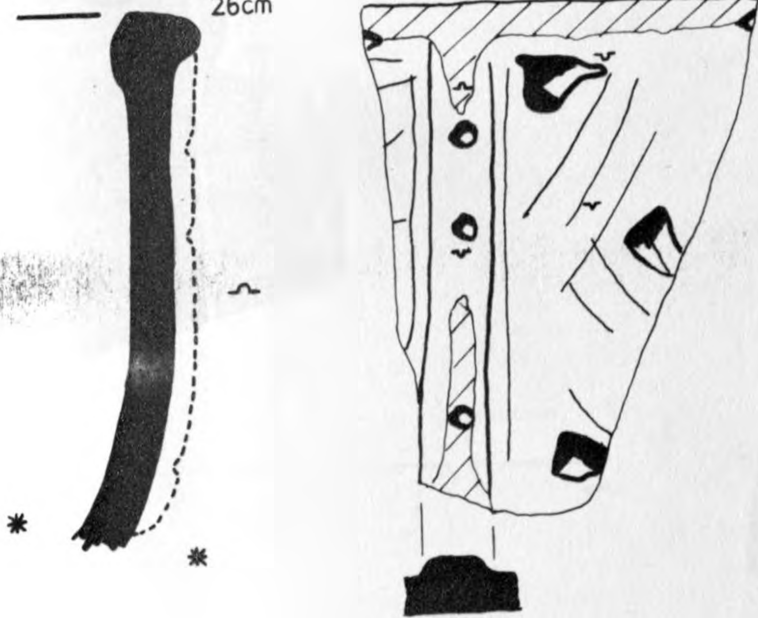
Shallow Bowls T

24 cm



1

26 cm



2

T



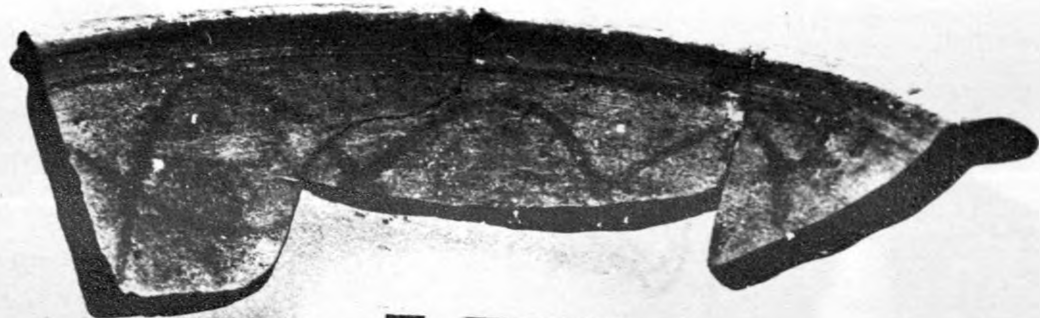
17 cm



3

T

Islamic Carved Ware



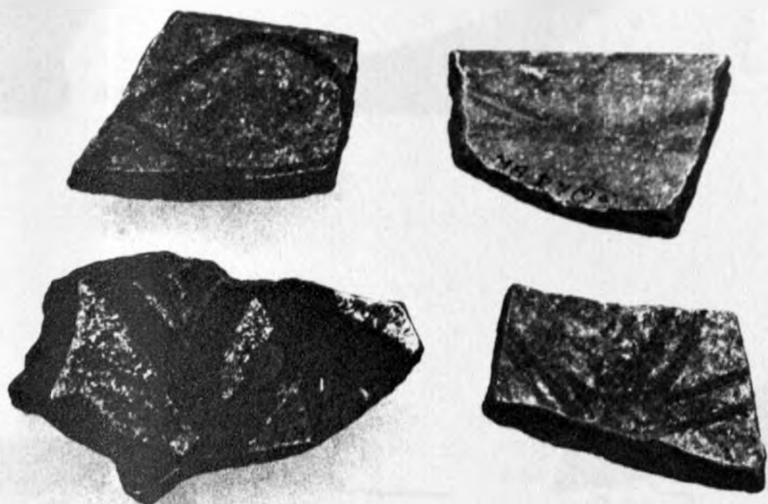
1



Black on Yellow

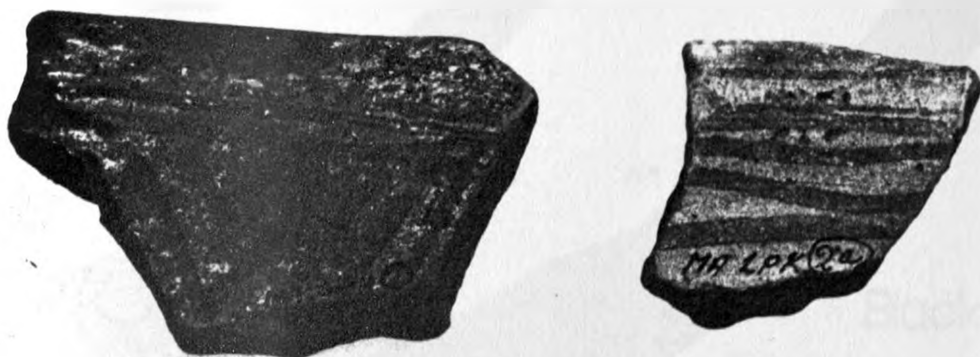
2

Pl 66



1 cm

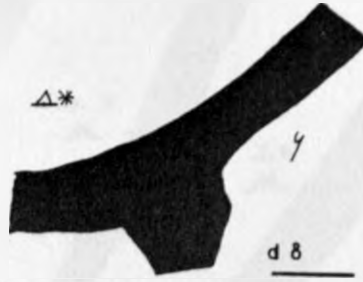
1



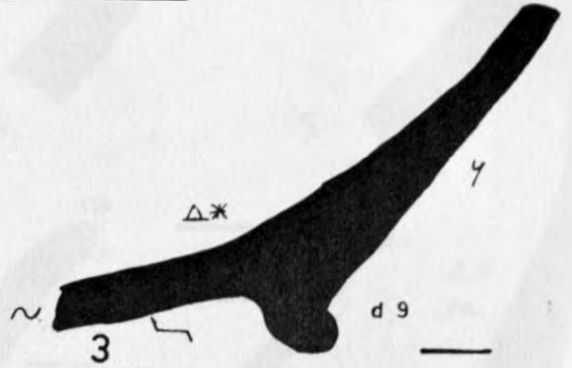
1 cm

2

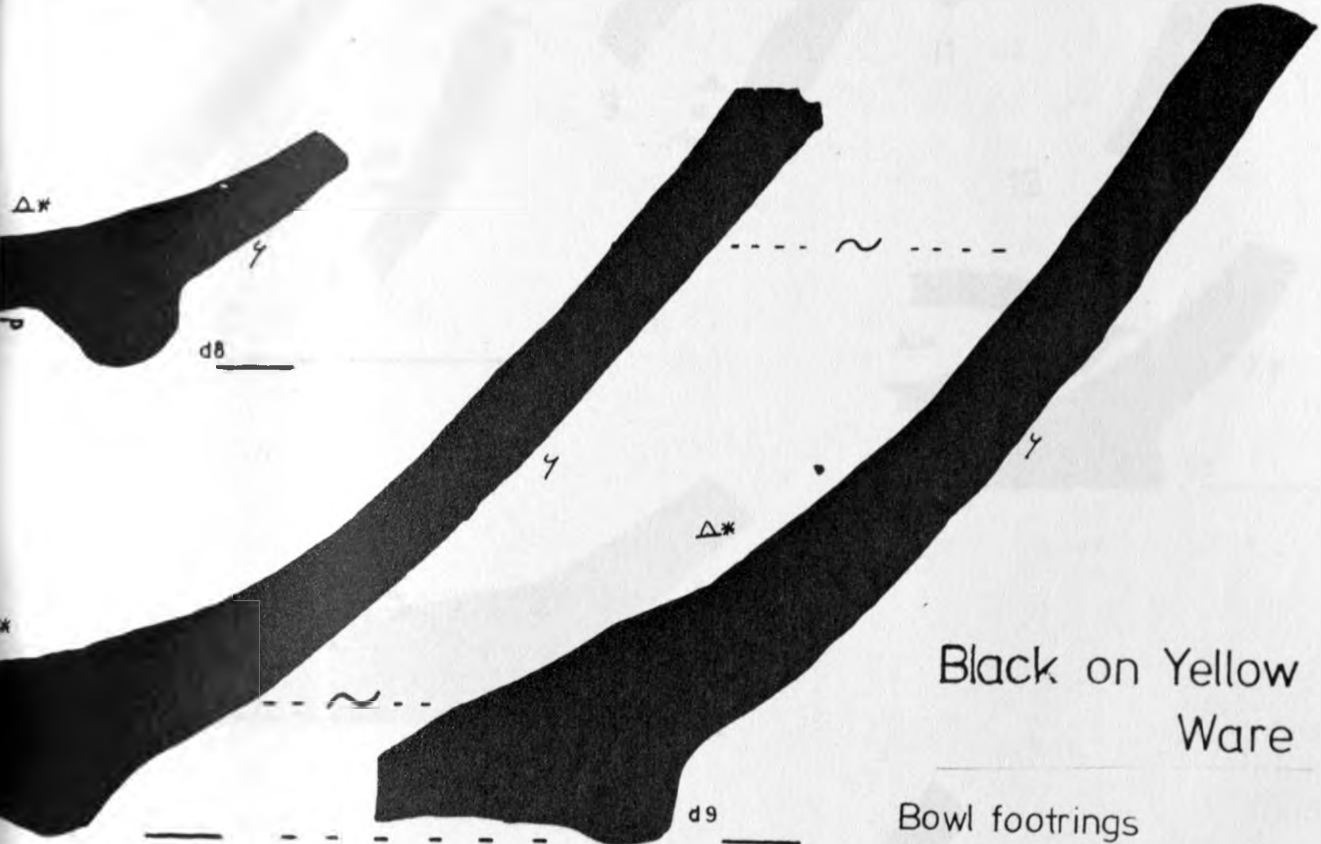
Black on Yellow



2



3



Δ*

d9

Black on Yellow Ware

Bowl footrings

T

7

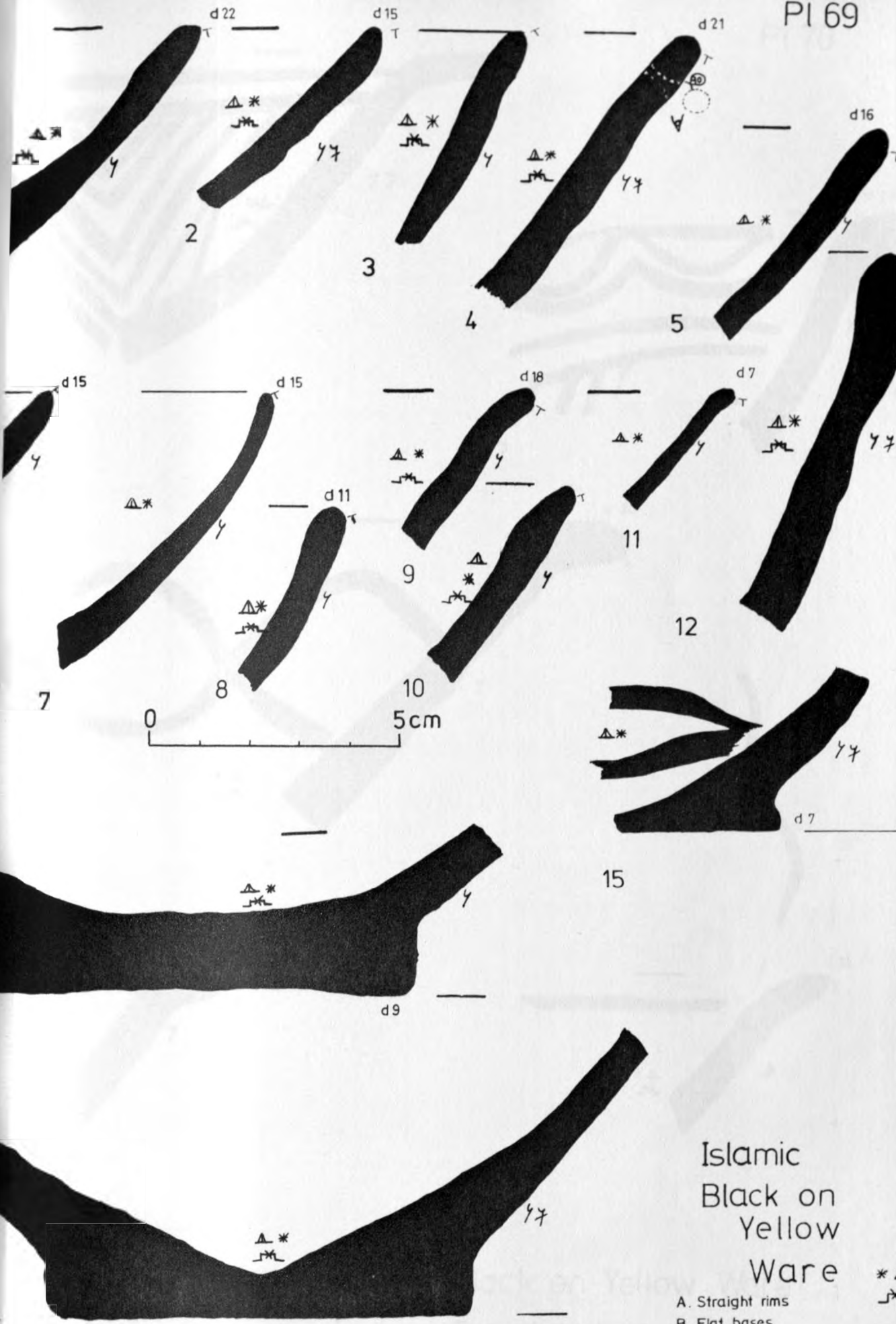


d9



d10

9



Islamic
Black on
Yellow
Ware

A. Straight rims
B. Flat bases

* 4
J*



1



2



3




4

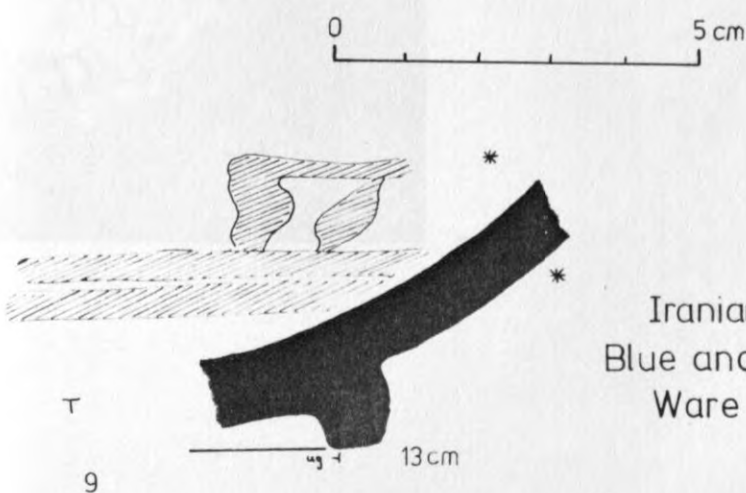
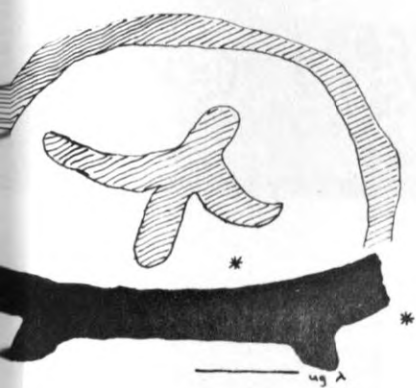
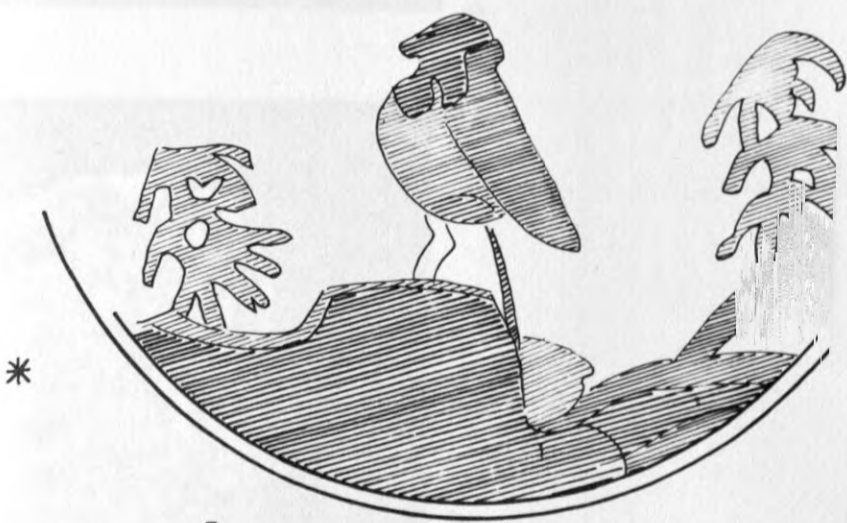
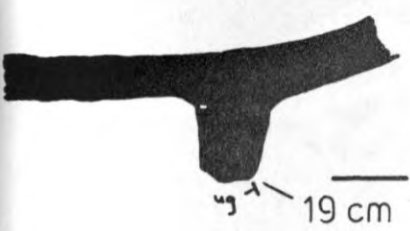
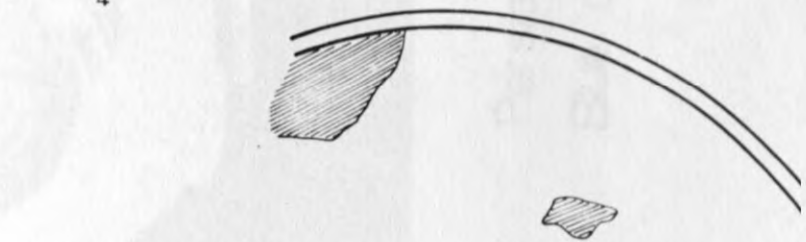
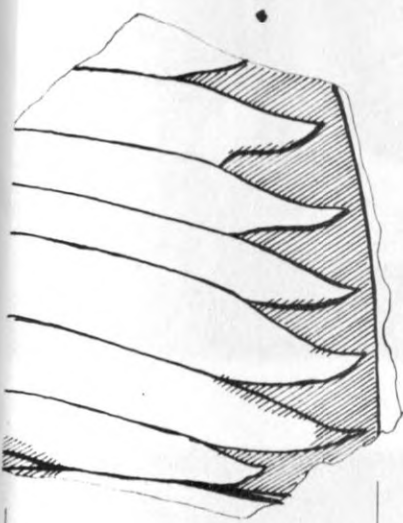
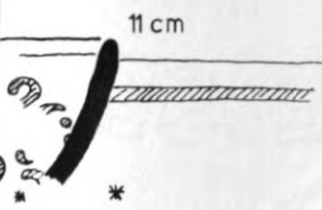
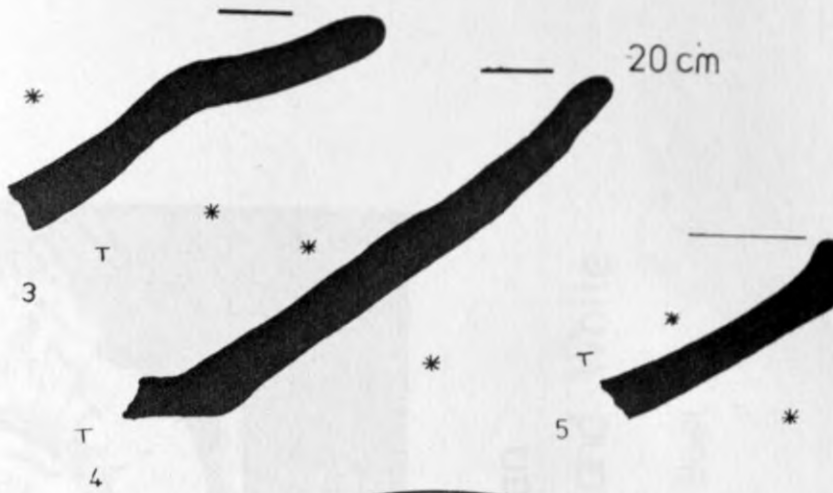
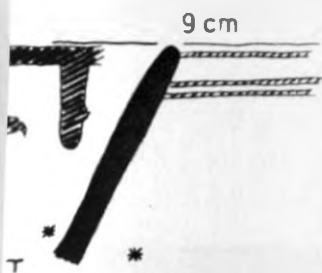


5

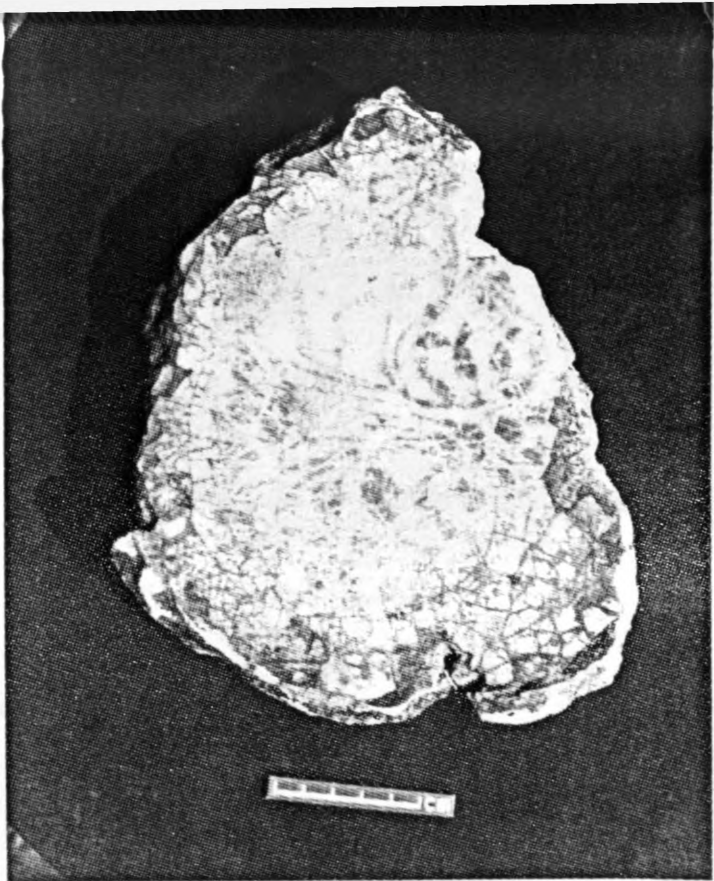


Black on Yellow Ware

Everted rim bowls T 



Iranian Blue and White Ware



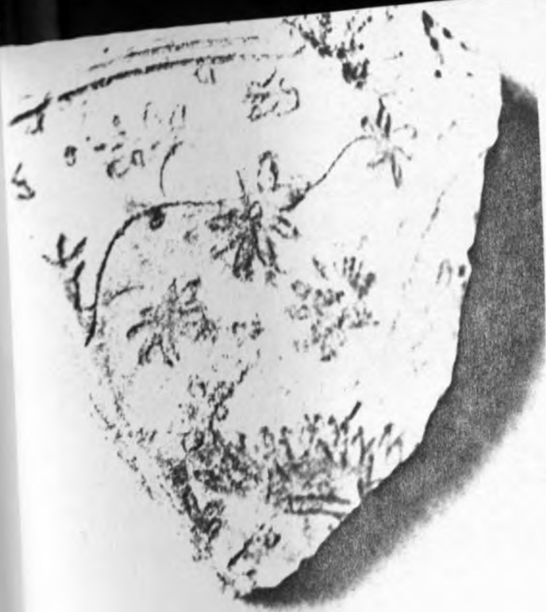
a

PI 72

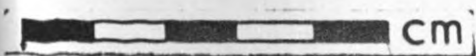
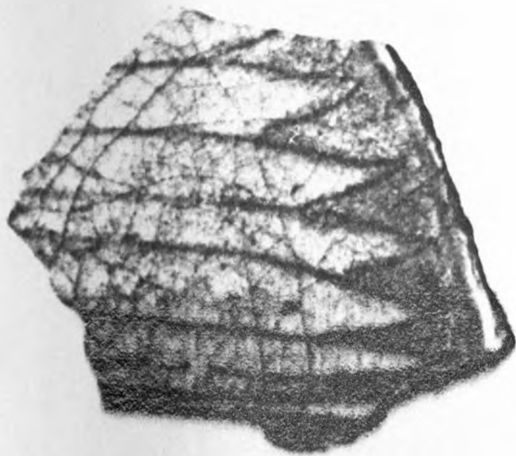


b

Persian
Blue and White
Bowl

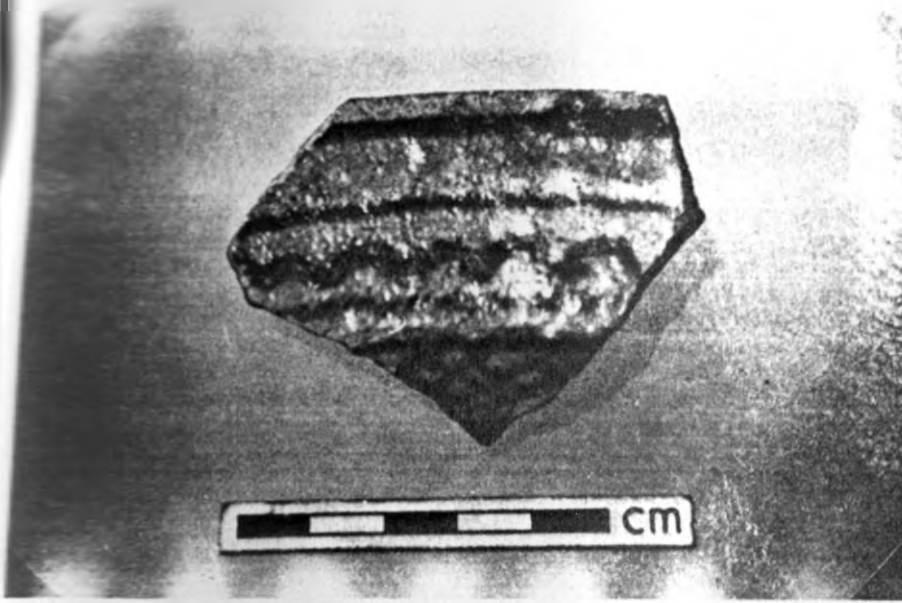


2



3

Persian
Blue and White
Wares



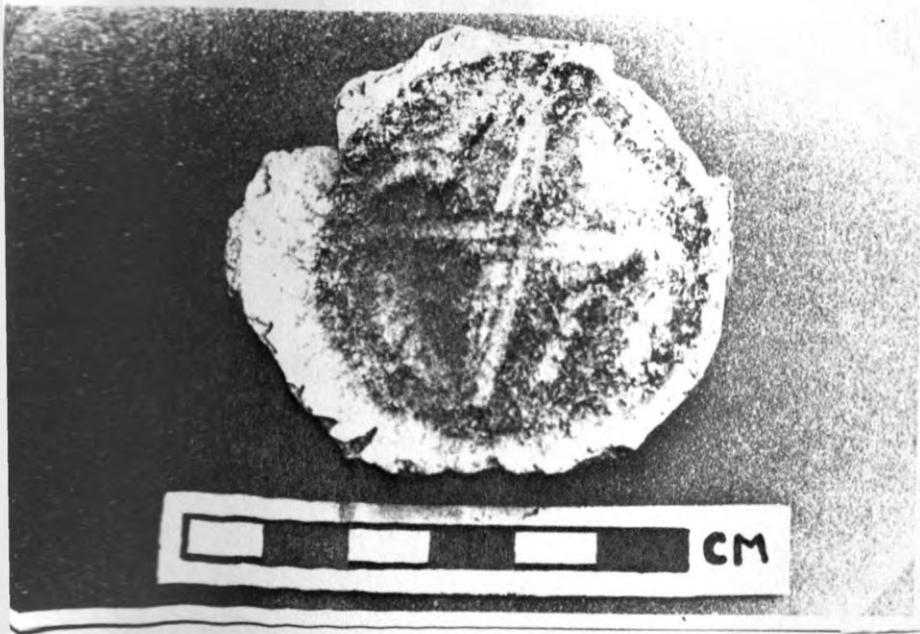
1



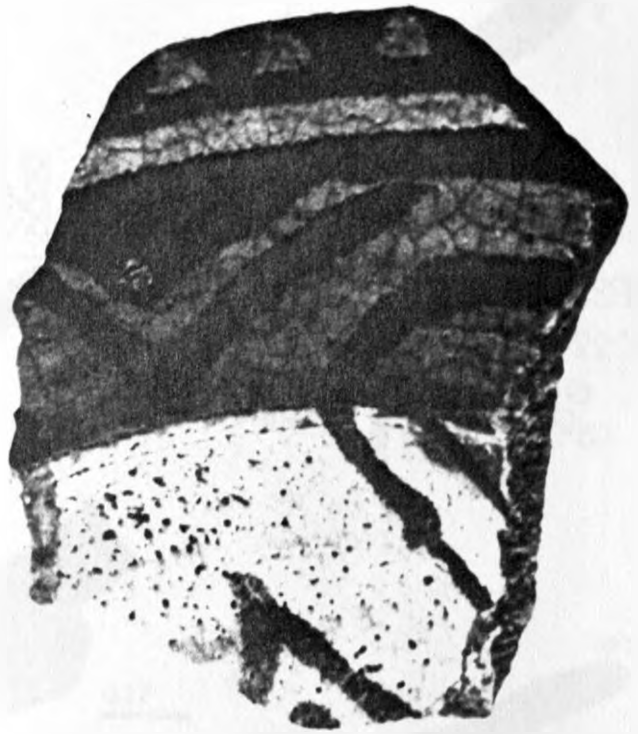
2



3



Persian
Blue and White

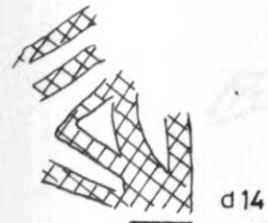
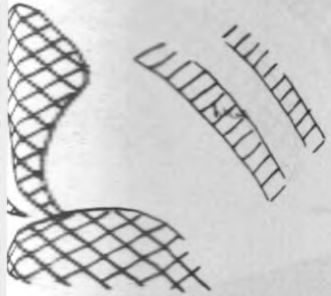
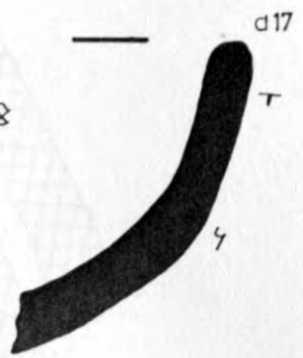
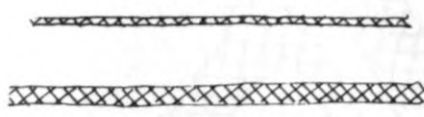
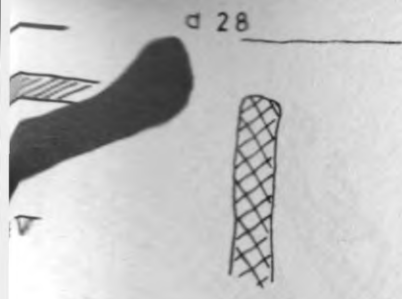


1

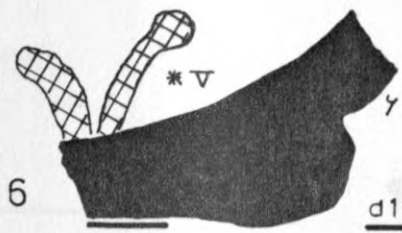
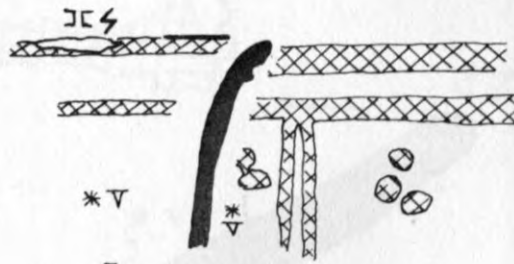
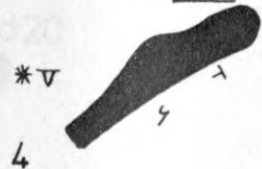


Purple Painted
Ware

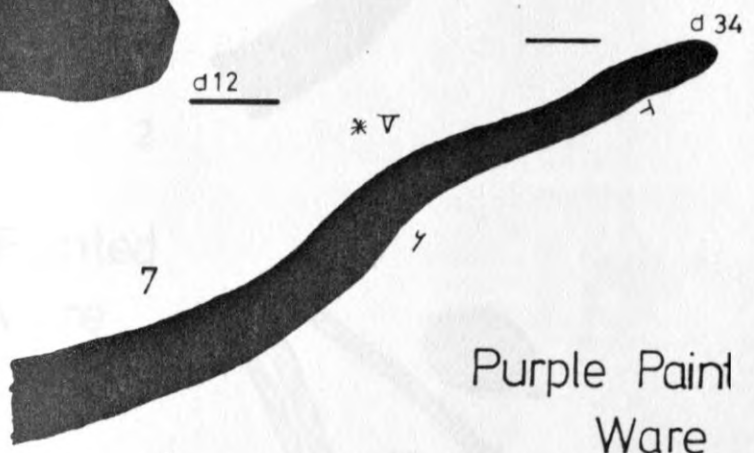
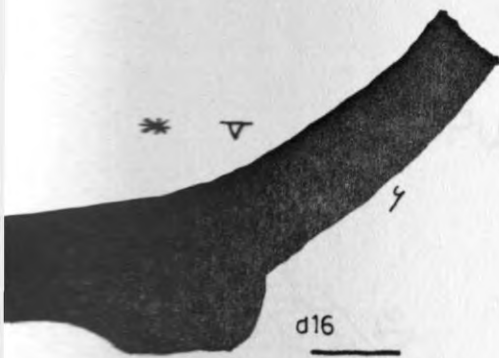
Bowls



2 *V

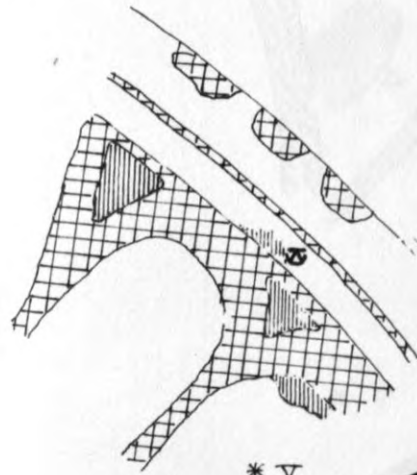
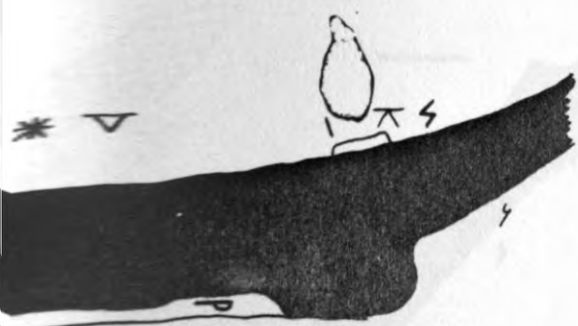


5 *V

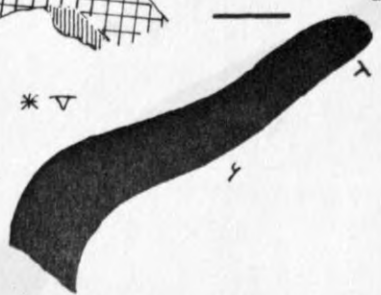


Purple Paint Ware

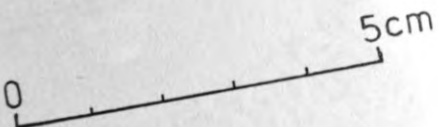
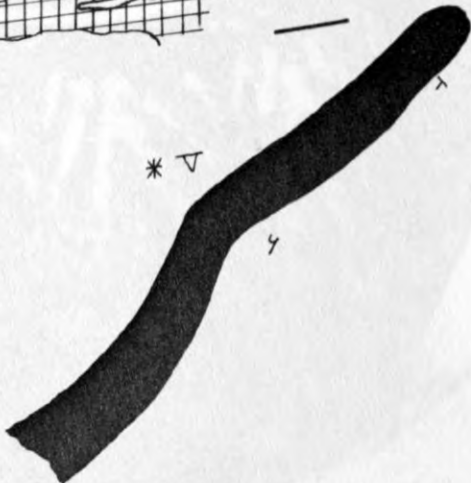
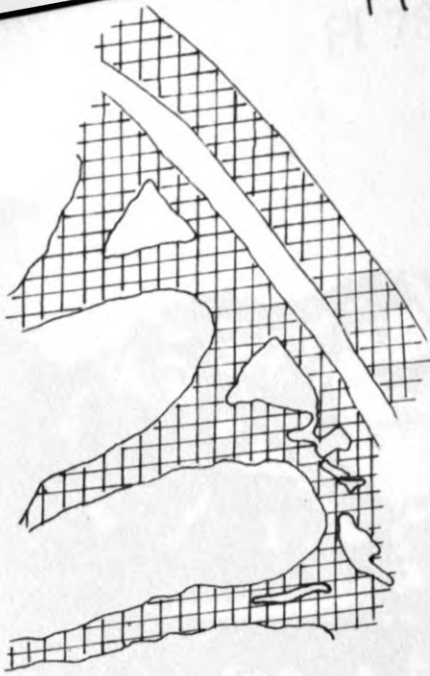
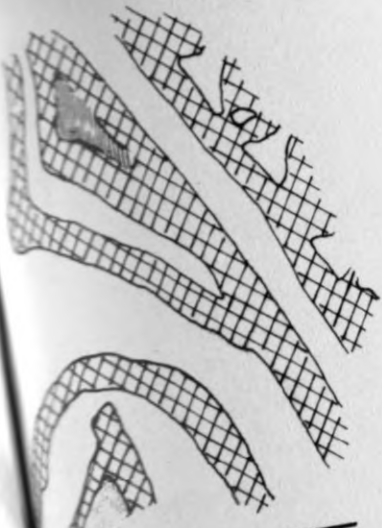
5cm



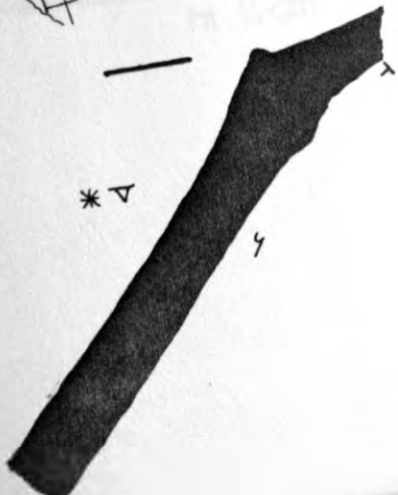
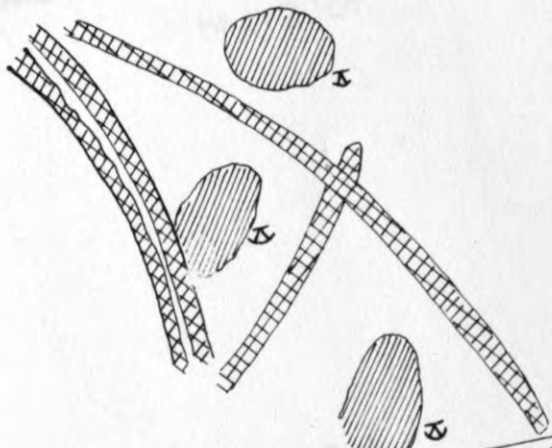
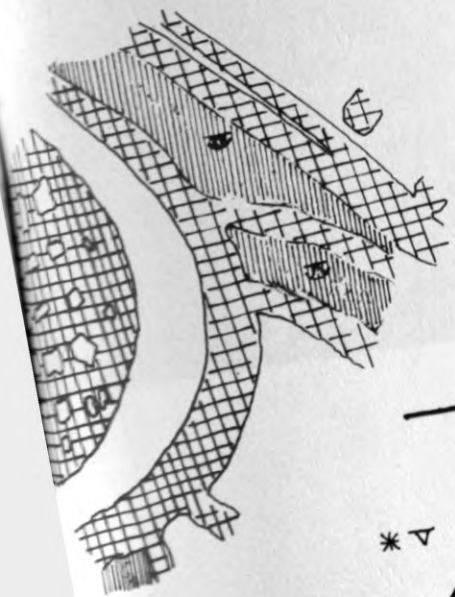
10



d 29



Purple Painted Ware





ht. 14 cm

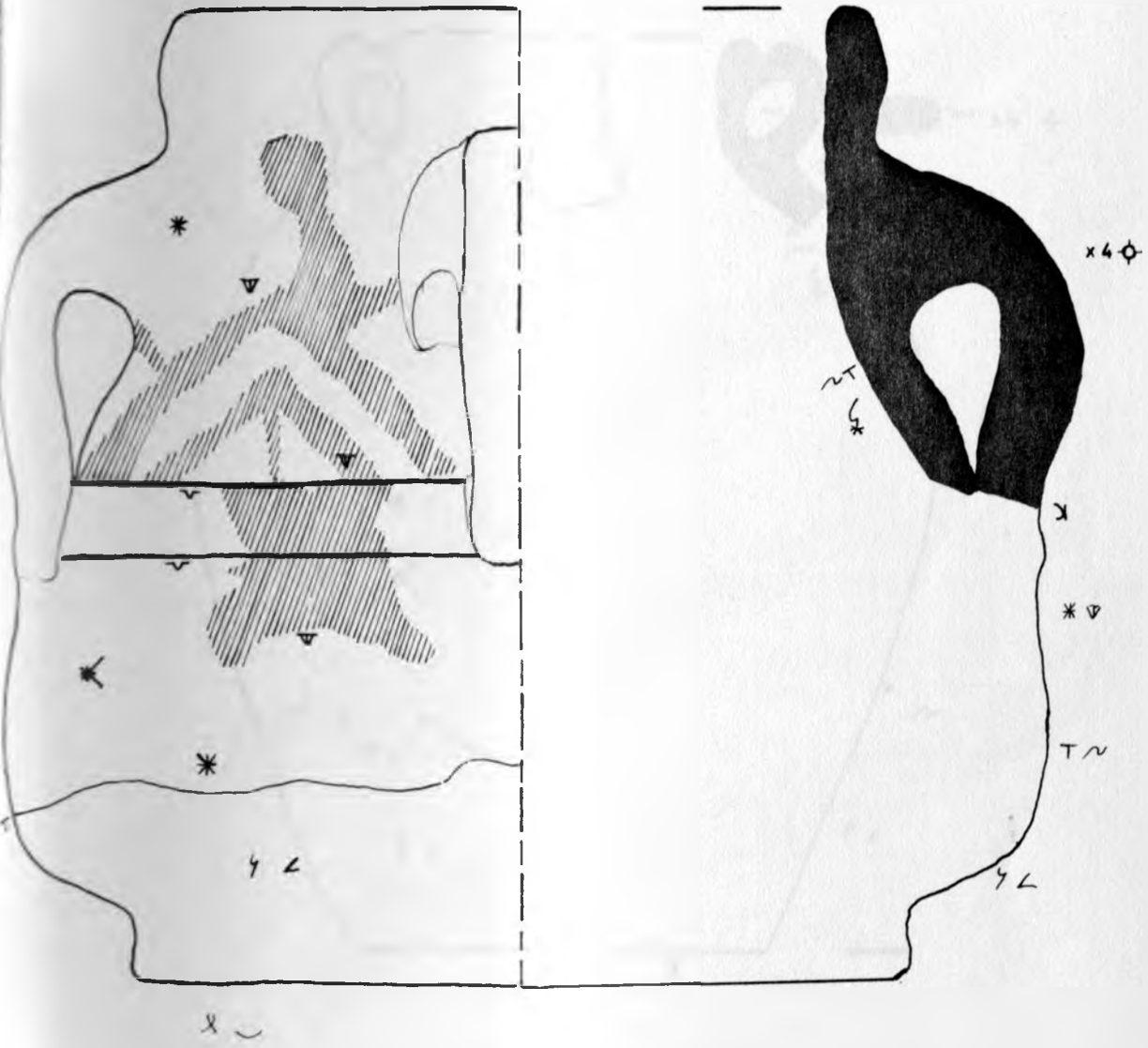


1

ht. c. 20 cm

Manganese
Purple Painted

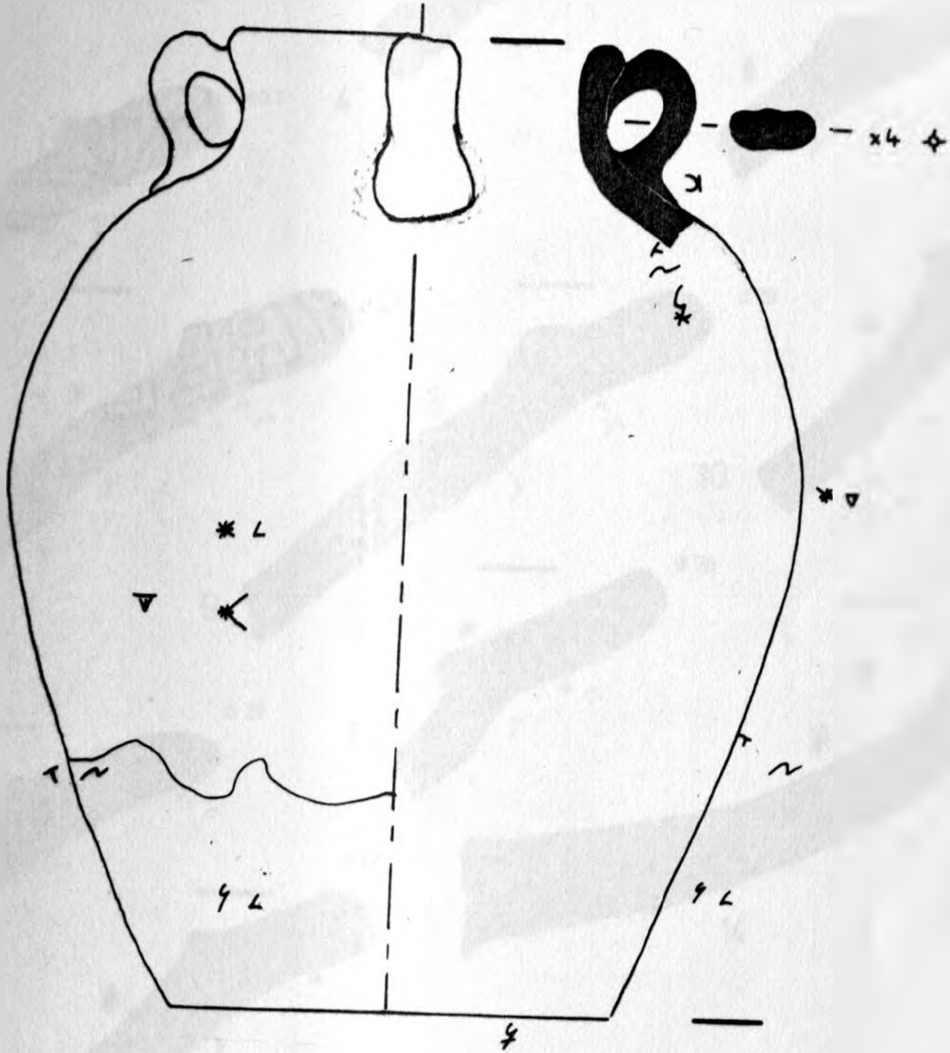
Jars



Manganese Purple

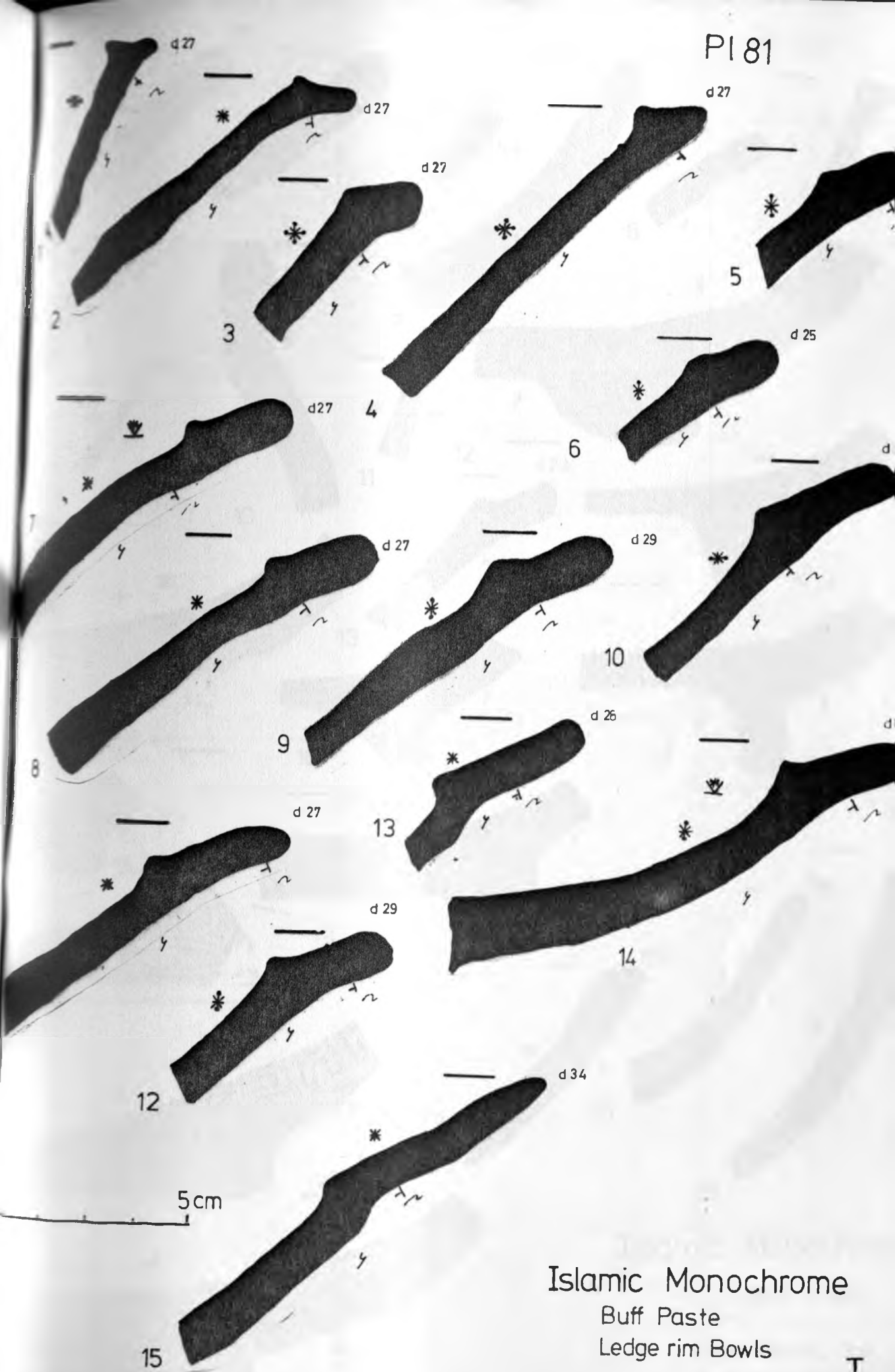
Small jar





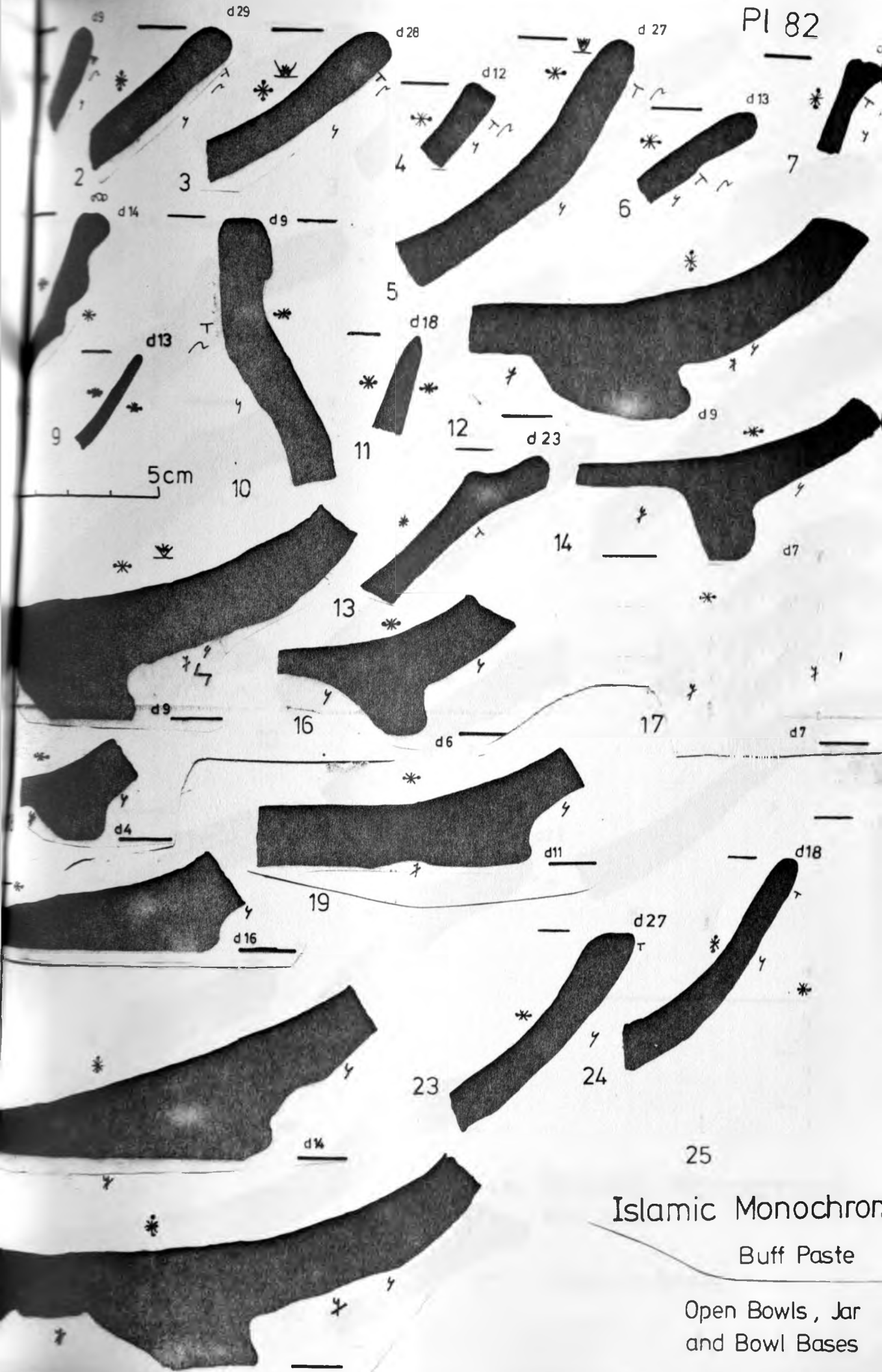
0 2 4 6 8 10 cm

Manganese Purple
Painted



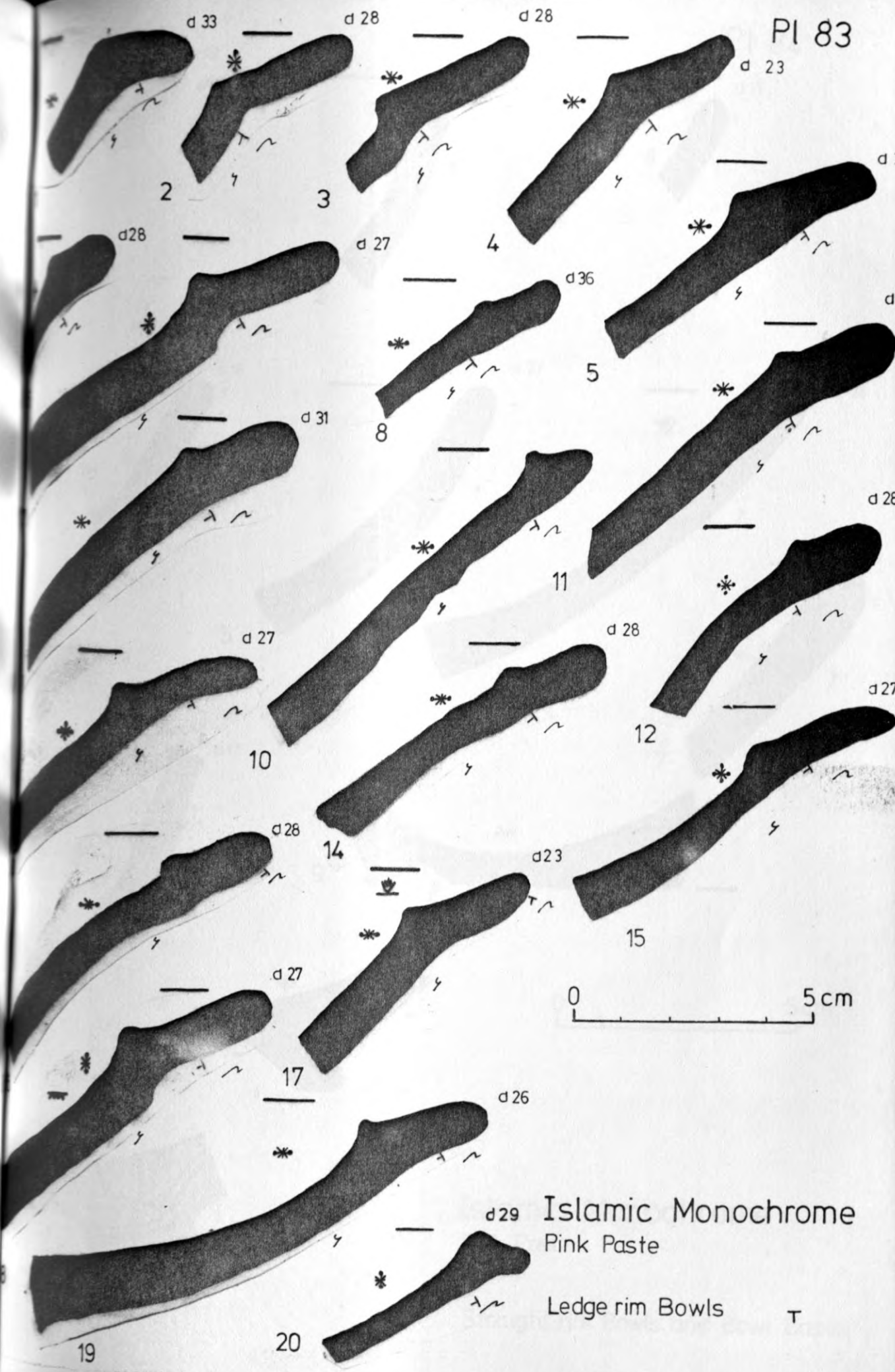
5cm

Islamic Monochrome
 Buff Paste
 Ledge rim Bowls



Islamic Monochrome
Buff Paste

Open Bowls, Jar
and Bowl Bases



0 5 cm

Islamic Monochrome
Pink Paste

Ledge rim Bowls T

19

20

d 29

d 26

d 27

d 28

10

d 27

d 31

8

d 27

4

d 36

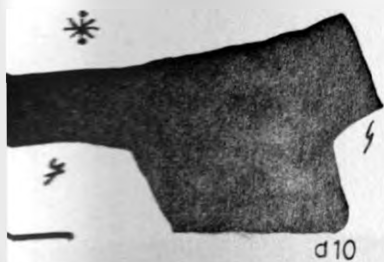
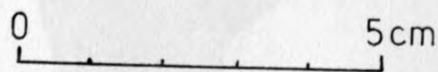
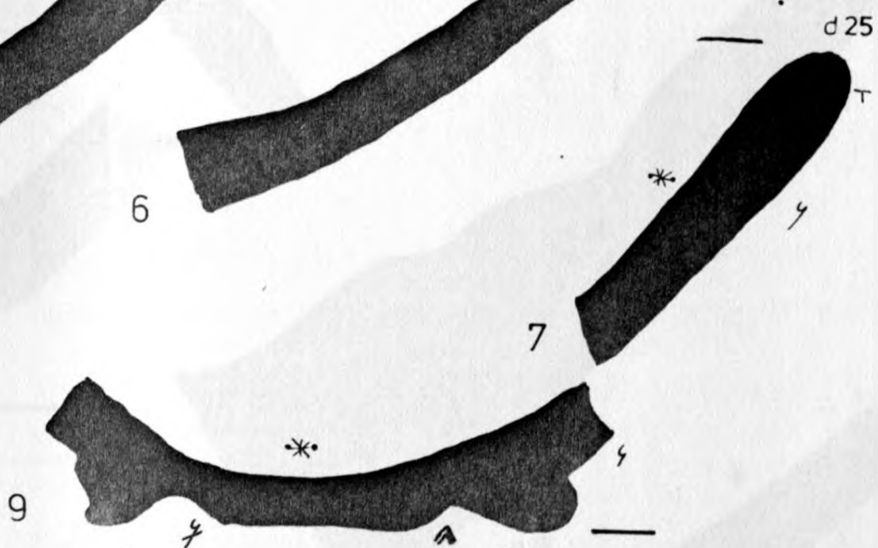
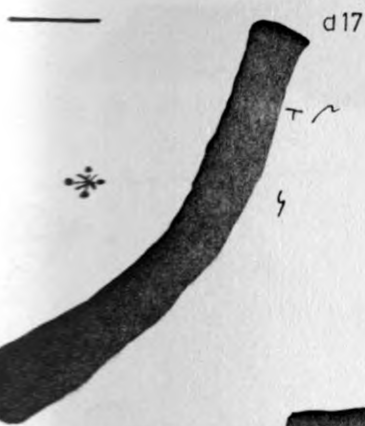
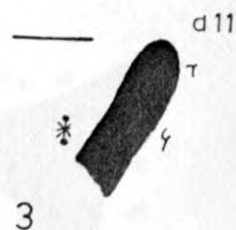
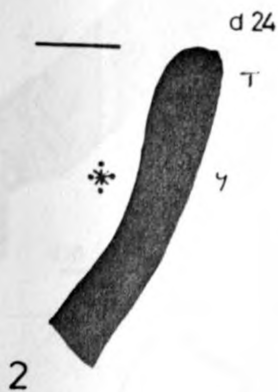
5

d 23

d 28

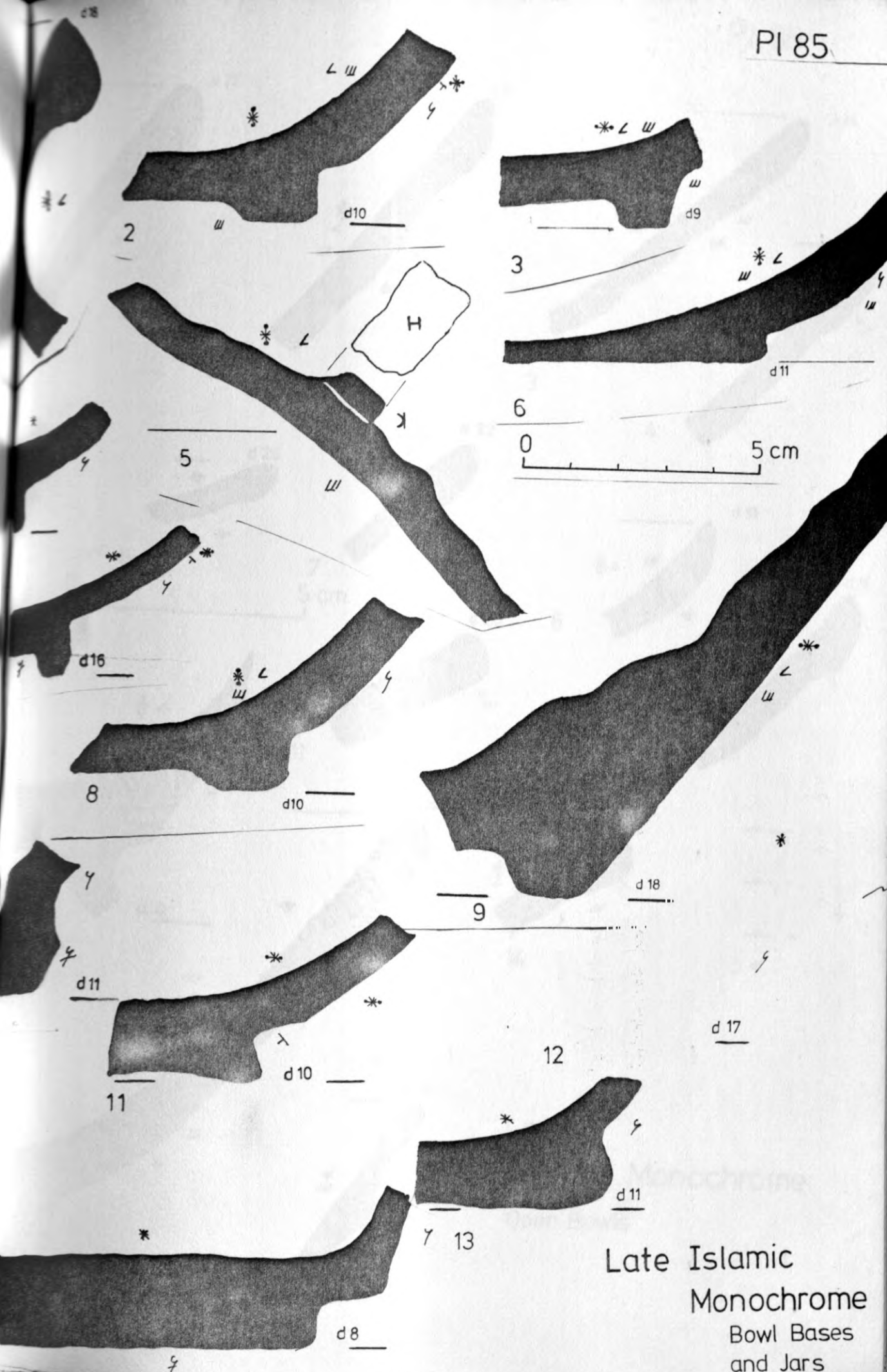
d 28

d 33

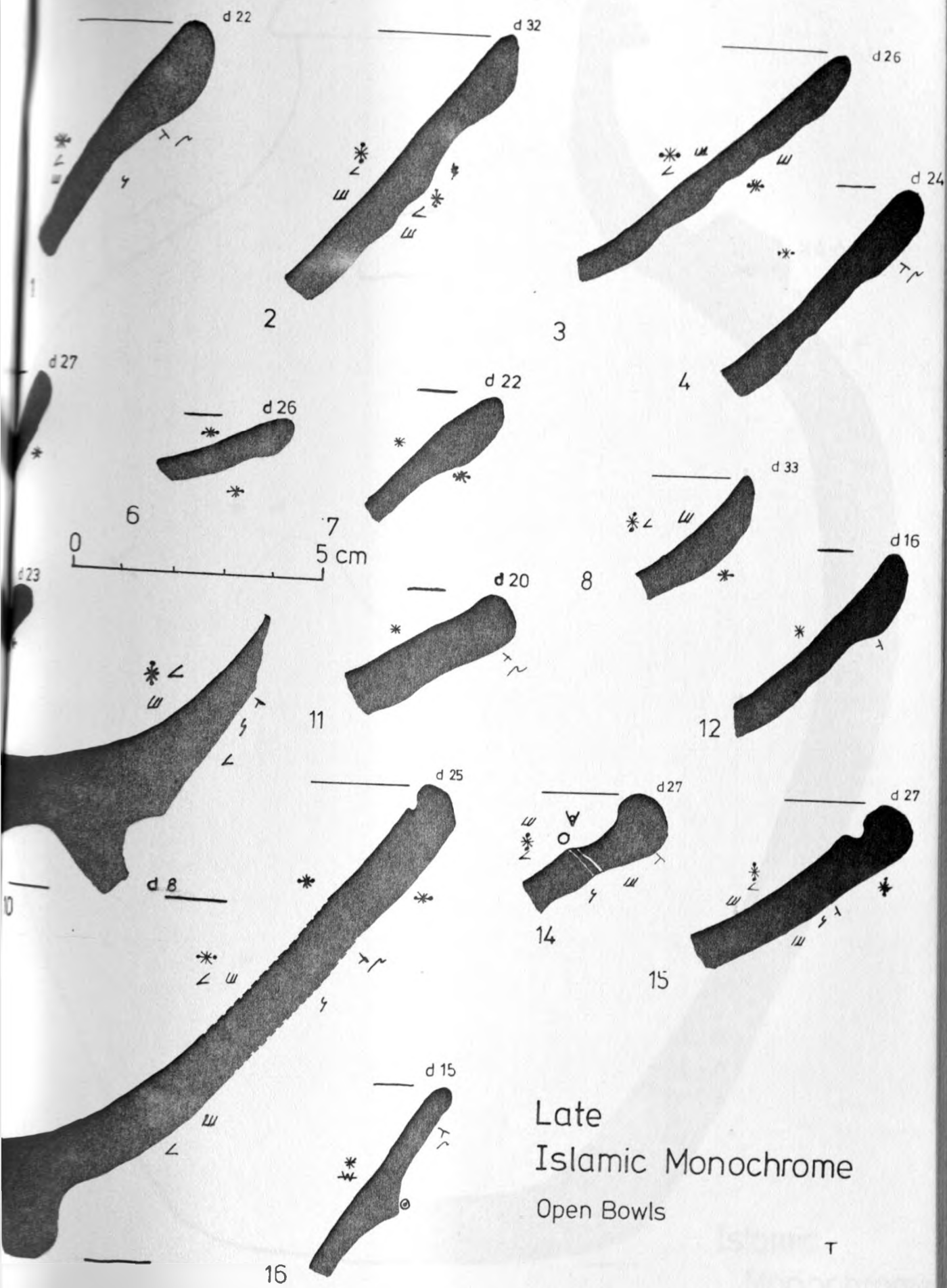


Islamic Monochrome
Pink Paste

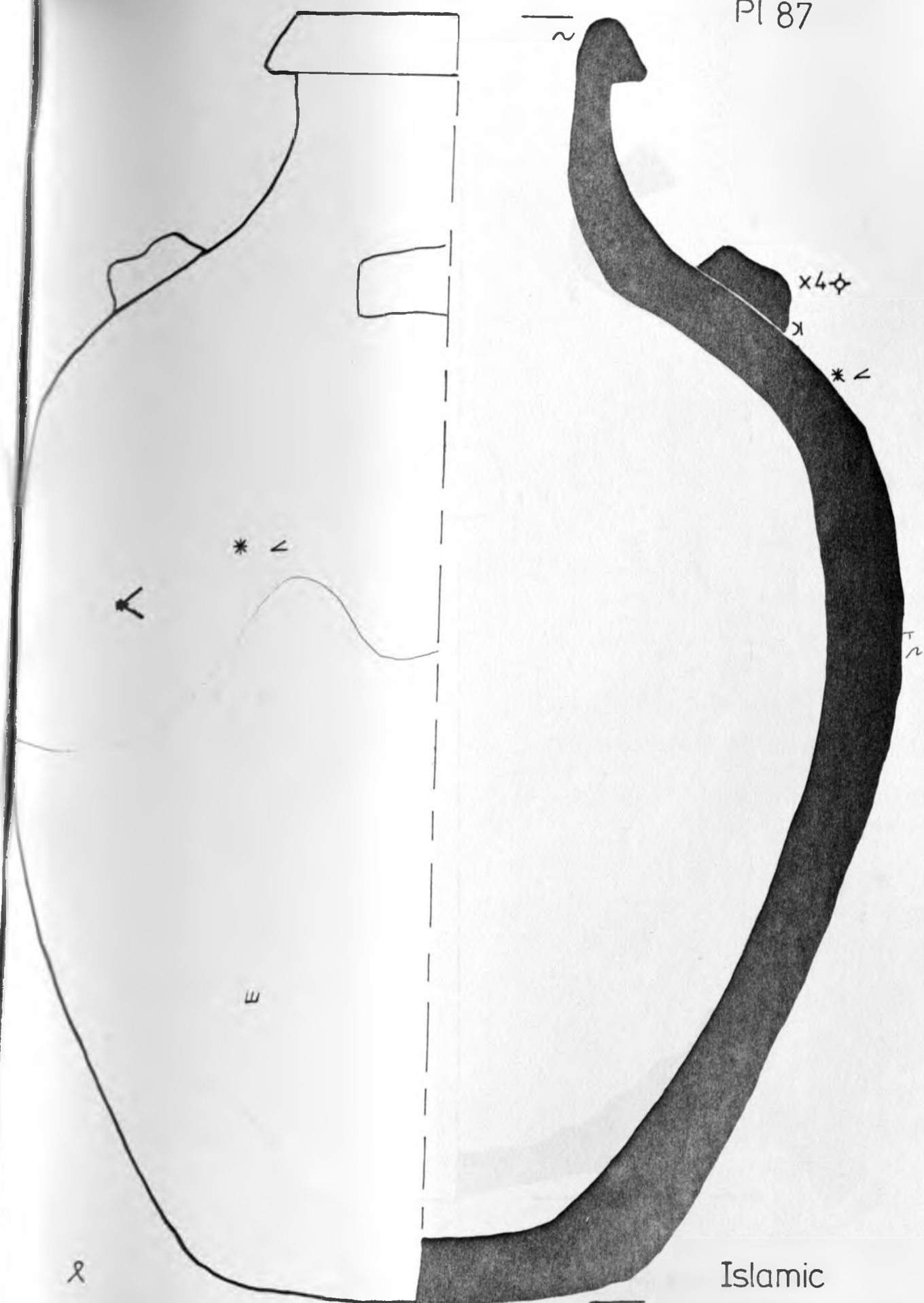
Straight rim Bowls and Bowl Bases



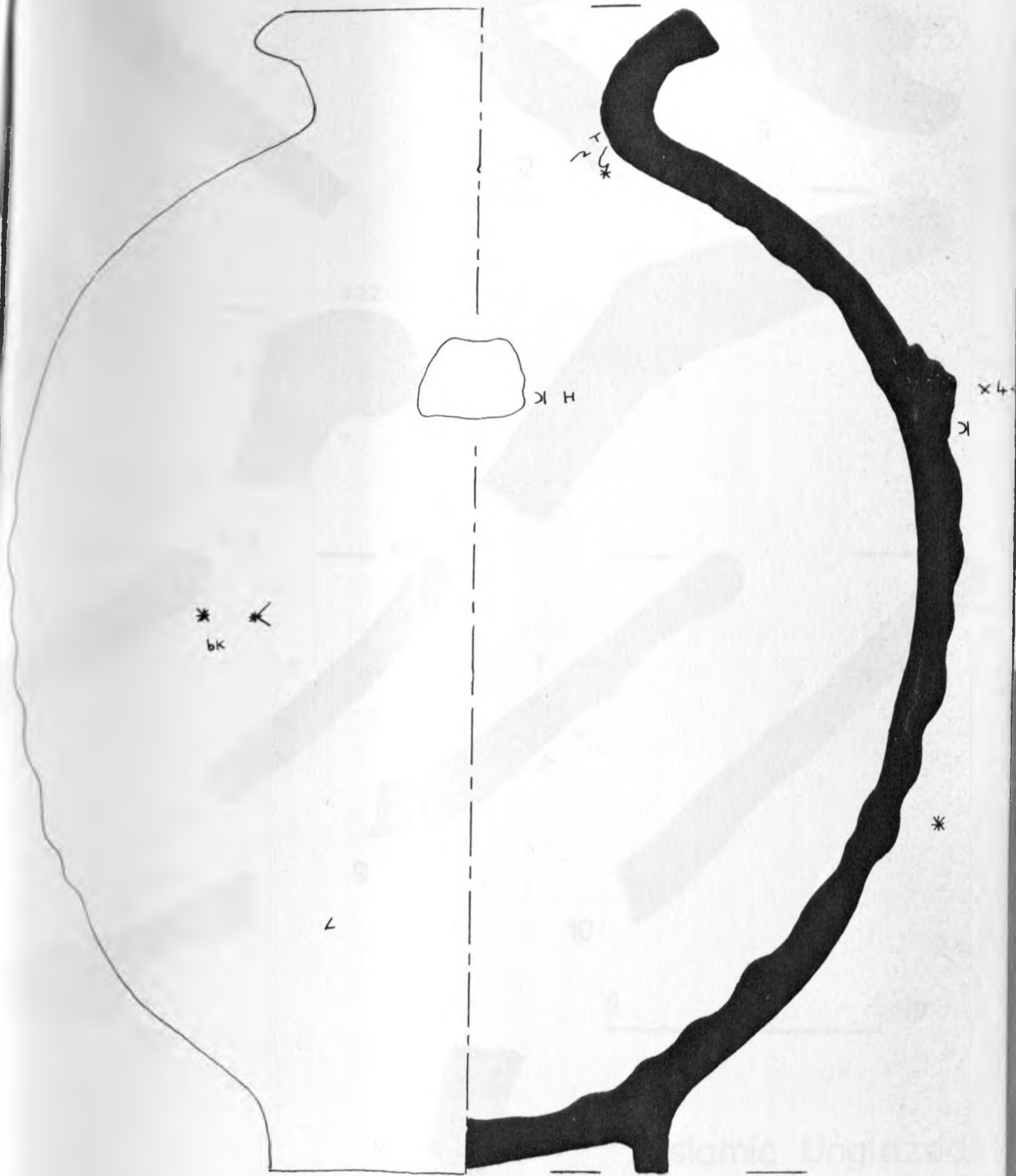
Late Islamic
Monochrome
Bowl Bases
and Jars



Late
Islamic Monochrome
Open Bowls

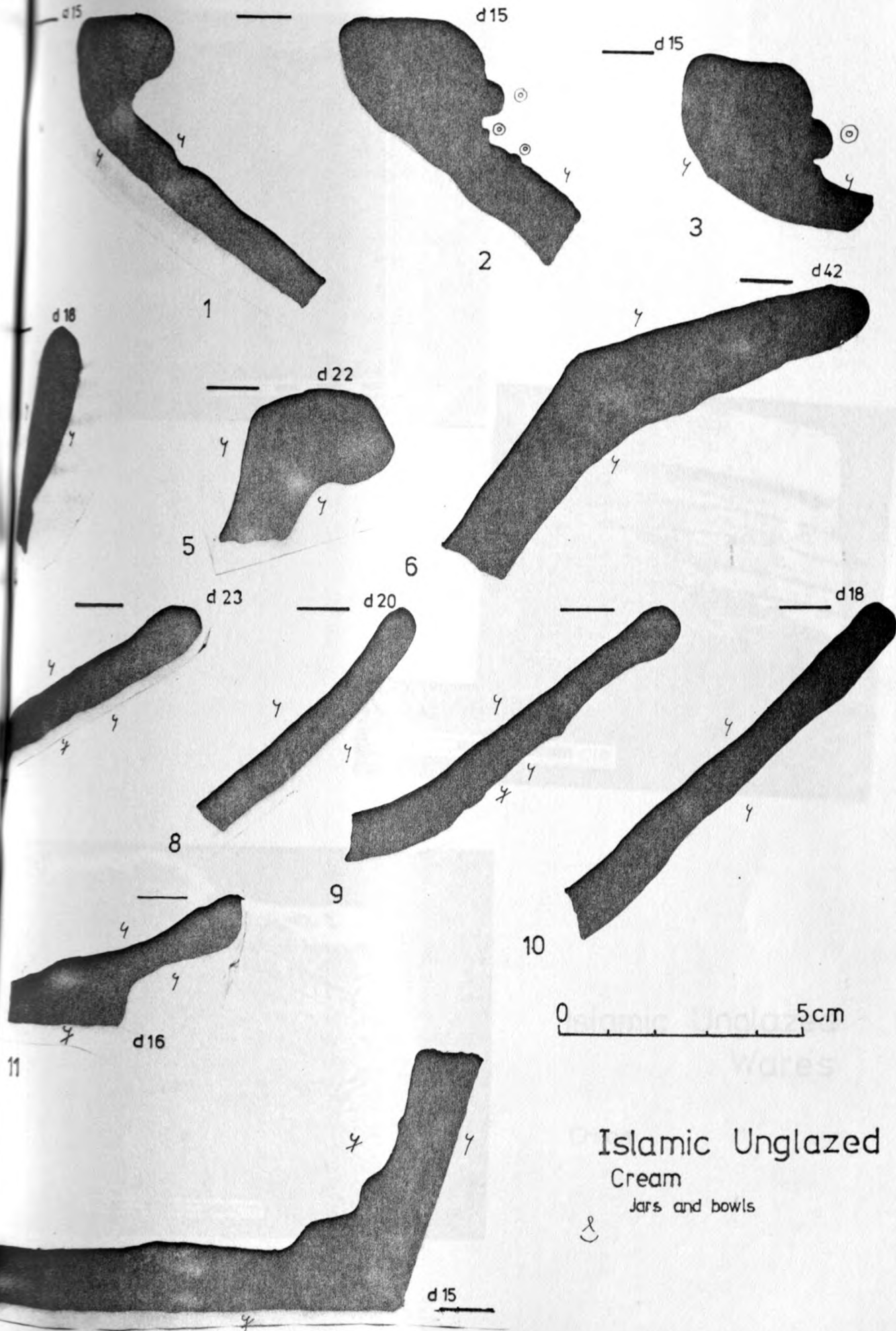


Islamic
Monochrome



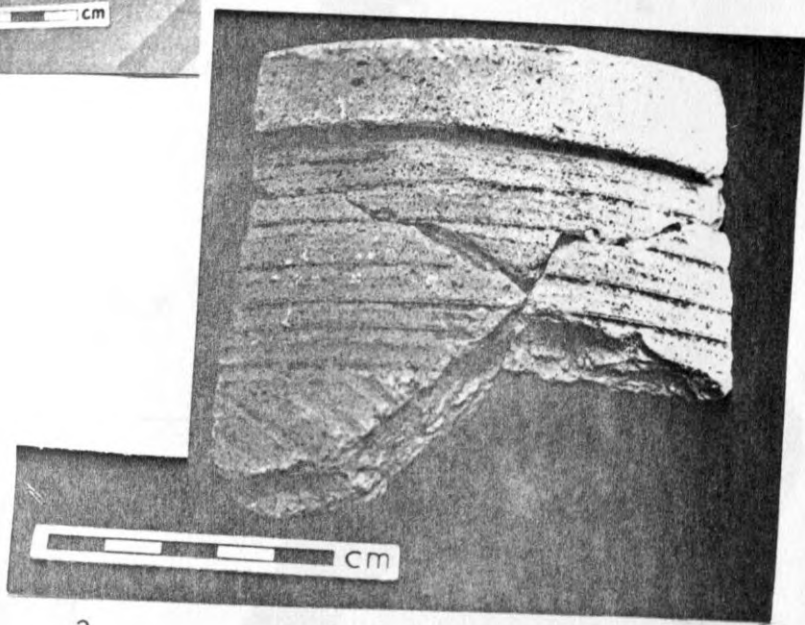
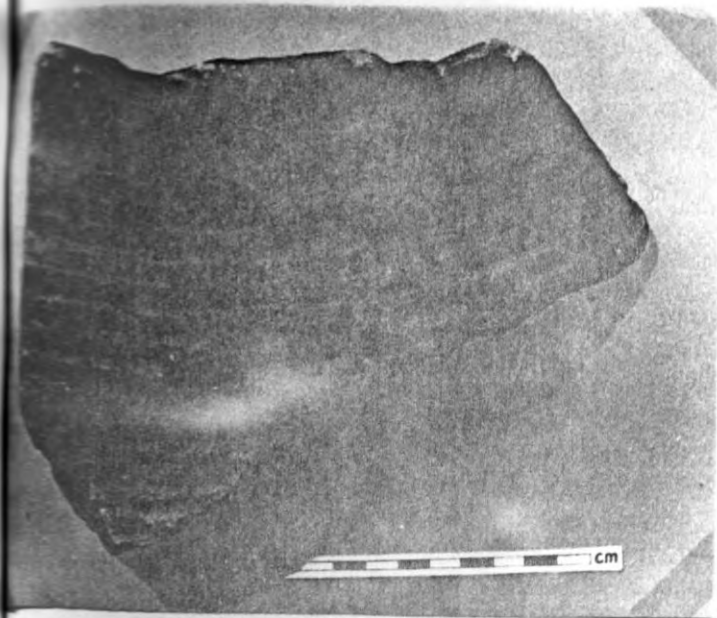
Islamic Monochrome
Jar

0 5cm

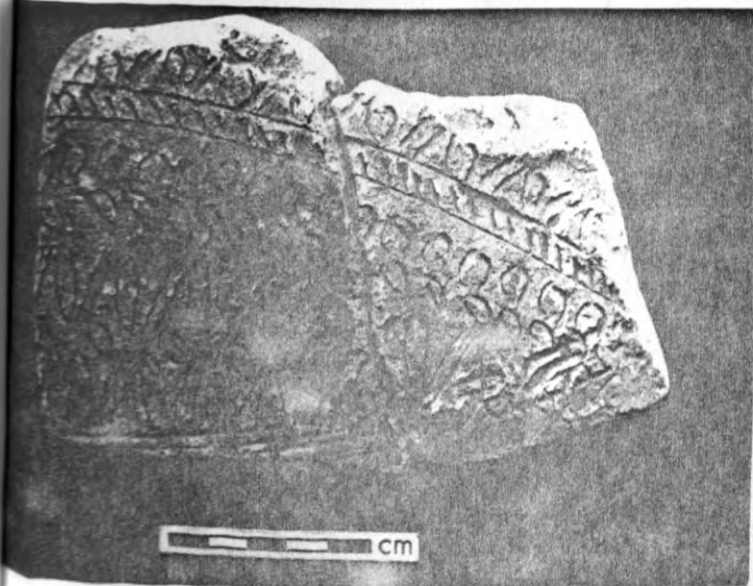


Islamic Unglazed
Cream
Jars and bowls





2



Islamic Unglazed
Wares

Cream

d 20

d 13

d 21

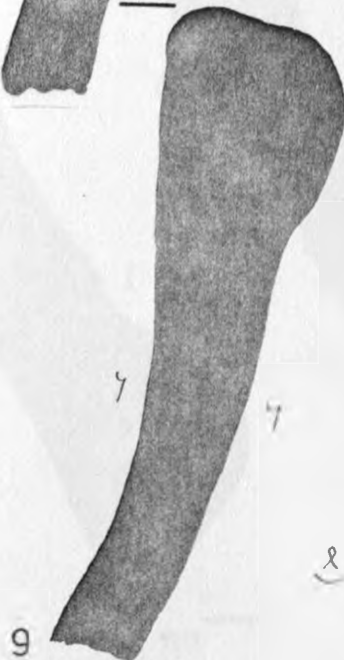
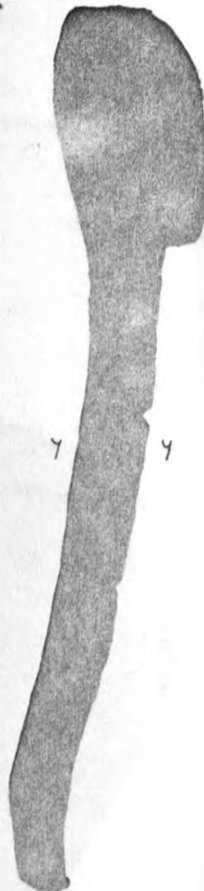


d 20

d 27

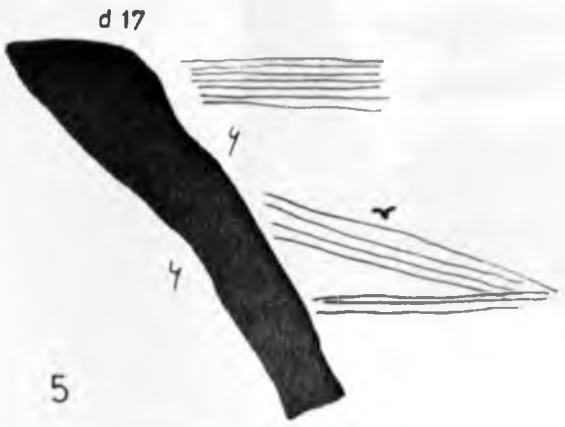
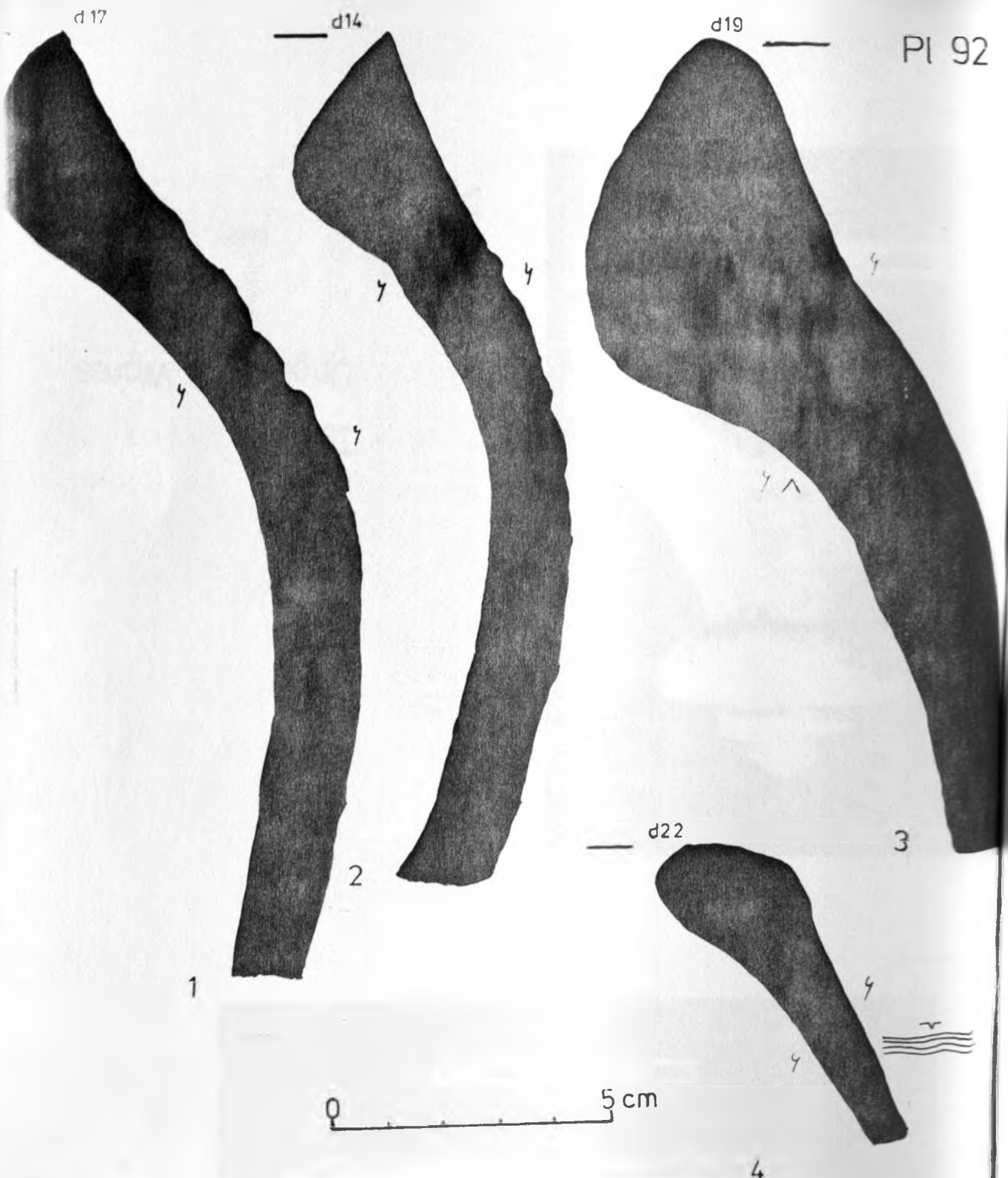


d 30

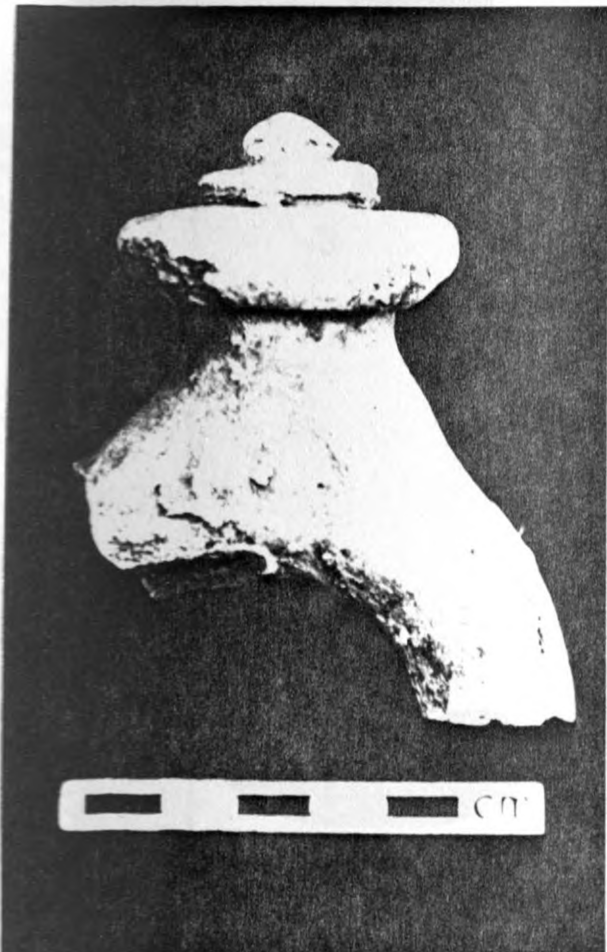
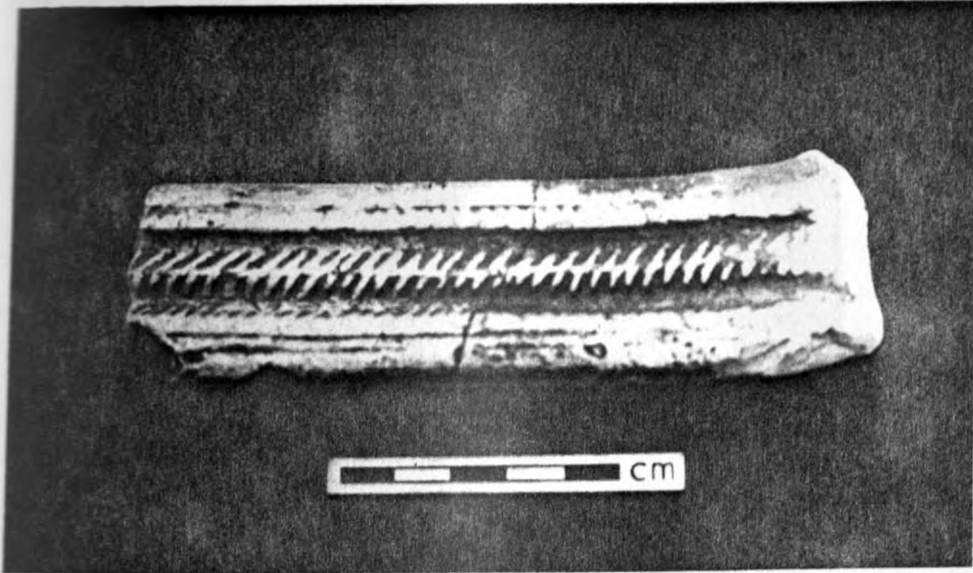


Islamic
Unglazed
Wares

Cream

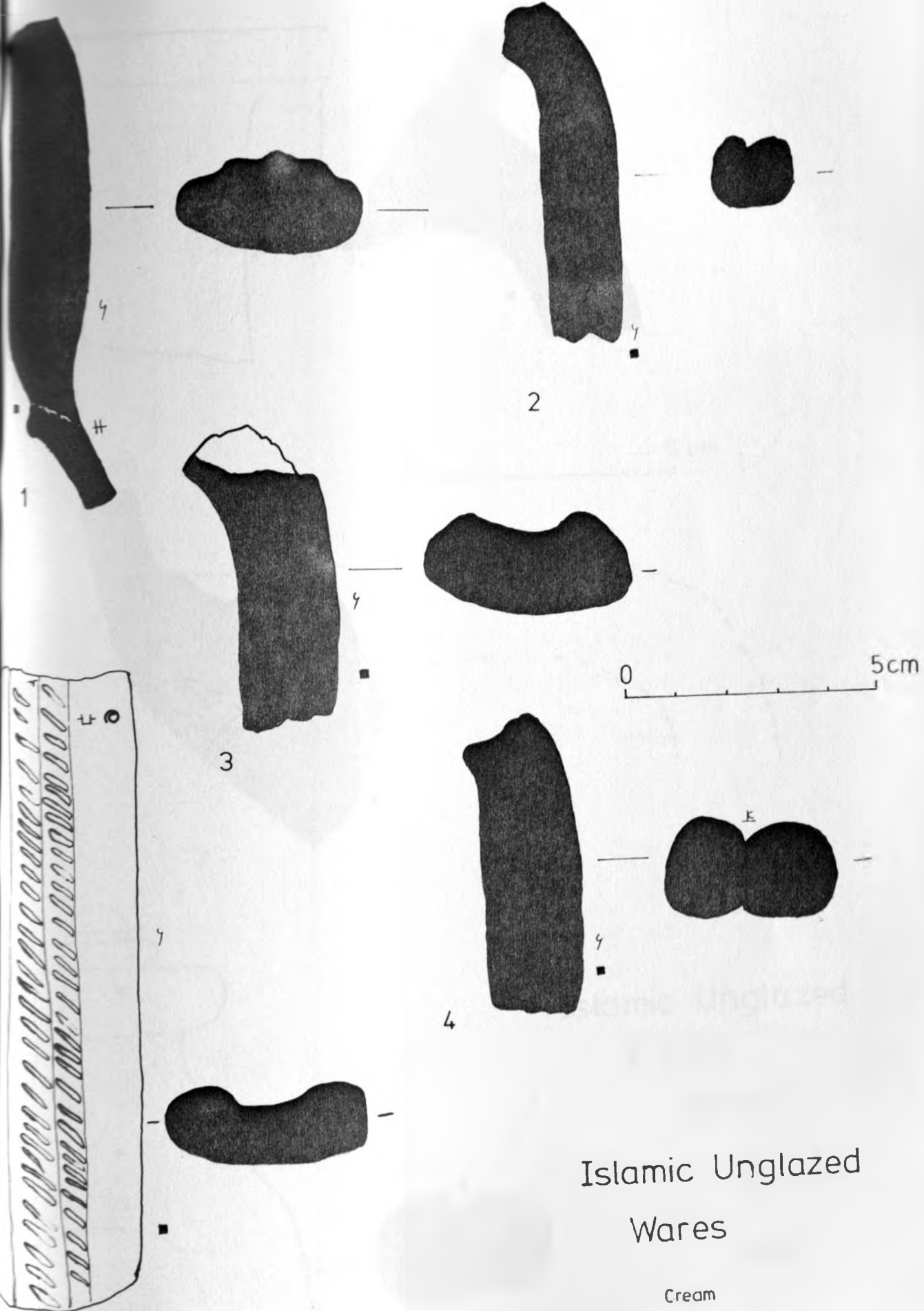


Islamic Unglazed Wares



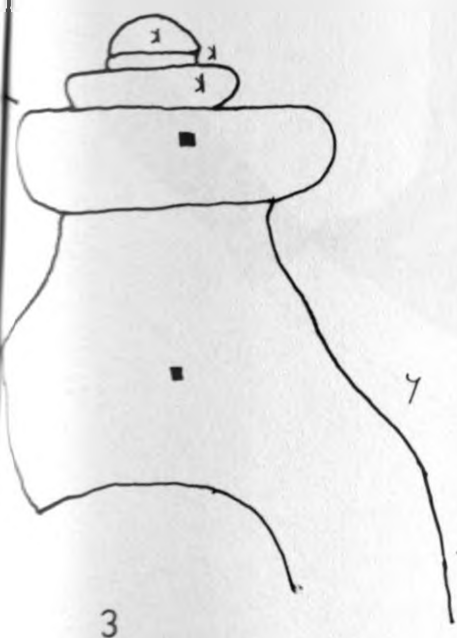
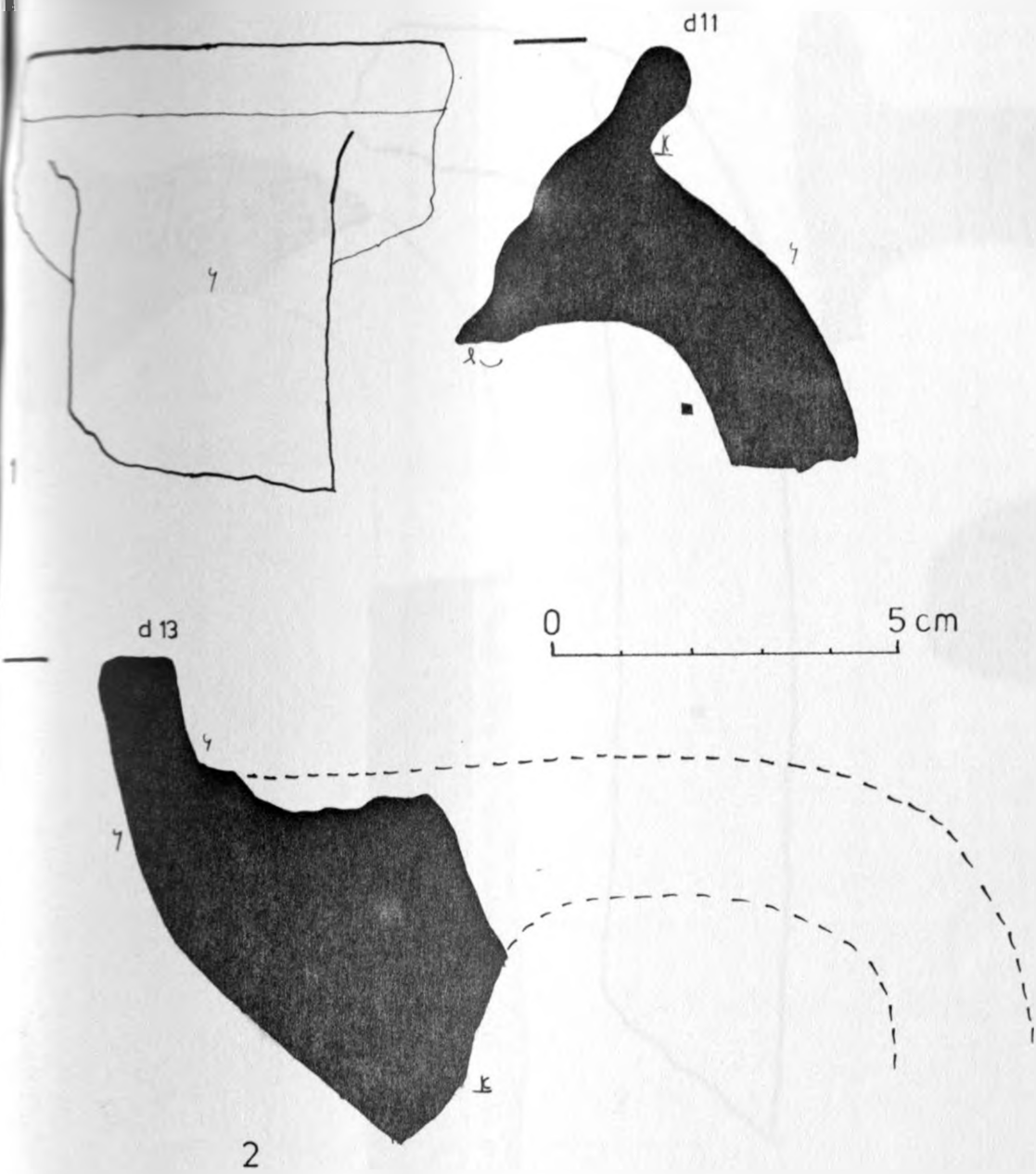
Islamic
Unglazed Wares

Cream



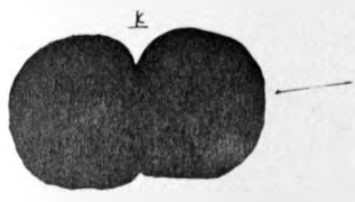
Islamic Unglazed
Wares

Cream

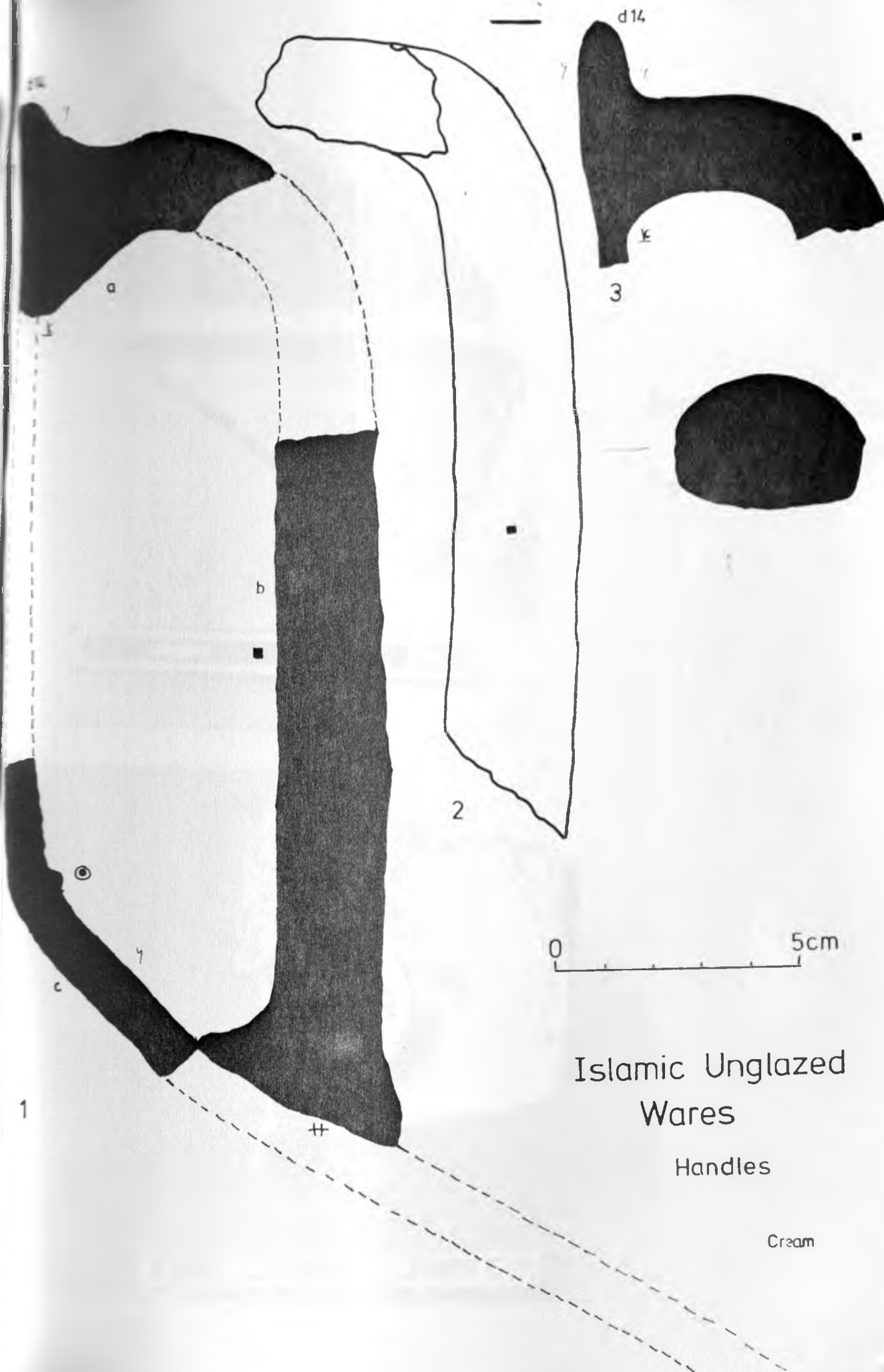


Islamic Unglazed Wares

Handles



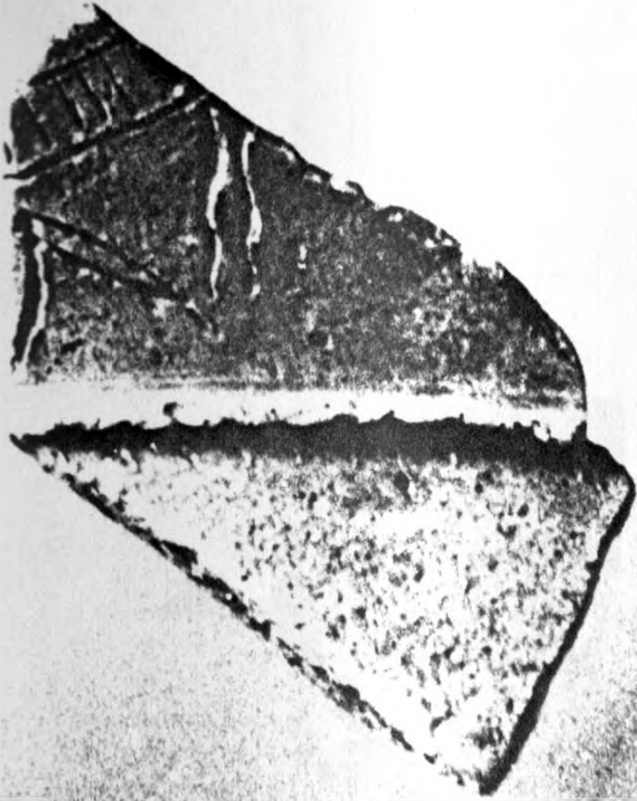
Cream



Islamic Unglazed
Wares

Handles

Cream

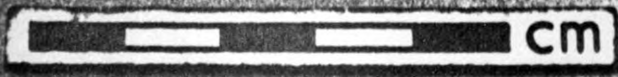


Islamic Unglazed
Wares

Cream



1



2



Pl 98

Islamic Unglazed
Wares

Cream



2



3



5



y

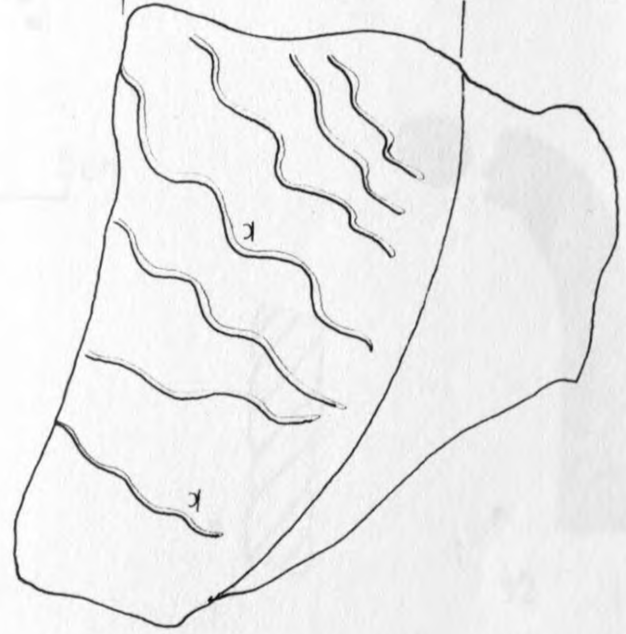


4

d6



6



k

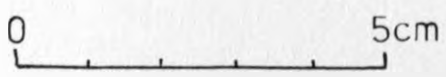
k



d8



y

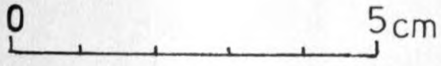
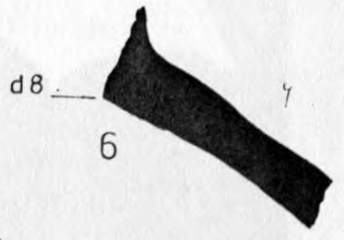
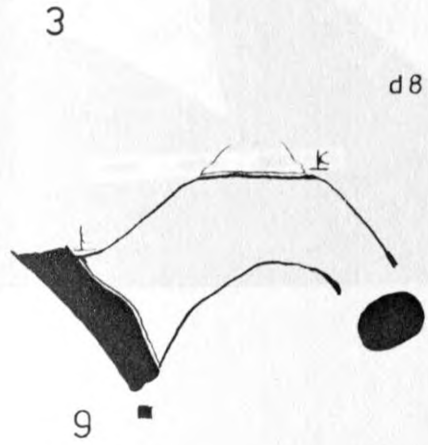
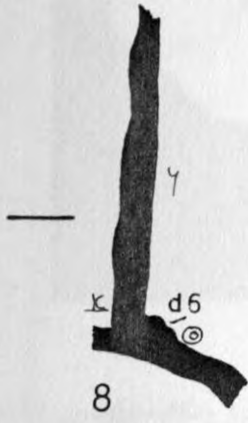
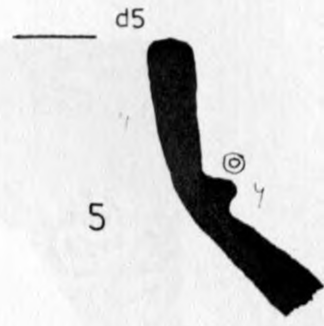
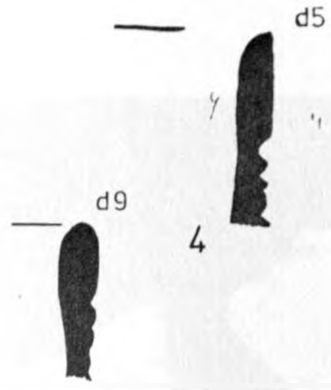


Islamic Unglazed Wares

Thin vessels

Cream

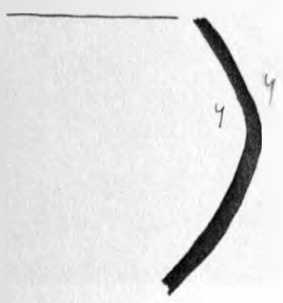
18



10

11

12



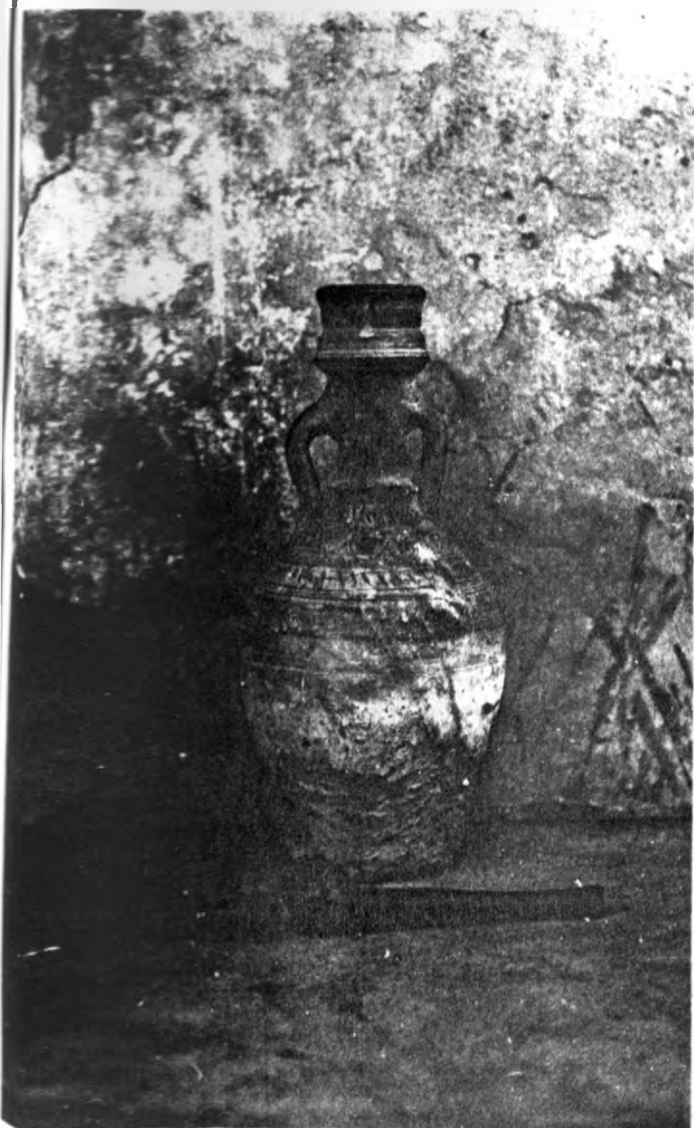
13

14

Islamic Unglazed Wares

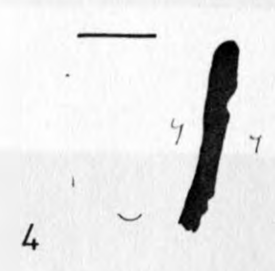
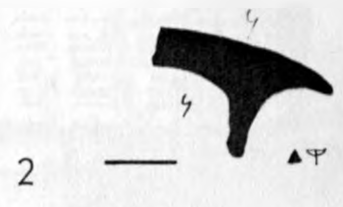
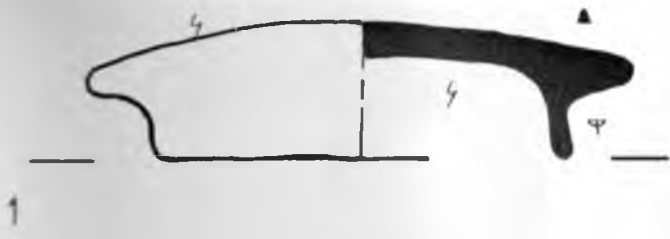
Thin vessels

Cream



Islamic Unglazed
Wares

Cream



0 5cm



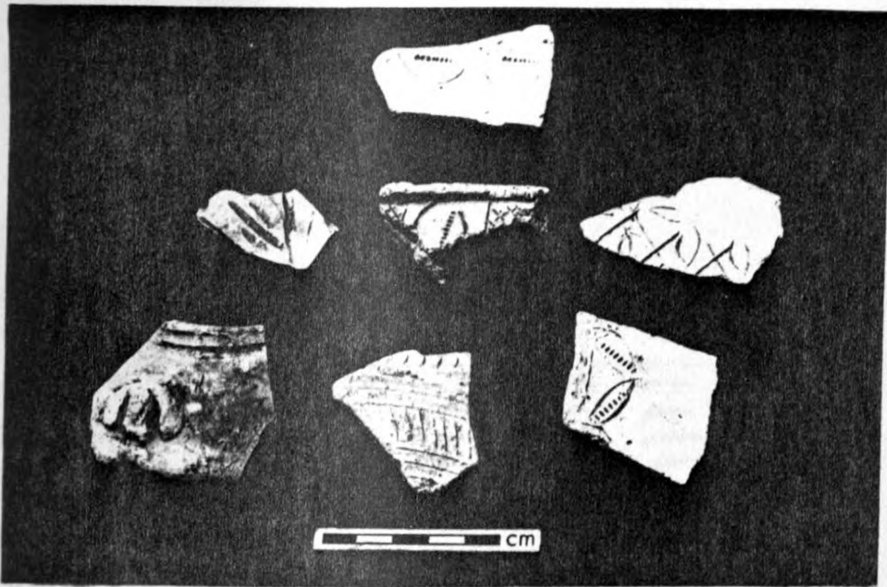
Islamic Unglazed Wares

Thin vessels

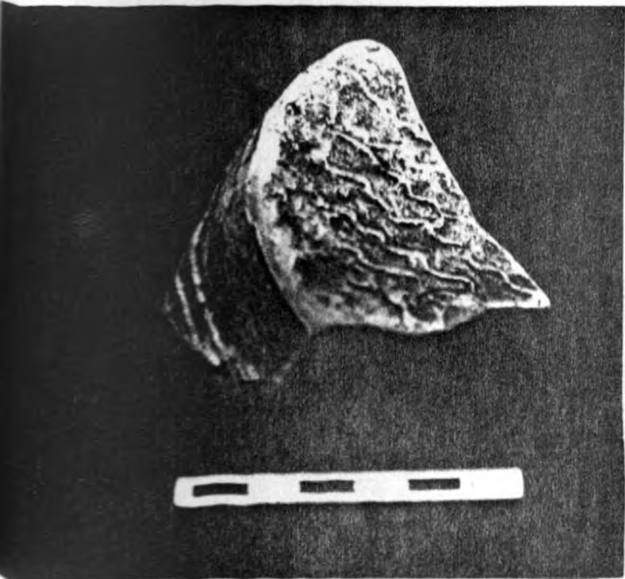
Cream



2



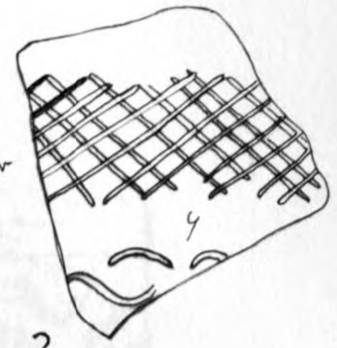
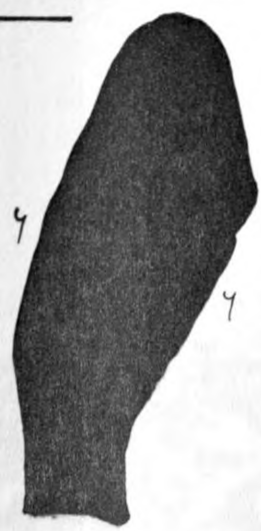
3



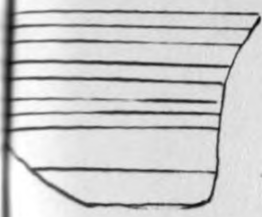
Islamic
Unglazed Wares
Cream



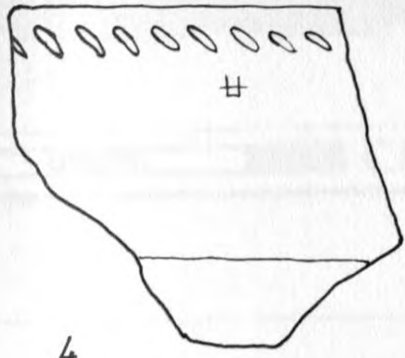
1



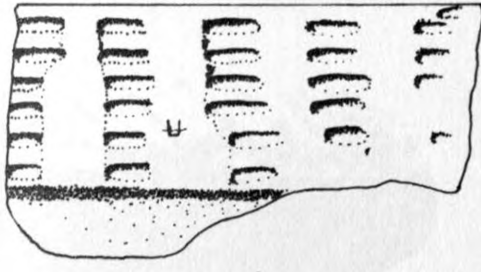
2



d17



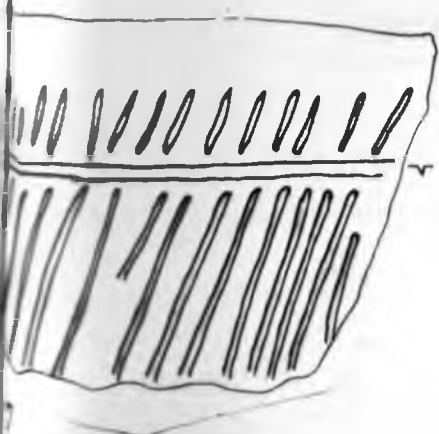
4



6



0 5 cm



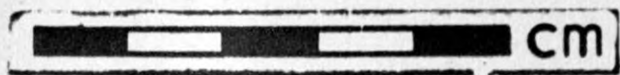
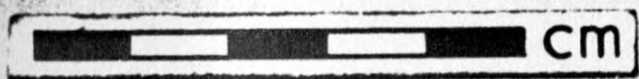
d 26



Islamic Unglazed Wares

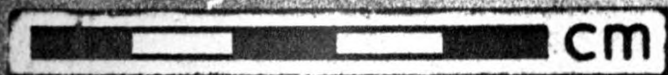


Cream



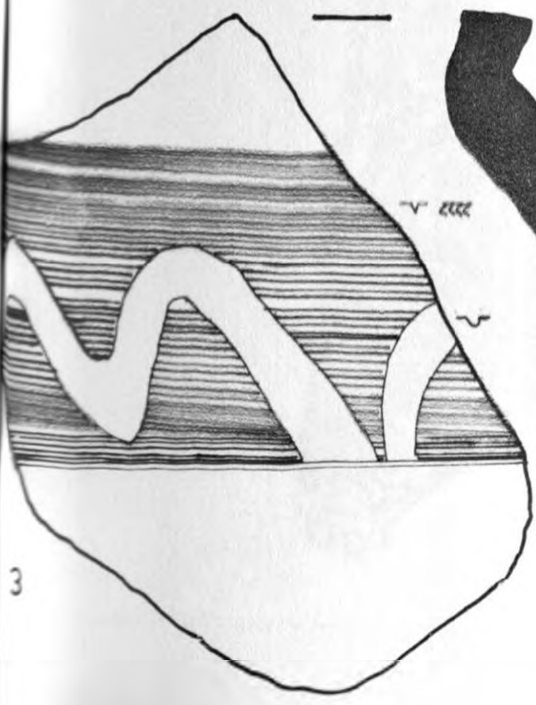
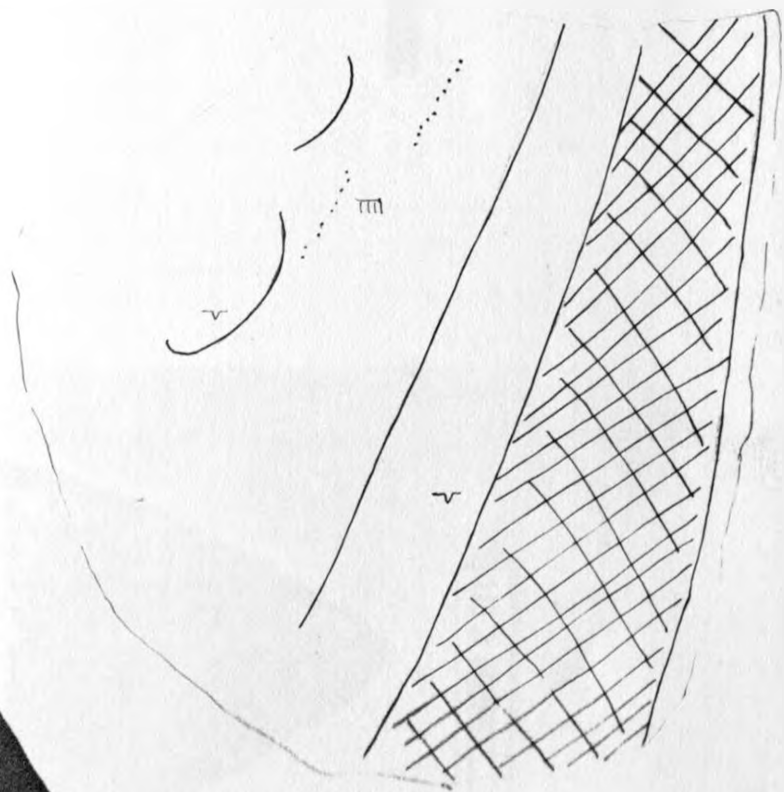
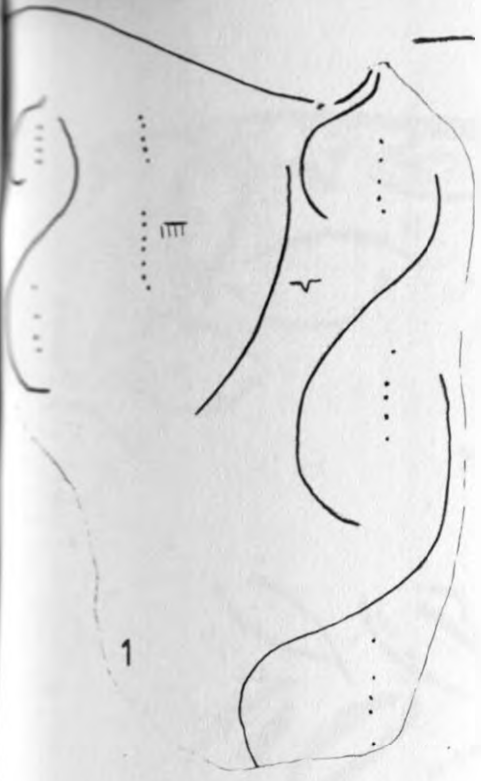
Islamic Unglazed
Wares

Cream



Islamic Unglazed
Wares

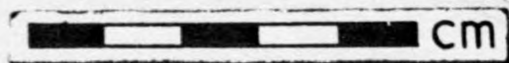
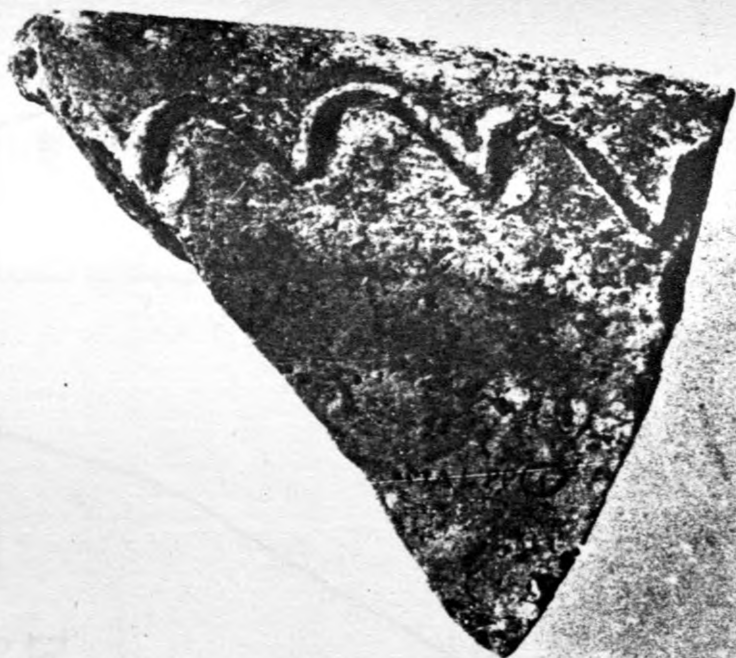
Cream



Islamic Unglazed
Wares
Motif

⌘

Cream

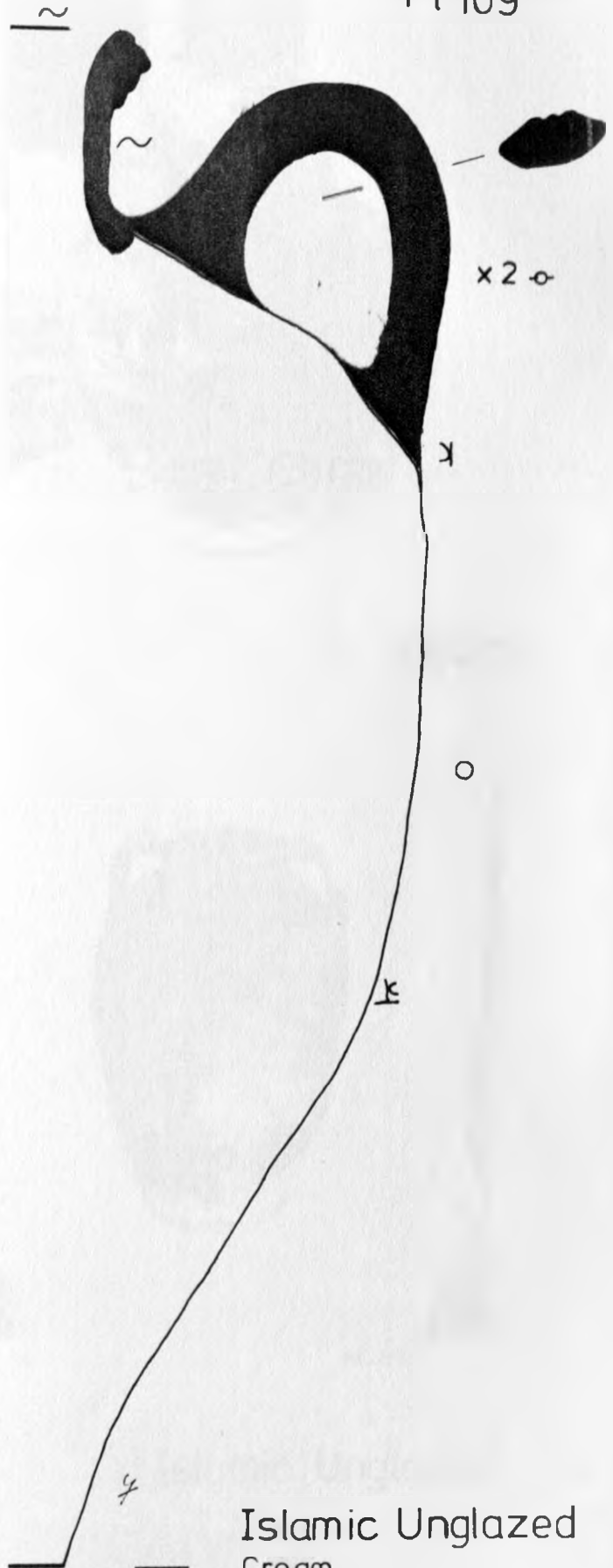
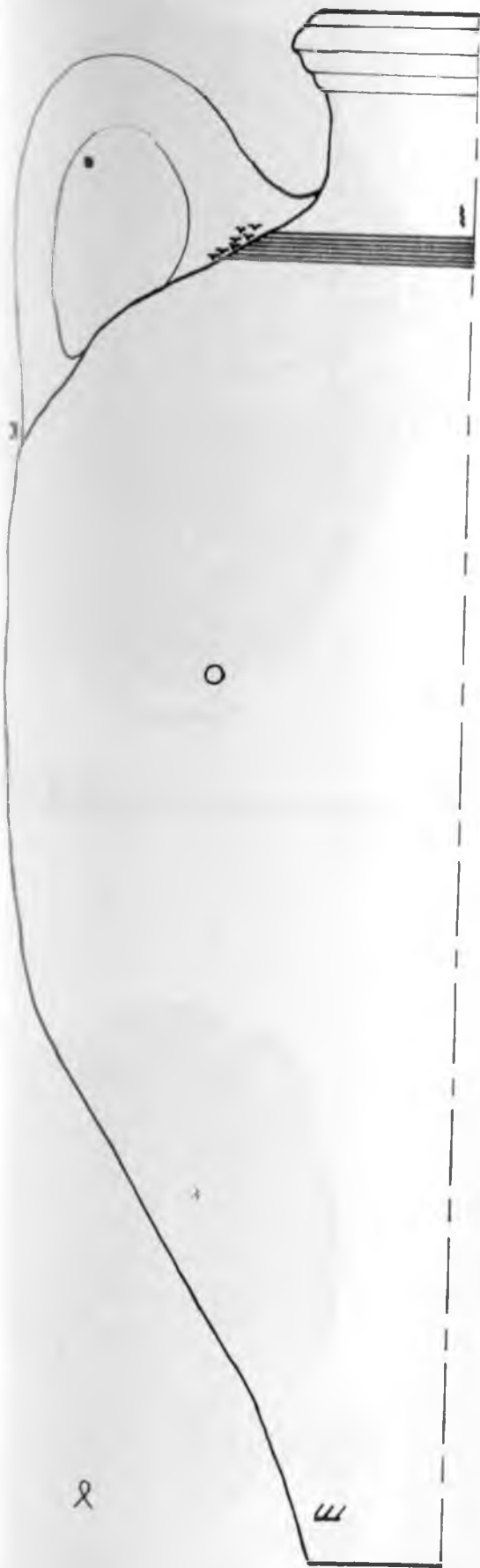




2

Islamic Unglazed
Wares

Cream



1:4

Islamic Unglazed Cream Jar



ht. 86cm



2

ht. 89cm



ht 90cm

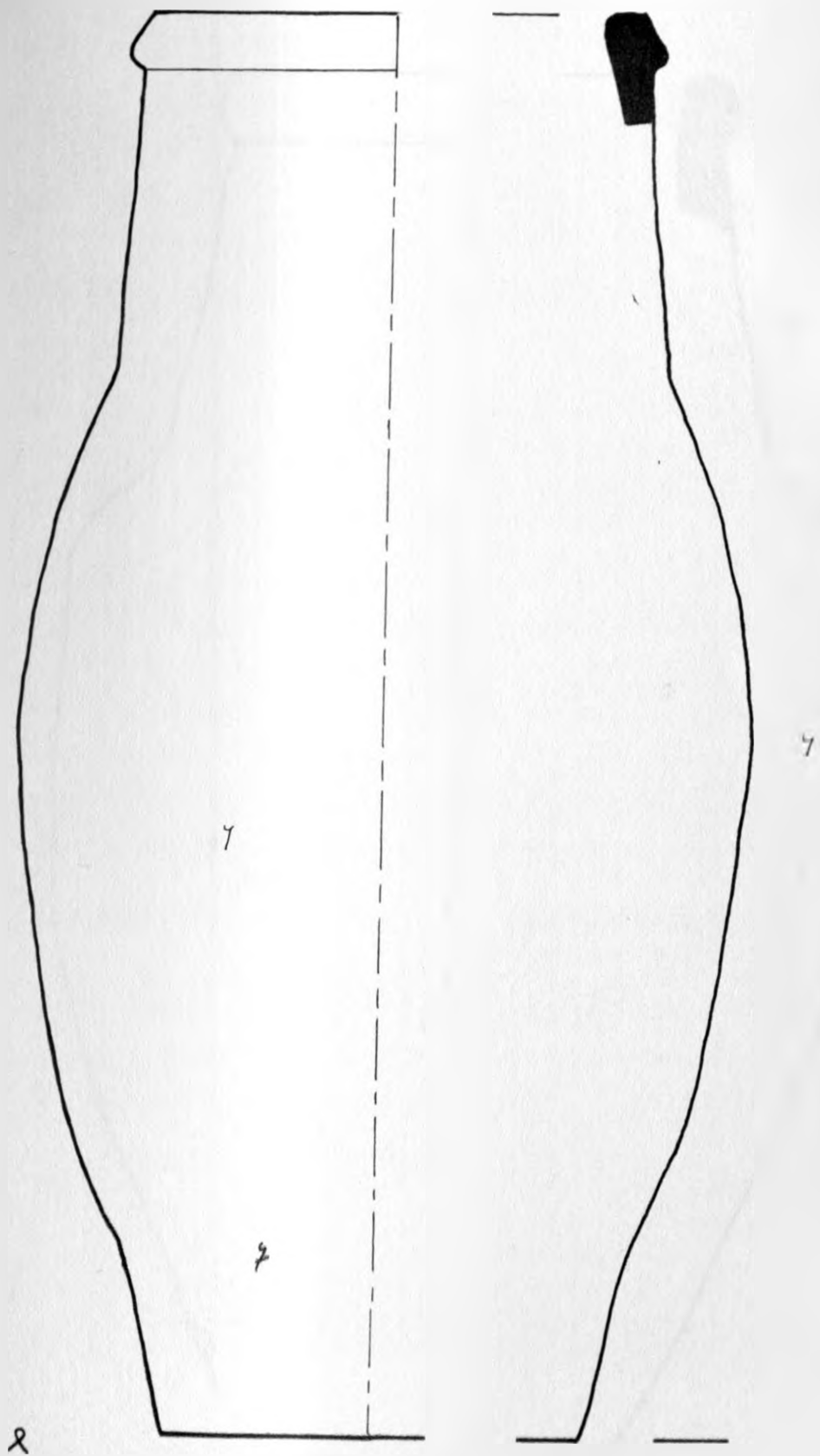


4

ht 89cm

Islamic Unglazed

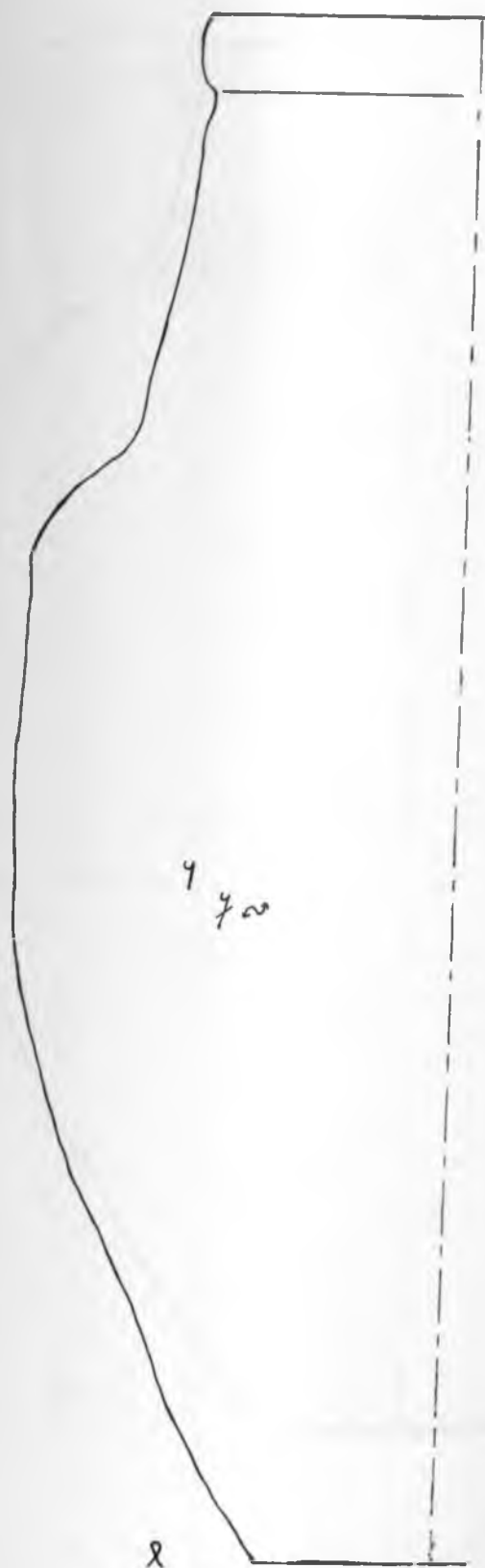
Jars



1:2

Islamic Jar

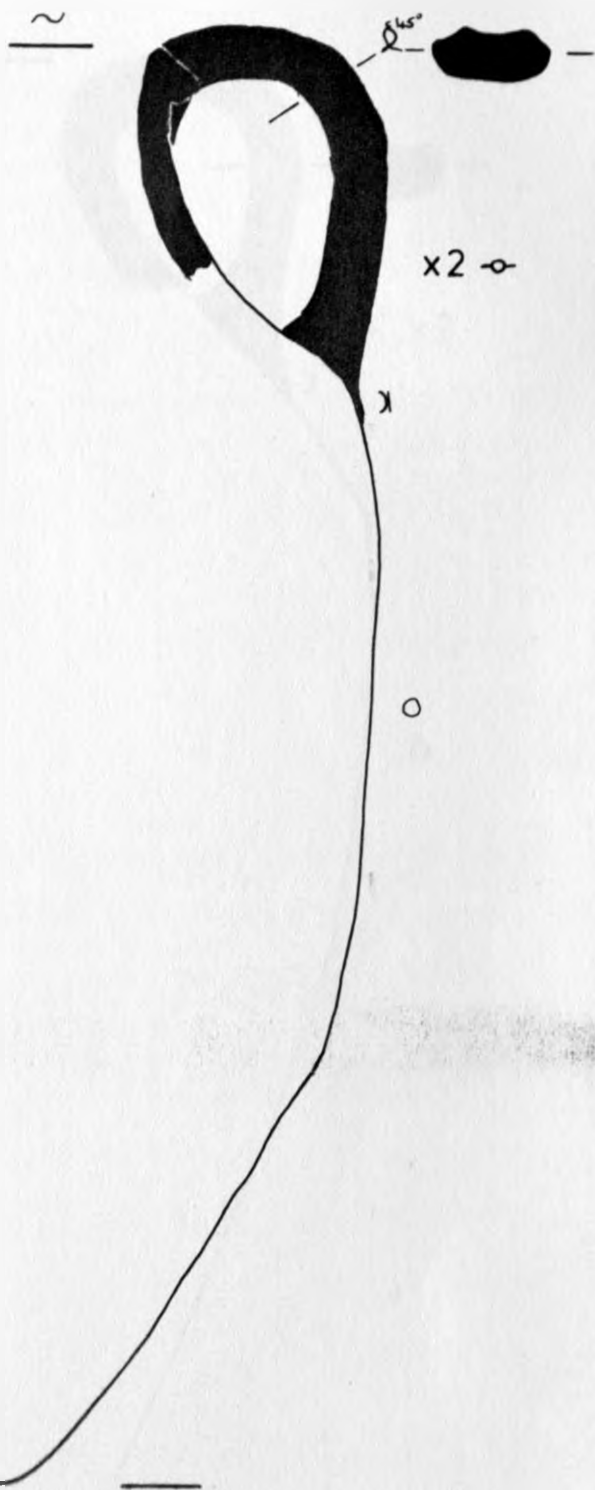
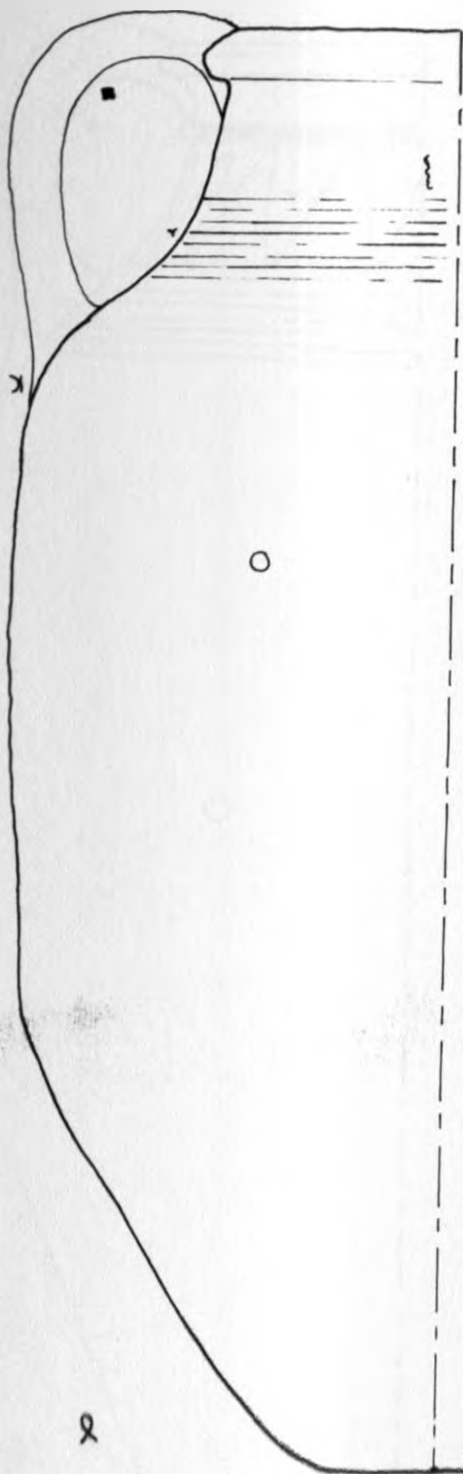
Cream



1:3

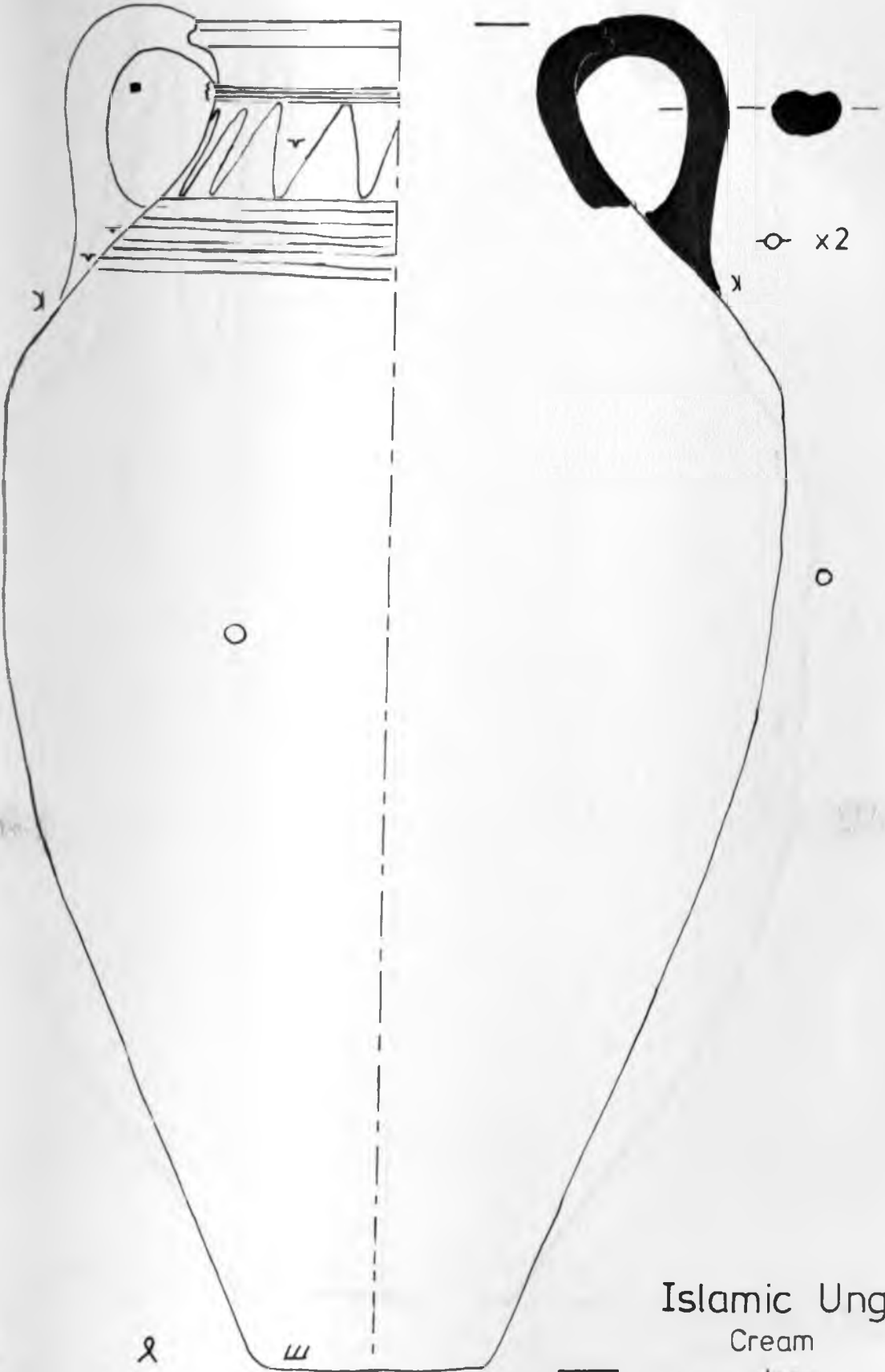
Islamic Unglazed
Jar

Cream

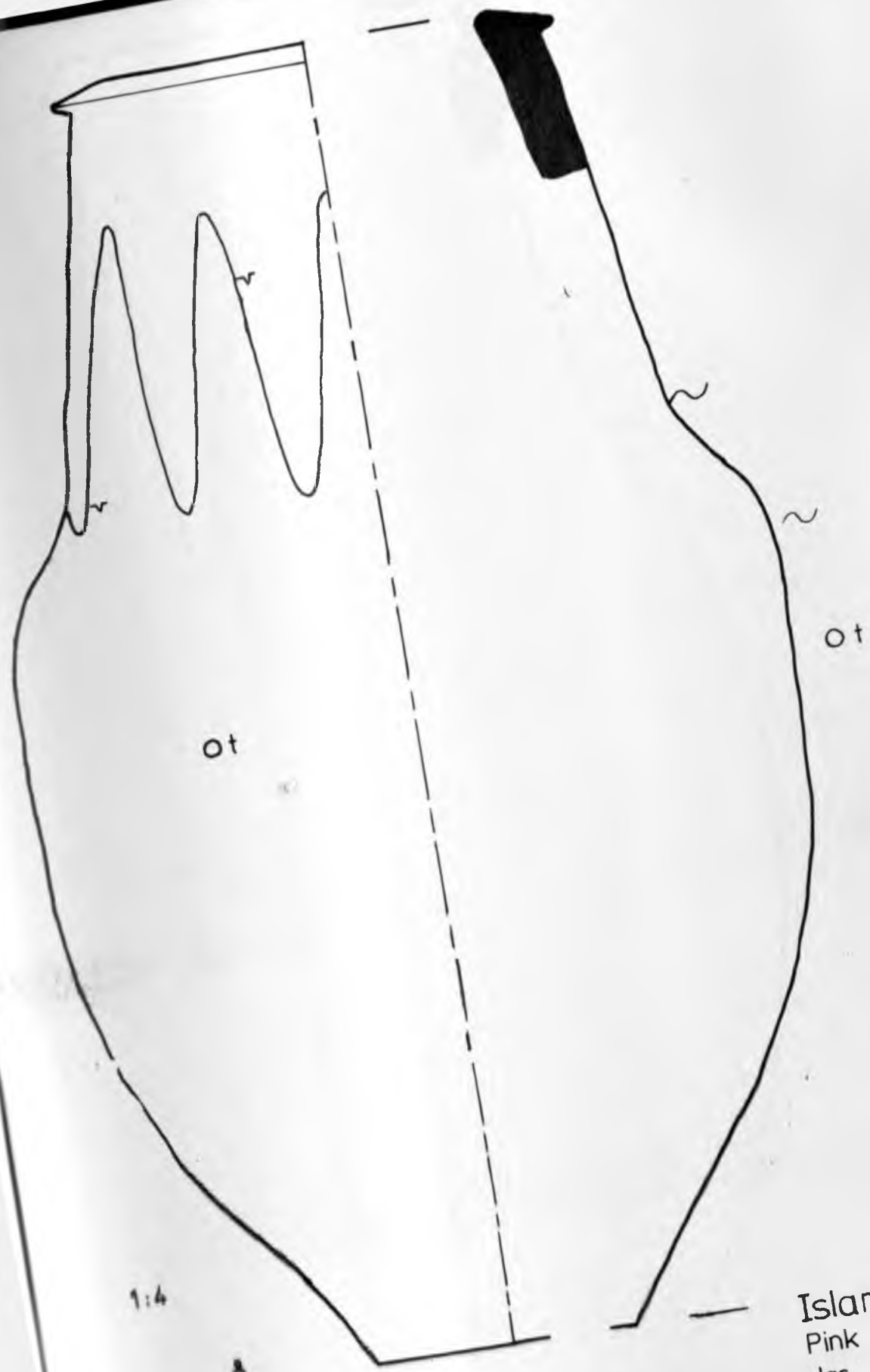


1:4

Islamic Unglazed
Cream
Jar



Islamic Unglazed
Cream
Jar



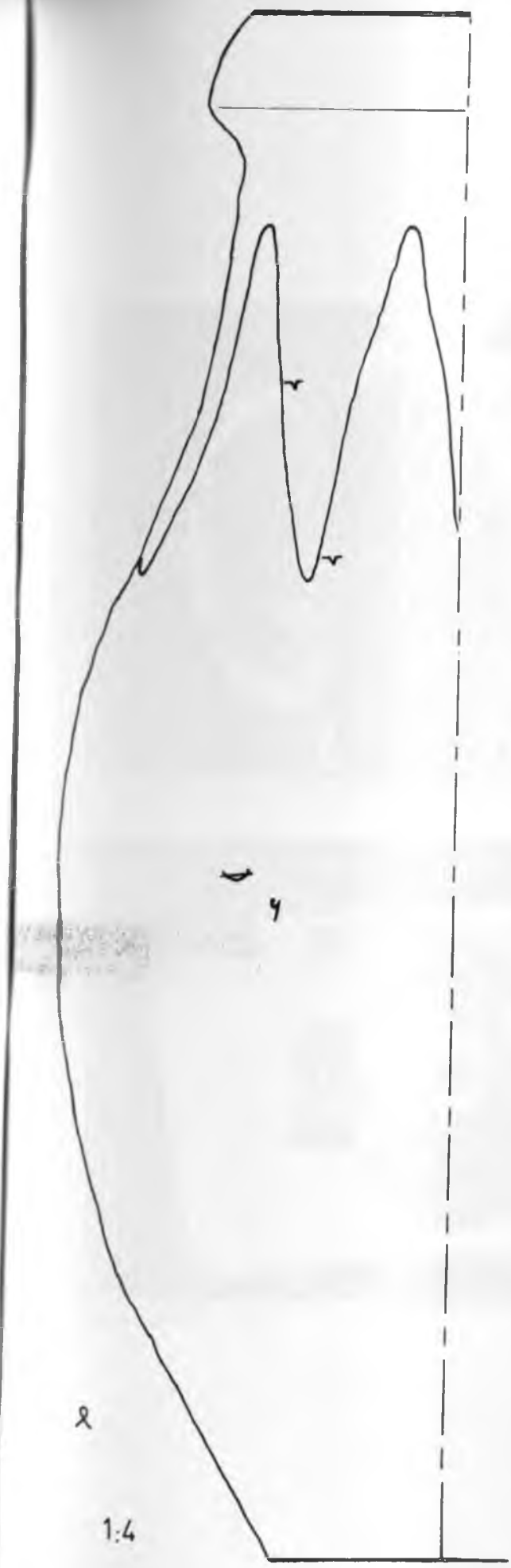
ot

ot

1:4

A

Islamic Unglazed
Pink
Jar



Islamic Unglazed
Pink
Jar



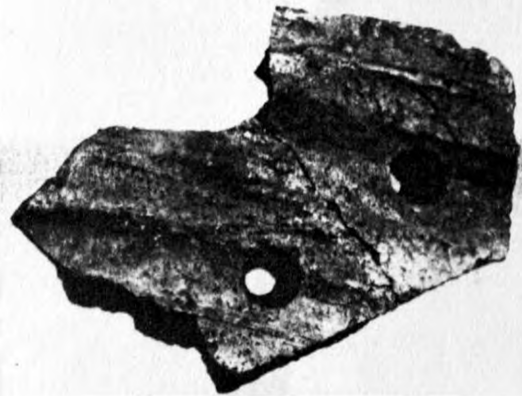
PI 117



Siraf Pink Jar



2



3

Islamic Unglazed
Wares

Pink

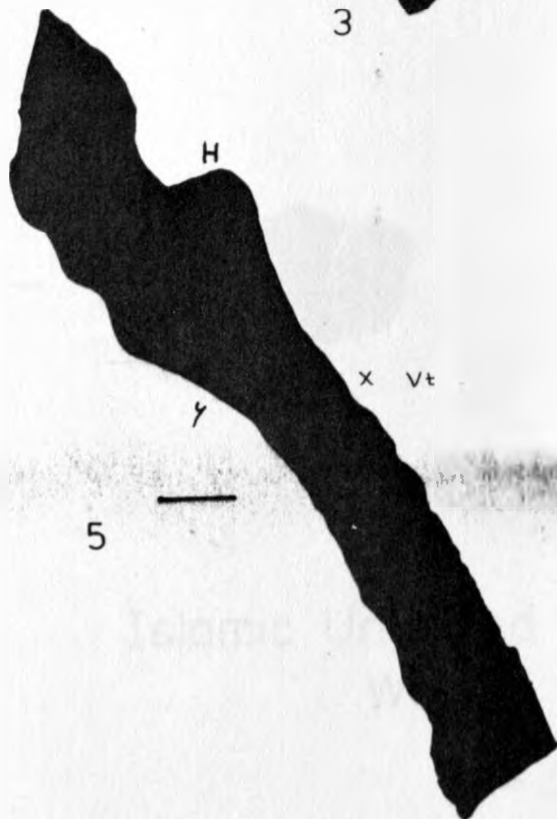
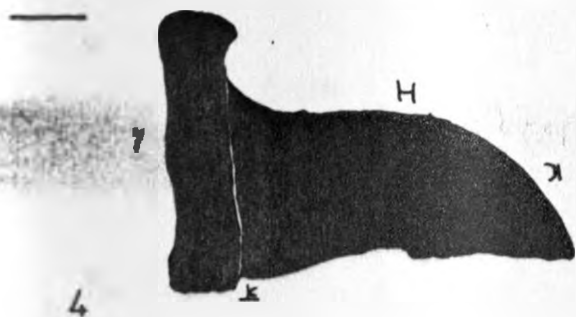


1:2

Islamic Unglazed Pink Jar body



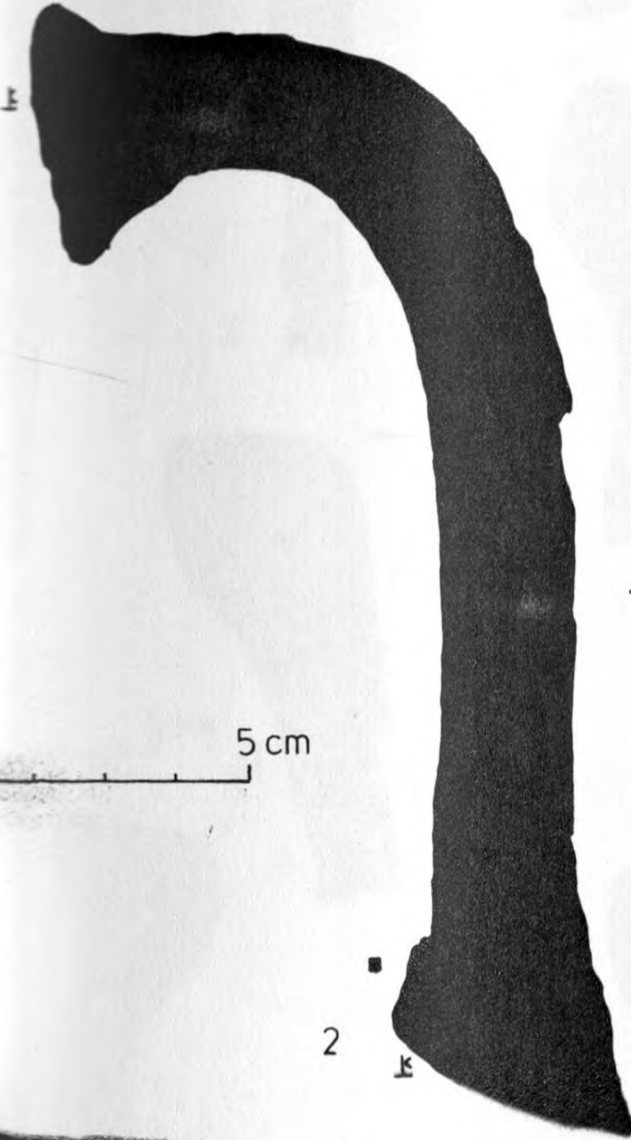
0 5cm



Islamic Unglazed Wares

Pink

λ



5 cm

2



1



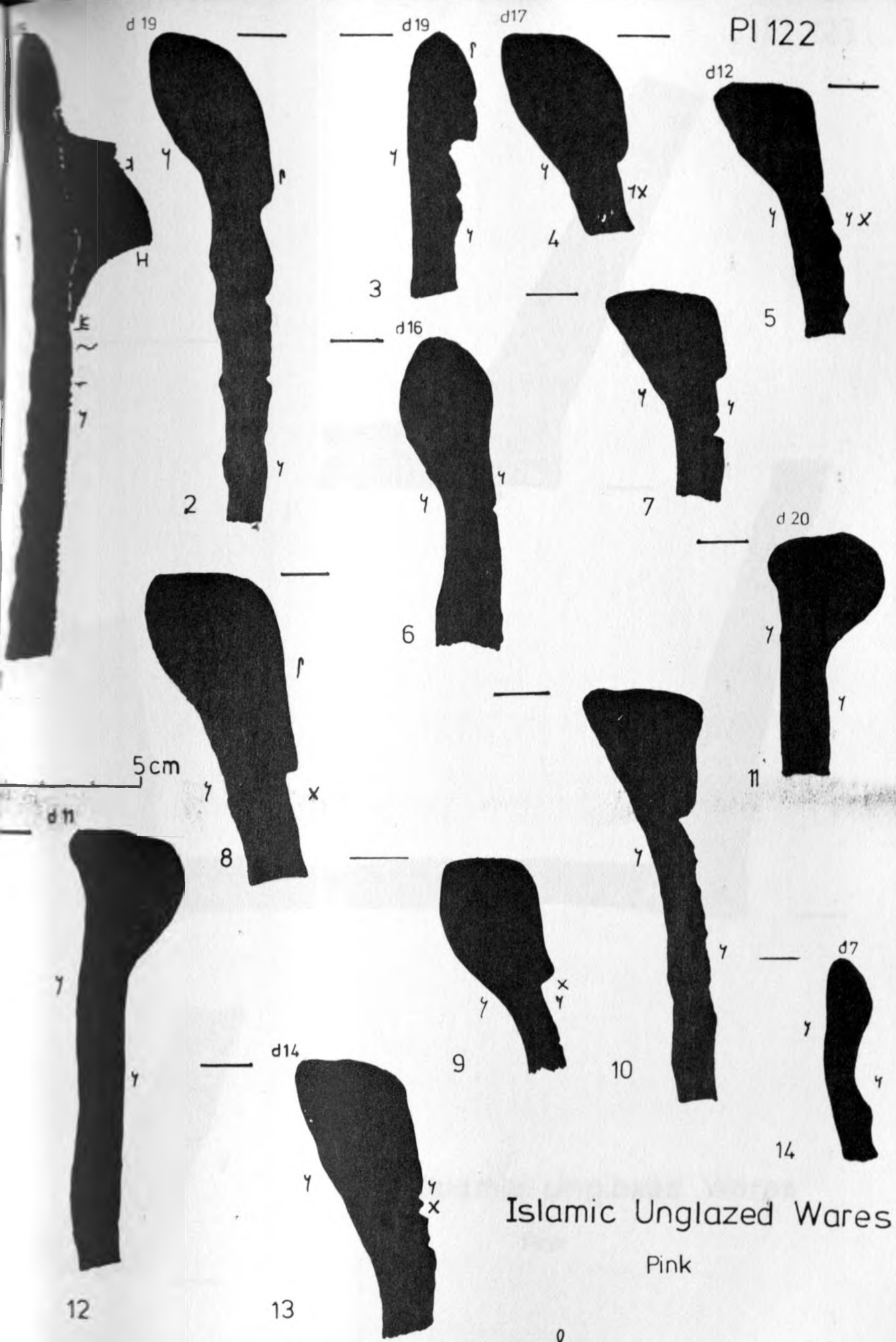
Islamic Unglazed Wares

Pink



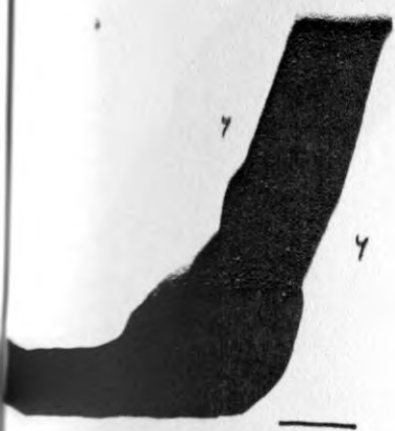
3





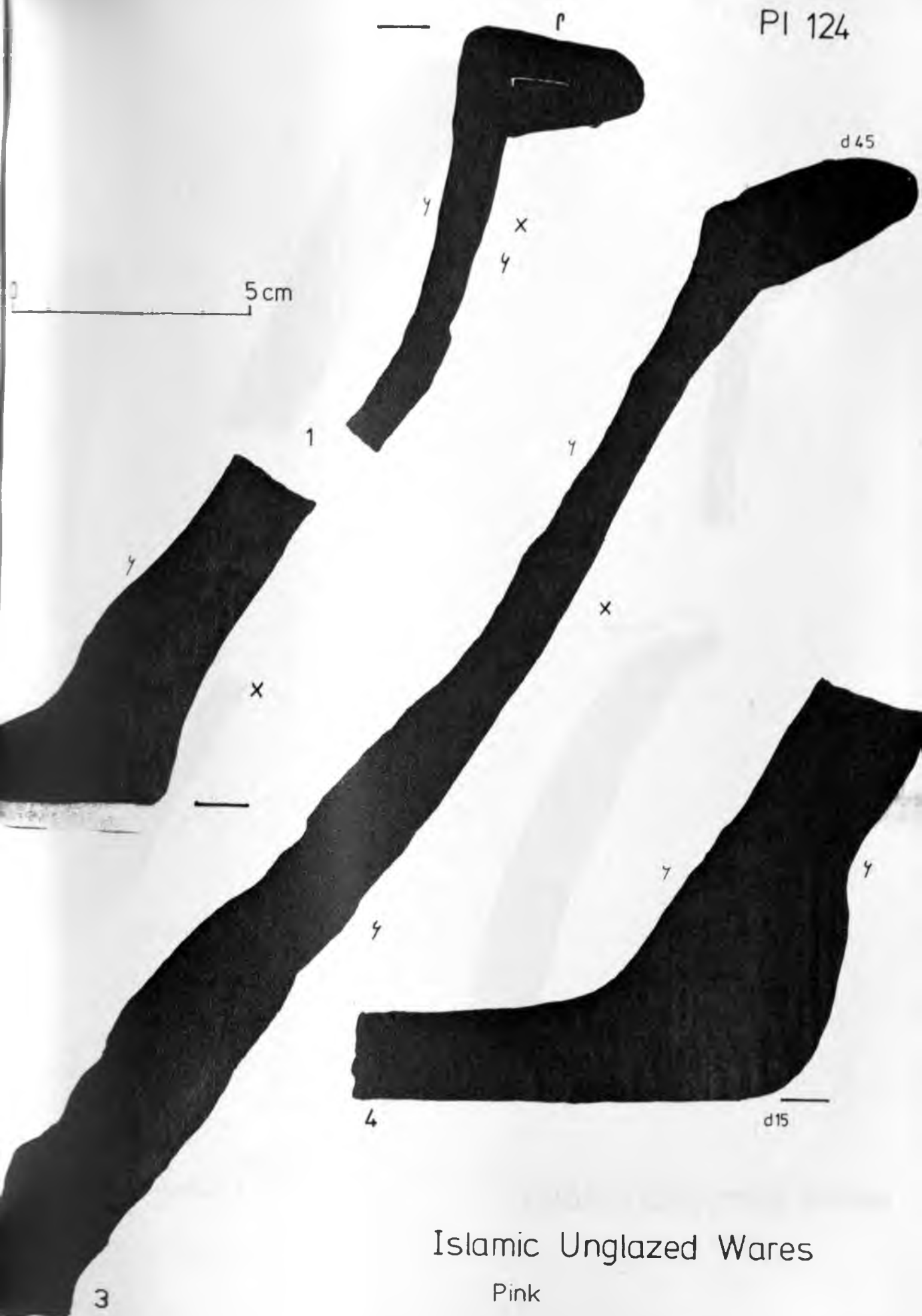
Islamic Unglazed Wares
Pink

0 5cm



Islamic Unglazed Wares

Pink



Islamic Unglazed Wares

Pink

Basins

d48



d12



d44



3

d47



2



5

5 cm

Islamic Unglazed Wares

Pink



1



2



3



4



5

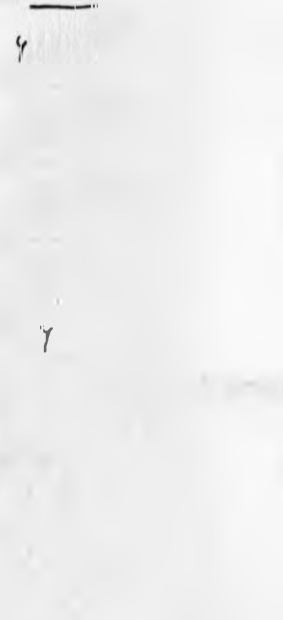
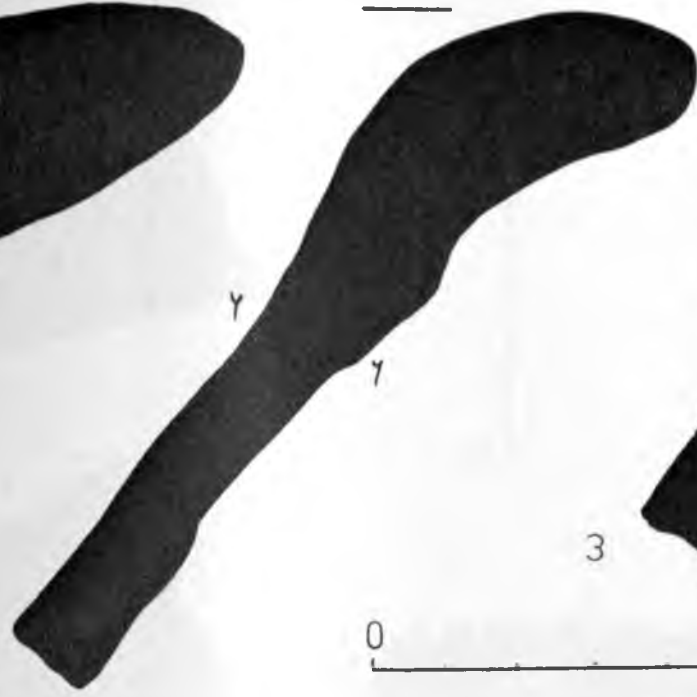


6



7

Islamic Unglazed
Wares &
Pink
Jars



d 20

d 24

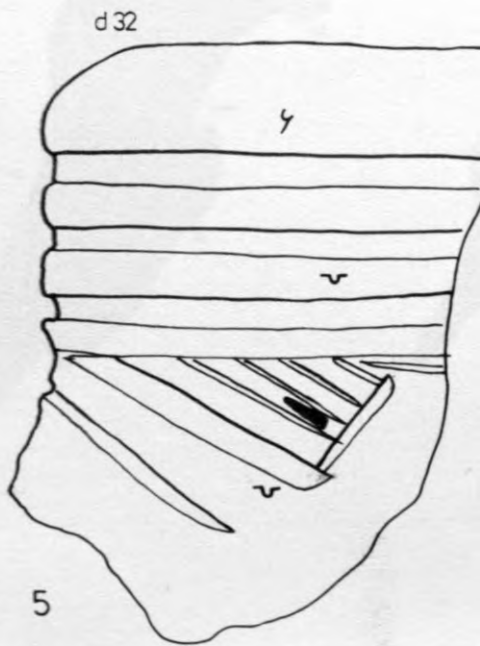
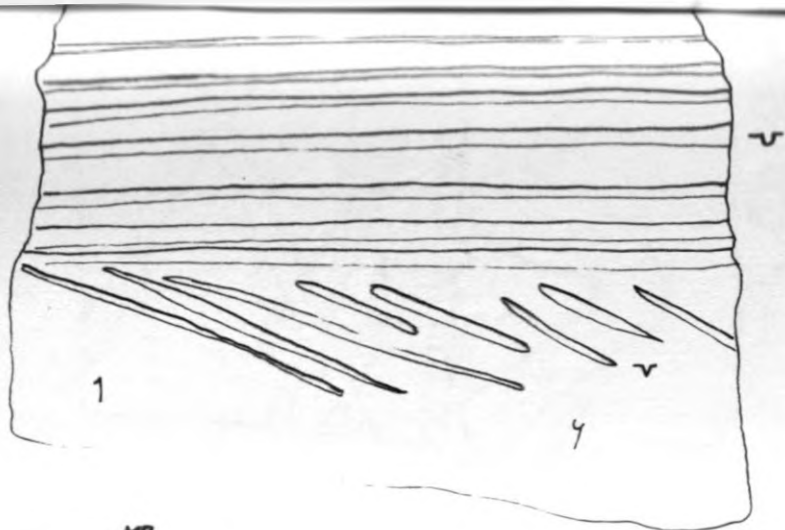


Islamic Unglazed Wares

Pink Basins

7

8





0 5 cm

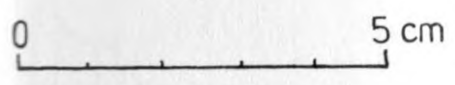
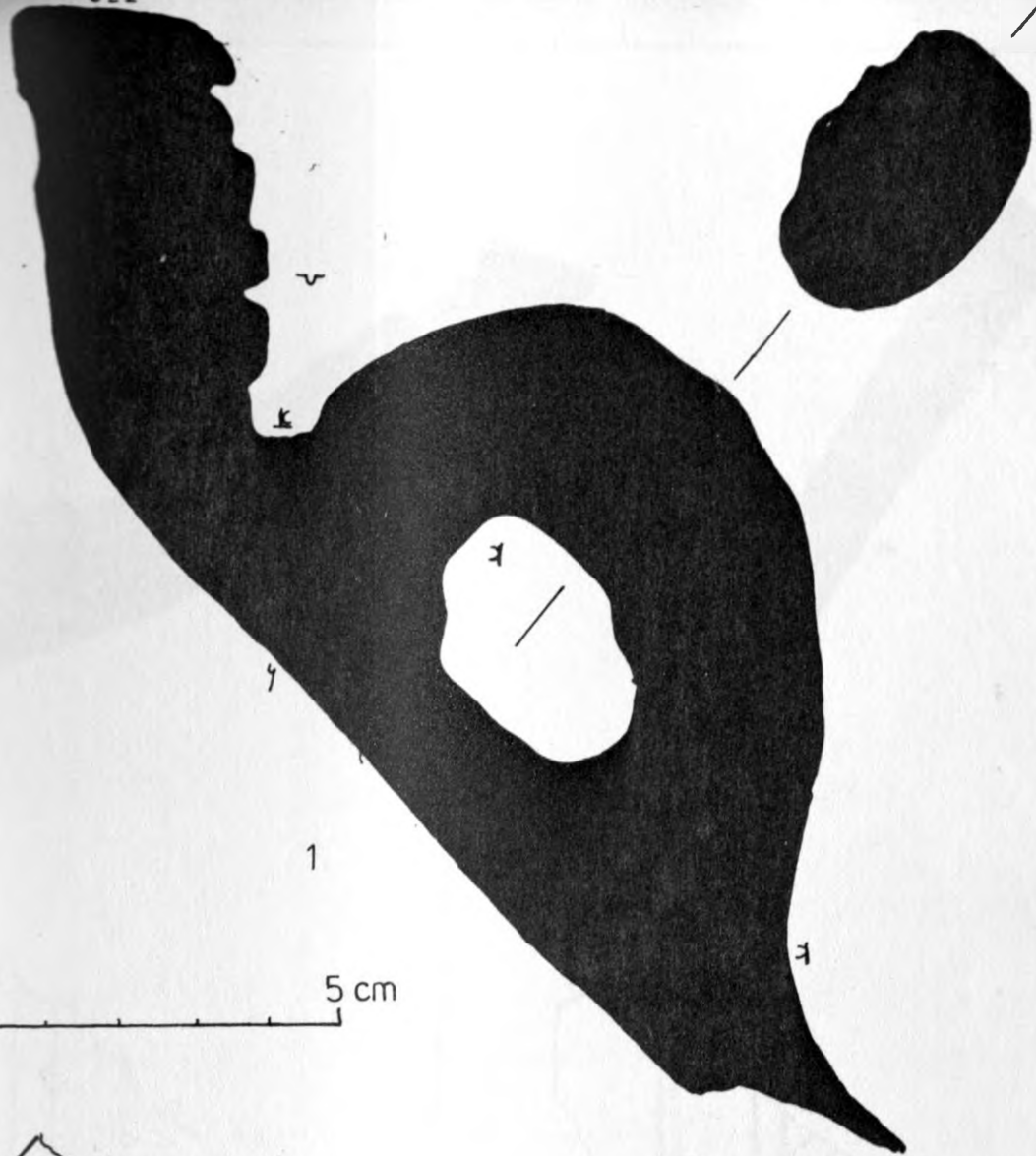
A horizontal scale bar with a '0' at the left end and '5 cm' at the right end. There are four tick marks between the 0 and 5 cm marks.

Islamic Unglazed
Wares

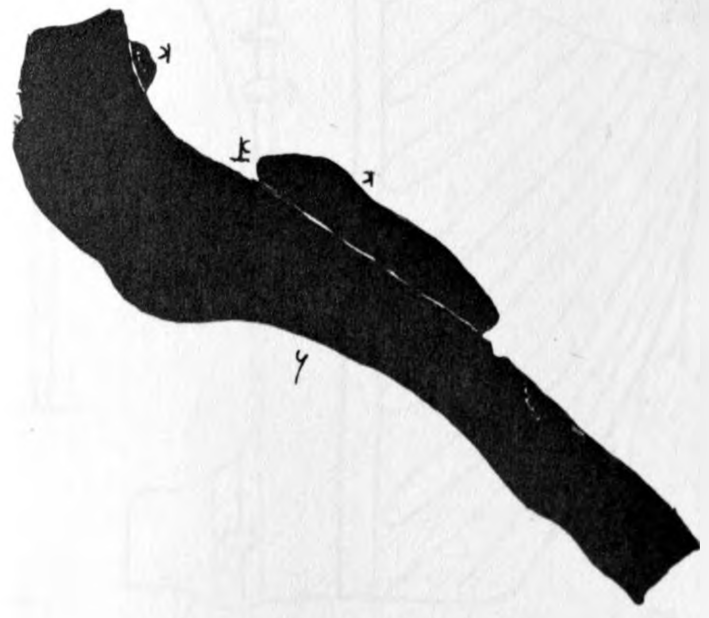
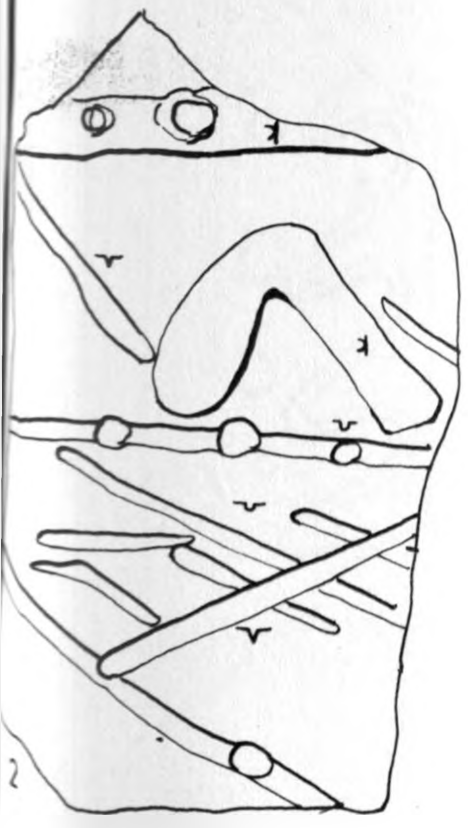
⊗

Pink

Jar rims



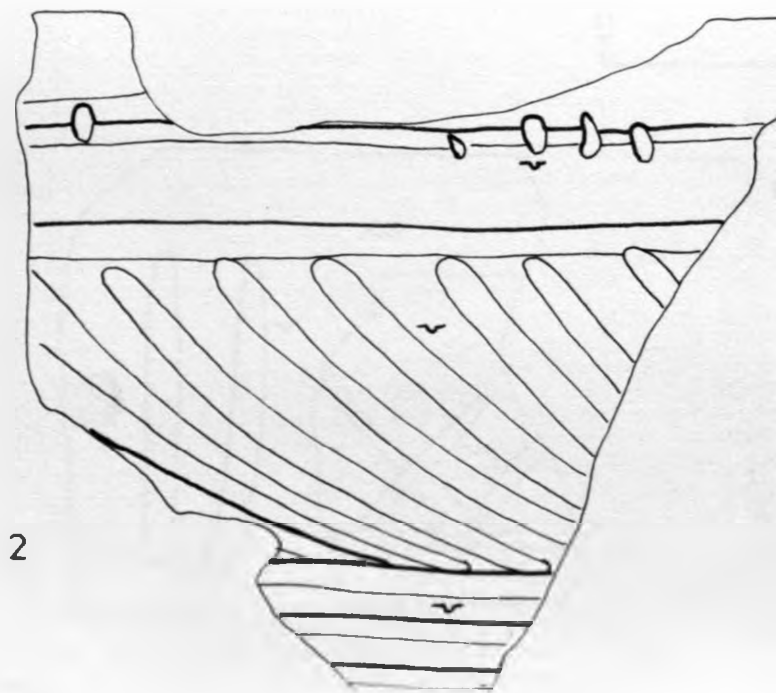
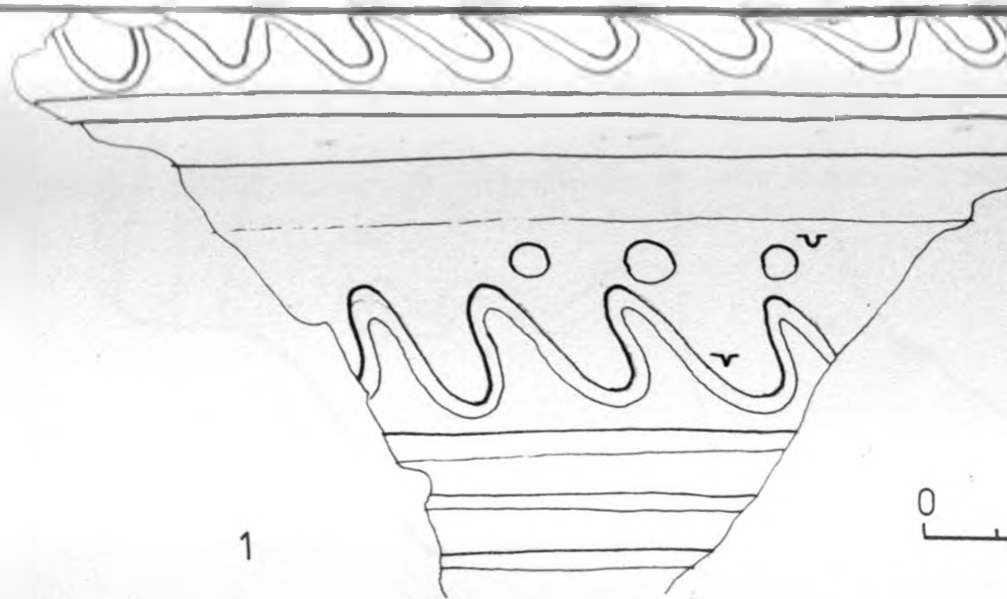
1



Islamic Unglazed Ware:
Pink

Jars

2



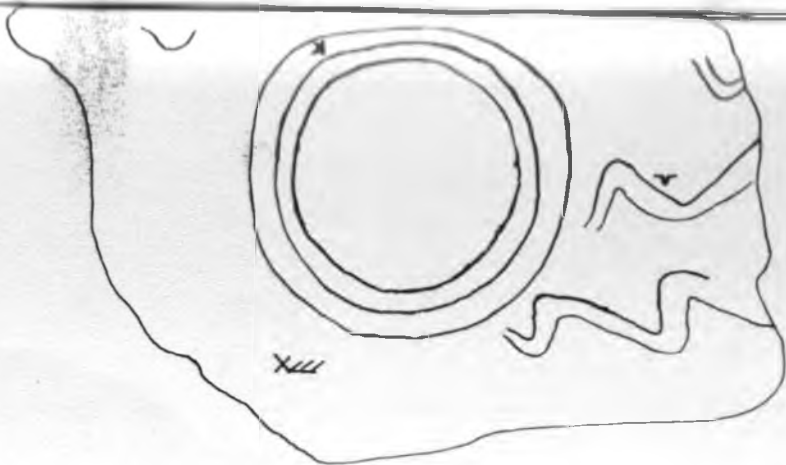


Islamic Unglazed Wares

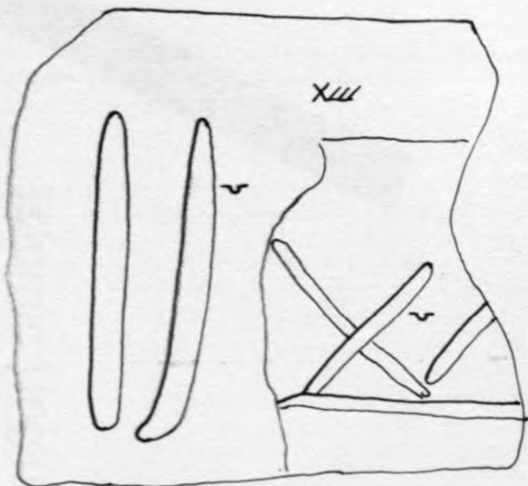
Pink



1



0 5cm

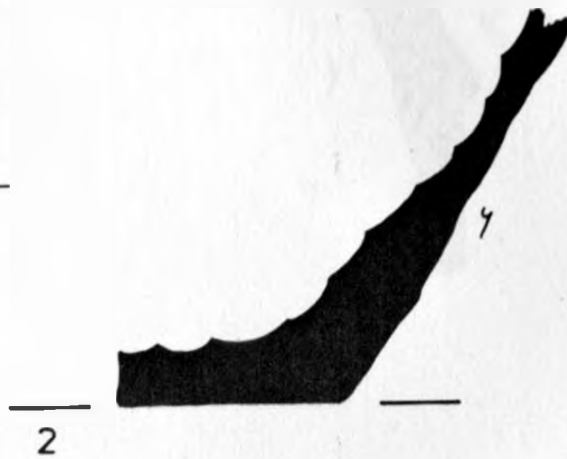


2

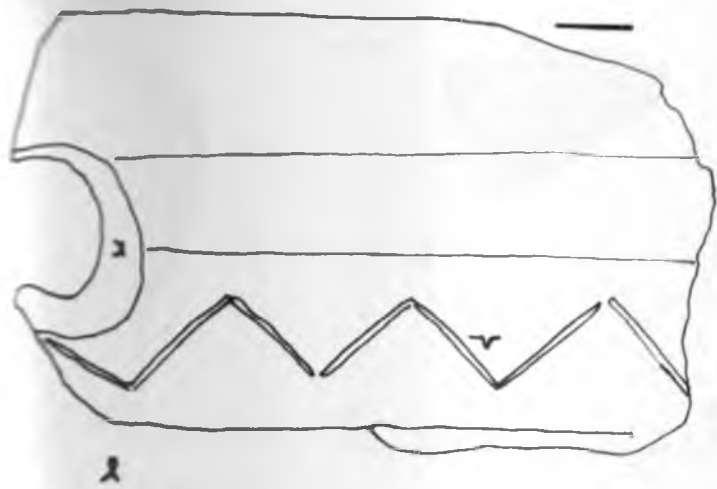


3

Islamic Unglazed Wares
Stridly Pink



Islamic Unglazed
 Wares
 Pink
 Bases

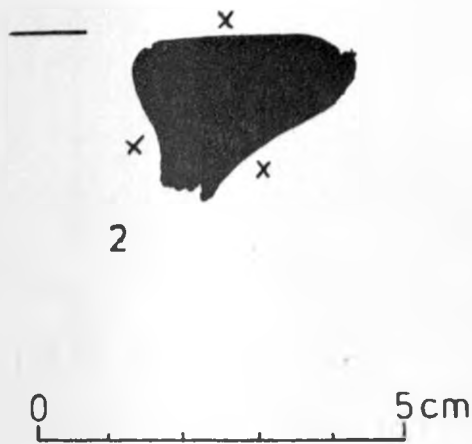


Islamic Unglazed Wares

2

Pink and Grey

d12



d16



d36



5

d 26



6

7

7

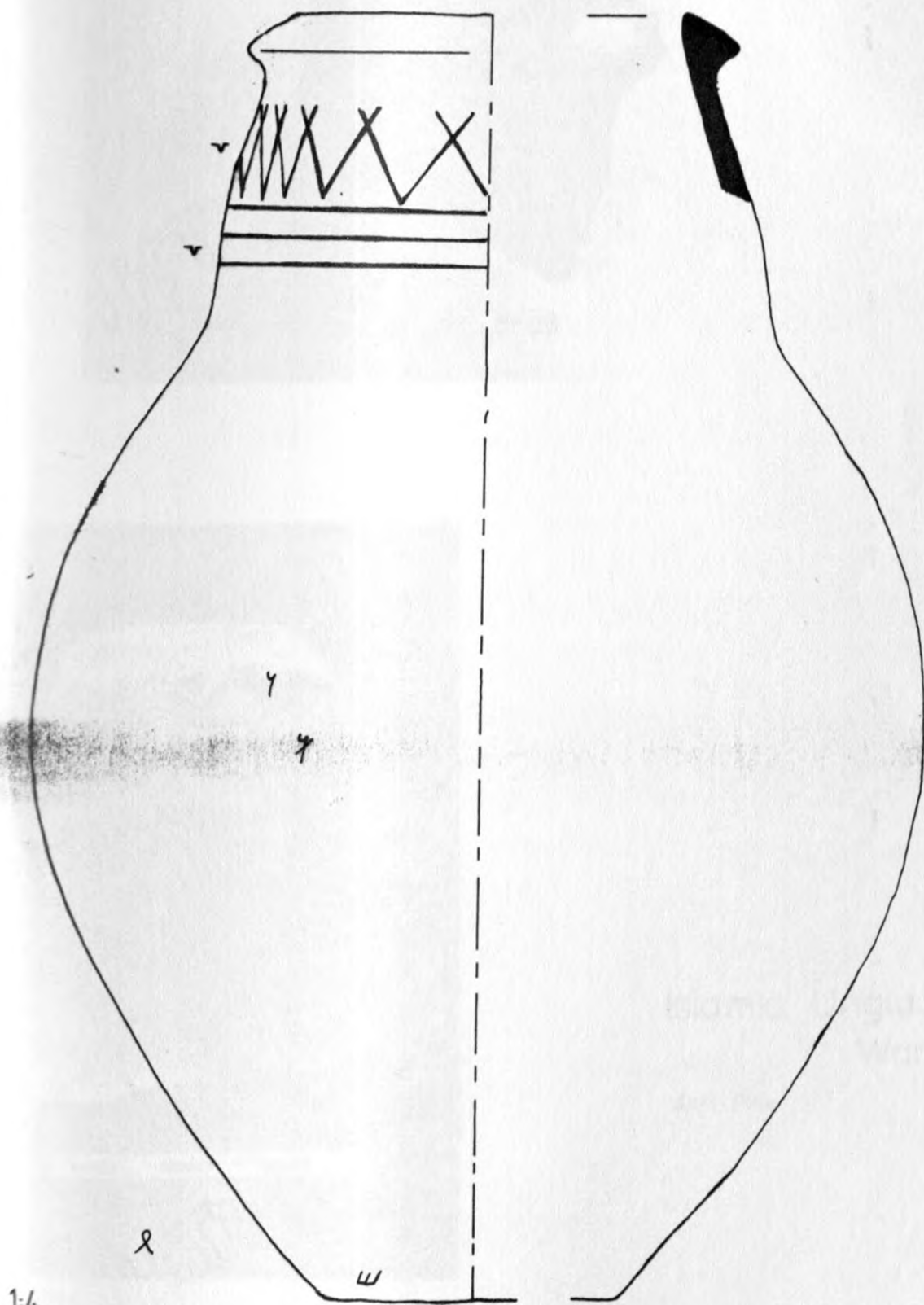


Islamic Unglazed Wares

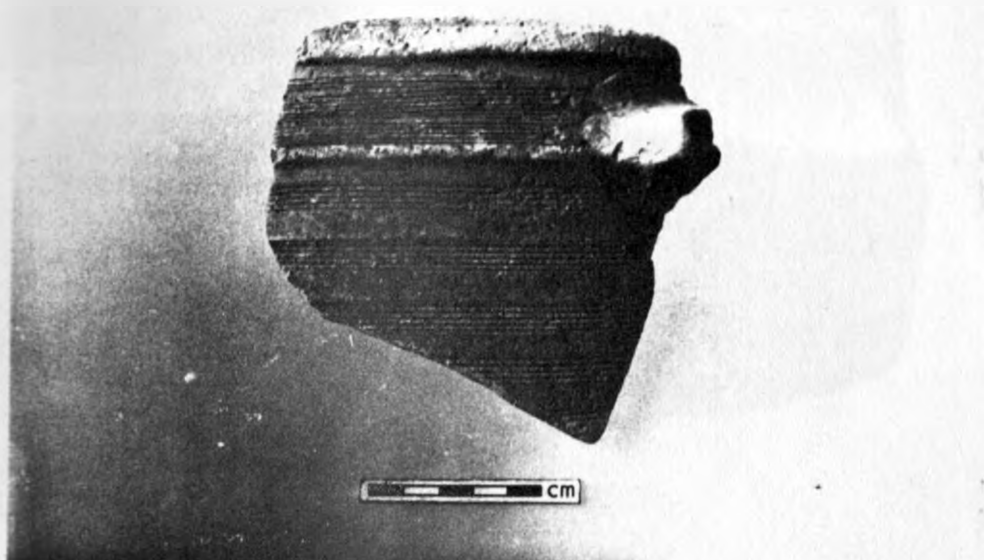
Pink

Jars,
Basins

λ



Islamic Unglazed
Pink
Jar



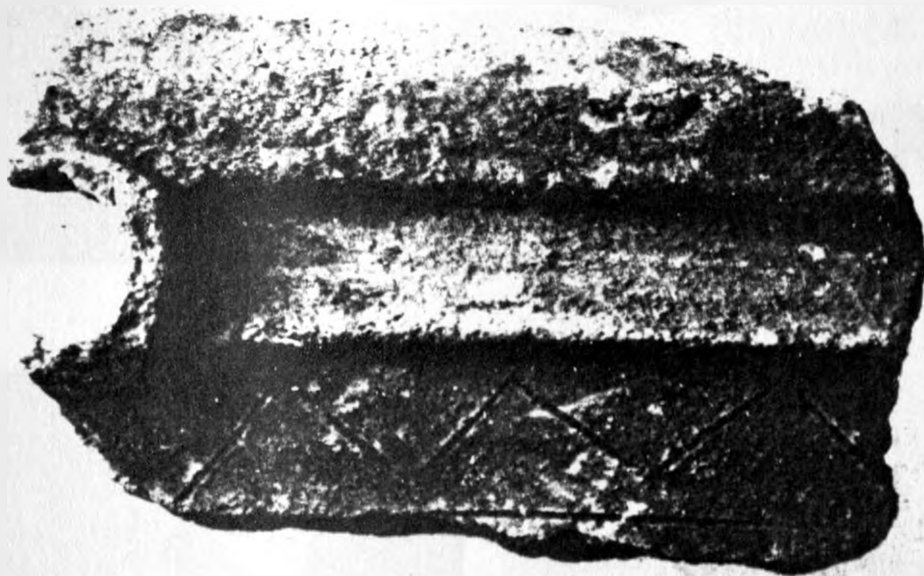
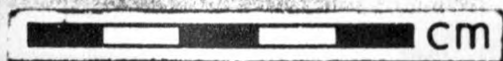
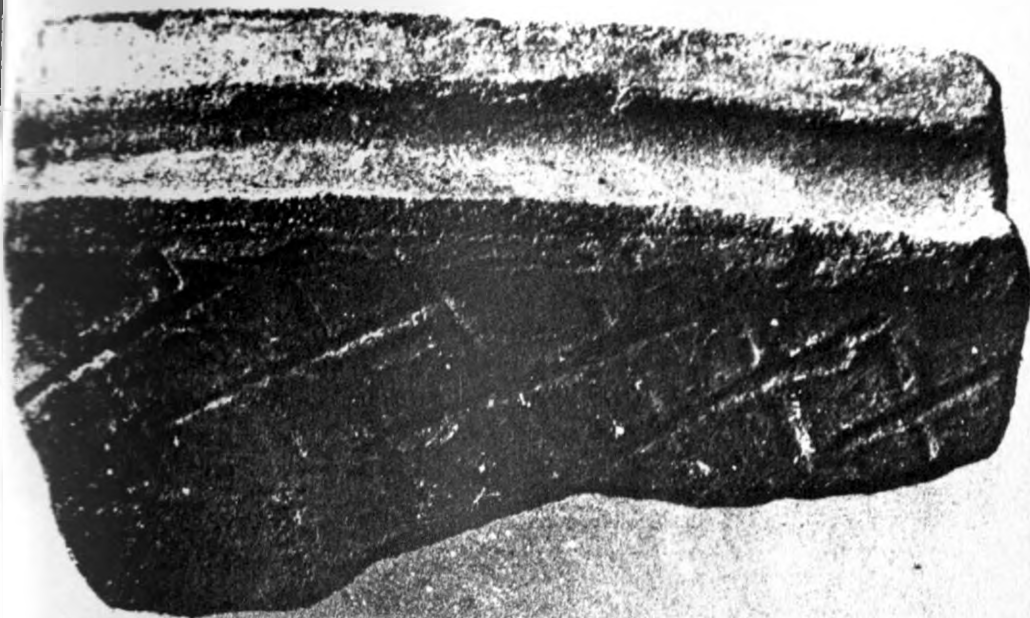
1

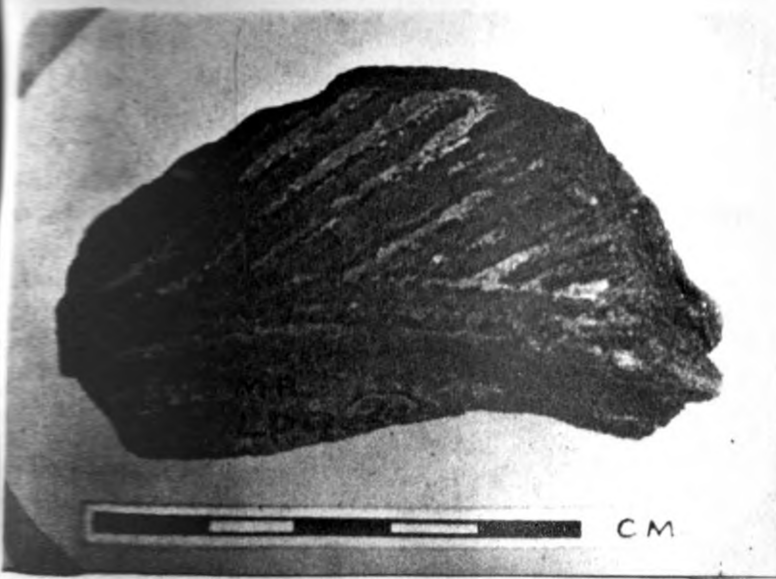


Islamic Unglazed
Wares

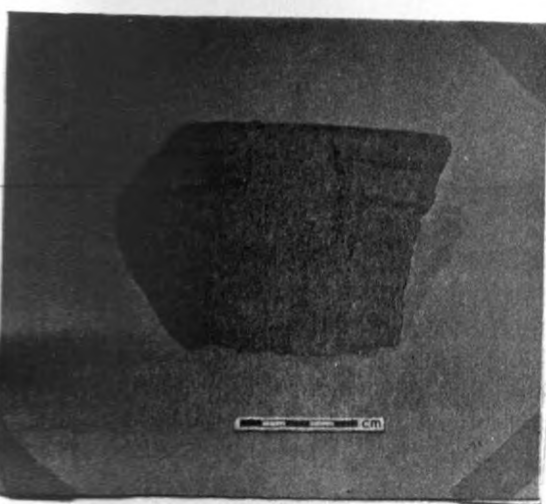
Soft Pink

2





1



3

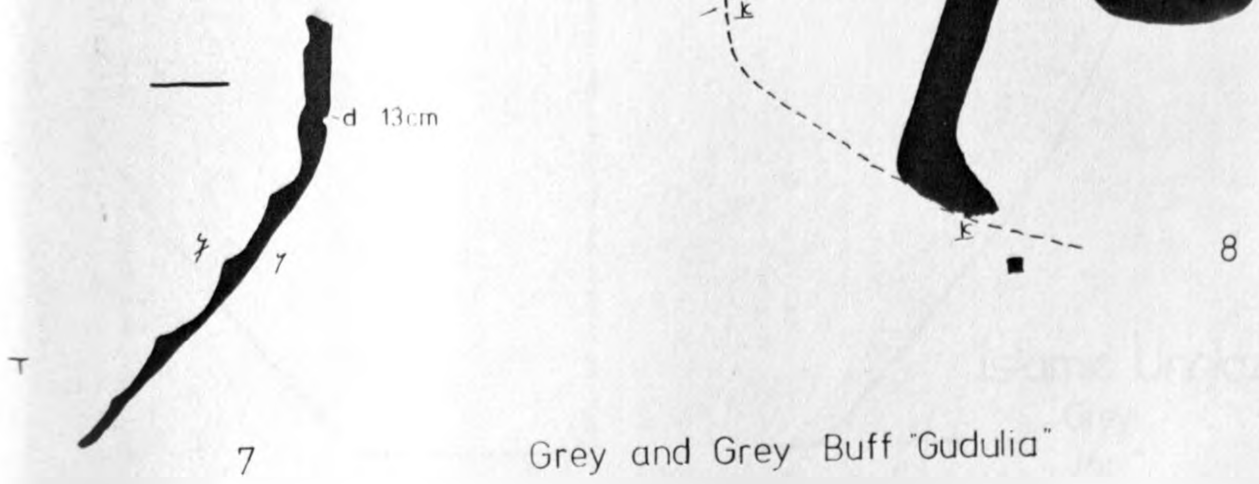
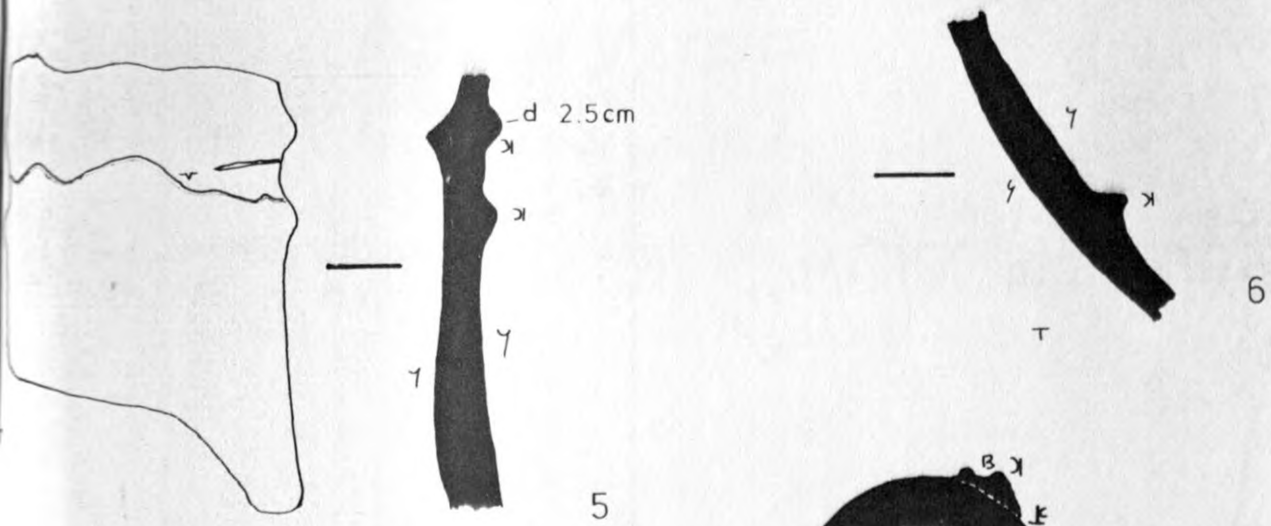
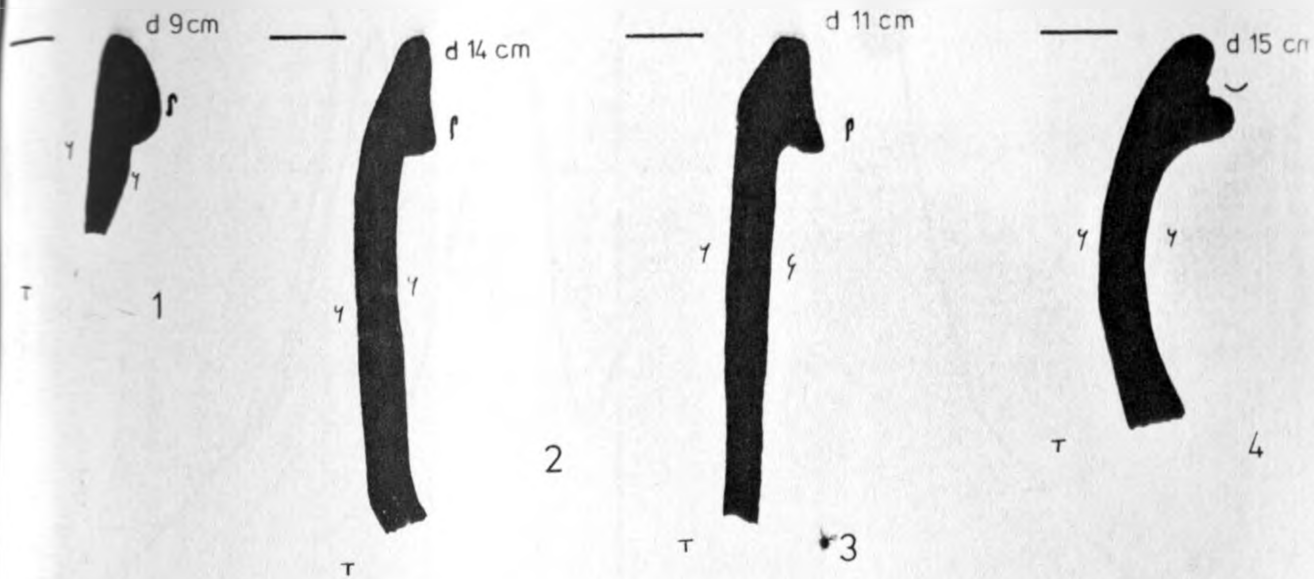


2



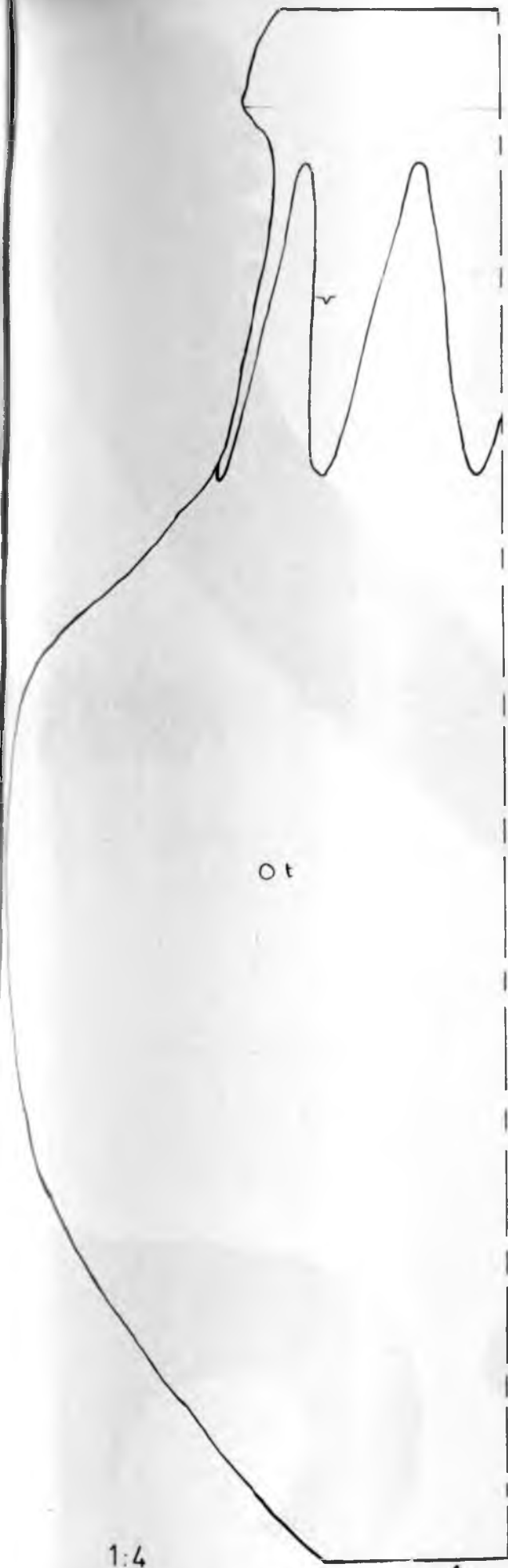
4

White Slipped
Islamic
Earthenware



Grey and Grey Buff "Gudulia"

5cm Scale



1:4

9



9

Ot

Islamic Unglaze

Grey
Jar

9



0 5 cm

Islamic Unglazed Wares
Grey



3

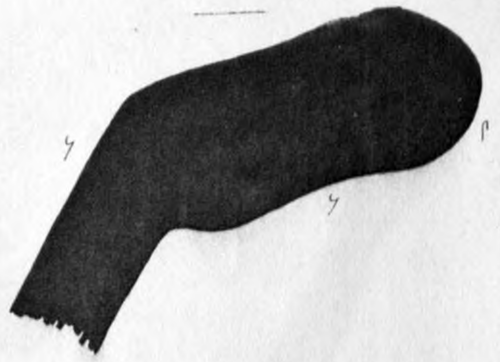
⊗

d 47

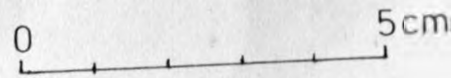


1

d 46



2



d 29

3

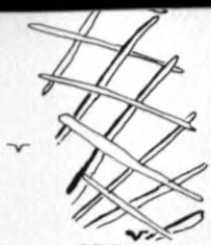
Islamic Unglazed Wares
Grey

Basins

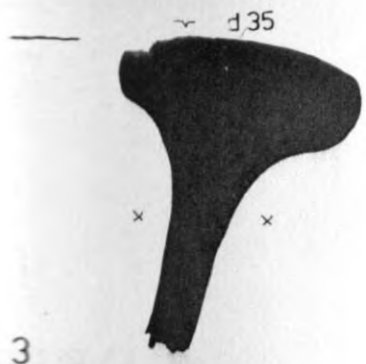
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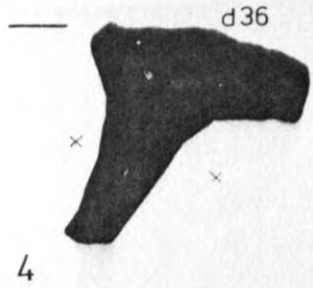
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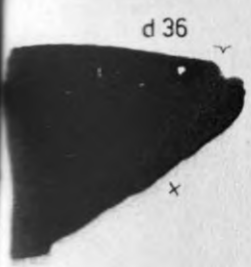
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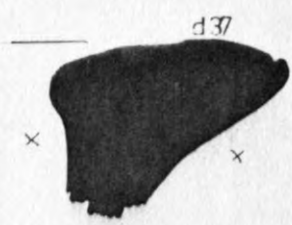
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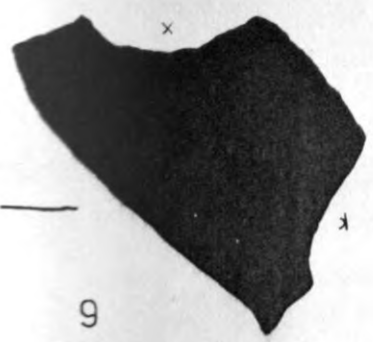
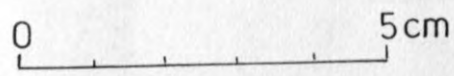
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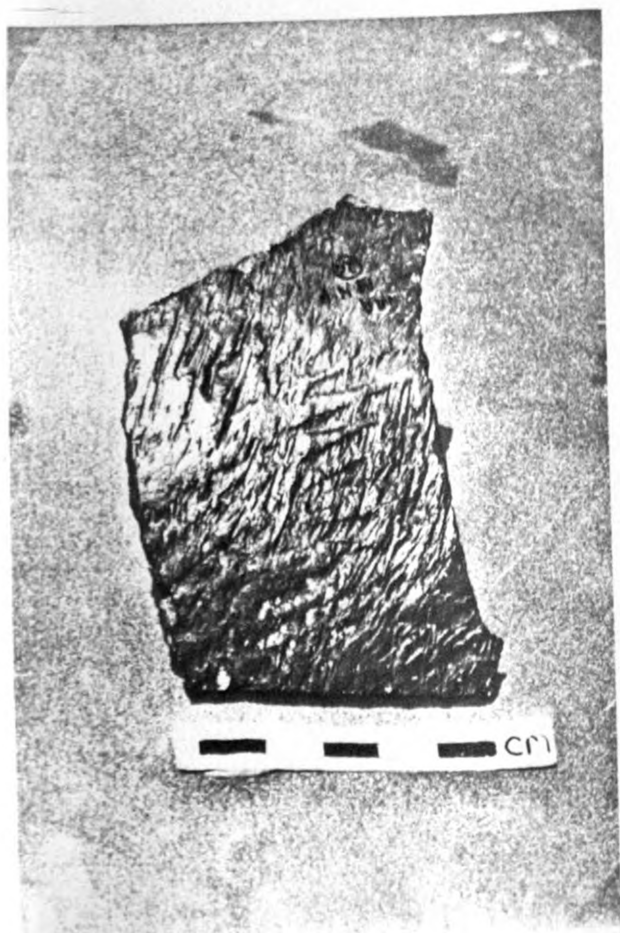
d 9

Islamic Unglazed Ware
White slipped Grey

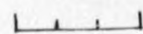




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3



Curiosities

FAR EASTERN POTTERY

The production of the great white porcelain was...
 by... The... FAR EASTERN POTTERY... Chinese...
 period between the... and the...
 being... George... This involved a...
 as the...

"I had in Ar Ray a friend, a merchant from Isfahan,
 who was my host in his house. There I saw all that was
 in it in the way of vases, sugar basins, wash basins,
 plates, jugs and drinking cups - nay, even ewers, cups,
 censers, lamp stands and lamp holders and other utensils,
 all made of China porcelain and I was amazed at his good
 taste in all that elegance..."

Al Biruni. Al Jumahir fi Ma'rifat al Jawahir. ¹

1. Trans. Krankow, F. "The Oldest Western Accounts of
 Chinese Porcelain." Islamic Culture (Hyderabad) vii,
 1933, p. 465.

FAR EASTERN WARES

The mechanisms of the trade with the Far East are relatively clear. The north and north-eastern Chinese material in the period between the eighth and the ninth centuries was already being exported through Canton. This involved a mule porterage up the Gan Valley and over the Mei-ling pass, reaching the Peh River at or a little downstream of Shiu-Kuan. It is not clear whether the pottery was transhipped onto barges, or brought the rest of the way down to Canton by mule.

It is odd that there seems to be few references to export through Ning-Po or Hangchow, or even Wen Chou; although these were certainly in action. After the sack of Canton in 878 and Huang Ch'ao's assumption of control of much of the southern provinces, the northern ports seem still to have exported a little. When in 971 the Inspectorate of Maritime Trade was set up at Canton, the bulk of the trade seems to have reverted to Canton.

The exports from China in this early period are well known, precious and semi-precious metals (presumably of little interest to the East Africans), cash (when it could be obtained), silk and porcelain. The silk at least was also a prime export on the overland route through Samarkand. It seems that some Chinese stonewares and porcelains may have been exported along this route also. A little certainly reached Iran this way. However it seems unlikely that this route could ever have been so important to the East African trade or to the Mesopotamian and West Persian potters

as the pottery from the holds of the Sirafi and Indian ships.

Regular direct sailings to Canton or the other Far Eastern ports are unlikely. Almost certainly this pottery came to the Persian Gulf and parts of the cargo came on from there after transshipment. There seems to be no early indication as to whether the pottery was ordered from East Africa and transhipped in the Gulf, whether it was forwarded for speculative sale, or whether it was picked up on a more random basis as a minor part of the main cargo. Certainly by the end of the fourteenth century the massive rise in quantity of Far Eastern ceramics puts this pottery into the same bulk import category as the Gulf wares. Before that, the small quantities of a limited range of export wares from China suggests that the third possibility was the most likely.

A good deal of transshipment took place at ports around the Malay Peninsula, particularly at Kalah. Al Mas'udi gives the route as: Siraf, Muscat, Kalam (Qillon - Malabar) The Nicobars, Kalah and Canton.¹ For much of the period under review the Sirafi ships may well have normally stopped in the Malay peninsula at Kalah and used Kalah as an entrepot much as Ayuthia was used by the Dutch towards the end. It is known that on occasions at least, the Sirafis sailed the Chinese coast - but the impression given is that they were not in a position directly to dictate their needs in pottery, picking up or leaving merely what the Chinese chose to offer. This peripheral and unspecialised aspect of the trade changes dramatically when the Dutch and Portuguese

begin more directly to select and even leave orders to their own specifications with the Chinese.

The revolution was not only in the commerce; it was also in the industry. Hobson makes an amusing observation on this: "These foreign orders were not always an unmixed blessing to the Chinese potters, for the European merchants rejected the goods for the smallest blemish and those left on the potters' hands being in foreign style, were unsaleable in China."² The Chinese potters may well have winced a little at the detailed instructions to produce vessels they cannot always have approved of: the more so at the sight of the wood or clay models which sometimes accompanied the orders. The East African market clearly did not subject the Chinese potters to such humiliations of good trade. It appears to have been strictly a passive receiving market.

The course of the competition in the Indian Ocean carrying trade between the Gulf, Indian and European merchant fleets is surprisingly ill understood; modern and documented though it is. The rapid rise in the quality of imported Indian wares does not come until after the middle of the seventeenth century.³ It seems little to do with the whereabouts or commercial interests of the Portuguese.

Prior to the fifteenth century it might be assumed that the Far Eastern material came by way of the Persian Gulf. The contribution of the Portuguese in bringing pottery from the Far East via Goa was great, though there is little enough to quantify the

carrying trade they took. They had certainly revolutionised the scope and volume of the Far Eastern pottery trade. As de Cardi has put it, using 'Umani evidence "On the Batina coast, Chinese ceramics were notably scarce and very little blue and white porcelain was found near Kalba, Khawr, Fakkan or Dibba, all centres which had carried on a flourishing trade with India before the advent of the Portuguese."⁴ They had, as in the 'Umani case, changed the emphases and even the routes within the Indian Ocean network.

It is ~~tempting to see~~ ^{may be that} the rise in volume of Far Eastern material ~~is~~ ^{is} associated with the known predominance of the Portuguese in the Far East carrying trade and in the Indian Ocean ports other than on the Arabian coast. It is tempting to see in this rise, a reflection of the historical assertions of Portuguese control of the long distance commerce of East Africa. Two puzzles remain. There is very little Portuguese pottery on the coast at all. European vessels of any kind do not become common until the nineteenth century. This does not support a thesis that the Portuguese traded heavily in pottery: but since it does not deny it either, and since (permitting personal prejudice to emerge), the Portuguese ceramics industry had remarkably little to offer anybody and might be expected not to be exported the absence of European pottery must not be an issue. Secondly, there was in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries a rapid rise not only in the volume of Far Eastern imports, but also of Iranian imports, particularly Islamic Monochrome. This

large amount of Gulf material might suggest that Gulf port vessels still plied Africa, despite the Portuguese control of the eastern and part of the western shores of the Indian Ocean. The Portuguese sweeping of the seas may well be overstated and these Gulf vessels may well still have been able to dust the African ports. The Gulf fleets were certainly able to retain some of the trade, and this doubtless reflected in the Monochrome ware. Nevertheless the Portuguese seem well in control of the bulk of the trade, particularly the Far Eastern pottery. They seem to have failed in taking all trade out of Arab and Persian hands, but to have left contacts with India firmer and more significant in the East African trade: a pattern retained to the present day.

This move, after the fifteenth century, of Far Eastern imports, out of Persian and Arab bottoms into those of the Portuguese and the Dutch was reinforced by the British colonial presence in India; and by the predominance of British, French and American boats in the nineteenth century carrying trade. By the nineteenth century Guillain was able to observe: "La majeure partie de la porcelain est d'origine chinoise: elle arrive presque entierement par Bombay, dont l'exportation annuelle de cet article, pour la cote d'Afrique, represente une valeur d'environ 12,000 roupies; il vient aussi un peu de porcelain de Chine par navires americains."⁵

Any account of Chinese Ceramics in archaeological circumstances seems fraught with problems of nomenclature. Although

in the past few years a great deal of important work has been done by Chinese archaeologists in identifying kiln sites, specifying technological features and noting fabrics and shapes, the situation is still confusing. The problems of simple chronology are also confusing. It has been recognised for some time that chronological observations using dynastic markers are ill advised. They bear little relation to technological changes and are suspect as indications of formal change. Nevertheless, for the moment they provide useful shorthand markers of time, despite their obvious limitations. All these factors make Chinese Ceramics an enthralling subject, but create obvious nightmares for the archaeologist dealing with Far Eastern imports.

This set of notes attempts to bring to bear to the descriptions, material seen in museums and private collections, published works of an art historical nature and the very few reports of Far Eastern Wares in archaeological circumstances.

The translations of Wen Wu, while often only abstracts, are nevertheless of immense value and one looks forward anxiously to the time when the Chinese work is published in an European language in full.

FAR EASTERN PAINTED POLYCHROME

A small group of sherds was found from bowls of standard size with everted rims. The bases are excavated with straight shallow footrings. The glaze is very thinly applied, has a fine crackle and is transparent, offering a pale brownish olive colour over the pinkish white base. The fabric is hard, compact and tempered with grog and the occasional large piece of quartzite. It is well levigated and is coloured a pale cream with a pinkish tinge. The glaze extends all over the interior and to about the mid-point of the lower body on the outside. Whitehouse observes that "it is likely that all the bowls were slipped although the slip is invisible on some of the buff-grey fragments."⁶ The proviso is the case at Manda. The slip is not visible on any sherd of this ware, although there is some evidence for careful wet smoothing of the surface. The bases are unglazed. The interior is painted with abstract or floral motifs in green (greyish olive green/ moderate olive green, strong yellowish brown and dark to moderate blue.⁷ One sherd also has a very dark brown splash spot. In no case is there a sherd large enough to display a pattern of the kind clear on the bowl illustrated by Whitehouse.⁸ These bowls are found exclusively in ninth and tenth century levels in Manda, associated with Sasanian Islamic, Siraf Unglazed, Gudulia and Tin Glaze wares. They appear in Period 2a at Siraf, and thus a ninth century date is in order for them there also.⁹ They occur at other

excavations in the Persian Gulf at Daiyir, Bibi Khatun and Susa. The Bibi Khatun finds were from the surface and undatable, but at Daiyir and at Susa the contexts are compatible with a ninth century date. Similar sherds have also been found at Brahminabad and Banbhore. In the case of Brahminabad no date is certain for these sherds, but according to Whitehouse¹⁰ the Banbhore dates for this ware "accords well" with the Siraf date. The origin of the ware is unknown. The glaze is of a feldspathic formula and is most unlikely to be from the Persian Gulf area. The ware is not recognisably mentioned in reports of Far Eastern archaeological sites or in museum collections. The style of the potting, the form of the vessels and the hardness of the paste (Moh's 6-7, nearer 7) all suggest a Far Eastern origin as yet unidentified. There is, as yet, no evidence to permit one to speak of it as specifically Chinese.

CHINESE WHITE AND GREY

The white and grey group is extremely difficult to identify when in sherd form. I confine myself in many cases merely to speculation. In view of the fact that these sherds are so fragmentary they would make good checks for analysis with respect to Sundius' observation that dolomite was added to enhance sintering. This early period of technical development in porcelains is thoroughly fascinating.¹¹

Very clear however are five white porcelain bowls from the T'ang period. The exact dates of these vessels are firmly established. They are in Samarra and Manda in pre-tenth century levels and Feng Hsien Ming found a vessel at Canton with a date of 858 AD. One must assume an earlier date is possible for this T'ang white ware and ascribe a generally ninth century period to its appearance in the Middle East. Two are superbly potted;¹² three are in a hard (7-8 Moh's) white porcelaneous paste with dead white glaze. A fourth is equally dead in tone, but greyish. There is no sign of a slip. One of the sherds is a base with a low bevelled splay footring with a diameter of 5.5 cms.¹³ The base footring and lower exterior body are unglazed. The glaze is patch-crackled and in the crazed areas the dead opaque fatty white becomes tinged with olive and translucent. An indisputable T'ang shape which is faithfully reproduced in Islamic Tin Glazed wares is the open straight rimmed bowl with a slightly trumpeted wall. The lip is nicked at regular intervals and a rib descends

to the centre periphery from each nick.¹⁴ This sherd is too small to offer a rim diameter but would appear to have a size of the order of 10 cm. A second bowl is represented by a thin sherd (2 mm. mean wall thickness with a rim diameter of 11 cm.). It is a hemispherical bowl which appears to have had a copper or other metallic band folded on to the rim. It is noteworthy that despite the unmistakable signs of this band the rim is glazed.¹⁵

The other T'ang bowl is an open curved wall bowl with an outfolded rim. Two examples of this occur at Manda. On one bowl the base is flat and unglazed¹⁶ and similar to the first of the shapes illustrated by Ingram,¹⁷ indicating the longevity of this shape. On the other the outfolded rim is shorter resulting in the form of a beaded rim. This is the greyish sherd.¹⁸ I identify this as a T'ang bowl because of the base, the deadness and smoothness of the white glaze and the archaeological context which is strictly ninth to tenth century, being an assemblage of Tin Glaze and Sasanian Islamic wares. Gyllensvard calls it a "smooth and somewhat greasy surface, rather like jade in texture"¹⁹ Ayers prefers the jade comparison for Yueh white wares and prefers "silver" for T'ang.²⁰ Another sherd with the same white fine fabric and lard white glaze is from a mixed level in Manda, associated not only with Sgraffiato but with Islamic Monochrome sherds. It is doubtless in the same group and is of a very interesting shape. It appears to be part of the upper wall of a restricted vessel with a narrow neck. The "break" across the body in the upper edge of the sherd exactly follows the line of the wheel marks on the unglazed interior wall and its surface is

exactly horizontal. It would thus seem to be a result of the potter's knife rather than a late break. The glaze however runs right up to the unglazed "break" the demarcation line between the two being such as to suggest that the glaze and the body were "out" at the same time. A solution to this may be that the potter used coils to construct the area above this sherd and the sherd has broken off along the coil line. The interior wall profile does reinforce the idea that coiling may have constructed this form which is a very difficult one to throw in high fired stoneware. Coil building seems extremely unlikely, given the fusion attainable by this feldspathic paste at 1200 C and above and since the slight bulbing or hollowing usual with coil breaks is not visible. The potter presumably then turned the vessel on a jigger in order to smooth it.²¹

The folded rim is of some interest. A perusal of Dr. Gyllensvard's account of the Kempe collection indicates that the folded rim is a strictly T'ang feature, although it must be said that this is inferred from the illustrations rather than from the text. The text implies this distinction only by referring to such rims as commonly early T'ang²² and making no reference to it in discussions of later periods. Similarly, the bowl with an outfolded rim in the Seligman collection²³ is ascribed to the T'ang period. Similar material was found at Samarra in what is certainly a pre-tenth century context. In Zainie's classification of the Sarawak collections, such bowls are "A.J.a" and "have not been found in association with the twelfth to four-

teenth century celadons...but more with earlier Yueh pieces".²⁴

Gustaf Lindberg is of the opinion that this early white ware may well be the Hsing Yao made at Mui ch'in in the Hsing Tai region, mentioned in the Tiao Shuo.²⁵ Bo Gyllensvard has followed his classification.²⁶

Hin Cheung Lovell, however, points out that white wares were made at the same period elsewhere in Hopei province and also in Honan province and Szech'uan province.²⁷

The particularly interesting thing about the Manda white wares is that open bowls with outfolded rims occur in late levels although the T'ang glaze certainly does not.²⁸

On these late outfolded rim bowls, the predominant colour is a very pale olive or greenish white, though in one case the glaze is a mottled, very pale, yellowish brown.²⁹ In all cases other than this last, the glaze is more translucent than glassy, whereas the brownish glaze is opaque like the T'ang sherds.

The "olive" glazed bowls all have a rim diameter of 16 cm. or 17 cm. and the yellow bowl has a rim diameter of 19 cm.

There is a pair of sherds with a slight bluish tinge to the glaze, all but one of those in sealed levels being associated with Sgraffiato and Siraf wares. When associated with Sasanian Islamic these occurrences are among the latest of those levels.³⁰

The associated Sgraffiato always occurs below as well as with these white ware rims; thus these vessels are all from eleventh to twelfth century levels. These bowls represent a large part of the white wares at Manda and are from the Sung period. The date of the associated material would suggest a Southern Sung

period for these vessels. The glaze is of the Ching Pai group. It is not possible stratigraphically to suggest a Northern Sung or Southern Sung group, but clearly both periods are highly likely to be represented.

The Te Hua kilns in Fukien province may have been producing vessels as early as 1000 AD.³¹ In the excavations conducted by Harrison in Sarawak these vessels never occur with blue and white vessels and are associated with Sung Material.³² Cecilia Locsin finds this moulded ware to be "anathema to the generally accepted classical Sung Ideal"; be this as it may, the archaeological contexts in the Far East argue a Sung date for those moulded wares. The two best preserved of these vessels from Manda are unhelpful in any discussion of chronology. They occur in a fifteenth century context in an assemblage consisting mainly of Sirafi stonewares and hatched Sgraffiato.³³ But their occurrence with these early wares is probably significant in view of the fact that another vessel is from a sealed level where it is associated with vestigial Sasanian Islamic, early Sgraffiato and Siraf wares - suggesting an early eleventh century date for it.³⁴ This certainly agrees with Harrison's assertion that these moulded vessels are Sung and indicates an early Sung date for their manufacture. In no case were the sherds at Manda found in association with Yueh ware as Harrison found in Sarawak,³⁵ but the early Sung dating for the moulded bowls remains a feature of both areas. A similar period for the appearance of such a vessel is indicated by the tenth to eleventh

century dates obtained from Santa Anna.³⁶ It is not clear how long such vessels continued to be made but the Phillipine excavations at Pnagbayanan R. Agra and the thirteenth to fourteenth century graves at Santa Anna indicate that the ware vanished before the arrival of Blue and White, but was present in the thirteenth century.³⁷

The only recognisable good sections of Te Hua vessels in the Manda excavations are stoneware white-bodied moulded bowls with straight walls and low round footrings.³⁸ A fragment from a similar vessel was also found at Wiyuni. There are two glaze variations with no stratigraphical difference. The glaze is creamy white and very finely crazed. On the exterior wall the glaze covers only the top portion of the bowl and is irregularly unglazed. The base and rim are also unglazed. The exterior wall is decorated with raised motifs of straight or curved lines in a vertical plain set in clusters. The rim diameter is 9 cm. and the base diameter 6.5 cm. There is only one sherd with this glaze colour and texture from Manda.³⁹ The other glaze type is on a glazed vessel of the same shape and size. The grey glaze is entirely unglazed but is slightly marbled on the exterior wall.⁴⁰ After the same fashion as the white bowl, the lower portion of the exterior wall, the base and the rim are all unglazed. The body is grey. Unlike on the white bowl the exterior wall carries no raised decoration.

There are only two other moulded sherds from Manda which seem to be Te-hua.⁴¹ One is a body sherd with a white unglazed

glaze inside, and an olive-tinted uncrazed white glaze over a moulded decoration outside. The motif of the decoration is not discernible. The other has a white finely crazed glaze over the same white body. The glaze is the creamy white mentioned before. The sherd is from the rim of a small bowl whose wall is moulded into a scallop wall. Both of these sherds are also associated with Siraf and Sgraffiato wares in the top levels of the "Manor House" fill. The creamy white glaze on a white paste of 5-6 Moh's is certainly Te Hua. The other sherd is a mystery and has been put in this group, like the grey bowl above, on account of the moulding and archaeological contemporaneity rather than anything else. A virtually identical vessel form occurs in a surface collection from Siu.⁴² This little Te Hua style bowl meets all the basic requirements of fabric and glaze in order to fit the grey category of Te Hua. It does, however, come from a collection which is predominantly post fifteenth century (almost exclusively so) and it shows signs of having been overglazed painted or enamelled in red. The other distinguishing feature is that while the section is similar, the rim diameter is markedly smaller and the cavetto is bulbed.

T'ing ware, emerging, it would seem, from the Ch'ien-tz'u Ts'un and Yen-shan Ts'un kilns in Hopei province⁴³ was used at court and at first is odd in this collection. But as Lovell points out⁴⁴ the ware was not strictly an Imperial ware. Lovell notes: "The most striking fact that emerges from Koyama's

and Ch'en Wan Li's reports is the colossal scale of T'ing ware manufacture at Chien Tz'u Ts'un. If the heaps found are waste and breakage heaps how much more enormous the output must have been. It is quite obvious that T'ing ware was not dependent on Imperial patronage, or its withdrawal (in the Northern Sung period) would have caused a sharp decline, if not the total collapse, of the industry. There is evidence of its continual development till long after the flight of the court to Hang Chou."⁴⁵ This is quoted at length because the obvious importance of T'ing wares on the open market, and the proximity of the kilns to the easy export routes would suggest a large export market for these vessels.^{45a}

Harrison in her report on the ^{Qar es Salaam Museum} ~~Bar~~ collection speaks of T'ing type wares.⁴⁶ She presumably refers here to the strong possibility that white wares were made at many other places than Chien tz'u Ts'un. Fien Hsien Ming states: "Investigations have shown beyond doubt that the kilns which produced the famous T'ing ware in the Sung dynasty were already making a white ware in the T'ang..."⁴⁷ It is presumably possible to connect this with the statement of Lovell that T'ing wares were made in a great many kilns and ^{to} conclude that T'ing wares were made in many places outside Chien tz'u Ts'un. Perhaps Harrison is using the term 'T'ing type' for these 'Non-Chien tz'u Ts'un' wares. It seems to me that the term 'type' is ill used in this sense that 'T'ing types' were inferior export versions of T'ing, since it says nothing specific about the distinction between T'ing and 'T'ing type'. I prefer

to note the obviously T'ing vessels and describe the other sherds in the hope that they may fit a more closely defined category as our knowledge of exported white wares develops. It is likely that the term T'ing will come to be used in a more general sense to cover this entire school of white wares.

The formal distinction between T'ang and T'ing is not clear, but the work of Ingram has given some very useful guidelines.⁴⁸ None of the glazed wall bowls generally felt to be characteristic of T'ing was found in the East African collection. Ware, the physical distinctions in paste and glaze texture and colour is not clear either. Lovell comes closest to using terms useful to the archaeologist by describing T'ing glaze as having "a characteristic ivory white colour which is quite unmistakable..."⁴⁹ She goes on to say that the Chinese describe it as "jun" - "unctuous"⁵⁰ and observes "It is this quality which makes the T'ing glaze warmer and more appealing than the colder and whiter glaze on pre-Sung white wares..." More helpfully she adds that the glaze is rarely crackled, is usually thinly applied, is bubbled when thick and often has tear marks. While Mrs. Lovell has boldly stepped into the realms of technical description, the distinction between T'ang and T'ing is still difficult to ascertain - especially since it is solely with small sherds of export ware that one is dealing.

There is no doubt that some of the earliest white sherds at

Manda are T'ang, since a post-tenth century date would not fit the context in which they were found, but there are a very large number of white wares associated with the Sgraffiatos and not significantly with any particular type of Sgraffiato, that a general T'ing bracket will be given to them. These vessels are grouped by paste and glaze, and are simply described there being no clear way to ascribe them more satisfactorily to a particular area or kiln. Lovell notes that T'ing ware is rarely crackled. Two indubitably Sung sherds occur at Manda with crazed white glazes. One is a body sherd and gives no further information.⁵¹ The other is a very thinly potted everted rim of a bowl.⁵² The mean wall thickness is 2.5 mm. and the diameter 18 cm. These two sherds have very high gloss. The other all-white sherd is not crazed. One sherd from a fifteenth century level has a very similar glaze except that it is marbled on the exterior wall. It has a square bevelled lip which is unglazed, and the rim has a diameter of 19 cm.⁵³

A dead-white glaze is the characteristic of the hollow cornice rim bowl 10 cm. across the rim, found in a surface collection at Bui. This vessel is most likely from the fifteenth century but there is no certainty of this.⁵⁴

The largest is a group of bowls with a white glaze which has a pronounced light blue tinge at the thicker areas. Two of the footrings have a low flat footring of a diameter of 7 cm.⁵⁵ Only the foot is unglazed on one, and the base also is unglazed on the other. In both cases the glaze has the lard white charac-

toristic of the T'ang or T'ing wares. One of these sherds is associated with Siraf wares and early Sgraffiatos,⁵⁶ but the other is from a mixed level.

From a well at Manda came a bowl base with a high thin footring surrounding an unglazed base.⁵⁷ The foot is unglazed, and the outside footring wall is only partially glazed. A deep U-groove runs round the centre periphery. The diameter is 6 cm. An entirely different form is represented by a very roughly potted bluish-white sherd from a restricted vessel with an everted flap rim of diameter 13 cm.⁵⁸ The body is not well smoothed; this extends to the internal structure seen in the section. The paste has many crevices and "air niches" in it. The glaze is crazed overall. The paste is no different from the others in this group. This sherd was part of a vase or jar of some kind and is associated with late Sgraffiato types and vestigial Sasanian Islamic in what appears to be a twelfth to thirteenth century level. There is a fine and unique everted rim bowl in this group, having a lard-white uncrazed glaze with bluish patches in the few places where the glaze has settled thickly.⁵⁹ This rim has a diameter of 27 cm. Unfortunately, this is from a late mixed level. This thinly-potted, smooth-glazed vessel contrasts strongly with a body sherd found with it, of a bowl with a U-groove incised round the lower interior wall. The glaze is badly pitted, heavily crazed overall and stops short of the groin.⁶⁰

Two other footring bases have unglazed foot and base but the glaze is slightly different. On both sherds it has an overall

pale greenish-blue tinge.⁶¹ The last footring base is more thinly potted and the glaze has a richer blue tinge, indeed it is almost a very very pale blue.⁶² In this case, only the bevelled foot is unglazed and chatter marks show beneath the glaze on the base. One other sherd falls into this group of overall bluish vessels. It is an everted rim sherd with a diameter of 13 cm.⁶³ The glaze is crackled in places on the interior wall.

While most of the blue tinged sherds have white porcelainous bodies, two have pale grey bodies. One is a body sherd from a restricted vessel, glazed only in random patches on the interior wall, and with a finely crazed glaze on the exterior. The provenance of this sherd offers no dating assistance.⁶⁴ The other is a moulded bowl base with no glaze on the lower part of the exterior wall or on the base or footring. The footring has a diameter of 7 cm., is straight and beveled and differential, the base being low. The base is flat, save for a moulded beading running round at about half the maximum circumference and parallel to it. This vessel is from a late Sgraffiato-and-Black on Yellow level and is therefore at Manda around the fourteenth century.⁶⁵

All of these vessels with a bluish glaze are in the Ching Pai group of white wares. These wares were made in many parts of China; Gyllensvard lists Kiangsi, Chekiang, Fukien and Kwantung as provinces where kilns have been found.⁶⁶ No satisfactory classification by area or period of manufacture seems feasible at present despite Basil Gray's rather vague indication

that the Northern type displays "...bolder carving and bluer glaze on a rather heavy body".⁶⁷ All of these sherds are in later levels than the white putative T'ing wares. Unfortunately most are in mixed levels also and, although the principal associations numerically are black-on-yellow and fourteenth to fifteenth century celadon sherds, Sgraffiato is also in association. Gyllensvard sees Ching Pai vessels as Sung products, and the Manda sherds shed no enlightenment on this point.

A group of sherds with a greenish tinge to the white are probably also in the Ching Pai group, but have other distinctions apart from colour. Of the two available footrings one is all glazed round an unglazed base,⁶⁸ and the other has unglazed foot, inner ring wall and base.⁶⁹ Both are pinched, and have a diameter of 7 cm. The glaze is overall crazed, and the only decoration on the sherd is a shallow incised line running round the centre periphery.

With a similar slight greenish tinge in areas of thick glaze is an everted ledge rim with a diameter of 30 cm.⁷⁰ Only the rim was found, so the extent of the crazing which was all over the sherd is not known. This vessel is presumably also from a bowl, of the kind referred to above. These sherds are associated with Sgraffiato, Siraf and Tin Glaze, and the nature of the Sgraffiato associations suggests an eleventh-twelfth century date.

In another Manda level bearing artefacts from a similar period was a dish fragment with a white porcelainous paste under

a glossy white crazed glaze tinged with very pale olive green. The rim has a diameter of 14 cm. and is very slightly scalloped for about 2 cm. below the rim.⁷² A shallow incised line runs round the lower interior wall. Two other sherds have a much stronger greenish tinge - tending almost to a very pale green glaze.⁷³ These are in a similar assemblage to the sherd above but the presence in the same level of an olive celadon would suggest a slightly later date, perhaps twelfth to thirteenth century, for the level and would therefore permit a later date. Both are overall crazed, as is a body sherd from a small bowl, and the other is an outfolded bowl rim with a diameter of 16 cm.⁷⁴ This rim has a much more bluish-green tinged glaze than the others, whose green is yellowish. It may be significant that the bluish-green vessel is from a fifteenth century level.

While these other greenish sherds represent bowls, one does not. It is a body sherd, glazed on one side only, and with a very pale, thinly applied greenish-white glaze.⁷⁵ No decorative motif is discernible, but the decoration visible consists of three incised U-grooves running vertically, leaving two ribs between them. This thinly potted sherd with a mean wall thickness of 3.5 mm., offers no suggestion of form, save that it is not a bowl, and that the unglazed interior suggests a restricted vessel. It comes from a thirteenth century level at Manda. A rather similar fragment of decoration appears on another body sherd of a different vessel which has a similar but crazed greenish-white glaze.⁷⁶ This sherd is also from what appears to be

a thirteenth century level at Manda. A third sherd, similarly glazed greenish-white on the outside and unglazed on the inside, comes from a mixed level associated with Siraf, Tin Glaze, Yueh and Sgraffiato and nine intrusive Islamic Monochrome sherds.⁷⁷ The likelihood is that this vessel is Sung and not later, but the context is obviously unsatisfactory. Only two bowls are represented in a greenish-white uncrazed glaze. One is from an eleventh or twelfth century level⁷⁸ and although the shape is not clear, two interested facts are notable from the sherd: first, the glaze stops short of the base of the exterior wall; second, the exposed body fires slightly red. On no other white-glazed sherd in the North Kenyan collection whose body was exposed during firing, has this roseate body been noted. Of the other bowl, only the rim is extant. It is a shallow cornice rim with a diameter of 15 cm. and with an incised U-groove running round the interior wall below the rim. This, is from a fifteenth century level mixed with sherds from six hundred years and offers no suggestion for dating.⁷⁹

Making an obvious little group are four whitish grey sherds, whose grey is probably a function of a very fine overall craze. In one case, where the craze has gathered, a yellowish-green tinge is visible. It is worth noting the third occurrence of the band of vertical parallel U-grooves leaving narrow ribs between them. This third occurrence is also on a body sherd which clearly does not come from a bowl. The frustrations are that, as in the other cases, the form is not clear and the context is of

no help at all in ascribing a period to this sherd.⁸⁰ The interior of the sherd is glazed.

A vessel very similar to the everted rim vase with the bluish Ch'ing Pai glaze is represented by a rim sherd in this glaze group. There is no distinction to be made between the fabrics. The rim diameter is about the same as the other rim of this type, 13 cm., but the neck is rather more pinched.⁸¹ This sherd is from a level in which it is associated with Sgraffiatoes and Siraf wares.⁸² The type of Sgraffiato in this context suggest an eleventh - twelfth century date as the earliest for this vessel. The other two sherds with the very finely crazed glaze are both from fifteenth century levels, giving no good clue to dating. One is a spout,⁸³ and the other part of the neck of a vase or jar.⁸⁴ The form of the vessels is not clear from either sherd. These vessels appear to be from the Sung period despite their provenance, and are probably of the T'ing group of white wares. The jar neck, like the rim sherd has a direct parallel in the same level, but with a white glaze. It is possible that these sherds and their parallels are from the same vessel and the dangers of studying Chinese ceramics through sherds alone are clear.

The pale yellowish-brown or creamy-white tinge in the Te Hua moulded bowls also occurs on three wheel-turned bowls found at Manda. One has a straight and healed footring of 9 cm. with foot and inner wall unglazed only. The glaze is smooth and shiny and very finely crackled. The fabric is white, containing

black and brown specks. This bowl is associated with a Yueh vessel, Sasanian Islamic and Tin Glaze material and a solitary Sgraffiato sherd.⁸⁵ An eleventh century date is in order for this level and this vessel is thus a very early white ware. Chittick describes it as T'ing. It is intriguing that the body and glaze of this vessel are very similar to the "Provincial" ware of Barbara Harrison, ascribed putatively to Annam identified with sherds from fourteenth century levels at Kilwa.⁸⁶ At Shakani in an early level probably from the fourteenth century is a similar large delicately potted white bowl with a very slightly everted rim, diameter 17 cm.⁸⁷ A similar bowl base comes from the fifteenth or sixteenth century, at Dui.

A "sugary" creamy white glaze on two flat based bowls from Manda bears no resemblance to any of the above mentioned white glazes and appears in early assemblages associated with Siraf, Sgraffiato and Yueh celadons. The period indicated by the assemblage is not earlier than the eleventh century, not later than the thirteenth century.⁸⁸

One of these vessels is very large with a thick, flat base, diameter 12 cm.⁸⁹ The other is a smaller bowl with a base diameter of 4 cm.⁹⁰ In both cases the base is partially glazed, and in the case of the smaller base, fragments of red clay are stuck to the glaze on the base. This clay has been fired, and is possibly a fragment of pontil.

A much yellower porcelaneous paste with a Moh's rating of 6-7 and containing tiny iron spots is seen in one vase or jar

rim in a level containing a predominantly eleventh to twelfth century assemblage but also containing fourteenth century Black on Yellow sherds.⁹¹ This paste appears to have been slipped with a fine white porcelaneous material below the crazed creamy white glaze. The rim is rounded and slightly everted. Similarly in a class of its own is a straight rim sherd from a bowl in a white porcelaneous paste (Moh's 6-7) with a very rough uncrazed creamy white glaze, badly pinched and bubbled.⁹² The rim diameter is 15 cm. The archaeological context of the sherd is not conclusive but it is most likely to have been dropped some time between the eleventh and thirteenth century.

There is a group of grey-glazed sherds which all come from bowls with an unglazed band around the centre periphery, and unglazed groin footing and base. In all cases the paste is grey and in a very hard stoneware. In two cases (of the total of five vessels) the unglazed body has fired red.

Two bases were recovered, each with slightly pinched foot-rings with a diameter of 9 cm. The glaze on these two sherds is crazed.⁹³ The one rim retrieved is straight and square-lipped with a diameter of 19 cm.⁹⁴ One of these sherds, the low footing base, is associated with a mid-to-late type of Sgraffiato and residual Tin Glaze and Siraf ware, and is therefore from an eleventh or twelfth century level.⁹⁵ This early distribution is not supported by two pinched footing vessels from Uziwa surface and Mashundwani surface, both with a diameter of 7 cm., and a bowl with a high, square tapered footing, diameter

5 cm., from Matondoni surface. All the other sherds are from late mixed levels. Little can be said in general about the date of this material, other than that it would seem to be predominant amongst the white and grey wares after the fifteenth century, but it is worth noting that the one early sherd does support the conclusion arrived at concerning the bare-circle green glazed vessels, that the first occurrences are considerably earlier than was originally thought.

A paste with a silver grey colour and more porcelanous texture is used in two bowl footring bases, one from a fifteenth century level⁹⁶ and the other from an indeterminate Sgraffiato level, probably thirteenth century.⁹⁷ The glaze is in both cases bluish-grey and in the case of the later sherd is crazed. The groin area, footring and base are all unglazed.

A rather darker grey paste was used for a very crudely incised "arcade bowl" of the kind found by J. S. Kirkman at Gedi⁹⁸ and Ungwana⁹⁹ where the decoration occurs in sixteenth century levels as it probably does in Manda where it is on the surface only.¹⁰⁰ The glaze is a dull brownish grey. The paste is very variable, being grey as described in places, and pinkish-buff in other places. A function of this colour variation is the hardness of the paste, the buff being Moh's 5-6 and the grey being 6-7. This suggests a very uneven firing temperature which emphasises the low quality of the bowl, already apparent in the lumpy glaze and crude decoration. No portion of the sherd was exposed during firing, but it may be supposed that it would fire

pink, as Kirkman's finds suggest. It is very important to note the enormous colour variation of the paste within a single sherd. The vessel found at Ungwana by Dr. Kirkman is described as having a buff body. The Manda bowl is larger than the Ungwana and Gedi examples, having a rim diameter of 17 cm. A much better quality celadon of this kind is illustrated by Locsin¹⁰¹ recovered from Calatagan, Batungas, Philippines, and regarded as early Ming. A sherd with an all-buff paste is from a fifteenth to sixteenth century context at Manda¹⁰² and has an unglazed groin, footring and base. The glaze is in all respects the same as that on the "arcade bowl" and the paste, a pale-yellowish buff shading to a buff-pink. This paste is the same hardness (Moh's 5-6) as the buff on the arcade bowl. The footring is straight and heeled and the base has a shallow cone.

A very dark mauve-grey paste rather similar to the brown sherd mentioned above was used for a cornice rim bowl with a rim diameter of 14 cm. and a heavily crazed bluish-grey glaze.¹⁰³ This sherd comes from a very early level associated with Siraf, Sassanian Islamic, Tin Glaze and early Sgraffiato sherds. It is certainly a tenth or early eleventh century level and this sherd could have been imported any time between 800 and 1050 AD. It should therefore be classified with the other cornice- or outfolded-rim bowls from the same period, most of which have white glazes. The difference in paste type is striking and the implication is that, although the form is a characteristic feature of early Chinese export bowls, these vessels were made in several areas of China.

The paste can give some guide to the regions concerned in producing these cheap export wares, but as yet there is not enough information for such an analysis to be carried out.

Vessels with marbled glaze are certainly late. They occur most often with plain white but occasionally with grey glazes and are exclusively from surface collections of the post-fifteenth century period.

There is a small group of body sherds offering no indication as to form of vessel and not filling previous categories of glaze and paste. These are listed over:

III. Paste: pale, grey, porcelaneous (No's 6-7)

Glaze: white, grey-green, bluish

Level: twelfth - thirteenth century

(LPI 2a)

IV. Paste: white (No's 6-7)

Glaze: very pale grey-green, smooth

Level: twelfth - thirteenth century

(LPI 2a)

V. Paste: white (No's 6-7)

Glaze: exterior only; very pale grey-green, fine

Level: eleventh century

(LPI 2a)

- I. Paste: pale grey porcelanous, creamy grey slip, (Moh's 6-7)
 Glaze: greenish-grey, iron spots, crazed
 Level: probably eleventh century
 (LPP 2a)
- II. Paste: pale grey porcelanous (Moh's 6-7)
 Glaze: grey-green, clear, crazed
 Level: fifteenth century
 (LPA 2)
- III. Paste: pale grey porcelanous (Moh's 6-7)
 Glaze: matt, grey-green, chicken skin
 Level: twelfth - thirteenth century
 (LPH 2a)
- IV. Paste: white (Moh's 6-7)
 Glaze: very pale grey-green, smooth
 Level: twelfth - thirteenth century
 (LPB 2a)
- V. Paste: white (Moh's 6-7)
 Glaze: exterior only, very pale grey-green, fine craze
 Level: eleventh century
 (LPQ 2a)

A few overall observations can be made about these white and grey wares. At present, despite the objections of some that court ceramics terms such as T'ing should not strictly be used for export wares, these terms should be used ^{four} ~~faire~~ de mieux. It is clear in any case that much of the material in this collection is of a high quality and not an automatic candidate for the perjorative "export ware" label.

White wares were already being exported to Africa from China, presumably via the Persian Gulf, in T'ing times. The essentially conservative nature of the white wares is clear - in that T'ang shapes persist throughout the period covered by the collection, are found, through the Ch'ing Pai vessels inspiring much of what is exciting in the Blue and White vessels, and finally strongly influencing nineteenth and twentieth century European white wares.

Despite the years of study of complete pieces by fine scholars - frighteningly little is understood of Chinese white wares particularly of the "non-court" materials found in African and Middle Eastern sites. It has not been possible to carry forward a detailed and accurate account of the wares in question by extrapolating from published works into the East African collection. At several points established principles of typology and manufacturing predilection in these wares have been questioned by the Manda material - and this usually in favour of something less precise. Specifically the common use of archaic shapes, and the use of production techniques in representative

of the construction of finer vessels of the same school and period should be noted. In general, the blue tinged vessels and the white T'ing precede the more strongly tinged Ch'ing Pai vessels and these the coarse grey vessels. The olive and greenish tinged whites are also early, (that is, apparently from an eleventh to thirteenth century period) and give way to the coarser greens and grey-greens - and of course to the by then well established celadon tradition.

The glazes of the T'ang are not crazed or crackled, whereas this is a common feature of the eleventh to fourteenth century period. The marbled vessels are post-fifteenth century.

The quality of manufacture and finish noticeably declines. Common features of the post-fourteenth century vessels are dirty glazes, contaminated with placing sand, warping, short glazed vessels,¹⁰⁴ bubbling,¹⁰⁵ nickling, blebbing, scuffing,¹⁰⁶ appalling fettling,¹⁰⁷ and often a hawse paste. The arcade bowl is a most unsightly piece of lump; an aesthetic abortion, a functional also-ran and, one would have thought, commercial liability. Nevertheless it was successfully sold to serve its turn in some family whose discernment or means were not those of its ancestors.

The delicately overted rims and rim nicks of the T'ang period are rare in the later periods, but folded cornice rims persists throughout, yielding proportionally to straight rim bowls after the fourteenth century. The flat base, found but

twice in the T'ang collection disappears altogether in the years following.

There is a large group of heavily potted open bowls from levels which are either associated with the late Sgraffiatoes at latest with the first occurrences of Black on Yellow vessels. They would seem therefore to enter the record in the twelfth century.¹⁰⁸ These are the so called "Bare-Circle" bowls. The centre periphery has a broad unglazed band, which feature is occasionally reproduced on the exterior above the groin. The feature is not confined to the white/grey collection of Chinese vessels, but when it is found on these the shape is consistent and the glaze is grey and in almost all cases crackled or crazed. It is in several cases clearly related to the Te-Hua type of glaze and is, of course, contemporaneous. The shape is more consistent with the celadon range than with the white wares and is illustrated there to avoid duplication. These vessels are clearly in the tradition of the Yueh grey-green bowls glazed and fired on ring pontils. Indeed, though some were found in levels as early as that would suggest, these late and related vessels are a good example of the retention of archaic forms and manufacturing techniques in kilns firing vessels for export.

Dr. Kirkman is interested in the possibility that these "Bare-Circle" vessels, with their grey body forms, may be from Annam or Cambodia.¹⁰⁹ He believes that these vessels ceased to be imported in the second half of the fifteenth century and

and tentatively associates this with the Thai invasion of 1467 and the consequent decline or collapse of the export trade from Indo-China. These vessels seem to be in the Lamu collection earlier than the thirteenth century date suggested by Kirkman as a terminus post quem but do not dispute an early to mid-fifteenth century terminus ante quem. The observation concerning exports from Thailand and Annam is taken up elsewhere. ¹¹⁰

These are statements from the Lamu collection. They may not hold ^{true} for the wares as a whole. Accounts such as this must be seen together across the sites before a consensus can be arrived at, better defining these ubiquitous white and grey wares.

TZ'U CHOU

The only Tz'u Chou in the Kenyan collections is from a mixed level at Manda.¹¹¹ The paste is of the very dark grey or black type, and the glaze varies between olive-grey and greyish olive-green. The interior as well as the exterior of this sherd is glazed which according to Li Hui-Ping is a feature of the Tz'u Chou ware proper, and the exterior wall is incised.¹¹² There is no visible slip, yet set into some of the grooves is a brilliant yellow colour. It looks as if it has been painted into the grooves. Elsewhere on the sherd the incisions are left to carry and therefore darker areas of the green glaze. Li Hui-Ping describes as "the most representative of Tz'u Chou wares" the vessels with a black painted and incised decoration on a white ground. He attributes most of these vessels to the kilns at Tung ai K'ou. This is the closest to a description of the Manda vessel that Li Hui-Ping has, and it is clearly not accurate. Even the paste is rather darker than his "grey" would suggest. I remain convinced that this is a piece of Tz'u Chou ware and, after Li Hui-Ping, place it in the twelfth to fourteenth century period from a pottery in Honan or neighbouring areas in Shanji¹ Hopel.

1. CHINESE CELADONS

Apart from the laudable work done by the Locsins and Eine Moore¹¹³ and the rather generally applicable comments of Carla Zainie and the Harrisons, very little indeed has been done on the classification of Far Eastern export wares.

It is extremely difficult to know how to classify the celadons from the coast.

The collection from the North Kenya coast is largely of classes designed for export. The ultra carefully controlled firing conditions ^{and} superlative standards of potting cannot be expected from these vessels. There are some very fine pieces in the collection but in general it is clear that much of the material bears only a family resemblance to the best of the celadons, as represented by those in the world's museums and private collections. The celadon from East Africa is often poorly potted and badly glazed. There is even a waster of "sawankhalok type" in the Dar es Salaam museum, which had presumably been bought in Africa by somebody. A further difficulty is that the pieces are almost always small sherds only and judgement of age or area of production by ^{material} ~~area~~ or shape (criteria fundamental to the published works of the art historians) ~~is~~ not always possible.

One must rely therefore upon paste, glaze texture and colour as much as on form. For the purpose of this survey I have assumed that the high technical sophistication of the

Chinese potteries permits one to presume a degree of standardisation, of raw material, firing conditions and form which, despite the low quality of the export ware being studied, permits at least general conclusions about chronological and geographical variations.

I am unable to depend entirely upon the simplified Munsell Scale for describing colours. These very subtle variations in the tone and hue of green would be difficult enough in the complete Munsell charts, and are impossible to divine from the grossly over-simplified colour fan available throughout the period of research. The descriptions must therefore rely upon a personal assessment allied to descriptions given by others.

The term "Celadon" is not universally accepted as the most apposite of terms to describe the material. It generally carries the connotation of "green glaze", but also implies something about texture. The celadon is semi matt (like muslin, says Gompertz)¹¹⁴. This textural connotation sometimes leads people to speak of "white celadon". The matter is further confused by Harrison's term "Coarse Celadon", used of a vessel with a glossy green glaze.

Celadon, the character in D'Urfe's undistinguished play "Astree" shows few signs of deserving to have this fine ware named after him. In China, these vessels are called "Ch'ing Tz'u" (Green-Blue Ware) and in Japan they are called "Seiji". The Chinese term is at once a compatriot of the ware, a simple description of the principal feature in common among the vessels,

and free of irrelevant cultural allusions. "Seiji", while markedly more elegant and lexically more apposite is no more directly useful than "celadon".

"Celadon" is now virtually free for all practical purposes of cultural allusions. D'Urfe may have been quickly forgotten had not this ware cast the glamour of the ceramic skill and brilliance on his pedestrian work. It is also advantageous in that it is common usage throughout the world, being recognisable to Oriental Scholars and to Anglophones, Francophones and Arabic speakers. To attempt to employ the more sensible "Ch'ing Tz'u" at this stage would be futile.

The prefix "proto" is employed for pre-Ming or pre-Sung celadons by different observers. It is inaccurately used chronologically and implies a singularity of aim of a homogeneous group of potters, a striving for a generally accepted exactness of colour and texture, indeed a revolutionary concept of vessel form, colour and texture, which is probably out of order in a discussion of celadons.

These vessels have been made for over a thousand years in various parts of China and Annam. There does seem to have been an impulse among some of the potters to reproduce the exquisite colour and texture of jade. But this would not explain the superb bluish greens and green-blues of the Ju celadons. Any such aspirations have probably long since been forgotten for the laudable aim of producing good celadon. Good celadon would seem to be a green, bluish green or occasionally greenish-blue

glaze on a high fired earthenware, preferably highly feldspathic, offering, whatever the smoothness of the surface, a remarkable profundity and translucence in the glaze. The fabric is a high fired stoneware, never becoming a proper porcelain despite the highly feldspathic paste.¹¹⁵

The use to which Celadons were put comes under discussion in Freeman-Grenville's comments on coast ceramics.¹¹⁶ He draws attention to the magical properties of Celadon.¹¹⁷ His argumentation is vacuous save for the observation that "it is a relic of former superstition, like our own against passing wine anti-clockwise (sic!!) of which the reason and origin are forgotten".¹¹⁸ Since the details of the "magical properties" are forgotten at best, it is wise to set Celadon imports alongside all others as meeting more mundane functional needs than magical.

The earliest Celadon found in the East African sites is from Manda, and was manufactured during the Yueh dynasty in China. These princes had their capital at Sh'ao Hsing in Chekiang Province and the vessels are presumed to have been made in that province and possibly in the neighbourhood of that city, although it is also known to have been made at Lin-ju Hsien in Honan Province. This material has been found elsewhere in the Indian Ocean region. It is at Samarra,¹¹⁹ at Fustat,¹²⁰ and was also recognised by Lane and Sergeant at Abyan in the Aden area.¹²¹ One solitary sherd of a late and very crude jar was found at Kilwa¹²².

In the characteristic Yueh grey-green glaze, several open

bowls are represented at Manda.¹²³ Rim diameters vary considerably between 16 cms. and 22 cms. Each vessel has a row of spur marks on the centre groin and on the base of the footring. No complete segment is available but the number of spurs on the castellated ring pontil was probably twenty. Each spur is set diagonally to the circumference on the centre but at right angles to it on the footring. These are from Period I of the Manda excavations and these provenances confirm the Yueh date.

However, a very similar bowl comes from a mixed context in Manda.¹²⁴ This was fired on a plain ring pontil of the kind described by Gompertz. In Gompertz's excellent book on the Celadons, he observes that the "normal Yueh manner" was to use "a circular ring of clay or...three small lumps".¹²⁵ This is in obvious contrast to the Manda information which indicates that crenellated ring pontils were also used.

The footring is pinched (this is the "splayed" footring of Gompertz and Savage) and the base is very low.¹²⁶ This is almost exactly replicated by Palmgren.¹²⁷ Palmgren's piece is from the Wen Chou Yao. There is no certainty as to how long before the Sung period the Wen Chou feldspars were in use¹²⁸ nor indeed the potteries. It seems certain that the potteries were already operating in the T'ang period. The Manda provenances are firm. The bowl form illustrated is definitely pre-Sung. The form persists elsewhere into the Sung period in Wen Chou Yao. A fabric analysis would be very valuable to ascertain the

feldspar content and double check Palmgren's thesis that the feldspar (specifically from Wen Chou) is not so large an ingredient as it is in the Sung vessels, and more generally the southern vessels.¹²⁹ There are no vessels at Manda with the paler fabric normally associated with Wen Chou and an ocular study convinces me that Palmgren is right. If Palmgren is right, this collection is strictly from the north and early.

It is important to note the close similarity between this bowl shape and that found in the Tin Glaso collection of the same period.¹³⁰ This is a fine example, but by no means the only one of the impact Chinese vessels had on the potters of the eastern Islamic world from as early as the eighth century.

The whole of the base is glazed, as is the footring except the foot itself. The glaze is a light grayish olive, patched with olive, and is crazed in patches. The paste has a hardness of around Moh 7 and is grey; it contains sufficient iron to "brown" in exposed areas in the oxidising atmosphere.

There is a second type of bowl represented by two sherds, one being from the surface on a site thought to have been settled in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries, and ^{one} are from an indisputably first period of settlement provenance at Manda.¹³²

This is rather smaller than the unstratified vessel, with a rim diameter of around 14 cms. and a high, relatively thick heeled and pointed footring.

Of the Yueh types, Shang Lin Hu wares only are known to have been exported and in the period from whose levels these vessels

were found in Manda. ~~On the period after levels in which these vessels were found in Manda.~~ The peak of the Shang Lin Hu export trade was in the ninth century, and a ninth century date is appropriate for these bowls, found as they are in the lowest levels of Sasanian Islamic, Tin Glaze and Siraf wares.

A single base fragment of a straight wall bowl was found in a twelfth century level ^{at Manda.} This sherd has a more satisfactory glaze, less patchy and showing no sign of crazing. The spur marks on the base periphery and foot-ring base are from a crenellated ring pontil like the other Yuehs but the base of the footring between the spur-marks is glazed¹³³ The footring is very slightly different in section, having a small torus external profile and a straight interior wall. The base is very low as on the other bowls. The glaze colour is a clear pale olive, as much reminiscent of the glossy olive northern Celadons as of their grayor, duller, Yueh predecessors. This glaze is associated usually with the Shang lin Hu kilns but the proximity of Ning Po port to the Hsin Hsien must insist on a closer look at these kilns also. The glaze is marred by sieve sand accretions and rough, pale patches where the glaze is starved. Such patches are a feature of the other Yueh bowls also. This bowl is definitely later stratigraphically than the other two and is possibly of later manufacture also: insofar as the shape varies and the glaze is slightly different and akin to the successor northern Celadons. One is thus

prevented from assuming automatically that it is likely to be vestigial. If the period of shipment from China to East Africa were constant within a hundred years, the later bowl was not only imported but also manufactured during the Northern Sung period that is to say before 1127. The thought that these "Yueh" vessels were made so late is encouraged by the fact that Yueh type thin glazes of the kind described above occur in Borneo as late as in Sung sites, well into the thirteenth century.¹³⁴ Such late vessels do occur in Manda. But Yueh vessels only occur in post eleventh century levels in mixed or dubious contexts at Manda, and only occasionally in twelfth or thirteenth century levels elsewhere on the Kenya coast so the matter remains unresolved.¹³⁵ There is little doubt that, as Koyama says, the general assumption holds ^{true} ~~time~~ that "the best Yu Yao ware was made from late T'ang to the Five Dynasties, continuing to some extent into Sung but completely disappearing in Yuan and Ming".¹³⁶ Similarly there is little doubt that Yueh type glazes continue to be used well into the fourteenth century at least. Nothing appears late in this collection which is in a reliable context and is in the Yueh style, although the idea of a thin greenish grey semi opaque glaze certainly persisted.

Considering the great variety of the celadons imported to the East African coast, a series of these later Yueh style vessels would have been expected in thirteenth century levels at Manda had they been available to the merchants.

One very finely potted Yuch type bowl base comes from a level which fits best in the eleventh century, on the basis of the associated Islamic vessels but is in a level which may well be disturbed. The glaze is more evenly applied and more generally and evenly crazed.¹³⁷ The base and footring are completely glazed except for three (on the complete base probably four) vague unglazed patches, reddened during firing. A shallow U groove runs round the base periphery into which has settled a thicker deposit of glaze creating a darker greyish olive band. Another such base also ~~existing~~^{exhibiting} a high thin beveled footring was found at Manda on what would appear to be an eleventh century level.¹³⁸ A fragment of precisely the same kind of base was found in a fourteenth century level at Shanga.¹³⁹

A very grey green glaze, very like the Yuch type in texture and gloss, appears on a grey fabric in several late (fifteenth century) levels at Manda. In no case is there any indication of body shape, though the form is that of a bowl; neither is the range of motifs clear, incised on the interior wall (in two cases)¹⁴⁰ on the exterior wall (in one case),¹⁴¹ In the fourth case the vessel has swirl floral incisions inside and a single line incised below the rim on the outside.¹⁴²

These are the only examples from the north Kenyan coast of vessels from the Yu Hung area of Chekiang province, found by Dr. Kirkman in greater quantities at Gedi in thirteenth and fourteenth century levels.¹⁴³

There are several other sherds from straight rimmed open bowls,¹⁴⁴ two base fragments¹⁴⁵ and a body sherd.¹⁴⁶ These all share a glaze and paste identical to the Yueh type described above. There are other bases which are similar save that, instead of spur pontils, ^{they} have, both on the centre groin and above the outer groin unglazed circles from ring pontils.¹⁴⁷ These sherds come from late fourteenth or fifteenth century levels, based on the Islamic and better known Far Eastern associates, and could well have been imported as late as the fifteenth century. Garner mentions bare circle celadons in the fourteenth century, but such vessels are known in the collections from T'ang onwards at least. In the study collection in Nairobi, one of these sherds has been labelled by Harrison with the caption "fifteenth to seventeenth century".¹⁴⁸ A point in time at the very beginning of this period is the most acceptable for the Manda material. One other example of this "Bare Circle" celadon occurring at Manda has a badly worn glaze and, although the colour is close to Yueh wares, nothing certain can be said since the texture is not clear. The glaze is pinholed occasionally all over and intensively in the centre. One would suspect that the kiln was heated very rapidly from the base and that in a full kiln the heat was not regulated or spread evenly fast enough at the beginning of the firing. The paste is a darker grey than that of the other Yueh vessels and contains specks of white. It is nevertheless rather similar to the Yueh vessels and certainly of the Yueh type. The unglazed

discovery at the beginning of this period would suggest the latter

areas are strong red, unlike the Yueh vessels and in contrast with the later Yueh type vessels with bare circles which are grey. It should be noted that while the trench from which this sherd came showed no signs of fire, it is just possible that this sherd was refired in the highly oxidised building fire for which there is evidence nearby at Manda.¹⁴⁹ The unglazed areas consist of the bare circle itself (an irregular bounded circle on the centre groin) and the whole base, including footing inside and out. The footing is kneed and heeled and differential, the base being considerably lower than the wall plane, thus creating a very heavy base. The base diameter is 5 cm.¹⁵⁰ This characteristic is noted by Harrison who observes that the thickening is sometimes conical in shape on the collections from the Far East.¹⁵¹ The context of this sherd suggests a period in the eleventh or twelfth century and discourages a later date, being associated with vestigial Period One Islamic wares and with early Sgraffiatos in the absence of Black on Yellow ware. Thus, a Bare Circle celadon appears in a Manda level two hundred years before the generally accepted date for the earliest appearance of such types. This will remain a puzzle until this extraordinary find can be seen in conjunction with finds of such vessels in archaeological ^{circumstances} ~~vessels~~ described by Dr. Kirkman. Something similar occurs at Gedi between 1100 and 1450,¹⁵² the first half of which fits satisfactorily with the context at Manda. Thus, while if these types come from high up in the Gedi period mentioned, a date according more or less, with the generally accepted period of production, their discovery at the beginning of that period would augment the inter-

est of the Manda find. Unfortunately it is not absolutely clear that these are from twelfth century Gedi levels, but the prospect is an interesting one. The simplest deduction is that since the Bare Circle Celadons in late descriptions are more firmly and less grey.

Harrison does not seem to think that these vessels are strictly in the Yueh tradition and tentatively suggests a south Chinese, possibly Annamese origin for them. While there is no proof for this hypothesis, it would certainly fit with the common behaviour of Far Eastern ceramics, that archaic types are perpetuated long after their demise in the origin of manufacture, and remain common wares particularly in the export-orientated kilns of south China and in the "provincial" kilns of the Annamese peninsula. In so conservative a technology as ceramics perhaps the different pontil type which gives the name to the ceramic type also suggests a different origin for the early and late "Yueh Type" glazed bowls.

There are two other sherds with the Yueh glaze and body characteristics.¹⁵³ They are bases of a bowl or cup and glazed overall, with patches of crazing. The base is of the hole bottom, or recessed kind and the examples have diameters of seven and ten centimetres. The base is recessed only slightly. Addis, when speaking of Blue and White wares sees this kind of base as being of limited time range and characteristic of the late fifteenth century. He argues that it is so unusual a base that it must have been the work of a limited number of people over a limited period of time, and potting within a very small region.¹⁵⁴

Harrison seems to accept this and to add to it a comment that the hole bottom celadon bowl found at Kilwa in a fifteenth century context has direct chronological and typological parallels in archaeological contexts in Borneo.. Be this as it may, the pale, yellowish green celadon base from Kilwa has a very different glaze from the olive, patch crazed base from Manda. It has a late glaze and is clearly Lung Chu'an.

The Manda sherd, however, is from an eleventh century context, associated as it is with the first occurrence in that pit of Sgraffiato and with late occurrences of Sasanian Islamic material. The recessed base is by no means common in Chinese technology and is certainly associated with what I would regard to be a fifteenth century blue and white vessel in the Dar es Salaam collection. It is not so complicated a feature as would lead one to see it as a "technology marker". One would not feel free to offer it as a period marker in the absence of many more examples than are available on the East African coast. The blue and white material from Tanzania does not disagree with Addis's conclusions, but there appear to be no Yueh type comparisons either in Addis's mind or in the collections. Thus one is either led to believe that this Yueh type vessel is later than presumed, in agreement with the shape characteristics of another ware (albeit vaguely related) or to assume that this type of base was used also in the Yueh wares, this being in keeping with the ware association and the stratigraphical context.

A few generalisations could be hazarded about the Yueh vessels

and the Yueh type glaze.¹⁵⁵ The Yueh vessels themselves are apparently discrete to two forms in the collection: a group of straight rim heavy footring moulded cavetto bowls and a group of low footring straight wall everted rim bowls. These latter appear to be marginally earlier than the former but the distribution does not give enough occasions when directly relative sequences can be studied to ascertain that this is not chance.

After the eleventh century sherds from these forms decline in number and are either badly worn, or in poorly defined contexts. The glaze type persists however on large straight rim bowls, considerably larger than the true Yueh. It is particularly, though not exclusively associated with the vessels fired on ring pontils and often called "Bare Circle Celadon". No fabric analysis could be taken to ascertain the material relationships between either Yueh and Yueh type "Bare Circle" vessels, or the pink-firing and the grey-firing Yueh material. These "Bare Circle" vessels appear in the eleventh or twelfth century upon the disappearance of the true Yueh vessels, and continue to be imported into the fourteenth, or even the fifteenth century. With the advent of the Lung Chu'ans, these "Bare Circle" bowls appear to drop out of the market, occurring rarely in the fifteenth century. The stratigraphy for these comments is slight, but seems to be in agreement with the dating for Class 25 at Gedi and at Kilwa.

The closest ports for the shipment of these vessels to the west are Hangchou, Ning Po and Wen Chou. It is known that the

long land route to Canton through the Mai'ling pass was also used. The only documents of relevance to East Africa seem to refer exclusively to the south coast ports.

It has been decided to place the closely related but much more heavy pot and basin form green stonewares in a separate section.

SI CH'UN

None of these early bowls fits well with Eine Moore's description in her very valuable account of Si Ch'un exports to Sarawak. She does not mention the spur marks, and the tenth century date for manufacture for Yueh type bowls would most likely be too late for a ninth or tenth century occurrence on the East African coast. More conclusively the paste of all the Yueh bowls at Manda is gray and not as pale as Mrs. Moore describes the Si Ch'un copies. ¹⁵⁶

It is worth pointing out that there are no sherds in the Lamu archipelago which answer to the description of the Si Ch'un sherds in Sarawak. It would seem that this large group of export wares is for some reason entirely missing from the export consignments shipped from the Iranian Gulf to East Africa. It would be very interesting to establish whether Si Ch'un was exported to India or the Iranian Gulf. From the literature it is impossible to see any such vessel either in those collections

or indeed in any Middle Eastern collection from further west.

CHIU YEN

There is one ogee rim from a late Sasanian Islamic / Tin Glaze level at Manda. ¹⁵⁶ The rim diameter is 14 cms. and is from an ewer. The 14 cm. diameter of this rim, if it is from an ewer is from a vessel 35 cms. or so high. The body is a pale grey and very finely potted. The mean of means thickness of the body in the sherd available is 35 mm.

There is no ogee rimmed bowl at all in any illustrated description, and this is most certainly from an ewer. Similar rims occur on ewers from Yueh vessels of the five dynasties and early Sung periods illustrated in Gompertz.

The glaze is a smooth, thin, very pale olive. These ewers in this glaze are often attributed to Hunan, whence they are known to have been exported in quantity through Canton. But in keeping with so much else in the field of Chinese export ceramics, there is little agreement. It is, very occasionally, crazed. This glaze is of the kind described by Gompertz as Chiu Yen. Gompertz cites a T'ang poet and the "diversity of quality of Yu Yao wares" and concludes that the vessels from the Chiu Yen kins in Fukien province were probably in action right through the T'ang period, through the Five Dynasties and into Early Sung times. The stratification at Manda suggests a tenth century period for the

over rim and supports Gompertz' suggestion. The value of the annual volume of trade between 1842 and 1853, ¹⁵⁶ it amounted to 2,000,000 taels of silver, where one tael equalled one and one

THE EARLY PERIOD (the 'Ch'iao'). This represents a very considerable export trade of which an outline description was

The relative paucity of Chinese export wares on the East African coast in the early period says more about the condition of China than about the Economy or aesthetics of the people of the coast. The export facilities seem to have been limited. After the sack of Canton by Huang Chao in 878, and his subsequent successful campaigns in Kwangtung, Fukien, and Che-Kiang, the export trade was severely affected by the closure of Canton. This, despite the defeat of Huang Ch'ao and his rebels a short while later in 884, seems to have had far reaching effects. It should perhaps be coupled with a dim awareness of the value of the export market and a marketing organisation unfit to handle a large output, least of all for export.

Nevertheless a little trade did come from Canton after 884. Al Magudi tells us that Sirafi ships traded at Kalah and Canton and sets out the route: Canton (where possible), Kalah, the Nicobars, Malabar (specifically Kalam), Muscat, Siraf.¹⁵⁷

In 971, the Canton Inspectorate of Maritime trade underwent a major reorganization to cope the better with a larger volume of overseas trade. Lesser ports were also in the business by the end of the tenth century, in particular, Ch'uanchow Kiao Chih (Tongkin), Hangchow and Mingchow.

Volker quotes figures taken from T'ien Tse Chang for the annual volume of trade between 1049 and 1053.¹⁵⁸ It amounted to 530,000 units of count, where one unit equalled one and one third pounds of ivory (the "Ch'in"). This represents a very considerable export trade of which an unknown proportion was pottery. It is worth noting that it is precisely in the latter half of this century that Chinese material becomes more common in the Manda deposits.

NORTHERN CELADON

The whole subject of the kiln sites and typology of the Northern Celadons is confused and the few putative northern celadons from Manda do little to clarify anything.

It seems that all are in agreement that Honan province is the general area of origin for these vessels and that Chen Lin, near Kai Feng, was one of the pottery centres. The implications of the distinction between Northern and Southern Celadons, which appear to be synonymous with Northern Sung and Southern Sung, are that the Northern celadon is not only that celadon from Honan province but also that which was made during the Northern Sung period, between 960 and 1126, which latter year marks the thrust south of the Ju Chen and the deportation to Manchuria of Emperor Hui Tsung from Kai Feng Fu in Honan province and the establishment of the "Southern Sung" government by Kao Tsung in Hangchow

in Chekiang province in 1132.

It may not be useful to differentiate "northern celadons" from the Yueh vessels of the same period. The excavations on the Hanyan coast have yielded no celadons which can be certainly called "Northern" though there are a few in the collection in the Dar es Salaam Museum which carry the dark, oak green (dark yellowish green) glossy glaze which is said to be characteristic of the "Northern celadons". Certainly these are different from the Yueh as defined, and from the Yueh type late southern types. Nevertheless they are no more "northern" in origin than the Yueh and are clearly related in terms of shape and decoration. One is tempted to take Hetherington's observation that the northern celadons are "so called for lack of accurate knowledge of their provenance"; even if one may be less attracted by the equally baseless comment that "some may be attributable to Korea".¹⁵⁹ If there is little evidence to encourage the use of the term "northern", there is even less to support the term "Corean" or worse, "Annamese" for products of unknown kilns in slightly variant finishes of a well known Chinese metropolitan style.

OTHER EARLY CELADONS

In fifteenth century levels at Handa are two sherds from different bowls, with a smooth, pale, greyish white porcelaneous body and very pale grey/olive buff glaze. The glaze is thinly

applied and very smooth, the only blemishes being a few pin-holes on the exterior wall of one sherd. One sherd is from a bowl with a gently curved wall and slightly everted rim.¹⁶⁰ The other sherd is a base fragment, also from a bowl,¹⁶¹ with a differential footring 6 cm. in diameter, with a high straight outside wall and low, slightly beveled outside wall. The outside wall is glazed and the foot, inside wall and base are unglazed. The interior wall is lightly incised, collecting thicker (and therefore darker) glaze along the incisions. In the case of the rim sherd the incised decoration is of the "swirl" type, being a series of random single line curves given body in places by sweeps of comb dragged incisions. Similar sherds occur on the surface at Manda, Bui and Shanga.¹⁶²

Such decoration occurs on the vessels in group A 1 c of Carla Zainie's classification of white wares and nowhere else.¹⁶³ Apart from a discrepancy of colour, there is remarkable similarity of size, since the vessels Zainie speaks of have an average height of 8 cms., an average rim diameter of 18 cm. a footring average of "5-7" cm." and an average footring height of 1 cm. The two sherds from Manda fit into these general size and proportion categories.

The base fragment shows insufficient of the wall to give a detailed idea of the decoration, but it is undoubtedly of the same general kind as the decoration on the rim sherd. In the centre is a floral motif. This is highlighted by a dark band of thicker glaze settled in a small U groove running round the

centre groin.

If the pale olive vessels are the same as or close relatives to Zainie's "whitish to greyish with a green tinge"¹⁶⁴ as I believe they are, they occur in Yueh and in "celadon" sites in Sarawak,¹⁶⁵ that is to say the archaeological contexts of these vessels from the Far Eastern evidence would support a date somewhere between the seventh and the fourteenth century.

Zainie refers to Feng Hsien Ming's invaluable article in which he notes that the ware is probably from the north and that it was on this ware in the T'ang and Five Dynasties period that "carved and incised decoration made their first appearance on white ware".¹⁶⁶

The occurrence date at Manda is probably a century later than the closing date for the period Zainie suggests, and indicates, assuming that trade time is relatively constant with all Chinese wares that the type has a longer tradition than Zainie was able to divine from the Far Eastern collections available to her. More interesting perhaps is the fact that neither at Manda nor any where else on the Kenyan coast is there any suggestion that these vessels were arriving before the fourteenth century.

LUNG CHU'AN

The Lung Chu'an Celadons are highly fired stonewares usually solidly, if not heavily potted. They were fired in what seem to

have been vast settings of maybe as many as 20,000 - 25,000 pieces. The famous dragon kilns, consisting of an interconnected series of chambers, fired these vessels. They were highly prized on this coast as in so many other parts of the world. A combination of their robustness and their popularity should lead one to expect a longer average life than the earlier, finer vessels, and therefore late levels might well contain pieces of Lung Chu'an from an earlier period than the rest of the assemblage might suggest. This probably accounts for the confusing chronological evidence of the Lung Chu'ans in the coastal sites. The term Lung Chu'an is adhered to as convenient, despite the fact that the main kilns seem to have been moved from Lung Chu'an to Ch'u Chou Fu towards the end of the fourteenth century, and the fact that these export quality types were doubtless made in other places also.

The celadons produced in Chekiang kilns appear at about the time that the Yuch vessels disappear. The excavations in Sarawak lead Miss Zainie to the general conclusion that Yuch vessels were made from the seventh century to the tenth,¹⁶⁸ and that the Lung Chu'an celadons first appear in the Sung-Yuan period and proceed into the mid-fourteenth century. A similar succession occurs on the East African coast sites at least at Manda, but the mid-fourteenth century as a final date for these celadons is too early for the north Kenyan sites, where the Lung Chu'ans are found to have been used considerably later.

It should be noted that there is no confusion in this collect-

ion with the rather earlier Koryu celadons of Korea. It is extremely difficult from the descriptions of the glaze colour to distinguish between Tenryuji and Shichikan celadons. To take Tenryuji for example, Hobson speaks of a "pea green"¹⁶⁹ or of a "sea green" and Gompertz, of a "pale olive".¹⁷⁰ It would seem from the museum pieces that Gompertz's suggestion of a darker, more brownish glaze might be a useful indicator of a Yuan or early Ming date, whereas the paler "almost watery"¹⁷¹ sometimes bluish greens, applied very thickly suggest a Shichikan glaze from a mid Ming or late Ming period. It is difficult to see any useful chronological distinction between these in the archaeological record in the Lamu Archipelago. The low quality of much of the material suggests that these vessels may not fall into any of Gompertz's three major groups and are export wares for which different criteria may have to be developed. They may have come from the same kilns as the finer vessels, in fact they probably did, but that is not proven. The term Lung Chu'an is usually applied to these celadons but in view of the absence of evidence for a kiln at Lung Chu'an itself, of the large number of other places in Chekiang where celadon was made, and of the low quality of the vessels, it is more acceptable to speak merely of Southern Sung, or Ming Celadons. Celadons at this time were made not only in Chekiang province but also in Fukien Kiangsi, and Kwantung.¹⁷² These two categories by period might be subdivided according to kiln site should such an identification be certain.

The paste in all cases in the north Kenyan collection remain the same, being pale greyish white, burning red when exposed in the oxidizing atmosphere in the kiln. Insofar as comparison by description alone is concerned, most of this material, following Palmgren, is from Ch'u Chou Fu and known as Ta Yao, although the glaze variants described as Cho Y'ou, Hsin T'ing and Hang Chou type are also present.¹⁷³ These vessels seem to have replaced the Yueh ones at about the time of the Sung removal to Hangchow and the consequent rearrangement of political power in the province to the detriment of the Yueh princes.

Some of these early Sung vessels reached the north Kenya coast but all of the material is from fourteenth and fifteenth century contexts or from surface collections. There is a slight visible stratigraphical distinction in the distribution of incised or moulded decoration of opaque and watery glazes.

Taking the collection at Manda and fitting it to Bui, Shanga and Dondo as controls, an interesting result emerges. It would seem that the moulded and plain vessels are later than those with incised decoration. This, of course, encourages acceptance of the art historical comments. The proportion changes from a majority of incised vessels in the fourteenth century. There is also a change, associated with decoration, of bulk. The proportion of fine bowls to heavy changes with the decorating method and plain and moulded heavy based, thickly glazed vessels occur consistently above finely potted, incised vessels. Actual function was apparently not affected, since held volume and rim

diameter does not alter significantly. It is not possible to note such distinctions between opaque and watery glazes. Neither is there any satisfactory dating to be had by shape, though a demonstrable coarsening and thickening takes place during the fourteenth century and strongly pinched thick foot-rings are a feature of post fourteenth century levels.¹⁷⁴

There is a faint suggestion that straight wall bowls are slightly later than everted rim bowls, since the bulk of the material from this collection is generally from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and in all stratified cases a pre-sixteenth century and has everted rims whereas the "late" "coarse" Celadons of the more southerly African collections occur in late fifteenth to sixteenth century contexts or later.

The paste colour is at once more significant and easier to describe, and identification is made possible from the sherds. Two rim sherds have the white or off white paste with a pale green translucent glaze attributed to the Ching te Chen area east of lake Po Yang in northern Kiangsi province, and of a late fourteenth century or fifteenth century date; probably within a century of the revival of this immense industry by the Emperor Hung Wu. They are everted rims from small bowls.¹⁷⁵ One has a rim diameter of 20 cm. and a U furrow has been incised as a band below the rim on the interior wall. The glaze is a pale bluish green uncrazed. The other has the same glaze, no incision and a rim diameter of 18 cm. These both come from the last period of occupation at Manda suggesting a date there in or after the

fifteenth century. All the other sherds have grey or greyish white bodies. When thickly applied glaze is mentioned in the following notes, it refers to vessels where two fifths or more of the total thickness is accounted for by glaze.

The celadons from the north Kenyan coast are very fragmentary and only a limited amount can be said about the shapes. Dr. Kirkman notes a similar situation in the Gedi collection.¹⁷⁶

Kirkman's subdivision of the Gedi celadons into three regional variants is a very useful adjunct to the attempts of the art historians to classify by glaze colour and form. Most are dishes or bowls. Two exceptions are lids from large wine jars.¹⁷⁷ The glaze is greenish olive in colour and the dome deeply furrowed, leaving high ribs radiating from a flat top. The diameter of the rim of the vessel which fitted the lid was between 13 and 14 cm., which would suggest a vessel standing between 30 cm. and 35 cm. high. The glaze is of the kind evoked by the poetic descriptions by Hobson and Gompertz, of Tenryuji colours, and this particular sherd may indeed be an early Lung Chu'an. If the glaze colour and thickness are useful criteria, the sherd is early Ming. The shape and decoration support a fourteenth to fifteenth century date, which is also strongly suggested by the context, of the sherd found below the surface being in association with black on yellow and early Islamic Monochrome.

At Kilwa, the only Sung lid has incised lotus motifs on the dome and a moulded flower on the crown. The several lids with moulded ribs and fuller lip of the kind found at Manda are all

from the fourteenth to fifteenth century period.

One very interesting bowl from Manda does what it can to immunise the value of the suggested sequence from gracile to robust, olive to bluish or yellowish green, incised to moulded.¹⁷⁸ It is a thin olive green glaze on a greyish body, potted remarkably heavily, with a most unusual (and in this collection unique) thick, flat, square base. Moulded in the centre is the symbol Shu - the pair of books. Shu is one of the eight precious things of Buddhism. The Shu is surrounded by symbols of Ju-i, the symbol of Buddhist doctrines. There is no full section of the bowl, but comparative material from other collections would lead one to expect a straight lipped dished cavetto bowl with a rim diameter of around 20 cm. or 22 cm.

A very similar greyish olive glaze (though crazed) occurs on a straight rim bowl and a very slightly everted rim bowl with lotus leaves moulded on the exterior wall.¹⁷⁹ This type of mould is the only one to occur on olive glazed vessels and the earliest occurrence of moulding in the celadons. The rim diameter is about 16 cm. in both cases and the archaeological context is certainly fourteenth century at the latter.

The presence in these levels of Sgraffiato may suggest an earlier date for these celadons, though this statement cannot be made firmer since the vestigial Sgraffiato vessels may well have lasted into the fourteenth century, they were after all only superseded by the Black on Yellow ware in that century.

Similarly glazed moulded lotus bowls occur at Kilwa¹⁸⁰ and

are in drawers marked "Ming Celadons" by Mrs. Harrison.¹⁸¹ The Loosins found several bowls very similar to this in shape in their Santa Anna excavation in the Philippines¹⁸² but none seem to have had the olive grey glaze of the Manda vessels. The Santa Anna bowls, in light green and pale blue green glazes are mostly ascribed by reference to Palmgren's classification, to the Chin Ts'un Kilns, while Gyllensvaard ascribes some to Ta Yao.¹⁸³ Both kilns operated in the Southern Sung time Ayers¹⁸⁴ dates vessels with this olive grey glaze to the early Sung and suggests that they have a southern origin, probably from Chekiang. The exact colour occurs most often on vessels which he attributes to Li Shui, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but the curved lotus petals occur on light bluish green vessels which he attributes to Lung Ch'uan and dates to the twelfth or thirteenth centuries. This accords well with the dating of these Lung Chu'an vessels by Gyllensvaard who also attributes a similar olive glaze to that seen at Manda, to the kilns of the Lung Chu'an area.¹⁸⁵ A similar vessel to that suggested by the Manda sherd is vessel number 118 on page 56 of the Kempe collection. Gyllensvaard is reluctant to be more specific about the date for these than to put them in the Sung period and most¹⁸⁶ likely the southern Sung. The Manda finds would suggest a late date of manufacture for these vessels, found as they are in the fourteenth century levels and therefore possibly brought in during the thirteenth century. They would suggest a thirteenth century or possibly late twelfth century date for manufacture, at the earliest, despite the predominantly bluish

green nature of the glazes attributed to this period in most of the big collections.

An unsatisfactorily stratified sherd of this glaze type was found at Manda.¹⁸⁷ It is a body sherd from a bowl which had incised groove ribbing on the exterior wall and a moulded floral pattern in the interior. The glaze and body of this sherd clearly put it in the same general category as the lotus bowls, but exhibits different decorative techniques. Whether these motifs indicate a different period is a question which the stratification of the sherd at Manda cannot answer. However, since it is similar to the lotus bowls in all other particulars it may well be a thirteenth century vessel. Another such body sherd is from a mixed level of sherds from the eleventh century to the fifteenth century and offers no clue to dating and no further information concerning decoration or shape,¹⁸⁸ and a slightly more greenish glaze appears on a body sherd from a small bowl decorated with moulded peonies in the interior.¹⁸⁹ This comes from Mbui and is most likely to be in Mbui by the fourteenth century.

A surface sherd at Mbui has a rim diameter of 14 cm. only and is from a small bowl about 6 cm. high. It has a thickly applied greenish olive glaze and is probably late fourteenth century or early fifteenth century, relying upon the major period for that glaze and overall form.¹⁹⁰ An almost exactly similar rim occurs on a Yueh bowl.¹⁹¹

Incised decoration appears on few sherds in the Northern

collection; and on fewer sherds still which offer indications of the form of vessel from which they came.

There are several everted rim bowls with a diameter of between 15 cm. and 18 cm.¹⁹² Beneath each overhang is a frieze composed of three parallel incised lines set diagonally left to right.¹⁹³ This motif appears on a bowl from grave 25 of the work in the Philippines, and dated by the Locsins as "probably thirteenth or fourteenth century".¹⁹⁴ One of these sherds has a very distinct bluish tinge¹⁹⁵ while the other has the classic pale yellowish green attributed to the fifteenth century Lung Chu'ans.¹⁹⁶ The interior walls are lightly incised with a sweeping curvaceous floral design.¹⁹⁷ Neither sherd in the northern collection has much to say in the way of dating. The one came from a surface collection at Mbui, and the other from a fifteenth century context at Manda.

There are several small bowls with mildly everted rims and with olive green or dark yellowish green glazes. These are very similar to the bluish or yellowish-green vessels though with simpler external incisions, usually amounting to one or two parallel lines below the rim on the outside and occasionally an incised floral motif inside. The presence or absence of the floral motif has no chronological significance among these vessels though one was tempted to accept as proof the evidence of an altogether too small group that the plainer vessels were late. There seems little distinction between the shapes of the olive glazed bowls¹⁹⁸ those of the yellowish green glazed bowls¹⁹⁹ or those of the bluish green

glazed vessels. A small relative stratigraphy experiment showed the olive glazed vessels to be marginally earlier, but again the strength of the evidence in terms of numbers is probably too small. Over the whole celadon collection, however there is no doubt while olive glazed vessels occur most commonly in levels with the bluish and yellowish greens, proportionately they represent only 13% of the Celadon population in the fourteenth and fifteenth century population whereas they are the sole representatives of Celadon prior to the fourteenth century. The olive glaze then appears to be an early characteristic of the Celadon wares. The multiple crossed band²⁰¹ described above is associated almost exclusively with the bluish and yellowish green vessels and is therefore probably a slightly later variant.

Incised olive green bowls occur in several other sites outside Manda²⁰² and in the few occasions where stratified, insist on being regarded as early celadon phenomena. Their presence in a fourteenth century level would of course permit consideration of their having arrived as early as their earliest occurrences in the twelfth or thirteenth century.

Olive bowls which are undecorated are rare. There is only one rim sherd²⁰³ and a few surface body fragments. Enough of these exist for one to reconstruct an unincised straight rim bowl.²⁰⁴

There are several greyish white bodied celadons with thickly applied glaze and incised floral motifs on the centre. Four vessels seem to be rather earlier than the others.²⁰⁵ Two come

from the fourteenth and fifteenth century levels at Manda; being contemporary with and later than the Black on Yellow occurrences, and two from the surface at Shanga and Manda. All have rather dark bluish green glazes. The glaze on two of them is overall crazed on the interior, and the bases on these two are very similar. The footrings have a diameter of 7 cm., are kneed and very slightly heeled on unglazed pink bases. The bases have been roughly excavated and are bevelled upwards towards the footrings. The floral motif on each is carefully, one might say tightly incised. The one appearing to be a peony, the other being a lotus spray. One bowl base in this glaze and body class has a mildly stepped centre groin of the kind associated with the Tin Glaze vessels. The base is unglazed and stands on a thin tip-toe footring.²⁰⁶

The fourth sherd is a base fragment of a large dish. The footring is massive, to take the peculiar strains imposed upon a dish footring, and has a diameter of 14 cm.²⁰⁷ ~~It is pinched~~ ~~It~~ is pinched outside and straight inside; only the foot is unglazed, the glazing on the base being very carefully applied. There is a neat little omphalos in the middle of the base. The glaze is of the same kind as that described for the other three bases, but is not crazed. The floral motif is in a quite different open style. The dish base has characteristics which link it with the pale green celadons of the fifteenth century and may well be slightly later than the bowl bases.

Three bases similar in form have no such centre motif. They

all have a light green glaze (I would call this a pea green!!). Two, with diameters of 6.5 cm. carry curvilinear incisions suggesting that they supported walls with "swirl" abstract, or floral incised decoration. This type of decoration appears to early in other collections. The discovery of these sherds on the surface at Mbui²⁰⁸ and in a late fourteenth or early fifteenth century level at Manda²⁰⁹ would not tend to support this view. The third base has the same diameter and body characteristics, but differs in it's glaze.²¹⁰ The glaze is finely crazed and pale bluish green. There are also two everted rims each with a diameter of 20 cm. with the same body and glaze.²¹¹ These like the base, are from late fourteenth and early fifteenth century contexts. A dish base with a very similar form comes from the Pate surface collection.²¹² The footring has a diameter of 12.5 cm. and is slightly pigeon toed with the same extravagantly pinched outside wall. A much finer dish, very reminiscent of the Blue and White dishes of the seventeenth century, comes from Shanga.²¹³

The centre has a carefully incised floral motif only a scrap of which is extant. The glaze is uncrazed, pale bluish green and does not cover the base, foot or inside footring wall.

A footring base with a tight incised floral decoration was on the surface at Dondo, and has a very thin pale greyish green glaze on a greyish white body.²¹⁴ The incised centre motif is encircled by a line on the centre periphery. The glaze is fairly smoothly applied but at one point there is a tear mark on the

exterior wall just above the groin. At this point, where the glaze is thicker, the glaze becomes a pale bluish green of the colour and texture associated with the thicker glazes of the vessels most commonly associated with the fourteenth century.

~~It is because of cases like this,~~ ^{This is a case} where a vessel in an export situation indicates on one body the variations, or one range of them, possible on an article when the kind of accuracy and consistency important for an "Imperial Piece" is not at a premium. ^{This} ~~that~~ leads one to be very cautious indeed about giving accurate dates for the vessels unless a series of other features can be determined to agree with the period suggested by the glaze. In the north Kenyan collection this combination of agreeing features often occurs but usually in vessels from levels which are themselves vague, being no more accurately attributable than to the one hundred and fifty years after 1400 AD. In view of the extraordinary ignorance about Far Eastern Wares it has been considered worthwhile describing each little group of these vessels in the hope that at some stage a whole collection of reports of this kind, indicating other archaeological associations will permit a clearer understanding of the ranges and peculiarities of the export wares than is at present possible.

The glaze covers the outside of the footring but not the inside or the base, which has fired a greyish pink. The footring is irregularly bevelled and the base is about twice the thickness of the wall. It has a base diameter of 6 cm. I would speculate that despite the surface context of this sherd, it is earlier

than the thicker glazed vessels, being from Dondo which appears to have been deserted by the middle of the fifteenth century, and carrying as it does a thin glaze of the kind closely associated with the early Sung celadons. No such thin glazed celadons appear in post fourteenth century levels any where else on the East African coast. A base from Hidabu²¹⁵ has the same form and body characteristics but has a moulded chrysanthemum in the centre, so ill applied and ^{ill}glazed that only four petals are visible. This is a very roughly potted vessel with a very unevenly applied thin glaze, which is grey-green. Both of these bases have a diameter of 6 cm. No thinly glazed rim sherds were found at Manda but one expects a form for these bases similar to that of the thickly glazed vessels with similar bases.

These bases have a lower wall thickness of around 8 mm. and clearly supported medium sized bowls. A group of incised rim sherds of such bowls has been discussed, there is also a large group of rim sherds showing no body decoration other than thickly applied celadon glaze. All have slightly everted rims and the average rim diameter is 18.5 cm. with very little variation indeed.²¹⁷ Two of these rims have a finely crazed pale yellowish olive glaze and the one from a stratified context is associated with fourteenth century Black on Yellow ware.²¹⁸

Thus the form of bowl occurs in Manda in the fourteenth century and early fifteenth century and is the predominant shape among the early celadons in the finds all along the north Kenyan coast. There are a few variations in this bowl type. From the

surface at Shanga comes a small bowl base with a diameter of 3.5 cm.²¹⁹ The footring is straight and heeled, and unglazed only on the foot. The mildly coned base is glazed. The glaze is a finely crackled light bluish green.

A very closely related vessel, stratified below the first²²⁰ is similarly glazed but has a lower, rounded footring and a gently everted rim.

There is also a slightly everted rim sherd with a grey green glaze with an incised band of parallel lines below the rim cavetto on the exterior and a nicked rim.²²¹ These two sherds are both associated with Black on Yellow wares and are assumed to be from fourteenth century contexts.

These bluish and yellowish green plain celadons were found all over the islands.²²²

There are three tantalising small mis-shapes represented by five sherds, which have diameters between 55 cms. and 38 cms.²²³ They appear to be from kerb lipped ledge rim basins, but satisfactory comparative material for the shape has not yet come to my attention. All are of the yellowish green glaze on a greyish white body fabric and from late or disturbed levels.

The base forms fall into two very distinct categories. There is a gracile group which seems to support everted rims and occasional straight rims, and there is ^athe robust group. The gracile group²²⁴ is usually fully glazed or notionally so on the base and stand on footrings thinner than the body with a consistently straight outer profile, though often heeled. The footring

bases are unglazed. The famous moulded fish centres are very rare in the collection. Only one was found in an excavation.²²⁵ The massive construction of these Late Lung Chu'ans are well known from other sites. The range of footring is illustrated.²²⁶ There is as much variation in the glazing strategy of the bases as there is in the cutting of the footrings. A generalisation which holds for this collection is that low footrings²²⁷ are not common. The heavy base is wholly or partially glazed and held high off the ground on glazed square or pigeon toed footrings. In a few cases²²⁸ there are spur marks from ring pontils in the base or of disc batts used in kiln stacking.²²⁹ Where such definite marks do not exist, it is clear that the glazing of the base is not regarded as important. It is often partially covered with carelessly brushed glaze.

For the most part these heavy bases supported everted ledge rim bowls,²³⁰ but one at least was from a bow cavetto straight rim round lipped bowl.²³¹ That was the vessel to give to baby. The base is so heavy that the bowl would be very difficult to knock over in use.

The grey green glaze also occurs applied very thinly on these everted rim bowls with a steep wall and a ledge rim. The diameter of this rim is 21 cm.²³² This type of vessel unfortunately is from a mixed level in two of the three cases. In the third case a twelfth century date is in order, using the Sgraffiato associations as a guide. This supports the generally early date suggested for this type of glaze, and the shape is

also apparently early.

There is a base sherd in this glaze group with a straight and beveled footring with a glazed base.²³³ The footring is 5 cm. in diameter and the wall leaves it as a very low angle. The same glaze also occurs on a small hollow ledge everted rim bowl with a diameter at the rim of 14 cm.²³⁴ This comes from the surface at Manda.

This shape may well have been the template for the ledge rims on the Islamic Monochrome vessels. It is suggested that the opposite was not the case, in view of the obvious attempt of the potters of the Monochrome ware to recreate not only the ledge rim but also the greens of the celadons and the squared footrings. The grey-green of this glaze occurs in Manda before the first occurrences of the Islamic Monochromes and a reasonable hypothesis might be that this shape was also known that early in the Islamic world, although no archaeological help as to the time of manufacture of this type of rim is available from any of the East African collections.

A steep walled bowl rim with an identical ledged rim to the one mentioned earlier occurs twice associated with Sgraffiato and Black and Yellow sherds and has a thinly applied greyish olive glaze.²³⁵

Within this period, these bowls can be roughly seriated chronologically by a study of their decoration and glaze. In the early part of the period, probably just before the appearance of the Islamic Monochrome wares, and probably just before

the appearance of the Islamic Monochrome wares, and probably some time in the fourteenth century the yellowish olive crazed, and the greyish green glaze appeared in East Africa at around the same time. Perhaps slightly later, bluish green bowls, usually with incised swirl decoration inside and an incised band below the rim on the exterior wall were imported. This decoration also appears under the light yellowish green glazes and these glazes give the impression of occurring slightly later than the bluish ones, probably around the end of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth century. The evidence, offered by so few sherds is, of course, not conclusive, but it makes the most sense in the above arrangement.

Presumably some of these vessels fall into the category described by Mrs. Harrison as "Coarse Celadon". Indeed all the bowls with squared or bevelled footings round an unglazed base may fit that category. I fear, however, that I remain uncertain of the significance of the term. It could mean that all such bowls are from the same kiln or kiln area, or that they are just of an inferior quality (an aesthetic and technical contentment which I would oppose subjectively). Doubtless Mrs. Harrison has good reasons for using this term, but while these remain undivulged it would not be wise for it to fall into common use. It is clear that these vessels have certain features in common, particularly a flat, opaque high gloss glaze, but these as described are not sufficiently discrete from the other celadon types to render them a useful type.

Most of the celadons in fifteenth century and post fifteenth century levels are quite distinctively of the Lung Chu' an type, and are felt to be most likely products of the Shichikan type, though a pre 1500 date would modify Gompertz's feelings about the first appearances of this type.²³⁶ The rims are almost all from everted rim bowls, and the bases all have foot-rings. In all cases but one the walls are gently corrugated, the fluting being on the interior. The exception is a rim from a jar, with a smooth wall. The glaze is thickly applied and light yellowish green, just occasionally with a bluish tinge. Among the rims are two types, a slightly hollowed ledge rim nicked at the lip,²³⁷ and a rim with an exaggerated hollow, the lip returning to the plane of the wall, or inclining to an even steeper angle.²³⁸

A high proportion of these rims is nicked at the lip, and bears incised decoration below the lip, on the ledge, which point up these nicks.²³⁹ Most of the bases of this fabric have footrings and all the footrings are thin. Some are dramatically so, the base being perched on high tip-toe rings.²⁴⁰ In other, more sober cases the rings are less obviously ponderous than other celadon types.²⁴¹

In some cases, only the footring is left unglazed,²⁴² but in others, the base is totally unglazed,²⁴³ or partially so.²⁴⁴ The partially glazed base is also distinctive in that not only does it have ring pontil marks, but also it has an altogether lower, wider footring, albeit tip-toe.²⁴⁵

BARE CIRCLE CELADONS

Several sherds represent the Bare Circle Celadon of Mrs. Harrison. One has a grey green glaze and the light grey body is exposed around the lower interior wall and above the groin.²⁴⁶ The other has a yellowish green glaze which has been badly pinholed in firing and whose bare circle around the centre periphery, and the exposed paste on the footring and base have been fired red.²⁴⁷ Similar vessels to the former type occur at Manda²⁴⁸ and Kipungani²⁴⁹ in Yueh type glazes.

One unusual sherd has the thick fifteenth century celadon glaze, but is unglazed around the whole of the footring, base, groin and lower exterior wall.²⁵⁰ The paste is a pale grey and fires slightly pales. Its provenance suggests that this is from the fifteenth century. With the same glaze and body fabric there are several bases which are fired on ring pontils set right way up on their bases rather than upside down on their centres. If one were to imagine these bowls being fired in twos, one would expect to find this kind of spur mark on both sides, one side to a vessel. The marks are of comparable width and diameter be they inside or outside the bowl. It is suggested that these also are "bare-circle" Celadons.²⁵¹ They must represent either single tier setting or the top pieces of a stack set the other way up. The latter is most unlikely. There is no good stratigraphical evidence as yet to put these vessels at a different time depth from the Shichikan. They must at present be

assumed simply to be low quality types from different kilns. In consideration of the observation that these are not from one kiln or group of kilns; with the Shiehikan the variations in the vessels within the class must be recalled; in particular the "Yueh type" glazes found.

There are very few vessels which are not open bowls. ~~All of~~ These restricted bulbbody short straight neck bowls²⁵² in all cases seem to be late in the celadon period and carry the yellowish green glaze. In one case the outer surface is corrugated²⁵³ and in another its rim is frilled.²⁵⁴

RELATIVES OF CELADON

There is a group of glazes seemingly related to the celadons at both the brown and grey ends of the green spectrum. They suggest that the colour, though in most cases a very useful rule of thumb, may not ultimately be a completely secure criterion for classifying celadon sherds. There are several sherds which in all other particulars than the brown or greyish glaze are similar to the green celadons.

One of these sherds has the semi opaque jade like quality of the Lung Chu'an celadons. The glaze is a rich moderate olive and is thickly applied over a pale grey body and crazed in places. The sherd is from an everted rim bowl with a band of six parallel incised lines under the rim on the exterior wall.²⁵⁵ This is from

a fifteenth or sixteenth century level. Similarly Lung Chu'an in form is the heavy square differential footring bowl from a mixed level with fifteenth or sixteenth century predominant.²⁵⁶

Another in this group is the moderate olive brown fragment of a Yueh bowl, with a rim diameter of 18 cm.²⁵⁷ This is associated with tin glaze and Siraf wares and with early Sgraffiato. The level is probably eleventh century and the period represented by the assemblage in it is ninth to early eleventh century. This is therefore a Yueh piece without a doubt, but it has been fired brown rather than green; a minor variation of oxygen supply in the kiln was enough to achieve this.

An interesting flat base was found on the surface at Siu, which is clearly of this glaze group.²⁵⁸ The small collection of body sherds reinforces the impression that the majority of these brown glazes is not associated with the Yueh period but with Lung Chu'an. Both the glazes themselves, the yellowish tinge with body and the stratigraphy indicates this.²⁵⁹

From a less satisfactory provenance²⁶⁰ comes a very interesting sherd from a footring bowl. The paste is a greyish pink, or mauve, and is porcelaneous. The glaze is of the texture of the thinly applied shiny green glaze which is found on the vessels described by Mrs. Harrison as "Coarse Celadon". It is moderate olive brown in colour.

At Handa there are none of the straight rimmed lotus bowls that are found elsewhere on the coast. In view of the highly unsatisfactory nature of the fifteenth and sixteenth century deposits

in Manda, and its obvious decline at that time, this absence needs no further explanation, particularly if the everted rim bowls appear in other collections to occur earlier. The pea green or pale yellowish green smooth glaze of the Lung Chu'an kind is the most common and is invariably associated with the open incised lotus motif, a good example of which has been found at Vanga.²⁶¹

Associated with the arcade lotus of the kind noted by Dr. Kirkman and found at Manda in a grey glazed stoneware, is most often the highly translucent pale olive green, severely crazed. A fine example of this also comes from Vanga.²⁶²

There are, however, two sherds with crude "arcade" incised decoration on the exterior,²⁶³ which have a dull grey green glaze. These vessels are paralleled at Ungwana.²⁶⁴ This type is probably from the south, maybe from the Swatow region. It is a fourteenth to fifteenth century type.

The Lamu Archipelago collection confirms Freeman-Grenville's impression that "heavy imports of Chinese wares started quite suddenly about the middle of the fourteenth century".²⁶⁵ No town site in the area has been excavated yet in such a way as to permit useful statistics but the impression is firm and negative evidence totally absent. This influx may have been, as Freeman-Grenville says, because of the effect on the Middle Eastern ceramic industry of the collapse of the Abbasid Caliphate under the Mongol attacks and a subsequent interest in maintaining the quantity of imports by changing the routes to the Far East. It may otherwise have been more simply an overall increase in population in the settle-

ments and in number of settlements, taking place precisely at the time when the Lung Chu'ans among the Celadons and the Blue and White wares were coming onto the market.

The commercial links with the Far East are much older and are consistent. Such links with the Persian Gulf show no sign of disruption until the fourteenth century if conjecture about the origin of the Black on Yellow ware is correct. The Mongol invasion may have been the cause of the archaeologically obvious switch in ceramic imports from Sgraffiatos to Black on Yellow. The trade moved out of the Gulf to the Arabian coast.

If the disruptive "effects of the Mongol invasion are factors in this change, as they seem to be in the case of the Islamic pottery, one must predicate the shipping of these Celadons direct from India. The influx might then be explained by the different role played by pottery in the transshipment commerce from India to that played in Iranian commerce. This is a fascinating questions about commercial structures in the Indian Ocean which has not answers yet.

SAWANICHALOK

Not all the celadons found on the north Kenyan coast are from Chinese kilns. A few sherds come from Thailand, though they are clearly related to the Chinese tradition. It would seem that Chinese potters were directly involved in the establishment of

the Sawankhalok kilns around the beginning of the fourteenth century.²⁶⁶ Three of these sherds have a grey paste, very hard (Moh 8).²⁶⁷ The fourth has a much more irregular body; it is basically a dark grey, speckled with black. This paste fires a buff pink when exposed and even when not exposed, has patches of buff, possibly acquired during biscuit firing.²⁶⁸ There is also a difference in glaze, the thickly applied heavily crazed green glaze is a bluish green on the light grey sherds, and a yellowish olive on the darker sherd, the black specks in the paste being very visible through glass.

Only a few sherds diagnostic of form exist so far. One in the light grey paste with a very thick base on a low pinched footring, unglazed on both footring and base,²⁶⁹ another in the darker speckled paste, with the base and inner wall of the footring unglazed.²⁷⁰ There is also a necked rim bowl²⁷¹ and a heavy ledge everted rim bowl.²⁷² Fragments of bowls have been found at Uchi Jun, Bui and Shanga.

Janse²⁷³ makes the uncorroborated statement that the kilns making the Thai green stone wares from Sawankhalok (and these sherds look very like Sawankhalok pieces) were begun in 1350 by Chinese potters. Hobson²⁷⁴ says "I take it that the export of Sawankhalok the only ware on a par with the Chinese stoneware, came to a full stop in 1460 when the town of Sawankhalok was taken by hostile northern forces the potters were dispersed and many of the kilns were left in a hurry with their contents still intact, to be excavated only in the twentieth century". If as in this

account, they left as a result of the Chiejmai invasions, during the Chiejmai / Ayuthia wars, it is not clear where the potters went. The most obvious place is northern Thailand, to the Chiejmai kingdom itself. There is ^a little evidence that such a move may have taken place. Spinks reports that the governor of Chaliang (Sawankhalok) rebelled against Ayuthia and asked protection of Chiejmai, presumably taking with him Sawankhalok potters. This, and the natural dispersion through war and resettlement led to the broadcasting of Sawankhalok potters over wide areas of the northern provinces of the old Sukothai Kingdom.

In the Borneo researches of the Harrisons,²⁷⁵ Sawankhalok celadons do not appear until after the fifteenth century. Volker finds no sign of the Thai vessels in the seventeenth century Dutch records. He observes that if Ayuthia (the Dutch factory and pottery centre in Thailand) had access to any such material it would have appeared in the records, and indeed had a good market.²⁷⁶

Jeremias van Vliet, chief of the Dutch East India Company office in Thailand in 1639 listed the Thai exports without mentioning ceramics and mentions these as imports from China.²⁷⁷ There are no such records of course, for the Iranian dhows and the Indian dhows which may have picked up ceramics from the Thai ports. The Sukhadaya ports of Martaban and Mergui were in the pre Portuguese period important entrepots for goods moving to and from the Persian Gulf and China and Persian Gulf vessels were regular visitors to the west coast of the peninsula to collect Chinese merchandise. But by the sixteenth century when the Dutch and Portuguese had

drastically reduced the threat of the dreaded Malacca Straits pirates, who had been the main reason for the trans-shipment and land portorage to Martaban and Mergui, the port of Ayudhia came into its own. It is known that from that time at least, Thai ceramics were not being exported from Ayudhia in any significant quantity, and it may be safely assumed that if not from there, they were unlikely to be exported in any quantity from elsewhere, or the Dutch would have known of it. Certainly nothing ceramic appears to have left Thailand at that time in European bottoms.

Thus it would appear that these Thai celadons are a strictly fourteenth to fifteenth century phenomenon, beginning, to judge from the archaeological occurrences, not earlier than the fourteenth century and ending before the Dutch arrive and move the main export trade to Ayudhia. It appears to have been a trade therefore largely in the hands of the Persian fleets. The Persian and Indian fleets could have continued to carry Thai wares after the fifteenth century, and they almost certainly did²⁷⁸ but there is no evidence from East Africa after the fifteenth century that they carried Celadons. The Borneo work on these wares might even suggest a tighter period, restricting production exclusively to the fifteenth century.

It is clear that both the Sawankhalok (Svargaloka) and the Sukhodaya kilns were exporting vessels in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It remains to be seen whether the pastes represented in the sherds from the Lamu Archipelago indicate these two kilns. Comparative ocular study of the pastes from northern

Thailand suggest that they do, but no physical or chemical analysis has been possible as yet, it would clearly be an interesting and informative exercise in this case.

Eine Moore²⁷⁹ feels that the clear speckled grey paste is Sawankhalok, and the clear paste is "post 1464" or at least post Sawankhalok but still from northern Thailand.

If the Kenyan collection reflects the true proportions of items and their origins in the Persian Gulf/Far East trade, then the Thai trade was small indeed. It is very significant however that while the Europeans were not carrying Thai pots and did not even notice Thai ceramics in the export trade, the large Thai water pots were steadily trickling into East Africa alongside those from the Annamese and Chinese kilns throughout the two hundred years after the sixteenth century. The Islamic trading fleets were apparently tapping different sources and conducting a trade independent of and and it would seem, beyond the ken of the European companies.

SNUFF BOTTLES

There is a large number of Chinese snuff bottles in private hands in the Lamu area; almost all of them are in a coarse very pale green glaze, almost pale enough on occasion to resemble a coarse Ch'ing Pai. The few not in this category have a darker green glaze of the celadon sort, and in only one case the glaze

is a rather stronger bluish green.

These vessels are standard in shape, being miniature flasks standing about 6.2 cm. high and decorated with moulded stylised floral or block geometrical patterns more restrained than those characteristic of earlier periods.²⁸⁰ One such little flask in the Dar es Salaam collection of these vessels was part of the kit of a witch doctor. Their use in the north Kenyan coast was apparently more prosaic; they were in all cases described as snuff bottles, which indeed is what they were made as but they are also invariably associated with kohl. Their role as receptacles for kohl is and almost certainly was their principle function. Such late "Ch'ing Pai" bottles do not appear in the famous snuff box collections of the world and accordingly not in the standard texts on the subject.²⁸¹ The vessels are moulded in a split mould and luted vertically along the two narrow sides. The seam is usually pronounced. Almost always when they break, they do so at the lute line.

RED-BODIED WHITE

At Manda fragments of two bowls were found of a hard compact pinkish-brown paste with a finely ground temper. They were identical in size, with slightly everted rims and narrow pinched foot-rings. The vessels were finely potted and accurately turned on a fast wheel.²⁸² Three low ridges appear as cordons

around the footring and they sit slightly proud of the glaze level; being thus only slightly covered with glaze they stand out dark against the white glaze. The glaze itself is creamy white and crazed though in places dulled. In one of the bowls the glaze is by no means well fired. It is disastrously pinholed along and under the rim, in patches round the lower body and footring and around a major contusion on the upper body exterior. There are signs of tender edge in places. The footring base and bowl base exterior are unglazed. The exposed paste has not fired to a different colour from the covered paste.

There are shallow wavy lines incised vertically before firing on one sherd, but insufficient of the vessel remains to determine the overall pattern. Barbara Harrison²⁸³ observes that some vessels of this ware have a "foliate rim" and that "incised rings in the interior centre near the footring" are common. No such examples have as yet appeared on the North Kenyan coast, although such vessels do occur at Kilwa.

Both of these vessels come from the latest levels at Manda. Similar vessels, and shallow dishes with straight vertical rims, were found at Kilwa in sixteenth and seventeenth century contexts,²⁸⁴ and a fragment of a dish comes from the latest period at Kiunga in what is almost certainly a sixteenth century context.²⁸⁵ This dish has a crimped scalloped ledge rim very much like that found at Kilwa. There is also a small straight rim bowl from Siu in a private collection.²⁸⁶ This ware has been found in Iran in contexts

suggesting a similar period. At Fort Jesus, fragments of it were found in pre - 1698 levels and it has been found at Brunei in levels earlier than the destruction of that town in 1645.²⁸⁷

The glaze is quite unlike any white glaze employed by potters in the Islamic world in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and it seems quite reasonable to accept that this is a Far Eastern ware. Barbara Harrison has suggested that these vessels may be in imitation of the Sawankhalok white wares. At this date the vessels were certainly not from Sawankhalok or any other Ayudhya kiln and must have hailed from the Chiengmai area.²⁸⁸

A study of Dr. Spinks' "The Ceramic Wares of Siam" leaves me only slightly wiser at the end as to the range of pastes used in the region, but a modern one described by him from the Rajapuri area and kilns is "rather dark in colour and resembles adobe".²⁸⁹

Certainly several of the vessels from these kilns seen by me are remarkably similar though I did not have in my possession a piece of the East African type to carry out a direct comparison.

It is certainly conceivable that these vessels with glazes similar to the creamy white Sawankhalok glazes and a paste not unlike that still in use, came from Northern Thailand. There are no closer parallels at all.

I have another
reference to
James Clouston's collection and specimens were particularly useful
for the present - historical material, a group representing what the

CHINESE BLUE AND WHITE

The bulk of the Chinese Blue and White material in the collection is from the surface and top levels of sites, post dating the coming of the Portuguese. This is not unexpected. It seems to be the Portuguese, and later the Dutch who initiated the bulk transportation of Chinese wares to the Indian Ocean, and the major part of this material was Blue and White ware. It was very common all over the Indian Ocean world, wherever Portuguese ships went. In Goa it was so cheap that it equipped the Royal Hospital.

It is proper to make a direct association between the presence of large quantities of Blue and White vessels and Portuguese trading influence.

The Chinese Blue and White material from Manda is all from the upper two levels and can offer no useful information about the seriation of form or colour. The description of the Blue and White material in the archipelago therefore accepts where possible the chronological and stylistic conclusions of experts using other material and applies them to the archaeology of the area. The work of Garner offers the most useful assessment of the chronological changes in the blue and white materials.²⁹⁰ I have supplemented and modified it where it seems reasonable to do so with reference to Harrison, the Leccins, Addis, Hobson and Pope.²⁹¹ James Kirkman's collection and comments were particularly useful for the post - sixteenth material, a group concerning which the

sites on the Kenyan coast offer a great deal of information.

Perhaps of greater interest than the Manda material, much of which is well-known types is the post sixteenth century material from the Archipelago. Very little is known and less published of these late types, and for this reason an assessment of the surface finds of the post sixteenth century material is important. This material offers little direct or relative dating. The Siu sondage, in the area ^{which is} claimed to have supported the Famau Palace, is the exception.²⁹² There, a limited amount of stratigraphical evidence is available.

There are very few blue and white sherds at Manda and all are of a poor quality. Among the early blue and whites, Manda offers no examples of the early export types of the early fourteenth and possibly late thirteenth century described by Addis²⁹³ and the Loosins,²⁹⁴ and has nothing to contribute to the disagreements arising from the possibilities for pre-Ming, possibly even Sung, dates for the first Blue and Whites.

If vessels of this ware were manufactured so early, they do not seem to have reached the East African recesses of the export market. This is the more interesting in view of the fact that the "Mohamedan Blue" cobalt of the Middle East was exported to China so early, probably as early as the eighth century²⁹⁵ and that a market for blue and white wares was firmly established in the form of the Blue Splash Tin Glaze ware throughout the settlements of the western littoral of the Indian Ocean.

A small group of sherds has a bluish-white glaze, usually with an open crazing and a pale wash blue. This blue has iron spots at the points where it is most thickly applied. This is ascribed normally to the early fifteenth century or earlier. But such patches are not on any Manda sherd slightly sunken to form the 'heaped and piled' surface commonly ascribed to these early wares. No eighteenth century material occurs at Manda, so the eighteenth ^{century} Blue and White copies of the fourteenth and fifteenth century vessels do not complicate the issue.

There is nothing in the Manda collection which matches the fourteenth century vessels of Ardebil, Hama or Karakhoto; the earliest related sherds are fifteenth century of the various Philippine sites or indeed of the fourteenth century blue and white collection from Kilwa.²⁹⁶

The earliest pieces seem to be from the fifteenth century, and where there is reliable stratigraphical evidence at Manda this is confirmed by strict association with the Islamic Monochrome vessels. The blue in the Manda collection is generally a clear strong or moderate blue, often rather pale. One sherd is from a dish with a base diameter of 17 cms. Since the forms for these Blue and White vessels are so predictable it may safely be said that this was a base from a dish with an everted or everted ledged rim of a diameter of around 25 cm. In the centre is a double "Vajra", encircled by two parallel lines along the base periphery.²⁹⁷ Mounted on this line and reaching up the cavetto are four flower vases of the kind associated with portrayals of one of the eight

Taoist emblems of the immortals, the Lin Tsai Ho. Each of these is positioned opposite the ends of the Vajra points. The Vajra itself is one of the symbols of Indra, lord of the sky and rain-maker in Hindu belief.

J. M. Addis, in his most valuable paper presented to the Manila Trade Conference²⁹⁸ expresses the feeling that the addition of ribands to the double Vajra may be a Cheng Hsu characteristic. The Manda fragment is infuriatingly frustrating in this respect in that the surface decoration is not complete enough for one to ascertain the presence or absence of the riband. The vessel is in this respect like the fourteenth century Karakhoto sherd illustrated by Pope²⁹⁹ and two more reported by Addis.³⁰⁰ Addis concludes that "We have then the double Vajra occurring very rarely in the Yuan dynasty and perhaps in the Hung Wu period. But it does not occur in the fifteenth century before Ch'eng Hsu." He gives as his reason for this Ch'eng Hsu date the fact that there is no vessel known with this decoration from the early fifteenth century until the mid fifteenth century, and the fact that the temple of Chen Chueh Sze in Peking displays such a double Vajra motif. He assumes from these facts that the symbol was revived, or was still used, but has not been noticed, around 1465. The argument insofar as it depends upon what has already been observed in the collections is clearly weak. This is the more so since such close dating as that demanded for the idea that the double Vajra was dropped at the beginning of the fifteenth century and revived sixty years later, simply is not available, either

from archaeological sites or, from museum studies. Nevertheless this does not mean to say that the overall thesis does not stand if modified in detail. It is that the symbol was rare on Blue and White ceramics before the second half of the fifteenth century and that then its greater use may well be associated with the brief period in the sixties when the Buddhists were very much in the news, to die out rapidly again as the fortunes of the famous new temple plunged. The quality of the blue would certainly argue for a mid to third quarter fifteenth century date. It is therefore at least a reasonable guess that this dish is a Ch'eng Hua piece. ^{There is a} ~~The~~ complication, ~~is that~~ ^{is} by the same token that Addis' comments about the gap in information about the early fifteenth century apply as annoyingly to many other aspects of the Blue and Whites of that period. The glaze is open crazed and a very pale bluish white. The base is glazed, as is the footring at all points except the footring base itself. The footring is pigeon toed and differential. More particularly the external decoration disturbs the normal neat categorisations. It is of the open "calligraphic Floral" style (Pope's phrase) usually associated with the earlier half of the fifteenth century.

None of the "undercut footrings" at Ardebil are very like this from Manda, but it is interesting to note that all those of the "undercut" type are according to Pope, in the sixteenth century collection. It would seem better to attempt some more useful comment from the glaze and the blue, since the footring comparisons, such as they are, ^{are} at variance with all the other comparisons.

Garner (making no comment about iron spots) observes that the heaped and piled material is mid fifteenth century or earlier and therefore by negative reasoning, ^{he} would presumably be content with a Ch'eng Hua rather than a Yung Lo or Hsuang Te period for this dish. This inclination would be supported by Pope's first mention of glazed bases in the mid fifteenth century. The restrained, rather geometric style of the little decoration that can be seen would also give preference to a date in the second half of the fifteenth century. Furthermore, the very expert and delicate petting of the high, thin footring, if not its shape is recognised by Pope,³⁰¹ and generally accepted elsewhere as a characteristic innovation of the Hsuang Te period. The fabric, a very pale ivory at the base and off-white in the body is also of the kind described by Pope³⁰² for that period and again generally accepted. Certainly the vessels Pope describes do have precisely the same colouring and texture in my mind, but a direct comparison, rather than a carried impression from seeing one collection and then another, would be the only way of beginning a serious analysis of these problems. In this case, as so often in Chinese Porcelain and Stoneware studies, the only solution to the many vaguenesses and circumlocutions has to be a careful and less random and directly comparative study with the material or parts of it, and an intelligent and more prolific use of the physical and chemical methods of analysing the fabrics themselves.³⁰³

A case in point is the presence of iron spots on this sherd. Pope's work at Ardebil convinces him that after the mid fifteenth

century the iron spots are no longer in evidence. The dish has such spots. It could well be that, although the finer quality wares of the kind found in the great collections at Ardebil, Topkapu, Sarayi Muzesi and in the other collections of Imperial wares, were produced by men both capable and concerned to control the manufacture of their products at a high standard of perfection, this need not have been the case with the export wares. The quality of the export wares reaching East Africa from China is not generally high. Finesse is not to be looked for in such wares. It is far more likely that stylistic changes will be more immediately apparent in these export wares than technical improvements. The weight of the evidence therefore, at the end of a great deal of juggling with criteria, is that this dish is from the latter half of the fifteenth century, and is probably from the Ch'eng Hua period.

From the surface at Manda comes a very interesting bowl base.³⁰⁴ This is a "Hole bottom" bowl of the kind described by Addis³⁰⁵ and referred to by Harrison in her notes on the Nairobi collections written before the main Manda collection was taken.³⁰⁶ Addis prefers the term "recessed base" which somehow lacks flair, and goes on to remark that this is a "very distinctive idiom of potting, implying both a particular provenance and or a relatively short period of manufacture".³⁰⁷ He combines this interesting hypothesis with stylistic evidence, particularly concerning the motifs, and allots to it a "relatively restricted period, say a generation or not much more, beginning perhaps in the Ch'eng Hua

period and extending perhaps to Ch'eng Teh".³⁰⁸ The blue, the fabric, and the glaze certainly all suggest a fifteenth century date independently of the hole bottom and certainly with a post sixties date rather better than ^{an}earlier^{one}, because of the distinctly silvery nature of the blue. This kind of base is found on a blue and white sherd of probably a similar date in the collection in the National Museum at Dar es Salaam, and comes from the excavations of Mr. Chittick at Kilwa. Barbara Harrison has a note with a Celadon base of this kind, also from Kilwa, attributing it to the fifteenth century.

We may hope therefore for some stratigraphical assistance from the Kilwa excavations. Outside the African collections this type of base is found on Celadon sherds from the fifteenth century. It does seem certain that the restricted period and probably highly localised manufacture are justified assumptions. In all of the cases I have seen the similarities are very striking and the details of feel and cut insist that only a few potters were involved.

Two small sherds from everted rim bowls have glaze and blue characteristics similar to those of the dish.³⁰⁹ The rim diameter of one is 14 cm. and the other is not measurable but is smaller. A roughly painted alternate diagonal hatched frieze runs below the eversion on the outside of one of the bowls, and a parallel blue line runs along the top of the eversion. A frieze of indistinguishable motifs runs along the eversion of the other bowl. Both vessels have a floral decoration on the exterior wall, but are too fragmentary for the detail to be discerned. A small footring

bowl base of this type of glaze, fabric and blue was also found at Kanda. It has a narrow high heeled ring section and the base is completely glazed, as is the footring. As a result of this flaring of the base, there is a good deal of sieve sand embedded in the glaze around the footring. This shape of footring occurs on small bowls at Ardebil in the early or middle fifteenth century³¹⁰ and the glazed base is specifically mentioned on these bowls by Pope.³¹¹ It is important to note however that the high narrow footring certainly is not exclusive to the fifteenth century in the export wares on the East African coast. It is a consistent feature of small straight rim bowls and everted rim bowls in the Kilwa, Fort Jesus, Mowa Maji and Lamu Archipelago collections right through to the twentieth century, and still persists in the south China and Hong Kong vessels of today.

The base diameter is close to 3.5 cm. and the body curvature is close to that of the smaller of the two rims mentioned above.³¹² I have therefore attempted a reconstruction of the vessels concerned. No such everted rim bowl is mentioned in the publications concerning the famous great collections, but similar material was found at Kilwa in some quantity in fifteenth century levels.³¹³ There are other bases from this early period for Blue and White in the islands.³¹⁴ There is one finely potted high footring vessel with a base diameter of around 4 cm.³¹⁴ and there are two with lower, broader footrings.³¹⁵ None of these footrings is glazed all over. From the top level at Uchi Juu a very similar, finely potted high narrow footring based bowl emerged,³¹⁶ along with several fine

elegantly potted bowl rimsherds.³¹⁷ ³³⁰ It seems clear that there were both gently everted rim and straight rim bowls imported in the fifteenth century. These are generally of exceptionally high quality for the collection as a whole. Another excellent example of the high narrow footring base came from She Jafari.³¹⁸

These fine little bowls invariably carry a delicate little frieze along the rim either on the inside or the outside. This frieze either takes the form of a geometric repeated pattern³¹⁹ or a random floral tendril motif running along the rim.³²⁰ In all cases where such a frieze is not used a multiple parallel line cordon is used instead.³²¹ The iron spotting is used extensively, or more properly it should perhaps be said that it occurs extensively on these painted friezes. The blue, the paint style, the form and the glaze and fabric all insist that these bowls are fifteenth century products. It is interesting that there is so little of this material at Manda, which was certainly occupied at that time, while at Uchi Juu and She Jafari for example there were in the sondages high proportions of this to the overall assemblage. Fifteenth century material also emerged at Bui.³²² It is clear that altogether too little is known of these northern coastal sites and that until more work is done an explanation of curious little lacunae of this kind will not be found.

There are a few sherds which have the dark linear superimpositions on a strong blue motif which heralds the advent of the line and fill motifs of the sixteenth century. There is a footring bowl base from Manda in this category. The iron spots are

present, but the lack of crazing, the dark lines and the glazed base, the slightly heeled footring unglazed at its base, all suggest a date in the fifteenth century. The centre motif is a roughly executed peony, encircled by two parallel lines along the centre periphery.³²³ A closely related bowl base was found at Faza³²⁴ and at Manda³²⁵ in a late level. A few bowl rims of the same kind have been found, the best two perhaps being from Uohi Juu³²⁶ and Manda³²⁷ in top levels.

One very poorly potted straight rim bowl with rough walls and a rim so rough that in the short distance left to us there is no way of coming within ten per cent of the right diameter measurement, occurs in a mixed level at the top of the Manda excavations. It carries no recognisable motif but the bold sweep of the painting under a non geometric frieze, together with the poor potting suggests an early fifteenth century date and an export piece. The rough surface, though not associated in this case with the dark spots in the blue, is the closest we have to Garner's "heaped and Piled" surface.

From the late fifteenth century or early sixteenth century come three sherds from Manda; two from indiscernible forms of vessel³²⁹ and one from a bowl base.³³⁰ All have a much stronger blue and the glaze is white and uncrazed. The motifs are by no means of the line and fill type so characteristic of post fifteenth century vessels, but there are areas of the decoration thus picked out by darker lines at the edges. The bowl base and footring are fully glazed save for base of the footring itself. The glaze is uncrazed and fine bluish white. The centre motif is a

spike peony enclosed in a random fashion by darker lines. The centre is encircled at the centre periphery by a single line. The foot-ring has a diameter of 4 cm. and a slightly heeled, thin, high section. Despite the fact that the planes of wall and base at the groin and centre periphery are absolutely in line, there is no sign that the footring was applied. The sherd is broken in such a way that application is most unlikely, and in spite of the abnormally well fettled base one might presume the few fine manufacture marks to be excavation lines. This is the only Chinese Blue and White ware base which invites such discussion. All the others in the collection are excavated or in some late cases possibly moulded and trimmed.

One of the body sherds has an unrecognisable motif in a medallion. There is one sherd which is certainly a Ch'eng Hua piece. It is from a large everted rim bowl found at Manda.³³¹ The rim diameter is 18 cm. and the wall thickness a mere 4 mm. The glaze is whiter than the earlier fifteenth century vessels, and on the exterior wall are tendrils in blue outlined by heavier blue lines. Along the eversion and pendant to it on the interior are a series of oblong fingers of blue, running for different lengths down the cavetto, ribbed with darker lines and banded below by a single narrow line. Hobson³³² mentions that some regard Ch'eng Hua material as characteristically thinner than Hsuang Te. The pottery of the bowl is indeed fine, but so is that of other vessels from the same era but outside the Ch'eng Hua range, vessels which are distinguishable by other character-

istics. Hobson is also supported by the few Archipelago sherds in dismissing the idea that "the blue of the former (Hsuang Te) was pale and the latter (Cheng Hua) was dark".³³³ The vessels at Manda show a tendency to pale towards the end of the fifteenth century, though it must be admitted that the stratigraphy is not all it might be for this period.

One straight rimmed bowl with a rim diameter of 19 cm. has a bright strong blue decoration with moderate blue dark outlines.³³⁴ The wash often ignores to restrictions set out by the outlines. The floral motifs cover the exterior, but on the interior there is only a band of blue below the lip and a series of small corrugated semi-circles pendant from the band. The glaze is a bright clear white with a slightly bluish tinge. This bowl is from the Chia Ching period. Something remarkably similar comes from Manda.

There are two later vessels in Manda levels. One is a small everted dish, with a base diameter of 14 cms.³³⁵ It is of the late sixteenth century Wan Li type. One is a heavily potted base of a large bowl.³³⁶ The footring is square, high and pigeon toed; the base diameter is 7 cms. The walls have a mean of means of 7 mm. and the heaviness of the potting is emphasised by the roughness of the irregularity in the glaze thickness. The glaze is uncrazed and off white in colour. The blue is pale greyish blue with dark outlines and highlight lines, some of which have brown patches and strips. The pale blue fill ignores the demarcations of the outlines. The centre is decorated with a very roughly drawn peony

surrounded by leaves and tendrils. Two parallel lines run along the centre periphery. The parts of this vessel is slightly different from the others. It is flaked with black. The black is not identifiable under a binocular microscope, but petrographic analysis should give the information needed. This is a very much later shard than anything else in the Hsiao collection and is eighteenth century or possibly late seventeenth century.

The base is unglazed as is the base of the footring and its inner wall. There is sludge used in the glass creep over part of the base. The composition of the sludge used should be recorded from physical analysis.

There is one other base without blue marking other than a ring round the grain. It would seem to be a Cheng-hua or early sixteenth century vessel. The texture of the white glass supports this. It is from a stratigraphically useless mound, disturbed top level at Hsiao.

A large number of blue and white shards occur in the surface collections from the Liao-Kiang area. Most vessels represented in these surface collections are small bowls with rim diameters in the neighbourhood of 14 cm. There are two pieces from Dzung which Herbert Harrison has seen and feels "could be fourteenth century".³³⁷ This is an acceptable hypothesis but the very bluish white and the pale blue of one shard at least, militates more towards the Yung Lo or Tsung Lo periods. No judge from the Liao-Kiang collection associated, a later date than that for the decoration of Dzung does not seem likely.

One dish or plate from the lowest level of the excavation at the Makiti wa Pwani at Pate,³³⁸ which is probably an old beach level, comes a fifteenth century dish or plate which Barbara Harrison has seen and called "Swatow fifteenth century".³³⁹ The glaze is very smooth and heavily crazed and the base is of the "recessed" kind, the footring being pinched outside to a straight inside wall, neither the inside wall nor the base is glazed. The base diameter is 16 cms.³⁴⁰ If Addis's theory about the date for "hole bottom" vessels is true, this is from the late fifteenth century. The brushed blue design supports this theory, and in low quality export ware, the absence of glaze on the base need not suggest an early fifteenth century date. Indeed dishes and plates continued to be made with unglazed bases right into the nineteenth century.

This glaze is very different from the whiter, more opaque, more matt white glaze of the vessels labelled Swatow by Harrison in Dar-es-Salaam.^{340a} It is very different from the unusual Blue and White vessels. Although the paste is the same, it is frustrating to have to do this but these sherds must be designated as "provincial" simply meaning of unusual and unknown origin. Another of the same kind, without line and fill blue decoration is described by Harrison as being fifteenth to sixteenth century.³⁴¹ It is a bowl with a high square foot and a glazed base. It is similar in every respect of colour, crazed bluish white glaze with large unglazed patches, and wash blue decoration, to the recessed base dish mentioned above, and found in the same place. The centre

bears a posy with ribbons set in a cash drawn on the centre periphery.³⁴² This vessel is given a latter date than the other by Harrison. She can only have made the distinction by shape, and indeed she mentions the "high foot" on her label. This slightly later date may be supported by some evidence concerned with the distribution of high-footed blue and white bowls in the Far Eastern archaeological sites. The roughly executed line and fill appearing on the centre argues certainly for a late fifteenth century date but not necessarily for a sixteenth century date. A similar vessel with a lower footring and glazed base, but with line and fill centre decoration and wash decoration on the exterior wall comes from the surface at Wiyuni. In neither case are the motifs recognisable.

The dull, opaque white, occurs again on a jar sherd from the surface at Manda. This time the opacity is aided by a white slip over a stoneware body.³⁴³ The fragment is too small for comment other than to compare it in texture, glaze colour and quality of blue with the "Swatows" of Mrs. Harrison.

There are some bare circle blue and whites with the greyish white glaze unevenly applied and greyish blue with liberal streaks of brown. All of these sherds are glazed over the base and footring walls. The paste is off-white and flecked with black. The bases are from large bowls and are glazed. They are heavily potted, with a mean of means wall thickness of 5.5 mm. and base mean of means thickness of 8.5 mm. The mean base diameter is 9 cms. The footrings are bow and pinched and the base is often hung, so low that in one case the base has been bevelled off in

the centre to prevent it from becoming a spinner, and the base of another actually touches the same plane as the footring 3 mm. before the centre and has the promise of being a very athletic spinner.³⁴⁴ The centre of these bases is often dimpled and the glaze on some of the centres and bases is very badly damaged by sand accretions during firing.

Other bare circle vessels, less common, are also bowls but have a very high bevelled and heeled footring with a diameter of 7 cms.^{345a} Once again base and footring walls are glazed. The vessels are more thinly potted and have a very pale blue glaze with light greyish blue paint. The paste is grey-white speckled with black. One such sherd comes from level 1 at Pate³⁴⁵ and is probably late eighteenth century early nineteenth century, another is from Shanga, in a level which theoretically should be sixteenth century.³⁴⁶ There are bowls with blue infilled peonies on the exterior wall and a rough floral motif on the centre.^{346a} The footring available for this group is high, slightly heeled, and often differential, with the base higher than the groin.³⁴⁷

This type and the pointed petal peony appears in apparently seventeenth century and in early and mid eighteenth century contexts in Tanzanian sites and in Fort Jesus. The term peony has been applied to the tightly bunched round petals of these flowers. They might as easily be chrysanthemums. The writer can never recognise the real thing, let alone their images. We all seem at odds as to whether a peony or a chrysanthemum is depicted. There is little moderate value in a true identification of the flower

and less in using both the current terms. I have used the word peony throughout. On the sixteenth and early seventeenth century fabrics the peony becomes the most popular painted motif. The earliest peonies are infilled, but soon, in the sixteenth century already, a blob appears, being essentially a series of radial lines with a blue blob on the end of each, the whole sometimes infilled, sometimes not.³⁴⁸ These peonies all appear on bowls, and the bowls are prominent in surface collections throughout the archipelago.

Another group of bowls with the peony motif seems to be slightly later than that described above, the petals are outlined only, with a single line running up the centre, and the hip is filled.³⁴⁹ One of these is from Pate surface and has part of an incomplete shop mark on the base.³⁵⁰ The glaze is bluish white, almost strong enough to speak of a very pale blue, and the blue painting is strong to moderate blue. Inside, two parallel lines often run round the rim and two more round the bottom of the wall. An indecipherable, possibly floral, scribble motif is in the centre. The rim diameter is around 11 cms.³⁵¹ and the base diameter is 4 cms. The footring is differential, with the plane of the base rather higher than the wall plane. It is high and straight with a rounded base. A similar peony motif, although on a dish with a pinched footring of a diameter of 10 cms., appears in the surface collection from Tundwa.

Four other sherds, from a level which is probably early eighteenth century at Pate and from the surface collection there have

have peony motifs which consist of a dark centre surrounded by the old radiating lines but this time with two or three lines running out for each petal. At the end of each are blobs of blue paint.³⁵² The blue varies between strong and moderate to dark greyish blue, and the outline and fill technique is not used. The rim diameter of these vessels is 15 cm. in all cases. The base diameter is around 7 cms. Stuck to the glaze of one of these bowls from the footring to above the groin is a patch of sieve grit particles. The glaze is pitted and ill applied on the interior. Another style in this motif, though much less common, is a catherine wheel flower with the whole outline blurred. This emblem is also on a vessel of a unique shape for the peony bowls found at Siu and at Pate. The rim is sharply everted. Unfortunately, it is not possible to obtain a diameter measurement. The same basic motif also appears completely filled or randomly highlighted by darker painted streaks. This motif occurs exclusively on straight walled bowls with very slightly everted rims. The footring appears to have been low and pinched on both sides. No complete section is known from the North Kenyan coast. The glaze is very unevenly applied and in places there are unglazed pits and cracks. There is no direct archaeological indication of dates, but a date in the latter half of the eighteenth century is most likely taking the general surface association into account and assuming that this is a variation of the peony theme preceding the vogue for pointed and spiked peonies.

The attempts of the Chinese potters of the eighteenth century

to imitate the iron spots of the fourteenth and fifteenth century wares usually resulted in the presence in the blue patches of darker blue marbling and of veining.³⁵³ This phenomenon is very clear on these peony bowls. The very spiky kind³⁵⁴ is definitely a late eighteenth and early nineteenth century motif and had never appeared on bowls as the filled "peony" had.³⁵⁵ It is associated with a lower, thicker range of footrings, sometimes with the base glazed, sometimes not.^{354a} It always occurs in the East African collections on dishes, often large charger dishes. On European copies only have these spiked "peonies" been found on bowls.³⁵⁶ Fragments of such vessels occur in the surface collections from Tundwa, Kipungani, Kisingitini, Matondoni, Ungu, Hedabu, Wiyuni, Pate, Faza, Lamu, Shela and Siu. They are cavetto-walled straight-rim, round-lipped charger dishes with a base diameter of 17 cms. and a rim diameter of 30 cms.³⁵⁷ These vessels are decorated all over with chrysanthemum motifs, The footring is high and straight and the base unglazed. On the exterior wall are random Buddhist symbols or flowersprays. The very fine vessels of this kind in the National Museum collection in Dar-es-Salaam permit a study of these external symbols, the most popular of which seems to be Hua Lan and Ch'ang (the ribboned book and the stylised posy).^{357a} These vessels are usually of a fine white porcelain, with clear, strong blue decoration. In one case, however, a surface sherd from Pate, the paste has a much higher iron content. The glaze is greyish white and unevenly applied, leaving small bare patches in places where the staining

is particularly bad. The blue is a dull grey-blue.

There is some chronological evidence for seeing a progression in style from the sixteenth century filled peonies³⁵⁸ through blob peonies to those with blobbed ends on multilinear petals, to those with pointed blobs³⁵⁹ to those with spikes. With the exception of the penultimate in that list, the fabrics, blues, glazes and shapes all demand such a chronological distinction. This strong stylistic evidence does not prove the point. It remains to be seen if the chronological evidence for Fort Jesus in particular, but one hopes, also for excavations yet to be undertaken at Siu, Pate and Faza, as well as in Lamu town, confirm this suggestion.

From the surface at Faza comes a massive square footing base with a mean body thickness of 1.1 cms. and a diameter of 12 cms.³⁶⁰ The base and centre are both glazed; only the foot is not. The paste is greyish-white freckled black. This type of footing invariably supports a bowl. This bowl has a bare circle along the centre periphery. No indication of the kind of bowl is offered because the wall has been carefully chipped off to the level of the centre. In the middle of the centre is an indecipherable calligraphic motif.

There is an utterly delightful dish from the surface at Sui.³⁶¹ Four birds are threatening each other among floral sprays. The date of the vessel is uncertain but the overall style, colour and texture would suggest a late seventeenth century date for it.

There is also an eighteenth century stem cup base from the

surface at Pate, with a diameter of 3 cms.

One unusual form comes from the surface at Tundwa and appears to be from the late seventeenth - eighteenth century period. It has a straight wall with everted ledge rim, with random blobs of blue dotting the ledge between parallel blue lines. The mean wall thickness is unusually thick (6 mm.) and the rim diameter is 28 cms. The lip, which is almost square, is unglazed.

There is a large number of vessels with a smooth greyish-white glaze and slate blue free floral decoration, details of which are not clear. Certainly the broad swept, floral designs executed with a thick brush are predominant. These are described here as "bold brush floral" bowls.

The two principal shapes represented by the sherds are an everted rim bowl with a rim diameter of 14 cms. and an everted rim dish. The rim of the dish in the Institute collection from Pate is scalloped. The dish bases with a diameter of 17 cms. seem to be consistently glazed and to have radial chatter marks. Such marks are mentioned by Garner³⁶² as being characteristics of the Transition Period of the first half of the seventeenth century. They also have low footrings pinched outside to a point with the straight inside wall. These vessels are seventeenth century in manufacture and are found well into the eighteenth century. They predominate in sites eclipsed during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and representatives of the type are found in the Sid sondage in early palace levels.

Among the mid sixteenth century Ch'ing sherds from Pate and

and Siu are fragments of a dish with a glazed base and a garden-scape decoration in the centre. The commonest form is the small bowl with the flower motif in the centre. One sherd has a mark on its glazed base. From the Wan-Li period are dishes and bowls;³⁶³ one dish has a base diameter of 17 cms. and the rim is everted. The dull, heavy quality of the blue on this vessel could make it late Ming and mid seventeenth century, though it is in the Wan-Li style. The centre depicts a deer and a tree.³⁶⁴ Similar vessels occur at Fort Jesus in the seventeenth century, and several of these also are part Wan-Li.

This sherd is particularly interesting because the vessel has drilled holes presumably for purposes of repair. These holes are quite different from those on Islamic or local vessels; instead of the large bevel common on the latter, these holes in this sherd are straight walled, drilled from inside out. This indicates the use of a drill rather than emery powder and a hand-held rod, which is the common theory for how holes were drilled through the local and Islamic vessels on the coast. Although emery is H9 and this porcelain is H8 it is not possible that such holes could have been made without a drill; it is not clear what sort of drill was available to the Swahili in the sixteenth century but the rather corrugated section of the walls of the holes and the inward reaching lip at the end of each one directly beneath the surface suggest that the drill swayed in inverse proportion to the spinning of the bit and more so when turned slowly and more carefully at the end in an attempt to limit the flaking off of glaze as the

emerged. In addition a hand held drill stick would not permit of the consistently heavier pressure needed to drill so hard a substance as porcelain without cracking it. These factors suggest that a bow-drill was part of the equipment of the Swahili craftsmen by the end of the sixteenth century. The bit was presumably iron, aided by emery powder. A sketch of the likely appearance of such a drill is appended.³⁶⁵

Two late seventeenth pieces of dishes with a bluish white glaze and with delicately incised floral patterns in addition to underglaze blue are from the surface at Pate.³⁶⁶ It is very intriguing to note that these dishes also, like their eighteenth and nineteenth century successors have a base diameter of 17 cms. The footring is in both cases low and pinched outside and straight inside and is glazed except for its base; the vessel base is also glazed. These were probably straight rimmed cavetto walled dishes like their successors. These are of the famous "an-hua" tradition of blue and whites, beginning probably in the early Ming period and carrying on, at least in export wares.

There are two interesting sherds from Level 2 of Mr. Chittick's excavations at Shindakazi on Pate. Both have pure white paste and a very fine smooth bluish-white glaze. One vessel is an everted rim dish with a footring unglazed at the base and pinched and bevelled outside. The base is glazed; the base diameter is the usual 17 cms. The mean body thickness is 3 mm. The dish is very finely potted; this is a much higher quality piece than most. It is too fragmentary to establish the blue design on the interior.

The other is a heavier vessel with a mean body thickness of 6 mm. and a footring diameter of 11 cms. The footring is straight inside and out and unglazed only at its foot. The base is well glazed. On the centre and stretching up the cavetto is a dragon in a late seventeenth century blue, the upper neck of which is represented on this sherd. This is almost certainly from the K'ang Hsi period.

There is a large group of greyish white to grey green glazed heavy based bowls which carry on the outside filled peony and tendril patterns which seem to be stencilled on but are in fact brush painted.³⁶⁷ The greyish green quality, the filled peonies (sometimes the Catherine wheel peony type) and the heavy based, relatively thin, walled everted rim sections are all reminiscent of the little one knows of seventeenth century export ware. These have been nicknamed Scribble floral bowls, largely to differentiate them from the "Bold Brush Floral" bowls and dishes which are often on the same fabric but are distinct by shape and pattern.

The "Bold Brush" vessels are mostly bowls, high footringed with straight or slightly everted rims.³⁶⁸ The size range is considerable, varying between 10 cms. and 17 cms. at the rim. The base is always glazed even on the dishes.³⁶⁹ Like the Scribble floral vessels, these are invariably in greyish white or pale grey-green glazes and the painting has a flat tone. The style of painting is quite different from the blue and white peony tradition, although many ideas are picked up in both, like the toothed frieze,³⁷⁰ the stylised floral frieze within line cordans,³⁷¹ and

the centre periphery and given cash.³⁷² A very tentative seventeenth century date should be given to these bowls for the moment on account of the fabric and shape. The style is not at present directly comparable.

The filled, bulbous peony heads are bunched over thick stems or interconnected by thick tendrils.³⁷³ Very often the floral base to the pattern is stylised further with bundles of swept thick leaves,³⁷⁴ or even crude, heavy, bulbous cloudlike blodges.³⁷⁵ One base mark, clearly associated with this kind of vessel occurs in the Fort Jesus collection³⁷⁶ and the same mark, though with insufficient body attached, was found at Ungu.

Similarly cumbrous are the curious "Blob Figure" Bowls.³⁷⁷ These have consistently lower, thicker footings, are usually glazed on the base and often have the "bare circle" on the centre periphery.³⁷⁸ The blob figure is presumably a highly stylised posy. It is painted at intervals around the exterior and each vessel usually has much the same interpretation of the same motif all round. On occasion, however, the painter applied several different blob patches not just the simple usual motif.³⁷⁹

These vessels are found under white or grey-white glazes with dark blue paint. The slight carination above the groin³⁸⁰ is common on these vessels and does not occur on any other Far Eastern Blue and White vessel in the collection, save two with sixteenth century fabrics, but too fragmentary to discern the painting decoration.³⁸¹

Closely related in form and appearance is a large group of

small bowls whose surfaces often both interior and exterior are covered with panels. Each panel is delineated by a curved blue line and contains a floral or caligraphic motif. The range of glazes varies from grey to almost dead white, and paint colour ranges from slate to strong blue. These panel bowls occur in collections right back into the fifteenth century and also appear not only on the recognisable Chinese fabrics but on the "provincial" pieces.³⁸² Nevertheless they are principally associated with late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Very few earlier versions have been seen in the East African collections. The earliest examples are those with floral spray medallions in a fine line drawn clear strong blue.³⁸³ The obscurity of even the outlines of the shape and motif range and the detailed chronology of this decoration is virtually complete. Certainly the less stylised blob floral medallion³⁸⁴ occur in the excavation at Siu, and at Simambaya and may well be slightly earlier than the stylised Blob figure floral emblems³⁸⁵ so common at Lamu, Tundwa, Faza and other predominantly later collections. The wide range of shape, glaze and paint colour suggests a large number of kilns, and also a long time depth stretching over several hundred years. None of these blob vessels is in use today and ^{they} probably ceased to be imported at the latest by the middle of the nineteenth century. Potters' marks, shop marks and indeed all other kinds of mark are very rare on these vessels. These vessels are, with the exception of a few of those with spray and posy medallions, are of the grey white black speckled paste with greyish-blue to slate paint. One distinctive class, particularly large, is of

high footring glazed base bowls, usually displaying a thickening of the middle, both on the centre and the base sides. These vessels invariably carry a similar style of decoration, consisting of the blob floral motif set in panels. They have a blob or blob floral group in the centre, and a pseudo calligraphic, sometimes stylised floral motif in the middle of the base. It is this base mark, which apart from the shape of the base, distinguishes them from the main body of panelled bowls. These bowls are always in the late eighteenth and nineteenth century collections and never even in the top levels of the sondages around the islands.

The pseudo calligraphic motifs are found also on landscape bowls³⁸⁶ and ginger jars³⁸⁷ normally associated with the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The calligraphic medallion also features on rare line tendril straight rim high footring bowls. The bowls have both straight and everted rims, but the footring is consistently high, and bevelled inside. The base is glazed. These bowls are most attractive in clear, strong blue on a white fabric under a glossy glaze. The date for either of these types is not definite, but is almost certainly eighteenth century, though the quality of the blues of the second type could sit well with a late seventeenth century date, if considered by itself.

Related to these are a few sherds, like the one illustrated from the surface at Manda, which are a softer blue on a dulled glaze on a more "powdery" white fabric.³⁸⁹ There is no reason at present, despite the Manda sherd, for thinking of an earlier period for the manufacture of these vessels.

Nineteenth century gin bottles were found on the surface at Manda also.

Another very large group, exclusively of bowls, is the "Fleck Bowl" group.³⁹⁰ These vessels appear all to be eighteenth century or possibly early nineteenth century but no good stratigraphy is available for them. They are common throughout the Swahili world on the surface of settlements occupied during that period. Like the tendrils (calligraphic) and the blob range (!) of bowls, these Fleck Bowls do not seem to have been satisfactorily described elsewhere. The fleck is a small blob of blue with pointed protuberances often looking like nothing closer than a plump spider. They are probably stylised bats. There is a reasonably large range of base marks with them; this may assist with dating and location of manufacture. The shape is a heavy base on a high, usually differential footring and a straight rim between 9 and 12 cms. in diameter. Occasionally, there is a lighter based vessel and all those in this category to date do not have the differential. There are annoyingly few complete sections of these bowls and very few rims. The exteriors of the rims always appear to have a bold brush floral parallel frieze between parallel cordon lines. The interiors of the rims carry parallel cordon lines and there is a high cash above the centre periphery.

In the Siu Palace sondage³⁹¹ and on the surface elsewhere on Pate Island, there was found a small group of very curious "stencil" bowls. They have a pale grey body and blue or greenish-grey glaze under which is a scribbled floral motif.³⁹² This motif is painted, or possibly stencilled and that is the particularly

interesting thing - on the outer wall and covers that wall. A tangle of thick tendrils is interspersed with a bloom of the peony type, or in one case, with a bunch of fruit. Four of these bowls treat the bloom in the same stylised irregular way and the tendrils, closest in kind to the catherine wheel peony occasionally seen. One however, is of the filled peony kind. This more fluid style stands out markedly against the rather more restrained, almost mechanical style of the tendrils. Indeed the catherine wheel type seems so stiff as to be suspected of having been stencilled.

These bowls are from the eighteenth century, or possibly from the end of the seventeenth century. They are open, with slightly everted rims and rim diameters of around 15 cms. They usually have medium, slightly bevelled footrings. The centres, when decorated, carry a small floral spray, sometimes within a cash. The glazed bases, usually decorated carry a cash enclosing a four emblem motif which the imagination needs unimaginable stretching in order to divine a meaning.

The dish form also occurs (though rather less commonly) with a blue "frogspawn" or "cod's roe" decoration, being contiguous linear hemispheres with a blob of blue in the centre of each. In no case on the North Kenyan coast does enough of the vessel remain to permit us to reconstruct the overall design, but the motif is very strongly reminiscent of Persian work in blue and white in the sixteenth century. The footring is consistent with this motif group and is different from the other dishes. It is lower, and

either pinched on both sides or pinched outside and straight within. The base of the footring is unglazed but both footring walls and the base are in all cases glazed. The diameter of the footring is consistently 17 cms., as in the other dishes. The wall is markedly higher and the dish consequently deeper than the others. It is not possible at present to bring archaeological evidence to bear on any sequence involving dishes of these three motifs, but it is certain that the "frogspawn" dishes are also from the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century. A tureen lid from Pate carries a similar design.³⁹³ In some cases, such as the tureen lids and a dish from Kipungani, this "frogspawn" is clearly a representation of rhododendron sprays.³⁹⁴

A stylised character³⁹⁵ appears in Chinese blue and white material as early as the fifteenth century but appears almost exclusively on the East African material only in the late eighteenth - early nineteenth century.

This character is by some felt simply to be stylised bamboo. By others it is seen as a stylised Sanskrit character. My own predilection is "stylised Shou". The word "stylised" is the common denominator. The forms were charger dishes and smaller dishes in a clear white porcelaneous paste.

A vessel very similar indeed to these late bowls was found at Kilwa and is ascribed by Harrison to the fifteenth century. The fabric, glaze and blue all support this date, and the difference in the paint style should be noted.³⁹⁶ The motif in the Kilwa bowl is hand painted and varies round the bowl. A feature of the

late bowls and dishes is a marked uniformity, even strongly suggestive at times of the use of a stamp.

The character appears in serried ranks up the dish cavetto and surround a large "shou fou" in the centre. This, like the chrysanthemum dishes was copied by European potters and exported to East Africa in the first half of the nineteenth century. Copeland of England produced one such copy, examples of which are still intact on the coast. While the factory today still has the copper plate used in manufacturing these dishes, they do not have an example of the dish itself. These copies were in a soft yellowish-white paste and lacked the subtlety of the Chinese blue; this may well be the phenomenon Leach describes when he notes that the blue obtained by the Japanese came from asbolite with a cobalt content between 10% and 30%. Such softness and subtlety of colour is not to be expected from the use of purer cobalt oxide such as was used in the European blues of the nineteenth century copies of Far Eastern wares. But Copeland, of all the copiers, produced the finest, richest blues, closest by far to the original. The European copies generally have a harsh, flat, strong to moderate blue under an opaque white glaze. From Tundwa comes a dish with a footring of 17 cms. diameter with a footring differential, straight walled and rounded base. The base is unglazed. Three other vessels of this type are also represented. An exactly similar dish comes from the Pate surface collection showing that the rim diameter is 27 cms. This appears to have been the standard size, repeated as it is in all the many examples which I have seen.

The single measurable Copeland copy which I have seen is considerably larger, having a base diameter of 25 cms. and a rim diameter of 40 cms. but is the same height exactly (5.3 cms) as the smaller Chinese originals.

The Sanskrit/bamboo/shou symbol also occurs in the decoration of the exterior of small bowls.³⁹⁷ In all cases the white paste and bluish-white glaze are the same as on the dishes. These little bowls had either straight rims with a mean diameter of 14 cms. or everted rims with a mean diameter of 12 cms. and high, slightly kneed footrings with a mean diameter of 4.5 cms.; the footring base was unglazed. The footring is differential, the base plane being high. Such bowls are common in the Faza, Pate, Siu and Lamu collections and in some cases the base is glazed and carries a meaningless mark with a medallion; in other cases the base is unglazed. None has been found in a stratified sequence, so no indications of differing dates for these features are available, save to say that the presence in Ungu of the bamboo dishes argues an early nineteenth century date for these and the absence of these from Pate and the presence of similarly decorated bowls at Pate may imply an eighteenth century date for the bowls. The associated colouring and glaze features support this conjecture. All examples have a pair of parallel lines round the lower interior wall and round the inside of the lip, be it everted or straight. Some of these bowls are of very low quality, with large holes and patches in the glaze.

There are also several bases giving no idea of the wall

decoration, but carrying indecipherable wall marks, or rather loosely painted floral motifs in the centre, or both. All are eighteenth or early nineteenth century bowls.

Appearing in the top levels of Mr. Chittick's excavations at Pate and also occurring in surface collections are straight rimmed round lipped bowls with plain greyish-white interiors and grey-blue, often slate-blue, decoration on the exteriors under the same greyish-white glaze. The glaze is very unevenly applied, leaving small unglazed pits; it is very roughly applied round the bases, sometimes covering footring and base, and sometimes applied only patchily over the footring and not at all over the base. The blue has the darker marbling described above.

The decoration consists of a frieze below the rim on the exterior wall, of thick circles, sometimes with spokes separated by pairs of dots. Usually the rest of the bowl is undecorated. Sometimes on the lower exterior wall is a wide range of abstract floral motifs, sparingly employed. This ring and colon combination occurs also in Fort Jesus and in very great quantity on Tanzanian sites.³⁹⁸

Mr. Chittick's evidence at Pate suggests to him a late nineteenth century date for this material, but it occurs in late eighteenth century collections in Mbwa Maji and elsewhere on the Tanzanian coast. It is consistently associated at earliest with eighteenth century material in the Lamu archipelago. It is not at the known limited-duration nineteenth century Ungu site, and therefore no evidence from northern Kenya is able to deny the eighteenth century date suggested in the south. It is a matter of conjecture

whether it is coincidence that the latter vessels with unglazed bases are all from surface collections and the single vessel with a glazed base is from below the surface, albeit from the top level. The mean rim diameter of these vessels is 10.5 cms., and the mean base diameter is 5 cms. both diameters having a tiny standard deviation. These vessels are highly standardised in form.

Rev. Mathew, in his article in 1956, illustrates one of three bowls obtained by Freeman-Grenville in Tanga³⁹⁹ and refers to it as one of the "hitherto unrecorded variants" of the East African coastal collections of Chinese wares. I have certainly been unable to find reference to this kind of vessels outside East Africa, and the matter has been emphasized by the large number found along the Tanzanian and Kenyan coasts since 1956. In Fort Jesus the bowls are from eighteenth century levels.

One remarkable group of straight rim bowls proves conclusively what had for long been suspected, that cream whirls are not an exclusively European confection. All round the exterior rim of these vessels is a frieze of blue painted whirls. They consist of a single thick brush stroke, turned concentrically through four hundred degrees or so. In all other respects they resemble the Circle and Colon bowls previously described, save the disappointing fact that none has been found in a context which can closely date it. They are restricted in the Lamu Archipelago to Lamu itself, and on the few occasions when they have been found elsewhere (Bagamoyo, Kunduchi, Mbwa Maji) there is no reason to believe that they were imported before the nineteenth century.

It is a very curious fact that, despite the rarity of these vessels, a European potter of the nineteenth century chose to imitate this little bowl type in a gross mid century stoneware abortion from a mercifully unknown kiln.

The famous landscape ginger jars of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries are present in abundance in Siu and Lamu⁴⁰⁰ as are the more stylised type usually without house and trees and incorporating little calligraphic motifs.⁴⁰¹ In this second category are bowls. These bowls are small, with thick walls, straight rims and low square or slightly heeled footrings. The rims are bevelled and unglazed.⁴⁰² There is no indication in the samples available that these bowls were copper rimmed.

The nineteenth century Chinese collection is remarkably small. By the middle of the century competition was severe from Europe and was apparently to a large extent successful. The small bowls and the charger dishes yield to European wares, as do the straight rim dishes. The range of shape changes dramatically. A high proportion of the nineteenth century collection consists of jars, baluster and bullback vases and ginger jars.⁴⁰³ Clearly in this field the European potters were unable to compete. The function of these vessels within the Swahili community is of interest. Today they carry knick-knacks and pens but are clearly not being replaced by modern equivalents.

The other major shape is the little moulded blue and white inkwell.⁴⁰⁴ Most of these are straight walled and high shouldered with a slightly everted rim.⁴⁰⁵

Almost all of these straight wall vessels are decorated with the stylised landscape decoration.⁴⁰⁶ A much rarer group are

the bulbed, thin walled vessels, always with a series of curious stylised floral motifs better illustrated than described.⁴⁰⁷

These vessels appear to have been slip moulded. People owning them or commenting on them all refer to their functions as being either to hold ink or to store kohl.

CHOCOLATE, BLUE AND WHITE

There is a very small number of sherds from Siu, Tundwa and Pate, of small bowls with a chocolate coloured, or moderate reddish brown glaze on the exterior wall and with blue motifs under a bluish white in the interior and base. Between the chocolate surface and the clear white porcelaneous body is a layer of black material which needs analysing. The blue and white centre design on the moderate reddish brown (plain chocolate) bowls is floral and is a little reminiscent of fourteenth and early fifteenth century work.⁴⁰⁸ The glaze is slightly bluish, like a good Ch'ing Pai. These vessels however are from the eighteenth century and are an export version using the t'ieh hsui hia (iron rust glaze) of the time of T'ang Ying, who most probably introduced the glaze during his period as assistant and later Director of the Imperial Kilns during the reigns of Yung Ching and Ch'ien Lung. This colour glaze was an offshoot of the experiments in

producing copper and bronze colours in porcelain. Some siege grit is stuck in the glaze on the centre of our largest fragment. The footring is bevelled slightly, high, and slightly pinched on both sides. It has a diameter of 7 cms.

The representatives of the "coffee" brown carry more demonstrably late seventeenth and eighteenth century styles on the blue and white centres.⁴⁰⁹ The commonest section for these little bowls, both in the Lamu Archipelago and in the other coastal collections is a straight rim bowl with a high, narrow footring, usually top toe.

Similar vessels occurred in some quantity at Fort Jesus. There is a very small collection from Kilwa.

CELADON BLUE AND WHITE

One very interesting straight-wall bowl was found by Dr. J. M. Knappert during our visit to Pate in 1973. This has a yellowish-green opaque celadon exterior which is random speckled olive grey. There is a blue and white floral motif on the interior which is of the same kind as the predominantly eighteenth-century brown monochrome centre sprays found in Fort Jesus.⁴¹⁰ The section shows that the bowl is a product of the blue-and-white tradition, not the celadon one, and is from the southern, possibly Fukien, kilns.⁴¹¹ The paste is an excellent quality fine white porcelain.

It is not clear precisely which of these vessels are of the Swatow type exported from the coast of Fukien, and noted in the Day Registers of the Dutch East India Company. Barbara Harrison in a note attached to a surface find in the ^{British Institute (B.I.H.A.E.A.)} Nairobi-Bihesa collection ^{in Nairobi}, feels that the vessel to which she has attached the note may be Swatow.

If Leugheer's opinion is to be accepted, there are no Swatow vessels in this collection. He speaks of a paste which fires red on exposure.

There are no examples in the Bihesa collection which have fired red, neither does the glaze tend to obscure the painting, as alleged of Swatow Blue and White vessels.

The greenish glaze certainly occurs in surface collections, but not with the accompanying characteristics to be expected. Nevertheless it is clear that the bulk of the blue and white collection is low quality export material. It remains to be judged whence they came.

The method of manufacture for these vessels is fairly consistent. Most show clear evidence of one or more of the related processes of fettling and trimming, bevelling and excavation. But the standardisation of size and shape within group and class suggests that the initial shape was obtained by moulding.

The nineteenth century dishes show very much less post mould dressing. The heavy dressing seen on the seventeenth and eighteenth century pieces may perhaps imply inferior moulding. This would certainly be in keeping with the generally low standard of

these Pate wares. In many cases sieve grit is stuck in the glaze on and near the footring and on the base. The painting and base marks are often sloppily done, and the glaze is on occasion pinholed and cracked. Crazeing occurs where it clearly should not, and glazeless patches due to starving are sometimes seen.

The chocolate blue and white vessels are exceptions to the rule of poor quality for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The range of export types in the Blue and White collection is very exciting. A good number of these types are already known, though at least one is not known outside the Swahili coast.

There are, however, some types whose distribution in quantity on the East African coast sheds new light on variations of form, shape, glass and decoration which was not there before. Until more is known, a strict typology and classification is premature, but the present collection, together with that from Fort Jesus, go a long way towards the establishment of a firmer bond for the discussion of late Far Eastern Blue and White exports, of a kind which the more salubrious collections of the Middle East and Europe cannot offer.

At Manda and at Shanga, though Wan Li vessels were collected on the surface, one noticed the same curious absence of the panel edge plates (Kirkman Class 2).⁴¹² This was not the case, however, on the other island sites of Siu, Pate, Midabu, Faza and Tundwa.

The history of Manda, of course supports the idea of the desertion of the town before 1614, due to a parochial tiff among the islands. The collapse of Shanga is not well understood at all. It is sure that Shanga was not a victim of the Oromo, unlike Ungwana and others further south.

The prosperity of the island settlements must have been affected by the pastoral ravages on the mainland. The mainland seasonal farming settlements and their plantations of cotton and millet, coconuts and mangrove, must have suffered terribly from the arrival of the cattlemen from the north.

The ceramic record is in keeping with the generally held thesis that these migrations from the north were genuinely severely destructive and not merely a folk myth. The blue and white collection, such as it is from the mainland sites, denies the occupancy of any mainland site between the mid-sixteenth century and mid-nineteenth century. This is slightly too early to fit with the notion of Dr. Kirkman of a very rapid Galla advance south. The picture would then be of a slow move south as far as the Tana over maybe fifty years, followed by a very dramatic acceleration. Until the northern coast sites are excavated in detail this remains a problem. Certainly the numerous prosperous mainland settlements present a larger, more compact, and richer field of endeavour for the destroyers, and they may well have offered more serious resistance before their destruction, in that they sat so close together, with rapid sea communications. South of the Tana, by contrast, sites of Swahili stone built settlements are fewer

and much more isolated - a more rapid progress by the northerners might be expected.

It is of considerable interest to speculate on the marked dearth of seventeenth century material from China in all the East African collections. In view of the fact that there is so little evidence, the speculation is also highly entertaining. There are so few pieces from the late seventeenth century in particular that it is tempting to look for reasons in the Far East rather than in East Africa. On the Swahili coast nothing can be seen in the political or economic structures of the second half of the seventeenth century which might have noticeably affected ability to purchase Far Eastern wares, or might have changed tastes. Neither is there any evidence that there was any such phenomenon elsewhere in the Indian Ocean. One is therefore tempted to view the civil wars in China, and particularly perhaps the revolt of Wu San Kuei as the basic cause for the decline in exports from China. Certainly there was considerable destruction to the Ching Ke Chen kilns. It is conceivable that the consequent drop in productivity in many of the South China kilns accounts for the drop in imports to East Africa during that short period.

CHINESE BASE MARKS FROM BLUE AND WHITE VESSELS

There is a large collection of base marks from the Archipelago. This collection has representatives from all of the major types of mark. This collection, being largely from the surface and from beaches at that is very fragmentary and often fails even to reveal the kind of decoration on the bowl carrying the mark. Nevertheless, so little is understood in particular of the "commendation" and "shop" marks, that a full record of the collection is worthwhile. It is interesting to note where there are parallels in the Fort Jesus and Dar es Salaam collections. It might be hoped that one could have access to these collections to do an inventory.

Dr. Kirkman has kindly allowed me to note the parallels between the Fort Jesus collection and my own. This exercise, when set against his full list in his forthcoming report, will be most useful.

No full inventory has been attempted of the Lamu collection, neither is it possible. Much of the material is in people's houses, or from beach surface: neither of these groups could usefully be removed from where they were found, and neither is more than a sample of what is available.⁴¹³

Quite the largest group is of square marks framing abstract formations.⁴¹⁴ In no case is there a recognisable calligraphic motif within a square of the kind often found among commendation marks.⁴¹⁵ It is gratifying that the pottery painter resisted

perjury and in no case designated the crude "peony" bowls as "rich and lovely pieces". There are a few marks which are clearly of calligraphic inspiration but none which is legible.⁴¹⁶

Similarly there is no recognisable square "symbol" mark. Dr. Kirkman calls the kind of mark in question a "shop mark", and this is quite the most satisfactory explanation!

Since these marks are not clearly calligraphic it is worth discussing what the variations mean. For example, it might be assumed that less accurate reproduction of the mark may be in order than for calligraphic marks. On this assumption it might be that, despite obvious differences many of the marks illustrated are of the same origin.⁴¹⁷ Nevertheless the collection represents a large number of units, be they marks of a kind as yet not understood or "shop" marks as they are thought to be by some or studio or potters' marks as the present writer feels them to be. All of these marks are Ch'ing dynasty and can only be dated within that period by the vessel on which they are found.

If these truly are shop marks, the question of the mechanics of the purchase of these vessels is raised. The bowls were marked during firing. Were the kilns or at least certain kiln batches bespoke to export agents whose marks the vessels bore? Were the vessels all sold by the potteries to a central warehouse whose batch marks these are? Are the marks mere bagatelles? If so they would be no value in understanding the system of marketing other than as indications that it was felt a bowl, to be "finished", had to have a base mark, however meaningless.

Nevertheless some of these square marks are undoubtedly painters' marks or studio marks and it is more likely that most are. The tradition of using a stylised square mark of this kind as a potters' mark is still alive. If that is the case little can be learnt about the distribution machinery from these marks.

There is a small group of pieces bearing early marks. None is sufficiently intact for one to be certain of the authenticity of the mark although on grounds of fabric and glaze all would be tentatively placed in the fifteenth to sixteenth century period. On the few occasions when more reliable additional data, like texture and style of blue painting, the authentic period is confined. Among marks from the Ming period⁴¹⁷ there are many Cheng Hua marks, only some of which are illustrated.⁴¹⁸ There are a few Ch'ing dynasty marks. A similar wealth of Cheng Hua marks occurs in the Fort Jesus collection where they also occur on light brown monochrome/blue and white bowls.

There is a collection of what would appear to be symbol marks, including grossly distorted versions of Chua (The Pearl) - Satisfaction of Every Desire,⁴¹⁹ Ch'ien (Coin) - Prosperity⁴²⁰, Tao (The peach) - Long Life,⁴²¹ Chush (Rhino Horn Cups) - Symbol of Happiness,⁴²² There are many of Shuang Lung (Two dragons doing a polka) - Tibet mark,⁴²³ the common dedication marks, such as Shou - Long Life,⁴²⁴ Tien - Heaven,⁴²⁵ Fu - Happiness,⁴²⁶ Ch'ung - Esteemed,⁴²⁷ Ku - Old,⁴²⁸ Han Hsing - To contain perfume⁴²⁹ and K'ung - Work of skill.⁴³⁰ There are in addition

the highly entertaining blobs. Some impress one with their quintessential blobness and may signify nothing, others may signify something but it is not clear what. For example some may simply be cursive numbers.⁴³¹ Some of these marks are found on other parts of the vessels than the bases. Fu appears on many occasions on the rim, or on the body of bowls. It is possible that the curious fleck bowls carry grotesque stylisations of Fu. A simplified version of Hua - the Flower is an invariable motif on the outside of the bamboo dishes and the spike peony dishes, and a bold infilled Shou is a common centre piece on those vessels. There are occasional examples of T'ien (Heaven) in bowl centres, always in this collection on fleck bowls.

Many of the marks are very archaic. This fact, when added to the slap dash way in which many have been applied, accounts for the large number.⁴³²

POWDER BLUE

A very uniform collection of small bud bowls with a rim diameter of around 12 cms. and a tip toe footring base of around 4 cms. has the whole exterior of the very white porcelain body covered in a strong powdered blue glaze. The interior is always plain.⁴³³ Rawson feels that the potter may have powdered the blue direct onto the wet glaze.⁴³⁴ The orange skin effect this usually has is missing on all but one vessel in this collection. The high gloss

and even intensity of blue is more likely indicative of under-glaze powdering.

This predilection for such monochrome exteriors is apparent in the seventeenth and predominantly eighteenth century collections of cafe au lait and chocolate vessels at Fort Jesus. The brown bowls carry blue and white floral motifs on the interior, but the blue vessels are always plain inside, the white being in the Ch'ing Pai white range.

All the powder blue vessels come from surface collections and are never found in pre-sixteenth century excavated levels; they are found in great quantities and, along with the late Blue and White material, were obviously the most popular import during the last part of the period. The exact period for the import of these vessels is unknown. It is odd that there are almost no brown monochrome types, and one must await the publication of Mr. Kirkman's excavations of the seventeenth and eighteenth century levels at Fort Jesus to learn of the chronological relationship between Powder Blue and these Monochrome Browns. The fashion for monochrome bowls is undoubted and there may therefore be no difference in time between the import of the brown and the blue, though this does not explain the absence of brown vessels in the north - unless the people of the Lamu Archipelago had an insatiable predilection for blue, and by the same token, an aversion to brown.

The quality of these vessels is very much higher than that of most of the Blue and White imported in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Like the chocolate glaze, this monochrome blue

glaze is generally attributed to the directorship and school of T'ang Ying and thus dated to the reigns of Yung Ch'eng and Ch'ien Lung in the eighteenth century.

POLYCHROMES

A little straight rim rice-bowl from the Pate collection is particularly well potted but has a dark reddish-brown exterior with white panels bearing enamelled red, green and yellow floral sprays. The interior rim has a floral linked frieze in strong red. A stratified piece from Siu⁴³⁵ has a plain dark reddish brown exterior, and the interior rim is decorated with a strong red floral frieze in the same style as the previous bowl.

There is an interesting little bowl set into the nibble of the Bwana Bakari mosque at Pate. The exterior is underglaze powder red, very reminiscent of the Ming "tomato red" rather than the more purplish coral red of the eighteenth century. The exterior carries an overglaze gilt floral motif. The interior is plain white. A fragment of a very similar vessel was found in the same mosque, though with a more clearly eighteenth century red exterior.

There are a large number of dishes from surface collections of which the most part is represented by a blue and red underglaze, overglaze gilt panel dish. The panels radiate from a line or lines on the centre groin and have reserves which are alternately

white and another colour, or white and two other colours.⁴³⁶ The centrepiece is usually a chrysanthemum or floral spray. All the rim sherds found of these panel bowls are straight. There is often a gilt line running round the lip.

A much plainer white porcelain dish is represented once in the collection and on several occasions in private collections and surface notes. It is a straight rim open dish of the shape just described but decorated in an open floral design in underglaze red. The design varies but is basically a series of up to eight, but usually fewer, posies, distributed about the cavetto, with a centrepiece of a stylised peony or chrysanthemum, sometimes ringed, sometimes not.⁴³⁷

Quite the most interesting of all these is a high quality porcelain dish with sgraffiato decoration highlighted by enamelling.⁴³⁸ There is no available information about this extraordinary piece in export collections in the middle east and it is important to learn more of the history of this type. The overall shape suggests an early nineteenth century date for the piece.

FAR EASTERN STONEWARE JARS

The study of the large stoneware storage vessels made in the Far East has been the most seriously affected by the foundation of Far Eastern ceramic studies upon the porcelain collections of the rich. These wares rarely have the exquisite appeal of the

fine porcelains. They were also less likely to enter big collections because their size and purpose led them to be kept in one place for a very long time after installation. In the towns of the Lamu archipelago today, private houses often contain such huge jars, Chinese, Islamic and coastal. Many of these jars are of considerable antiquity, eighteenth century vessels being commonplace and in use daily. Thus, these vessels rarely come on the market. The few small private collections and the one in the Lamu Museum are both particularly valuable in these circumstances. In the Manda excavations and in the other archaeological collections there are a few large jars.

In the very early levels at Manda are sherds from a minimum of twelve different jars and a bowl made in a hard dark grey paste (Moh's 6-7). The glaze is unevenly applied and in the thick areas varies between moderate olive and olive grey. The glaze is thinly applied and crazed overall. The body fires greyish brown where exposed, and in all cases the lower exterior wall and base are unglazed. There are three shapes of jar - with a straight round-lipped rim,⁴³⁹ with a very short everted or beaded rim,⁴⁴⁰ and with a pinched neck and everted rim.⁴⁴¹ One of the jar sherds has a straight rim, round-lipped, which is set on a restricted wall. The diameter is 15 cms. and the lip and upper portion of the rim are unglazed. Two others have a larger straight rim with a quarter disc cordon immediately below the rim on the exterior.⁴⁴² These jars had funnel necks with a diameter of 8 or 9 cms. These jars all have heavy flat bases⁴⁴³ and seem to have been made in

two sizes, one with a base diameter of 25 cm. and the other with a base diameter of 17 cm. Horizontal rounded bracket handles were applied on the upper body (where the wall restricts) in three cases, and a stirrup handle was applied in a similar position on one jar.

There is incised decoration on two of the vessels, which in one case appears to take the form of two parallel horizontal lines round the area immediately below the neck. In the other, parallel incisions cross one end of the sherd in an almost vertical plain and the coils have not been smoothed on the exterior. One of these jars has been repaired; there are three drill holes in the base.⁴⁴⁴

The bowl has both interior and exterior walls glazed.⁴⁴⁵ The rim is incurving and the lip is a platform. This bowl with a rim diameter of 37 cm. is reminiscent of the mortaria of the Mediterranean world and also of the large basins made by the potters of the Sasanian Islamic ware.

These sherds when in sealed contexts, are in pre-Sgraffiato levels, firmly associated with Tin Glaze and Siraf wares. They were therefore probably imported in the tenth century at the latest and were probably earlier, and are most likely to be T'ang wares. The grey body and green glaze is much as that described by Harrison⁴⁴⁶ apropos T'ang wares in Saravak excavations, although had the vessels been identical in type one would have expected Harrison to note the unglazed lip, which is a consistent feature, in the same way that he carefully notes the unglazed base.

There is a series of yellow buff paste sherds with a moderate olive brown glaze, very finely crazed and less heavily mottled than the previous group. The body fires brick red when exposed. The body is exposed for the lower third or quarter of the vessel. The interior wall is randomly wiped with glaze.⁴⁴⁷

A similar glaze with incised floral motifs beneath, appears on four yellowish-buff, and one slate-grey, bodied vessels. These are all, irrespective of paste colour, from late levels,⁴⁴⁸ in contexts which preclude the possibility of their being pre-thirteenth century, since late green Sgraffiato and Black on Yellow vessels occur consistently with them. There are, however, two buff-bodied sherds with incised decoration (floral, but as indistinct as the others which come from ninth or tenth century levels,⁴⁴⁹ being in firm association with Tin Glaze and Yueh ware. These early versions have a thicker body, averaging a wall thickness of 1 cm. as opposed to 5 mm. for the later vessels. Although the presence of two sherds representing only two vessels cannot be taken as proof that all early green and olive stonewares were more heavily potted than the later versions, it does recall Locsin's feeling that Sung and early Ming jars are lighter than their predecessors. The distribution of paste colour seems to be meaningless, both pastes being used throughout the occupation of Manda.

The two grey-bodied vessels with the less heavily mottled glaze in moderate olive are both associated with T'ing white wares and middle period and late types of Sgraffiato, and an early Bare-circle sherd at Manda. They would seem therefore to be

part of a twelfth or thirteenth century assemblage,⁴⁵⁰ although it must be admitted that neither provenance is without its problems. They occur in exactly the same circumstances at Bui. At Siu, Mambore and Bui such vessels occurred in surface collections. The Mambore area was almost certainly not settled before the fourteenth century and more probably in the fifteenth. These grey vessels therefore fall into the late green stoneware category, having occurred at the earliest in the thirteenth century and more probably in the fourteenth. They appear before Black on Yellow vessels become the predominant class in the north, and although the sample is tiny, it might be worth thinking for the time being of an early fourteenth century date, for the last period of arrival of these vessels.

The degree of mottling, while very apparent, offers no more chronological assistance than the paste colour. One of the less heavily mottled types of glass, generally occurring in the upper levels, also occurs on a fine flat-based jar from a firmly tenth century level. The body fires red and the vessel is, in all respects other than the green chroma, like the late moderate olive-brown glazed vessels.

Thus this stoneware potting reveals a long, rarely varied tradition, used indiscriminately throughout the long period from T'ang to Ming. The mild variations suggested but by no means proven by the North Swahili material are that the heavy potting with olive green and moderate olive glazes tends to represent the earlier work, from the T'ang to the mid-Sung period, and the

lighter potted vessels, more commonly with olive-browns in the glazes are in general from the Southern Sung to Early Ming period. The sherds are too few, too fragmentary and the bulk of them came from the mixed fill levels at Manda.

There is one strong yellowish green glazed jar in a Lamu private collection which bears the fabric characteristics of these early vessels but is in shape, later. The ovoid section and heavily horizontally rilled exterior, and the four applique pinched handle bosses both argue a seventeenth or eighteenth century date.⁴⁵¹

BROWN JARS AND OTHER HEAVY FORMS

Similarly incised (and similarly indecipherable) decoration occurs on a buff-bodied moderate olive-brown glazed sherd from a mixed level at Manda.⁴⁵² The same moderate olive-brown glaze appears heavily mottled on a grey body firing brick red or reddish brown where exposed to the kiln. This occurs in several grey-bodied sherds representing a minimum only two vessels.⁴⁵³ The moderate olive brown glaze appears in both buff and grey bodies in a proportion of 1:3, and its earliest appearance is in thirteenth century levels. One of the levels in question has a single Black-on-Yellow sherd in it, arguing at earliest a very late thirteenth century date for the top of that level.⁴⁵⁴ It would appear therefore that while the T'ang green stonewares

were imported to the North Kenyan coast from the ninth to the twelfth or thirteenth century but continued in use at least into the fifteenth century, and were the products of both the T'ang and Sung dynasties, the olive brown vessels are later. The earliest occurrence is in the thirteenth or fourteenth century and these vessels are still in use. The olive glaze goes on into the sixteenth century and later on pink bodied jars, found in surface collections at Siu, Ungu and Lamu, and on a cream paste at Mokowe. It does, however, change in texture. The certainly post-thirteenth century (as opposed to Manda unstratified) sherds all display a duller matt glaze. The early sherds characteristically have a high gloss glaze, apparently lead based. Size also shows some chronological variation. While some of the early olive-glazed vessels, both greenish-olive and brownish-olive, are small, in the three to six-litre range, all of the later vessels are in that range. Further, none of the post-sixteenth century sherds of any glaze or paste, is decorated with incised motifs.

At the very end of the Sung dynasty, or possibly at the beginning of the Yuan, the olive brown glazed vessels made their appearance. Several of these sherds from both the green-and brown-olive glazes show in their body sections a colour transition in the paste from grey in the middle to buff on the exterior. These vessels were clearly fired in oxidising kilns. Others, however, are grey throughout and do not fire red when exposed; these clearly were fired in a reducing atmosphere. Finally, there is on three of the sherds (a very small proportion of the collection)

a variation in hardness between the buff areas (Moh's 6-7) and the grey areas (around 6 Moh's). I do not regard this as significant but record it with the comment that the period of time in the kiln seems to have varied.

The distinction between buff and grey pastes is not of any chronological significance in the excavations, and is not, concluding from the material described above, an indication of different clays. These cheap utility wares need not have been fired so carefully as to exclude the possibility of this oxidisation taking place variably within the same kiln. There is no discernible chronological variation in wall thickness. The form of the thinner vessels is the same as that of the thicker vessels; the size appears to be the same judging from the base diameters. There is a group of vessels of this kind still in daily use in Lamu, Pate, Siu and Faza, and one of these is illustrated.⁴⁵⁵

There is a group of harder-fired, denser buff-bodied vessels, with thinner walls than the olive-glazed stonewares. These sherds are from large jars and the glaze is yellowish-brown. The jars appear to have been about the same size as the olive-glazed vessels, with a base diameter of 22 cm. and a rim diameter of 11 cm. Little can be said about the shapes, but it would seem that, for the handled pots at least, the shape is different. The upper body is more steeply inturned than on the olive vessels, suggesting a lower girth. Neither is there any example among the sherds found on sites of the very high girth jars with beaded hole-mouth rims which are seen twice in private possession. Conceivably this high

shouldered vessel should be considered a late variant.⁴⁵⁶ The exterior wall is, in two of the four body sherds, incised. One sherd from an unsatisfactory context at Manda not only has incised decoration but also an impressed floral motif. Loosin illustrates just such a vessel as this⁴⁵⁷ but his vessel does not have impressed decoration combined with incisions. From its archaeological associations in the Philippines, Loosin dates this sort of vessel to the Yuan or early Ming period. Basing their statement on archaeological excavations in Sarawak, Harrison also suggests a Ming date for this ware.⁴⁵⁸ The Manda evidence cannot unequivocally support a Yuan date but certainly supports a Ming date in the fifteenth century for the deposition of these vessels. This may not, however, militate against a Yuan date for the manufacture of this vessel. Such large storage pots are not easily broken and may be expected to have lasted forty years or so at an absolute minimum.

The conclusions from the Far Eastern and East African material are therefore in agreement that this is a Yuan or early Ming ware, more common on the export market in the Ming period. Only three vessels of this Ming brown wares were found at Manda, representing a service period of "maybe two hundred years". This, of course, does not at all imply a production period as long as that, although it should be remembered that olive vessels represent a production period of four hundred years.

A related glaze is the dark brown "Ch'ien Ware" from Fukien, with hare's fur blue grey streaks. A large jar with this glaze

is still in use in Lamu and there are several in private collections.

The famous glossy yellow brown glazed dragon jars were imported to the Lamu Archipelago where they occur in fragments on several sites. No complete vessel has yet been located in the islands.⁴⁵⁸ A complete vessel from Fort Jesus is illustrated⁴⁵⁹ and is doubtless the kind of vessel from which the sherds in the present collection came. One dull yellowish olive jar with simple radial ribbing incisions on the shoulder is still in use on Siu⁴⁶⁰ and similar vessels are in private collections.

Of the brown glazed stoneware jars attributed by B. Harrison⁴⁶¹ to the late Sung - early Ming period, only three fragments were found in possibly post-fifteenth century contexts. In levels which are probably sixteenth century were found one pink-bodied sherd with a strong yellowish-brown glaze, and two grey-bodied brown-glazed jar sherds. One of these two is glazed both inside and out, and is from a small jar probably about 25-30 cm. high. It is a body sherd offering no indication of rim form.⁴⁶² The glaze is striated horizontally, as if the potter applied it while the vessel was still on the wheel, and varies in shade between greyish brown and strong yellowish brown. It is faintly crazed overall. There were handles of the pinch bracket kind above the shoulder but there is no indication of their number.

It is not altogether certain where this vessel was made but it is rather like early Ming jars from South China. A similar vessel with a moderate brown glaze comes from the early period

at Shakani and the latest levels at Shanga, both of which I take to offer a fifteenth century date.

Descendants of this ware occur in abundance in private collections, and the Lamu Museum owns a few. There is a shott quality to one large vessel.⁴⁶³ which argues, despite the shape, against a Thai glaze. Another curiosity among these dark or strong reddish brown vessels is a high girth, bared rilled jar, with a coarse, thick, beaded rim and an irregular unglazed band round the top of the shoulder.⁴⁶⁴ There are also three vessels in very different styles from the eighteenth or possibly the early nineteenth century. One is a small, everted rim vase with an incised mark.⁴⁶⁵ One is a plump Martaban style jar, though markedly smaller and with a glossier, redder dark brown than the "Martabanis".⁴⁶⁶ It carries a mark impressed on the shoulder. This vessel, and the last of three, a taller, moderately high girth bead rim jar both have four pinched blind applique handle bosses on the upper shoulder. The impressed mark on the taller vessel is a highly complex studio mark repeated four times round the upper body.⁴⁶⁷

Associated with these strong reddish brown grey bodied vessels are a small group of jars with the same colour glaze, usually mottled with reddish brown. Again, three complete vessels, all different, demand attention. One is a small jar with an impressed mark on the base.⁴⁶⁸ One is a curious ovoid jar with a slightly corniced hole-mouth and a sharp inner cornice.⁴⁶⁹ The third is in section for all the world a jar of Islamic inspirat-

ion with slender lines, a straight walled lower body and heavy cornice rim.⁴⁷⁰ But the body is Far Eastern; a hard, grey stoneware, firing red; and the glaze is a rich dark to strong brown, mottled with a paler yellowish to red-brown.

A sherd from Manda is in this category. It has the slate-grey paste with black specks and the dark chestnut, thinly applied, finely crazed glaze of the Thai kilns.⁴⁷¹ Many of these jars are extant in private houses in the Lamu archipelago, and in the museums of East Africa. They are not earlier than the sixteenth century and E. Moore's distinction between Sawankhalok and other Thai glazes is only valid if the Sawankhalok kilns operated after 1464 - 65. It is my feeling that this large number of Thai jars was made in the Svargaloka area, and they were exported on Persian Gulf vessels through the ports of Sukhodaya, Martaban and Mergui. The categorical denials of such an export trade in Thai pots is not perturbing, coming as it does from the evidence of the Ayuthia station of the Dutch, much further south and concerned very much with the export trade to Europe, which was less attracted by huge storage jars.

Van Dam writing around 1701 notes that jars called "Martabani" were taken on at the port of Martaban (together with Chinese vessels which had come overland via Bahmo) and they came in three sizes, full, threequarters and half. The vessels from China seem to have been made at various places in Kwantung, Fukien and Suchow. In the day records of the Dutch East India company it is clear that by the end of the seventeenth century, the trade in these

was small, only the full size being available; probably no more than 1500 were carried by the Dutch East India Company in the whole century.⁴⁷² Judging by the number in East Africa, there must have been other carriers.

The Portuguese wreck off Fort Jesus, which sunk in 1697, certainly carried large storage jars (though none Thai) and it is this Middle Eastern market for storage jars which was most conveniently served by the Islamic fleets. The Persian dhows today still bring large storage jars from Basra, and the European and Far Eastern imports, with their huge steel boat companies as carriers, do not penetrate this specialised market. I have found no reference in Portuguese records of the carrying of such jars, and their presence and popularity in East Africa is quite satisfactorily explained by the dhow commercial network.

A vessel with a similar paste but with a greyish brown glaze was found in a fifteenth century context in Shakani and represents the older Thai trade with East Africa, better known through the Svargaloka celadons.

A Chinese or Annamese pottery was also making the finely crazed chestnut jars. The paste is identical with that of the olive glazed vessels and therefore probably Chinese like them. Only one sherd of this type was found at Manda. It is an out-folded cornice rim on an inturned neck on a restricted body. This indicates yet another type of large storage jar. The rim diameter is 13 cm. and a substantial vessel must be imagined.

Unfortunately this sherd is from an unsatisfactorily stratified context at Manda,⁴⁷⁴ In view of this it is perhaps worth noting that the glaze is set on a reddish brown slip. The glaze is on the exterior wall only, and the lip is unglazed. The lip and interior wall are covered only with the slip. The unglazed lip is of course reminiscent of the T'ang green stonewares, and to that extent the sherd may be associated with the majority of the ninth to eleventh century sherds in the assemblage than the very few early blue and whites. The neck shape is common on Yuan or on Ming jars, but in view of how little we know about early Sung and pre-Sung jars, this should not be a point at issue for dating.

A base which is also from an unsatisfactory context and is, as is standard with such jar bases, poorly glazed, may well be from the early period and the same kind of jar.⁴⁷⁵ The base had a dark band of semi glaze just inside the edge; this could also be a Sung or pre-Sung feature. This sherd is unlikely, despite the few stray fifteenth century sherds, to be post-Sung.

Militating against these conjectures is a small jar with a related rim section, and a dark red-brick body which carries a mottled dark yellowish brown to black brown glaze which is almost certainly from Thailand and post fifteenth century.⁴⁷⁶ A vessel of similar fabric and colour is another small jar with a square cornice rim and a band of horizontal incisions round the shoulder.⁴⁷⁷ Two sherds with a glaze strongly reminiscent of the T'ing splashed ware both come from late thirteenth century or fourteenth century

levels. They are both body sherds and offer no indication of shape, though the form was undoubtedly a small jar. The glaze is moderate olive green speckled heavily with strong reddish brown and patched with strong yellow also speckled with strong reddish-brown. The interior wall has a dark brown matt smear. The body is a hard (Moh's 7) brittle pale grey stoneware.

There are many of the huge Ali Baba Kartaban Thai brown jars in the Archipelago.⁴⁷⁸ The massive size, often over a metre in girth diameter, belies the remarkably thin stoneware walls. The walls rarely exceed a centimetre thick and are little more than that even at the base. The exteriors are usually decorated with applique ribbon ribs, six or seven in number, running from the neck to the middle of the lower body where they are joined by an applique beading cordon. Each rib is usually two parallel beadings enclosing a row of applique buttons, very much in the Sasanian idiom. Handle treatment varies. There is an example with just one reaching vertical handle, another with a pair of such handles and several others with quartets of pinched blind horizontal boss handles.

The East African market for large storage jars has never been penetrated by European manufacturers or by modern African potteries. The jars are still imported from Barawa or from the Persian Gulf and the carriers are exclusively the Persian and Arabian sailing fleets.

WHITE

The Locsins⁴⁷⁹ describe a lobed jar with a "mat (sic) speckled off white glaze". The body is a "coarse stoneware" and the speckles are metallic, probably ferruginous, intrusions. No date is given by the Locsins, but they assume a Sung date for it, describing this as a "mere speculation".⁴⁸⁰

A sherd from a vessel just like this comes from Manda, and is an apparently eleventh or twelfth century level,⁴⁸¹ thus confirming the Locsins speculations. The Manda sherd is glazed on both sides.

PALE GREYISH GREEN

A similarly matt glaze with what in another context would be called a 'chicken skin' surface comes on one Manda sherd, coloured pale greyish green.⁴⁸² Indeed the surface is rather more heavily bumped than the chicken skin surface, and the inelegant term 'goose-pimpled' might help.

This is an early sherd, associated solely with Siraf, Tin Glazed and Sasanian Islamic wares. The level probably has a late Sasanian Islamic assemblage - that is to say early tenth century. The sherd gives no indication of form. The body is unique in the entire East African collection. The colour is a pale silver grey and the paste (with a Moh's hardness of 7) is heavily tempered

with quartzes.

It may well be this heavy temper which has caused the lumpy surface.

There is a wide range of Far Eastern stoneware jars of the small size and of unknown origin, from sixteenth century to early nineteenth century collections in the area. These never managed to supplant the popularity of the Islamic jars which began to appear in the sixteenth century, but they were potted to the same aesthetic specifications, even down to the thumb-pressed boss handle on the shoulder⁴⁸³ or the thumb frilled cordon.⁴⁸⁴ The pastes were usually grey but there is the occasional pink paste and (in one case) cream paste also. The glazes are invariably either speckled or mottled. The speckled range is dark olive grey on a strong yellowish brown, dark reddish brown on strong yellow, pale yellowish brown on strong reddish brown, strong reddish brown on dark yellow. The mottled range is moderate olive and strong reddish brown. There are a few monochrome glazes; these are moderate olive, strong greenish olive, dark olive, strong yellowish olive, strong brown, strong reddish brown, grey brown, and moderate brown. The glaze range is close to that of the late Islamic vessels, but the body is very much more compact and higher fired.

There are also a few large unglazed vessels, two are illustrated. One representing a very small group of large jars with horizontally rilled cordons on the upper shoulder and four applique thumb pressed stirrup handles.⁴⁸⁵ The other represents a rather

more common group of smaller, handleless jars with sharp, high shoulders and straight upper shoulders.⁴⁸⁶

The fluctuation in the numbers of these large storage jars is particularly important, in that it might, if properly quantified hint at house population for settlements.

Few houses today own more than one of these as water jars, and none use them for storage of other commodities. Other commodities, like rice and *ʿsimsim*, are stored in woven baskets and there is no anthropological reason to suppose that this is a novel solution to the problem. Thus one may assume one or at most two of these large jars per household, and if that assumption is correct the ability of Manda to import dramatically fewer of them after the fourteenth century is an indication either that the population has declined or that prosperity has declined, or, since the latter attracts the former, both.

If the same number of people had lived on Manda despite declining prosperity, more local and cheaper import storage jars would appear. There is no marked rise in the number of locally made storage vessels, so the declining population is firmly suggested.

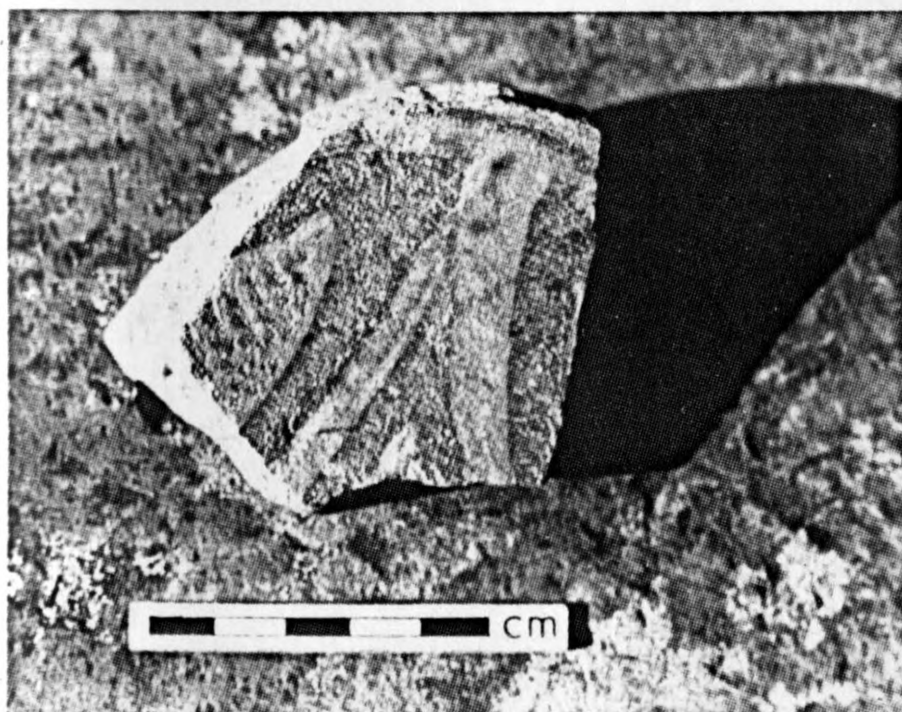
Many, if not all, of these jars have arrived in East Africa as containers, carrying Chinese exports. Exports known to have been sent to the Indian Ocean commercial network in jars are scent,⁴⁸⁷ musk,⁴⁸⁸ probably also camphor and ambergris,⁴⁸⁹ and even goldfish!⁴⁹⁰ It may be that these vessels were emptied of their precious cargoes in the Persian Gulf, Aden or India and

then re-exported empty or carrying something else to East Africa. One would not expect a great Swahili interest in Chinese musk, for example, when musk could be obtained more cheaply from the southern Abyssinian plateau along routes which were apparently open for most of the duration of the Swahili civilisation, before the nineteenth century.

It is known that Dutch masters took on these jars empty, for the storage of water, fruit, grain and other provisions during the voyage.⁴⁹¹ Perhaps the Indian Ocean sailors did the same. This, however likely, remains conjecture for the East African material. For the moment one sees the simpler explanation that the Swahili coast was importing at least some of the commodities exported in these vessels. Certainly the Aden coast was.⁴⁹² It may well be that the jars were coming to the Lamu Archipelago in both capacities.

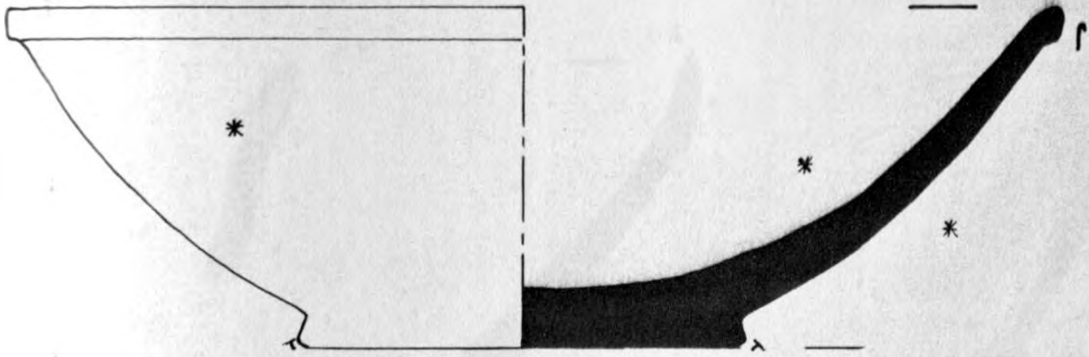


1

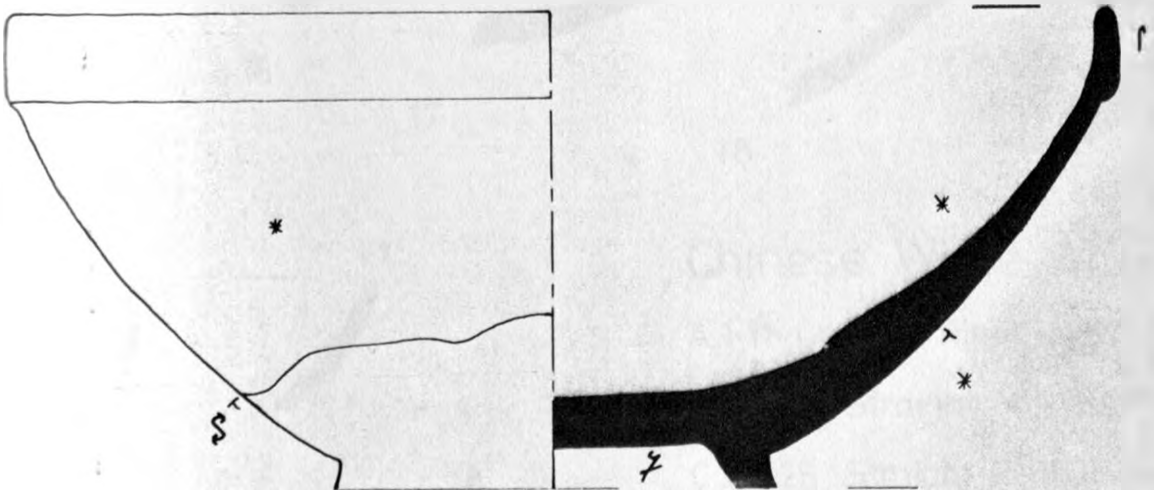


2

Far Eastern
Polychrome Wares



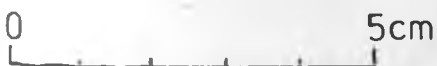
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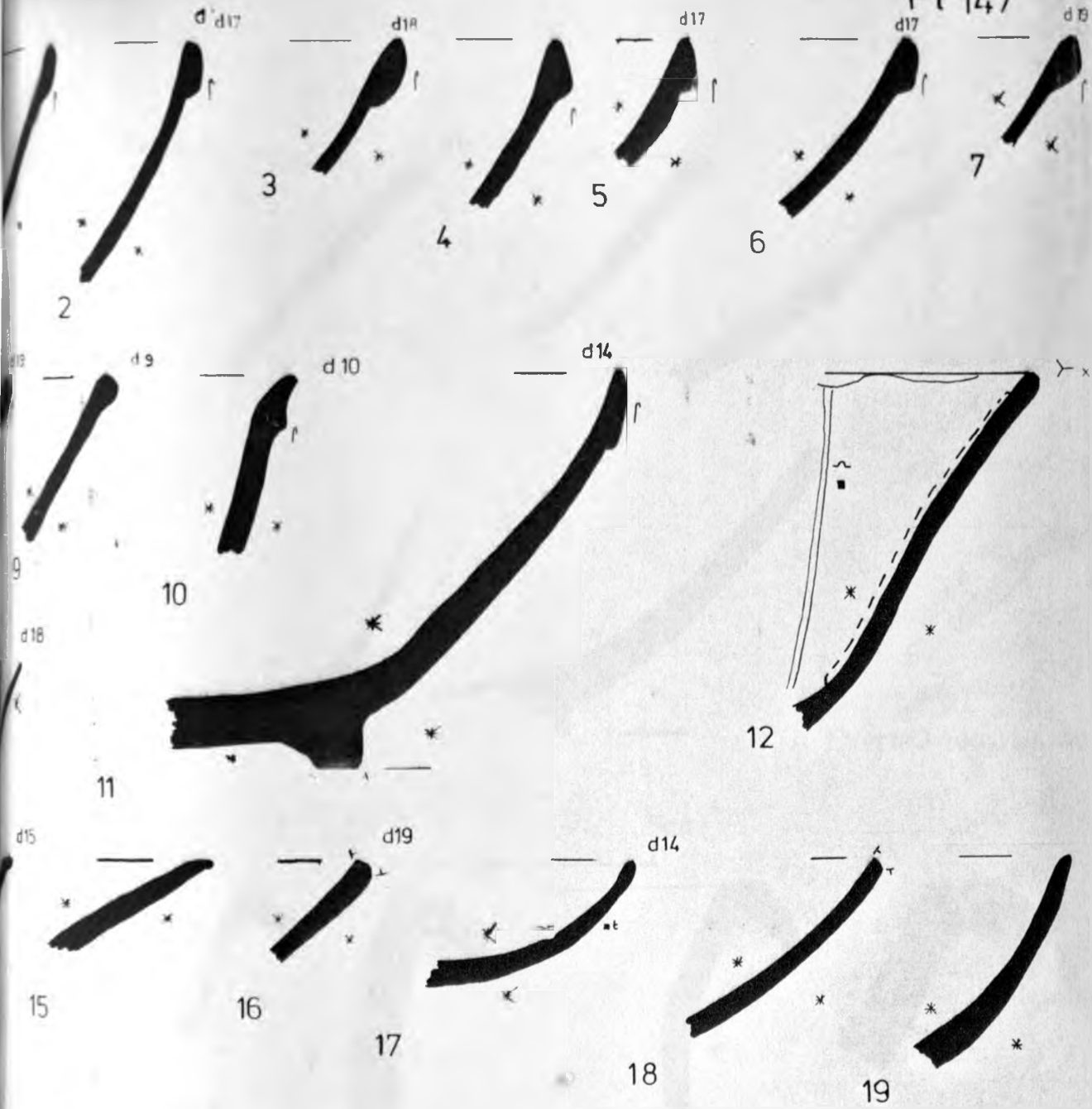


2

Chinese White Wares

Cornice Rim Bowls T



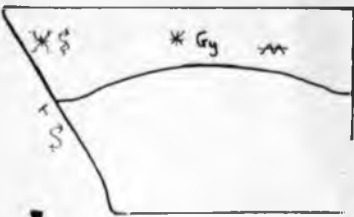


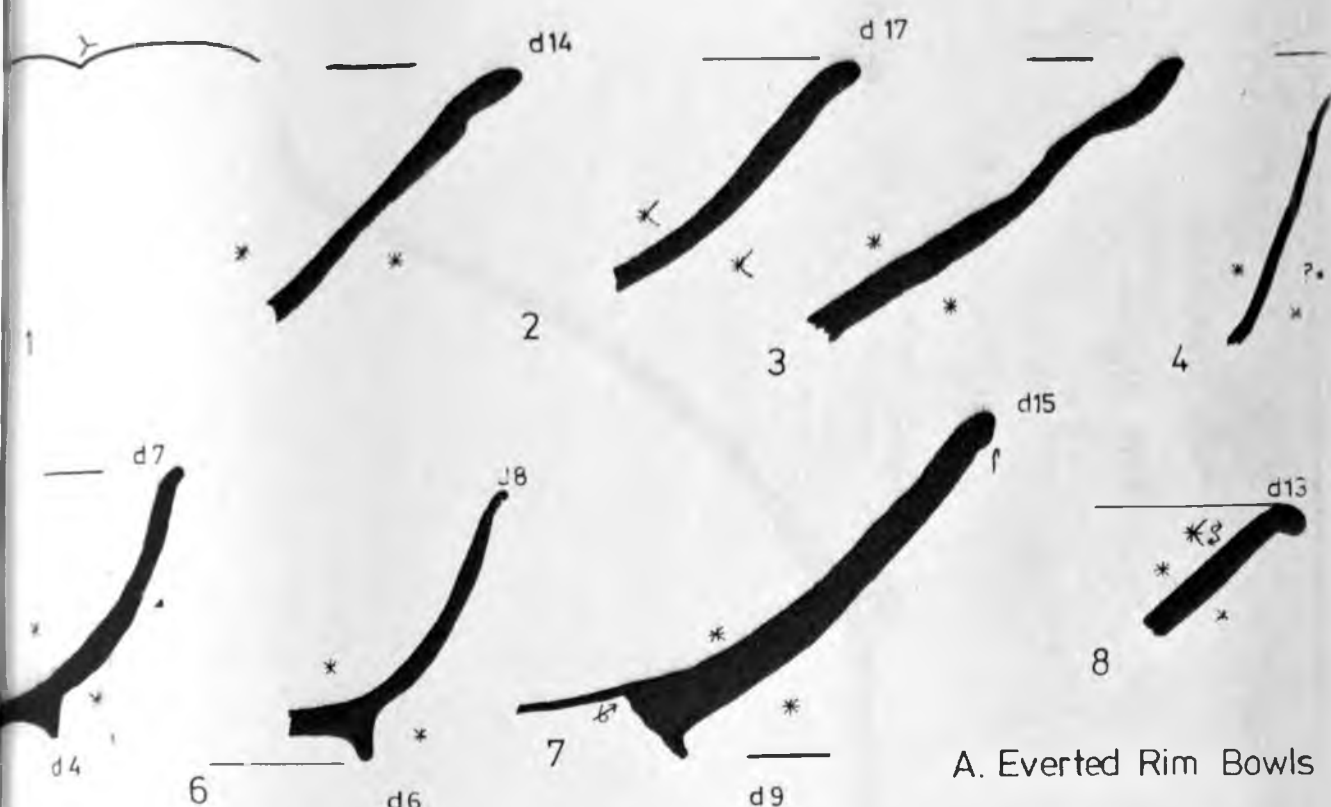
Chinese White Wares

A.1-11 Cornice Rim Bowls ■ T

B.12-22 Straight Rim Bowls ● T

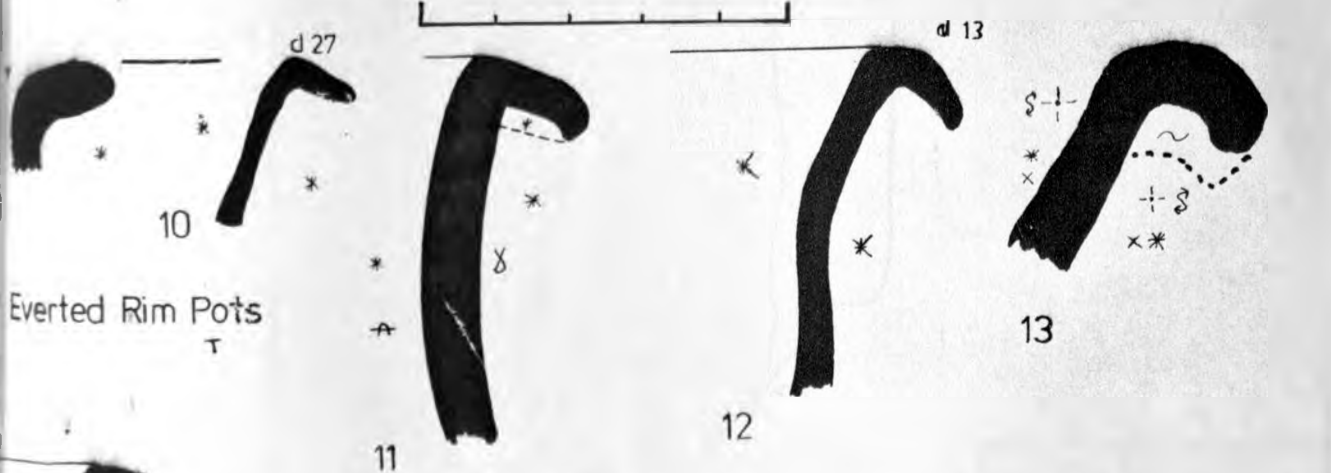
C.23-25 Straight Rim Dishes ■ T





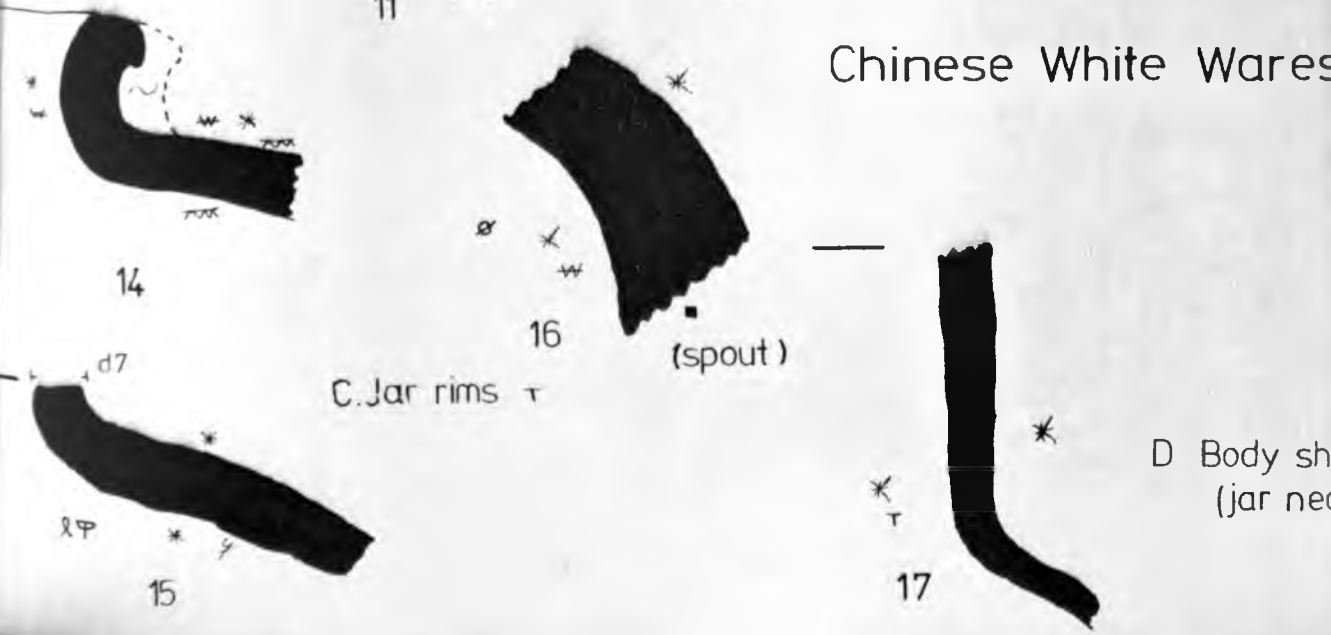
A. Everted Rim Bowls

0 5cm



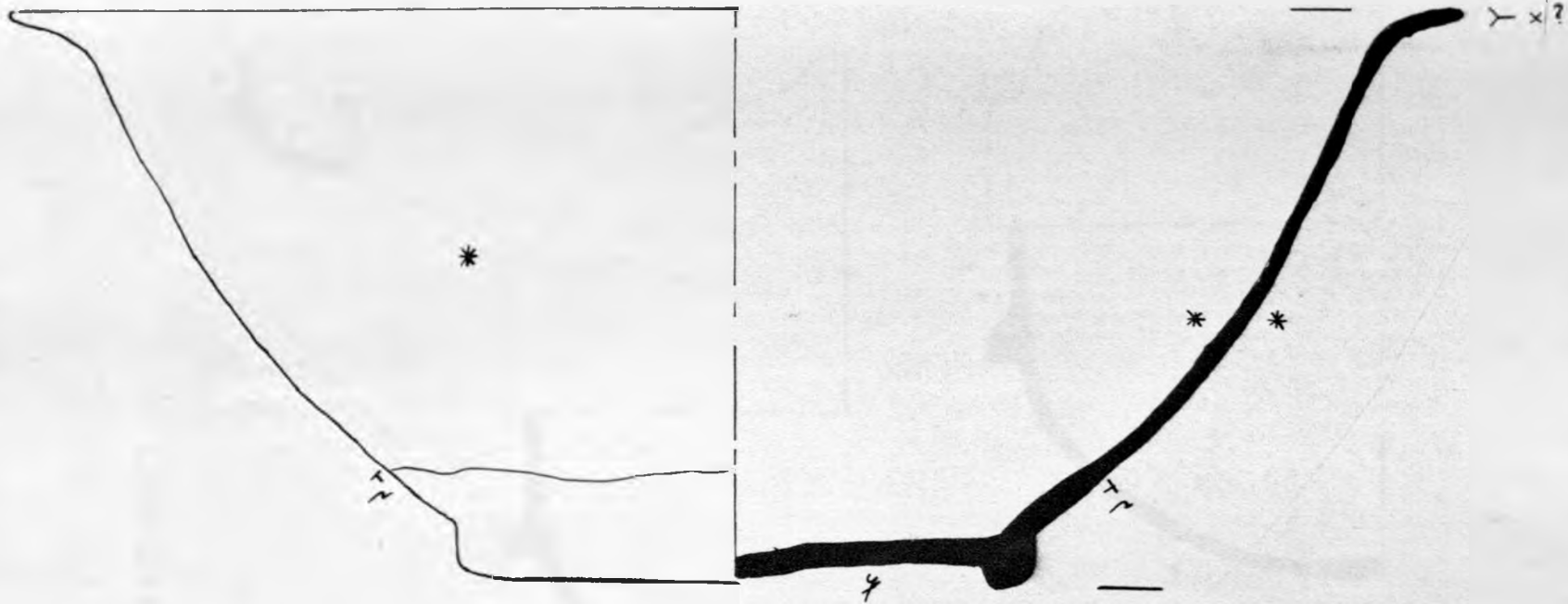
Everted Rim Pots

Chinese White Wares



C. Jar rims

D Body sh
(jar neck)

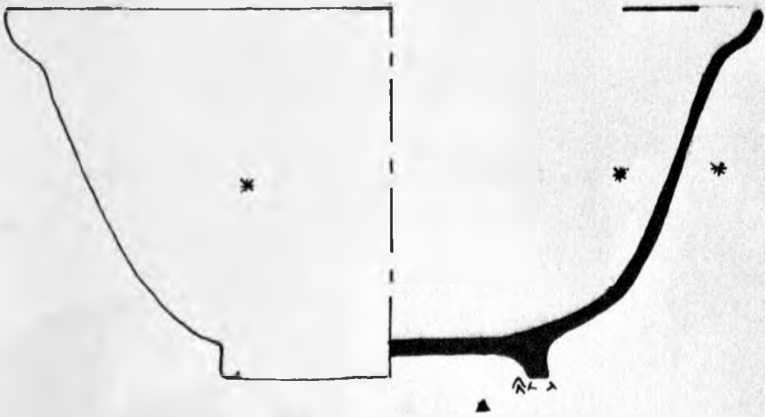
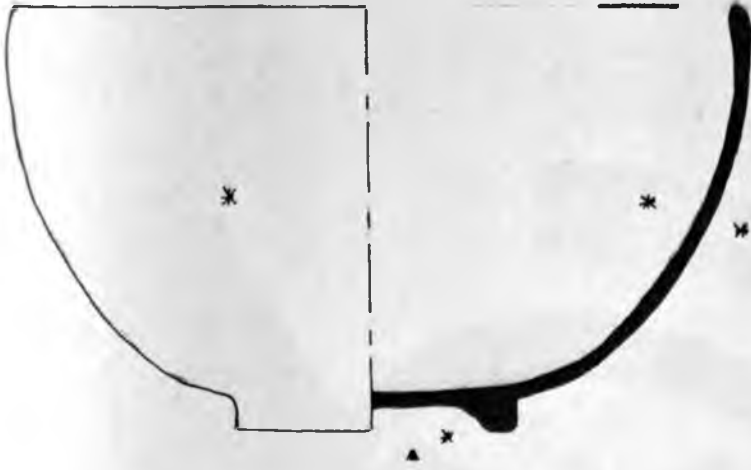


0 5 cm

PI 149

Chinese White

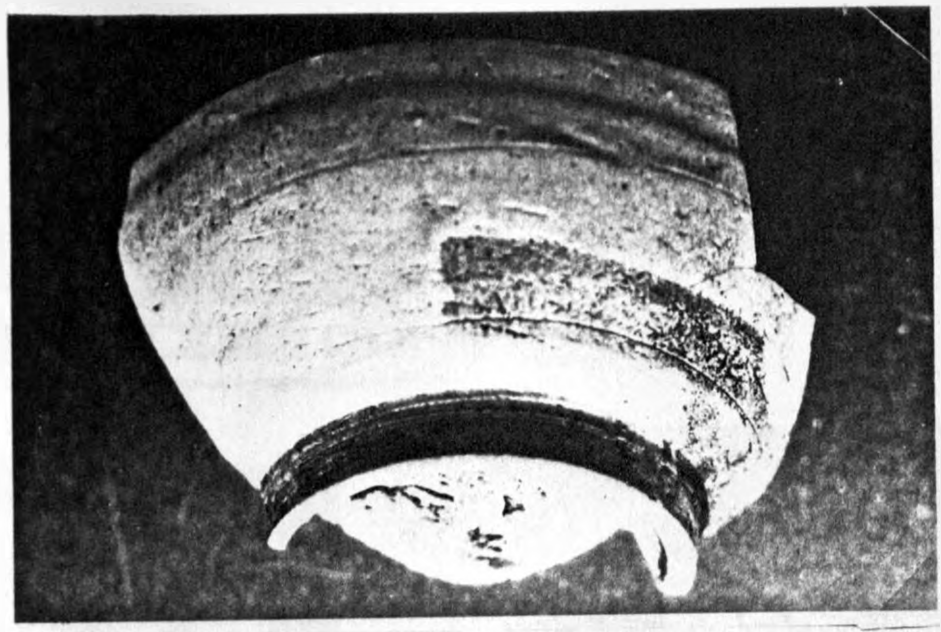
Everted Rim Bowl



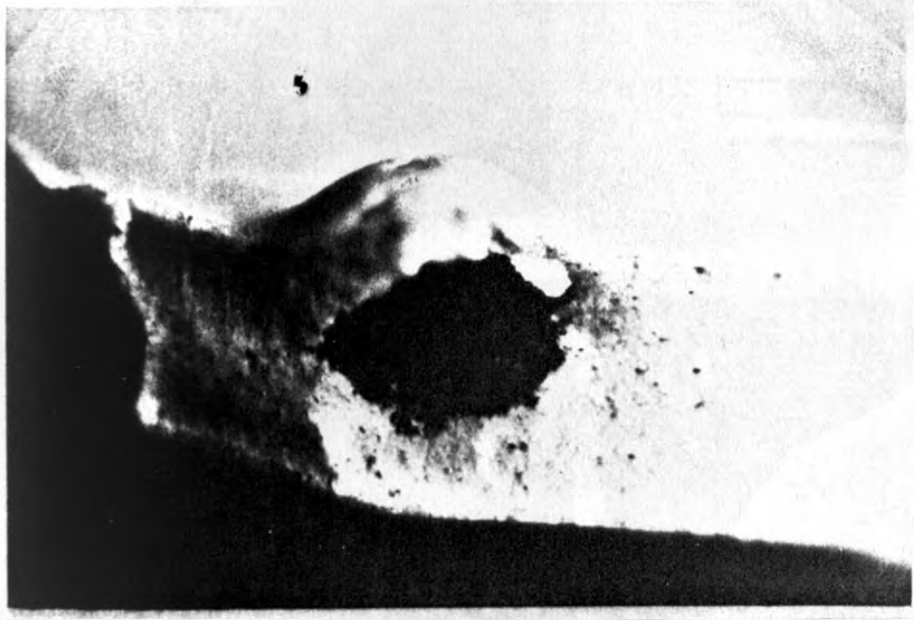
Chinese White



lumpy glazing,
foddy fettling



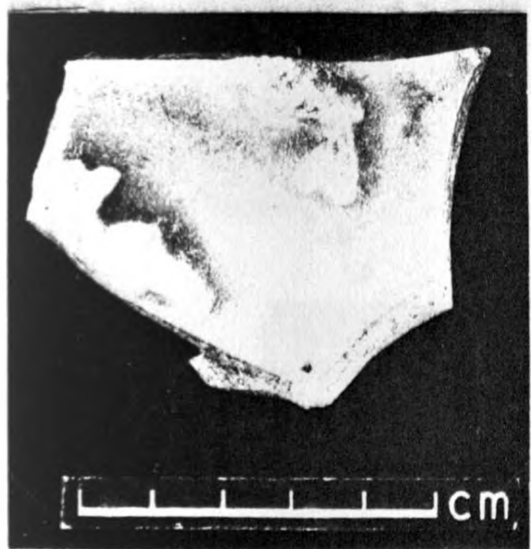
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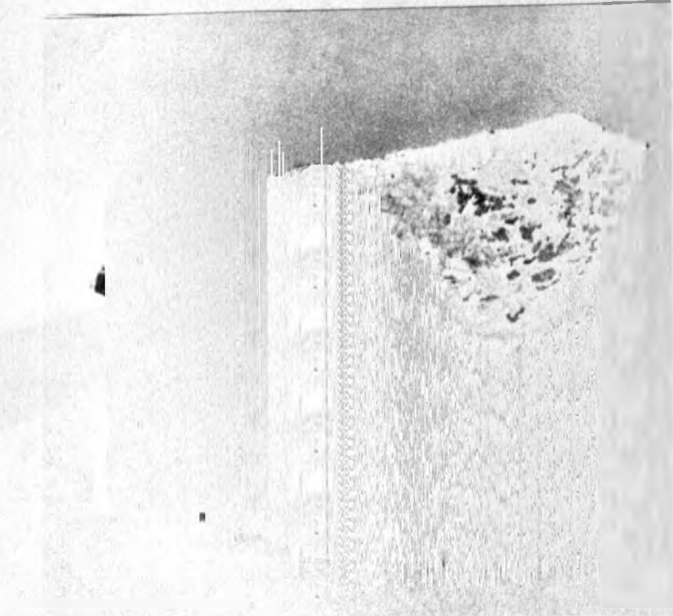
Paste bubble

2

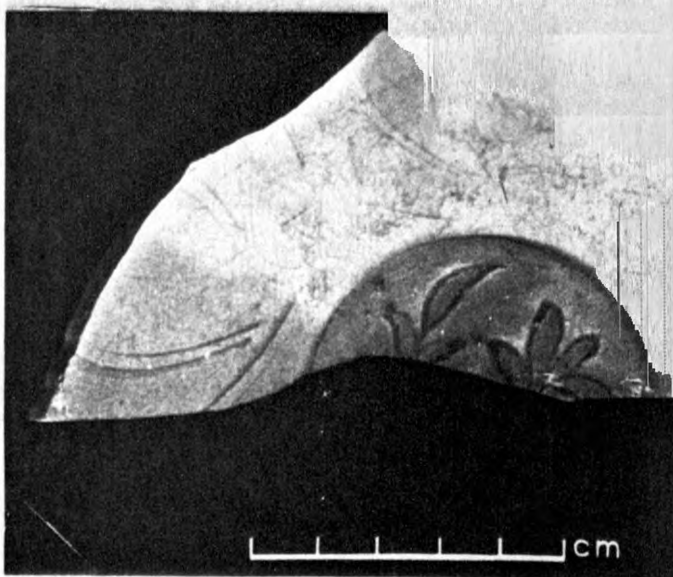
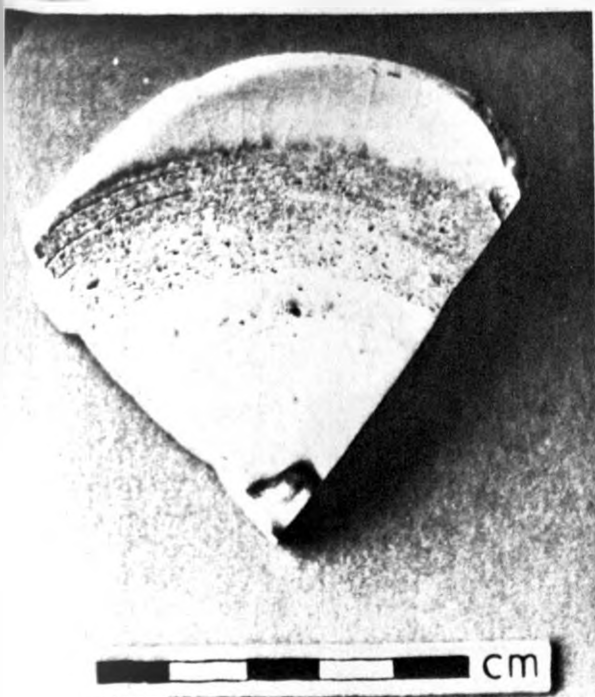
Monday's Pot
Slapdash work from Chinese
potteries



2



3



5

Chinese

Bowl centres

d14

r

2

d17

1

5

3

d9

4

d9

d19

6

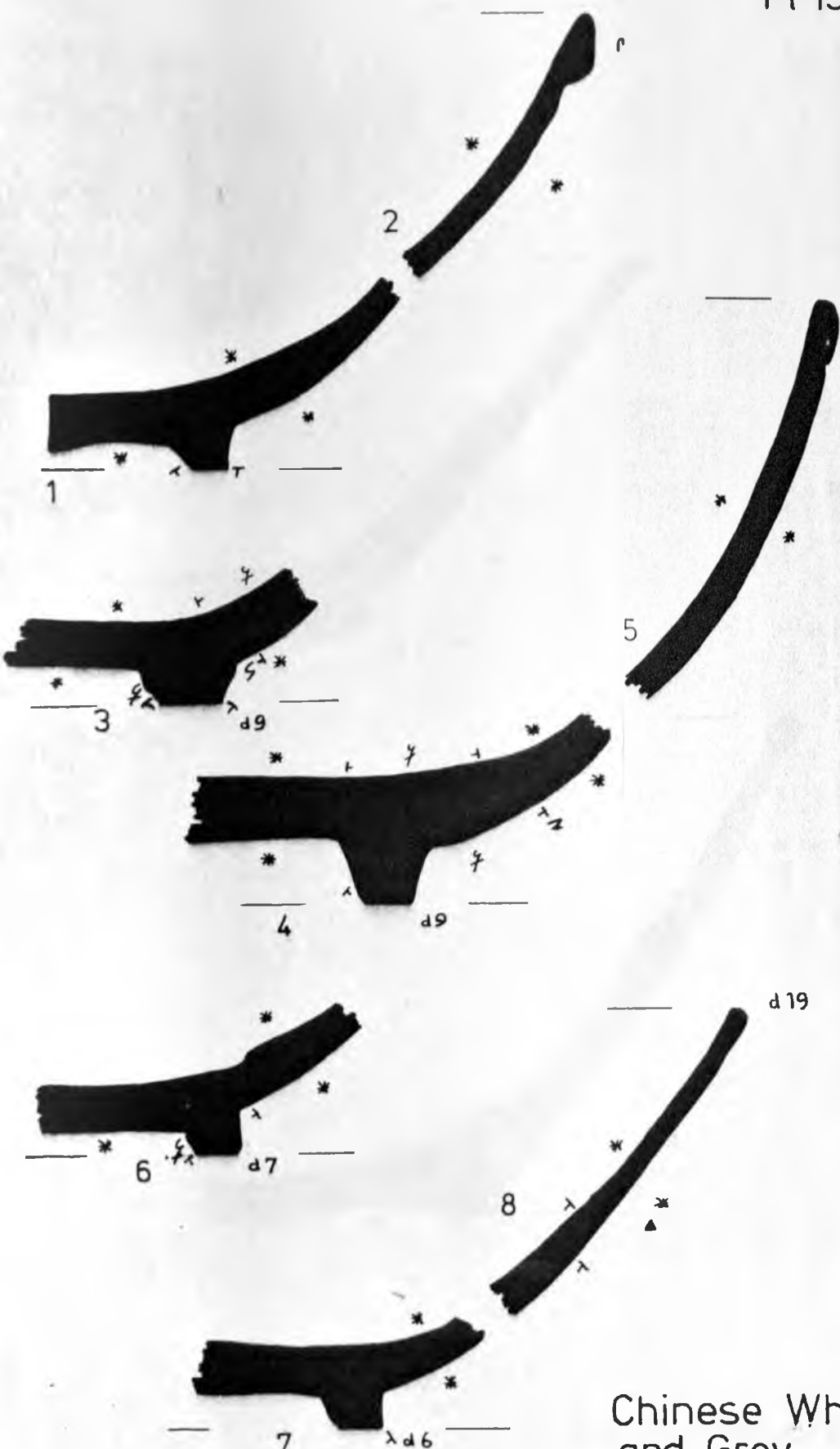
d7

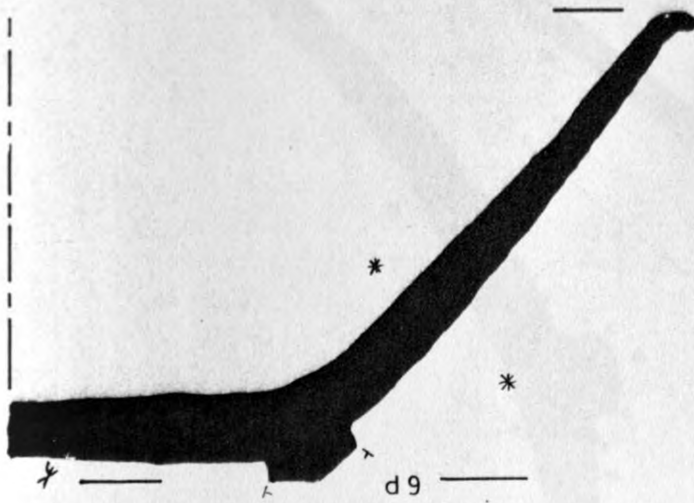
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7

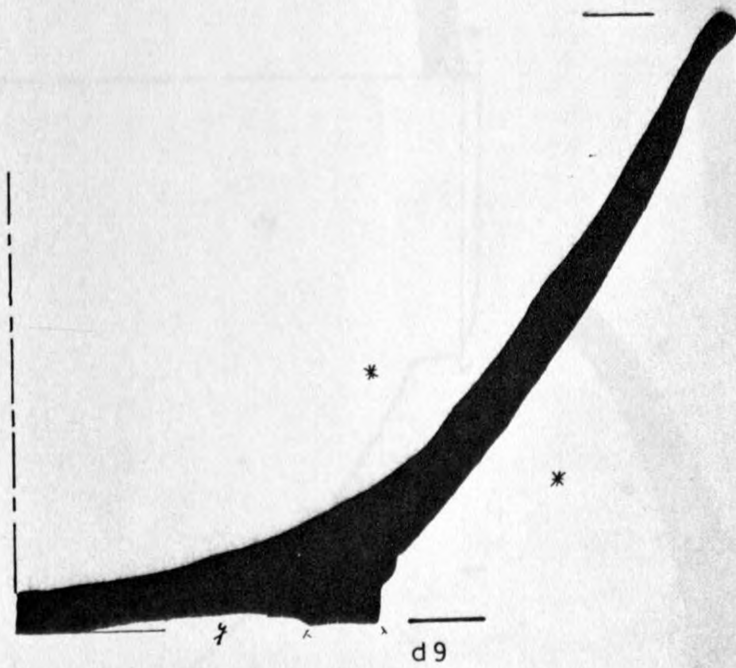
d6

Chinese White and Grey





1

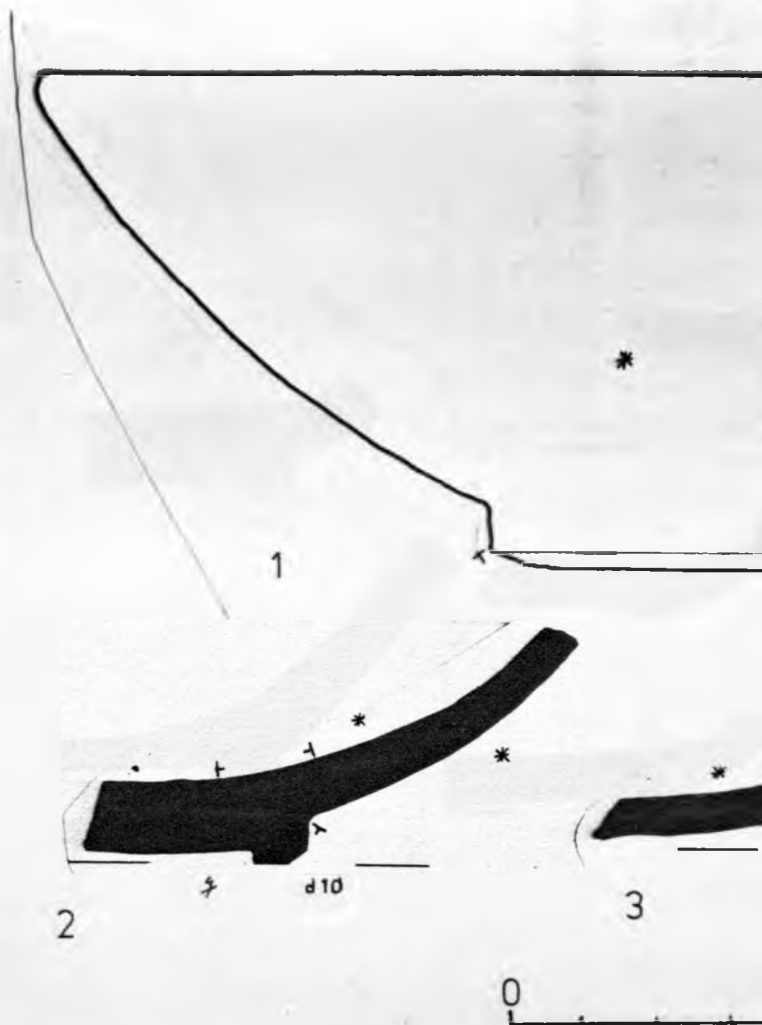


2



Chinese Celadon

T

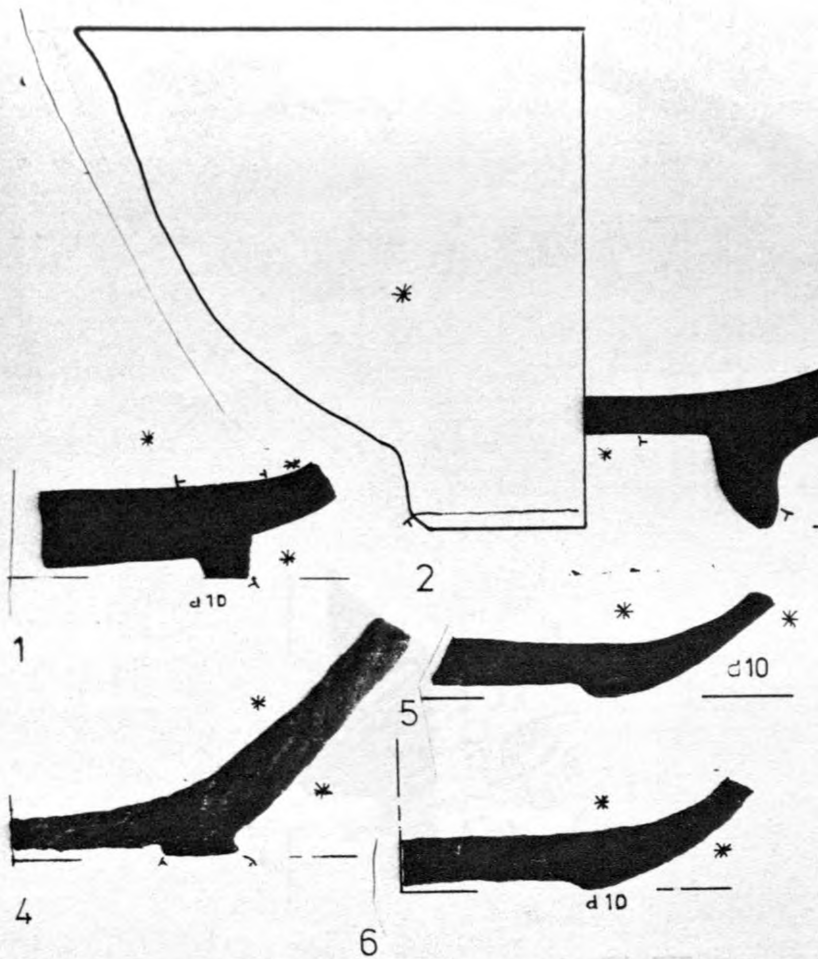


PI 155



Chinese Celadon





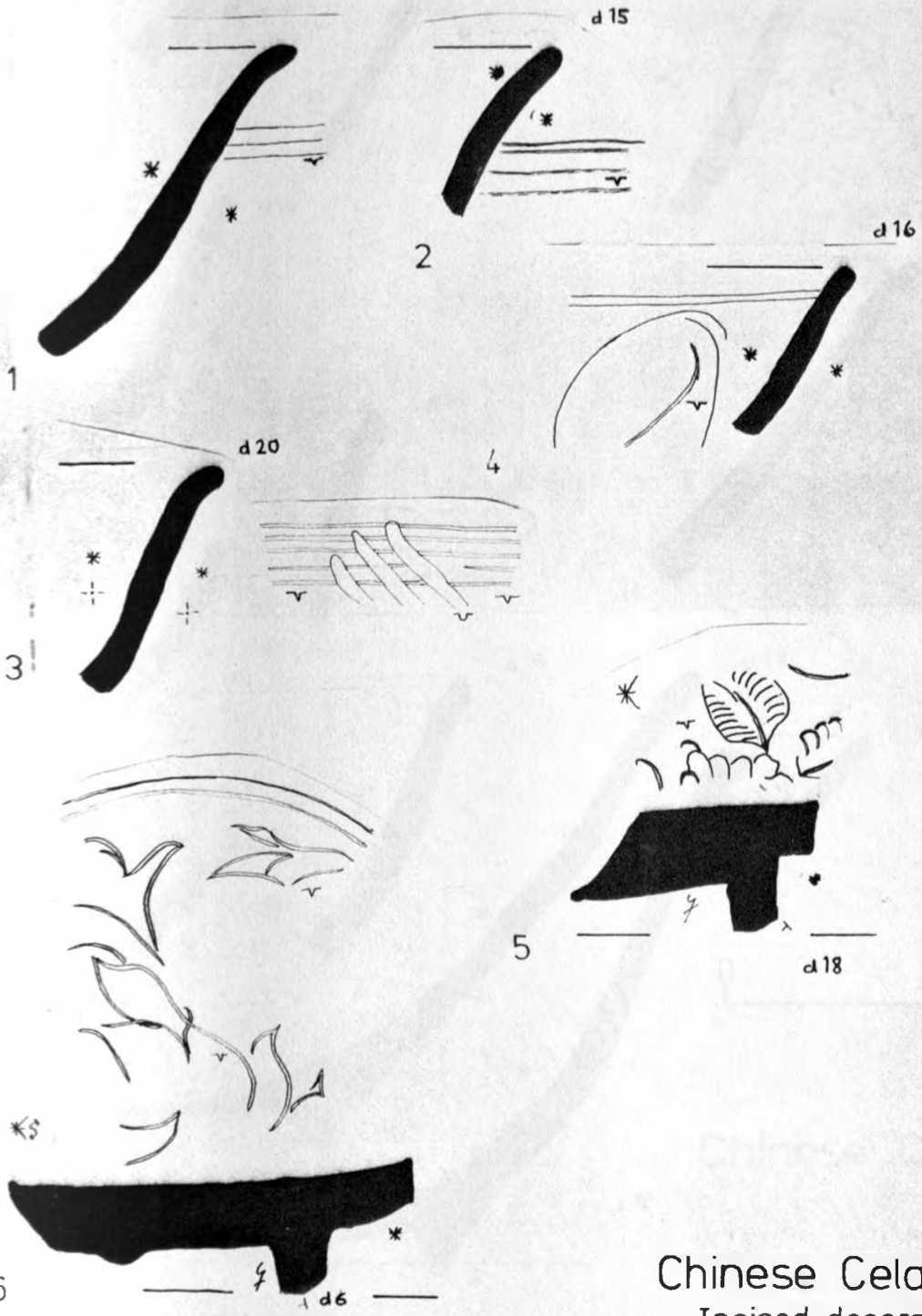
0 5cm

PI 156

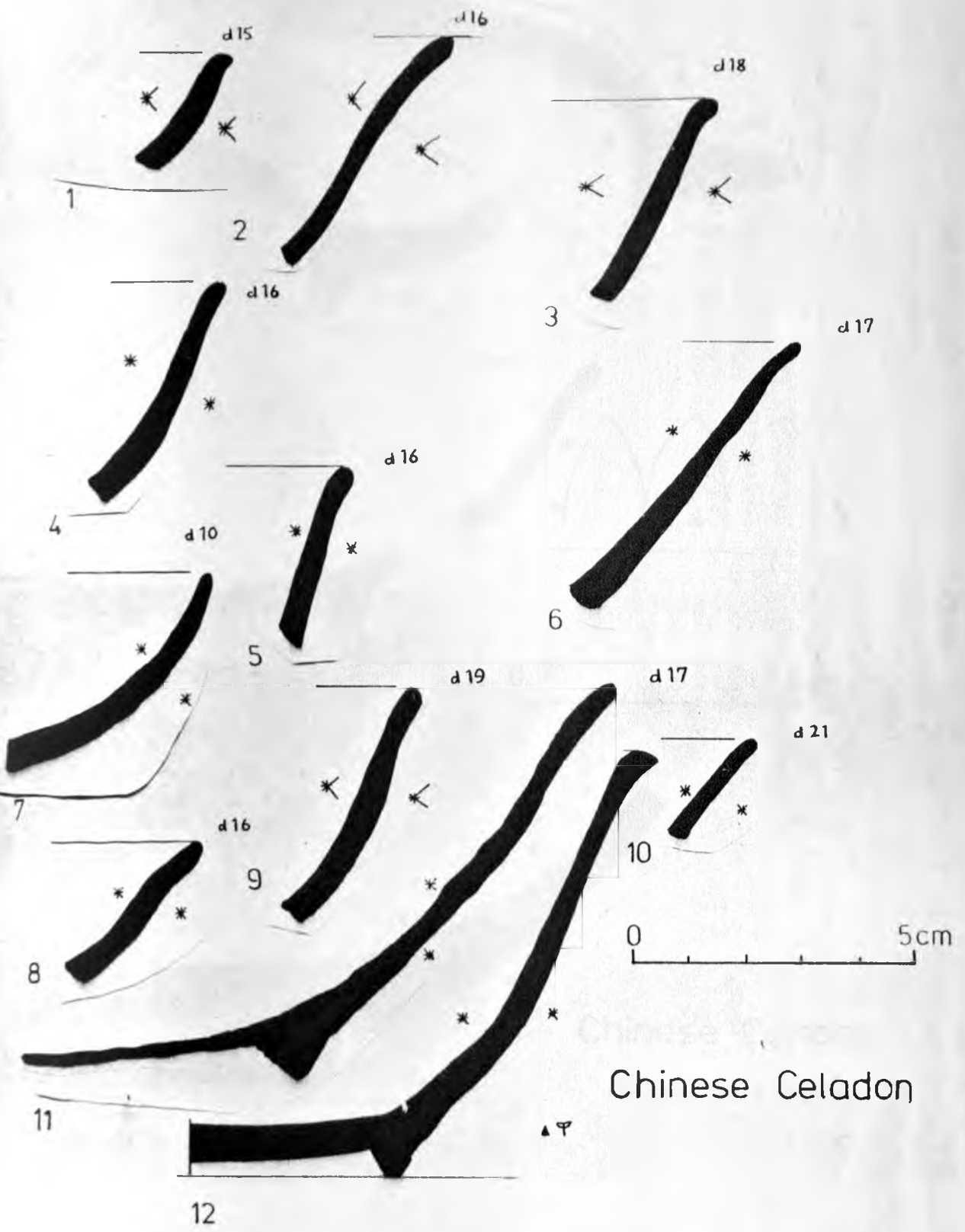


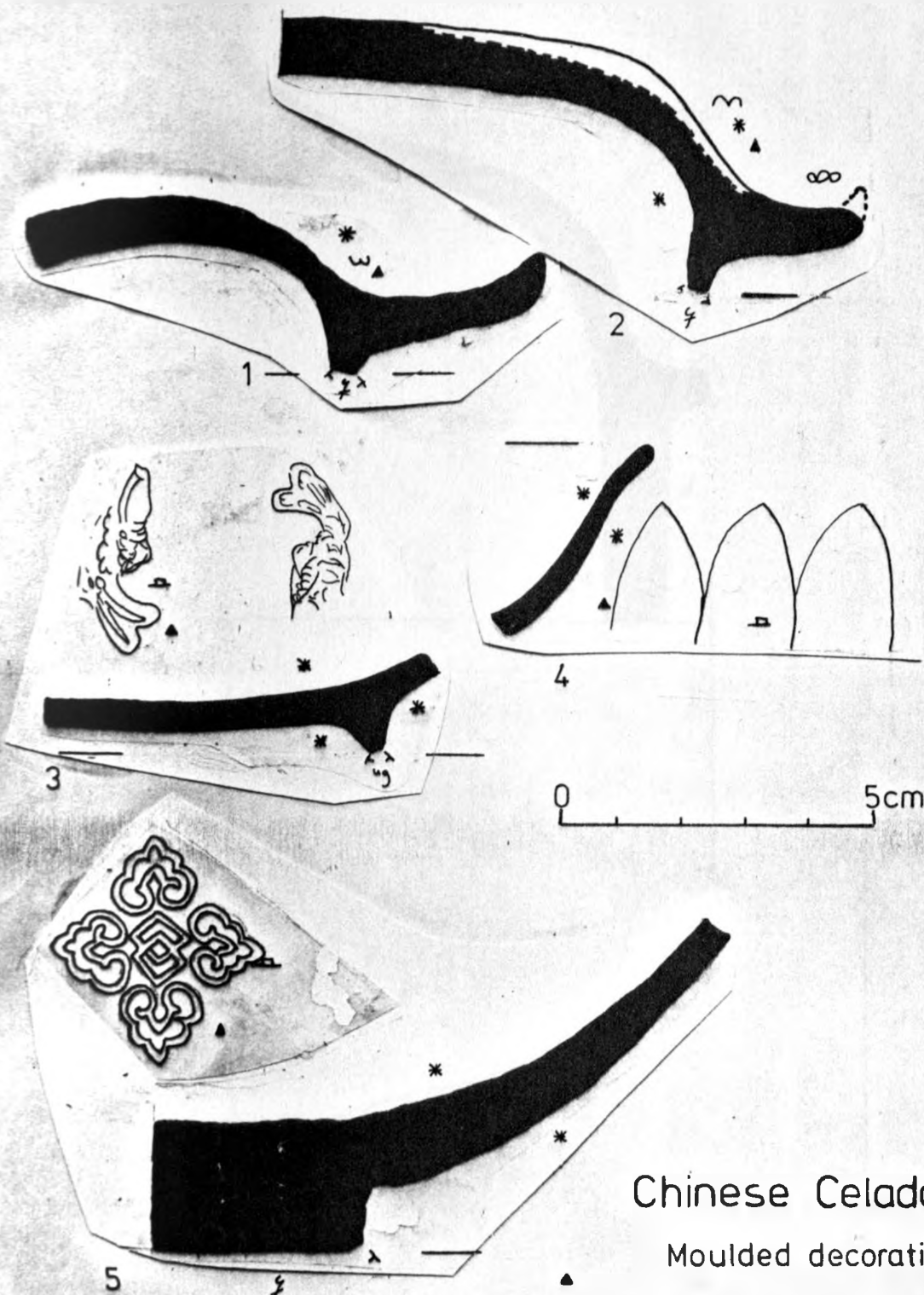
Chinese Celadon
Yueh types





Chinese Celadon
Incised decoration





Chinese Celadon
Moulded decoration

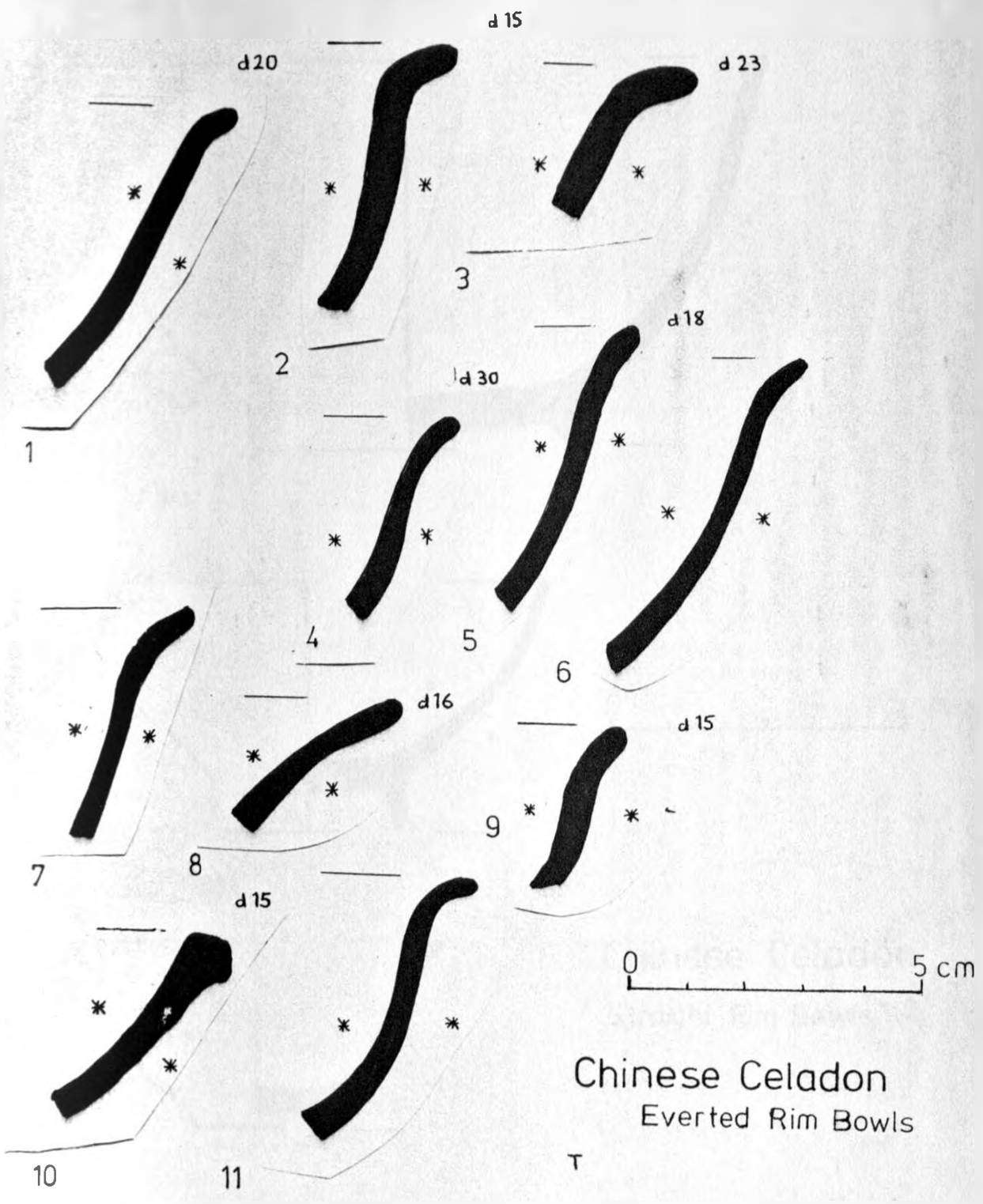


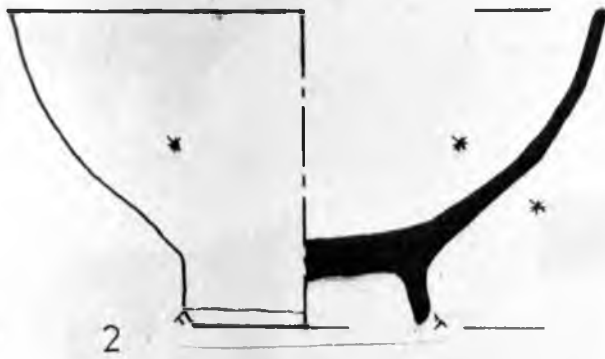
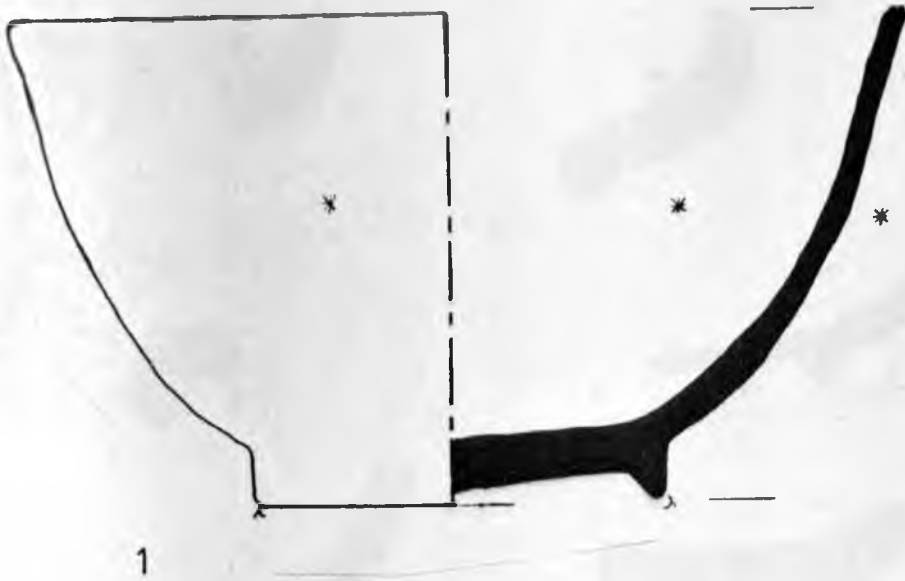
0 5 cm

PI 160



Chinese Celadon





0 5 cm



Chinese Celadon
Straight Rim Bowls

d 35



1

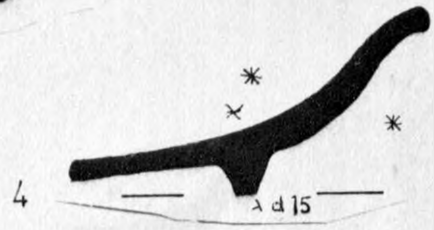
d 38



2



3



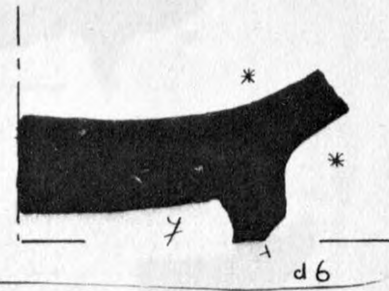
4

d 15



5

d 18



6

d 6



7



8



9

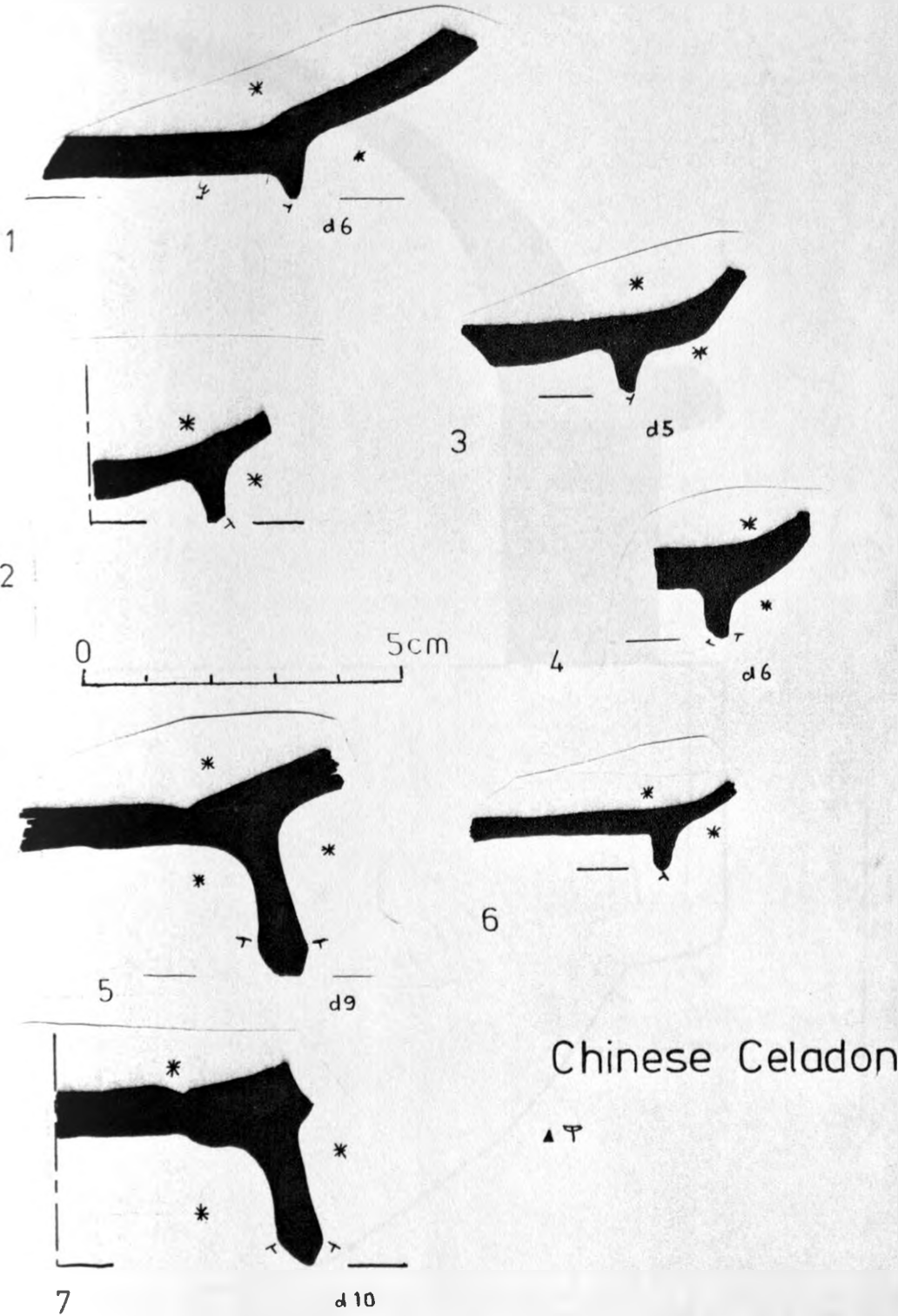


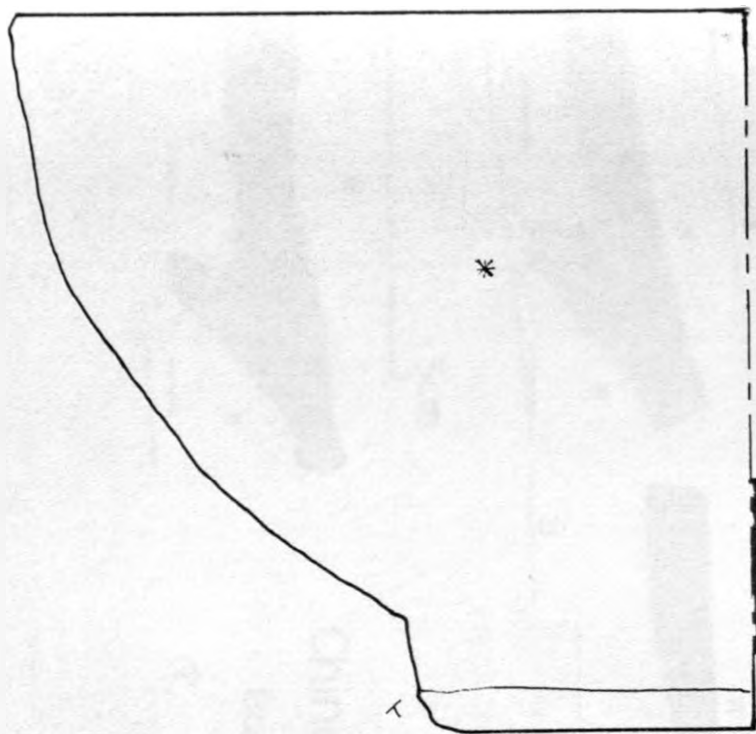
10



Chinese Celadon
Bases







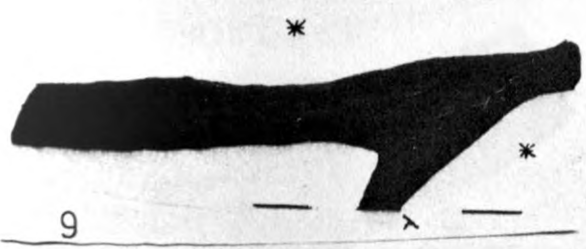
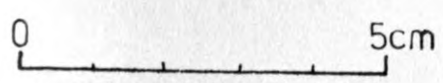
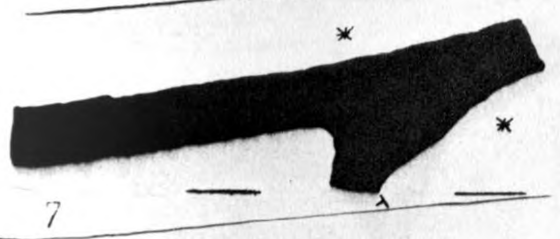
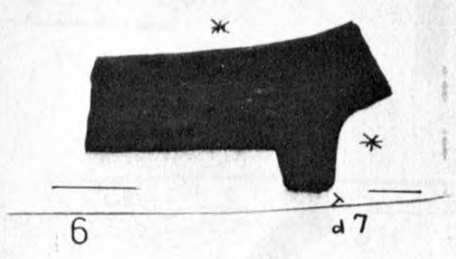
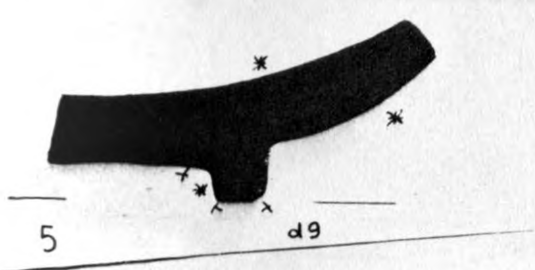
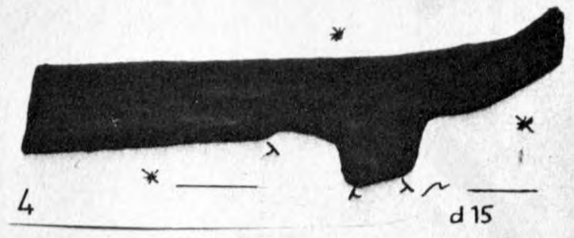
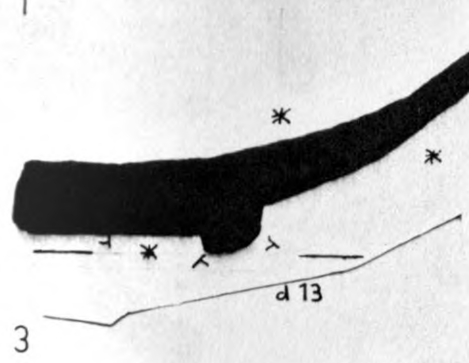
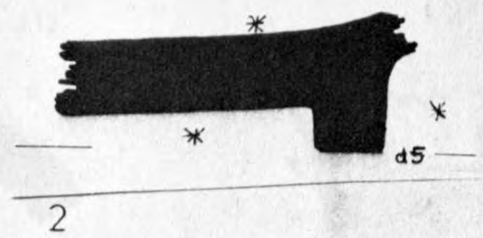
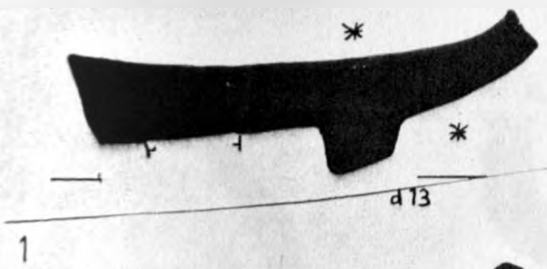
0 5cm

Pl 165



Chinese Celadon

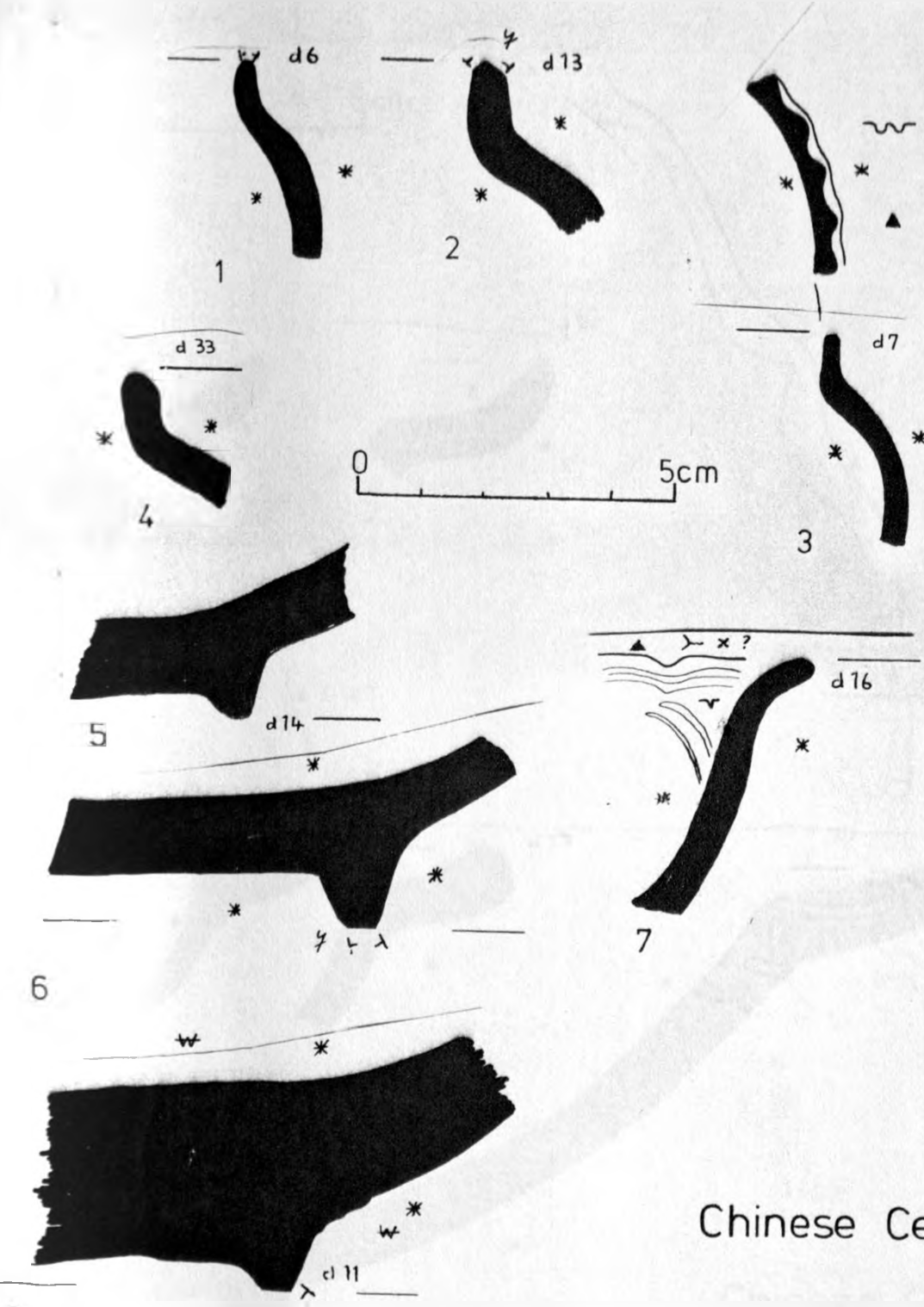
Lung Chuan Bowl



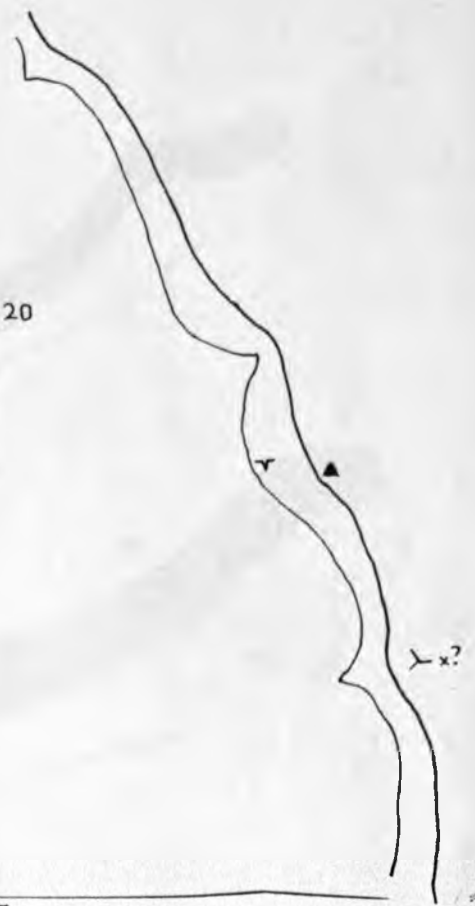
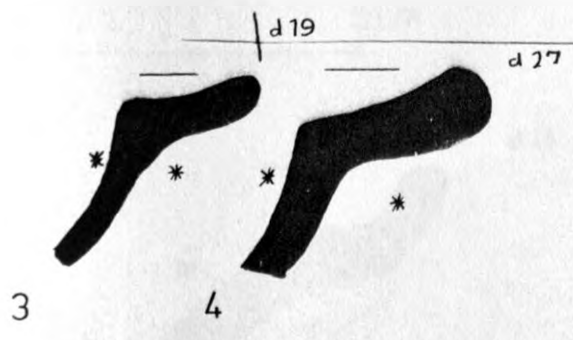
Chinese Celadon

Bases

卍

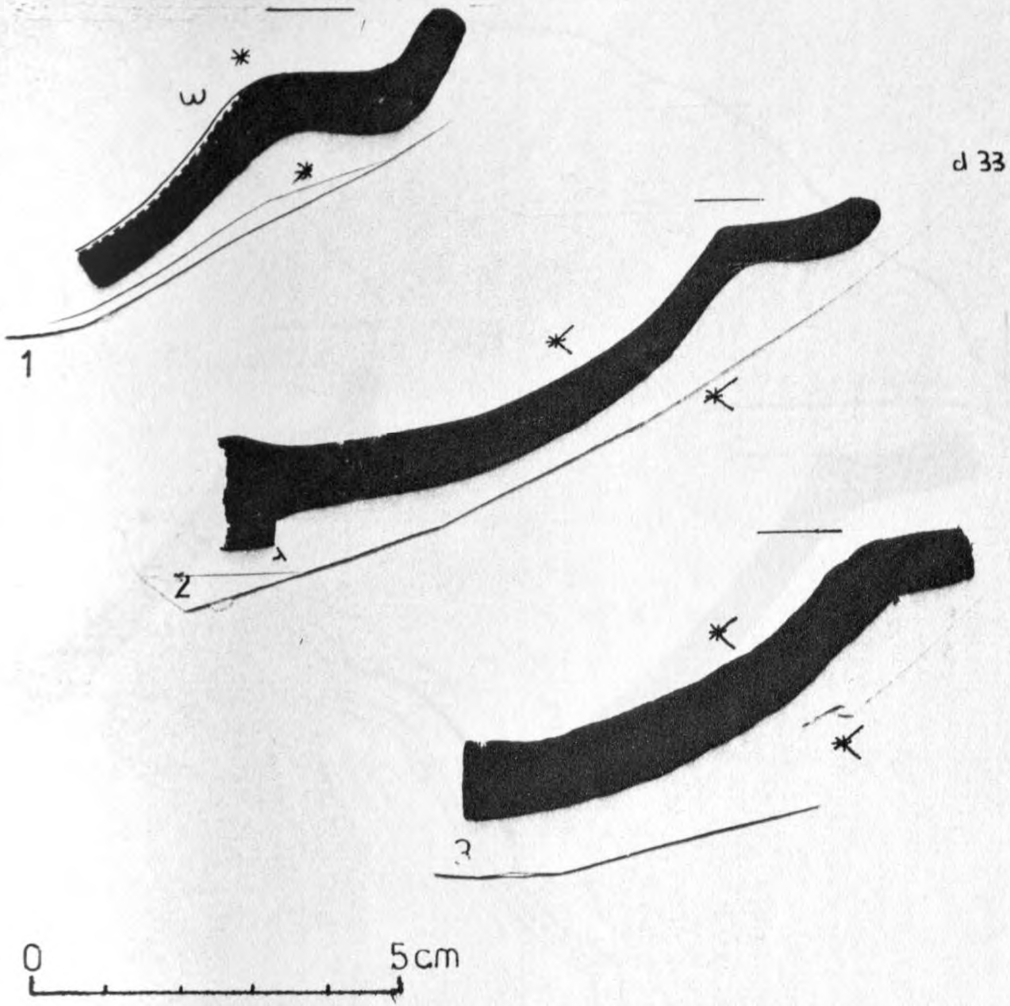


Chinese Celadon



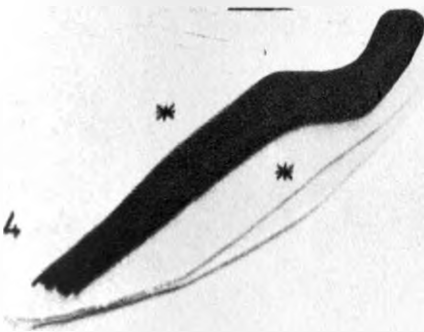
Chinese Celadon

Ledge Rim Bowls

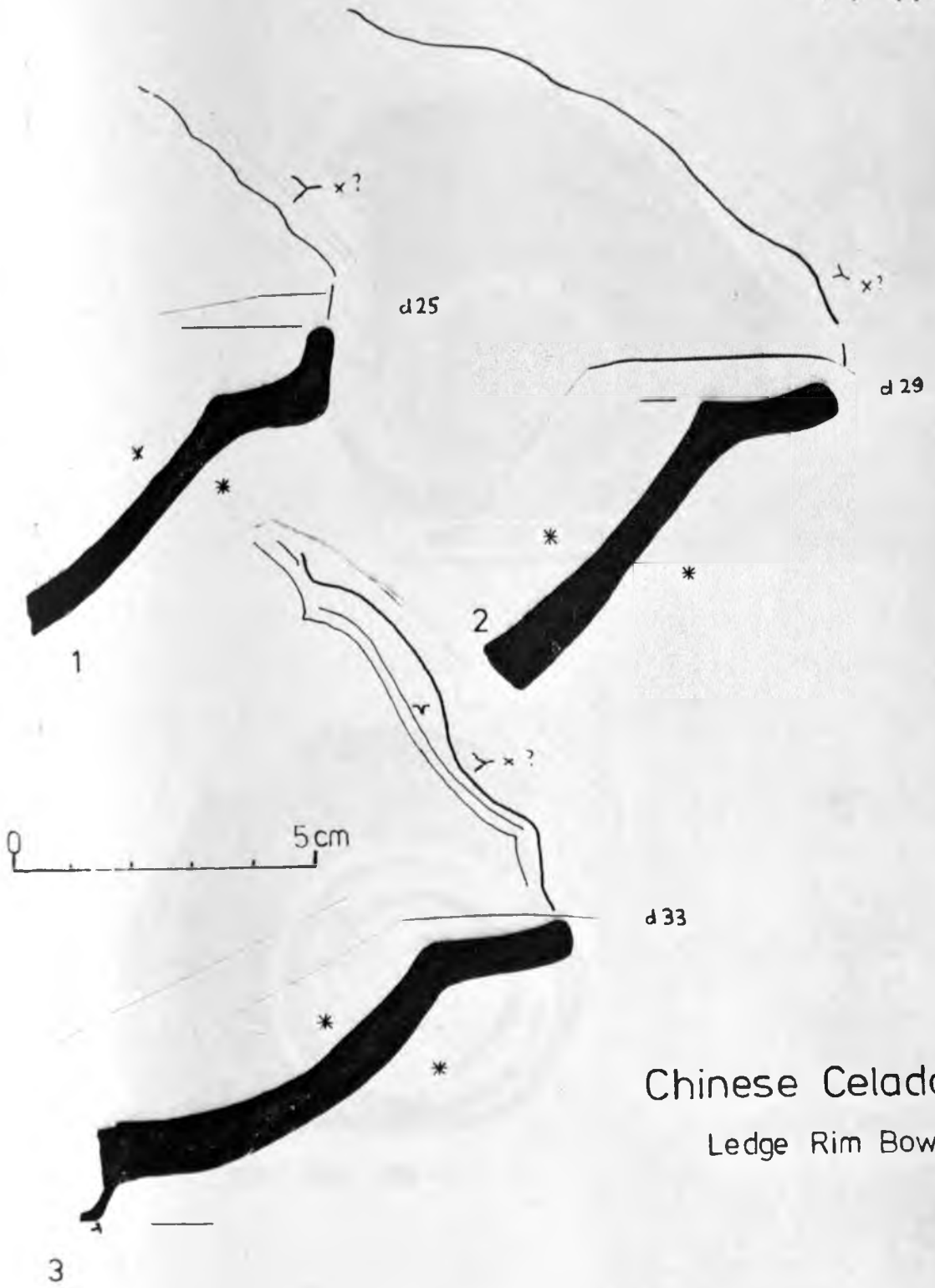


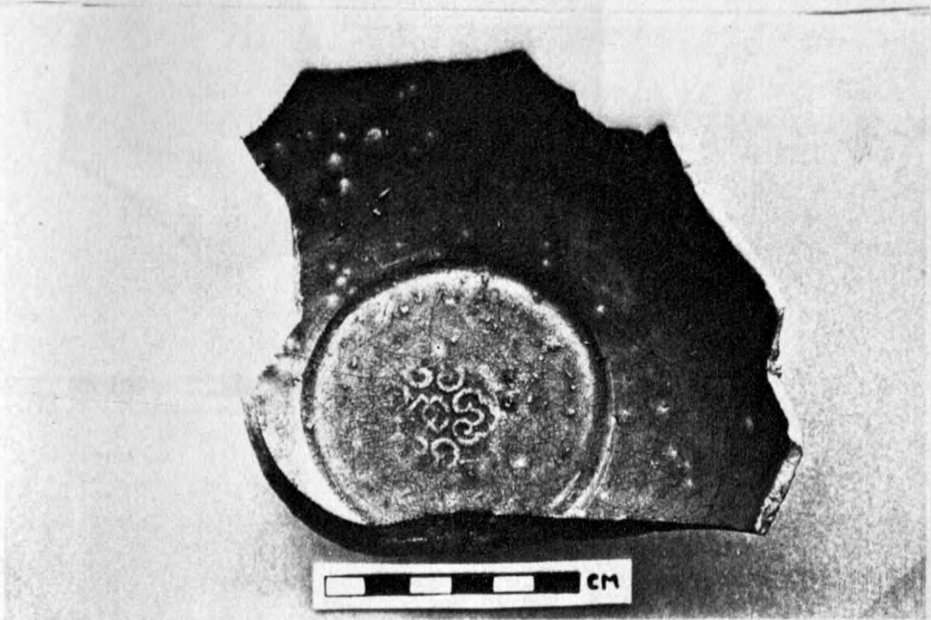
d 33

d 16



Chinese Celadon
Ledge Rim Bowls



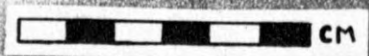
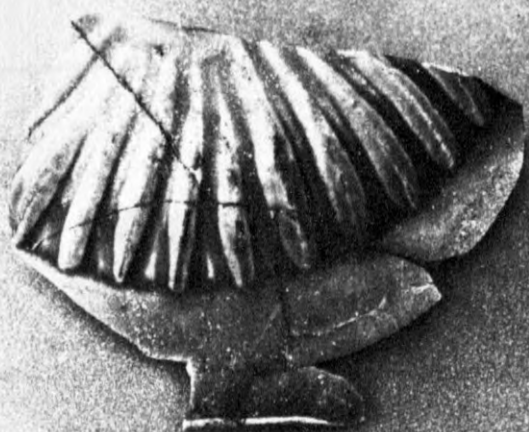
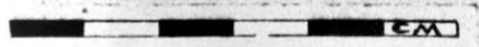


a



b

Chinese Celadon
Bowl

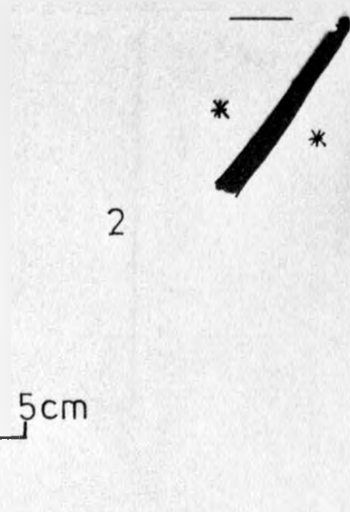


2

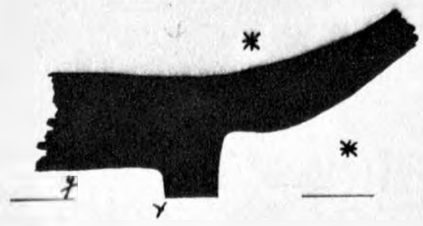


Chinese Celadon

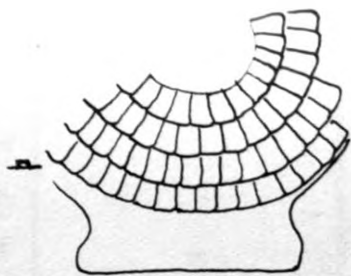
Moulding and Incision



0 5cm

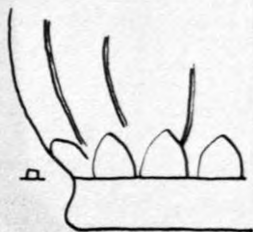


Chinese Celadon
Brown Variant



1

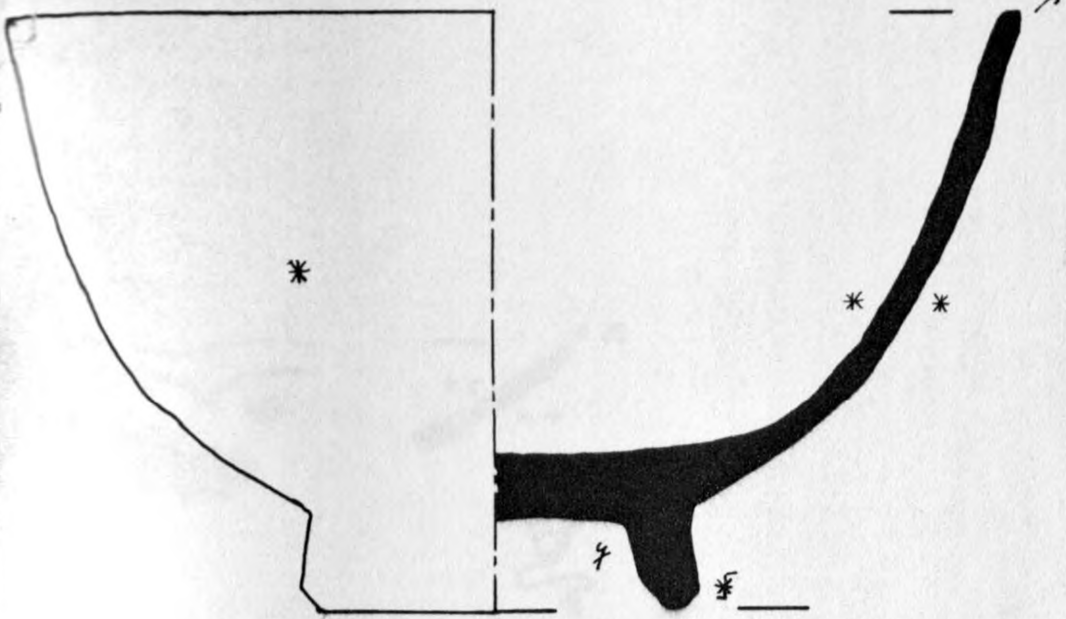
2



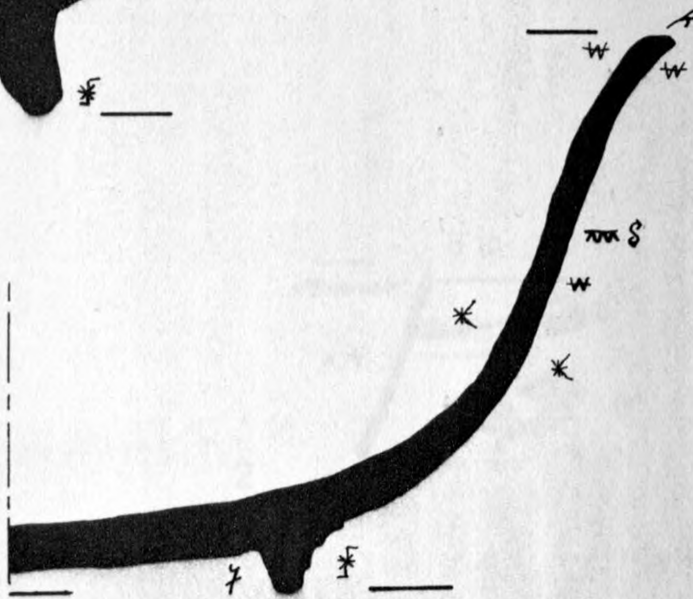
3



Chinese
Snuff Bottles

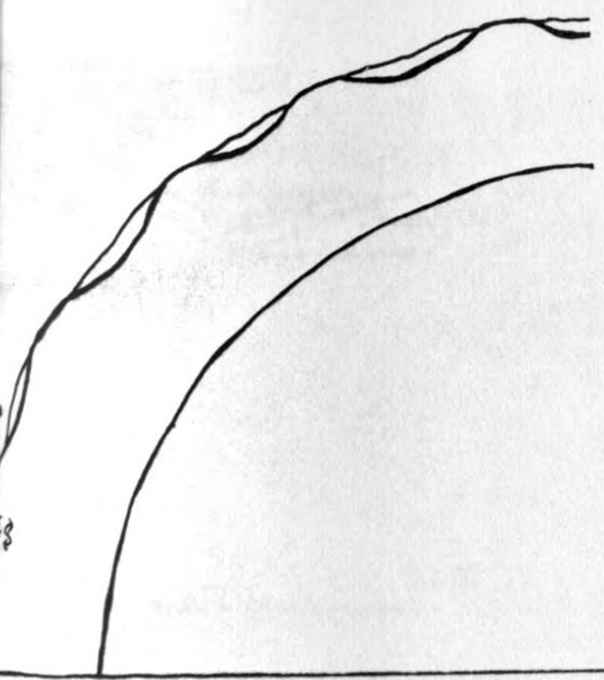


1



2

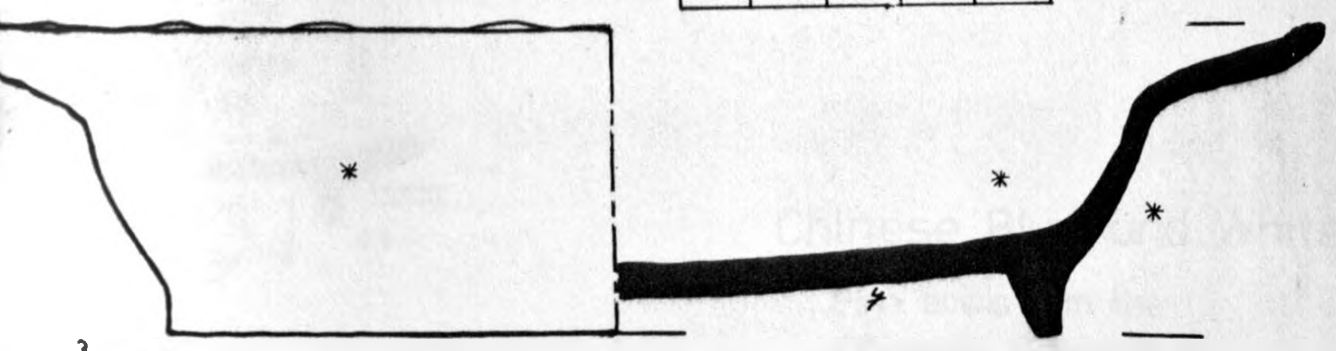
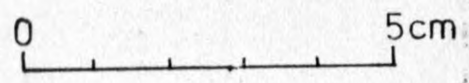
T



Red bodied White Ware

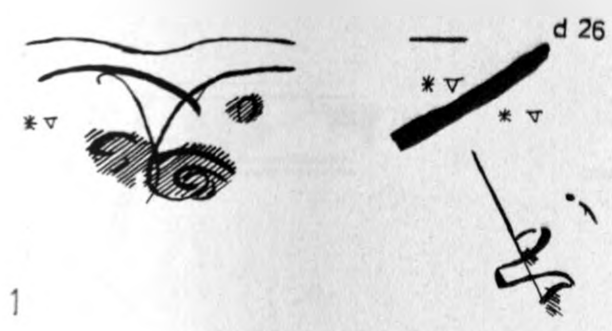
Reconstructions

■ T

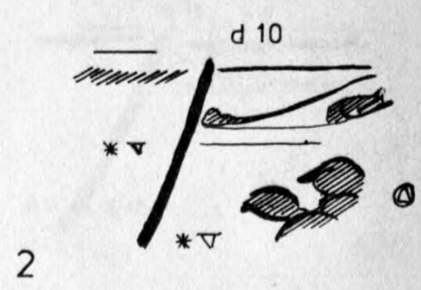


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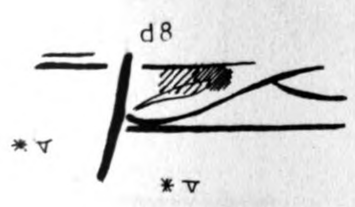
T ? A T



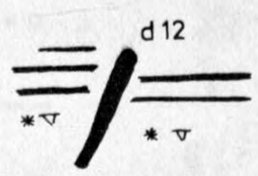
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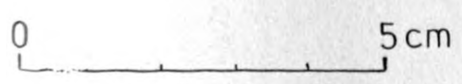
2



3



4

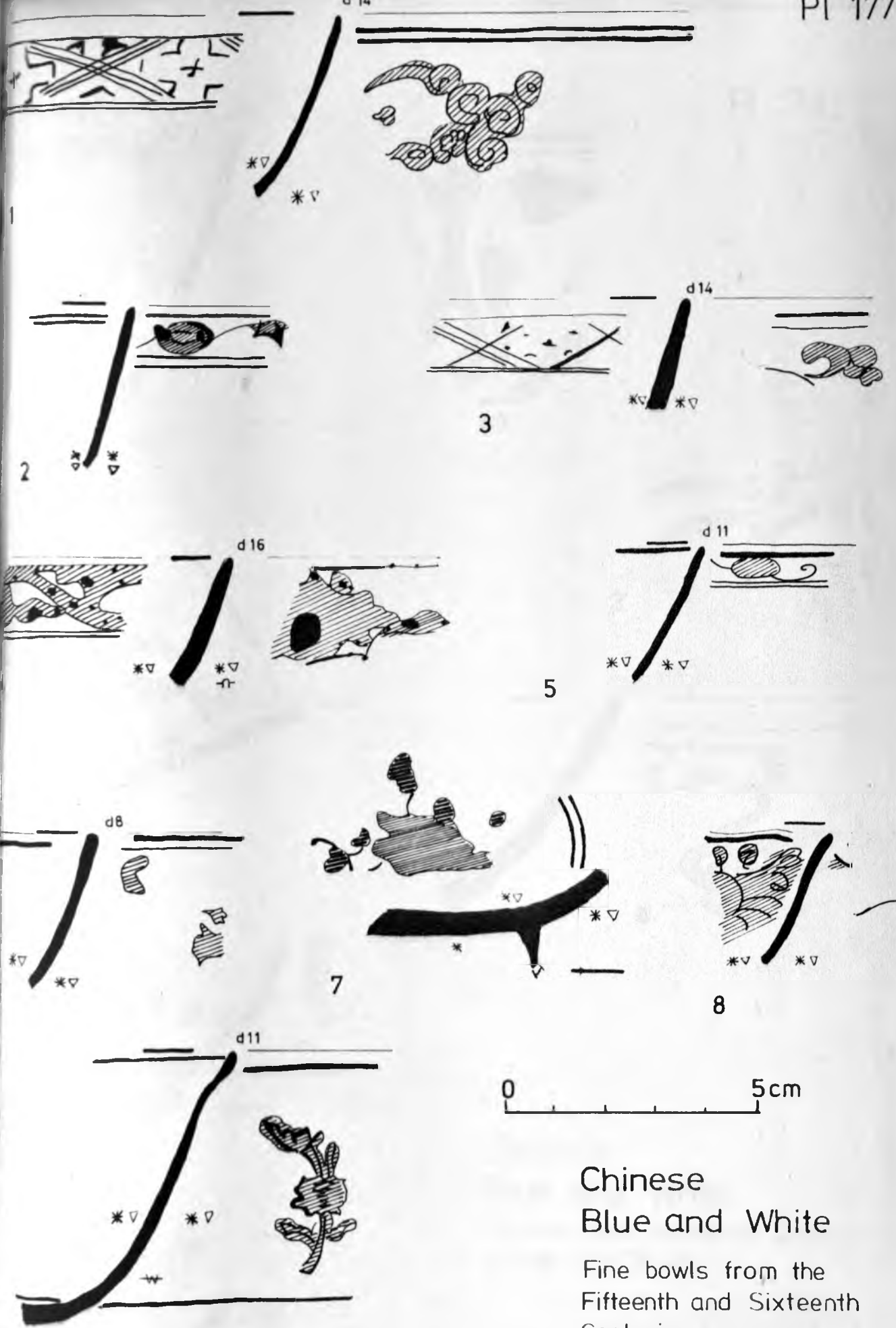


5

Chinese Blue and White

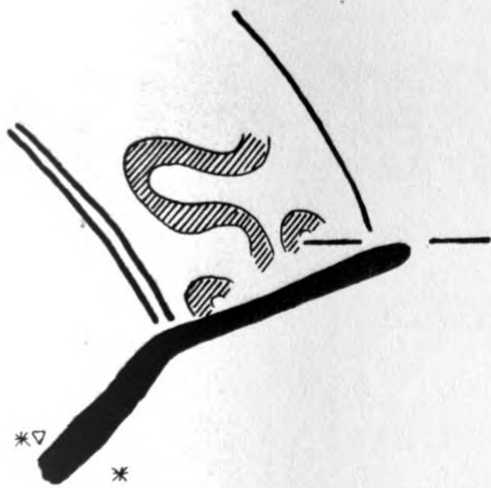
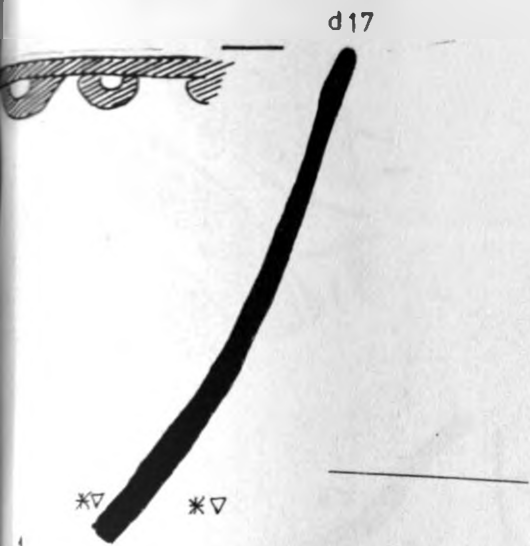
Fine bowls from the
Fifteenth Century

T

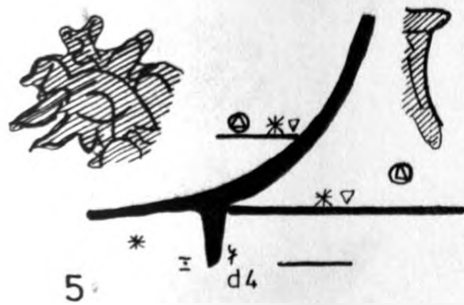
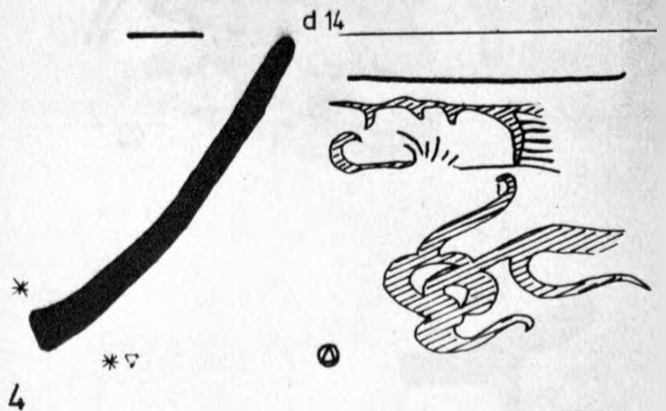


0 5cm

Chinese
 Blue and White
 Fine bowls from the
 Fifteenth and Sixteenth
 Centuries



3 T▽



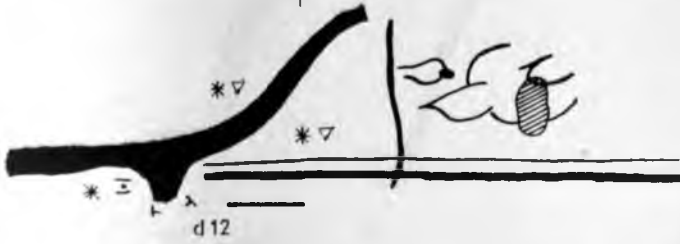
4



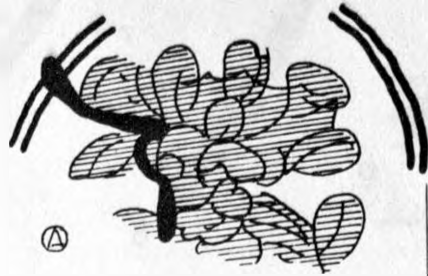
Chinese
Blue and White
Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century
Dishes and Bowls



6 T▽



1

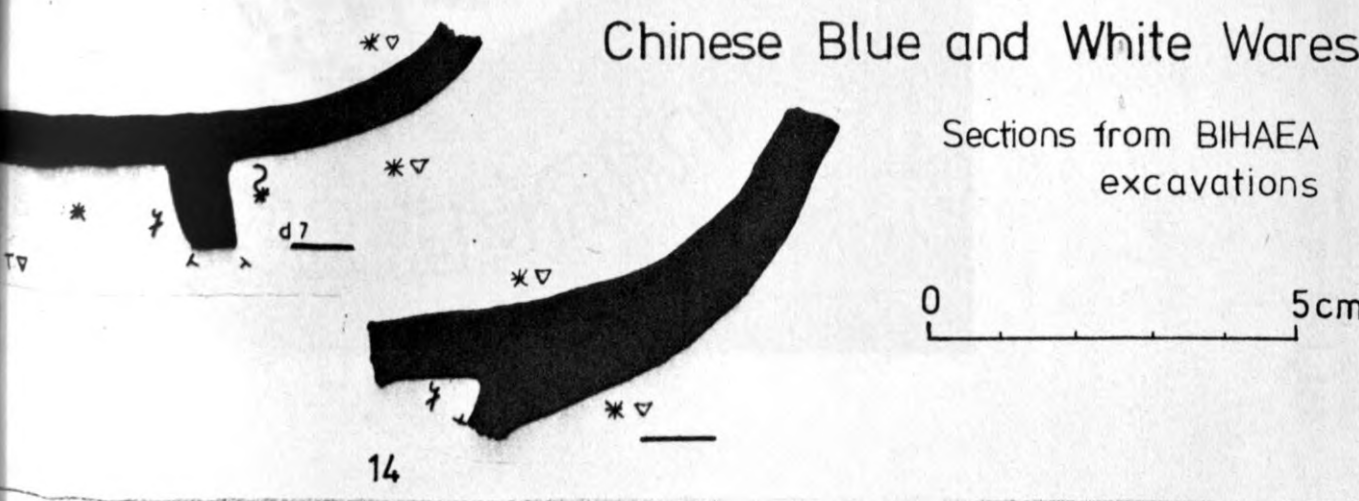
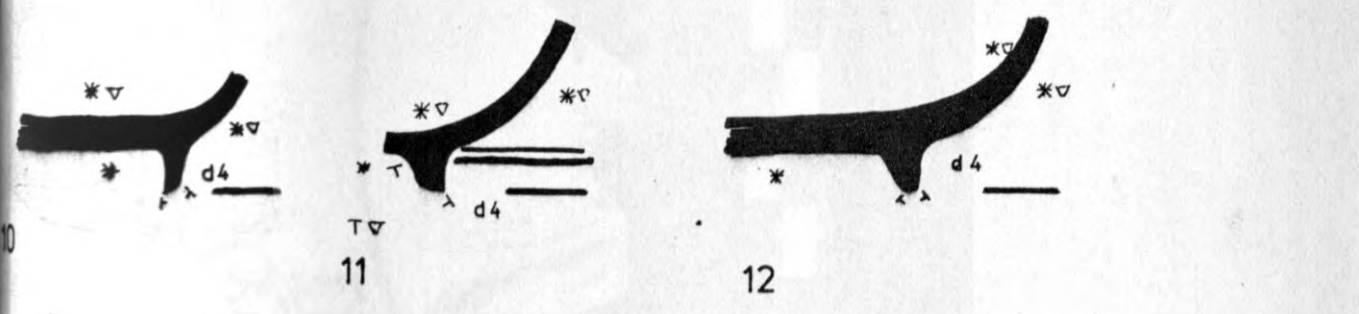
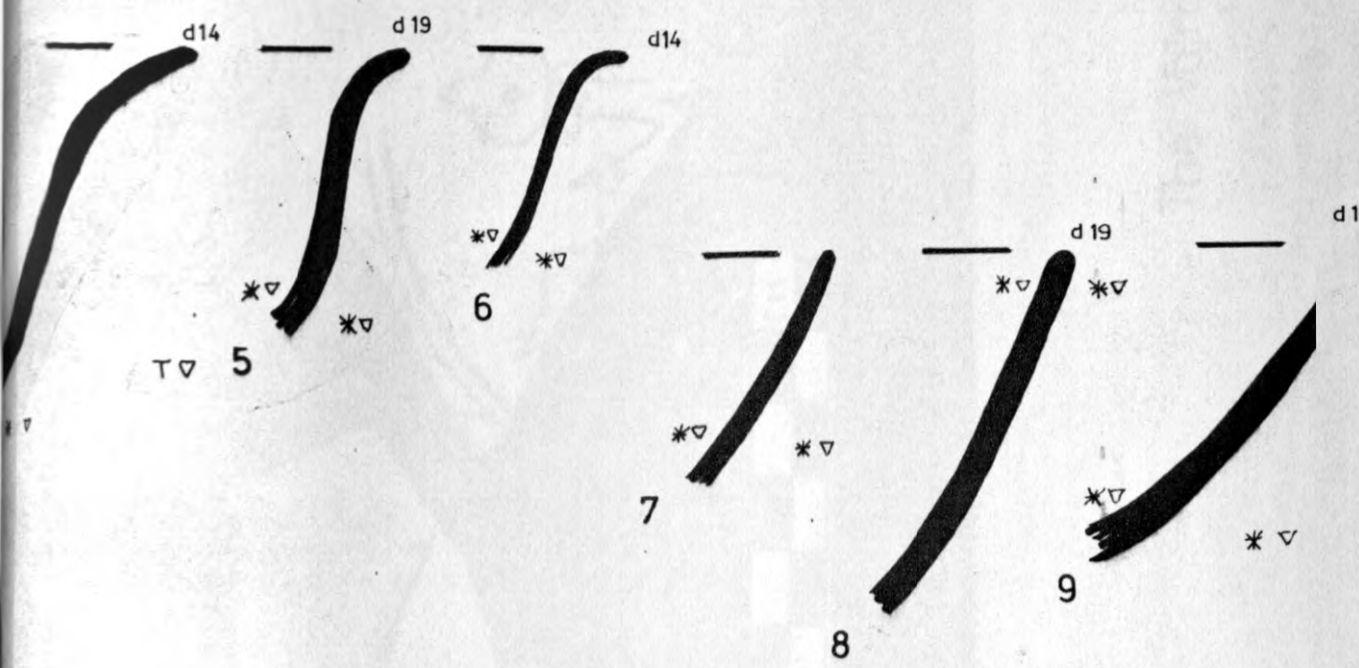
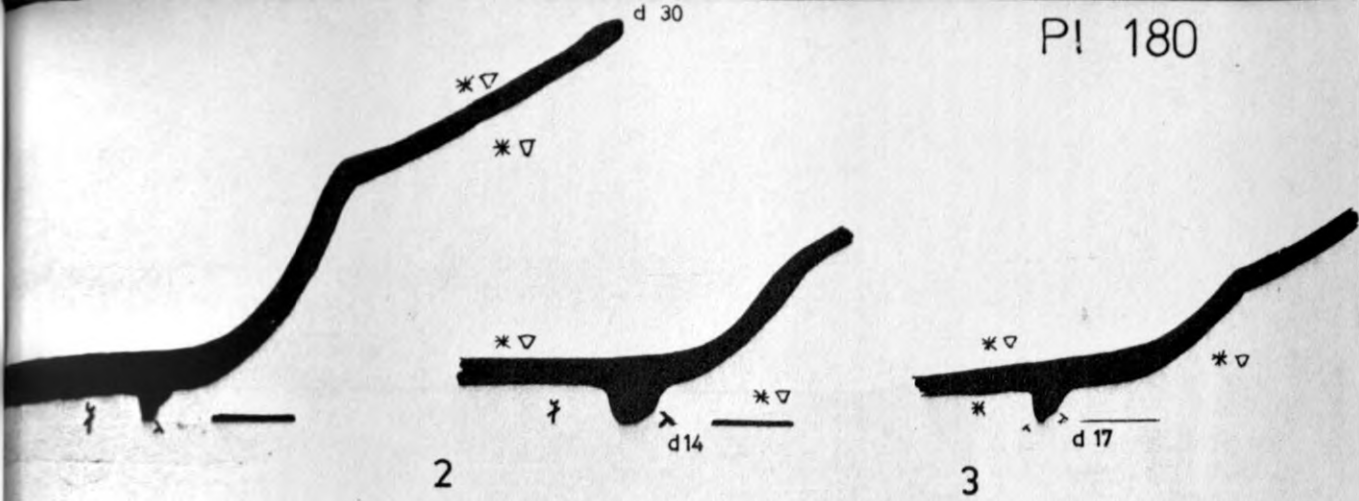


2



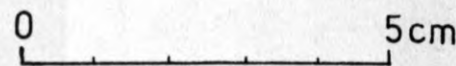
3

Chinese
Blue and White
Fifteenth and Sixteenth
century vessels



Chinese Blue and White Wares

Sections from BIHAEA excavations





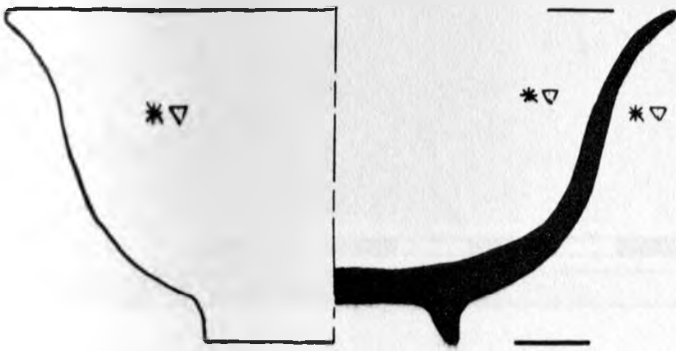
PI 181



The Vajra



1



Reconstruction

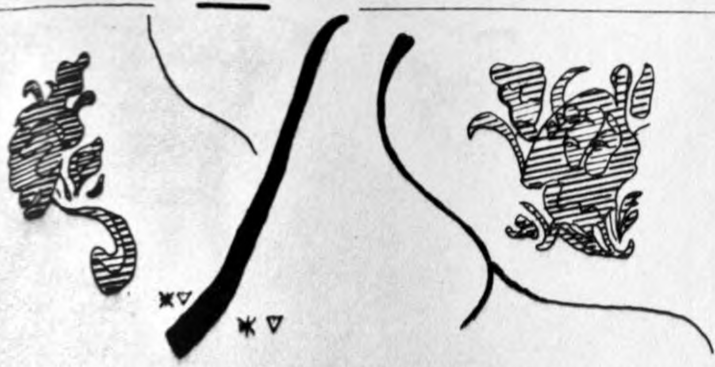
2



Chinese Blue and White

Bowl centre

d14



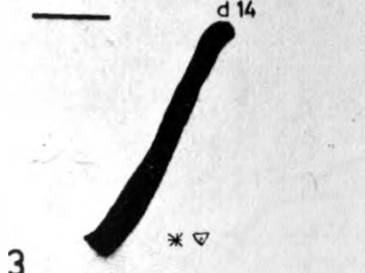
1

d12



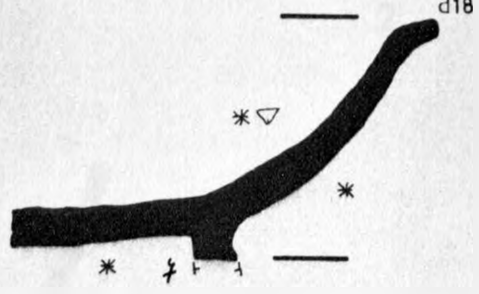
2

d14

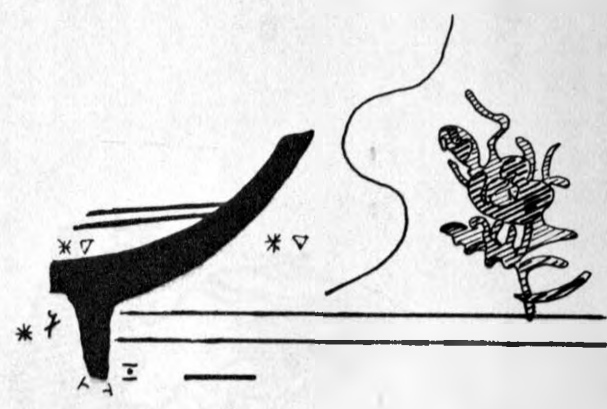
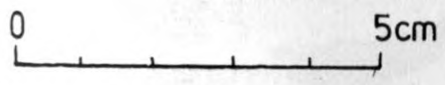


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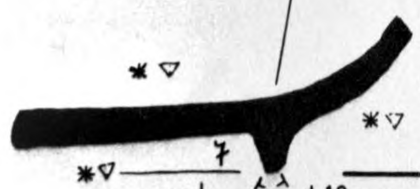
d18



4



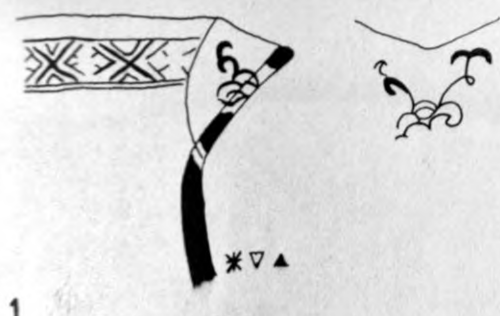
5



6

Chinese
Blue and
White

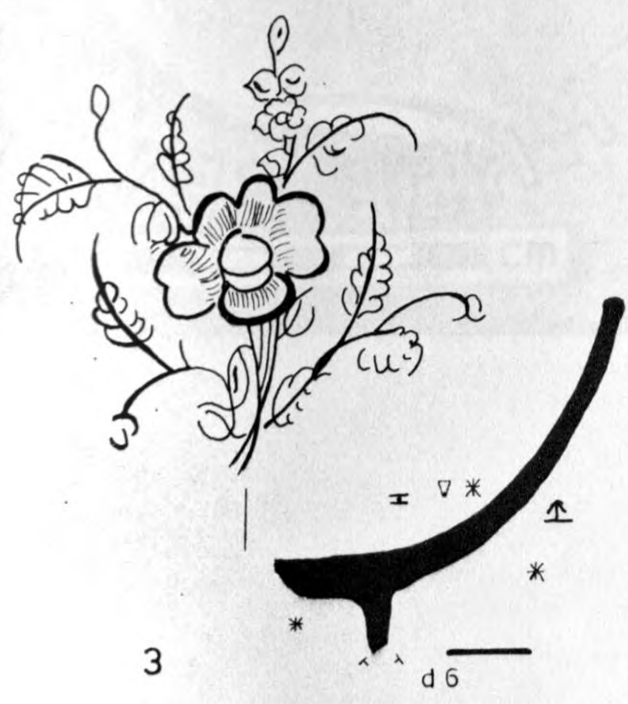
Free Posy Pane
and Medallion
dish and bowls



1



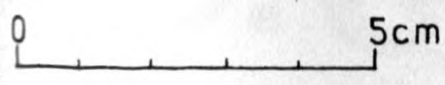
2



3



6



4



5

Chinese
Blue and White

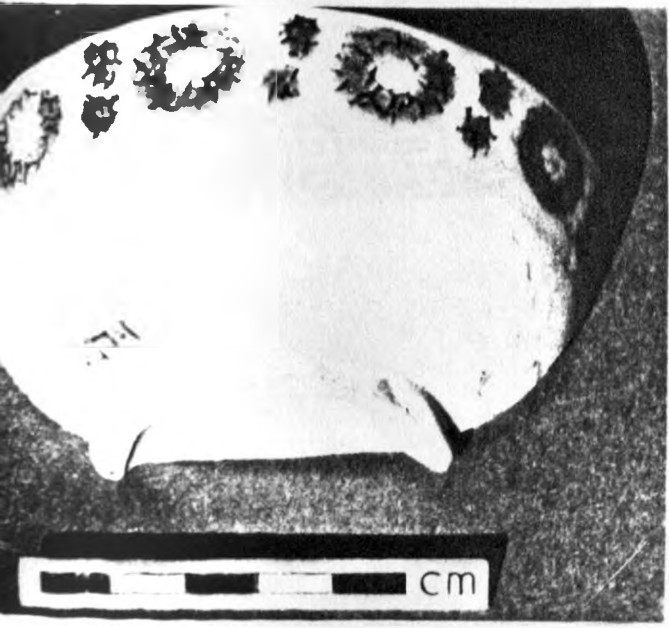
- A. Jug
- B. Bowls with monochrome exteriors



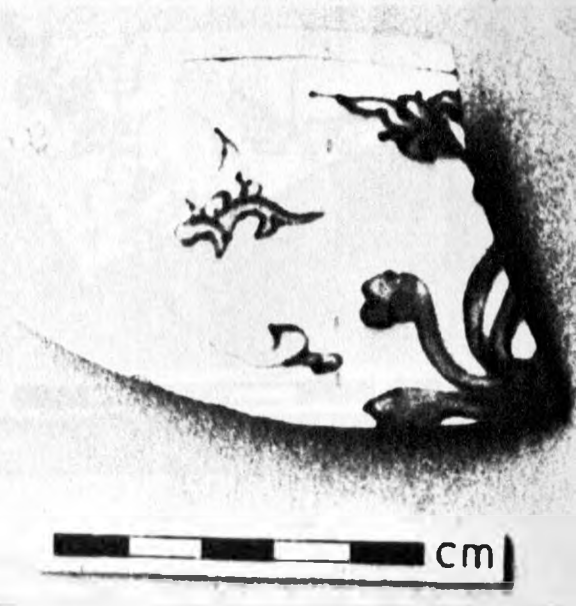
1



2

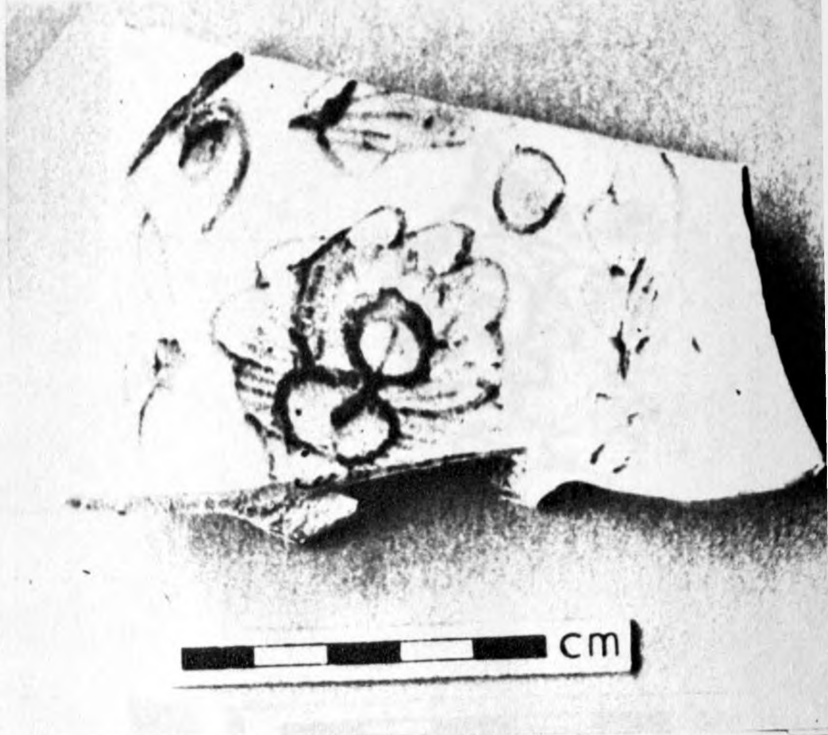


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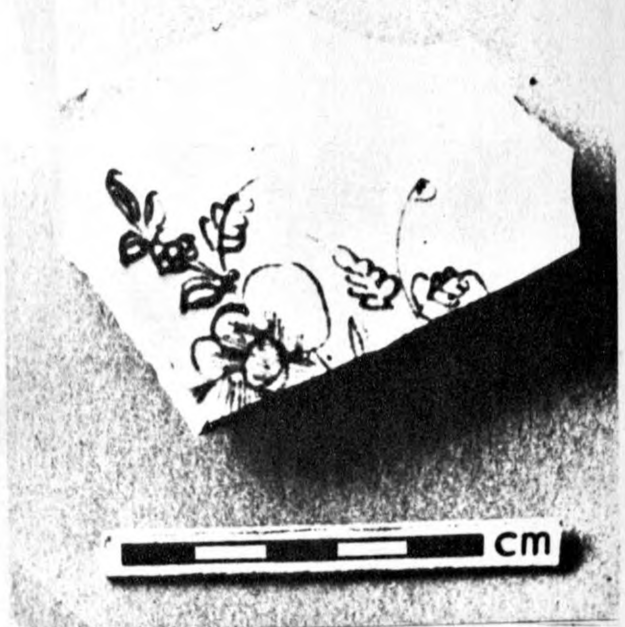
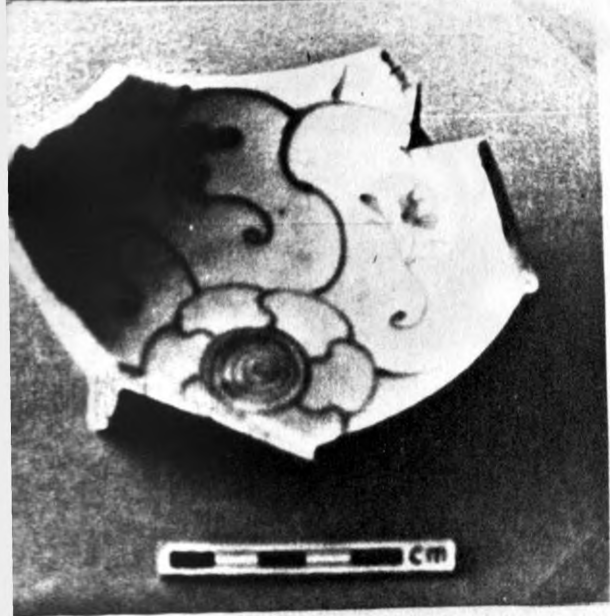


Chinese
Blue and White

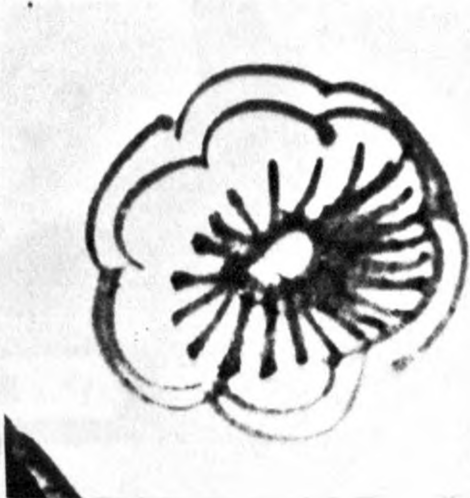
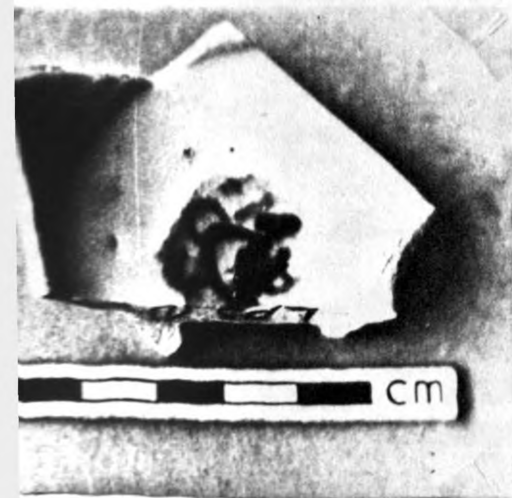
Bowls



2



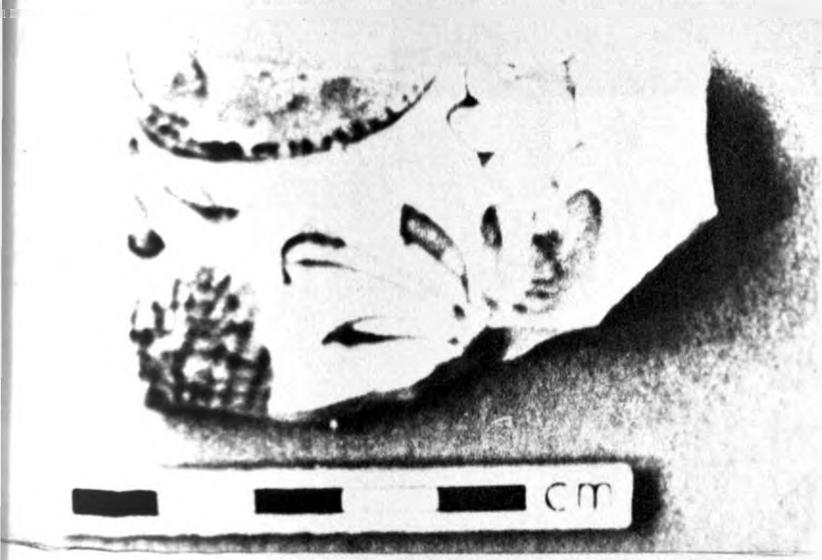
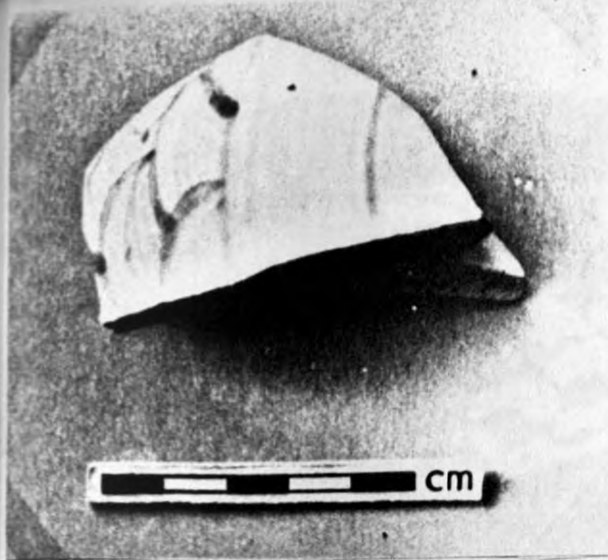
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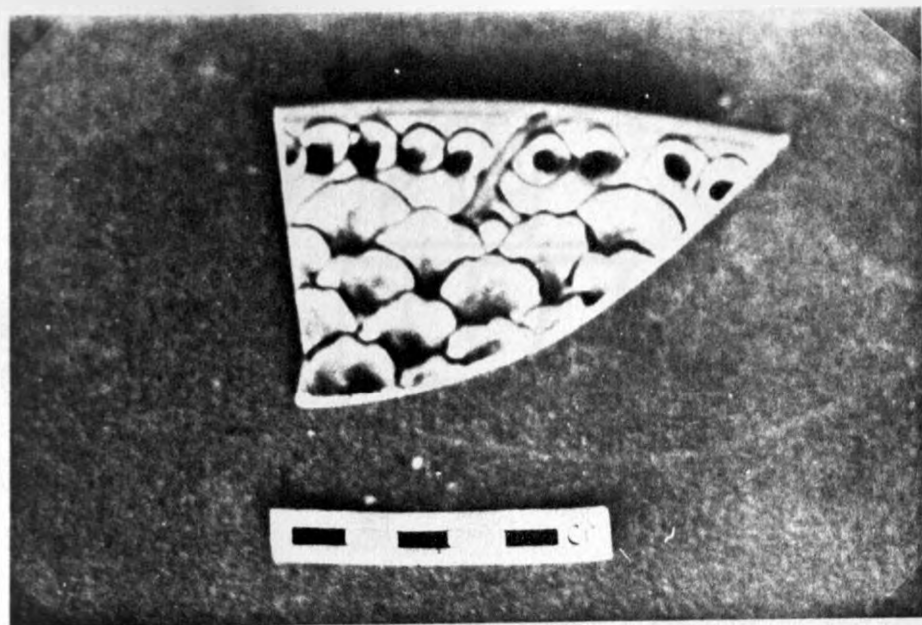
6

Chinese
Blue and
White

The
Peony



Chinese
Blue and
White Wares



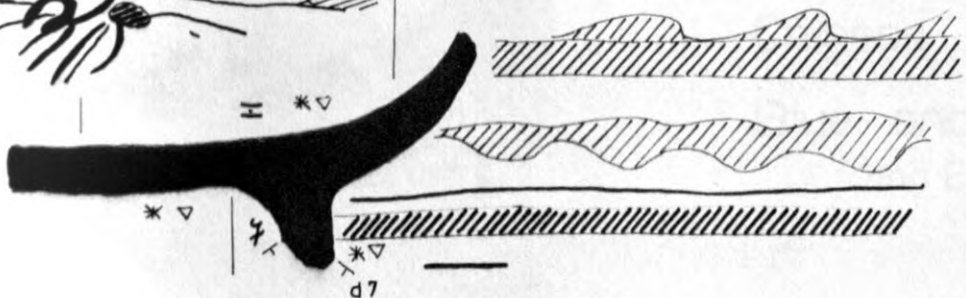
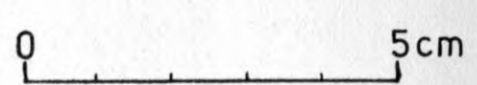
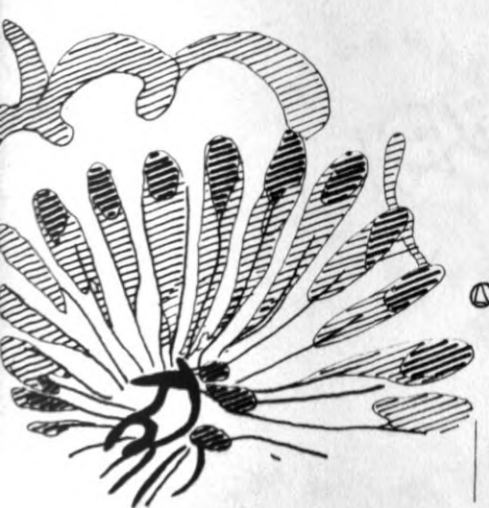
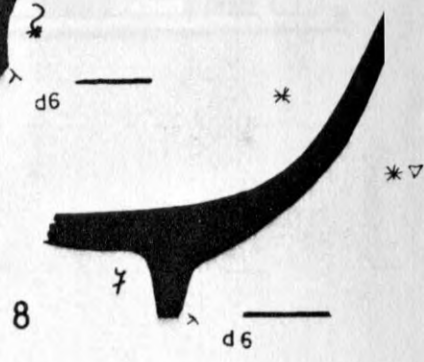
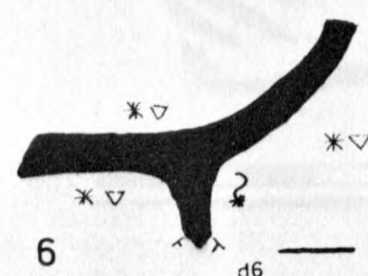
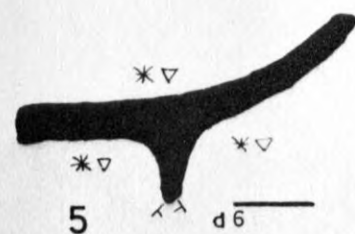
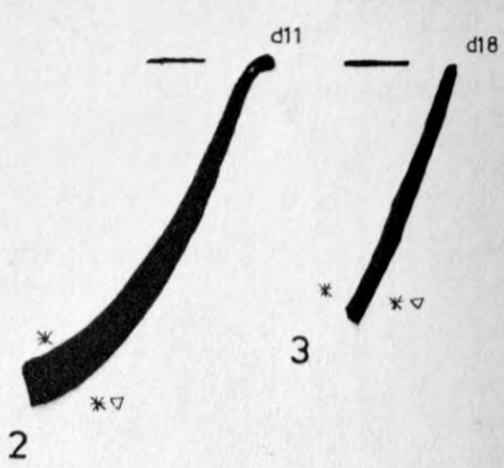
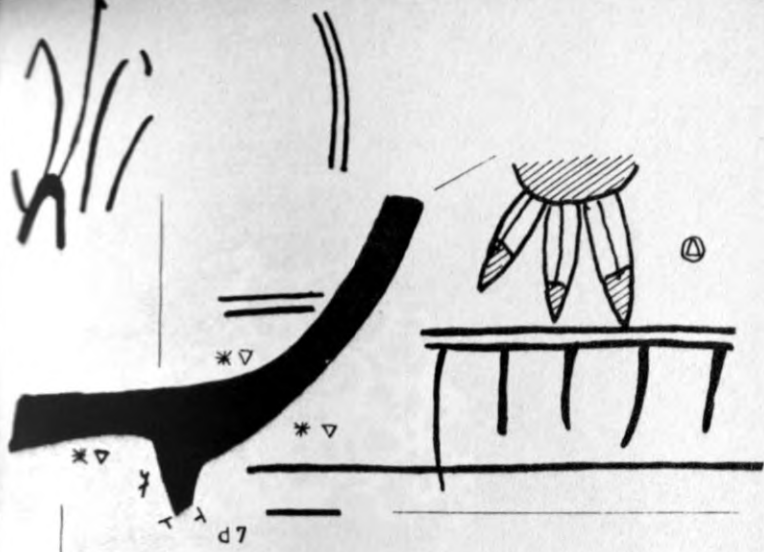
1



2

Chinese Blue and White
Motif

Cods Roe and related motifs



Chinese Blue and White
Blob and Pointed Peony Bowls



1



2



3

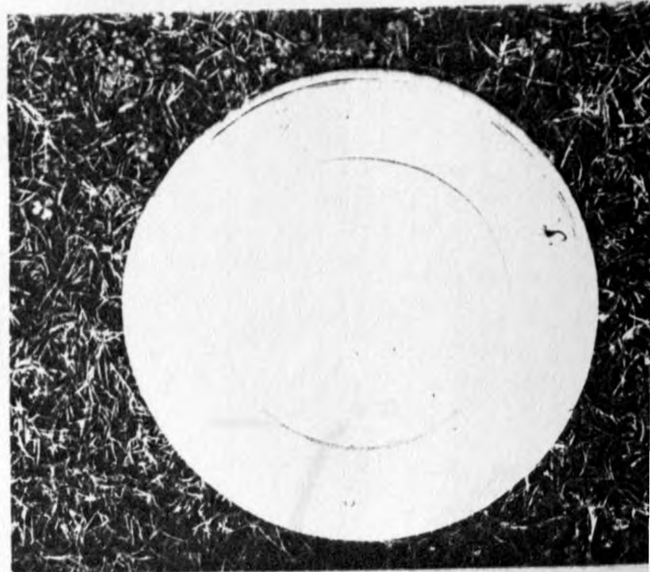
Chinese

Blue and White
and European copies

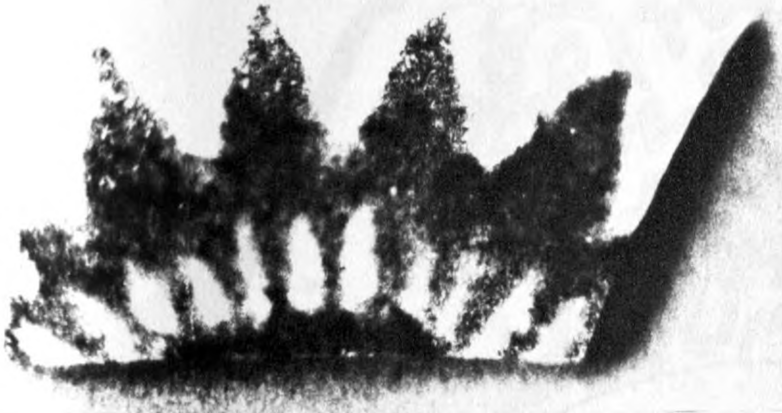
The
Peony



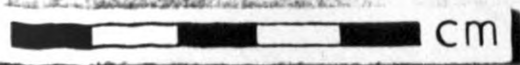
1a



1b



2

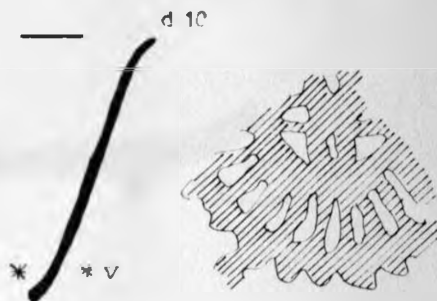
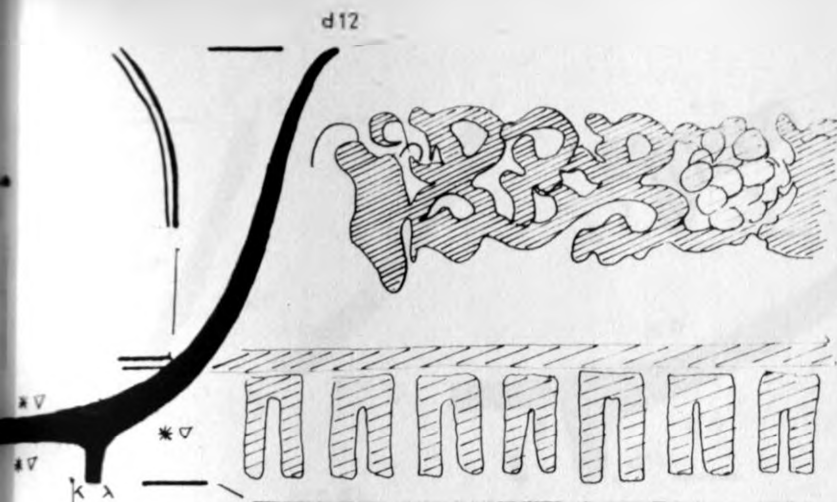


3

Chinese

Blue and White

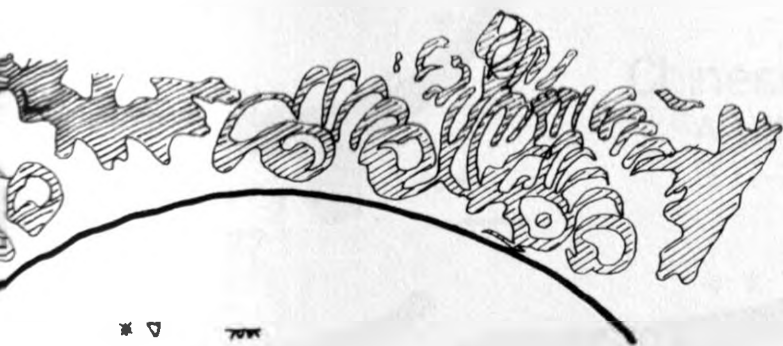
The Peony



2

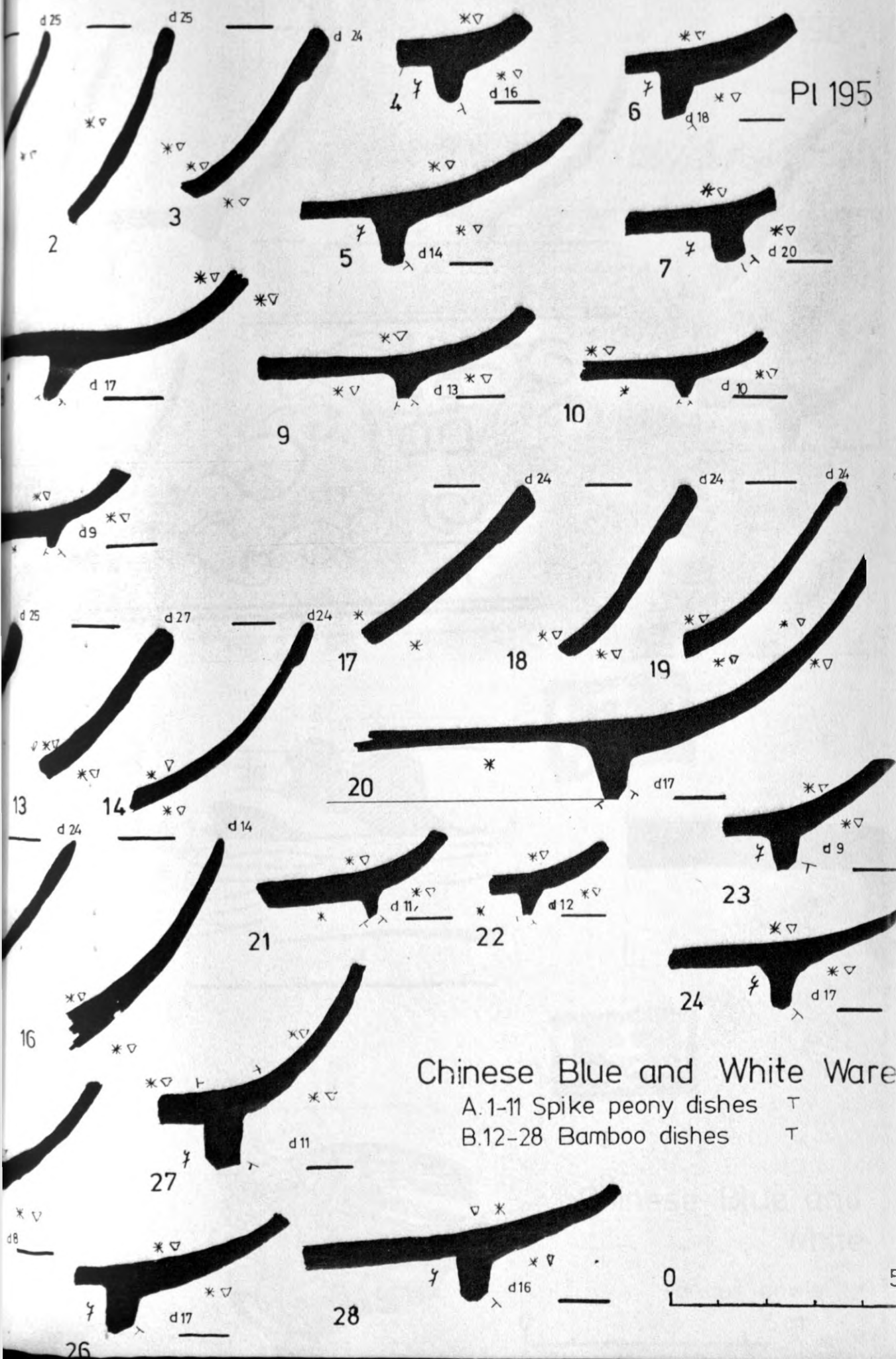


3



Chinese Blue and White

Scribble floral bowls



Pl 195

Chinese Blue and White Ware

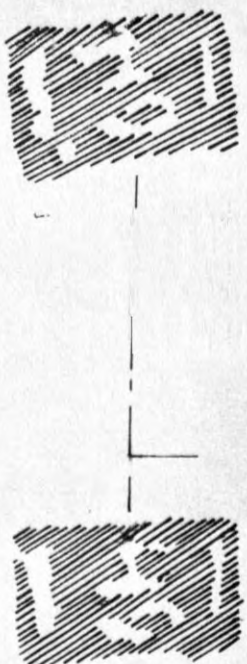
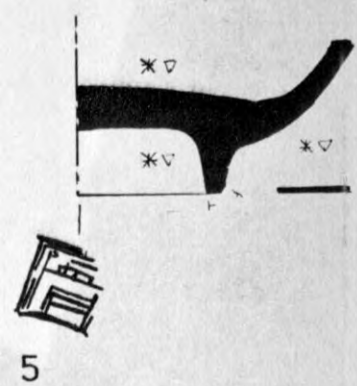
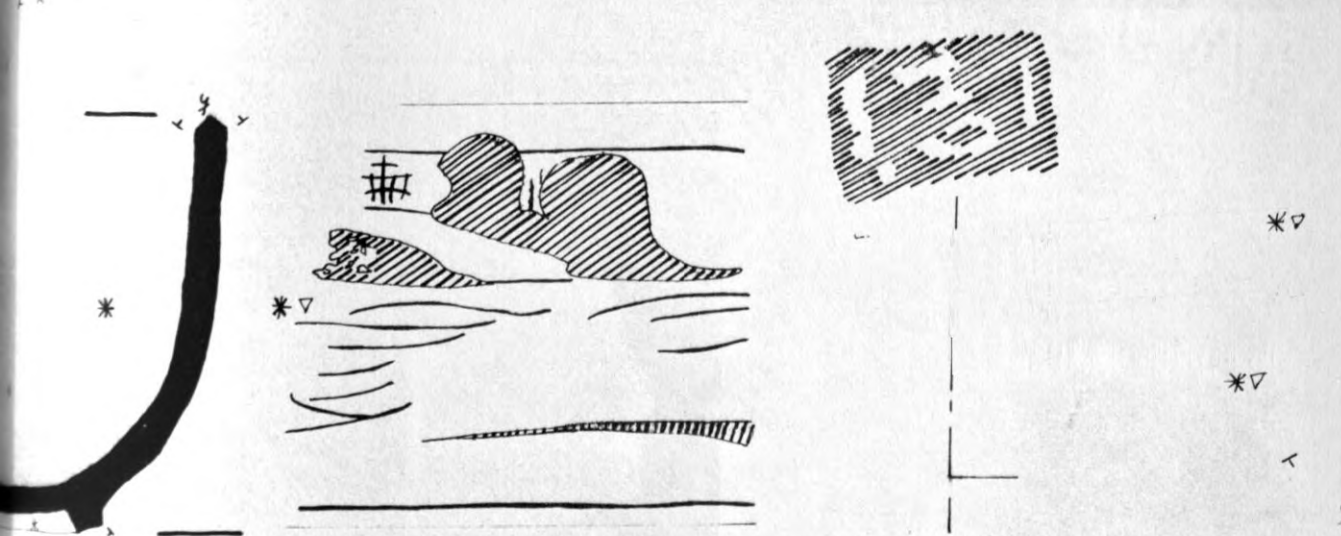
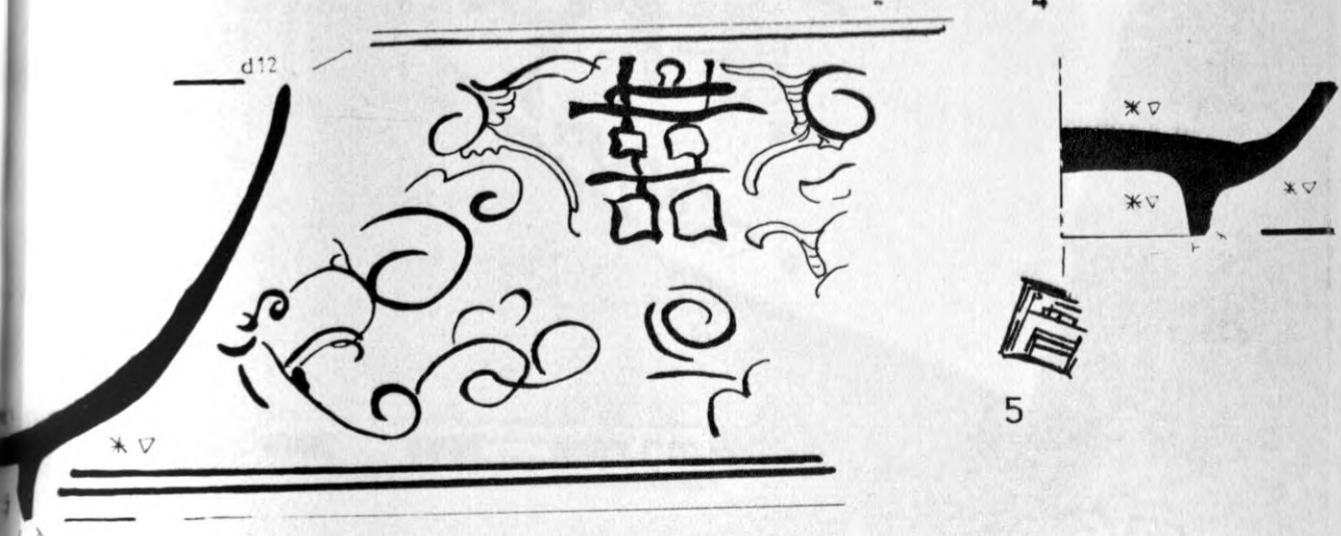
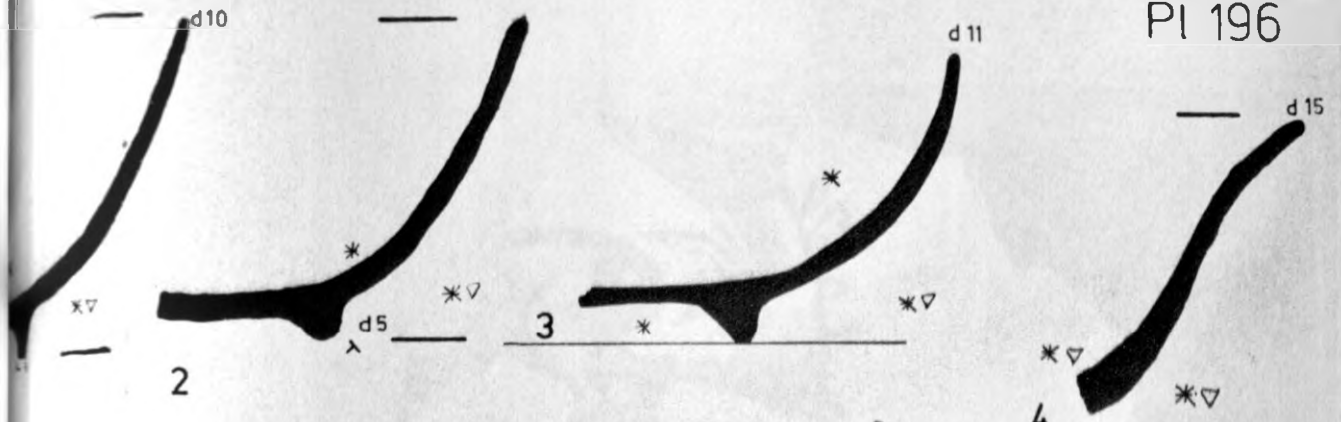
A. 1-11 Spike peony dishes

B. 12-28 Bamboo dishes

T

T

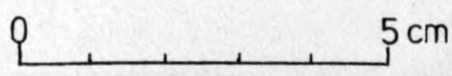
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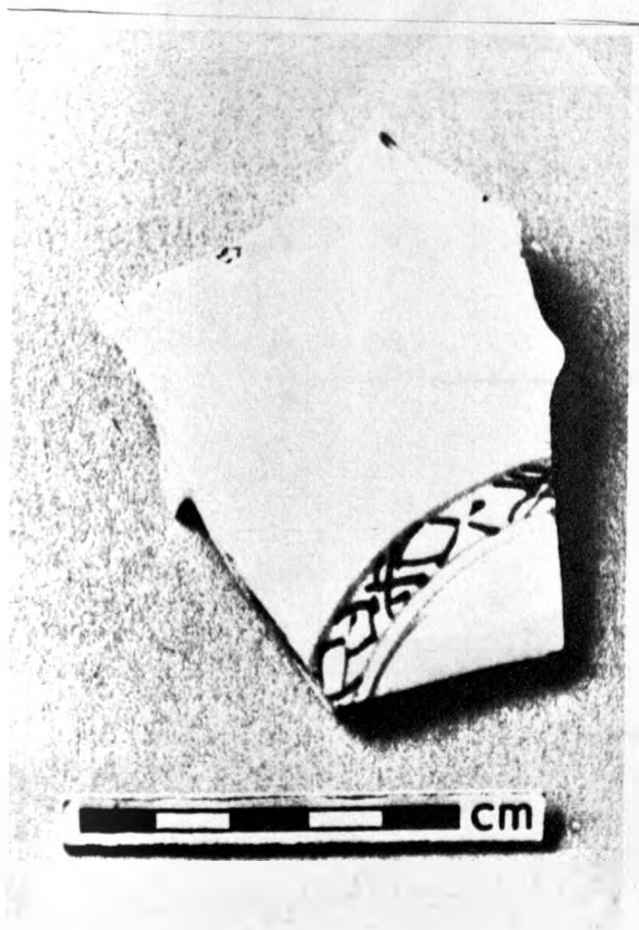


8

Chinese Blue and White

Various bowls

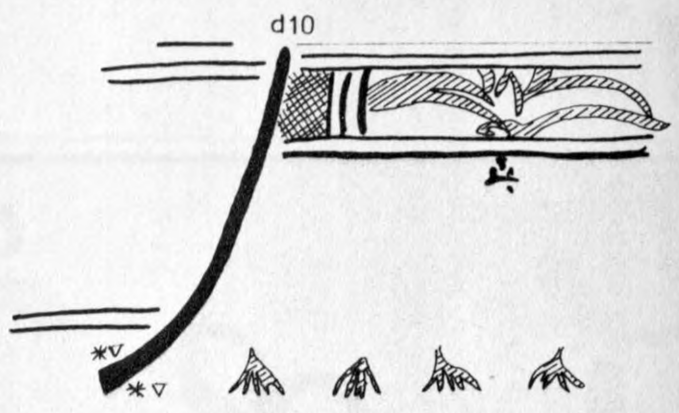




Chinese
Blue and White
Dishes



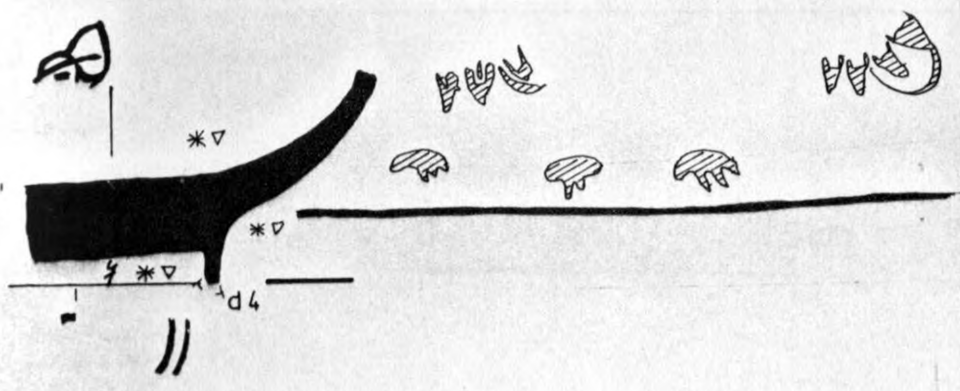
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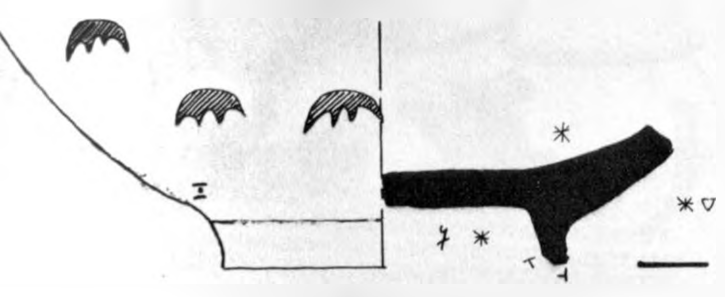
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3

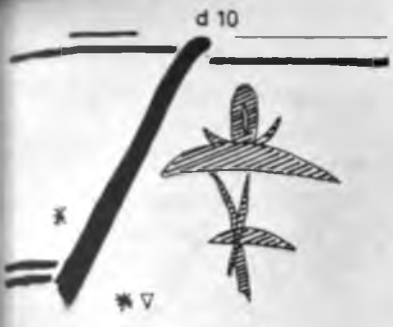


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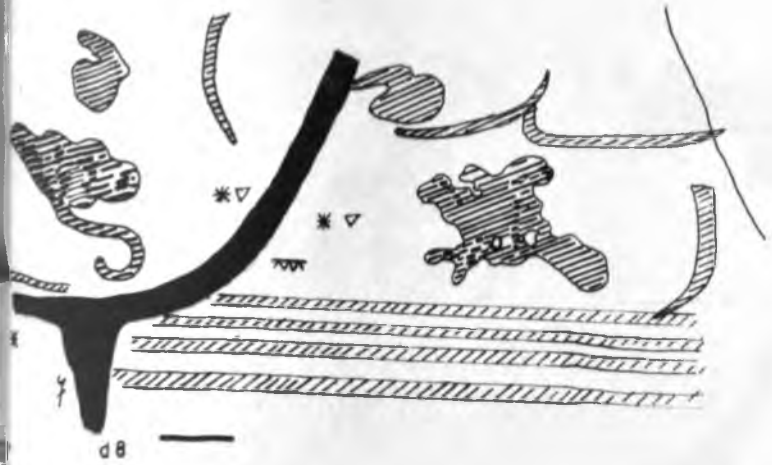
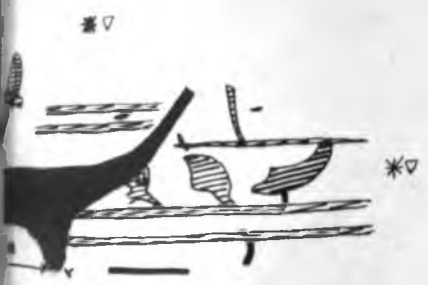


Chinese Blue and White

Fleck bowls T

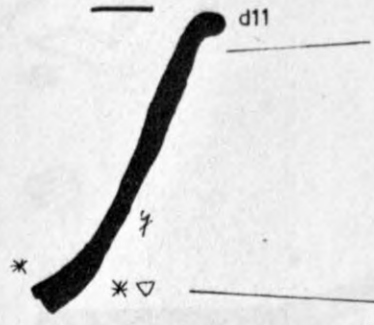
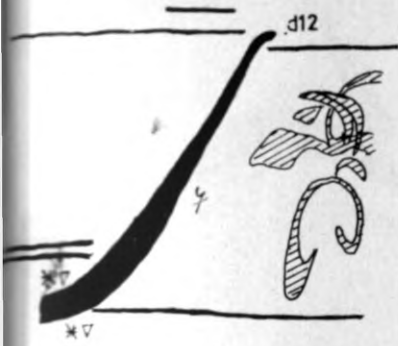


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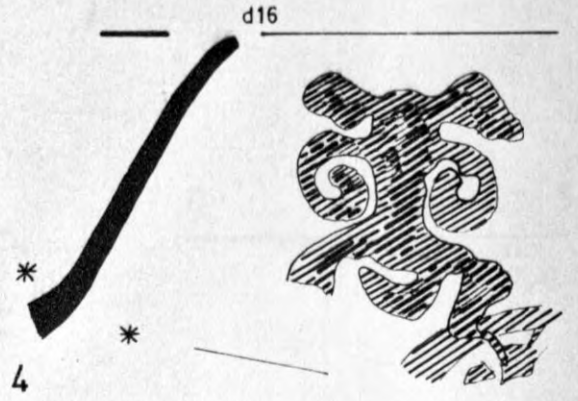
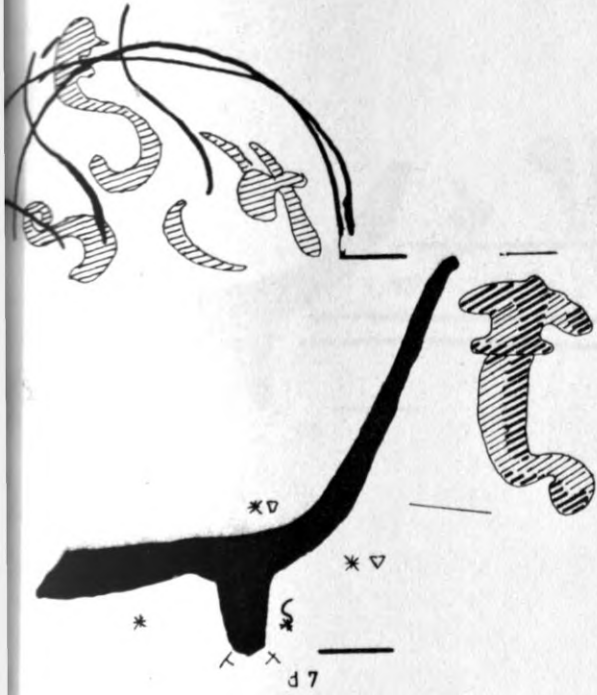


Chinese Blue and White

Blob figure bowls

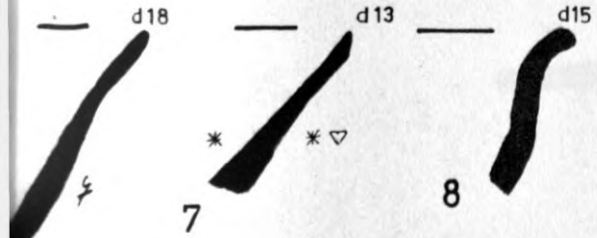


2



4

5

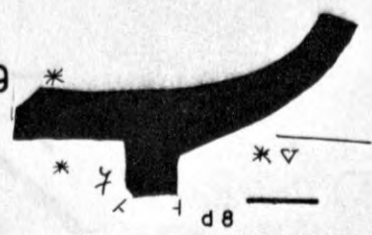


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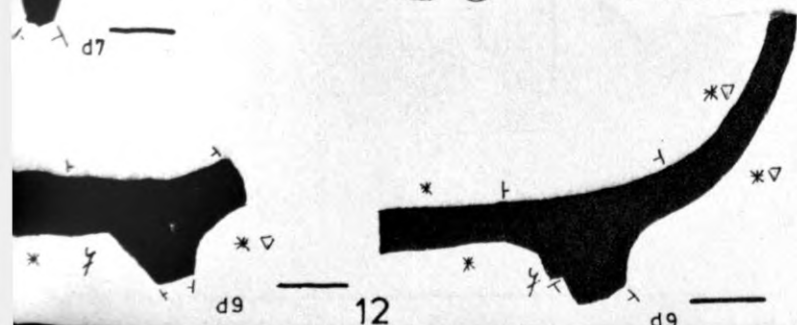
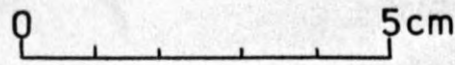
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9



d7



d9

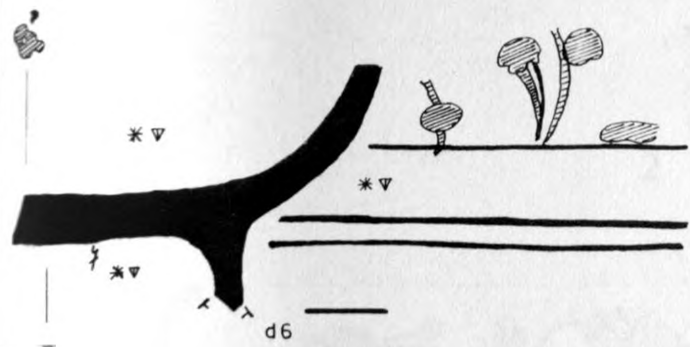
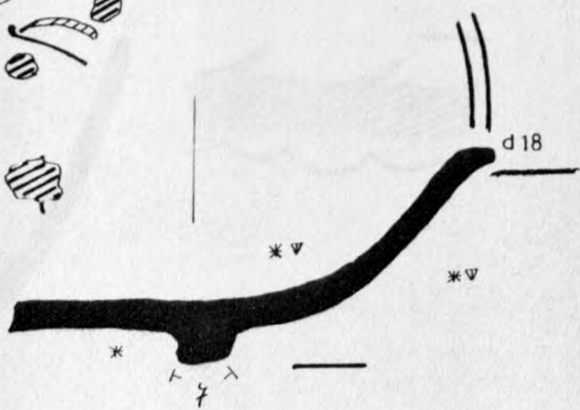
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d9

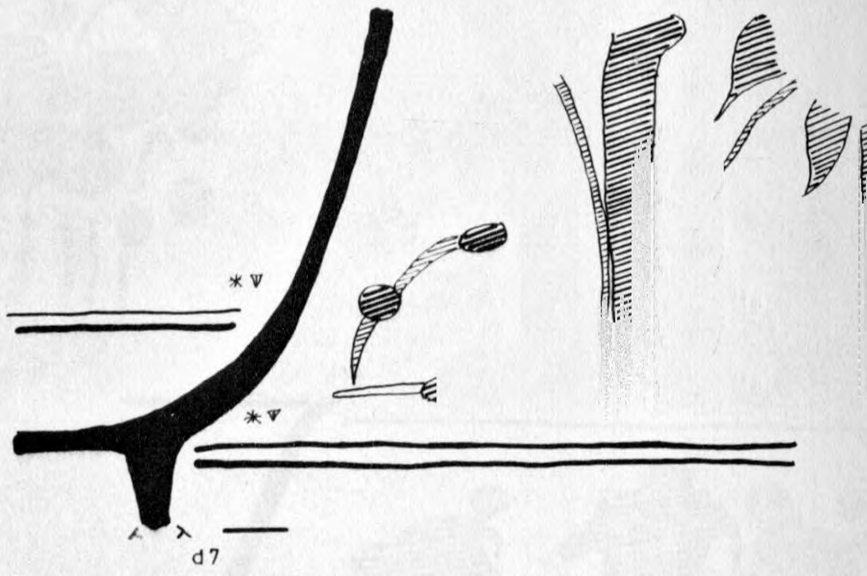
Chinese
Blue and White
Blob Figure bowls



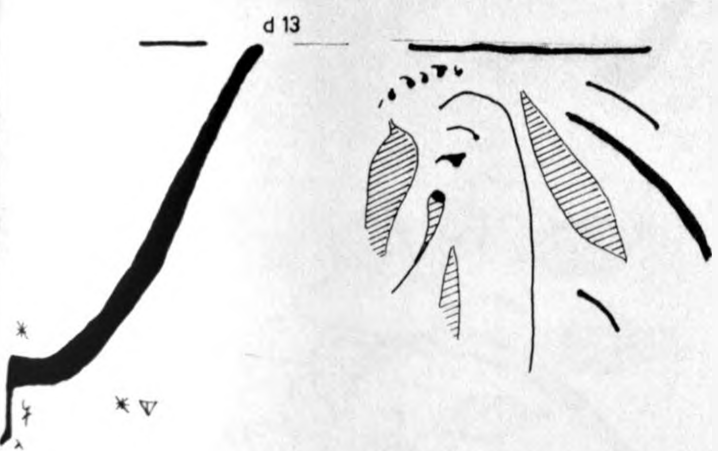
1



2

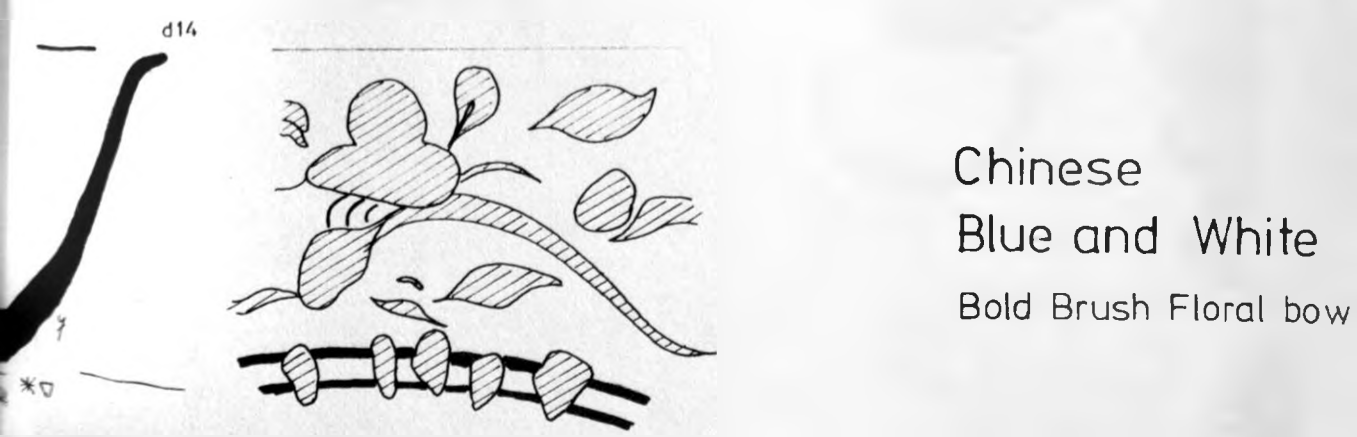
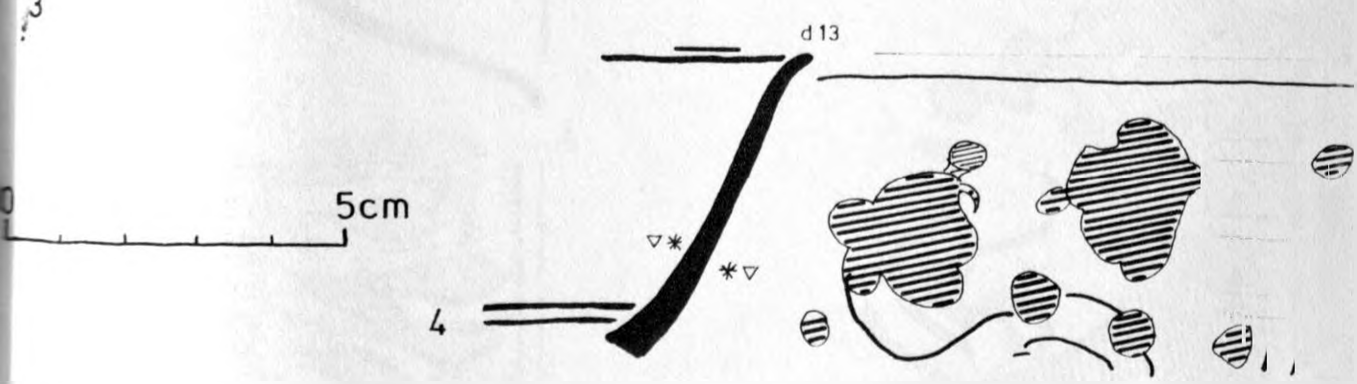
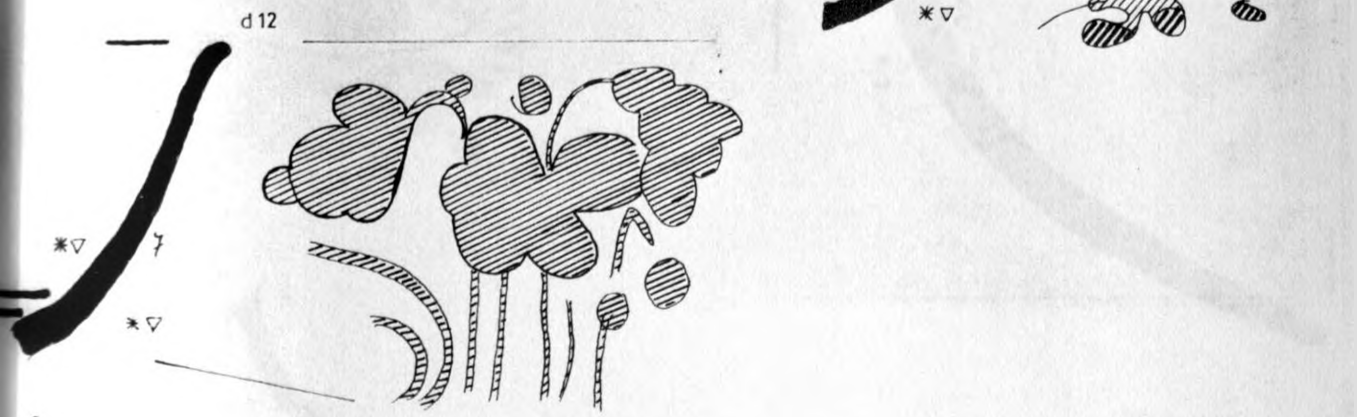
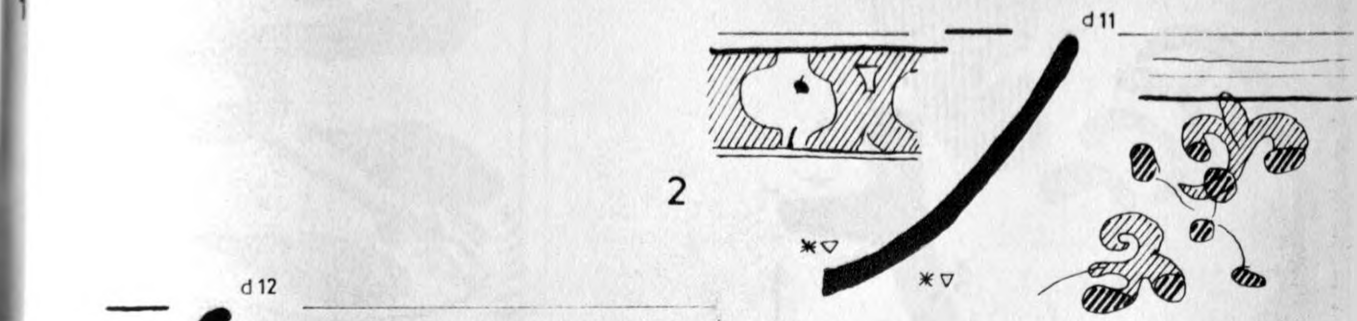
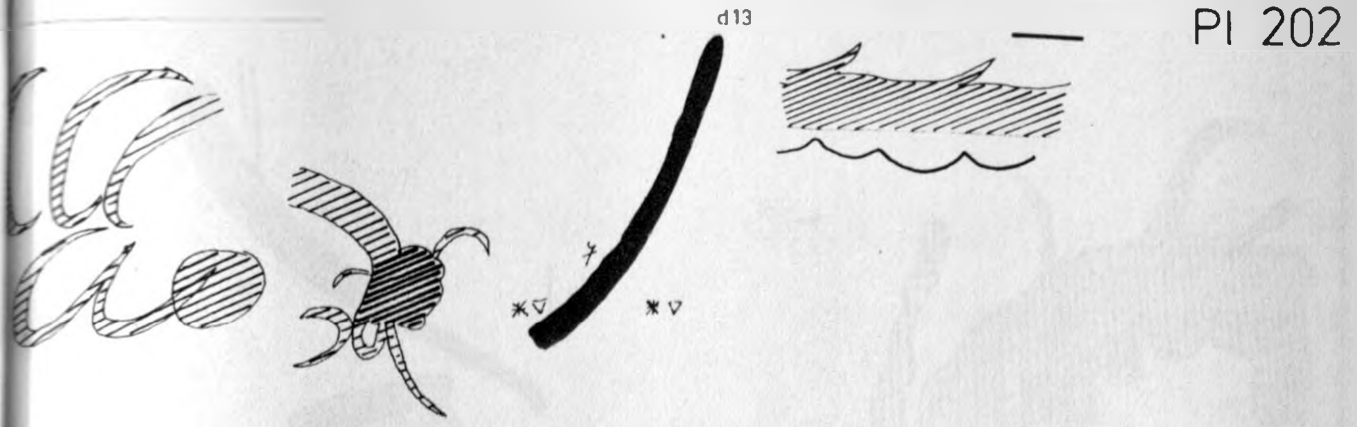


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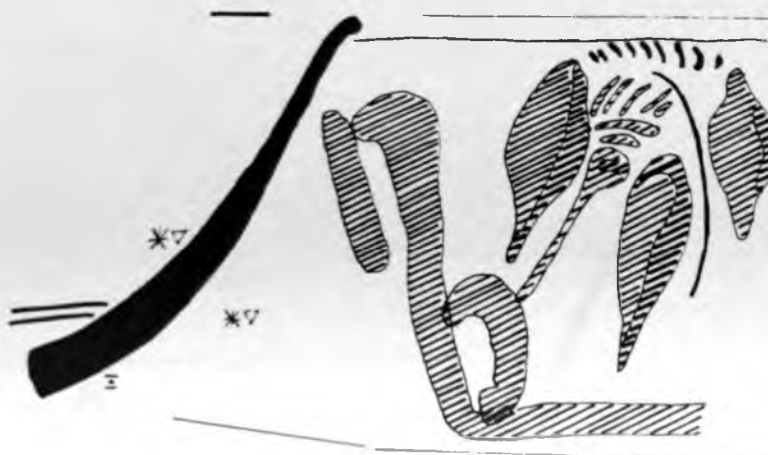


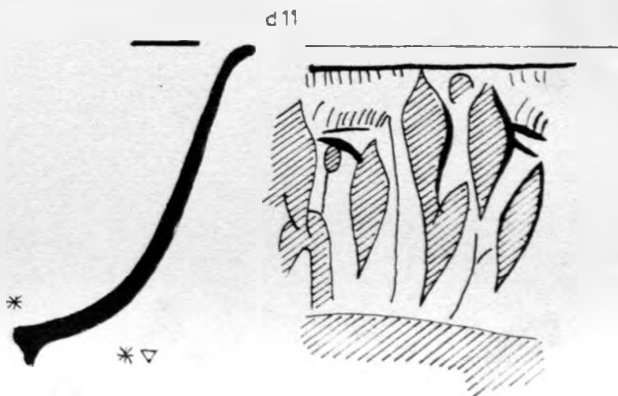
Chinese
Blue and White

Bold Brush Floral bowls



Chinese
Blue and White
Bold Brush Floral bow

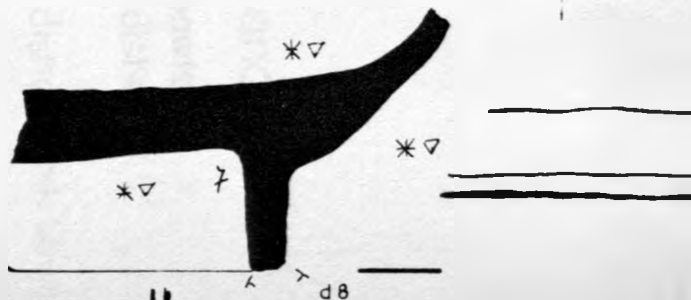




3



1



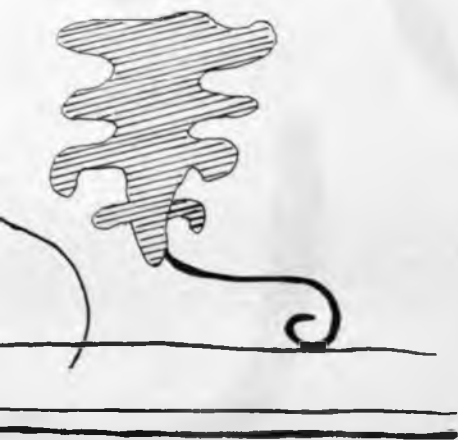
3

PI 204

0

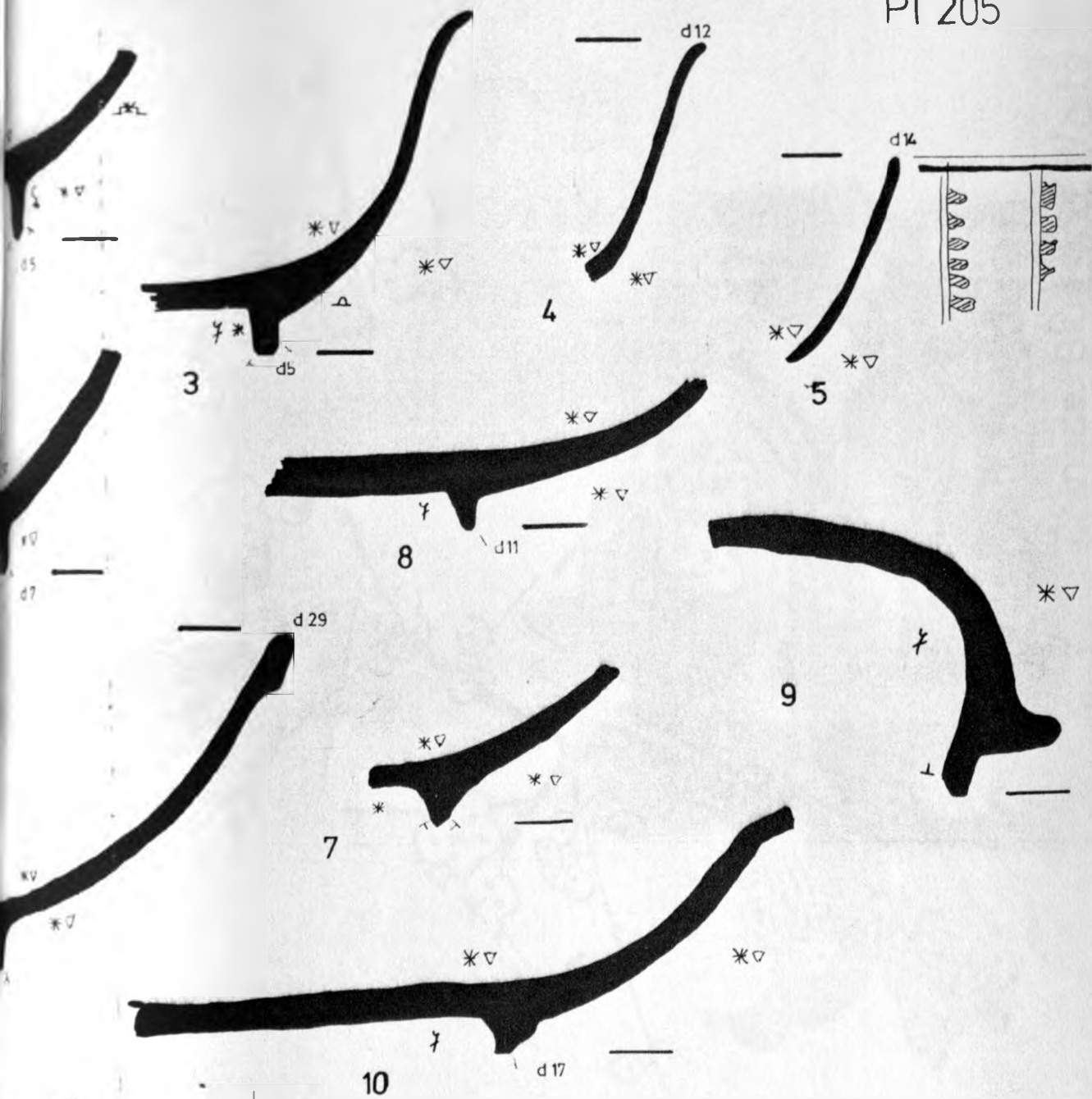


2



Chinese
Blue and White
Floral Panel bowls

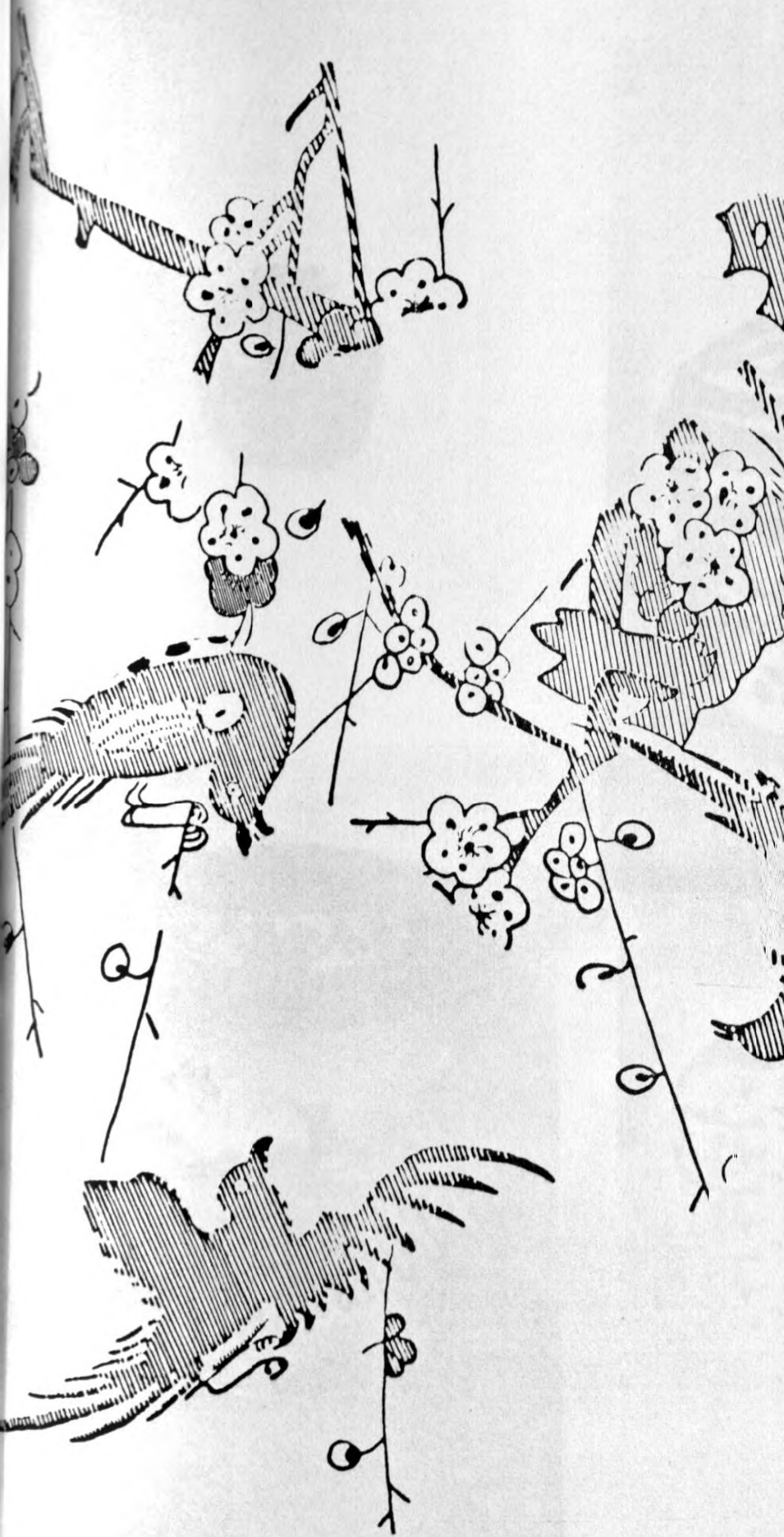
5 cm



Chinese Blue and White

- A. 1-5 Bamboo bowls T
- B. 6-8 Assorted dishes T
- C. 9 Lid ▲▽
- D. 10-13 Assorted dishes and bowls r







1



7

Chinese
Jars



2

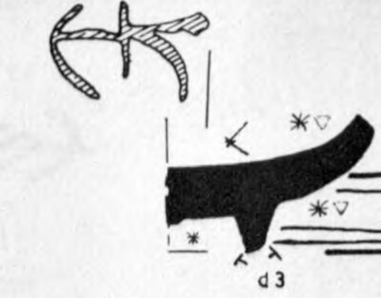




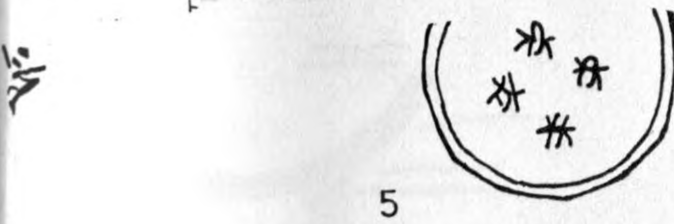
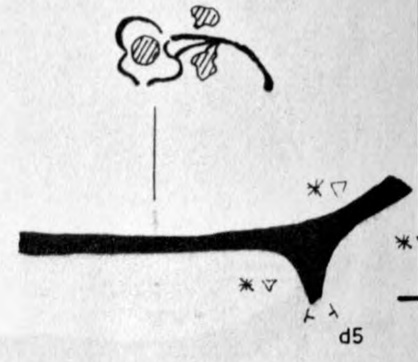
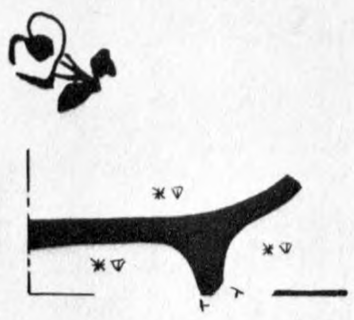
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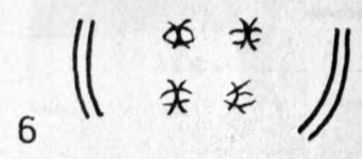
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3



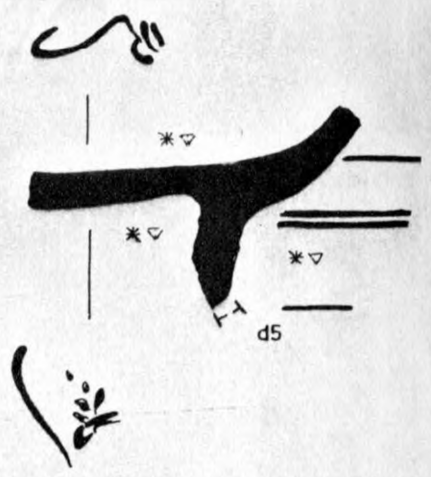
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6



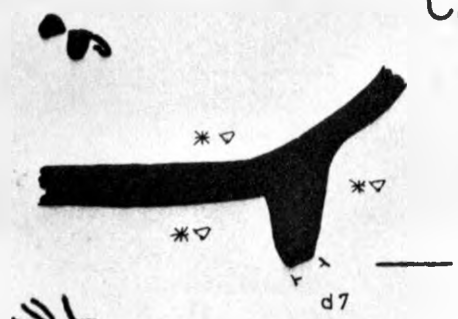
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9



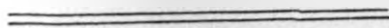
11



Chinese Blue and White Bowls

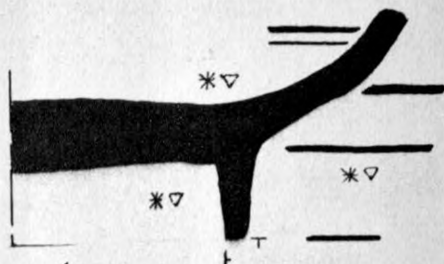
Centre marks ▽





1

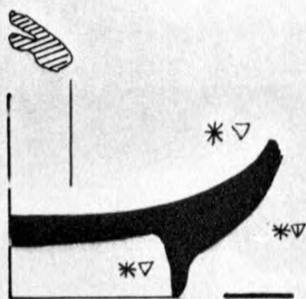
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4



3



6

5



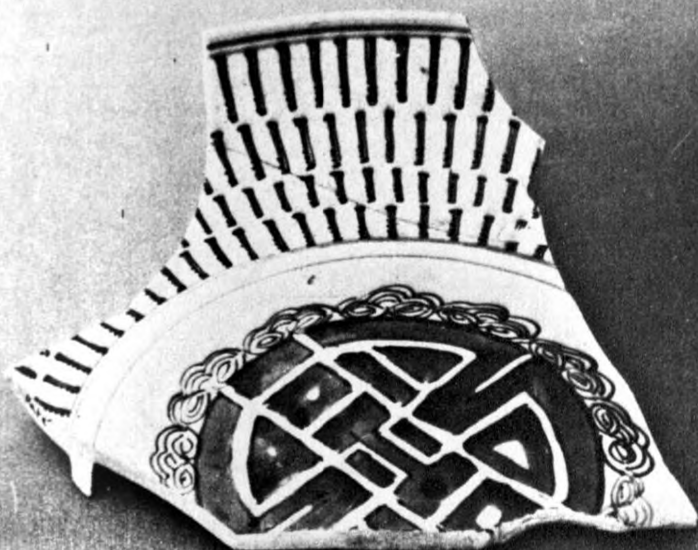
7

Chinese Blue and White

Blob Floral and Tendril bowls

Centre marks

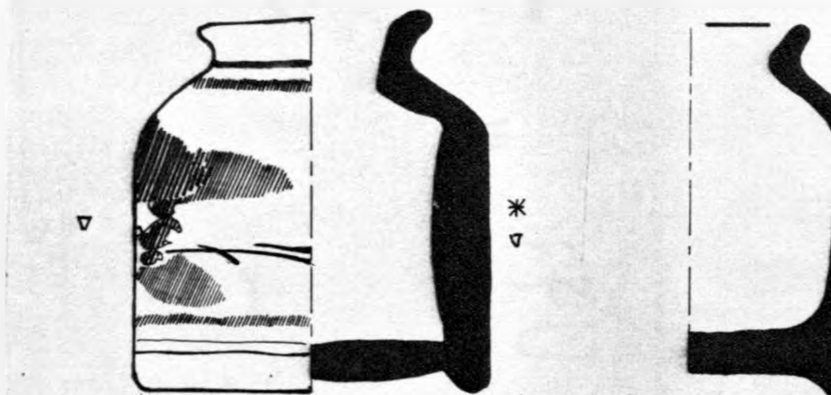




2



1



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PI 211



Chinese
Blue and White
Inkwells

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17

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19

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24

0 5cm

Chinese Blue and White

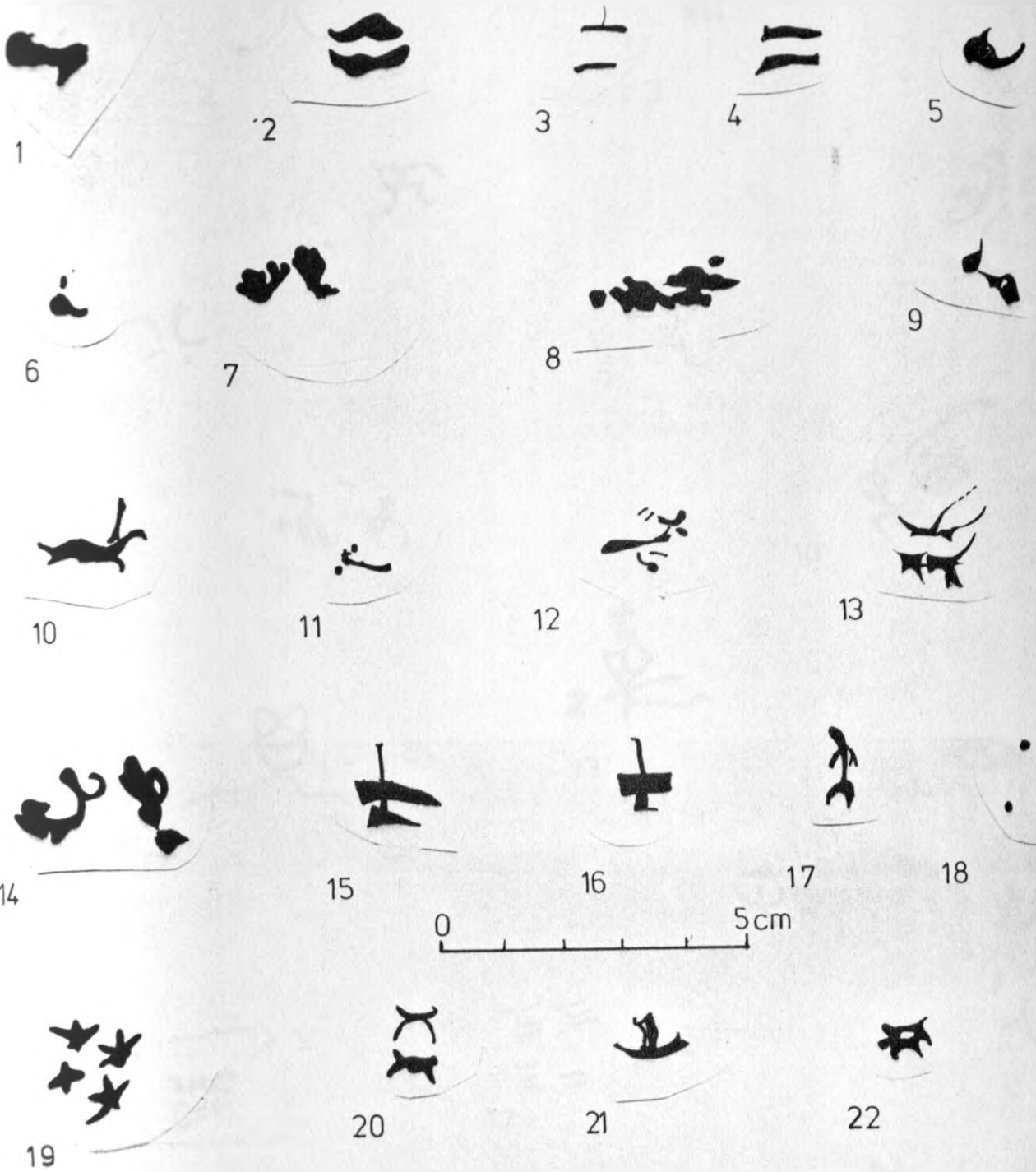
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26

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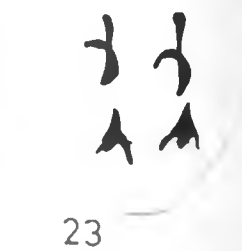
27

▼ Base Marks



Chinese Blue and White

Base Marks



23

24



1



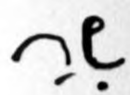
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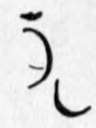
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4



5



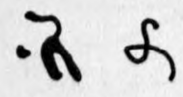
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10



13



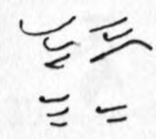
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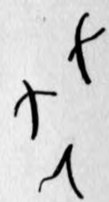
14



18



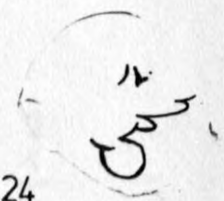
17



19



16



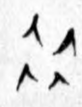
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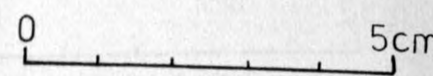
21



22



23



Chinese Blue and White Base Marks



1



2



3



4



5



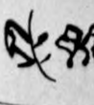
6



7



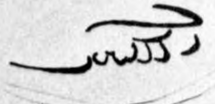
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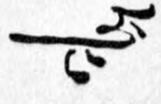
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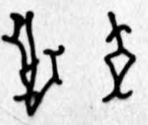
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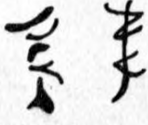
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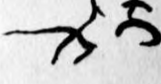
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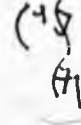
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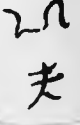
24



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32



29



Chinese Blue and White Base Marks

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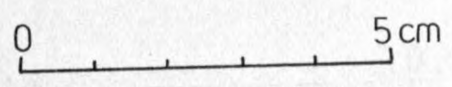
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Chinese
Blue and White
Base Marks

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Chinese
Blue and White
Base Marks

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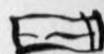
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Chinese Blue and White
Base Marks



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Chinese
Blue and White
Base Marks





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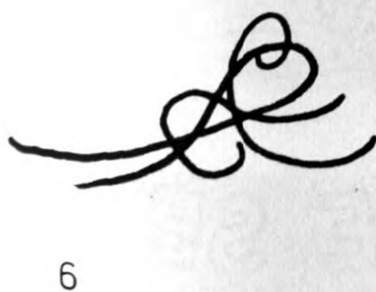
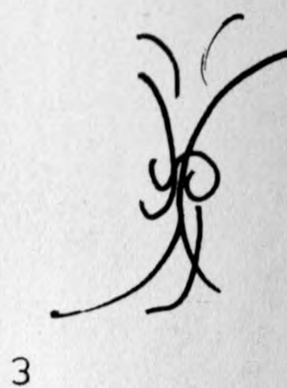
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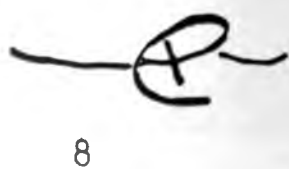
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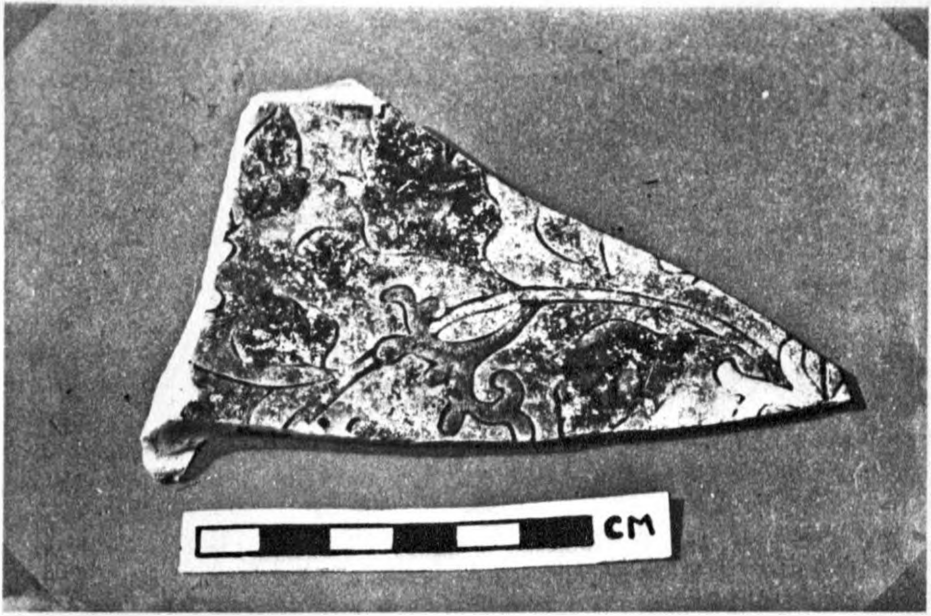
Chinese Blue and White
Base Marks



0 5 cm

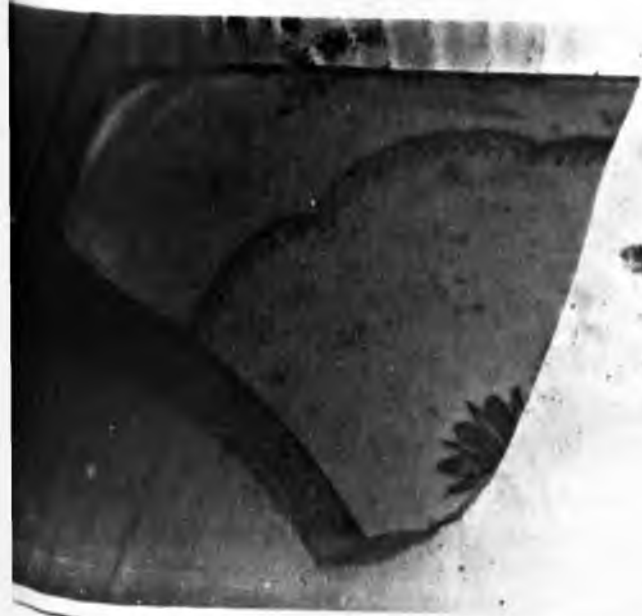


Chinese Blue and White
The Posy



2

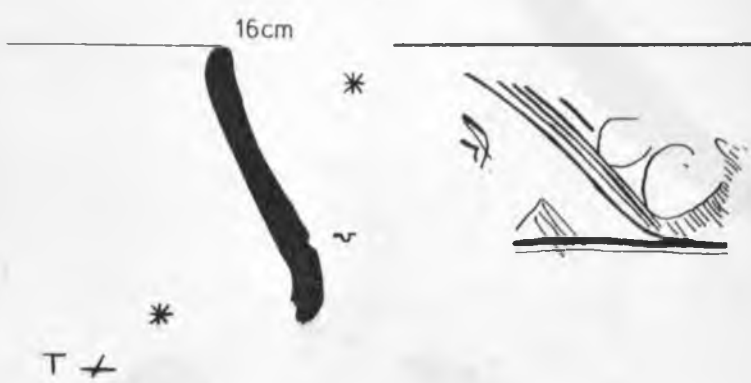
Chinese
Polychrome



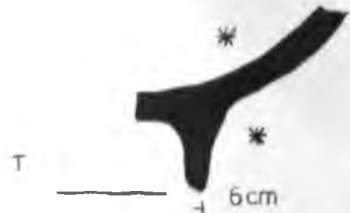


Chinese Powder-Blue Ware

Tzu Ch'ou Ware



4



Chinese Celadon with Blue and White Interior

5



PI224



0 5cm

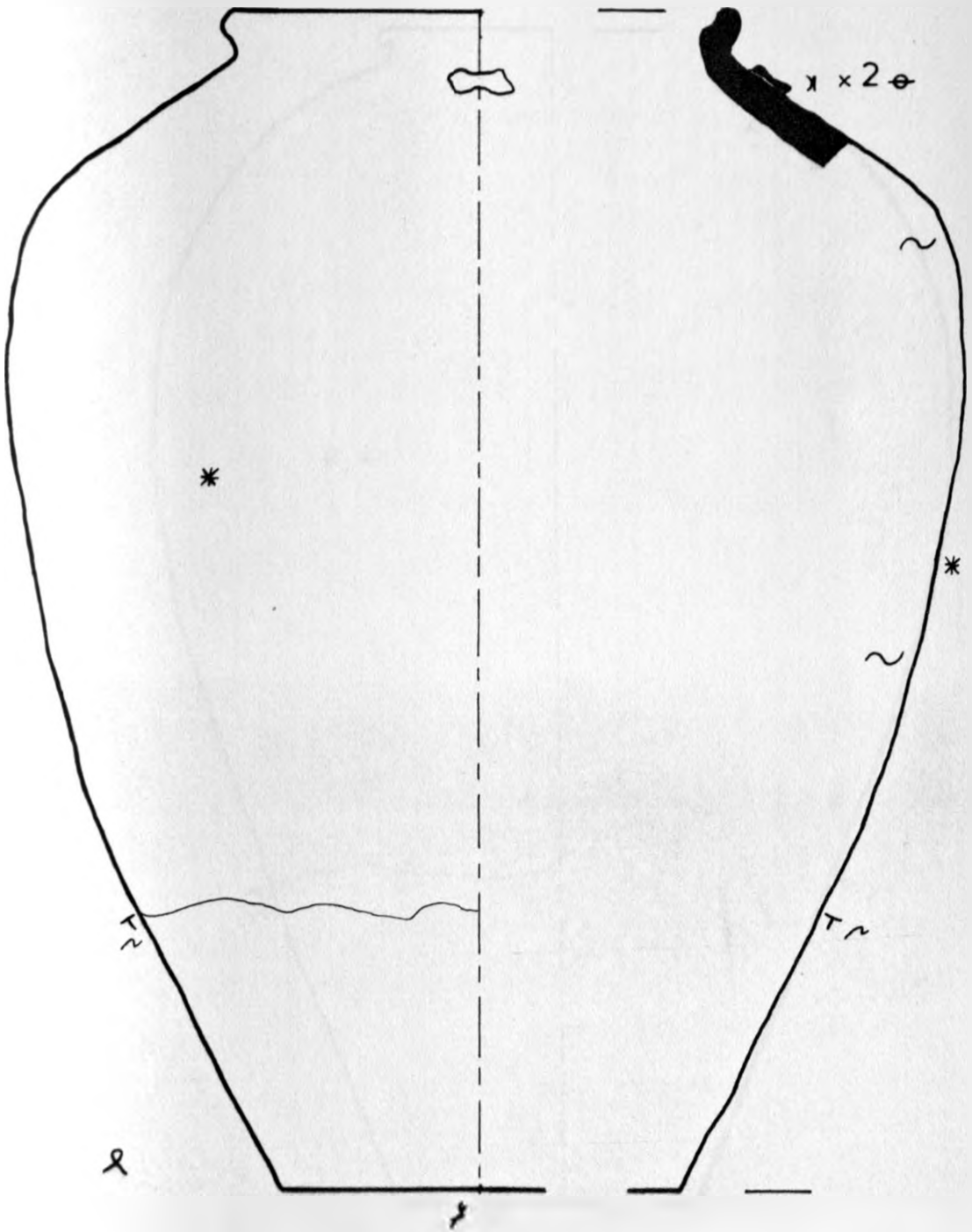
Chinese
Green Stonewares



Chinese
Green Stone
Stonewares

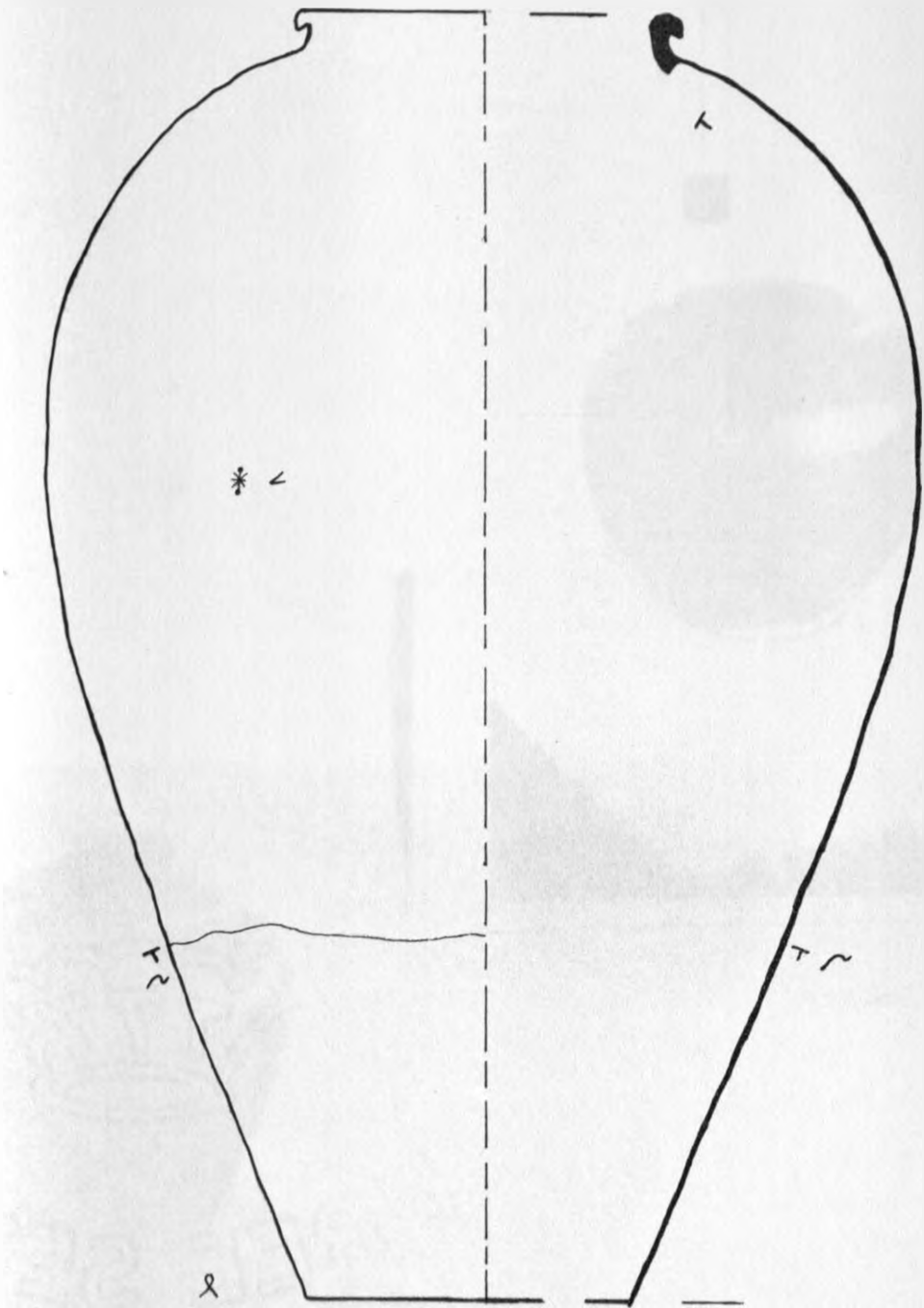


Chinese
Green Stonewares



0 18cm

Far Eastern Jar



0 9 cm

Jar



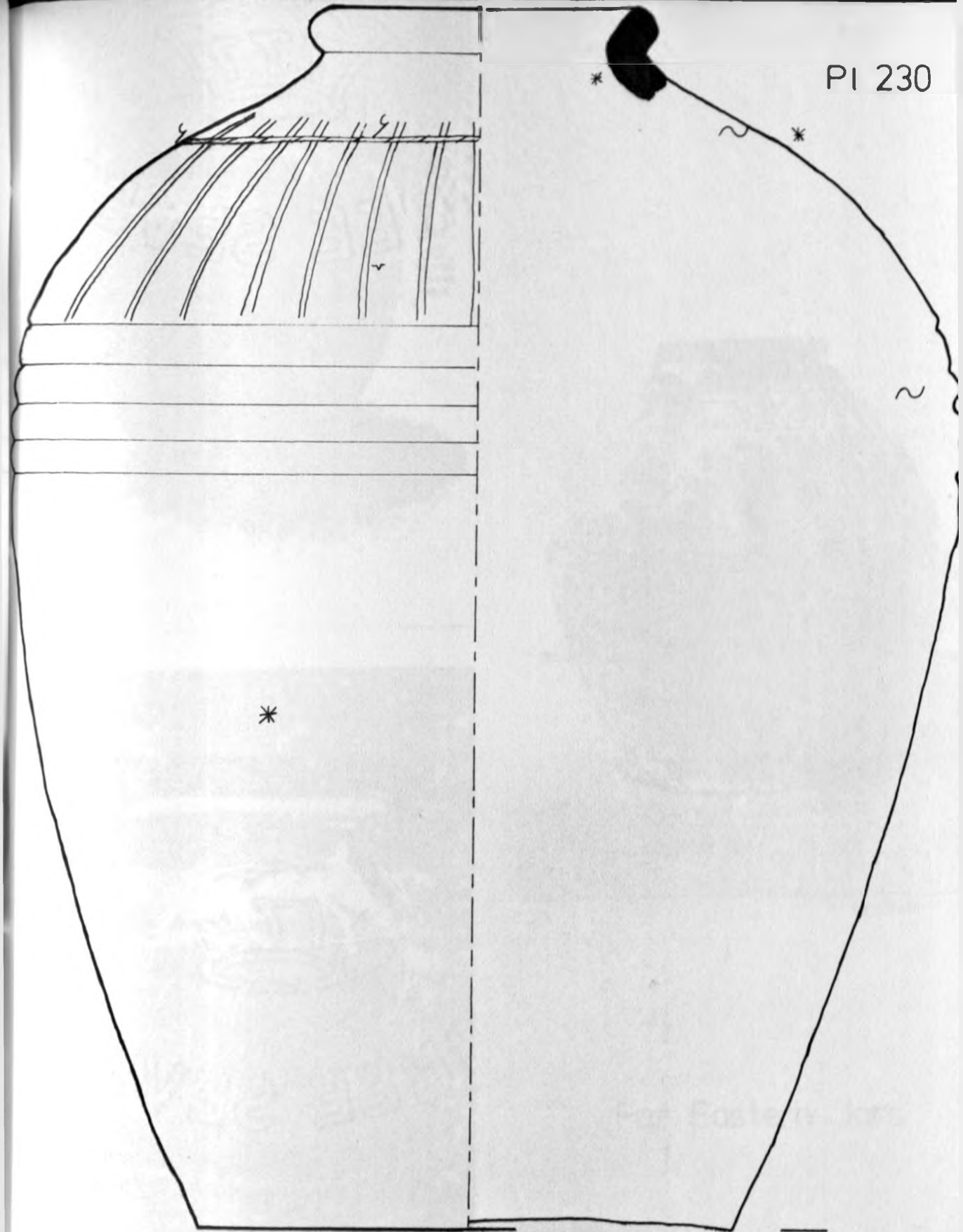
2



1

Jars
from the Far East

PI 230



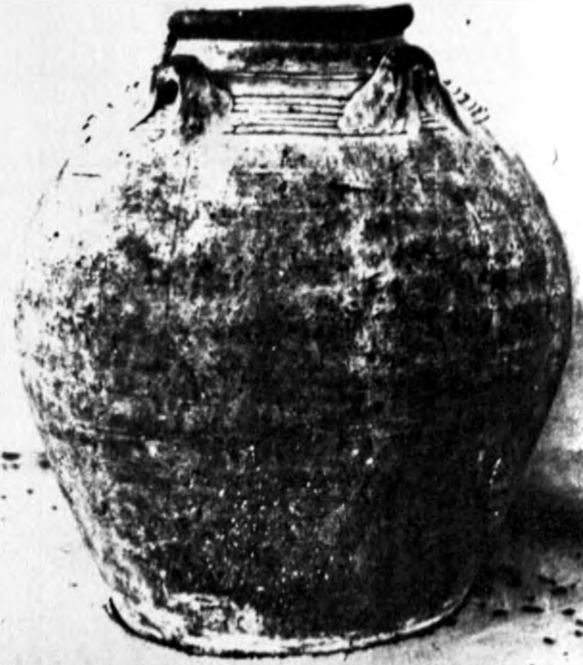
⌘

0 10 cm

Far Eastern Jar



1



2

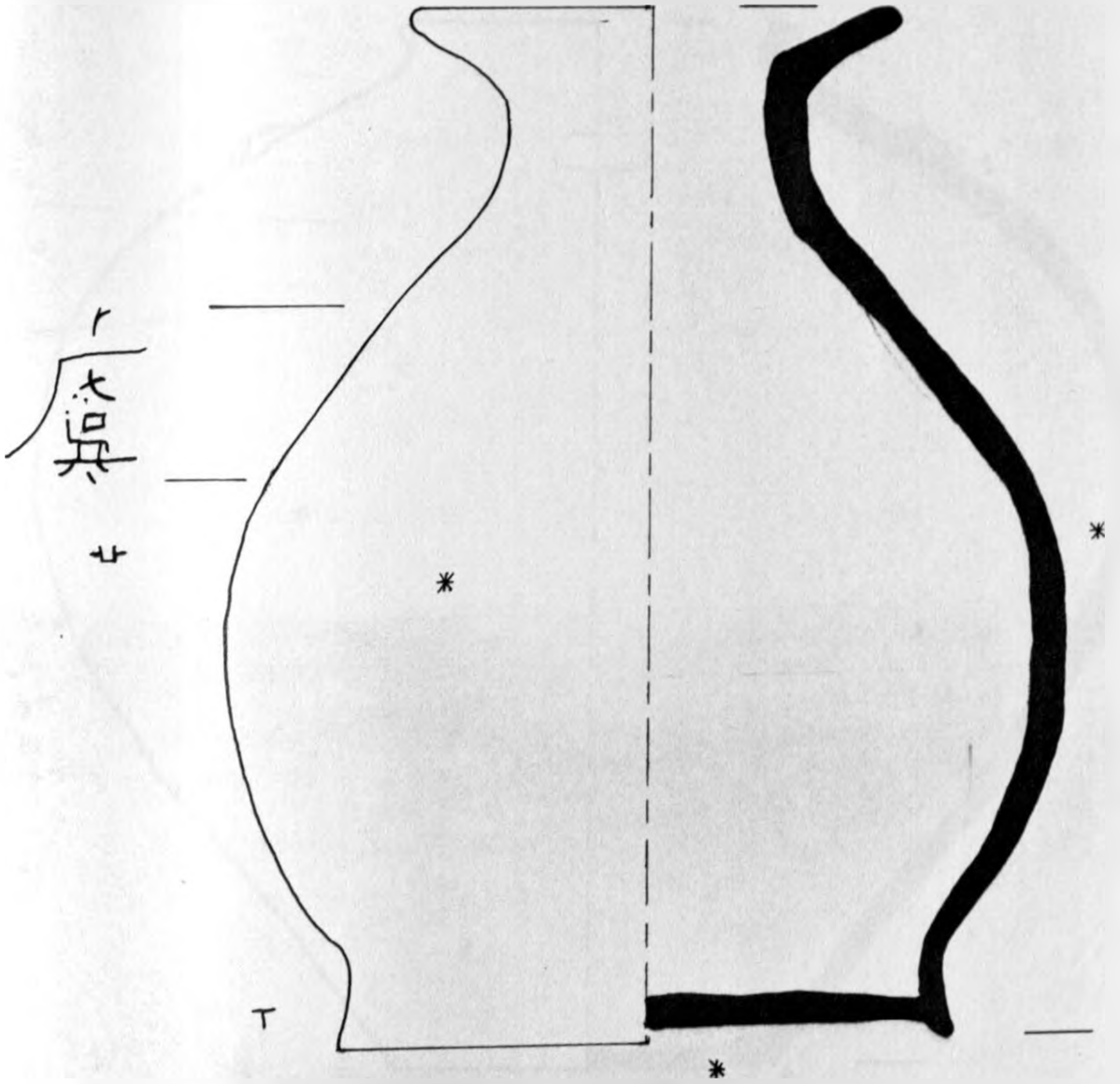
ht. 49cm



3

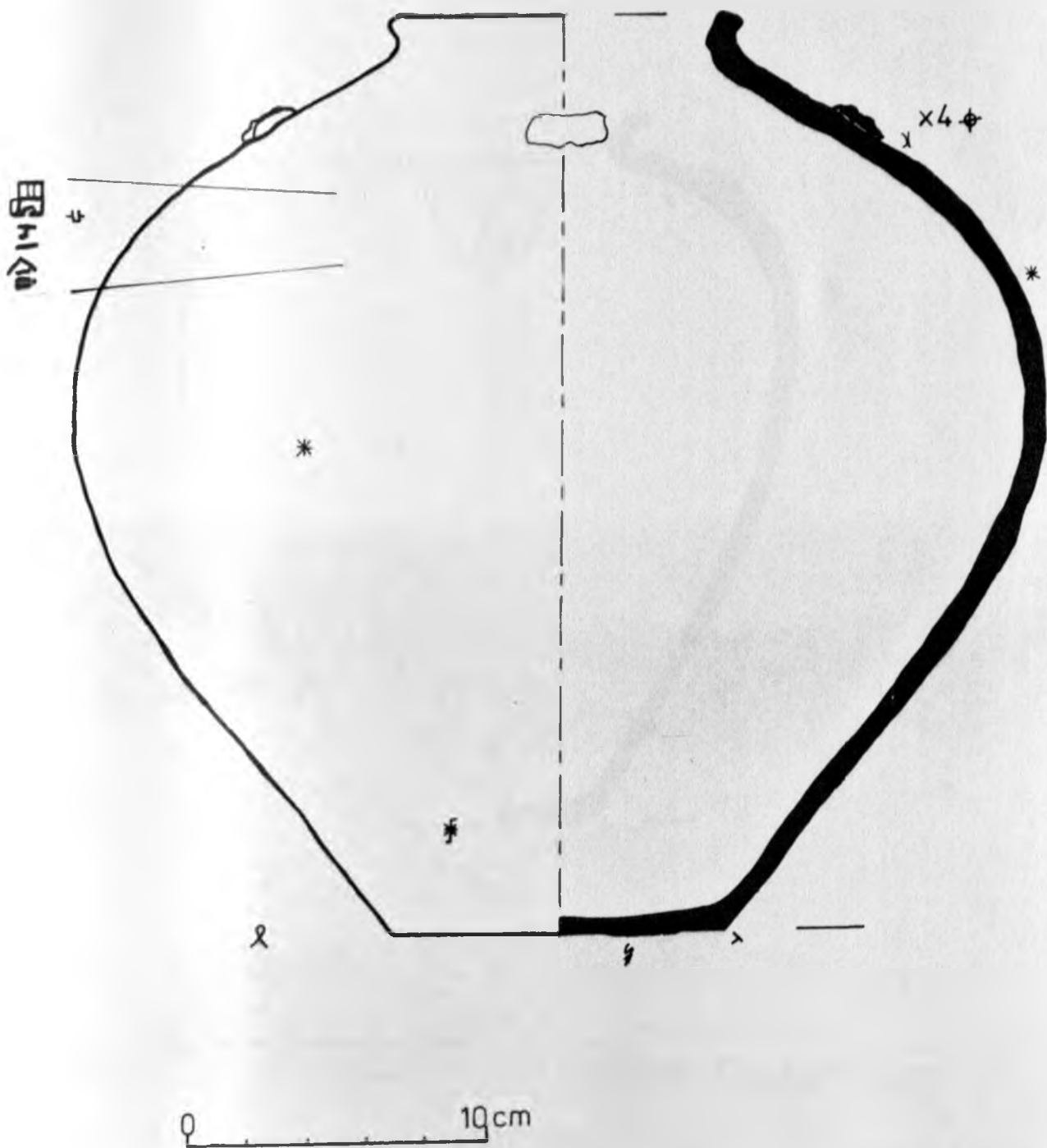
ht. 60cm

Far Eastern Jars

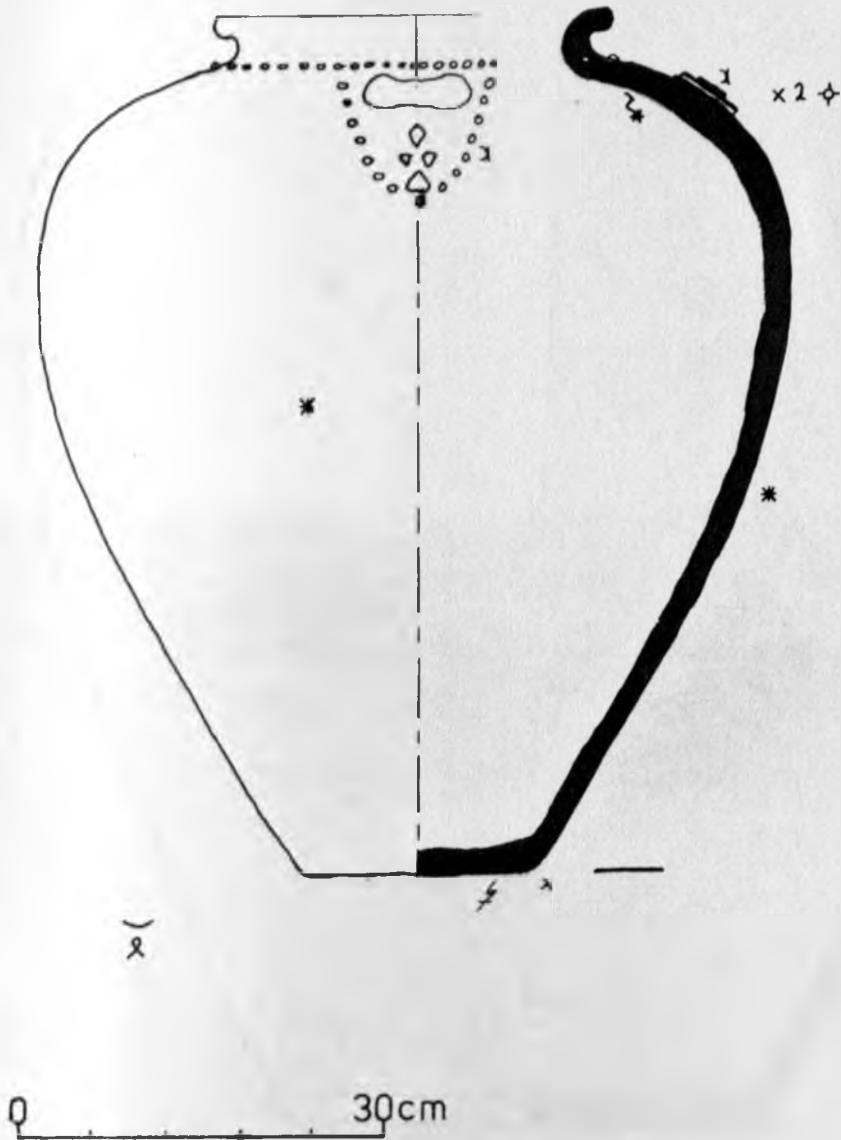


Far Eastern Jar

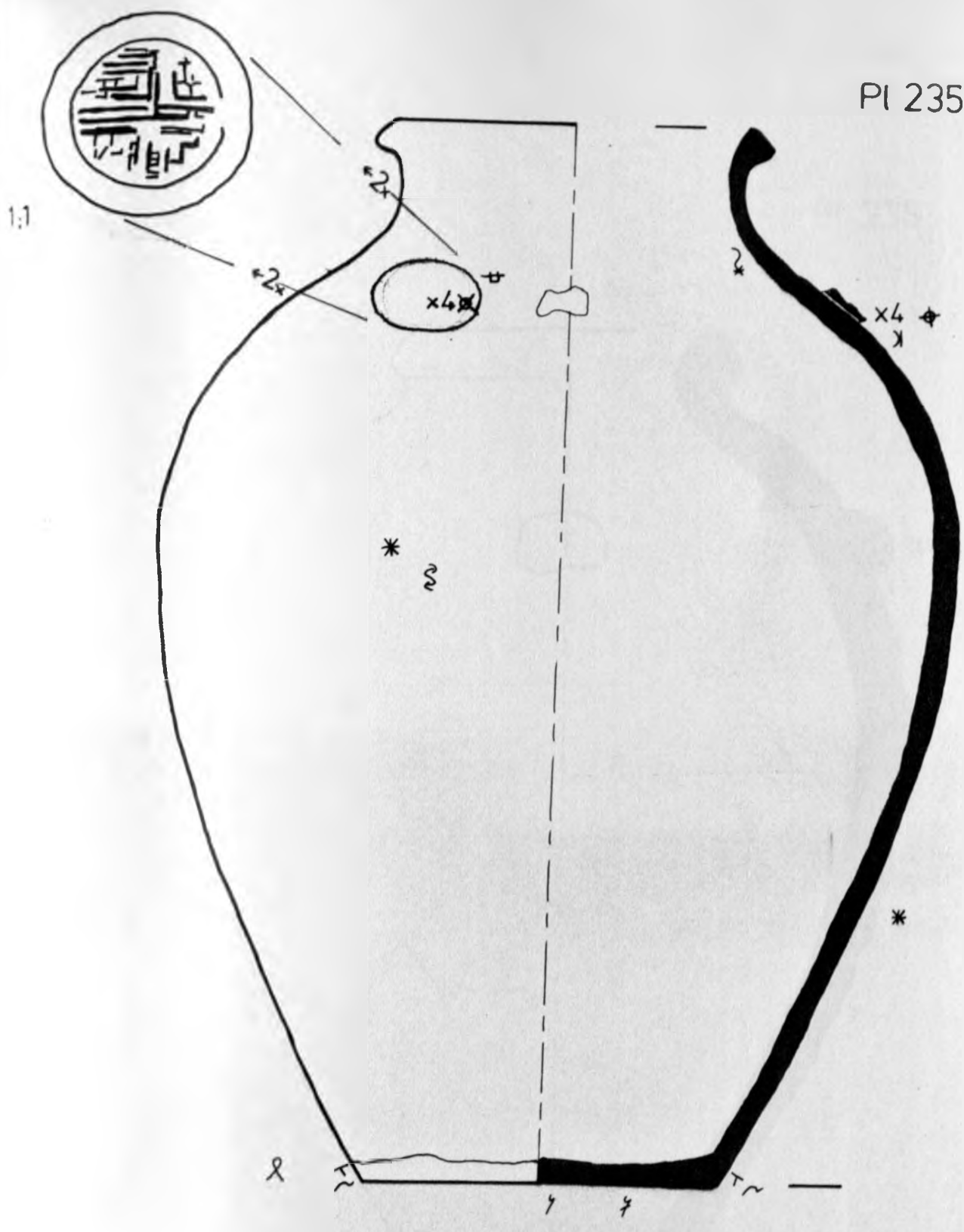
0 5cm



Far Eastern Jar

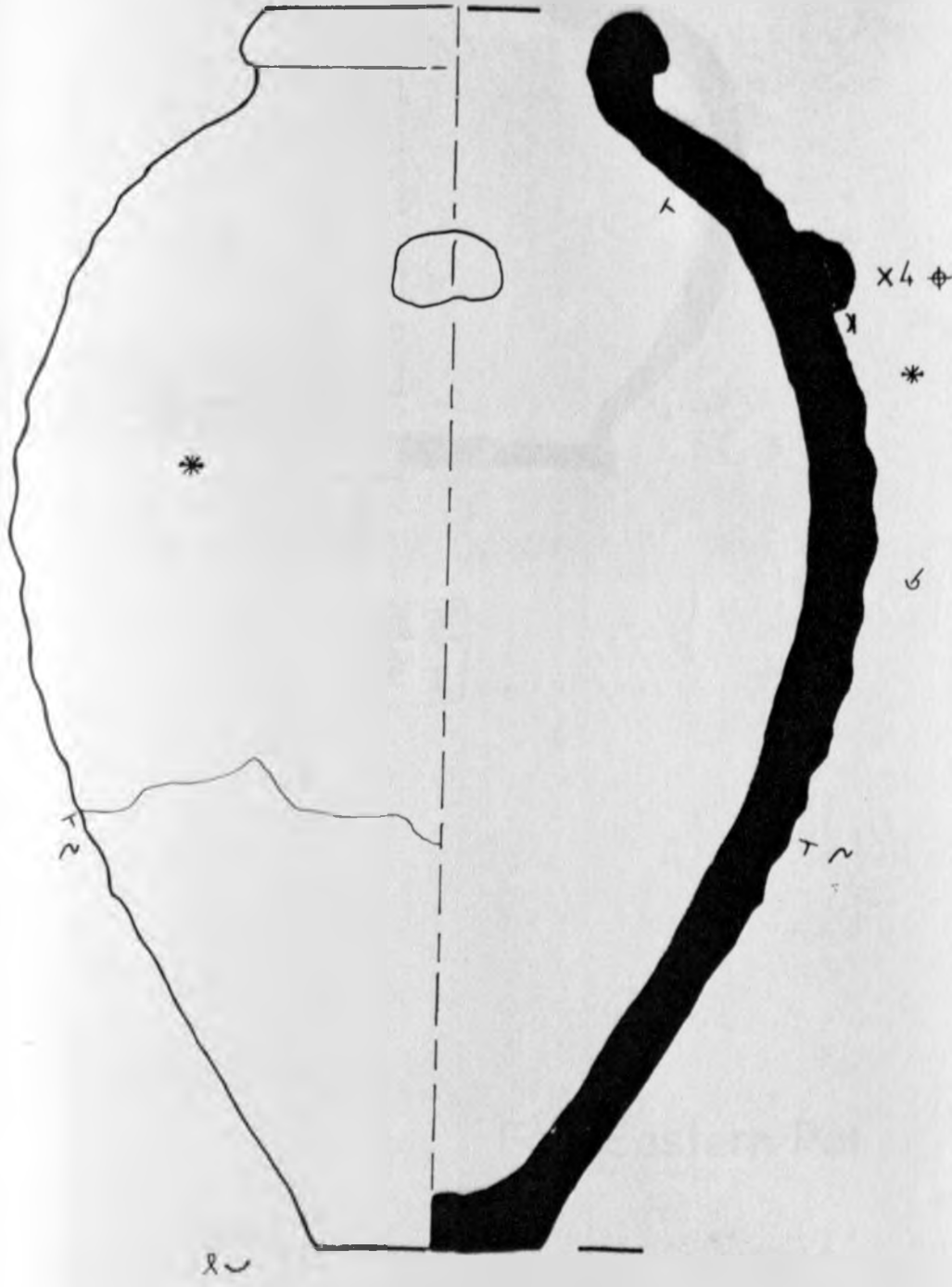


Far Eastern Jar

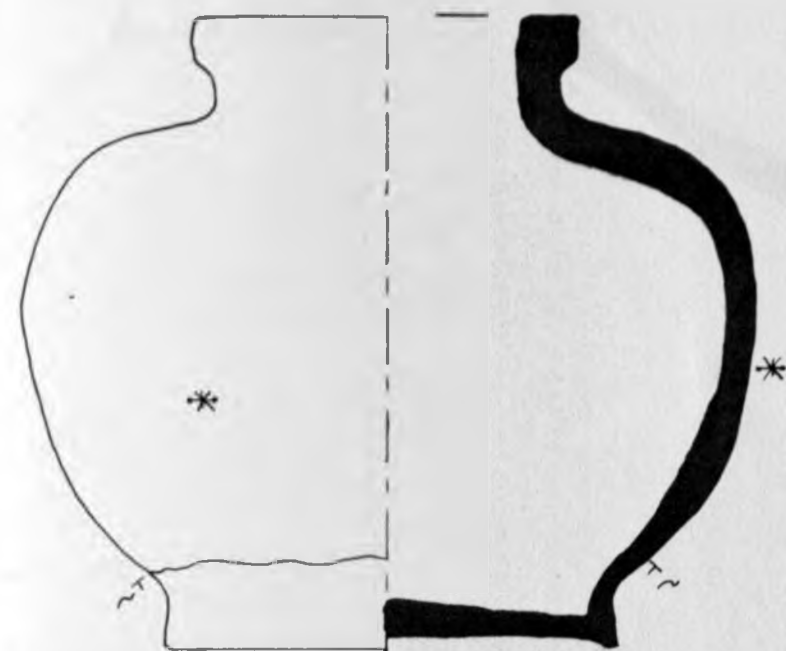


0 10 cm

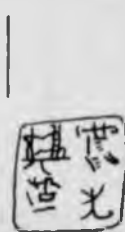
Far Eastern Jar



Far Eastern Jar



T

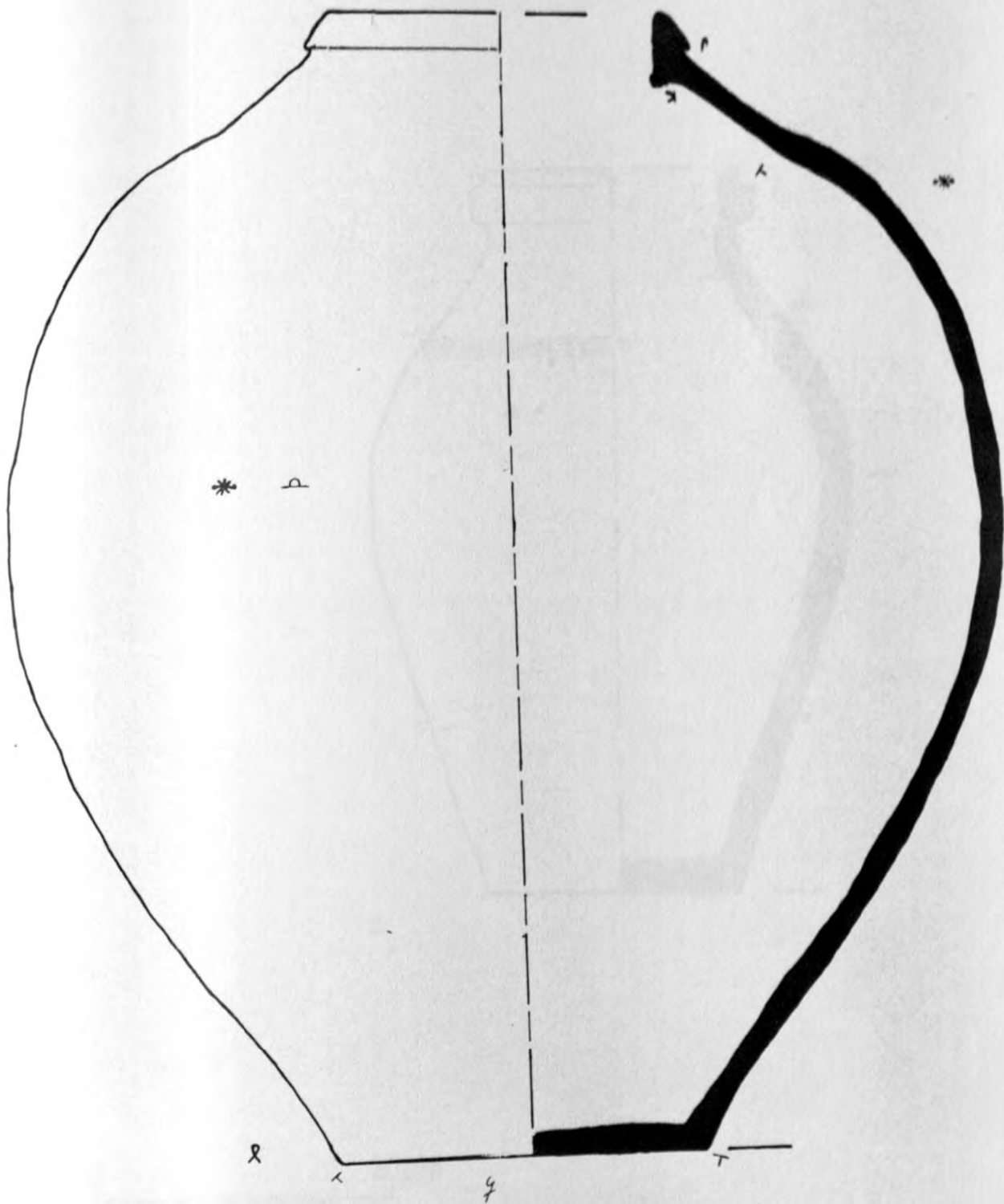


u

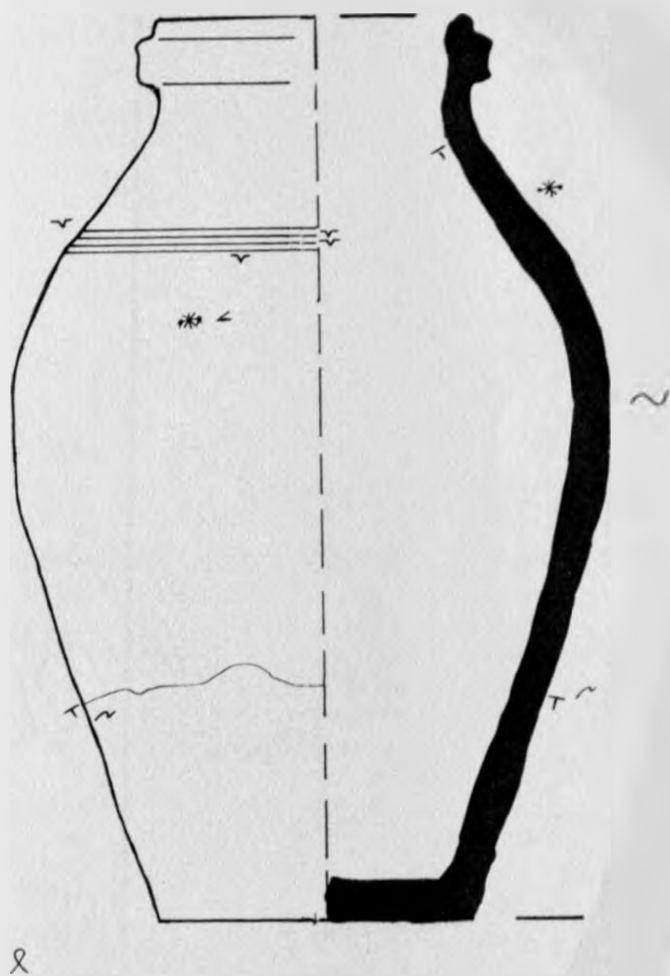
Far Eastern Pot

0 5cm

PI 238

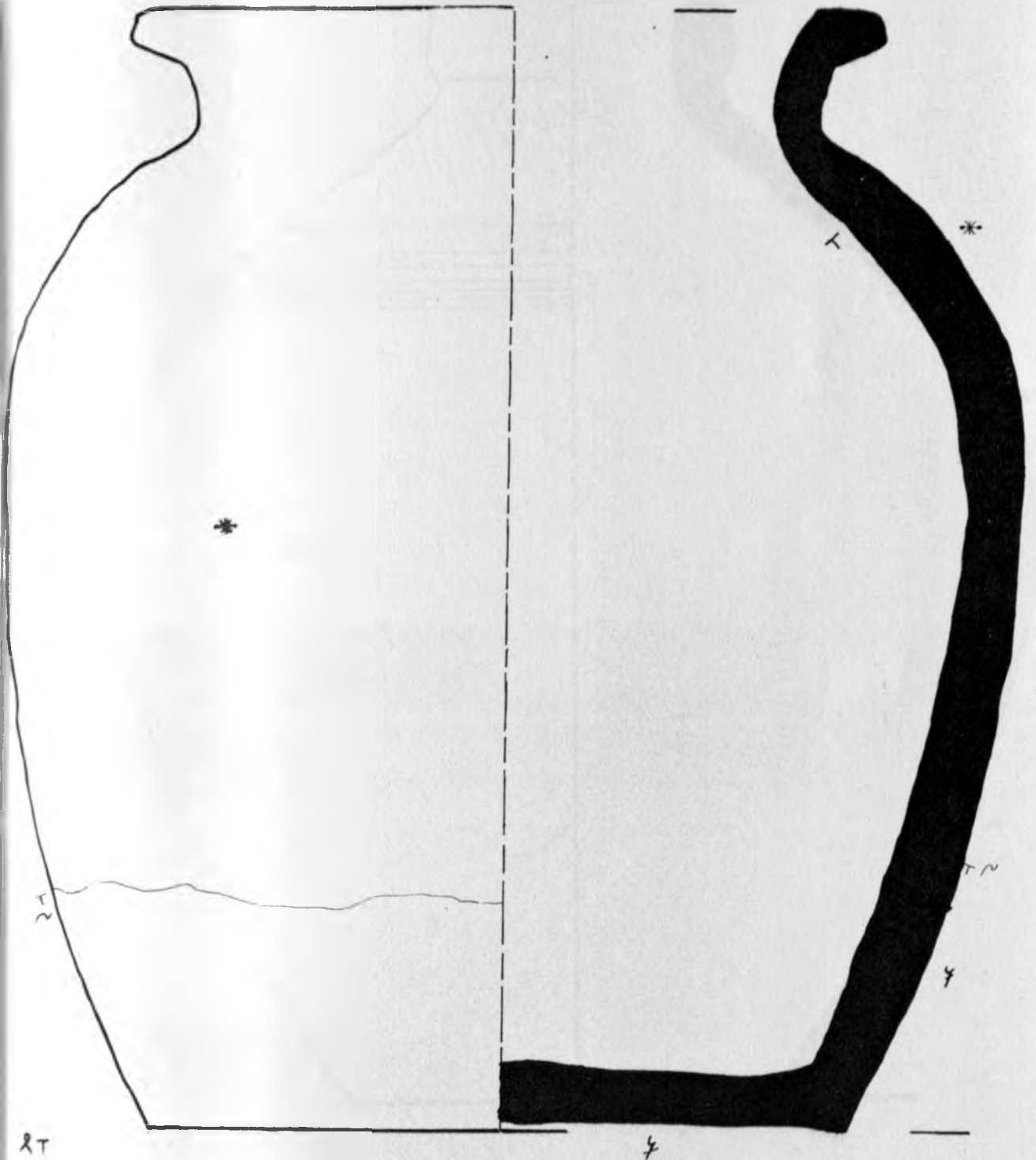


Far Eastern Jar



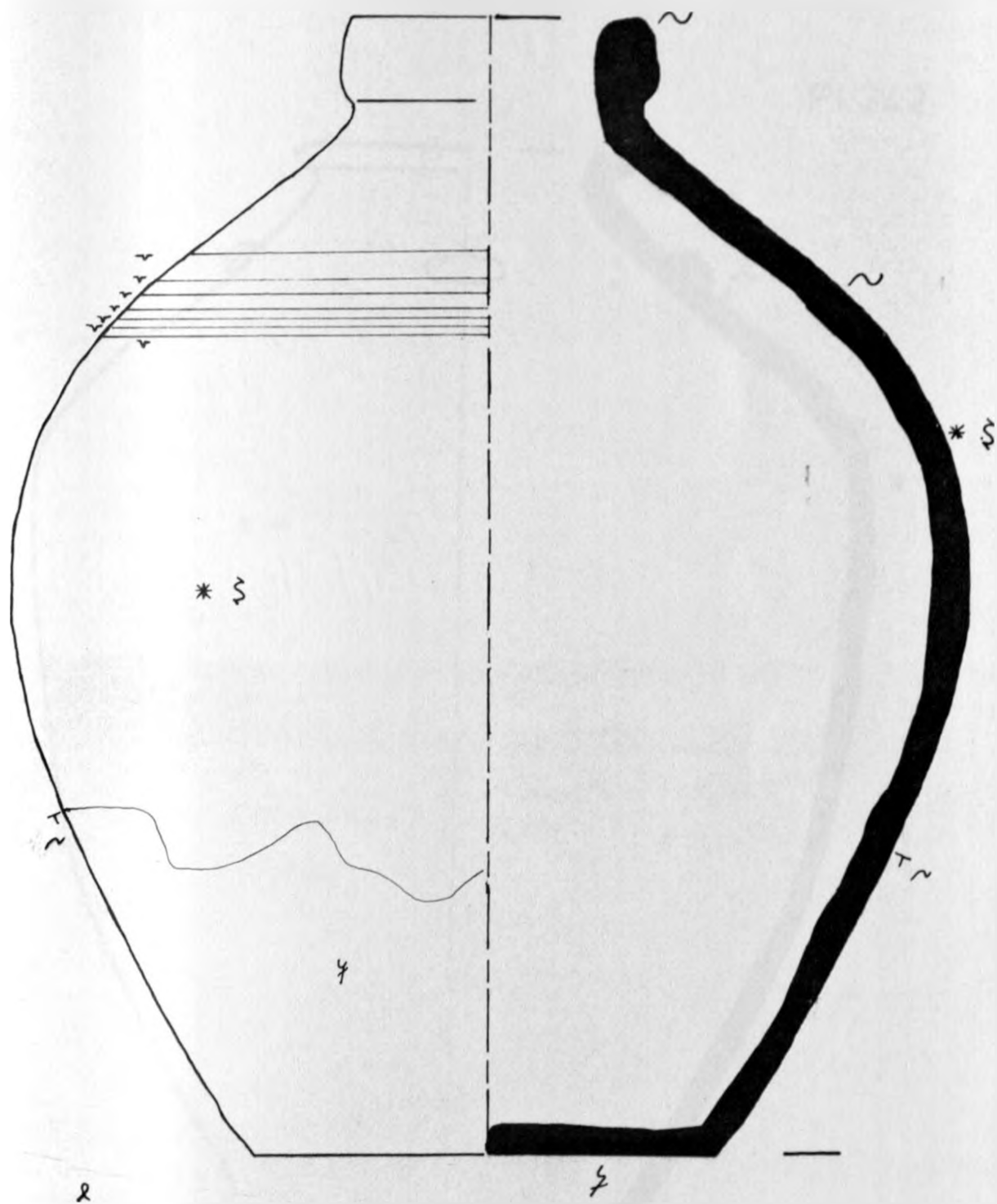
0 20cm

Far Eastern Jar



Thai Jar

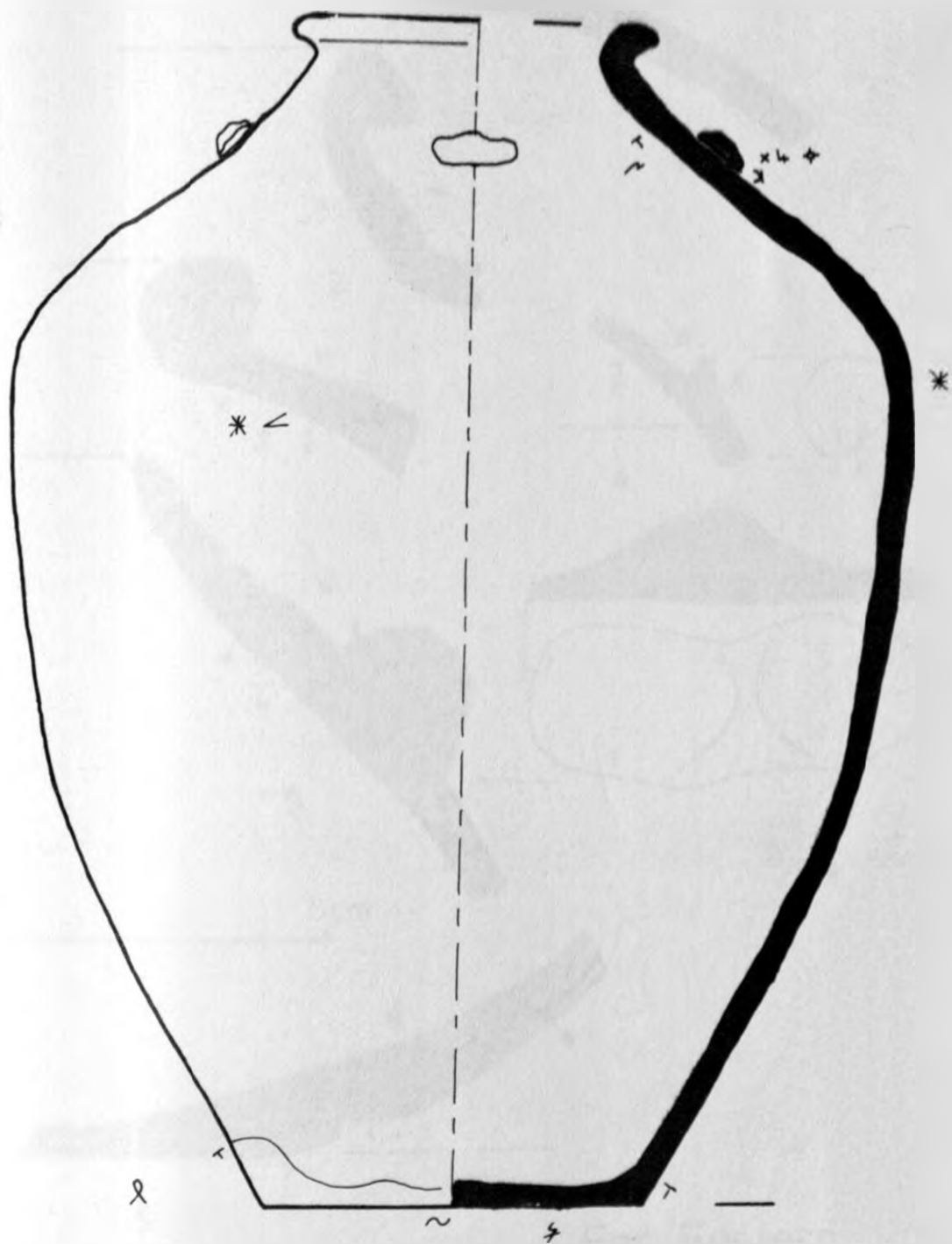
0 5cm



Thai Jar

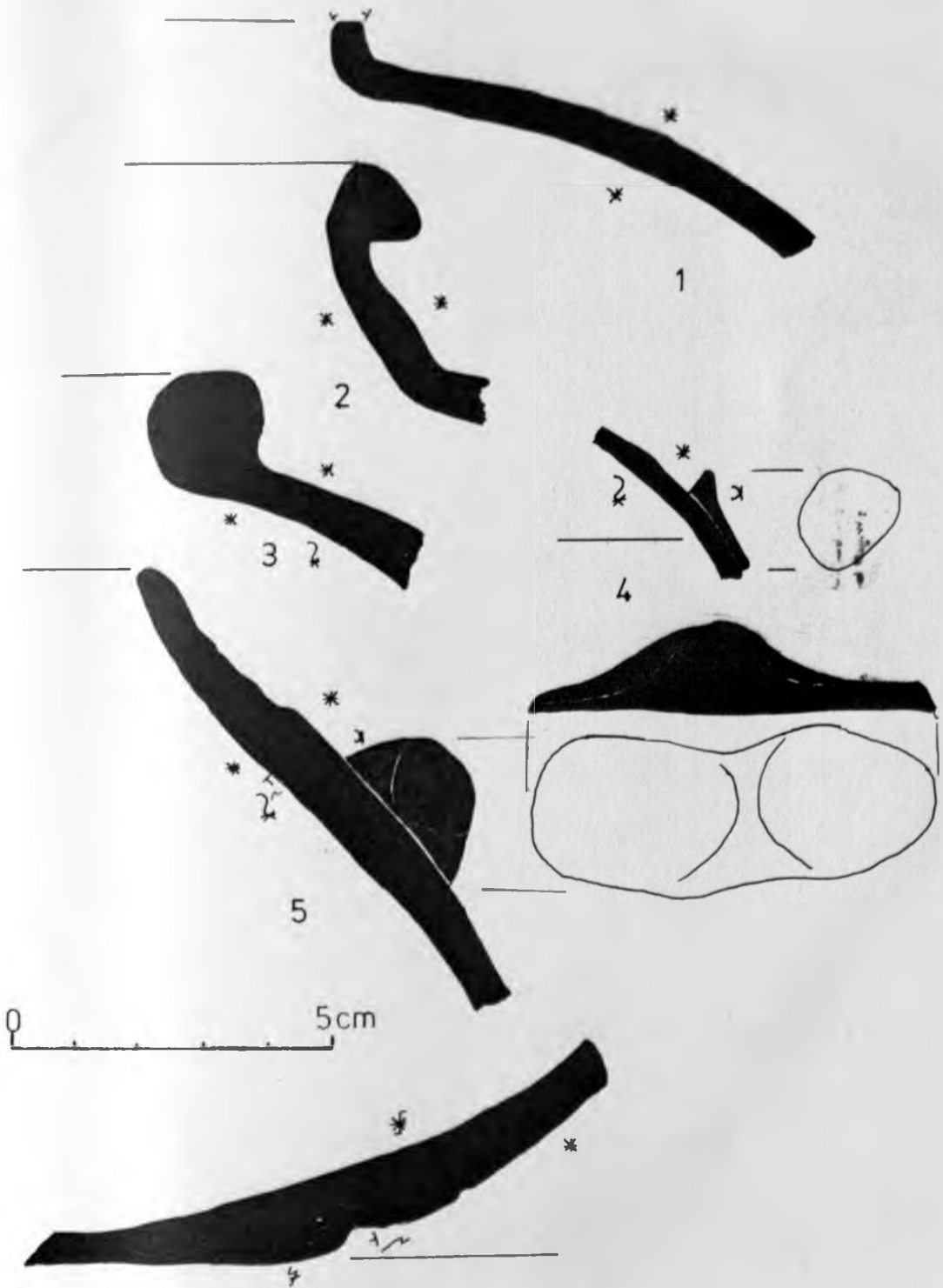
0 15cm

PI 242

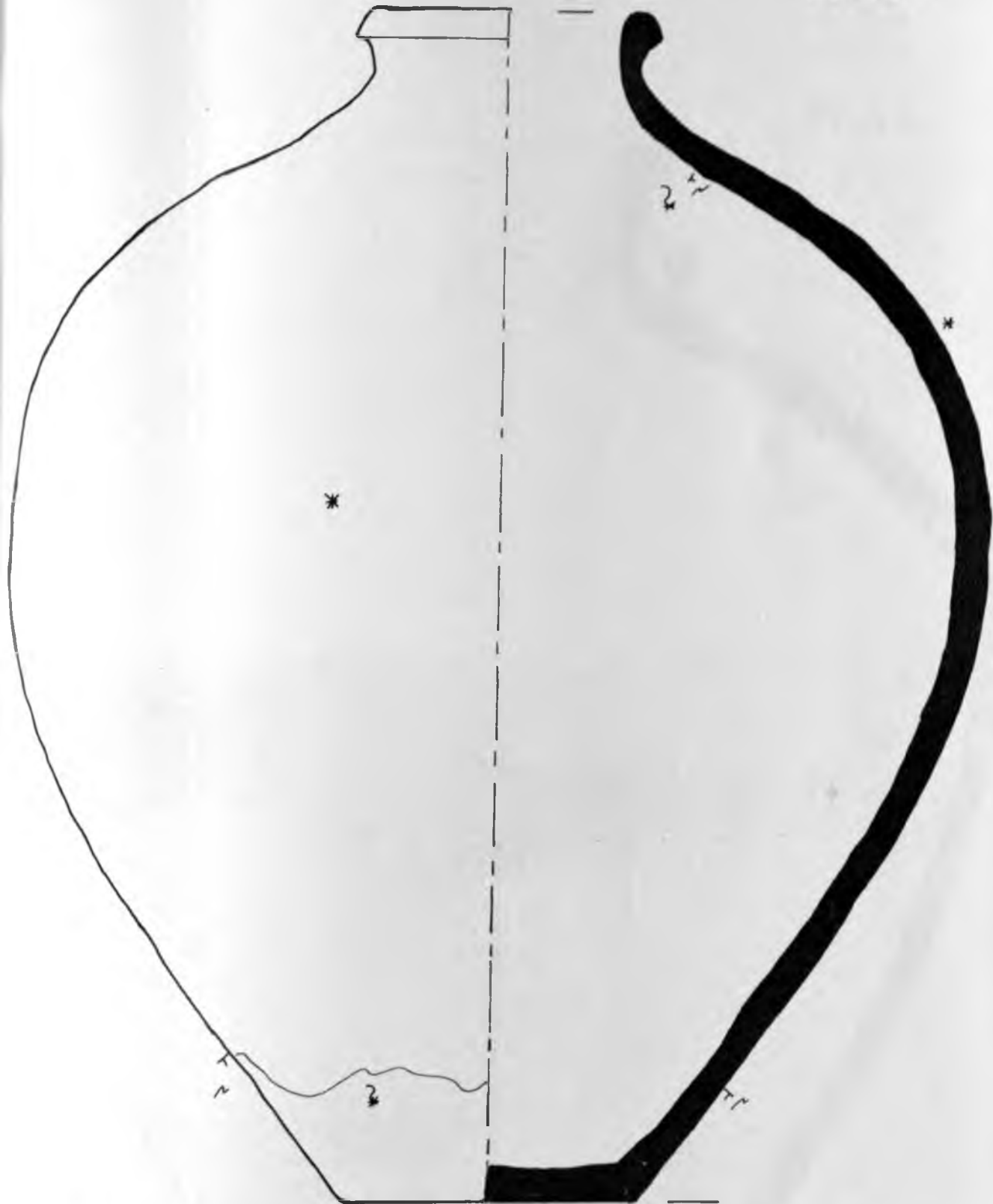


0 10cm

Far Eastern Jar



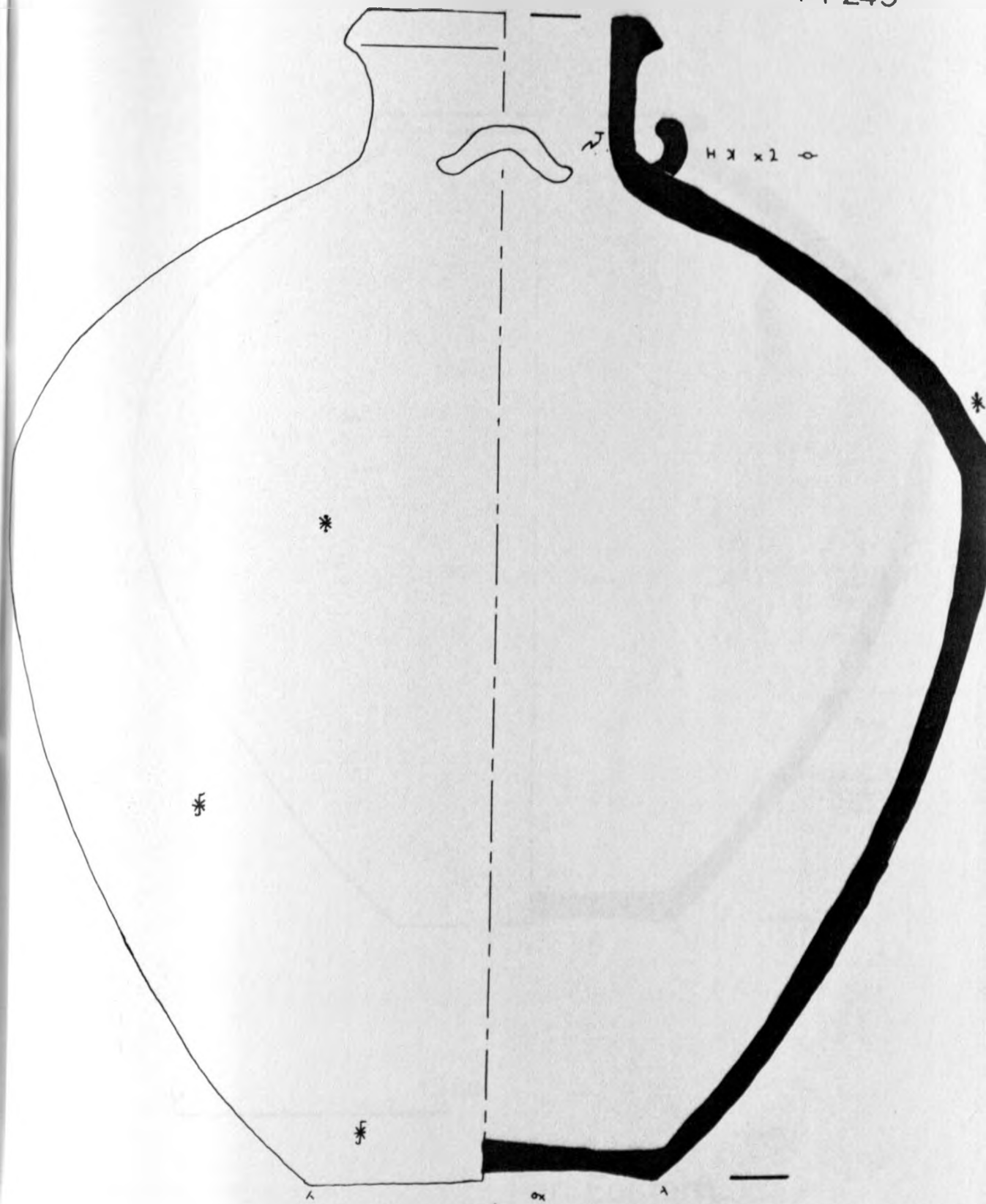
Far Eastern Jars
Brown



0 15cm

Far Eastern Jar

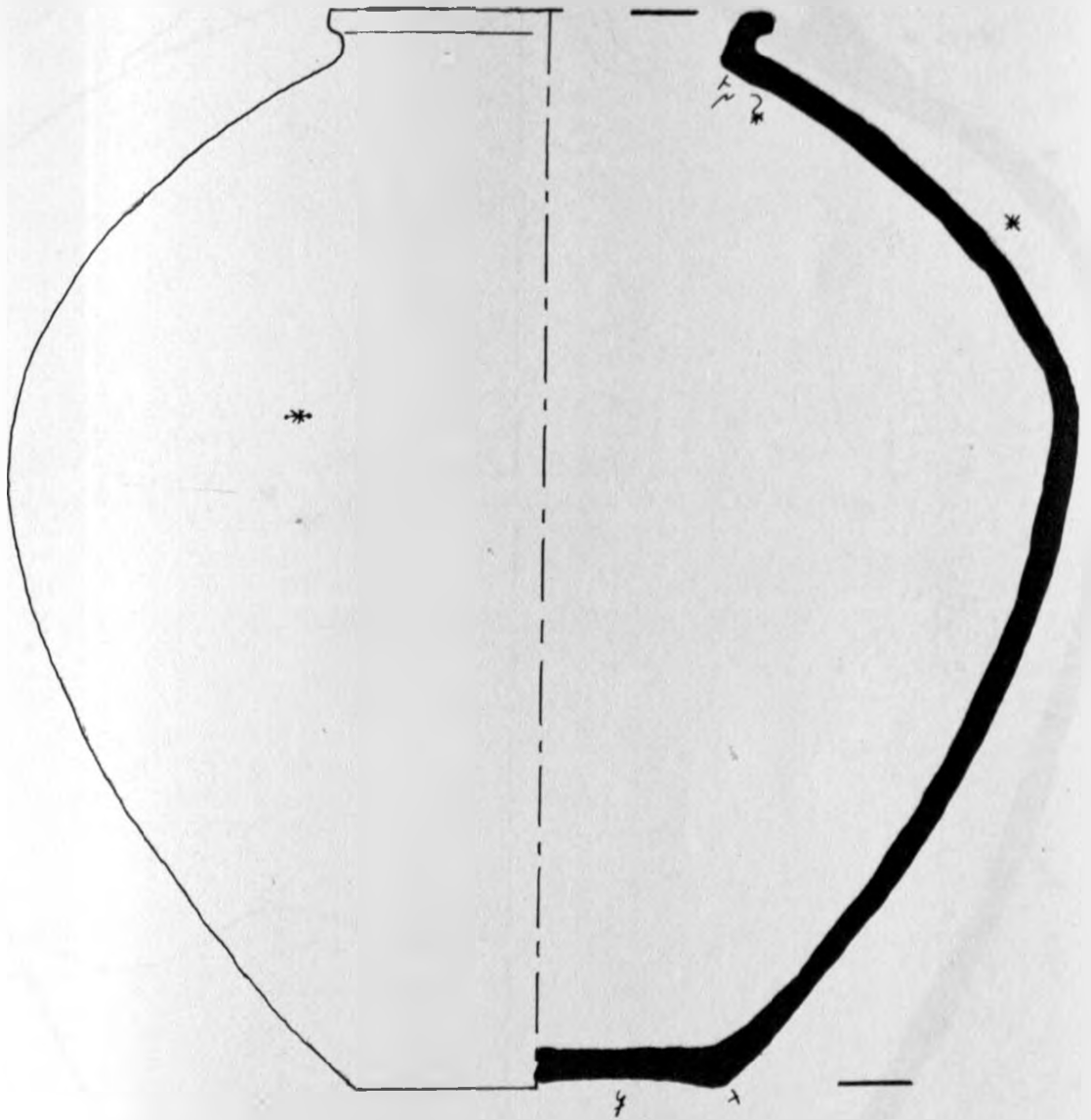
PI 245



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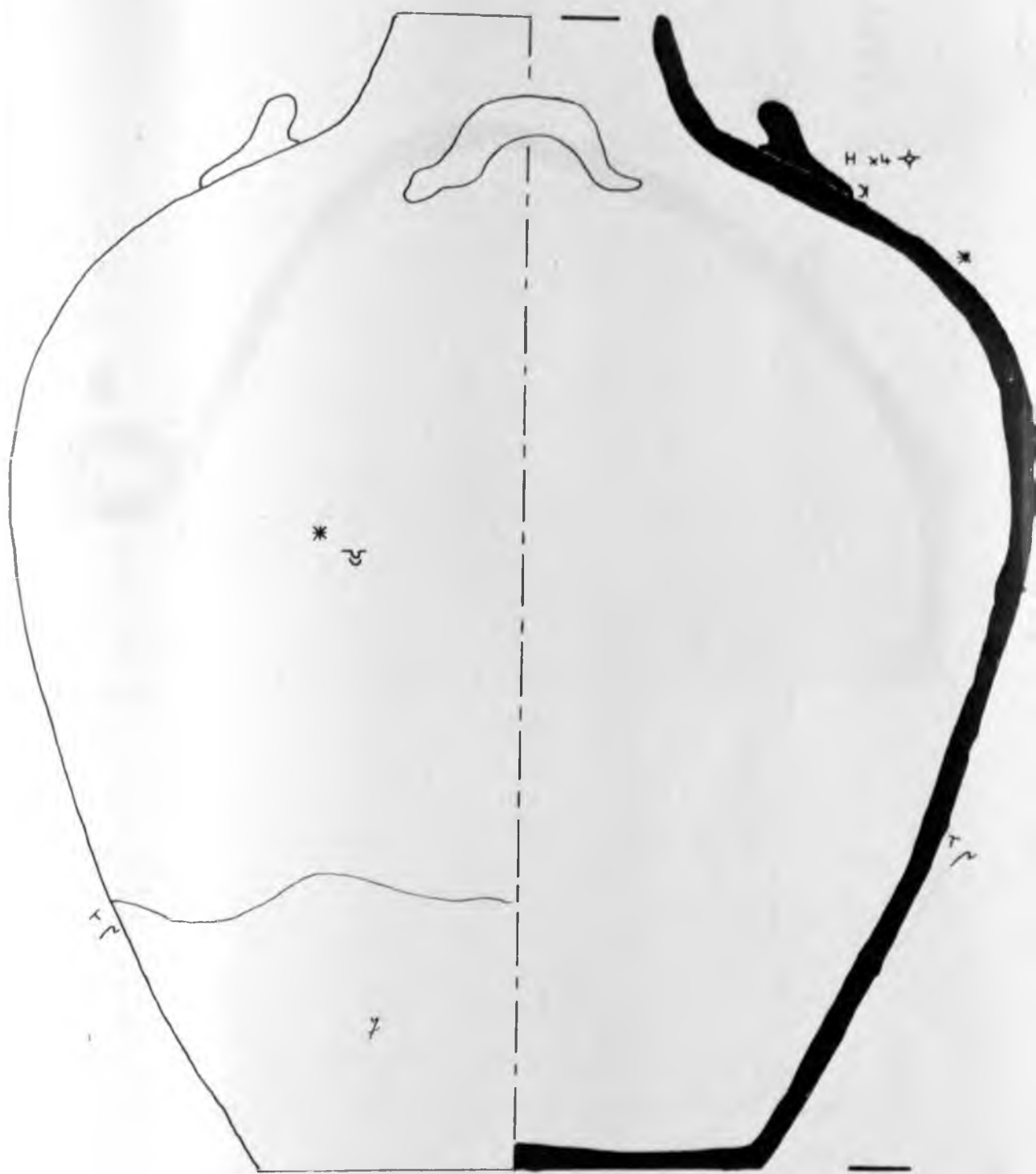
Far Eastern Jar

0 10cm

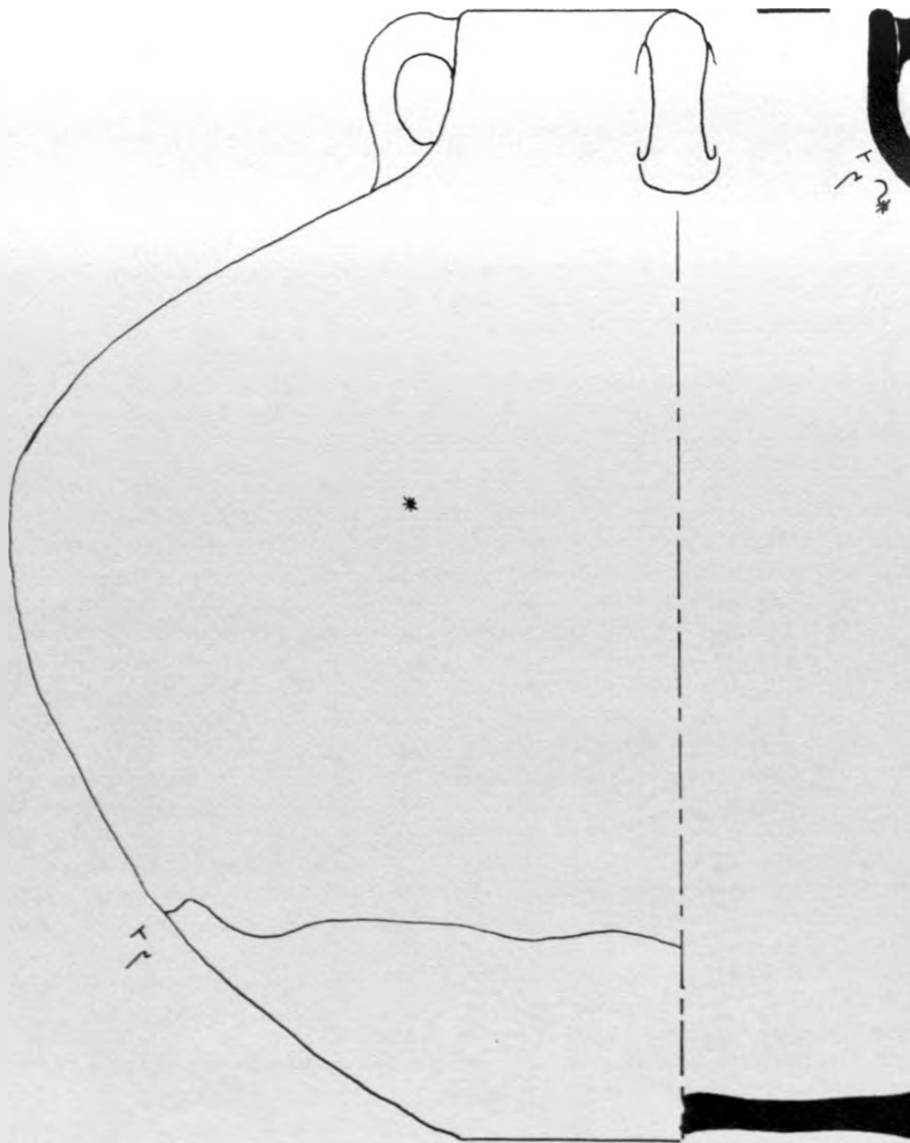


0 15 cm

Far Eastern Jar



Far Eastern Jar



Pl 248



Far Eastern Jar

EUROPEAN POTTERY

"Seek Knowledge - even if it be in China."

Arabic.

EARLY EUROPEAN WARES

While it is clear that the Portuguese imported large jars carrying wine or oil, only one of these has been found so far in the Lamu Archipelago. This jar is in the Lamu Museum and an illustration of it is worthwhile.¹ Another is kept at Fort Jesus.

Similar jars from the Mewstone Ledge wreck in UK are described by Mr. J. Ashdown.² The eighteenth century version described by Ashdown are often lead glazed and on occasion have a slip on the interior. The Lamu version lacks glaze, though a slip remains on the interior. The moulded plaque, so distinctive a feature of these jars, is an upright oval set in the arch of each of two blind stirrup handles set on opposite sides of the vessel, footed at the girth and arched along the upper body.³ The Plaque published by Ashdown is precisely that on the Lamu vessel.⁴ The Plaque bears the letters IF. Ashdown notes other occurrences of this type of plaque at Wapping (London) UK, Colchester, UK, and Hoorn, Netherlands. Beneath the main plaque on the Lamu version is a smaller plaque bearing the letters "SE" beneath a cross.

Ashdown further observes that the initials on these plaques are "merchant or marketing symbols".⁵ Nothing from Lamu would permit comment upon that. More significant for the Lamu jar is his feeling⁶ that the lily is of Tuscan origin, based principally upon the fact that the symbol is common on maiolicas

of the "post medieval" (sic) period and the fact that several jars without the plaque but otherwise similar vessels are known to have been made by Tuscan potters. The Lamu example is able to assist in this discussion by furnishing a complete plaque, supporting Ashdown's speculative reconstruction and potentially preferring a thin section to aid with the minutiae of fabric differentiation between the various potteries. There are no historical records of direct sailing from Italy to East Africa, still less of a Swahili yearning for the olive oil which presumably was exported in these "olive jars". However, the Portuguese pre-dilection for olive oil is well established. The Portuguese were virtually the only Europeans to make regular sailings to East Africa at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries and it is reasonable to assume that this jar arrived bearing oil for the Portuguese residents in East Africa, or was sold empty off the ship during a revictualling stop. Portuguese olive oil remains popular in East Africa, but its modern association with sardines would appear to be a novelty in Swahili trade.

LATE EUROPEAN WARES

From the end of the eighteenth century onwards European earthenwares and stonewares began appearing on the East African coast.

In the nineteenth century the North Kenyan coast imported a very large number of small European stoneware bottles many are schmapps bottles, coming from Holland and England.⁷ A list of the firms mentioned on the shoulders of the schmapps bottles is appended.⁸ Two fragments of the same bottle were found at Manda over a period of four years. This bottle carries the impressed mark of the Donby pottery during the time of Joseph Bourne, Master Potter there between 1833 and 1860.⁹ While white spirits seem to have been favoured, the occasional whisky bottle has been found.¹⁰

It is not clear whether these bottles were imported containing alcoholic beverage or empty. It is clear that no well defined function has been devised for them in modern Swahili life, although hundreds of them are still kept in houses in the archipelago. It seems most likely that these bottles carried refreshment for the sailors on the European ships visiting the area in the nineteenth century, and were discarded, bartered or given away after the contents had been consumed.

Other famous firms represented in the non-twentieth century collections are Lucas of Amsterdam (founded in 1575) and de Kuyper of Schiedam (founded in 1695).

Many of the firms represented are still very much in business and there are also a few types of bottles, particularly schnapps bottles from Blankenheym's which are undoubtedly not only from the nineteenth, but also from the twentieth century and which presumably reflect the excellent taste of the early colonial administrators.

While the gin bottles may have been rubbish from the ships, and later from the cellars of the European residents, there was a firm market for European-made dishes, bowls and storage jars. The debt owed by the European potters to their Chinese predecessors is immediately apparent. A glance at the sections of the Spode and Regout wares confirms this: a glance at the decoration emphasizes it. The extensive use of Chinese inspired shapes, particularly of bowls and dishes is a very notable feature of nineteenth century European ceramics.¹¹ This is a dependence which has only recently been challenged on a large scale.

The list of potteries from which these vessels were bought is long, and the range of wares shows a catholicity of taste bordering upon the indiscriminate.

Guillain is more sanguine about both the range and the quality of material than this would suggest. He was there, I was not, and his opinion should bear some weight when he observes that "toute la vaisselle introduite dans le pays, quels qu'en soient le genre et la provenance, est d'un goit plus que mediocre et d'un prix relatif".¹²

The copies of the Chinese Powder-blue bowls of a few years earlier have occurred at Magugu, Faza, Tumdwa, Siu and Pate, but none have revealed a potter's mark.¹³ They are of a blue, and a texture, seen on cheap Italian vessels of the early nineteenth century. It should be noted, however, that none of the Italian potters' marks in any of the surface collection is certainly from the nineteenth century. Most are from the Richard Ginori factory, and these Ginori marks carry a crown similar to that used under the Republic.¹⁴

Much more common, and found in large quantities all over the Lamu Archipelago, are blue and white dishes and chargers, of the kinds popular in Europe in the first half of the nineteenth century. Blue and white dishes from Copeland-Spode and Wedgwood are attested on the coast, along with five clearly different wares of unknown origin.¹⁵ One fragment, whose partial mark is illustrated, should be identifiable by somebody, but I have failed to recognise it.¹⁶ In retrospect, it were well that the potter who perpetrated this dish with its transfer and printed scene of blue cattle remain anonymous. The Wedgwood pieces are few, and are dishes and plates with a "style chinois" scene in the centre. The famous willow pattern range is represented in some abundance but always in such tiny pieces that a date or motif reconstruction is unassignable. The only complete or near-complete pieces found may have been imported for the private use of Europeans living in

Lamu at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century since they are all from Lamu itself and with a few exceptions are of late nineteenth century manufacture.¹⁷

The Copeland-Spode pottery provided by far the largest number of English blue and white pieces, and justly, for the quality of the reproductions of Chinese motifs and the softness of the Chinese blue in the Celeste at which the Copeland-Spode potters were so good, far excels that of all other European potteries represented in the East African material. The blue flows slightly, highlighting the softness. The only other European pottery which came close to Copeland was the Villeroy and Boch material with both Dresden and Wallerfangen back stamps. On the Copeland material two patterns on large dishes predominate; the first is a Shou Fou centre in block blue with a cavetto of ranked bamboo marks;¹⁸ the other is a smaller dish with a rim diameter of around 27 cms., with the spiked chrysanthemum motif in the centre and cavetto.¹⁹ Both motifs appear on Chinese dishes of the late eighteenth century which also occur abundantly in the area. Engraved copper plates were used for the transfer printing of the blue motifs and in view of this the designs are astonishingly free and fluid after the fashion of the Chinese originals. The Copeland chrysanthemum dish is an exact copy of the Chinese, and dates, according to the mark, to the 1813 - 29 period.²⁰ The mark itself, occurring only twice in the coastal connections, was hitherto unknown at the Spode pottery²¹ and is thus of interest to historians of

the Spode school of pottery. At that time Copeland was a partner in the London merchant side of the Spode enterprise, concerned with exporting the Spode wares.²² The other, more regularly occurring mark is the impressed COPELAND mark dating the pieces to the period between 1847 and 1865.²³ This is the mark used on most of the large dishes whose fragments litter the islands.

A large amount of this material was destined for the Persian Gulf market and indeed this market was so lucrative that in the 1870's Copeland was ordering inferior quality vessels in the same style from Russia, possibly from the Gardener factory.²⁴ This material may be represented in the coastal sherds but no mark indicating this occurs, and low quality equivalents of the Copeland earthenwares are not immediately discernible. Such vessels in different styles are discernible, but remain of unknown origin.

It is worth noting here for general ceramic interest an extra ordinary blue and white dish centre, copies of which came from Shela and from Sii island near Vanga on the Tanzanian border. This was made by Bowers of Tunstall between 1841 and 1862 and carries a double vajra in the centre printed in a crude, harsh, dark cobalt blue.²⁵ This motif is a direct Chinese copy - and an odd one. The double vajra is an extremely rare motif in East African material and an unusual one in any collection; it has been most usually connected with the late fifteenth century in a short-lived fashion consequent upon the opening of

the Buddhist temple in Peking in 1465. Certainly the only East African example of the motif on a Chinese vessel is from that period. It is fascinating to conjecture how the potter chose this motif in England four hundred years later. There are Bowers marks on other sherds from the Lema Archipelago, but none complete enough for one to recover the design. The blue is consistently harsh and crude.

The Chinese whirl rim bowls of the eighteenth century export wares were also copied in Europe in the nineteenth century but the potter is not known. There are a very few of the originals along the Shela beach and even fewer European copies. The bowls are similar to the ring and colon bowls but the frieze consists of a repeated single twist spiral motif. Some potters in Europe paid great attention to texture in their copies. Copeland's efforts have already been noted; another potter, unknown, reproduced the veined heavy purplish blue of certain eighteenth century Chinese export vessels, a blue which was often ironed. He has executed this technical feat in conjunction with peony or chrysanthemum petals in a very convincing fashion.²⁶ Another remarkable copy, this time found at Ungu, is that of an Islamic blue-splash tin glaze bowl of the tenth century. The blue is ribbed down the cavetto and even the stepped interior groin is faithfully reproduced.²⁷ The paste is certainly European, but unfortunately the name of the pottery is unknown. This, like the Vajra copy of Bowers, displays the potter's profound knowledge of his craft and its

history - a feature of the profession which is very apparent even today in the large factories.

Equally extraordinary is the effort put in by both the Societe Ceramique and Petrus Regout at Maastricht to reproduce Indonesian Patterns. These were executed in lustre printing and were very popular in the Lamu archipelago.²⁸ Indeed such is their attraction that no fewer than six modern Japanese factories now sell direct copies of the Dutch nineteenth century wares in the Goudkust pattern in Lamu and do so with great success. The most popular designs are Toko and Goudkust. The "Joko" and "Toko" marks presumably refer to the early nineteenth century (1806) Rendaije Japanese pottery though why they should do so is at present something of a mystery.²⁹

The vexed question of who first used the Onion Pattern remains unanswered. The first European version was the 1739 "Zwiebelmuster" from Meissen, but the date of the first Chinese versions is not clear. Onion Pattern dishes from both Far Eastern and European kilns appear at Lamu, and Far Eastern bowl versions occurs in the Ungu, Faza and Kipungani collections.³⁰ The Ungu site is assumed to be of short duration and to carry predominantly nineteenth century material probably from the mid century onwards in greatest abundance. Significantly neither version was found at any other site in the area. Neither Lamu and the other sites nor Ungu provide assistance as to relative dating of these two versions of the type. A nineteenth

century date for the Ungu find is strongly to be inferred and all other finds are from the surface. The proof is not there, but the implication is that there was a Chinese copy. Apparently this type was a rare and late import.

Wedgewood sold a few of their famous "vine and grapes on a fig leaf" moulded plates in the thick strong green glaze which was perfected in 1759.³¹ These were made in about 1845-1850, and there are also fragments of copies, one unmarked, the other marked simply "Staffs",³² of the same highly distinctive vessel. The unmarked vessel also seems to be a Staffordshire product. It is certainly not one of the Belle Vue vessels from Hull, which were made in the same style at the same time. Incredible to relate, there is one of the famous cauliflower teapots still in use in Lemu.

The early Ironstone vessels from the Mason factory are occasionally found.³³ The later vessels of the last quarter of the nineteenth century were also imported in quantity. One very interesting piece of European earthenware, is a direct copy of a Lung Chu'an celadon with a remarkably reminiscent glaze and section. The potter is unknown. This was found on the surface at Matondoni.³⁴

Freehand painting was not despised by the Europeans. However attractively economical an engraved copper plate may have been, lady painters in the workshops were clearly considered just an economical and, one trusts, more attractive. To these ladies was entrusted the task of decorating dishes and bowls

potted in Chinese shape; the decorations are, however, quite occidental.³⁵ L. R. Whiter, whose company was responsible for the greatest number of these polychromes, describes the decorations as "peasant-style painting".³⁶ Peasant floral dishes were also brought from the Societe Ceramique and the Petrus Regout potteries of Maastricht, the Sarreguemines potteries and the factory of Monzin et Lecat at Nimy.³⁷ Many of these vessels have no mark on them at all, and some of them at least may have come from the Gardener factory in Russia. Two techniques are used: either completely free painting, or in conjunction with bat printing, whose inaccuracy and crudity of motif suggest potato cuts, around which hand-painted designs are placed. Occasionally a frieze of such bat printed motifs is added.³⁸ The colour invariably used for the printing is mauve or purple. Just occasionally peasant floral dishes occur which were made specifically for the Middle Eastern market. One popular modification for the orient is a white moon and star on a red field, either as a body reserve, or as a centre badge.³⁹

It is worth noting that the works recorded show that French, Dutch, Lorraine, Italian and English Earthenware, blue and white, and floral polychromes were reaching East Africa definitely by the middle of the nineteenth century and probably during the first twenty-five years of that century. It is probable that most of the material may have come from India, Guillain confirms this: (la poterie) "vient en majeure partie

de l'Inde".⁴⁰ One fine blue and white dish from Sarreguemines in the Lamu Museum collection has an Indian elephant complete with mahouts in the centre, and a crescent moon and star medallion quartering the interior groin.⁴¹

The Sarreguemines factory began in 1770 and almost always used the spotted shield with a wash of three birds, which is the commonest base mark in the Archipelago. There was also a medallion with just one bird which, curiously, faced the other way. The term "Opaque" on these Sarreguemines marks refers to a type of porcelain which was first made in the Cambrian works at Swansea around 1790. In the first half of the nineteenth century, the Sarreguemines factory, like many of the other French and Lorraine factories exporting to the Indian Ocean, regularly used proven English fabrics, shapes and patterns.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the market was sufficiently great for agents in Zanzibar, and less often in Mombasa and Dar-es-Salaam, to order in bulk and apply their own stamp. The stamps of a few of such firms are illustrated.⁴² Within a very few years of the establishment of Nairobi similar arrangements were made there. This new element in the trade coincides with the disastrous decline in the economic fortunes of the Lamu archipelago and indicates the change in the pattern of trade known from the documents: that by the end of the nineteenth century Lamu was importing as often from Zanzibar and Mombasa as from Europe direct. The opening of

of the railway and the rise of Zanzibari commerce deprived Lamu of a future as a major port for international commerce.

Despite the fact that this is indecently recent history, for an archaeologist, it is notable how little is known of the mechanics of the ceramics trade prior to the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the figures for Zanzibar given by Miss Nicholls are unable to help in this confusion. She quotes higher values for the "china" imports of the American and German merchants than for those brought by the French and British, yet not a single piece of eighteenth or nineteenth century American or German pottery has been found in the Lamu archipelago, and the Americans and Germans must have been deeply involved in the carrying trade, particularly from Bombay. The north coast imports of pottery appear to have come along traditional routes. The high value placed in Nicholl's lists⁴³ on ceramic imports from India cannot be met by the proportion of Indian pieces and sherds from that period in the Lamu area, and must in large part represent trans-shipments from England. The Dutch and French trade with Muscat and Bandar Abbas must also have resulted in the trans-shipment for Lamu of some Dutch and French ceramics. In addition Guillaïn notes, what might have been expected, that "Quelques pieces de vaisselle (faïence et porcelaine) d'origine française ont été importées de Malotte..."⁴⁴ The extent of coastwise traffic before the last quarter of the nineteenth century is not known though it is apparently presumed to be large. It is

odd, if pottery was a coastwise commodity, that American and German pottery did not feature prominently in Lamu imports. It cannot have been trans-shipped in any quantity at all to the northern coast, unless one is right in assuming that Dutch, French and British pottery was being brought in American bottoms. In view of the failure of Hunt's coastal schooners in the coastwise hides trade between Lamu and Zanzibar, it would be of very great interest to know if coastwise traffic from Lamu was a significant feature of economic life at all. It has been said that ivory from the Lamu area was of poor quality and it may be that even this was exported directly from Lamu through the warehouses and customs there, and not via Mombasa or Zanzibar.

The collections at Fort Jesus, Dar-es-Salaam and Zanzibar represent a very similar range of factories but are, particularly that at Fort Jesus, probably rather richer than the Lamu group.

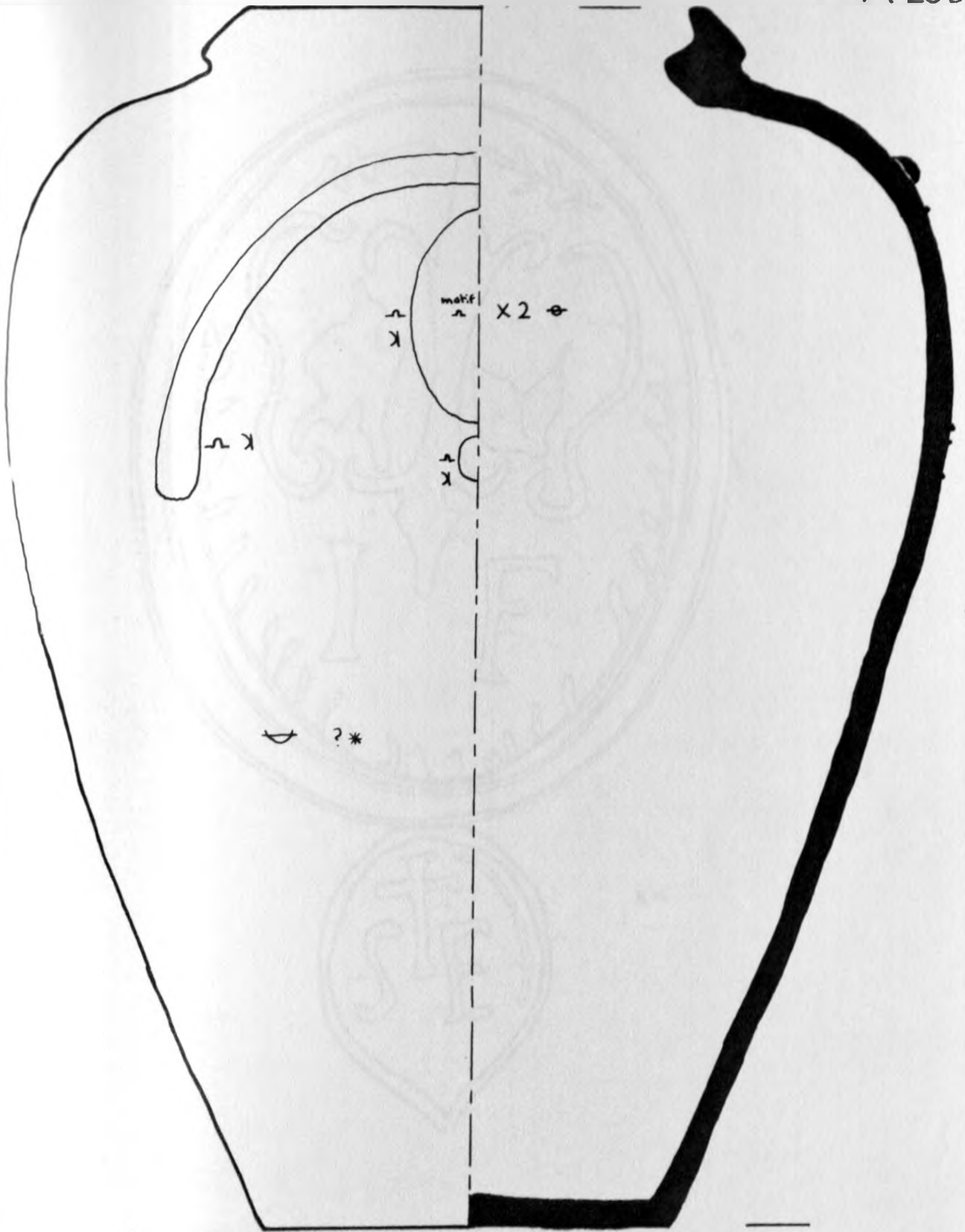
European Wine Jar

P1249



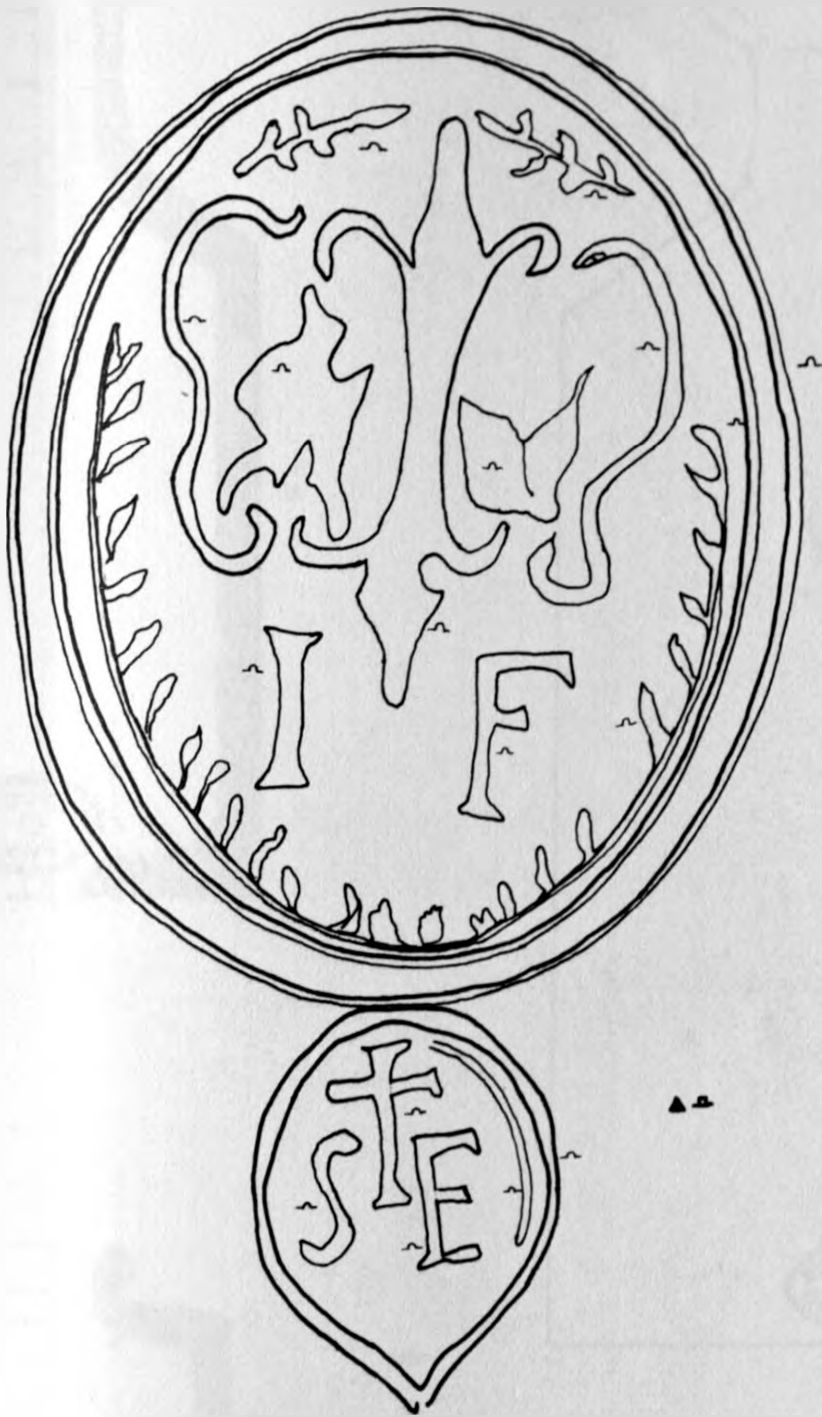
ht. 87cm

European Wine-Jar



λ
0 20cm

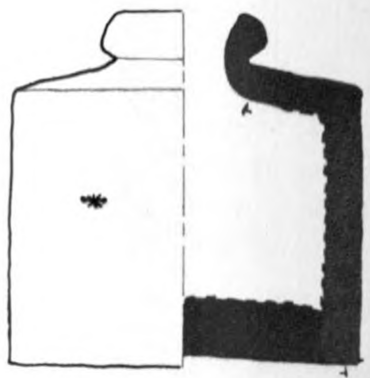
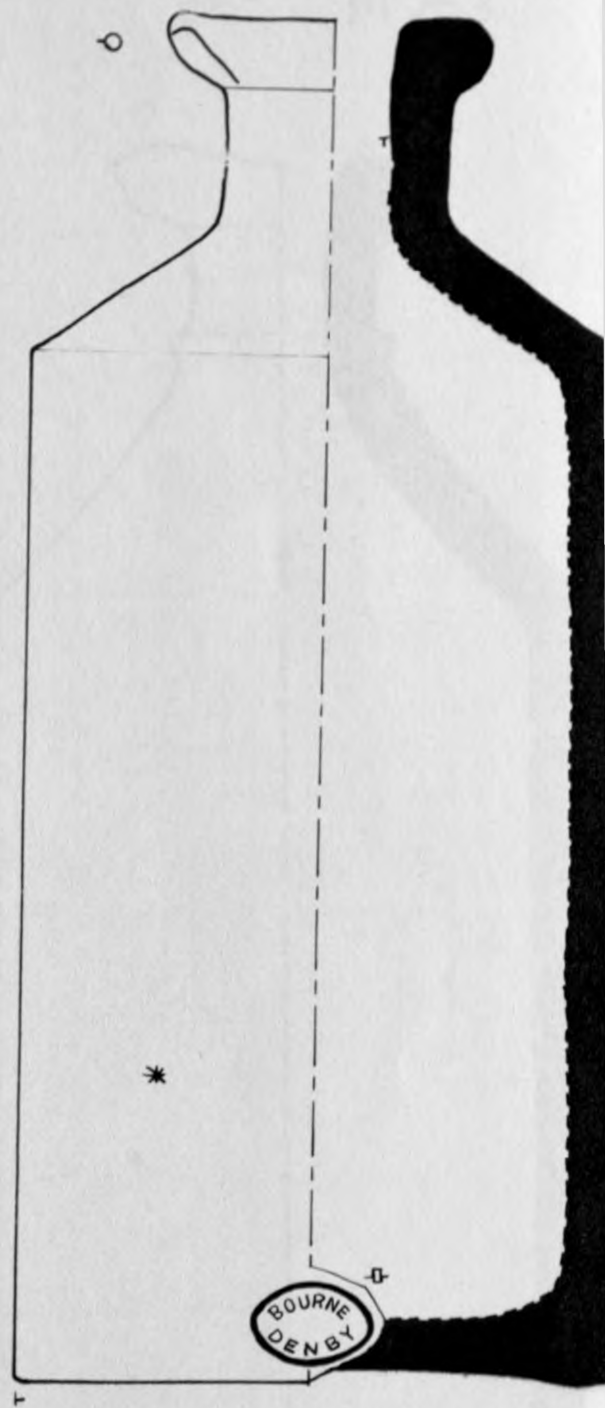
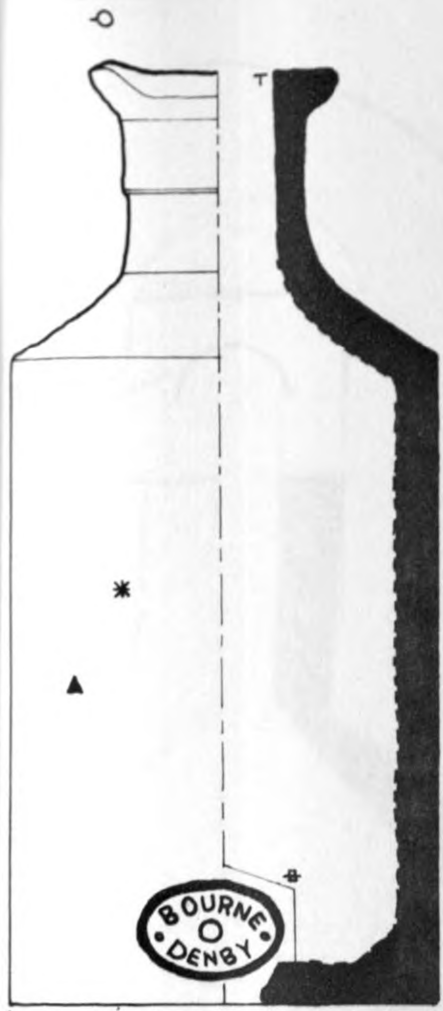
European Wine Jar



European Wine Jar

Detail : Medallion





▲**
3

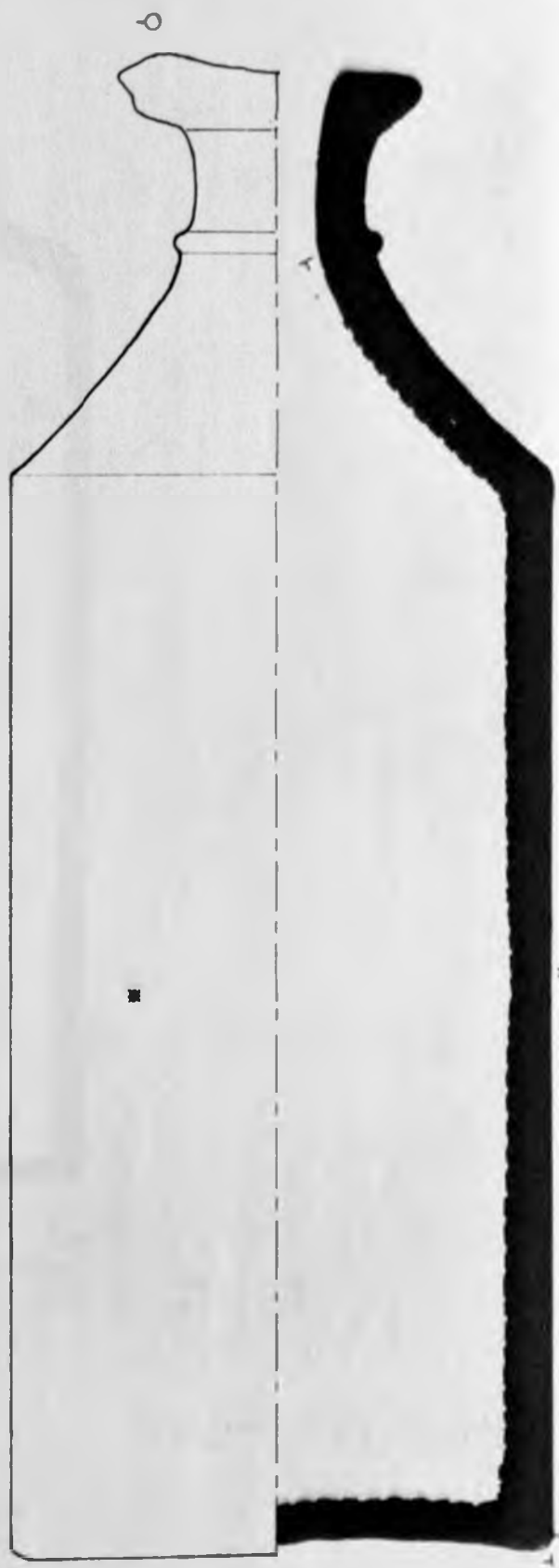
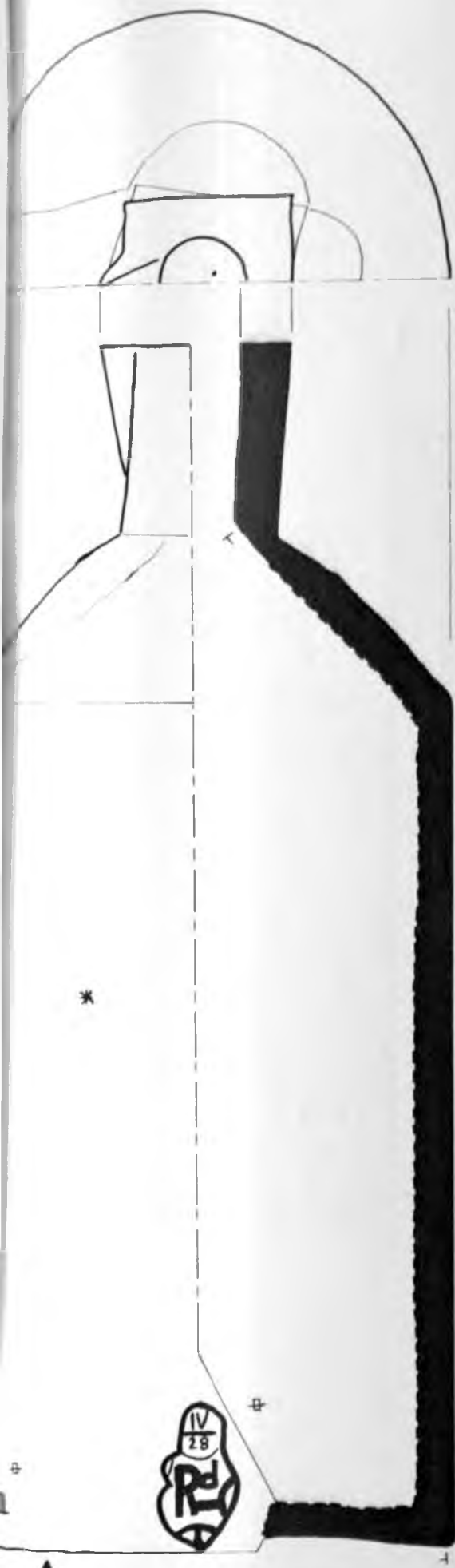
European Bottles



1

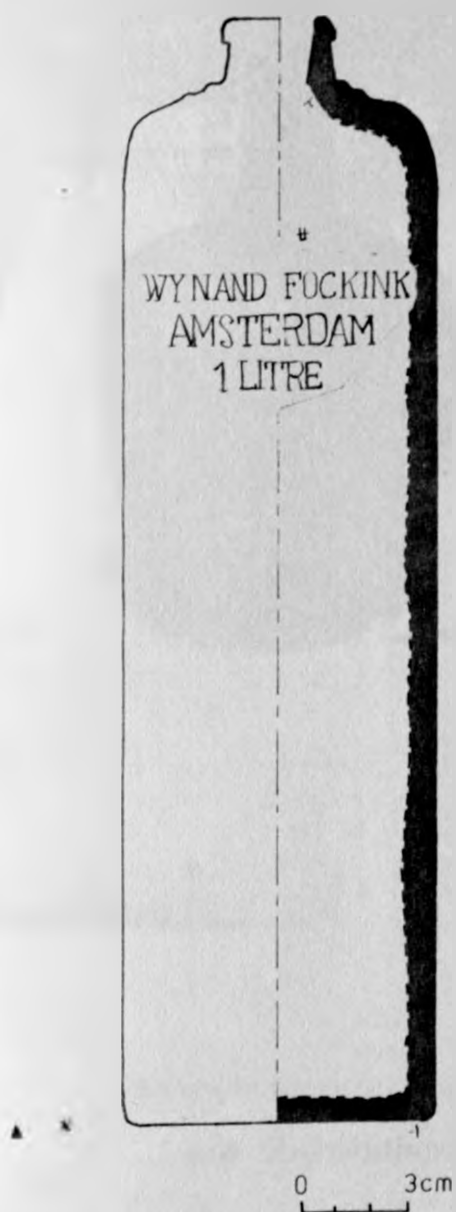
2

PI 253



European Bottles

0 5cm



European Bottle



"Believers; wine and games of chance
..... are abominations devised by Satan"

Quran ٧

an agent of the Devil

NHEYM & NOLET
HIEDAM

JHEYM & NOLET
HIEDAM

PI 256

8

9

BLANKENHEYMS
ZEEROUDE GENEVER

ULSTKAMP
ROTTERDAM

10

12

WYNAND FOCKING
AMSTERDAM
1 LITRE

FEDERA
FOABIC
OR

13

P. HOPPE
AMSTERDAM

11

14

0 3 cm

Nineteenth Century Manufacturers' Marks
on Spirit Bottles



16



17



18



19

20



21



22

Indonesian-inspired Lustre Wares

Nineteenth and Twentieth Century
Manufacturers' Marks



23



24

0 3 cm



26



27



28



29





THE
MONUCO
BRAND

European White Wares
Manufacturers' Marks

2

3



5

6

7

8

9



11

12

13

14

Nineteenth Century European Peasant
Style Hand-painted Polychromes
and recent successors

Manufacturers' Marks



Painted Polychrome

Vivid Greenish Yellow Glaze
on White Earthenware

16

MASON'S PATENT
IRONSTONE CHINA

Transfer Print Polychrome

19

STAFFS

W

Miscellaneous

Manufacturers' Marks

Moulded Buff Earthenware with
Apple Green Glaze



17

16



2

BOWERS
TUNSTALL
STAFFORDSHIRE

3

BOWERS
TUNSTALL
MADE IN ENGLAND

4

BURTON & CO. LTD.
DENBY

5

BROWN WESTHE
MOORE & CO.

SPODE & COPELAND

COPELAND with SPODE

Copeland with Spode

7

8

9

11

COPELAND

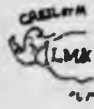
ENGLAND

10



16

GEORGE JONES
ABBAY
1790



CASELAIN

13

14

15



WILLIAM
TUNSTALL



17

18

19

WATTS & CO.
NO 775.
SHEPHERD HILL

W

22

European Blue
and White Wares

21



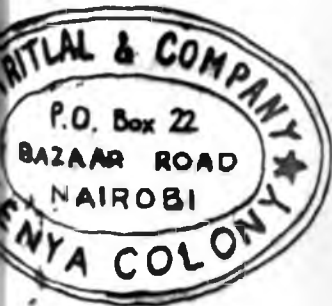
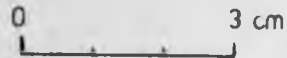
WEDGWOOD



Manufacturers' Marks

23

24



26



28

East African

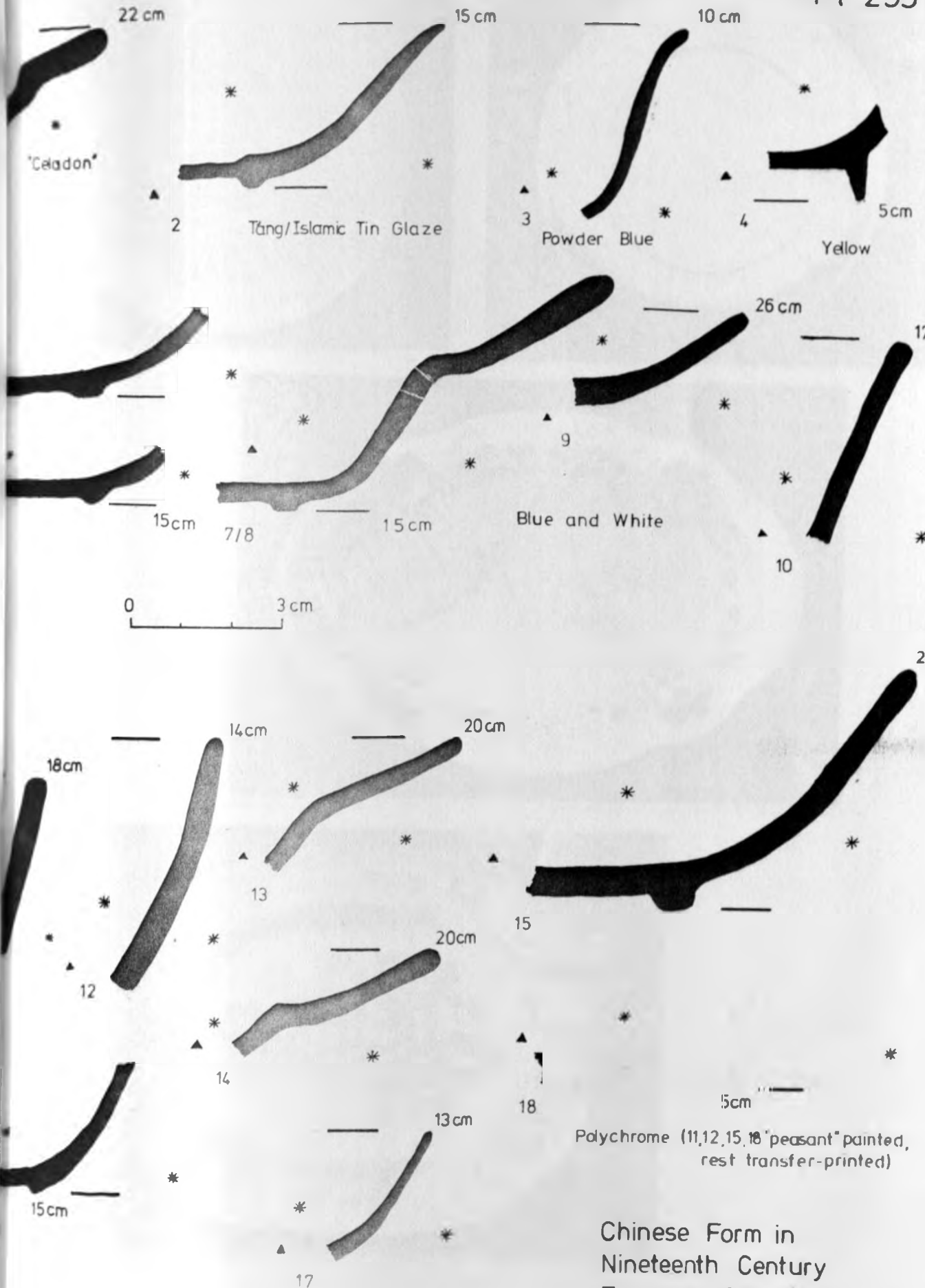


27

MOS
MOMBASA
ZANZIBAR
DARESSALAAM

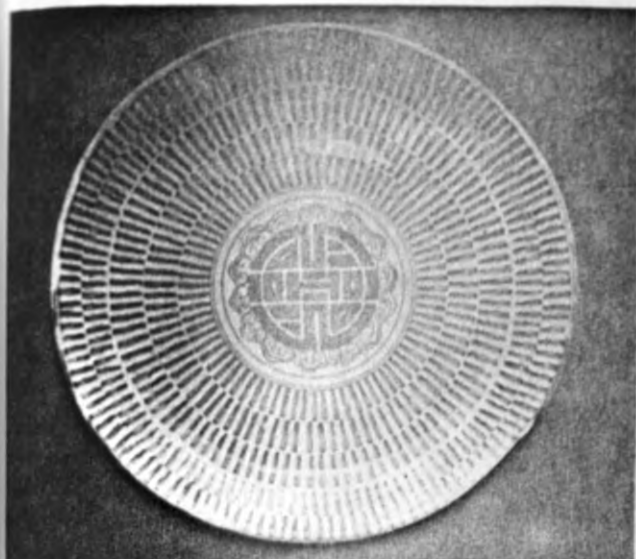
Agents' Marks

29

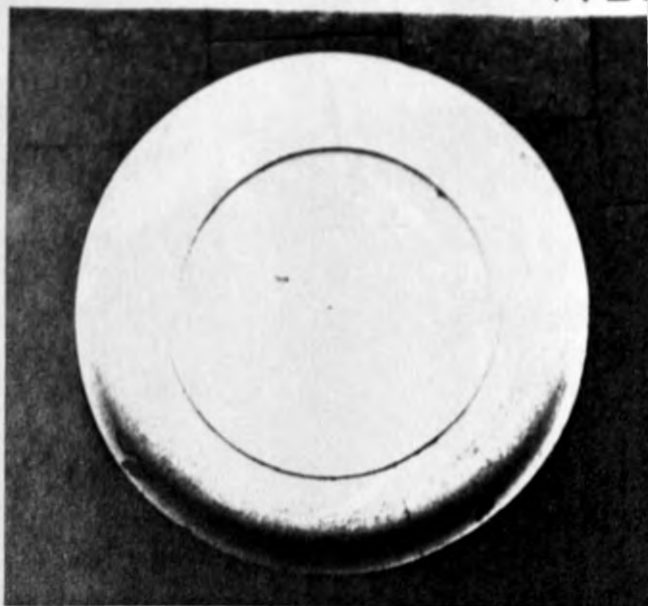


Polychrome (11,12,15,18 "peasant" painted, rest transfer-printed)

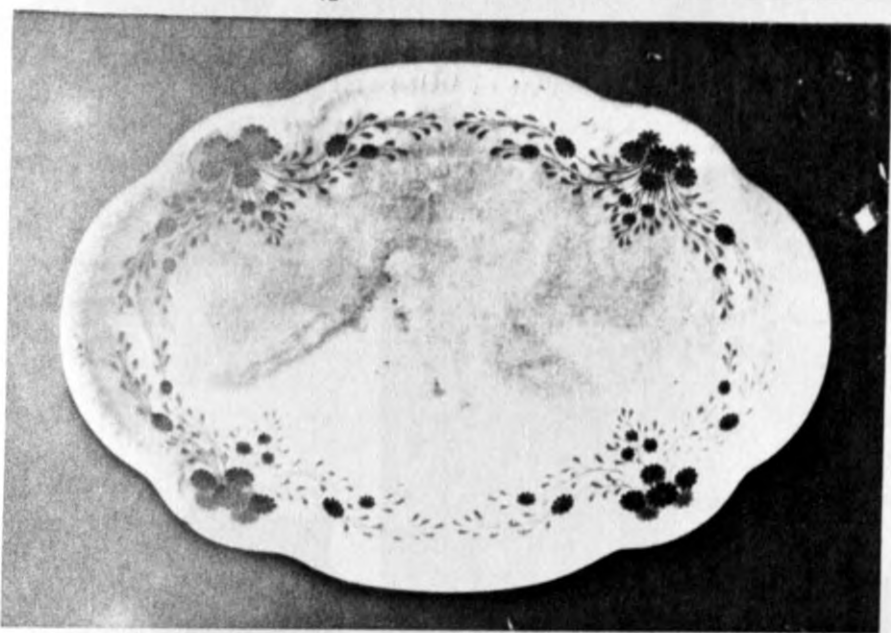
Chinese Form in Nineteenth Century European Ceramics



1a



1b

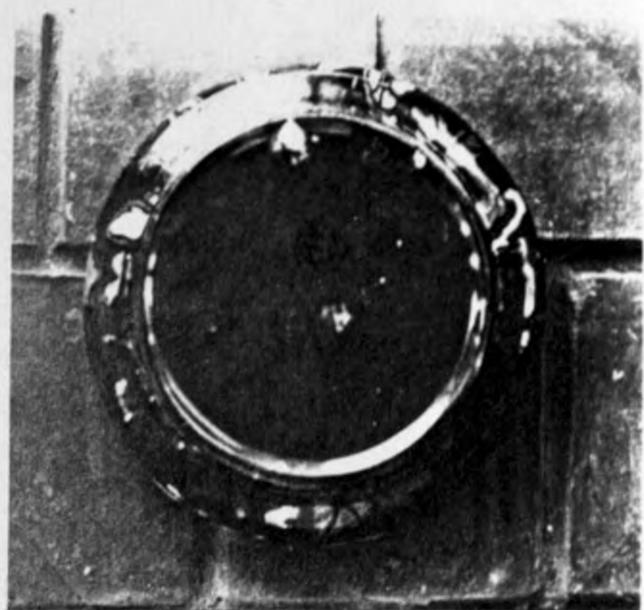


2



3

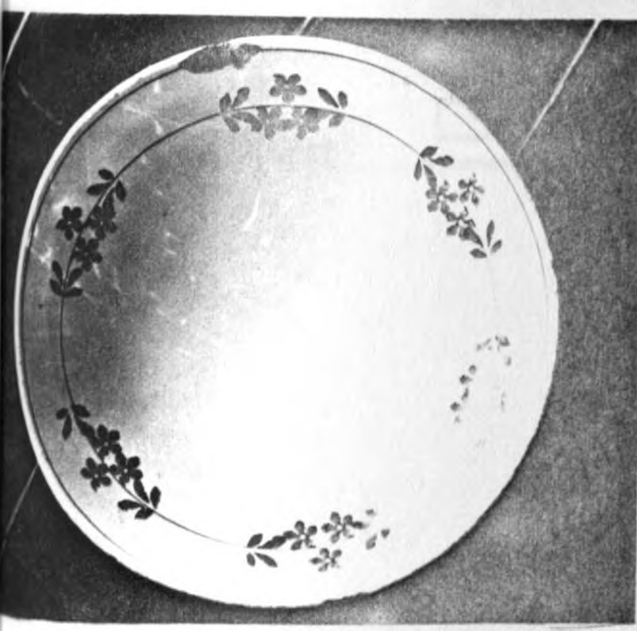
European
Dishes



2



3



European Wares

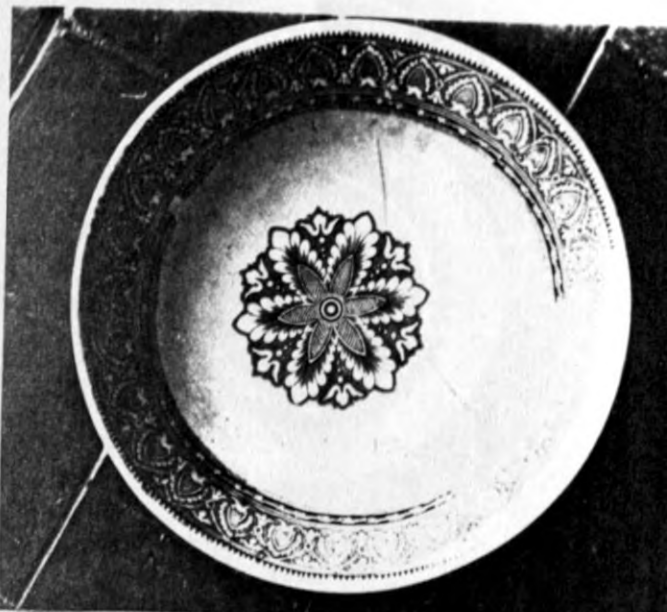
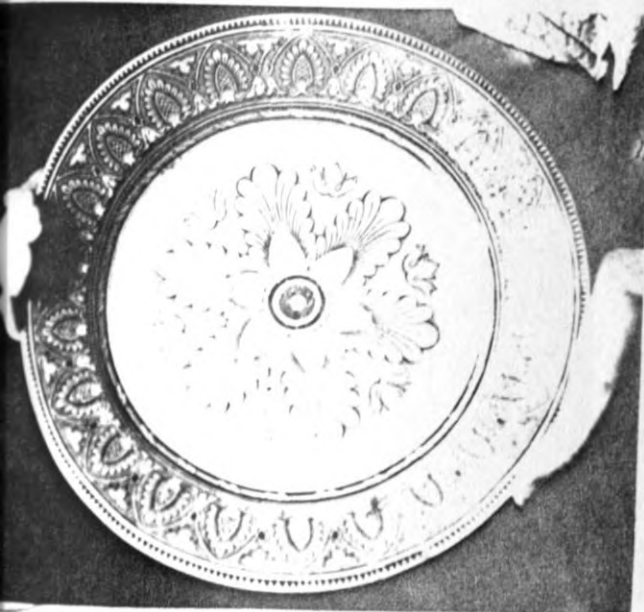
PI 262



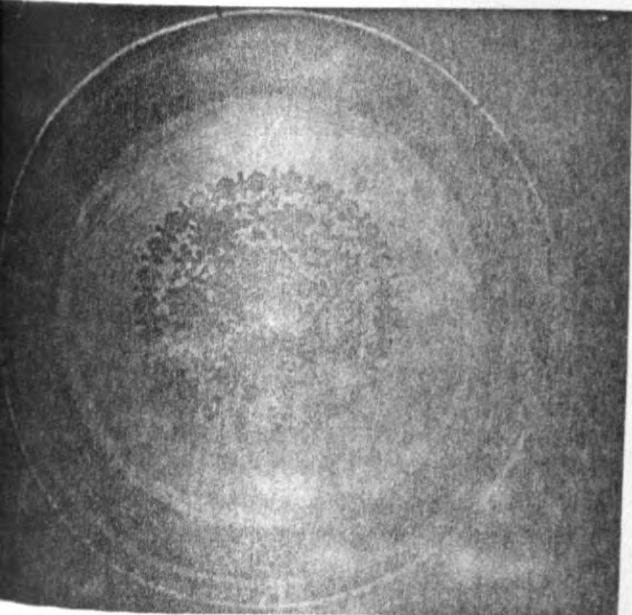
Copy of Middle Eastern
Tin Glaze



2

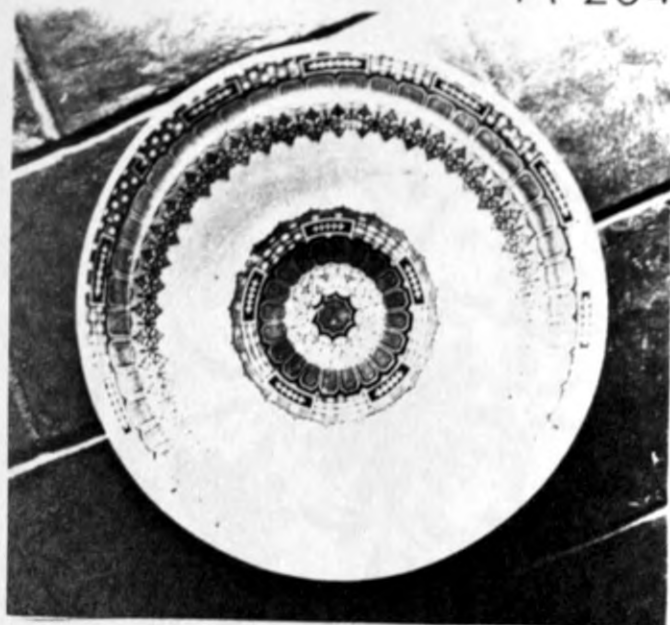


4

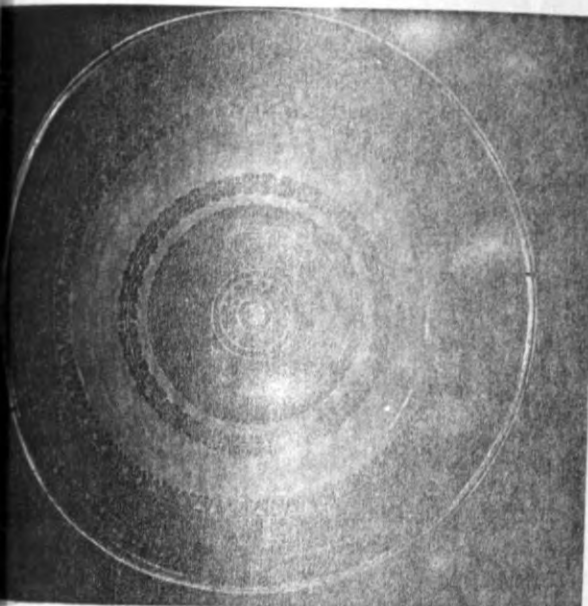


European Lustre Wares

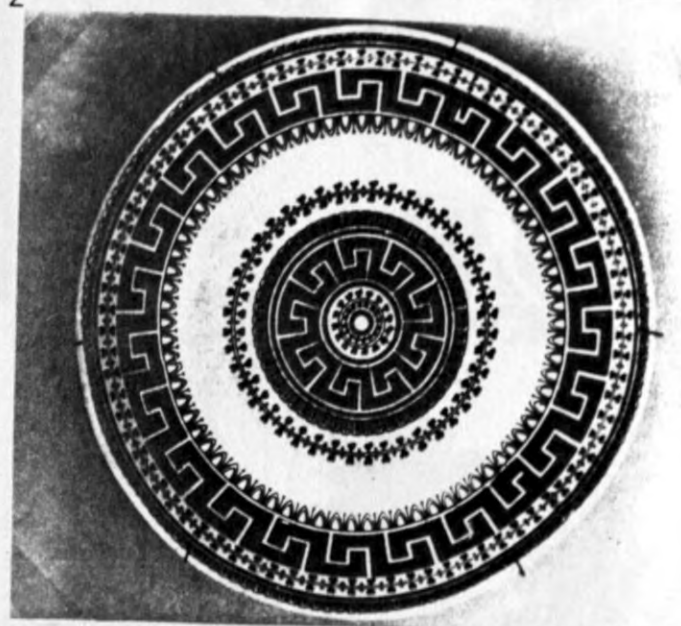
European Lustre
Wares



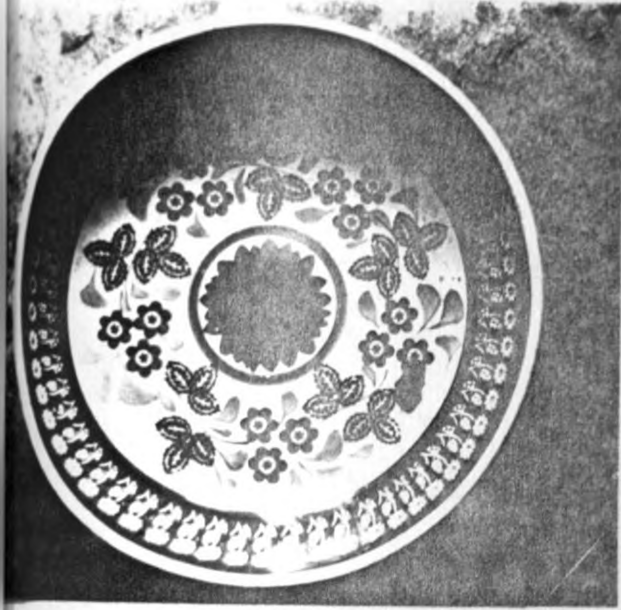
2



4



European and Japanese
Lustre Wares



2

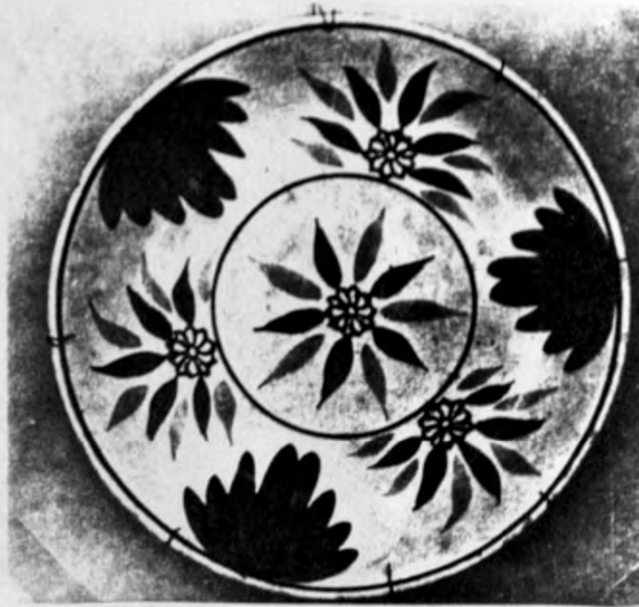


3

European Peasant -
Floral Ware



2



1



3



4

European
Peasant Floral
Wares

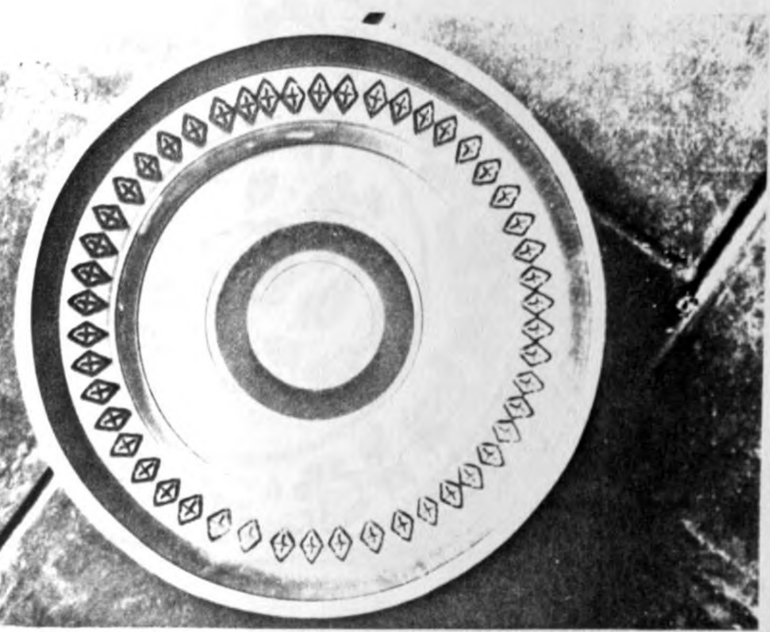
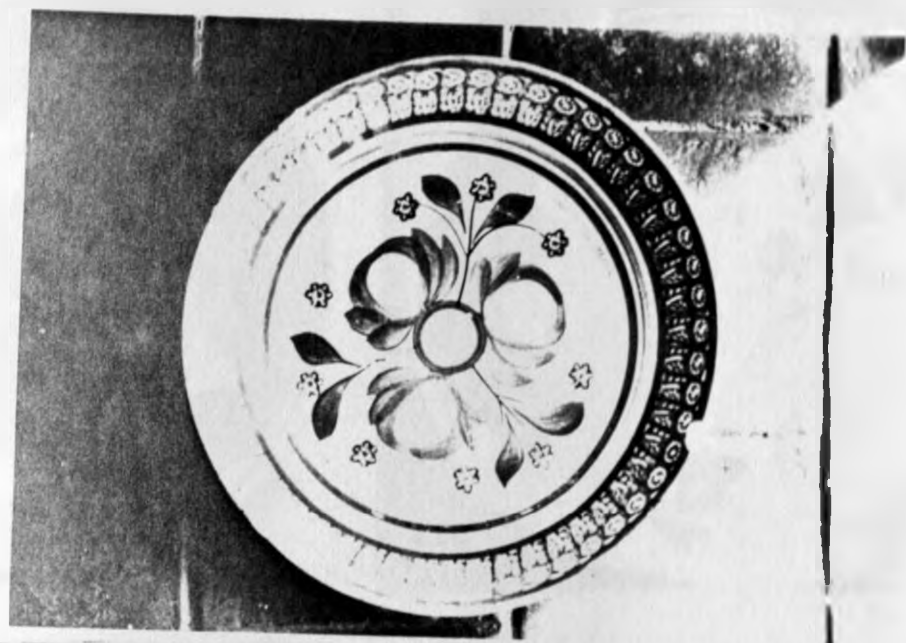
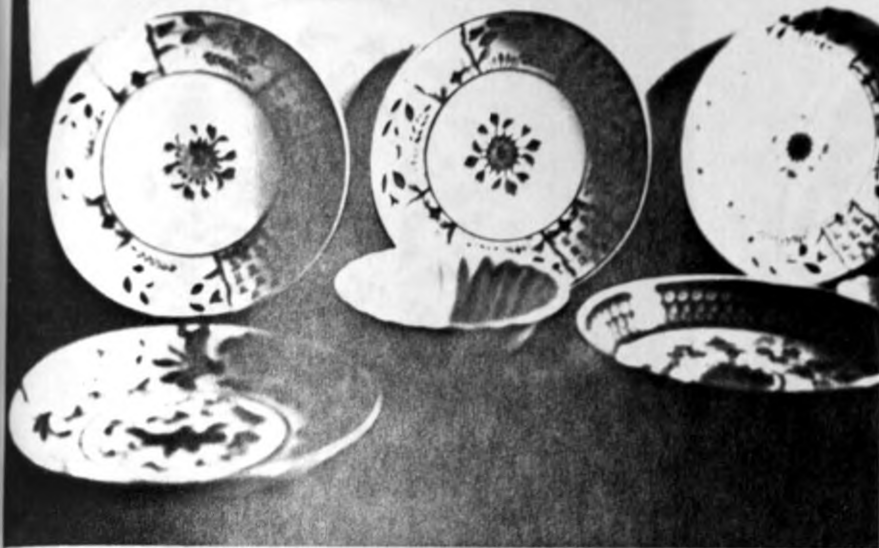


1



2

European Dishes
Designed for
Islamic markets



European
Peasant Floral
and
Stamped Wares



3



4



European
Peasant Floral
Wares

INDIAN WARES

The question of the presence of Indian earthenwares is a very serious one. In the absence of a proper physical analysis of a large number of the sherds, an account of Indian vessels in the East African collections needs must be intuitive and inaccurate. The criteria for recognising Indian material, if they are there at all must be a scrutiny of style and a preconception about fabric. The preconception is that not only will Indian fabrics be different, but noticeably different under a binocular microscope. In addition it has to be assumed that if the vessels were brought all the way over from India they were superior in quality to the local material. If they were not, there would be every chance that the local industry would simply diversify and make local ceramics on new patterns to meet the new demand.

There is no doubt that some shape classes of the local material are influenced by Indian style. One is therefore left with the identification of "Indian" material by an intuitive assessment of superiority in terms of compactness of fabric and firing rate; and by a statement that a "high" content of unrolled quartzes and micaceous material signifies an import. This last assumption is made after a careful study of possible clay and temper sources in the Lamu Archipelago and its hinterland. Clearly its validity would be more satisfactory after extensive thin section analysis of the materials.

Manufacturing methods were remarkably similar in both the Indian and the African material, though there does seem to be a tangible difference in kiln type and kiln procedure. The problem is further complicated by the possibility that Indian potters worked in the Swahili towns, serving their own clientele and slowly building up a wider market. This has been discounted for lack of evidence. There is little circumstantial evidence in support of this decision. No known local piece of Indian influence in shape shows signs of having been fired higher and very few of having been known specifically foreign (i.e. Indian) decoration. The exceptions are noted in the descriptions.

This must then, for reasons of the type of analysis possible at the time of writing, be a very preliminary comment. It must also be replaced by a careful physical analysis as soon as possible. Such an analysis is essential not only for the ceramic interest but for the historical. The social, and even economic role played by Indians in these settlements is not at all clear. One contribution to the classification of these matters would be an account of the domestic ceramics industry and commerce as regards Indian and Indian influenced material.

The Indian and local vessels have been roughly dated to five periods, each an arbitrary division based on manufacture dates and known occurrence dates for associated imported vessels. No relevant radio carbon date is yet available. The periods are:
I : ninth to mid eleventh century, associated with Tin Glaze, Sasanian Islamic and Yueh wares and with certain early Sgraffiatos.

II : mid-eleventh to late thirteenth century, associated with the bulk of the Sgraffiato vessels; III : fourteenth century, associated with the Black on Yellow vessels; IV : fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, associated with Islamic Monochrome, most of the Celadon and early Blue and White, and Persian Blue types; V : seventeenth to early nineteenth centuries, subdivided where necessary and possible according to Blue and White types.

The range of fabrics in the Indian collection is considerable but in all cases those listed here as Indian, are more compact with a much better compression strength. They are higher fired and more satisfactorily soaked than the known local wares. There is also a characteristic purplish tinge to many of the fabrics.

A curious feature of the Indian material is lack of variety in the impressed decorations.¹ The majority of the vessels is slipped (63.8% of the collection) and of these only one shows signs of having been overslip painted.

The chronological distribution is interesting. Indian wares occur in all periods at Manda. Despite the large number in the MH fill mixed levels the impression left is that the Indian wares are commonest in the early periods. Burnished vessels and Smoothed vessels are a feature of Period I. A few sherds of each occur in Period II levels and less than a quarter in the case of the Smoothed vessels and around a fifth in the case of the Burnished vessels occur in post Period II circumstances.

The Slipped vessels are commonest in Periods I and IV. The overburden in the post-fifteenth century levels must at least in part represent the results of the severe miring of many of the top levels. It must also represent an increased popularity of the material at the end of the Manda occupation. Today all of the imported Indian and most of the locally made Indian pottery is slipped or wet burnished, and painted.² Paint only occurs twice in the Manda collection and that each time in the latest period. The rate of attrition on these vessels is likely to have been high since they are soft earthenware domestic utensils. The gradual decline in numbers from Periods I to IV may therefore signify that Indian vessels were imported throughout the Manda era though in decreasing quantities and that the revival of imports took place at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries, with a swing in popularity away from the burnished and smoothed vessels towards slipped - a preference which persists today. This is a bold guess based on the slight evidence but is the simplest explanation for the phenomena recorded.

The Indian presence in Africa before the sixteenth century is ill enough understood historically; the more so in the ceramics. In Swahili pottery there is no doubt whatever that several of the shapes, and indeed forms are derived from Indian originals. The problem is to identify the originals in the collections and to speculate on their significance historically.

It is unreasonable to assume that the sailors reaching the Indian coast from the East African coast were so excited by the minutiae of ceramic style that they should carry this back to East Africa and have the potters incorporate the new ideas. It is equally unrealistic to see the odd Indian piece, arriving in a dhow, having so profound an effect on Swahili pottery. It is a basic premise of this preliminary discussion that there were Indians living on the east African coast before the sixteenth century, and that the distribution of the Indian influenced ceramics through time is a reflection of their presence or absence.

The Indian pieces in the Lamu Archipelago collection are for the most part, fairly distinctive. They have not been analysed properly in terms of fabric, and for this reason, a preliminary description of the principal features of fabric and surface treatment is included in the plate index. The description is crude in the extreme. "Sand" means little other than that there clearly is a very much greater admixture of grains than "quartz" would imply, and that in general the sand is coarser. No weight should be put at this stage on the fabric colour until a more leisurely study of the fabrics in question pins down the reasons for the variations. The clarification of the fabric history of these vessels would prove a fascinating study. Only after such a study can the crude formal description below be properly honed. That said, it remains possible, with very few exceptions, to know what is an Indian vessel and what

is "local". There is every justification for speaking of the "feel" of a pot, whatever the technicians may wish to say, but above that there are certain overall features, concerning density, weight, evenness of line, compactness of grain, and type of temper which combine to suggest an Indian vessel. In the case of the present preliminary study only those sherds having all of these features distinguishable from the known local wares have been included for discussion.

On no occasion in the Manda excavation was an Indian pot found in the earliest levels, but there is no doubt that such vessels were appearing before the end of Period I. They are found on many occasions in association in sound levels with Sasanian Islamic and Tin Glaze wares and with Early Islamic Unglazed pieces. The first occurrences are earlier than the Sgraffiatos, though only in very small quantities.

The commonest form in the earliest occurrences is the bowl, shaped usually as a carinated bowl with a relatively long and straight upper wall ending in a simple out-turned rim.³ This type would appear to be fairly consistent in surface treatment, employing slip and burnishes in varying patterns, but most commonly with the slip on the interior and the burnish on the exterior. The slip is invariably reddish brown (sometimes redder than that would imply) and none of the famous Bahmani north Indian Chocolate Brown slips is present. There is no incised or impressed decoration as a general rule. This rule is broken only twice in the rimsherds, each time in favour of simple

fingernail impressed criss-cross bands.⁴

This type disappears at Mandu after the middle of the eleventh century, but reappears rather later in the fourteenth century, and then becomes a very common component of the post fifteenth century collections. It remains a popular shape today but no Indian as opposed to local sherd from such a vessel has come to my notice which could certainly be post seventeenth century. These later vessels never have the straight upper wall of the earlier ones. Generally there is a slight bulging of the upper wall, sometimes a slight indrawing.⁵ The rim itself on the later vessels is invariably heavier in section and bulbous. Often one can feel the bulging towards the outer edge.⁶ It should be said, however, that this by no means is always the case.

It is difficult to know how important these changes are functionally. Stylistically they are tangible but peripheral. There is, more significantly, a marked reduction in size. The later vessels have a rim diameter in the range 18-25 cms whereas the earlier vessels have rim diameters in the range between 28 and 40 cms., clustering in the 28-35 cm. range. There is no purpose in taking means or more carefully quantifying this difference at present. Much of the later material is stratified and there is a very small sample from the early material. The difference is nevertheless suggested as probably significant. One feature of the later group which is certainly significant is the use of thumb pressed frilled cordons or bosses on the girth.⁷

There is no value in judging whether decoration beyond slipping and burnishing became more or less common. A simple percentage count of vessels in the collections thus treated yields a percentage of a little under twenty per cent in each case.

There is no adequate explanation for the curious double rise in the curve of presence and absence of these bowls. They are predominant in the early period, they vanish in Periods Two, and Three and return in strength, though by no means to predominance in Period Four. The Manda samples from secure levels are much larger in the early period than they are for the periods between the tenth and the fifteenth centuries, and for the post fourteenth century periods, there are many more sites from which material is forthcoming.

Similar vessels to these occur at Nasik and Jorwe, though in periods which are altogether too early for the direct comparison with the present collection.⁸ Such a stylistic similarity might suggest some cultural affinity, but that would be indefinable and unprovable. The similarities with the Bahmani period pottery from Brahmapuri⁹ are much more significant however. There is only one other direct link with Brahmapuri that the writer is aware of, and that is the bead collection. Both sites yield remarkably similar globular and lenticular multiple wound beads. However the embarrassingly early date at Brahmapuri may well leave us looking at a coincidence of little significance.¹⁰ There are known historical contacts between the

northwest corner of India and the Swahili coast, and the time depth for the occurrence of the matching pottery types is comparable. Here is some evidence to support the historical implications that there were not only Africans in India throughout the duration of the Swahili civilisation but also Indians in Africa.

A closely related vessel is the narrow ledge rimmed carinated bowl with a slightly indrawn upper wall.¹¹ This is a late version of the form. All the examples in the collection come from post fifteenth century provenances, and it is this shape which the local potters have had in mind when developing their modern small carinated bowl. Decoration is not limited to slip and burnish entirely. There are several examples of thumb pressed cordons or bosses on the carination, and one example of an incised hatched triangle mounted on a simple line cordon round the upper body. These vessels are all in the smaller size range of the two noted for these carinated bowls. This fits of course with the impression from the everted lip bowls that the smaller vessels were later.

The other main type of bowl is that of relatively deep, trumpet rim bowl. The depth is such that the section sometimes approaches the globular. Only two of this kind occur in the earliest levels at Manda,¹² but the bowl comes into its own in Period II. After the beginning of the fourteenth century very little indeed occurs and nothing that should not escape suspicion of being "vestigial". These handsome bowls, generally slipped

incised and burnished or slipped outside, have a mean rim diameter of 24 cms. with considerable variation over a range of 4 cms. each way. These vessels are sometimes given added decoration to their austere and attractive form, by the application of impressed scalloping with the edge of a sea shell or a simple crescent die above the shoulder in line repetition.¹³ This is on one occasion augmented further by a row of repeated punctations with a square point.¹⁴ A combined incised/impressed motif was found on one sherd. This is a cordon of incised crosses surmounting a row of round punctations.¹⁵ These are exceptions. Only four of the twelve pieces is decorated with anything more than a fine slip or burnish. There is a later version of this vessel. The rim diameters, as with the carinated bowls, are smaller, between 15 and 23 cms., clustering around 18 cms., though this is tentative, few of the samples coming from sufficiently discrete provenances for a direct statistical comparison with the early, stratified material to be made. In addition to an apparent change in size there is a minor change in style. The eversion at the rim is consistently shorter and sharper in angle than the early versions.¹⁶ Also from the post fifteenth century period come a few related vessels with a very much more sharply inturned shoulder and a trumpet rim which pulls the wall back to near vertical at the lip.¹⁷ These vessels seem to carry the same motif range as their relatives. The collection is too small ^{to allow one} to be categorical on the matter of proportions of incised and impressed pieces to plainly

slipped and burnished pieces, but for the record, the present collection shows a very much higher rate of such secondary decoration than any of the other classes within the type.

Since surface collections are involved in these late classes only a guess from extrapolation might be made, and in this case at present would be made at around 50% of the class.

One very small class, of but six sherds, is a modification of the sharply upturned trumpet rims. These are straight near vertical rims on a heavily restricting upper wall.¹⁸ On two occasions these rims exhibit what would appear to be a characteristic decoration over the slip. This is a use of incised or beaded parallel lines in cordon on the rim itself, rather than on the shoulder. This shift of the motif from a crescent shaped impression on the shoulder to a straight incision on the rim is not an indication of a change in style. The cavetto of the trumpet rim vessel is clearly not a satisfactory place for decoration, and neither is the shoulder beneath the squareness of the straight rim. An obvious aesthetic solution is to angularise the motif and raise it onto the straight rim itself. The overall form of the vessel¹⁹ is quite enough to indicate the close relationship between the two classes and resist separating them simply on account of decoration. This argues against Derricourt's thesis that it is the decorative items which stand high in analytical method, over and above the typology of shape.²⁰ There is altogether too little flexibility in that kind of statement. There is no doubt that there are

dangers and severe limitations inherent in attempting to rest significance on matters which were not with "the conception of the potter".²¹ There is also no doubt that the "low level variable" which "is one which tends to change as the result of random variations or ad rem reference",²² is incapable of supporting the kind of sophisticated hypothesizing which goes on with what Derricourt properly calls "high level variables", which bear a high degree of cultural significance. Nevertheless, with wares so little understood as the present collection, whose very precise origin is uncertain, the slightest measurable variation should be noted. These vessels are remarkably consistent in style throughout the last thousand years. Even with the modern vessels made by recent immigrants from India, and meeting formal and functional needs which are far removed from those inherent in the cultures from which the tradition comes, the styles described in this collection push themselves through on to the modern vessels. Therefore, if any better insight at all is to be had of the role of Indian ceramics on this coast, very minor details of change which may have some chronological significance must be recorded now, even if the weight of the evidence is at present slight. One assumes that this preliminary description of Indian wares will have to be rewritten after a better understanding of the Indian sites has been obtained, and after a more closely stratified collection has become available from here. Meanwhile it remains useful to note non-functional, "low level"

variables which may or may not be of some use in noting general trends. It remains a fact that whether the potter realizes it or not, whether it affects the function of the vessel or not (generally not) there are "ad rem" variations which if consistent through time are valuable indicators to the archaeologist, and fascinating phenomena for the ceramicist.

Nowhere is the influence of the past so strong on the modern African potter of Asian origin than in the little overhung low carination straight wall, cornice rim pot from Manda.²³ The original is in a fifteenth century context. The base was luted onto the upper body. An aesthetic virtue^{was} made of a technical necessity by overhanging the lute line. No local vessel has been found where this technique of construction was used. This is therefore a useful field guide to an imported earthenware.

The trumpet rim globular or ovoid pots are apparently progressively less popular after the fourteenth century. It may well be that local ceramics replaced this in functional terms. The function of this vessel is presumed to be that of the "Handi" or cooking pot. One most interesting water pot is produced with a long platform everted rim.²⁴ Such vessels occur first in Period III in just three instances, but they come into their own in Period IV and later. Such rims to water pots remain standard today on the so-called "gugeratis" on sale in coastal markets. The rim diameter averages around 18 cms. and the large number of body sherds available permits one to reconstruct two body shapes. One is a simple globular or near globular pot, the other

is a pot with a more or less exaggerated increase in curvature in the region of the girth. This produces a crushed ovoid-section, of the kind which has survived into the present day.

They seem to be replaced by a wider range of rim types on similar bodies. There is a small group of short, straight rim bowls, the earliest of which occur in Period II²⁵ but the bulk of which occur on the surface and in Period IV at Manda.²⁶ These vessels carry a wide range of motifs²⁷ whose chronological distribution follows a general theme noted on the coast. The range of impressed motifs follows the occurrence of the incised motif. The one incised motif occurs with the first occurrence of this kind of vessel, in the second period,²⁸ the impressed motifs all follow, all coming from Period IV provenances. Bowls related to the everted rim classes and which have slight rebates at the beginning of the cavetto of the rim, all come from the post fifteenth century provenances.²⁹ None carries the impressed markings of the other classes, but one does have an interesting applique wave beaded cordon on the cavetto.³⁰

There are a few other bowls, about which little is known at present. There are a few restricting rims, slightly inturned and straight³¹ or inturned and indrawn.³²

A small group of pinch neck short vertical rim round lip bowls occurs in a fourteenth century context only, and then disappears.³³ This has direct links with similar local vessels

of the same period.³⁴

There are a large number of water jars from India. There is a wide range of rim diameters within the shape ranges. A beaded lip ledge rim occurs twice, on both occasions in post fifteenth century circumstances.³⁵ A somewhat commoner range of domed everted rims occurs for the first time in fourteenth century circumstances and more commonly in the post fourteenth century periods. There are also two thick, heavy everted bowl rims from fourteenth and post fourteenth century provenances.

The out-turned rim with a short vertical lip, often flanged below the lip is a feature well known in northwest Indian potting. It occurs prolifically in the East African Coastal collections and invariably in the post fifteenth century collections. This type is common at Fort Jesus and on the surface in the Lamu Archipelago. The publication of the Fort Jesus report will reveal a terminus ante quem for these vessels. The terminus post quem is usefully indicated from the present collection. There is one single sherd which complicates this picture. Coming from what appears to be a pre-eleventh century level,³⁶ it confounds the logic of the rest of the collection. It has parallels at Nasik³⁷ and such an early date is tolerable. The curious thing is then, that the rest of the type should have been so "unconscionable a time a coming" to East Africa. The simple rims, without the flange below the lip are all definitely late.³⁸ The flanged vessels, while predominantly post fifteenth century, were here earlier.

Cornice rims are common on post fourteenth century sites. One example³⁹ occurs in a Period III level at Manda, and the rest are later.⁴⁰ The cornice is either incised on the ledge⁴¹ or indented on the face⁴² in both cases, the tendency to be supported by remarkably thin bodies is very noticeable.⁴³ This is a feature which was noted by Sankalia and Dikshit in their Brahmपुरi report. The periods do not fit well, the Bahmani wares being markedly earlier than the comparable vessels in East Africa. The discrepancy in period between these rims in the Brahmपुरi collection and in our own is disturbing. It is possible that the Indian tradition goes on further into the sixteenth century at sites which have not been brought to the writer's attention. There is certainly no avoiding the fact that these vessels are usually late on the East African coast.

There are a few open bowls, all from sixteenth or post sixteenth century provenances.⁴⁴ No vessel of this kind occurs in known nineteenth century situations and modern collections. This statement holds true for the corniced pot rims also. The commonest open bowl, though only represented by four examples comes from a sixteenth century level at Siu and from surface collections elsewhere.⁴⁵ There is a direct parallel to this roll rim, flat based bowl at Fort Jesus.⁴⁶ The rim is most interesting. It consists of a bevelled flat rim with a full beading strip applique on the exterior. This is indeed a cumbersome and inefficient method of producing a roll rim. One

would like to think of it as an aberration from a tradition which is otherwise at that period so accomplished. Unfortunately the second example, appearing at Fort James indicated that the potter in question had the temerity to commit the same obscenity twice, worse, that there may have been two such men.

Nineteenth and early twentieth century vessels have continued the trend away from bowls and towards the exclusive import of pots.⁴⁷ The move away from everted rims, and the tendency for restricting rims to play a more important part in the pot assemblage has been continued also.⁴⁸ The use of applique beading has also followed the trend towards more common use since the sixteenth century.⁴⁹ There is a remarkable stability in this collection. The everted rim carinated bowls persist throughout the duration of the last millenium. There have been minor changes in these vessels, but nothing substantial. Similarly with the trumpet rim bowls, there are slight changes in shape through time, but nothing which would affect performance of the vessel or suggest cultural differences. Even the reduction in the rim diameters between the fourteenth and the sixteenth centuries is not necessarily significant culturally. This is accompanied by the discovery in quantity of body sherds suggesting that a higher (but unknown) proportion of these bowls was markedly deeper than the earlier vessels. There is insufficient information to quantify this, but it is certain the consistent impression from the body sherds is one of a

deepening. Until this can be studied carefully and quantified, one must withhold comment on possible functional changes.

Beginning in the thirteenth century but becoming common in the post sixteenth century period, the coast began importing numbers of globular or squatted globular pots with long, slender everted rims on a sharp throat carination. These vessels continue to be made. They, like the carinated bowls are firmly in the north-west Indian traditions, traditions which themselves with minor changes exhibit the same stability of shape. The two major changes of some significance on the East African collection is that while before the fourteenth century almost all of the vessels imported were bowls, after that time the proportion of pots increases rapidly. Since there is no profit in comparing such diverse elements of the collection statistically a firm indication of this in numerical terms is not justifiable. The proportion about doubles in the present collection but needs careful verification on more satisfactory samples from the post sixteenth century period.

The changes in the decorations, which theoretically might tell more, are almost marginal. The habit of slipping and burnishing a vessel in a strong to brilliant (crimson) red is well known from other sites on the coast. It seems that the well known Bahmani type chocolate slip was never imported. This is an interesting feature considering the popularity of that slip in India. Painting is not exclusively restricted to pots. It occurs occasionally on bowl rims as a simple line along a ledge or on the lip, but it is found quite the most often as black

Painted decoration on the exterior of post fifteenth century pots.

The distribution through time of the two major divisions of fabric, brown and black, offers nothing at this stage. The two represent similar proportions of the collection until, in the surface collections at the end of the sequence, the brown fabrics gain a slight and unquantifiable lead. Clearly quite the most important aspect of this collection is that, having recognised so large and certain a collection of Indian vessels, we must make a very close and precise fabric study of these vessels fitting them with what is already known on the Indian sites.

These vessels clearly had a very considerable impact on the repertoire of the local potters, and this interrelationship needs careful documentation. The implications of the import of simple earthenwares are very interesting indeed. There are certainly too many Indian vessels for one to dismiss their presence as the random results of a casual trans-shipment in the private possessions of a sailor or as a casual charge in the service of the ship. The predominance in the early period of cooking vessels, and their persistence suggests the presence of the cooks also. Cooking vessels are quite the most vulnerable to cultural change since they are the most closely tied to it. Their use is surrounded by countless small and persistently conservative notions of function. It is unlikely that these Indian vessels would have been viewed with enthusiasm by a Swahili or

upcountry housewife, and very much more likely that an Indian housewife, determined to maintain what she can of her family's identity and tradition in this new land, would see to it that the fundamentals of her domestic utensils came with her. This suggestion that there were Indians living on the coast almost from the beginning of the Swahili civilisation is not new, the suggestion that there may be some evidence that the ladies came too is rather more far reaching. It would be interesting to look for a Gujarati pottery class in Swahili lore, perhaps starting with a search for the Khambhor potting casts.

The sharp rise in quantity of imports in the sixteenth century need not be so closely associated with the immigrant Indian community. There is a higher proportion of the small and medium water jars. These, in the Swahili potting range reach an all time nadir in quality in the sixteenth century and even at their best were never spectacular save for their crudity. This curious lacuna will be explored in the following section. The water jar, even that which is used for the carrying as opposed to its storage, is much less firmly tied to technical tradition and functional rules which rigidly reflect the behavioural patterns of their users. Despite the Thai Martabanis, and the modern jerrycans there are no willowy Thai maidens at the wells, no plump German girls at the reservoirs: at least not collecting water.

The import of water jars, both for carrying and for storage, is a trade of a quite different character from that of cooking

vessels. It would be very interesting to know what role the copper and brass artefacts of northwest India played in the domestic lives of the coastal households, and particularly what role they played in the local households, as opposed to those of the immigrants.

The Indian water jars were, and still are, commercial items, filling a gap in the local technical repertoire at competitive prices.

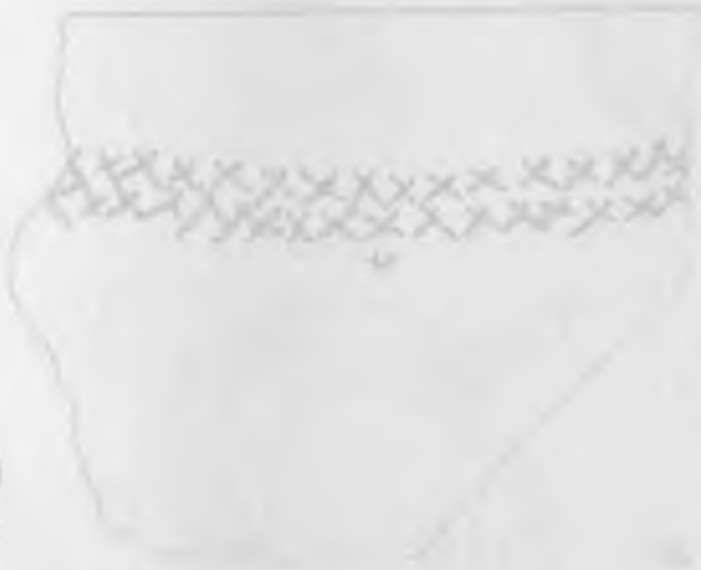
The immigrants, once firmly established, need not, except in certain specialised fields, like the hard earthenware water jars, continue to depend on imported vessels. They can translate the required shapes into local fabrics and either make the required vessels themselves or see to it that there is a sufficient market for it to be worth the while of the local potting industry to produce these new forms for them. It is at this point that the strong influence of Indian shape on Swahili potting seems to have entered. It would presumably not be long before these new shapes were fully integrated in to the Swahili experience and domestic routine, and as much a part of coastal culture as of Indian. Much the same process is known to have occurred elsewhere: the heavy dependence of West European ceramics on Chinese influence is demonstrable and so far reaching that there is a general ignorance of its existence even. The shapes of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century export wares from China, have become European. The same process has occurred in East Africa with Indian vessels.

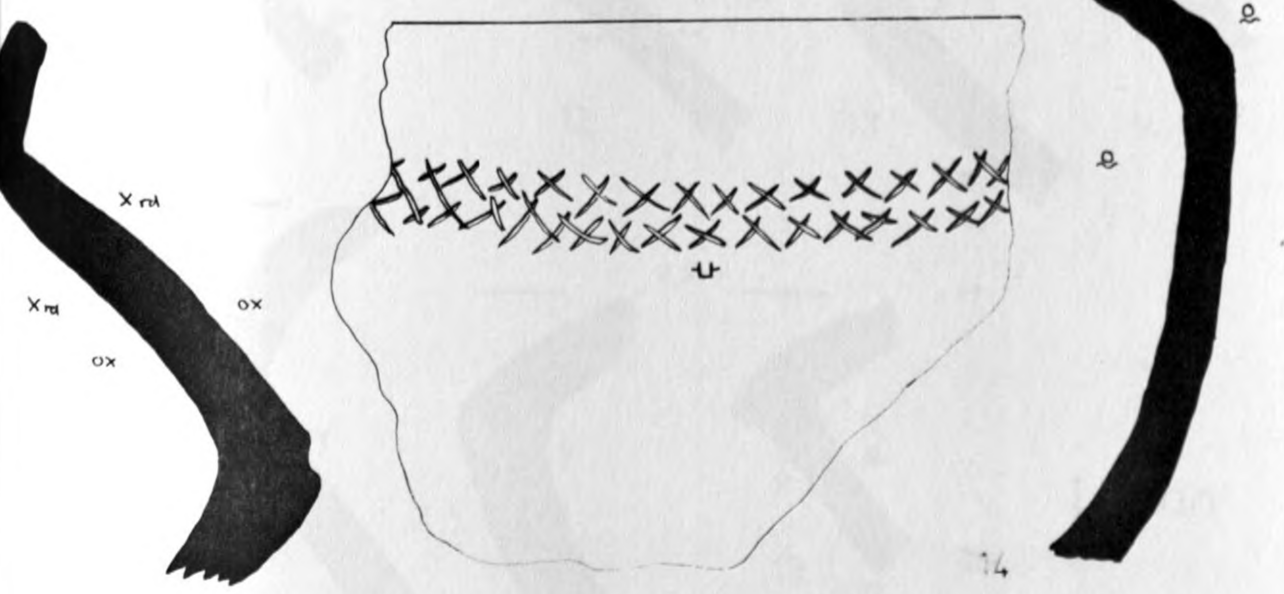
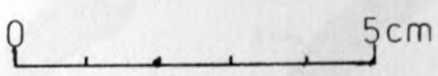
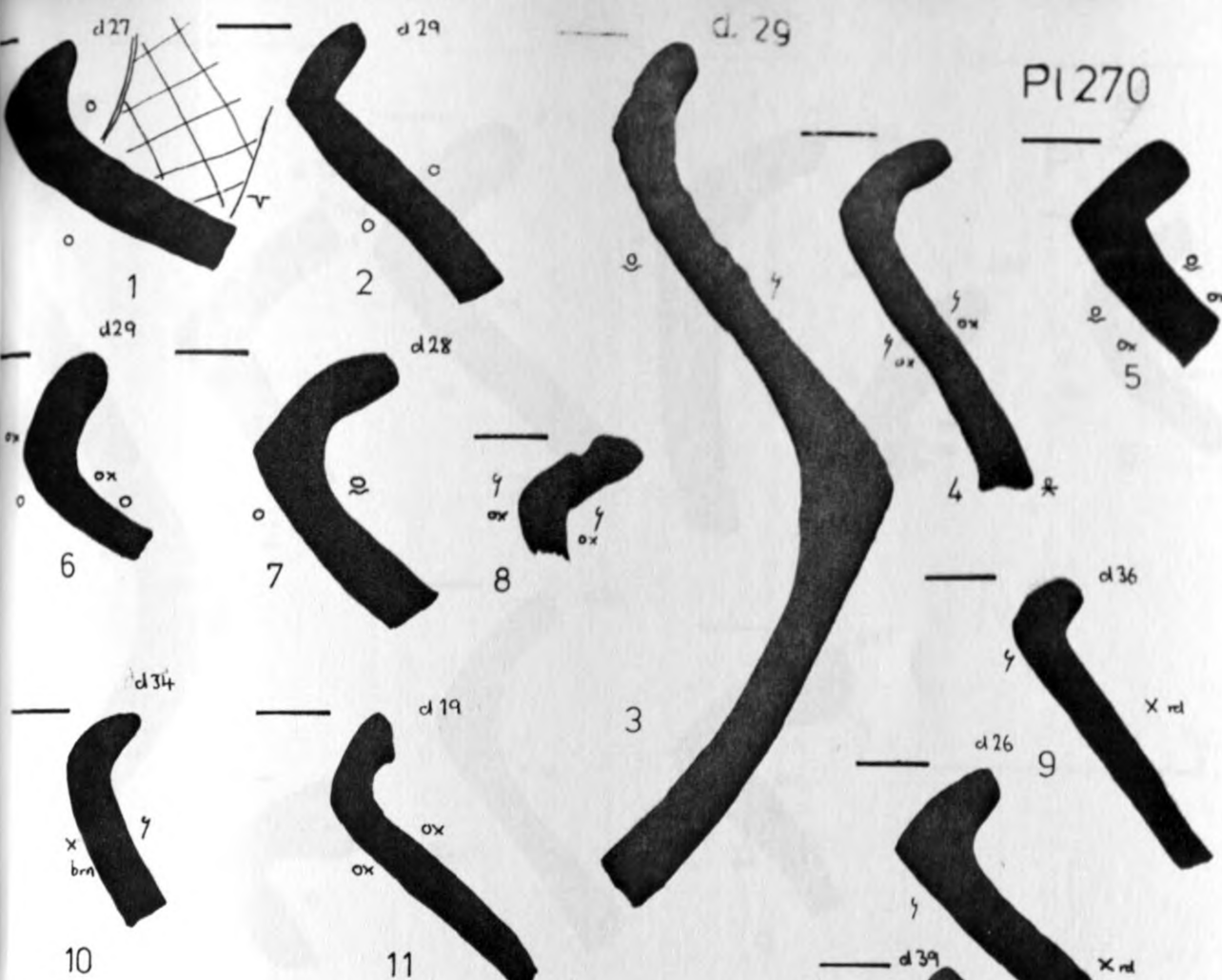
It may be possible to ascertain precisely who these Indian immigrants were. It may be tenable that the origin of the fabric would indicate the region of origin of the immigrants. This simple suggestion may well run into problems but it at least is worth pursuing for a while until it proves itself unsatisfactory. The Wadebuli, if they came in the eleventh century, would have come too late to bring the early collection, but if they came in the fourteenth century, they would be in time to bring the later collection, with its slightly different features. Less dramatically and more likely this collection will be found to represent the presence of small groups of Indian trading agents, occasionally swelled in number by refugees from the home area.

The crescent impression, which occurs regularly on post eleventh century round shouldered Indian material on the coast is present in the Bahmani material, as are the graphite rubbed "painted" areas found occasionally on the coastal material. Predictably the crescent decorations ~~regular-quantity~~ ^{in quantity} do not occur on the angular carinated bowls of the earliest Indian occurrences, but more significantly, scarcely ever occur in surface collections from the post sixteenth century period and seem to have died out in favour of the black painted linear motifs of that late period. They seem to have been intimately tied to the trumpet rim, round shouldered vessels, and even when the new shape of the water pots of the late periods offered ample opportunity for the exploitation of these motifs, they were rejected, and disappeared with

the trumpet rims. In all periods, the red slip was the most popular means of decorating and sealing the surface, but burnishing the surface without slipping is a feature associated with the periods before the fourteenth century, the easier and cheaper slip or burnished slip becoming predominant thereafter. Only 2% of the burnished sherds occur after the thirteenth century whereas 50% of the slipped vessels occur after the thirteenth century. For this exercise the cases where a burnished side is associated with a slipped side was kept out of the count. Had it been included the distribution would have been exaggerated, paradoxically perhaps more accurately, in favour of the early occurrence of burnishing and its disappearance after the thirteenth century.

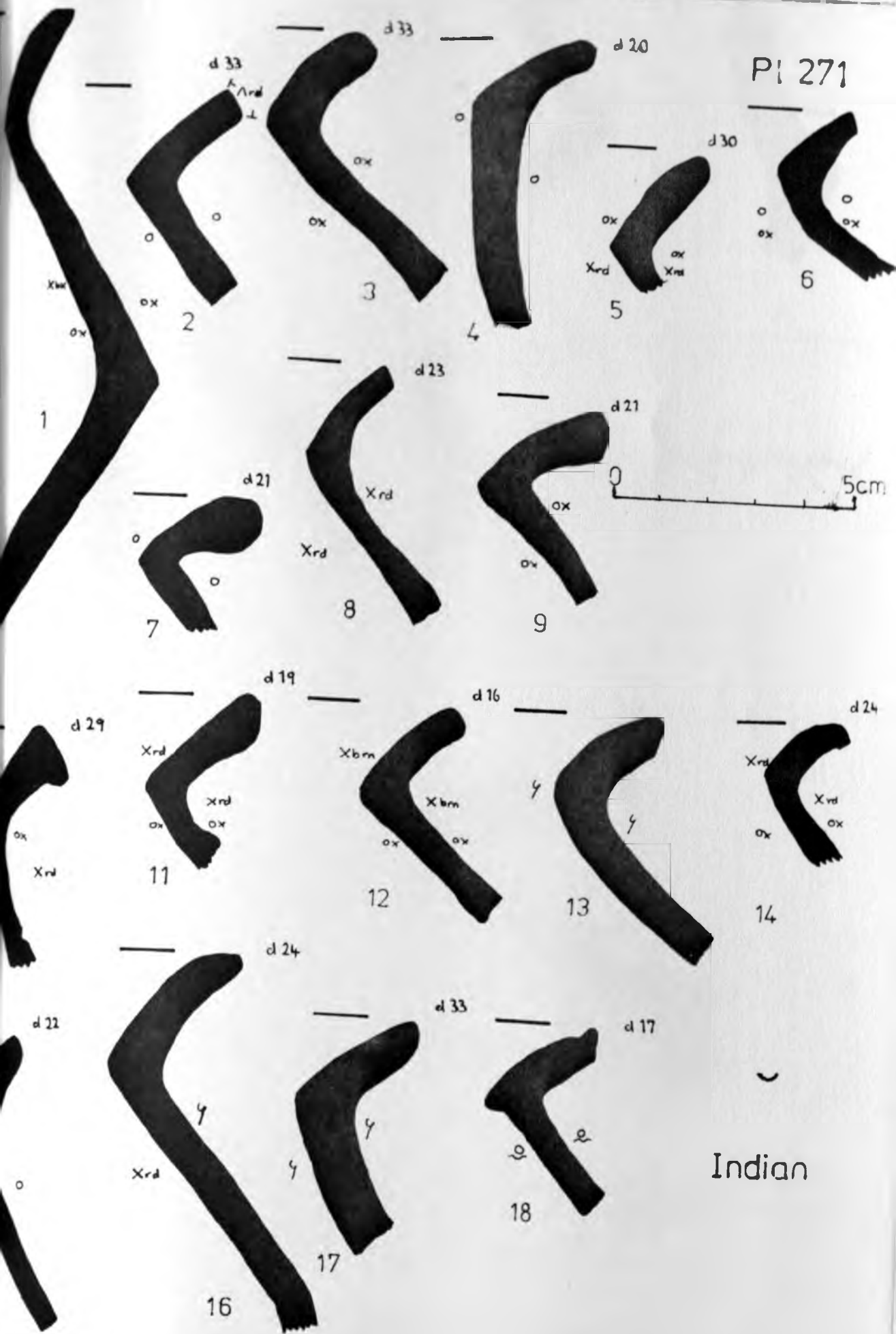
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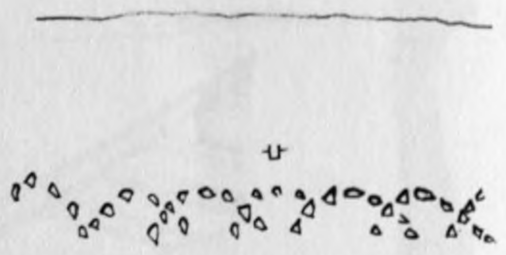
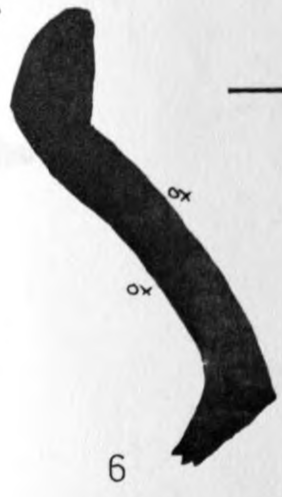
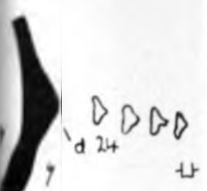


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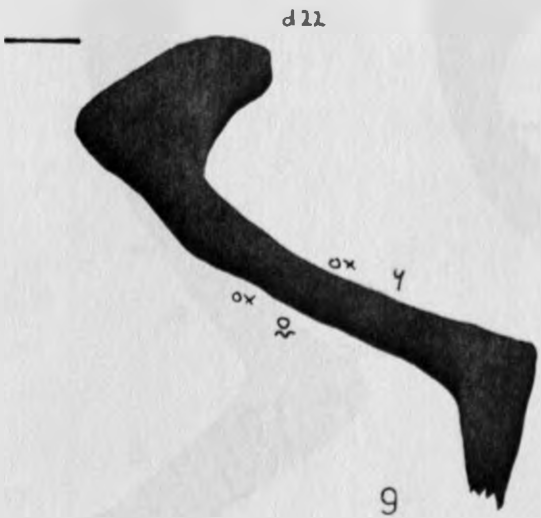
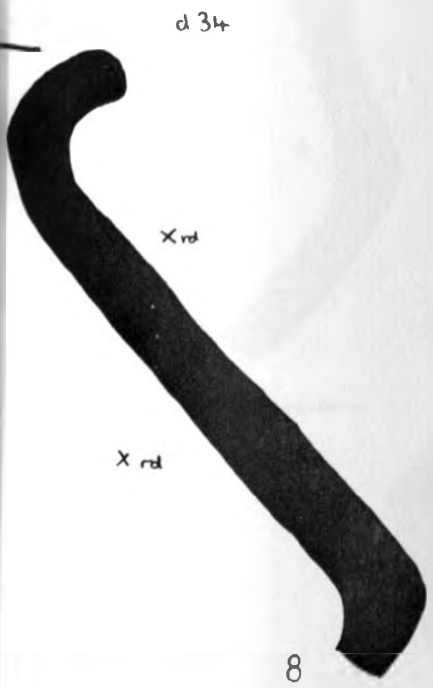
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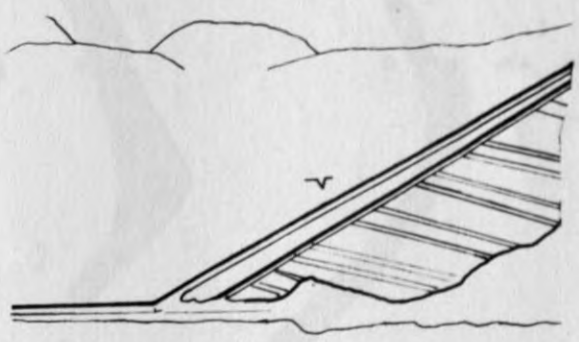
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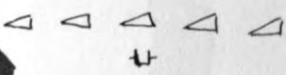
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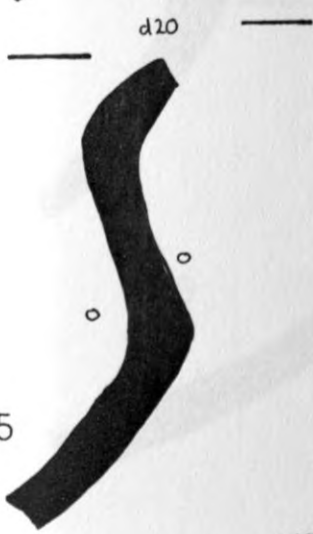
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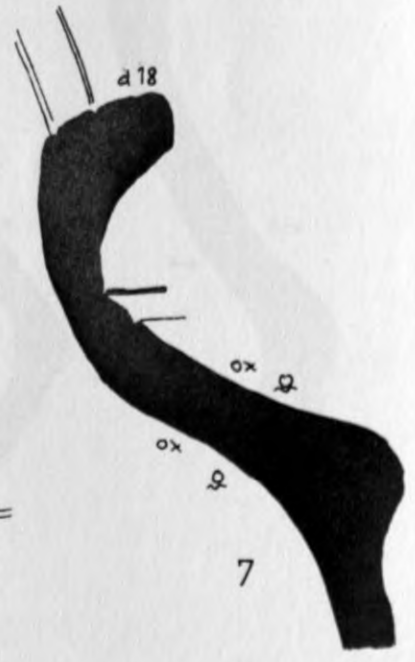
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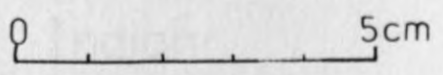
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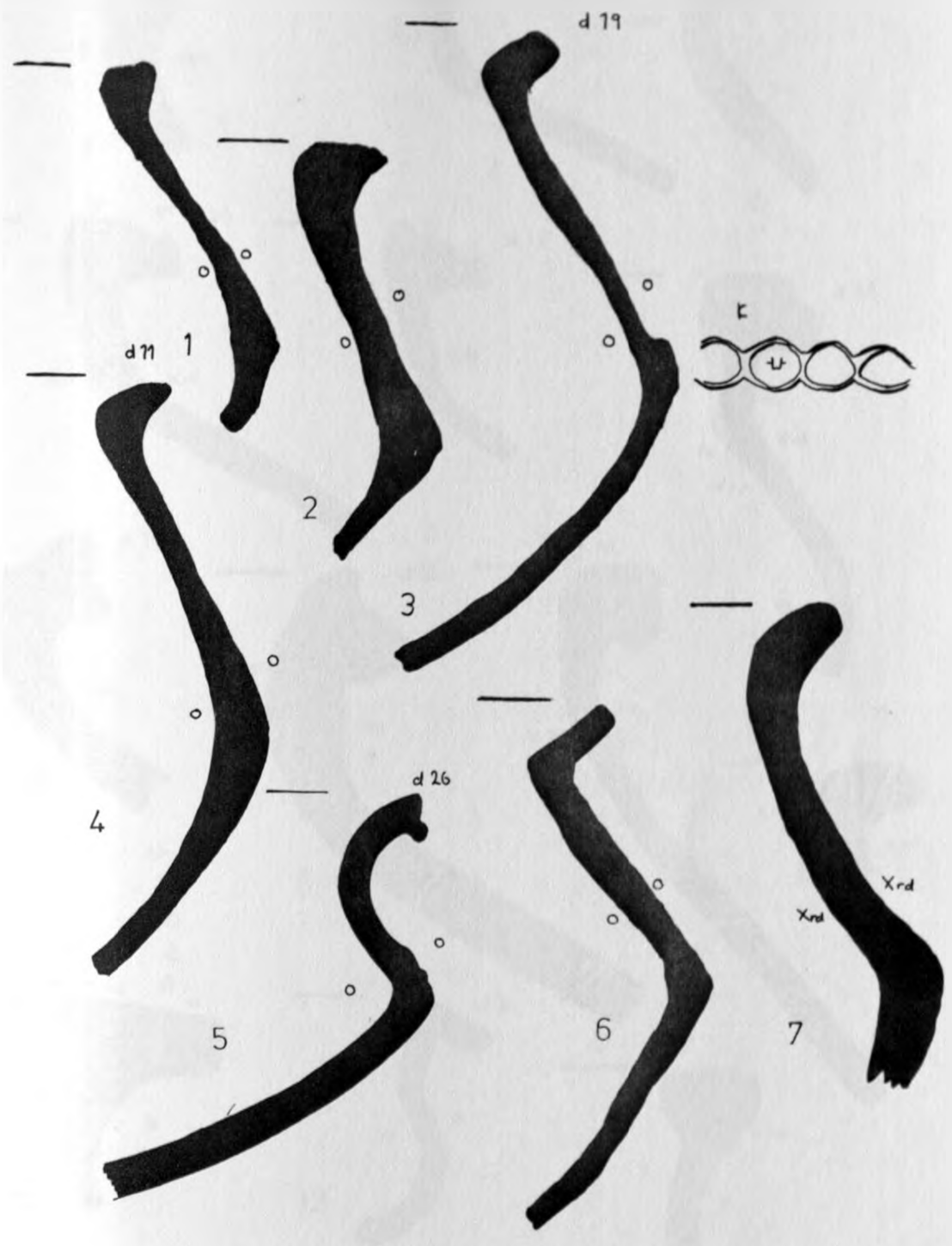
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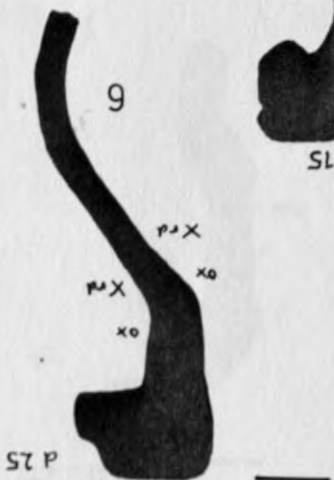
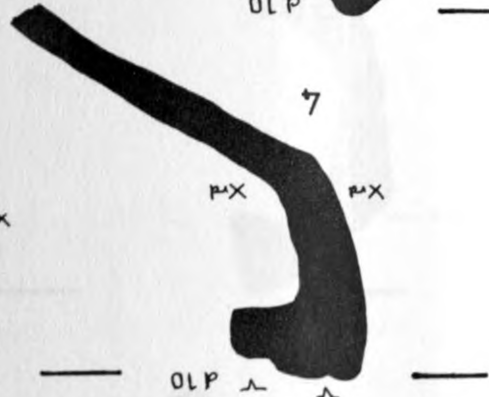
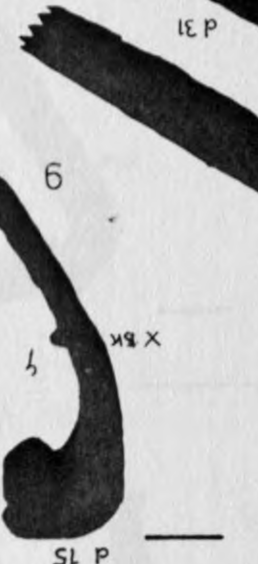
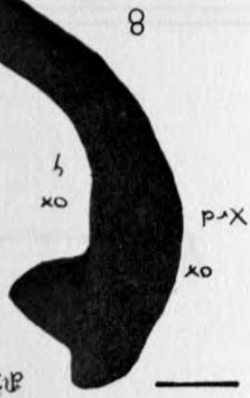
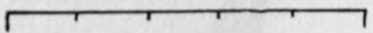
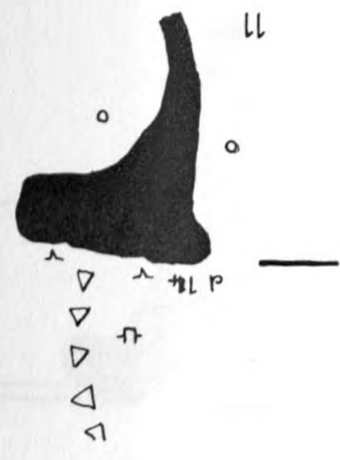
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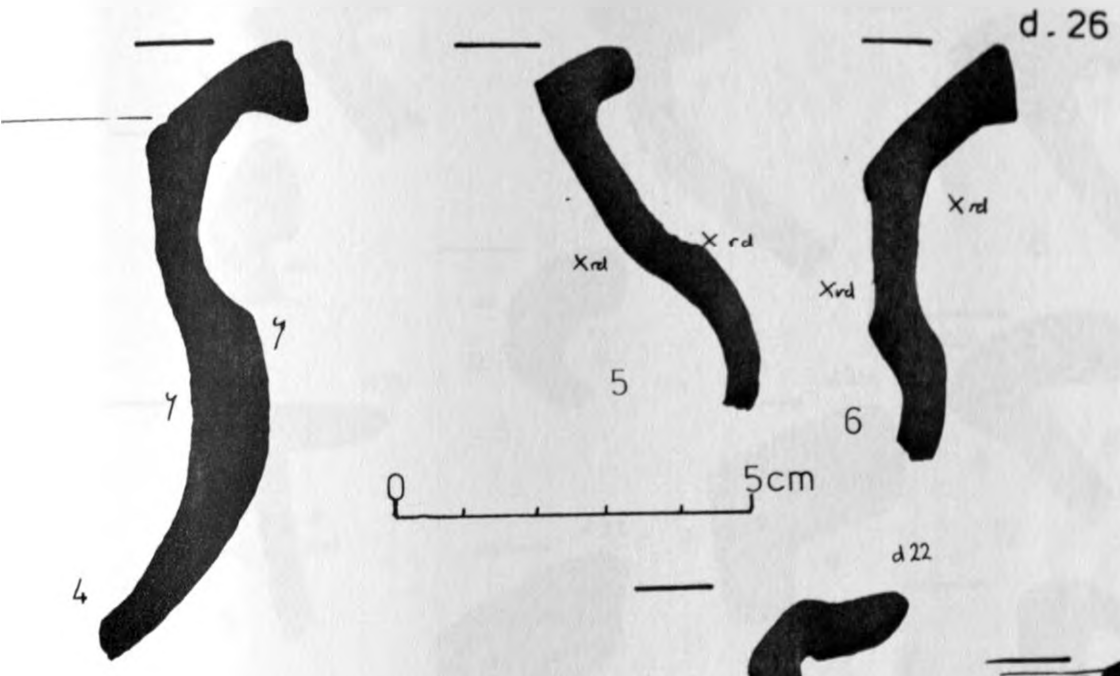
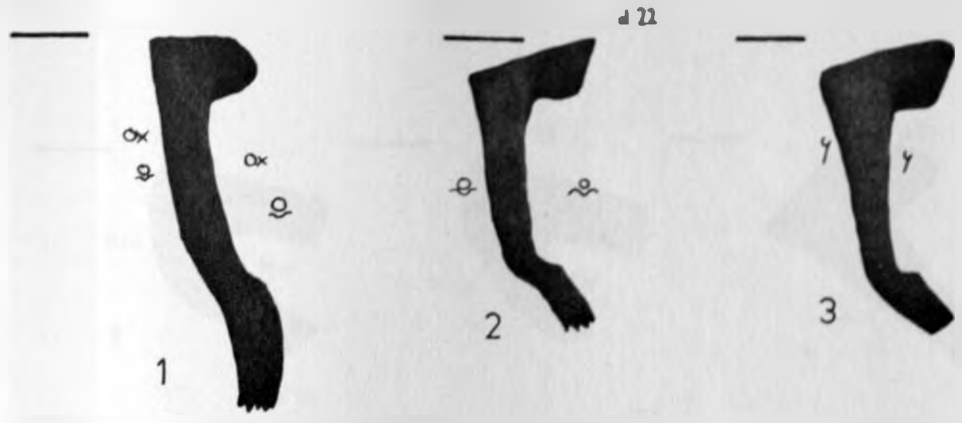


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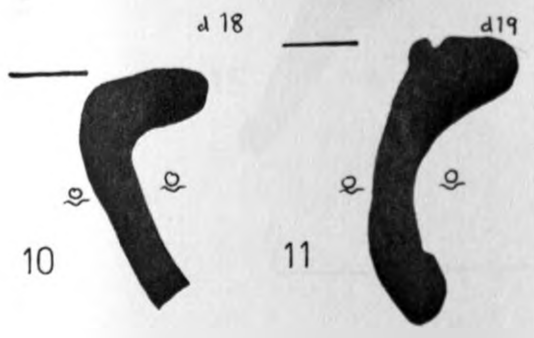
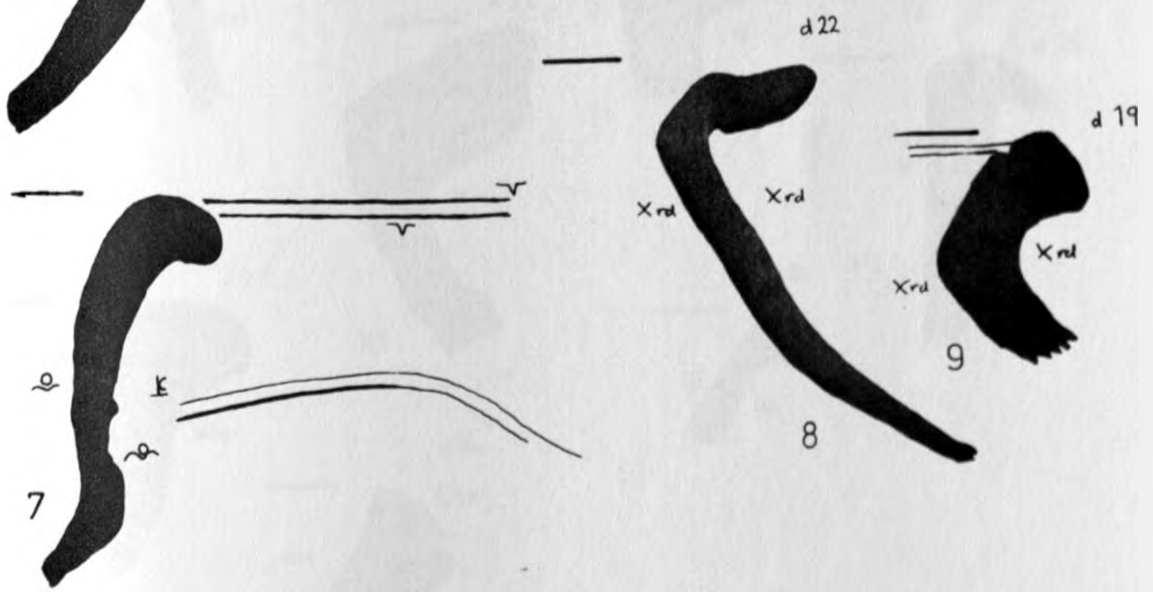


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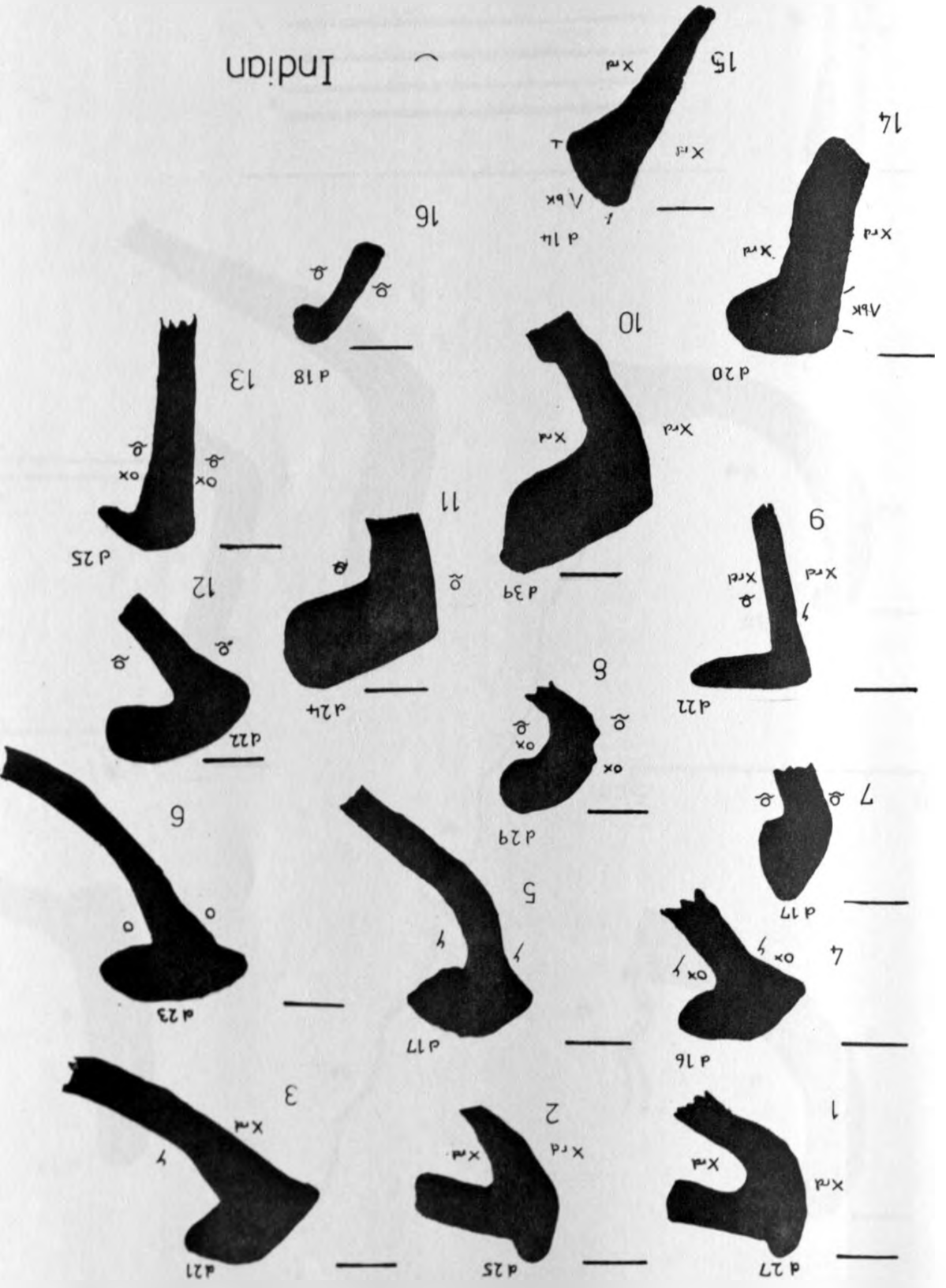
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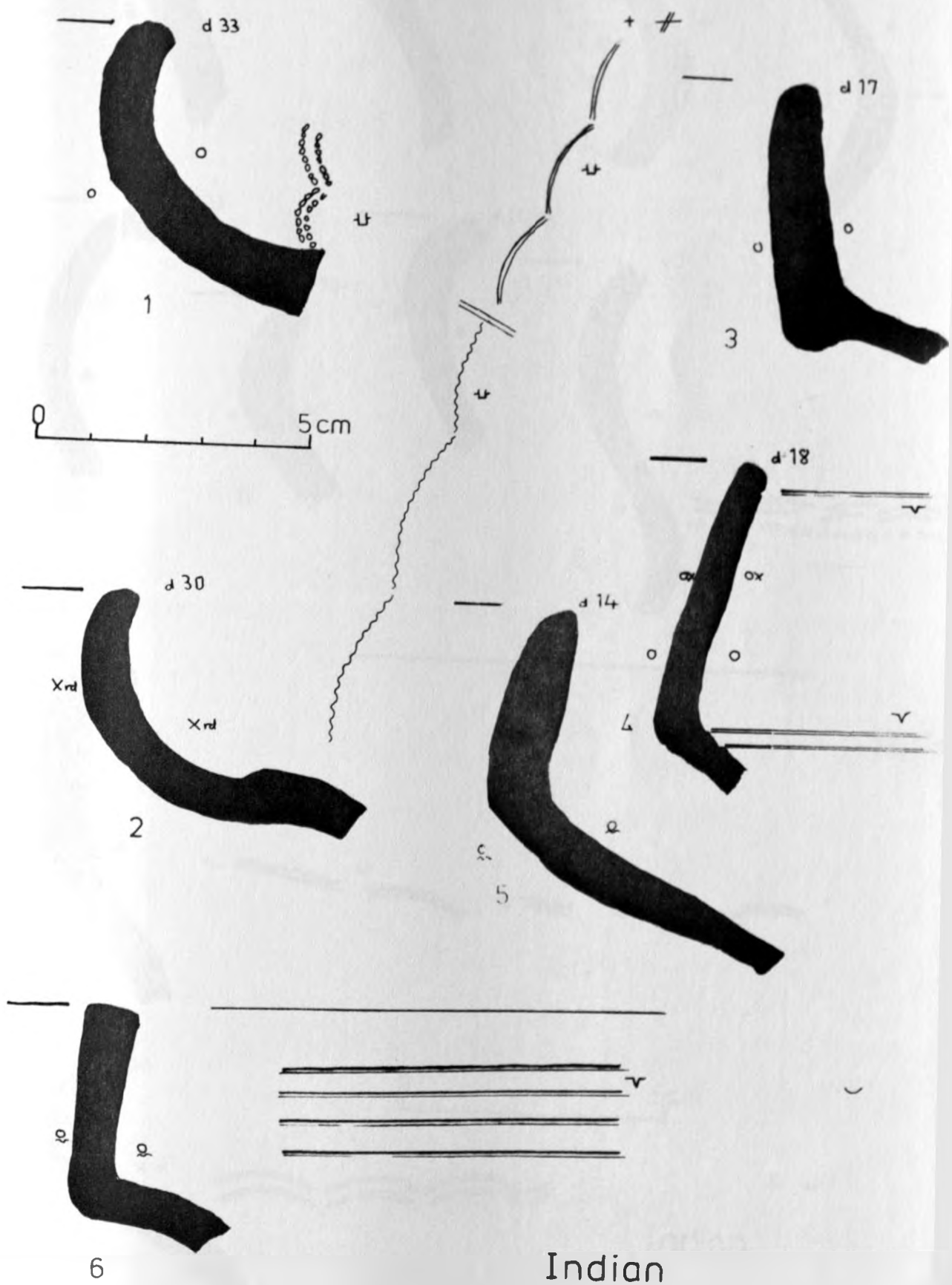


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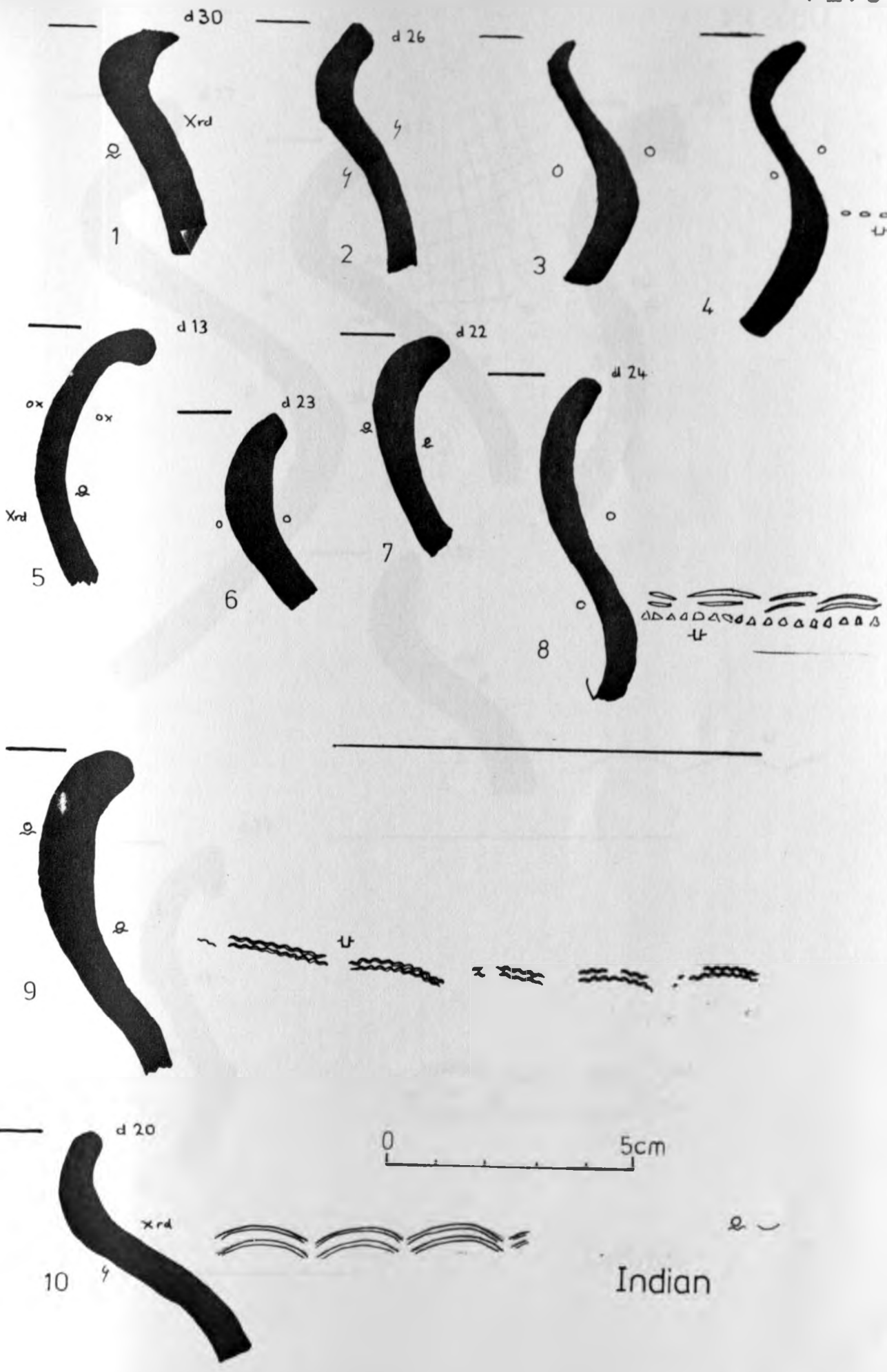
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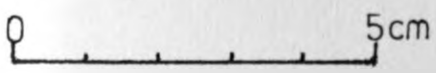
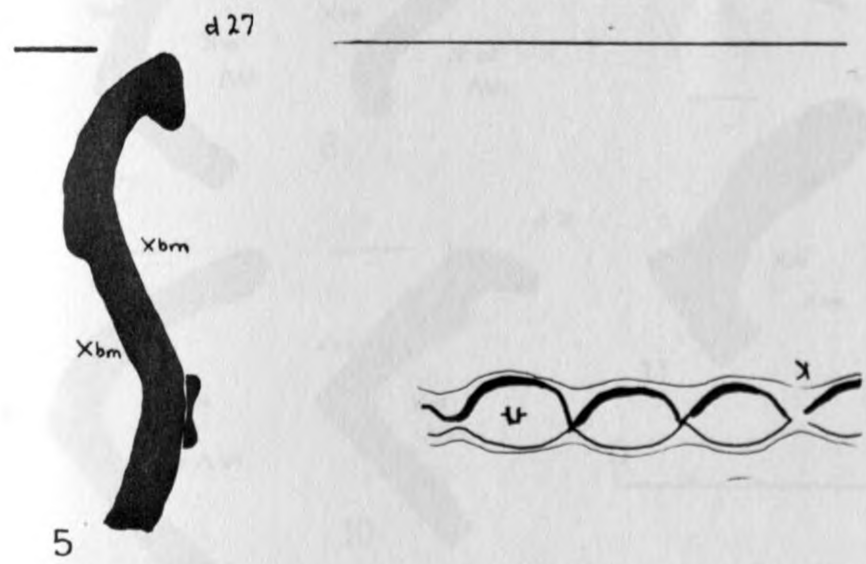
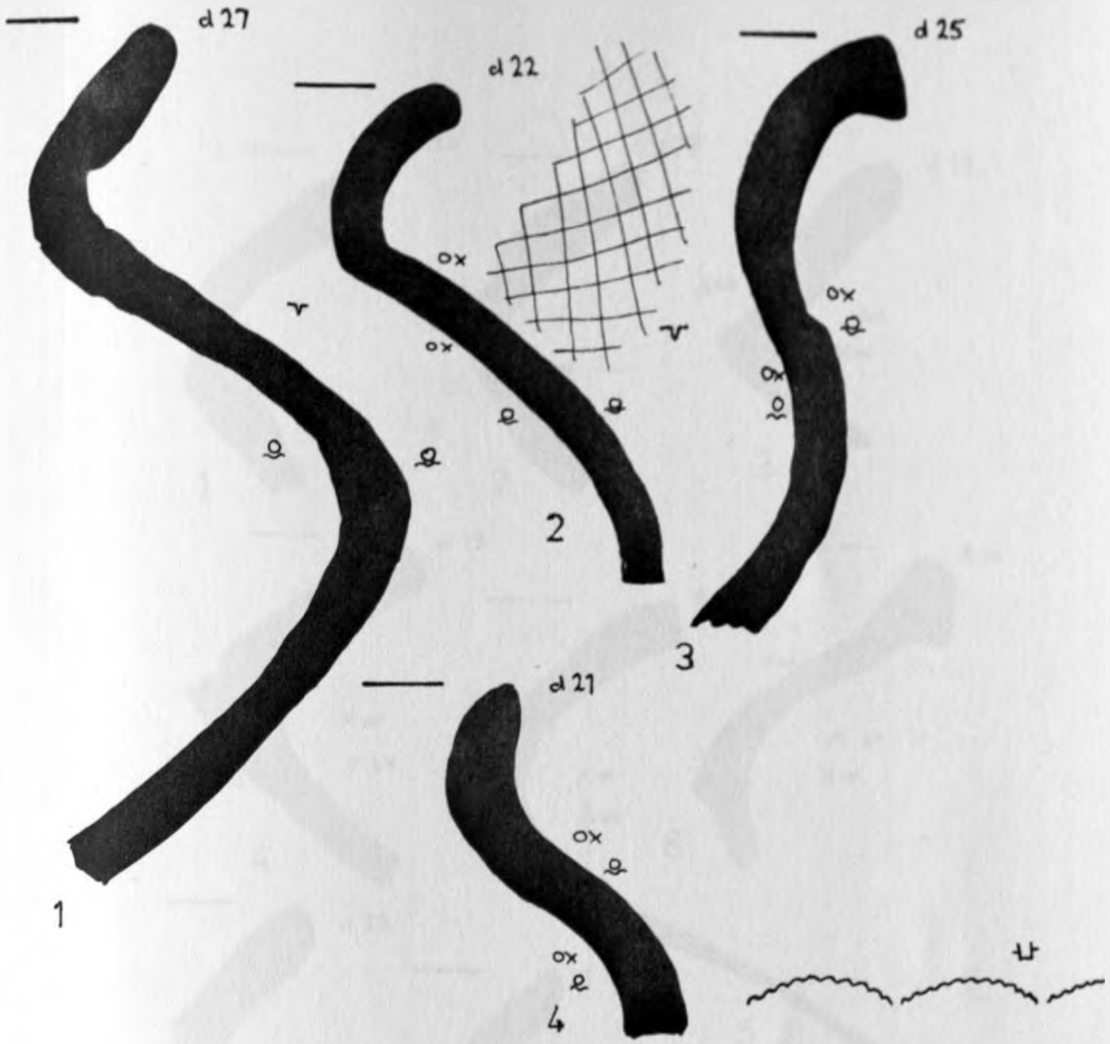
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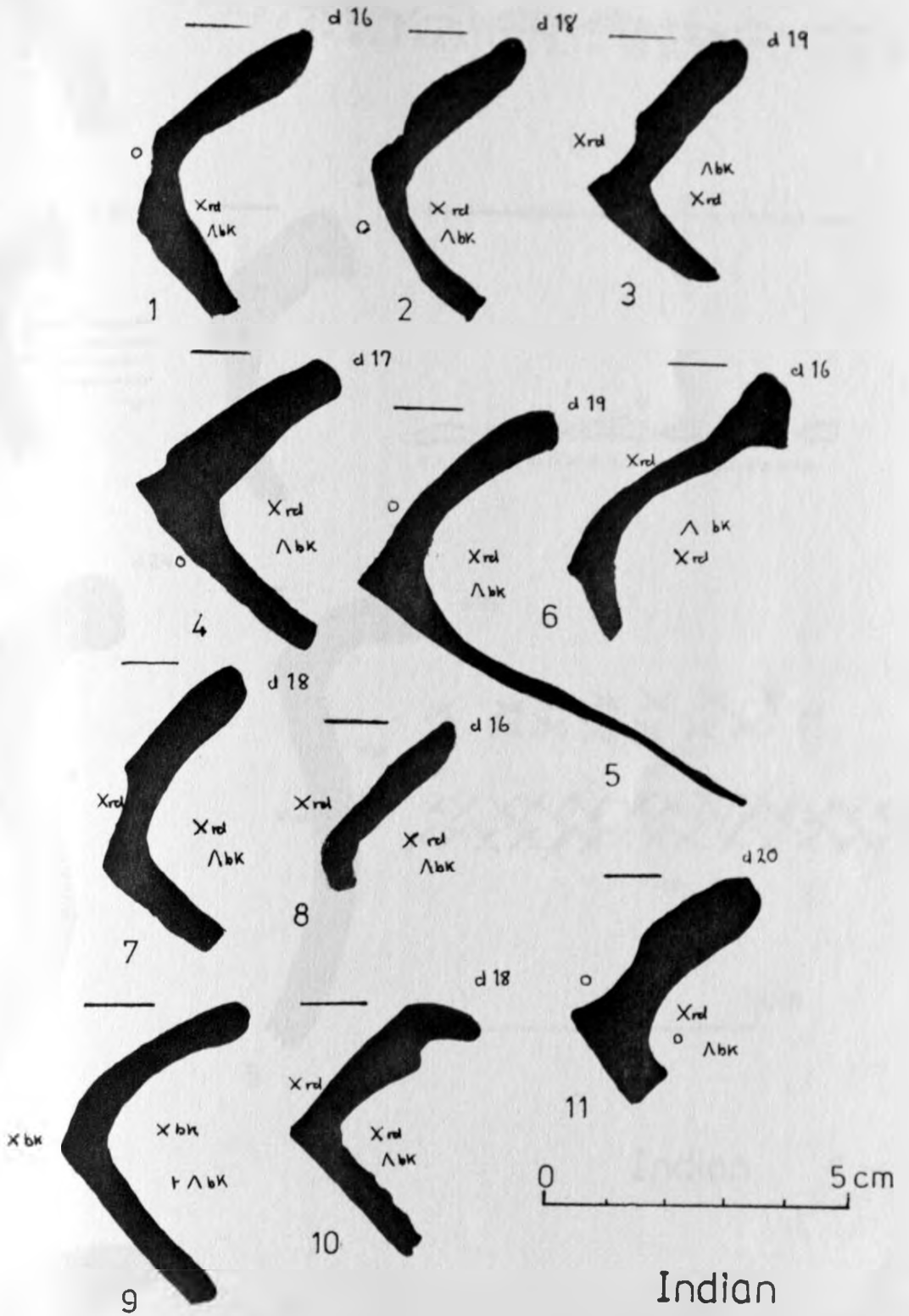
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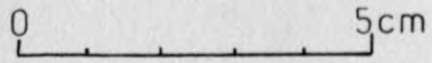
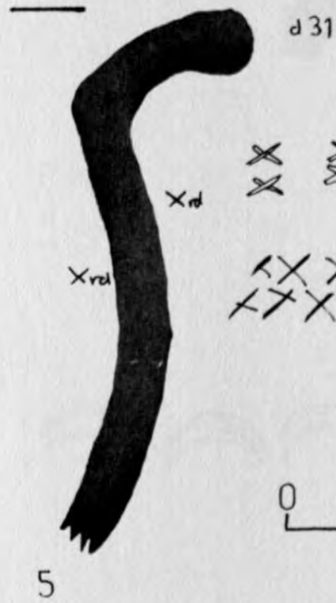
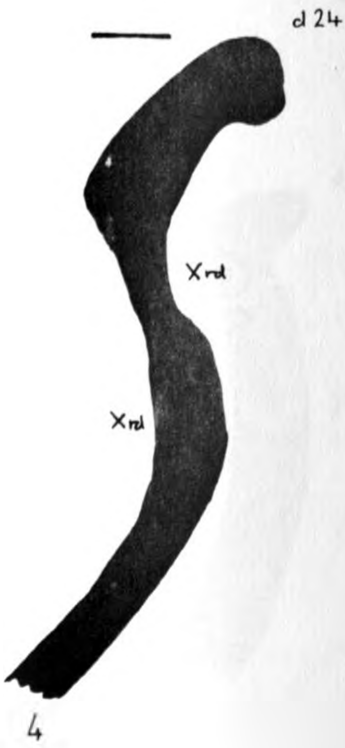
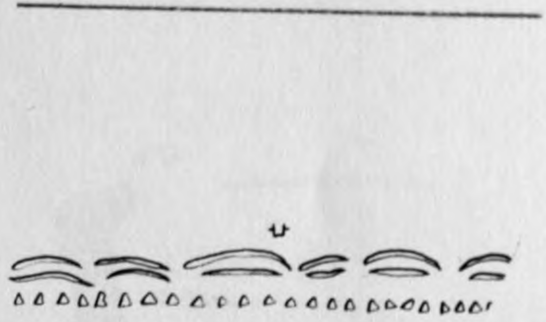
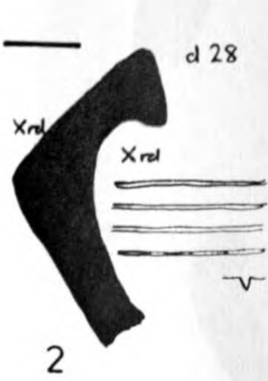




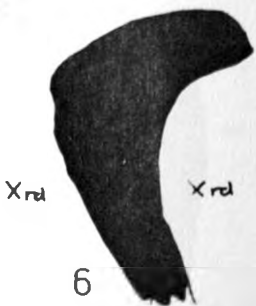
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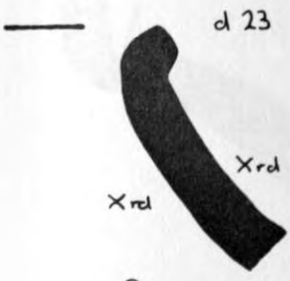
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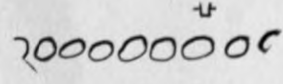
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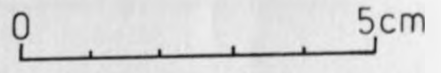
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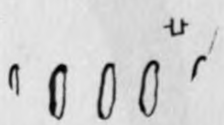
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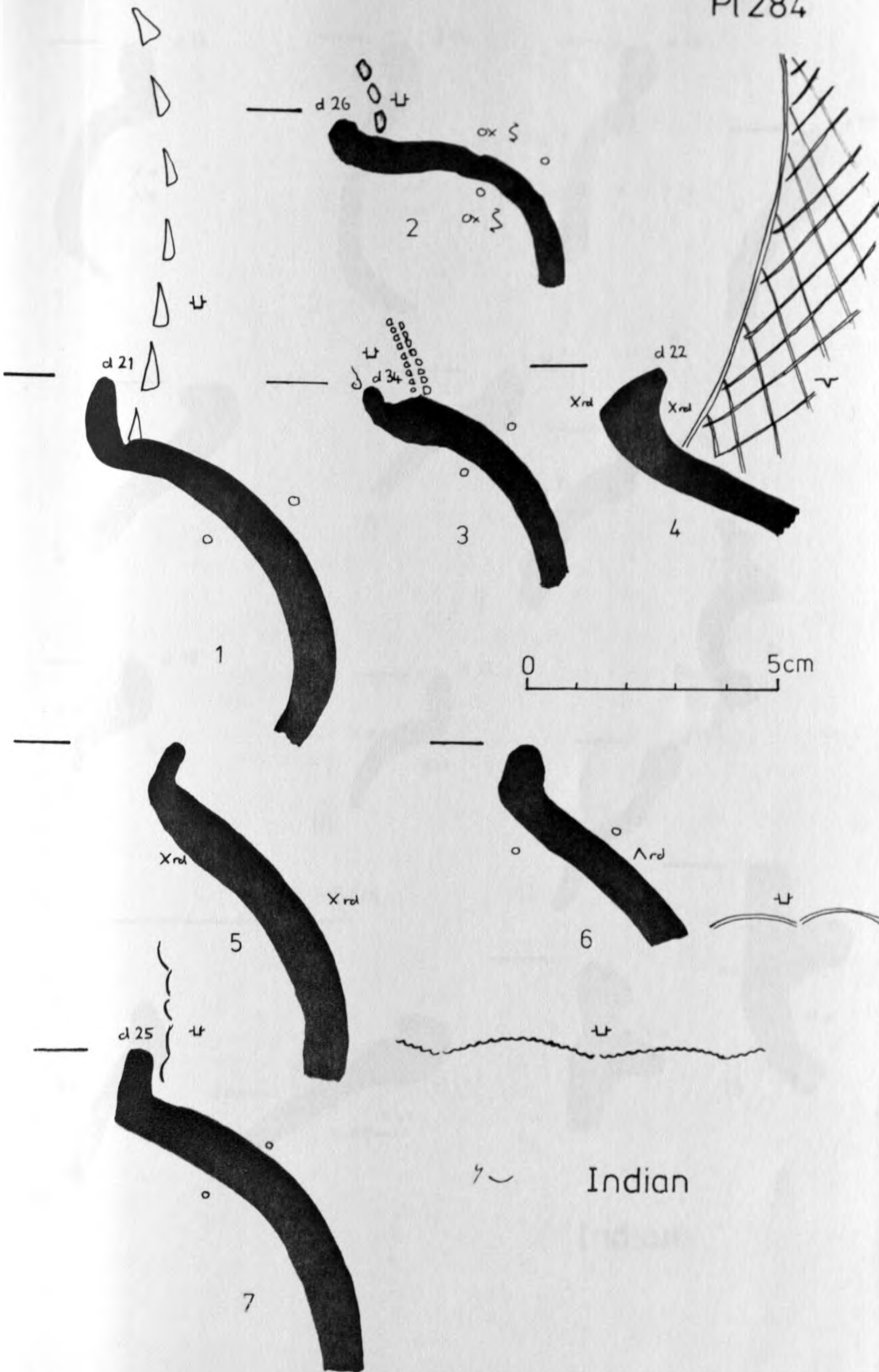


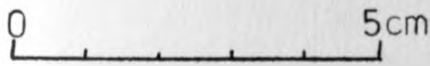
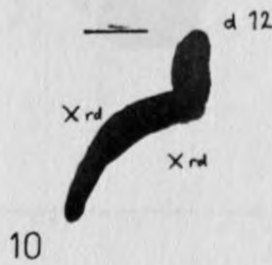
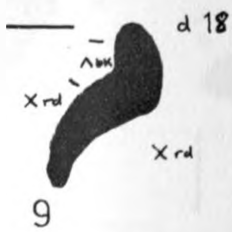
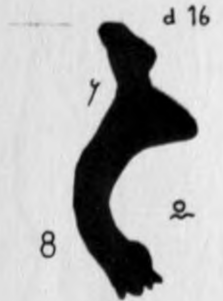
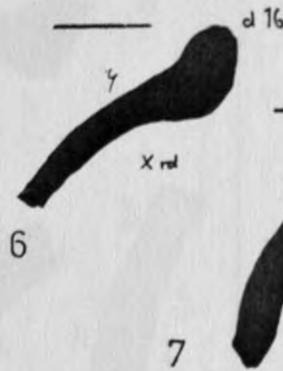
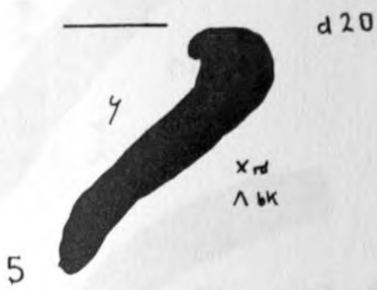
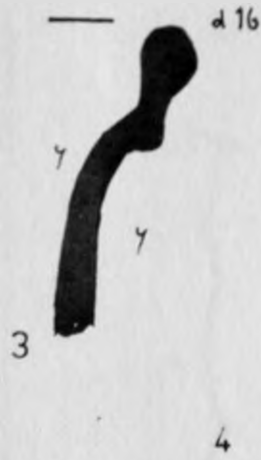
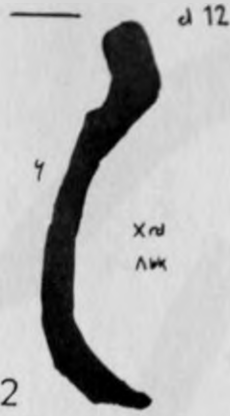
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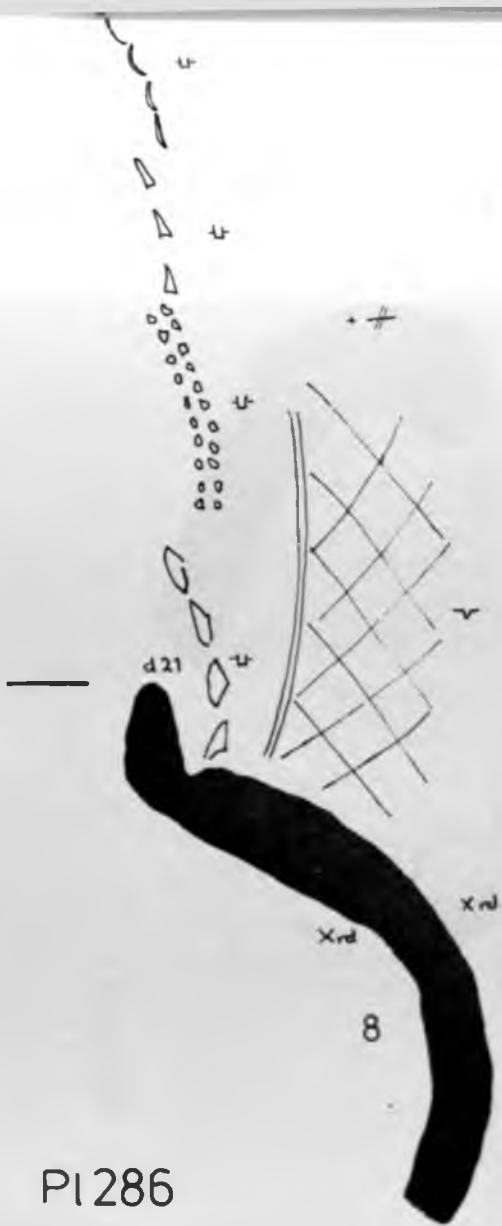
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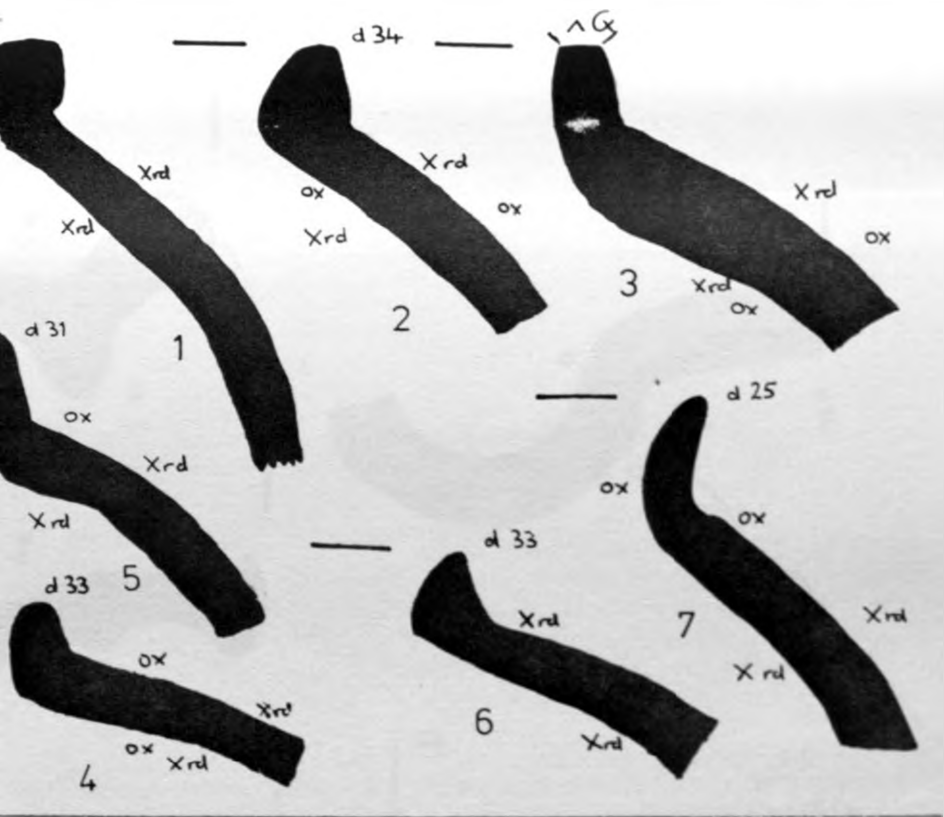


Indian

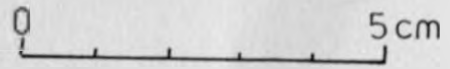


PI 286

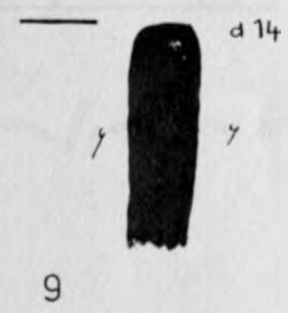
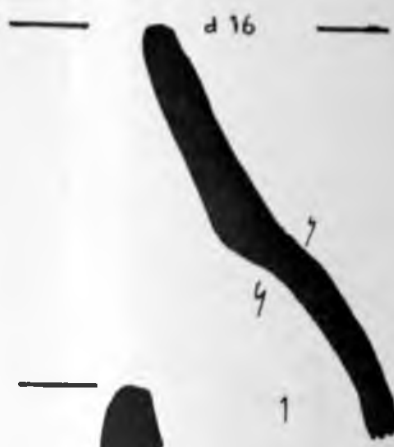




Indian

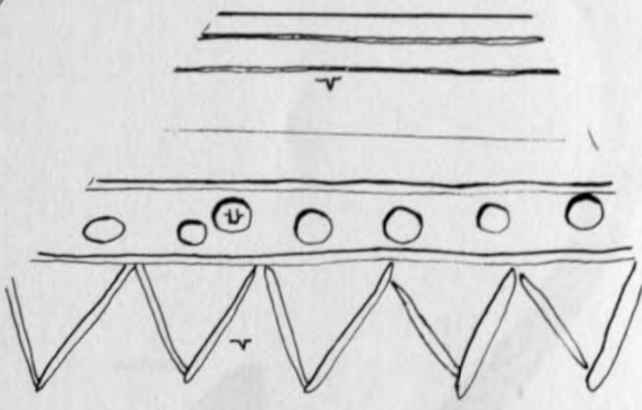


Indian



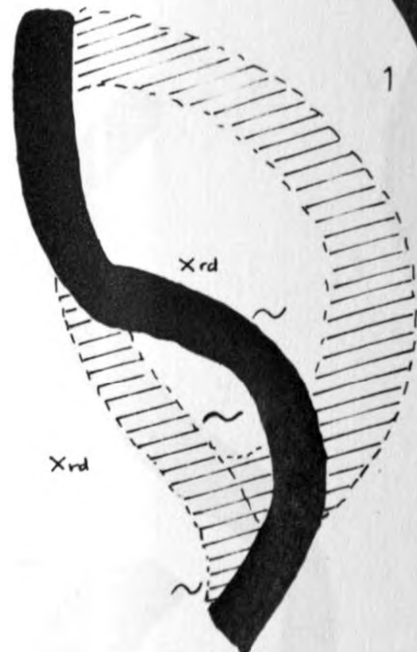
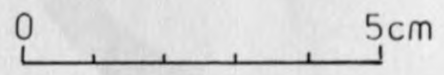
0 5 cm

Indian



d 33

1



Xrd

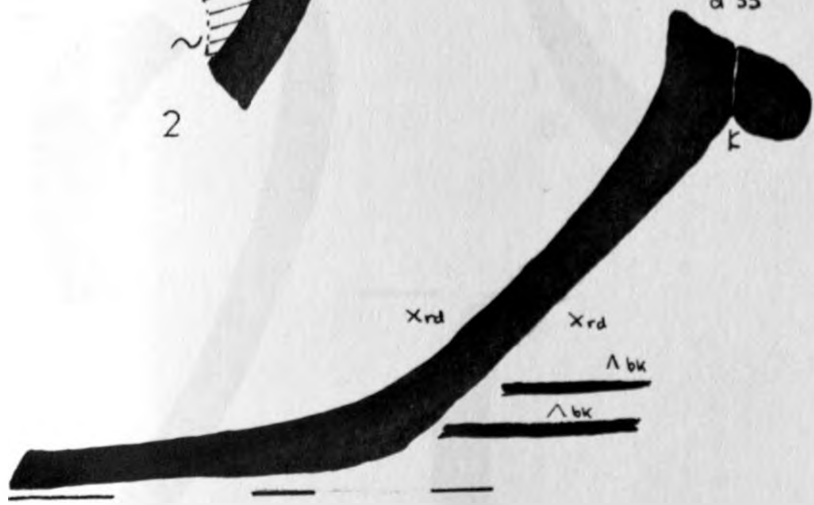
Xrd

2



d 35

k



Xrd

Xrd

bk

bk

Indian

3



1

2



3



4

0 5cm



5

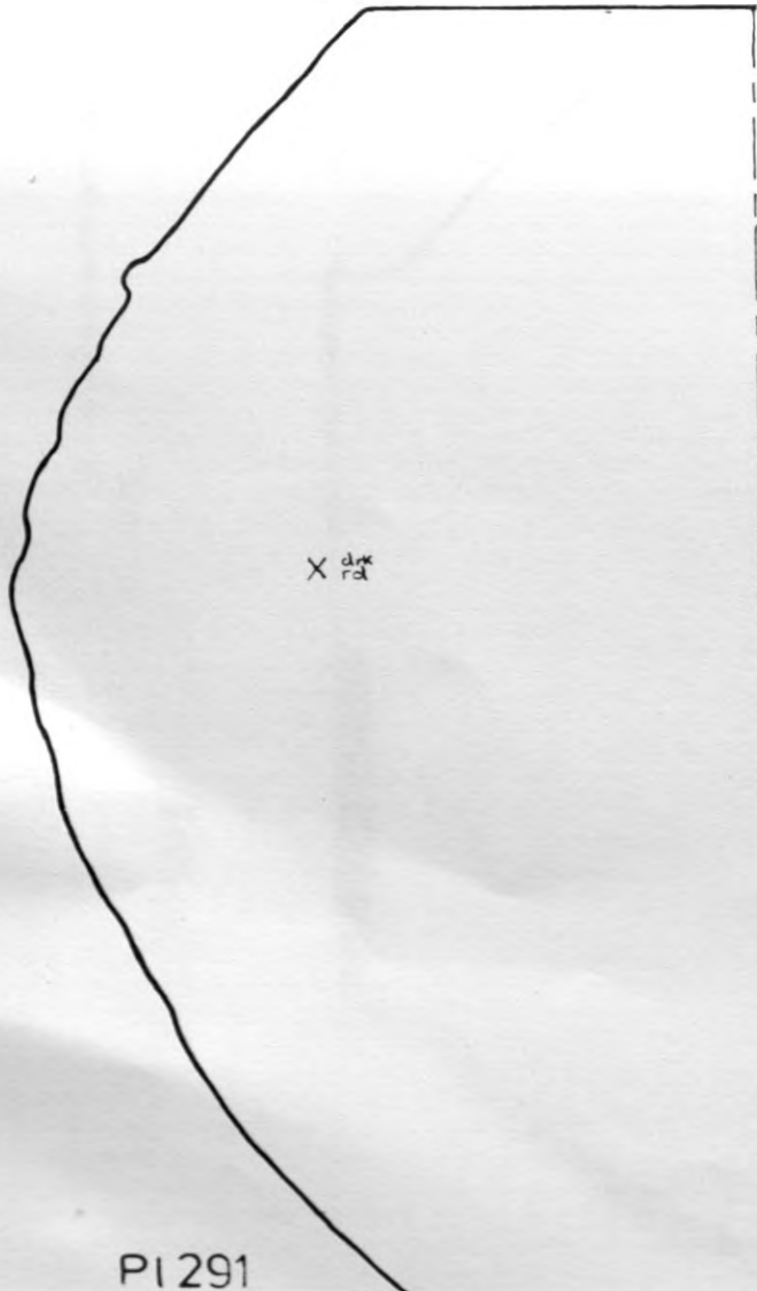


8



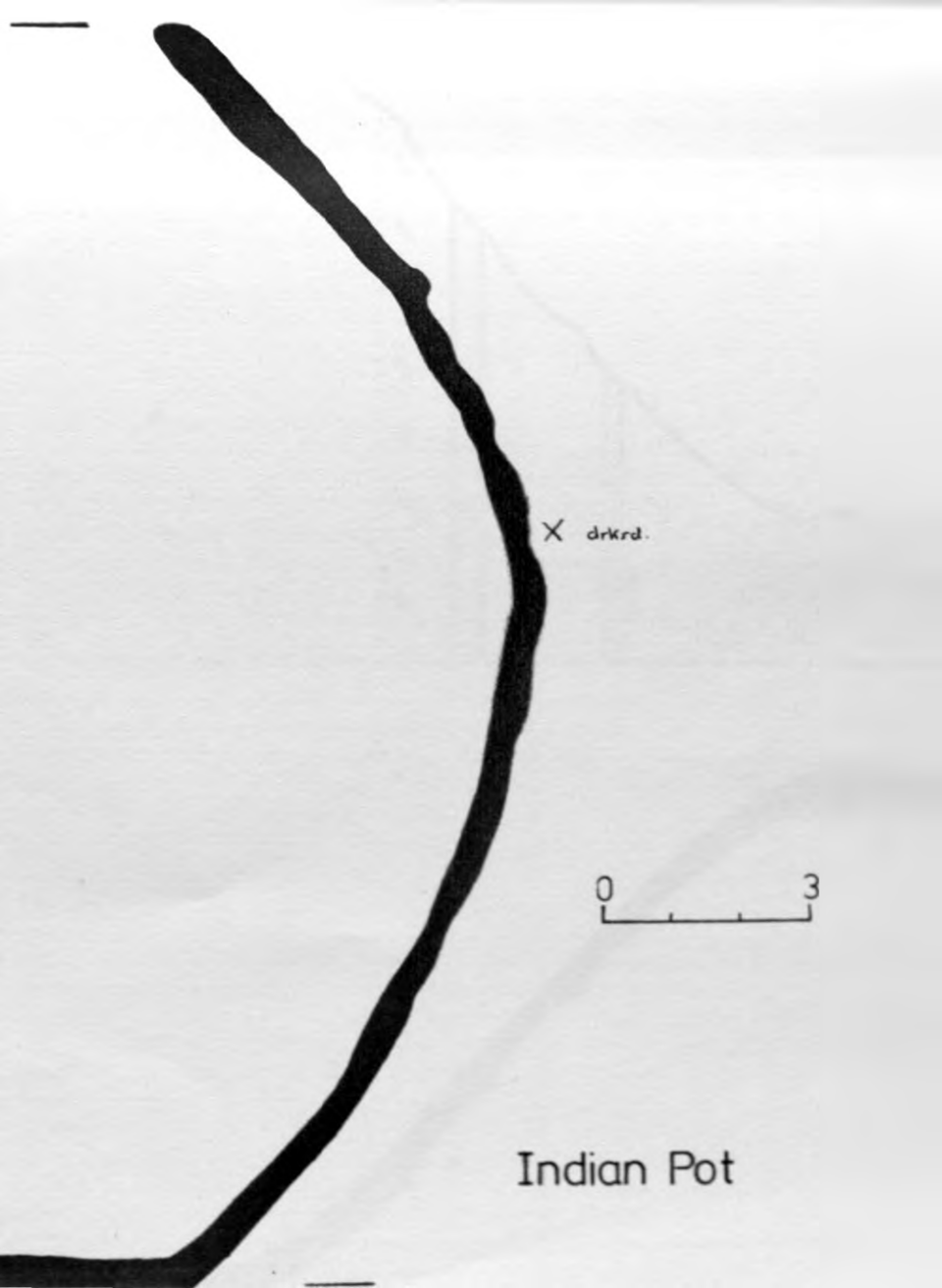
7

Indian



X
dink
rod

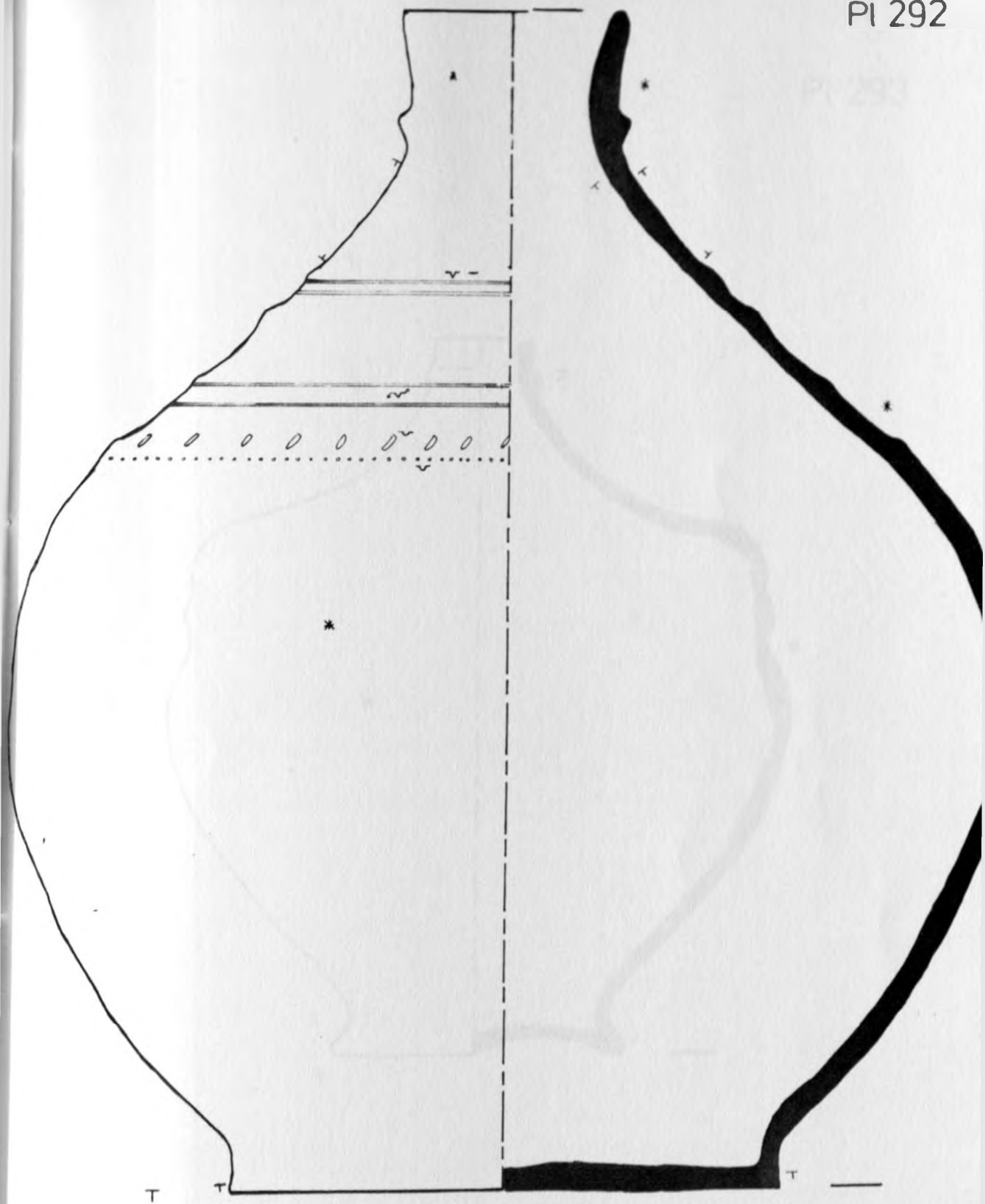
PI 291



X drkd.

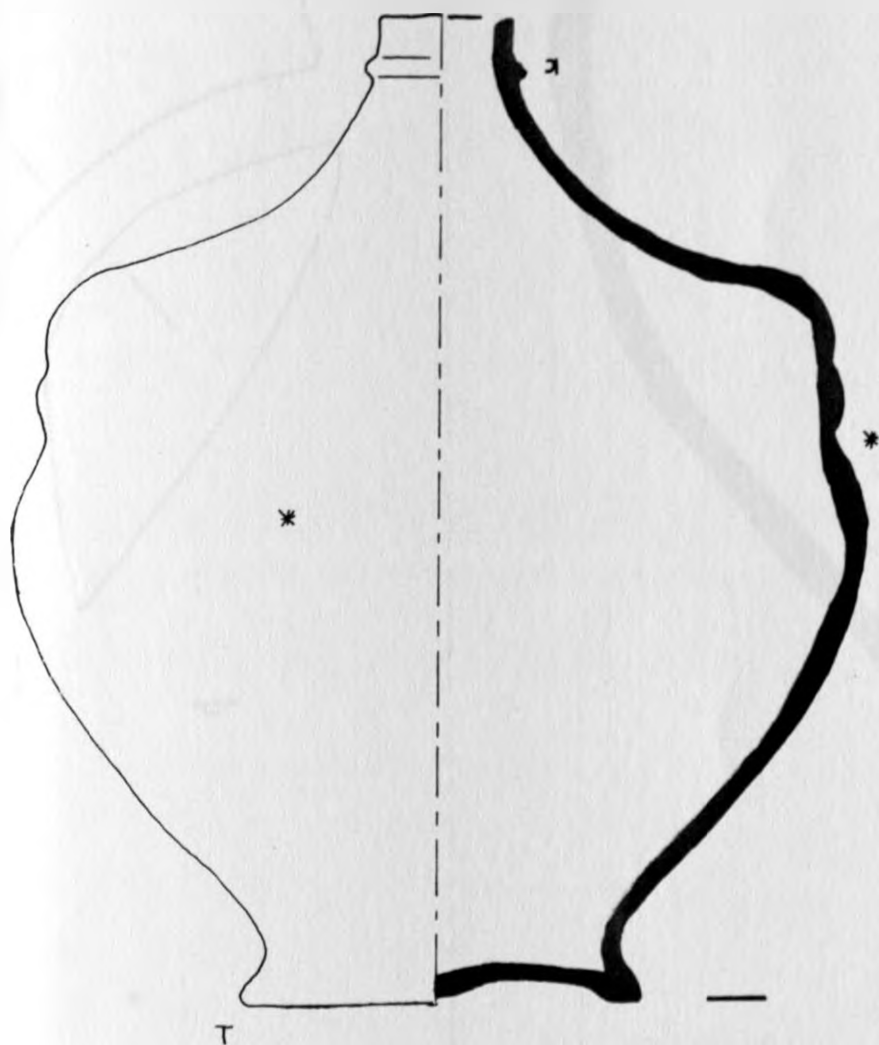
0 3

Indian Pot



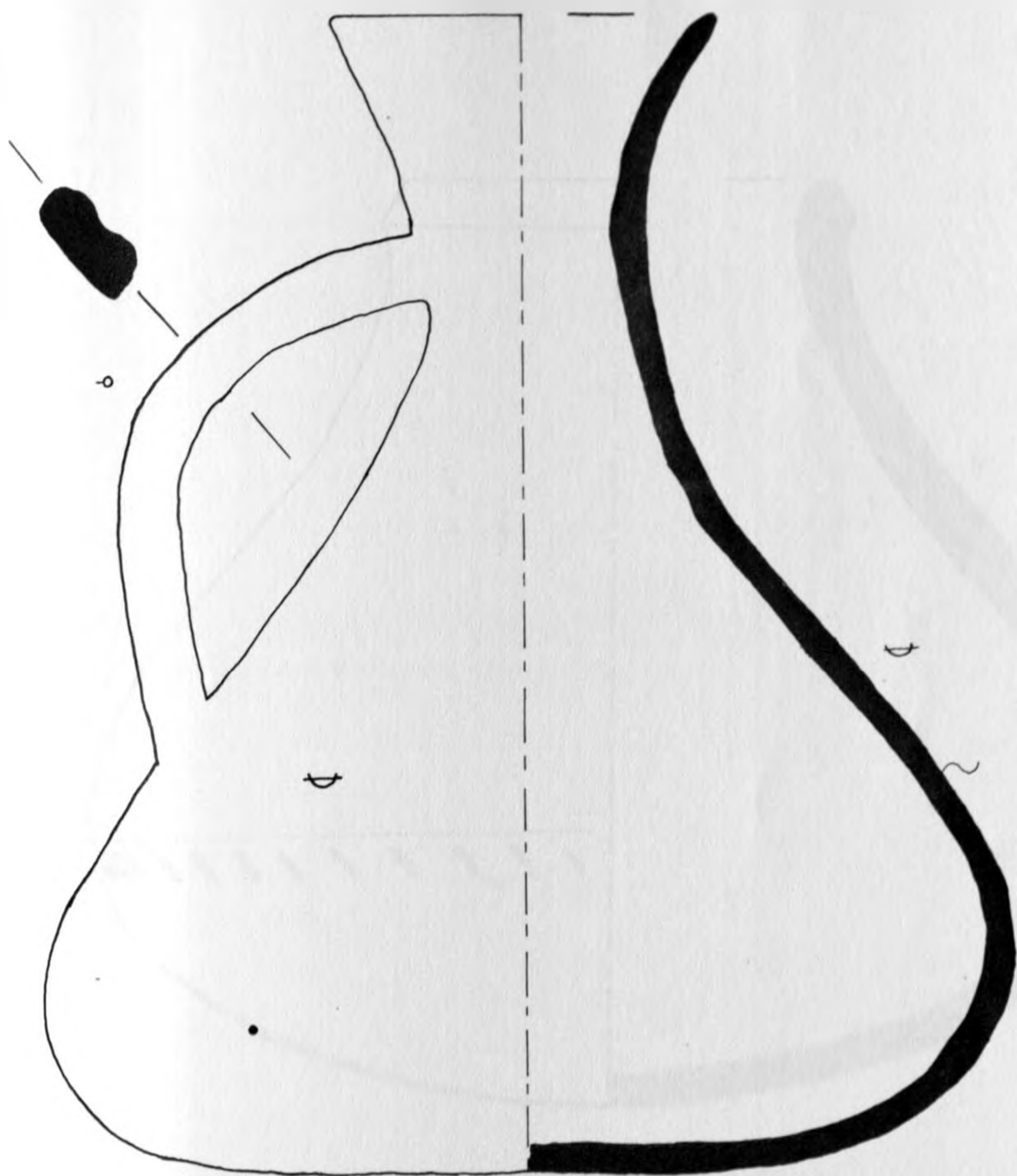
Indian Pot

0 5cm



0 10cm

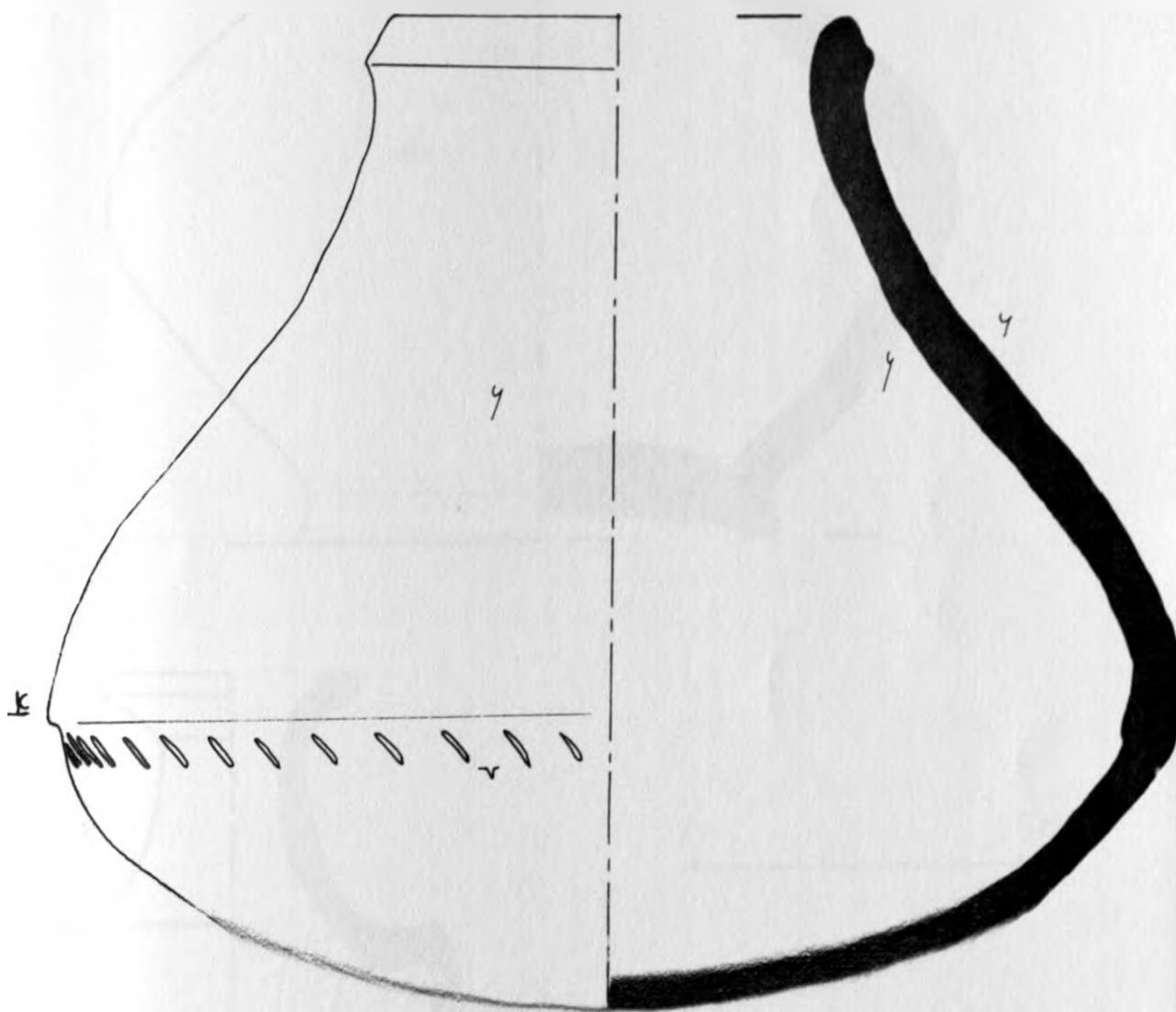
Indian



2 ~

0 5cm

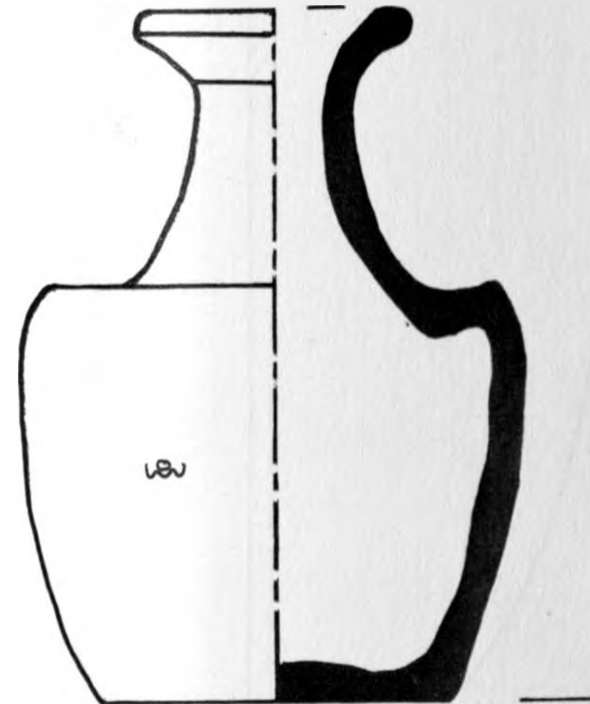
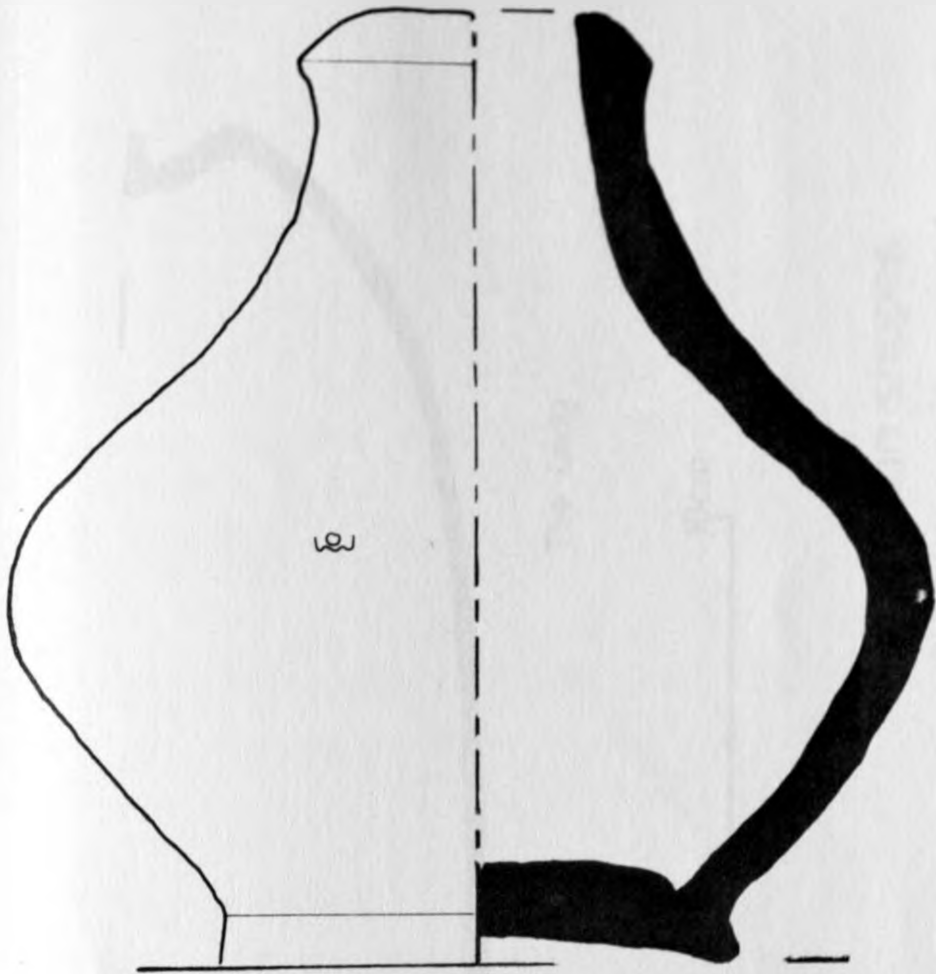
Flagon



Indian

•

1

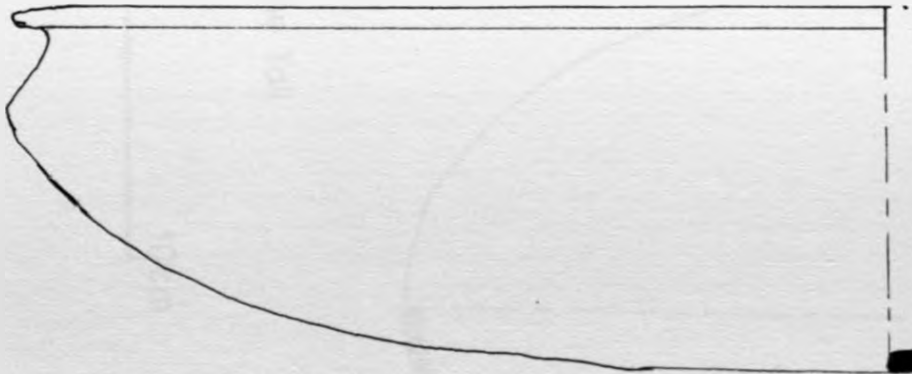


2

0 5 cm

Pots made by Kenyans
of families of Indian
origin

Modern



1



2

The Short

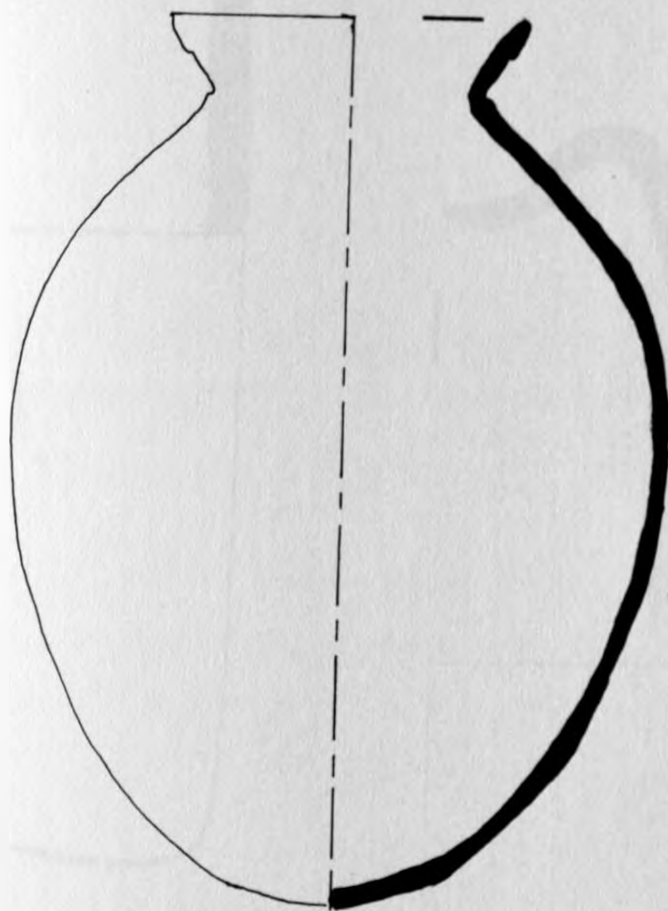
PI 297



The Long



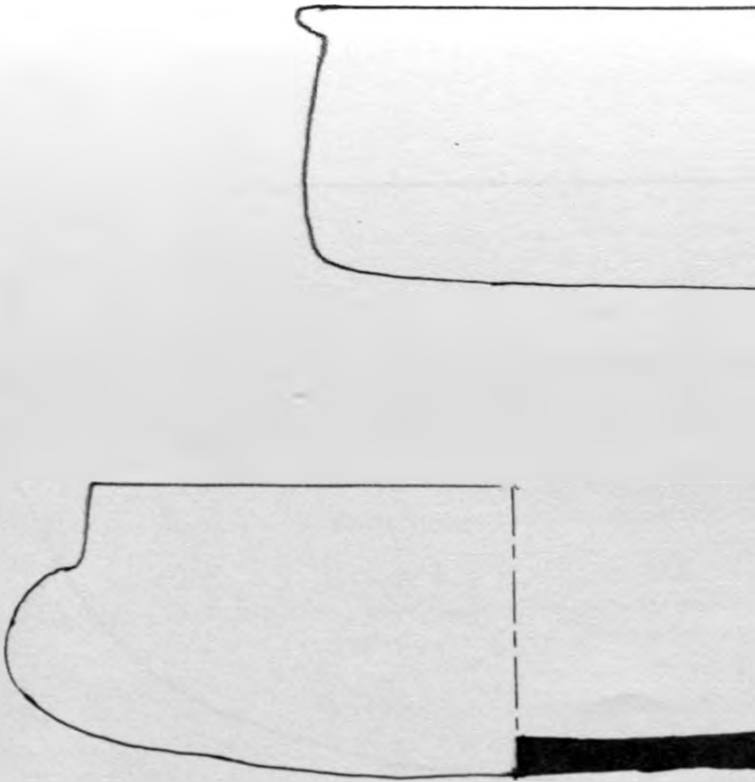
Indian shapes



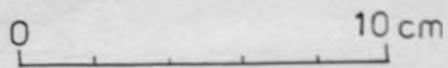
and the Tall



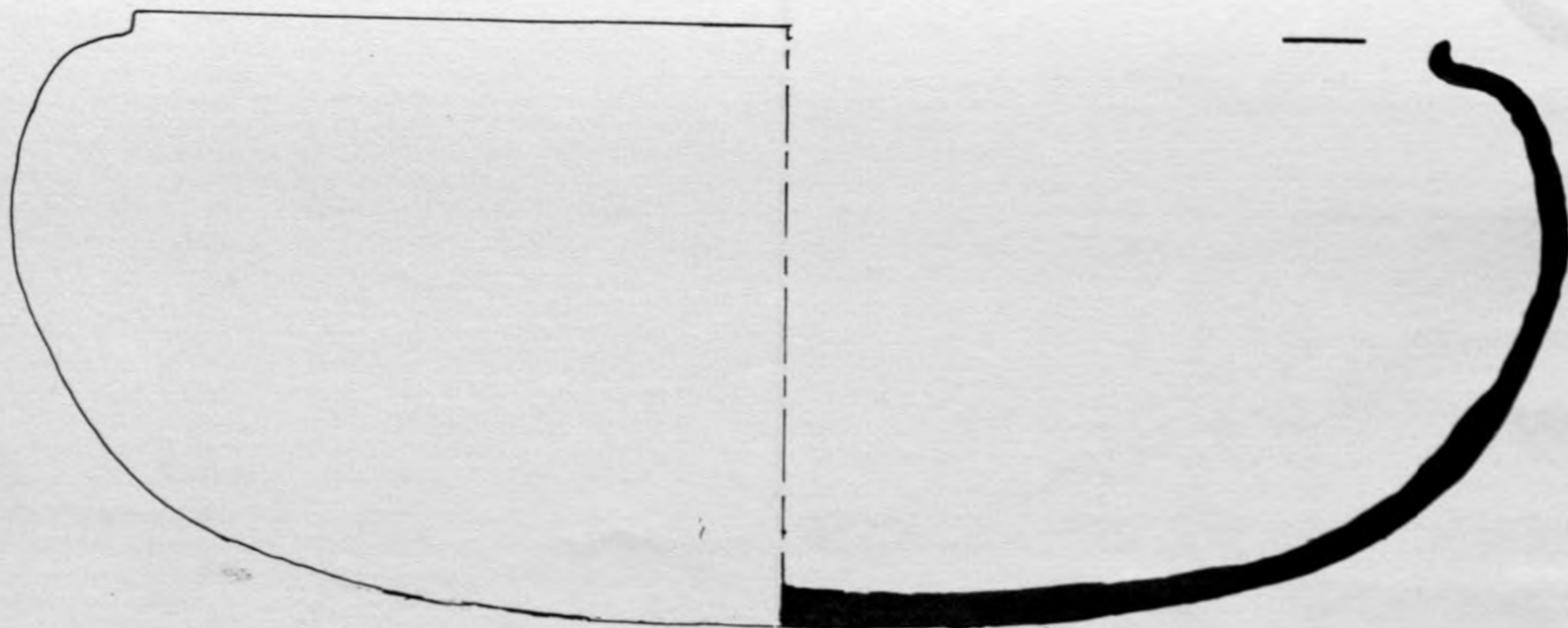
Indian shapes



PI 299



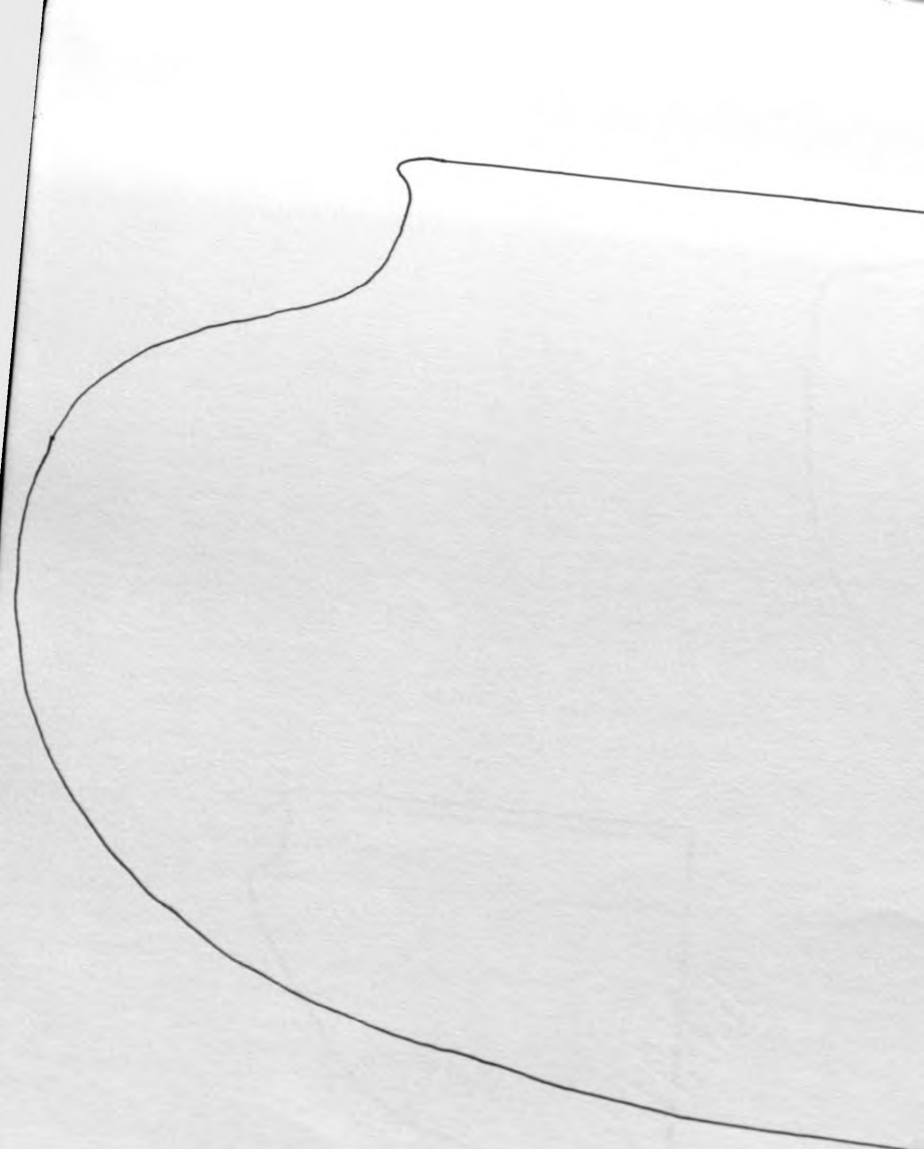
Indian shapes



0 10 cm

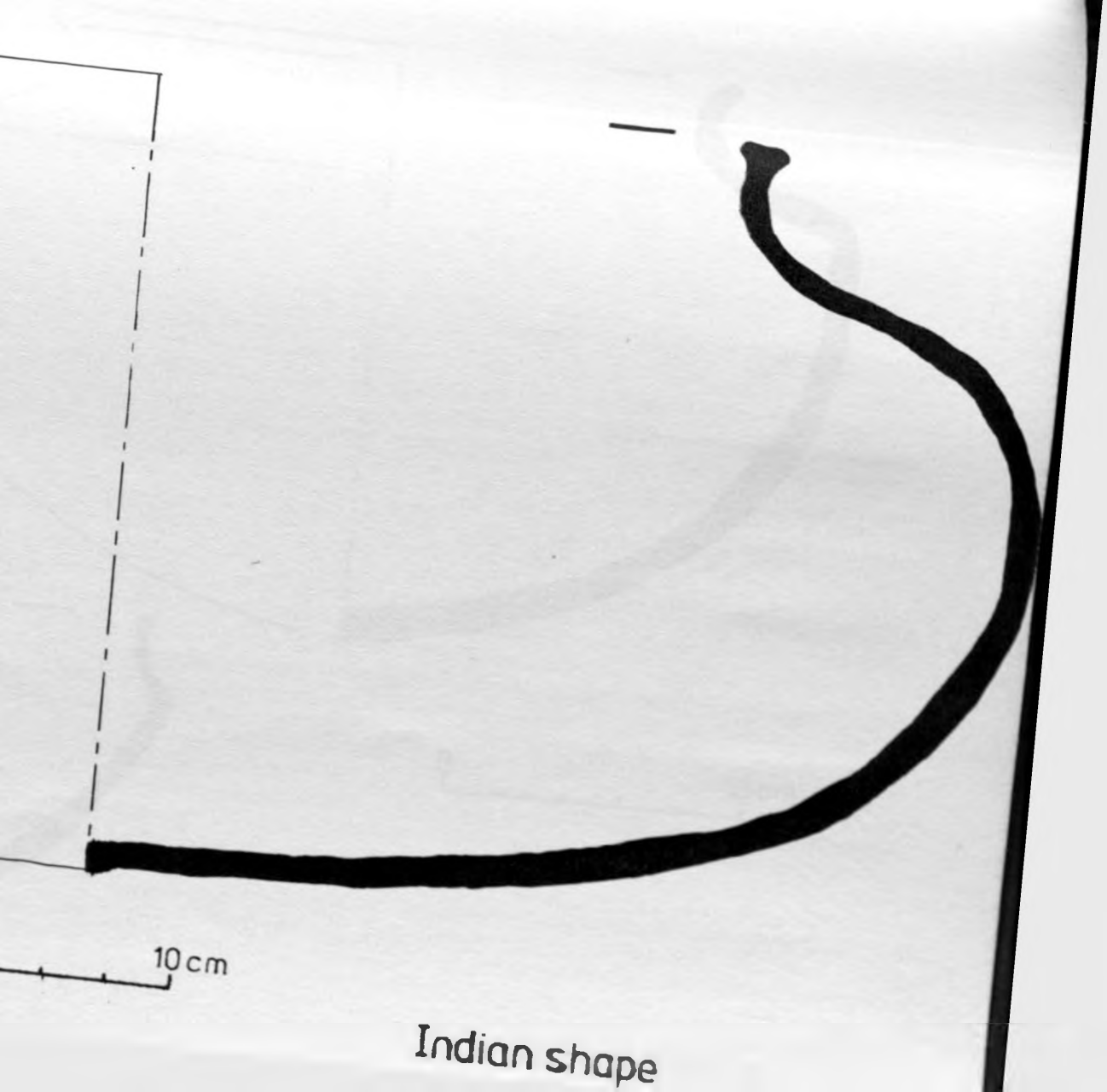
PI 300

Indian shape



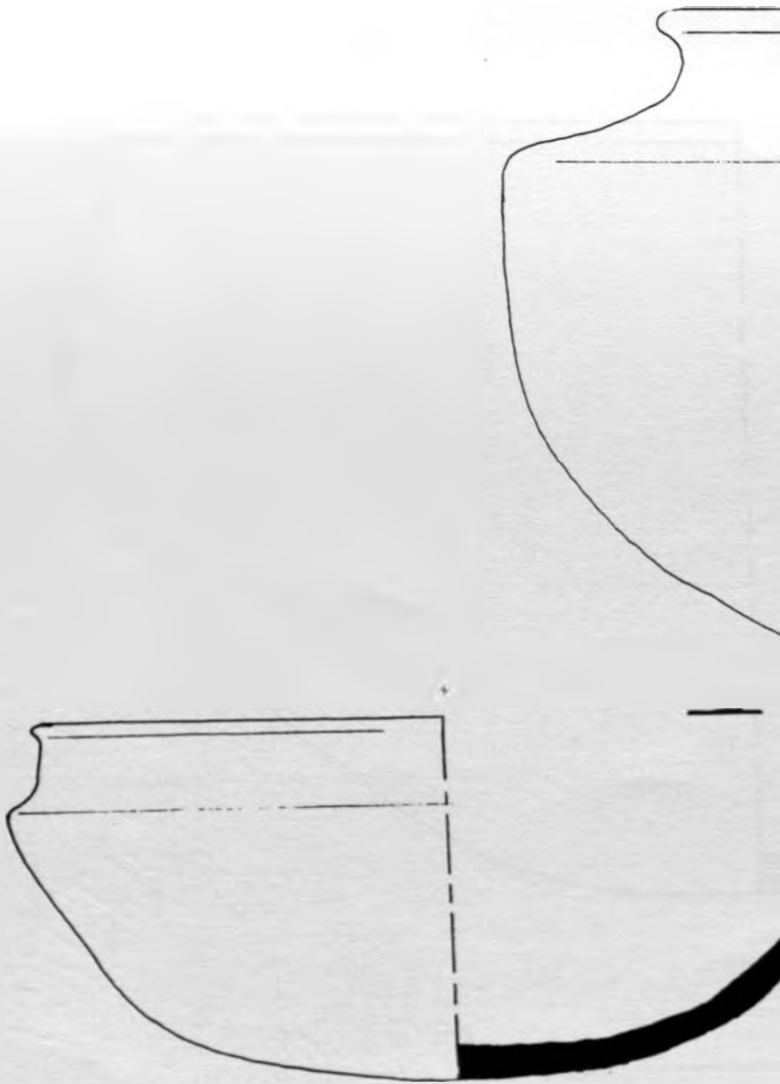
Pl 301



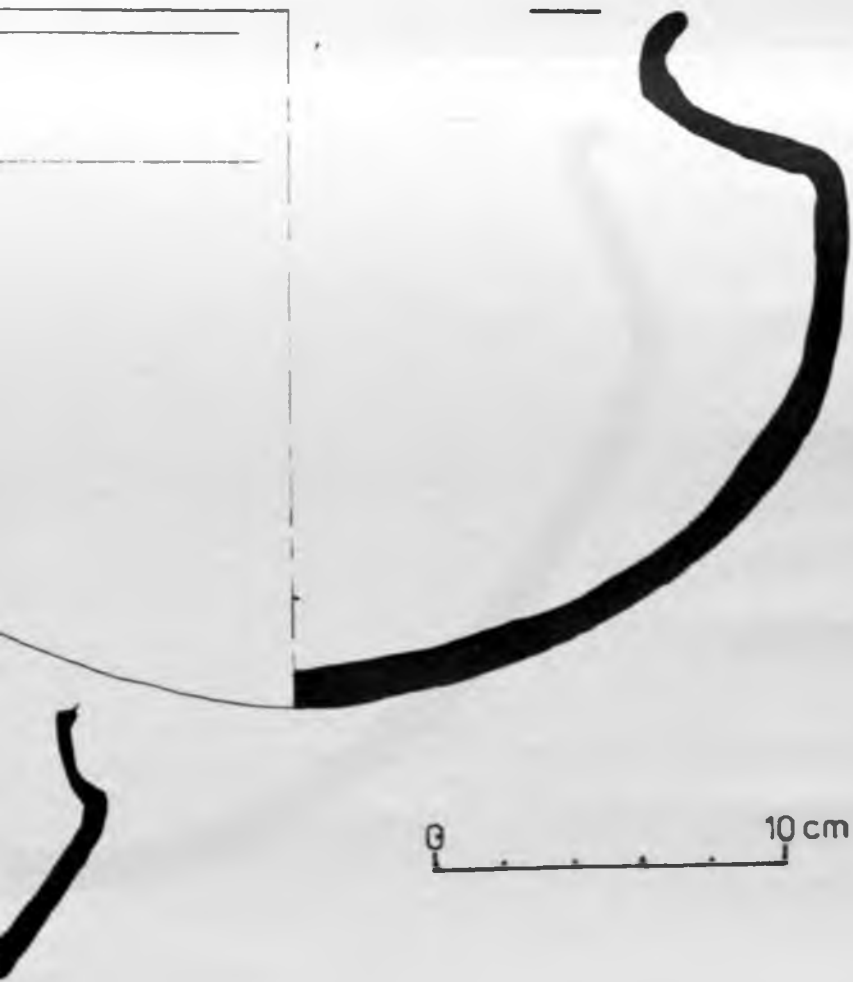


10 cm

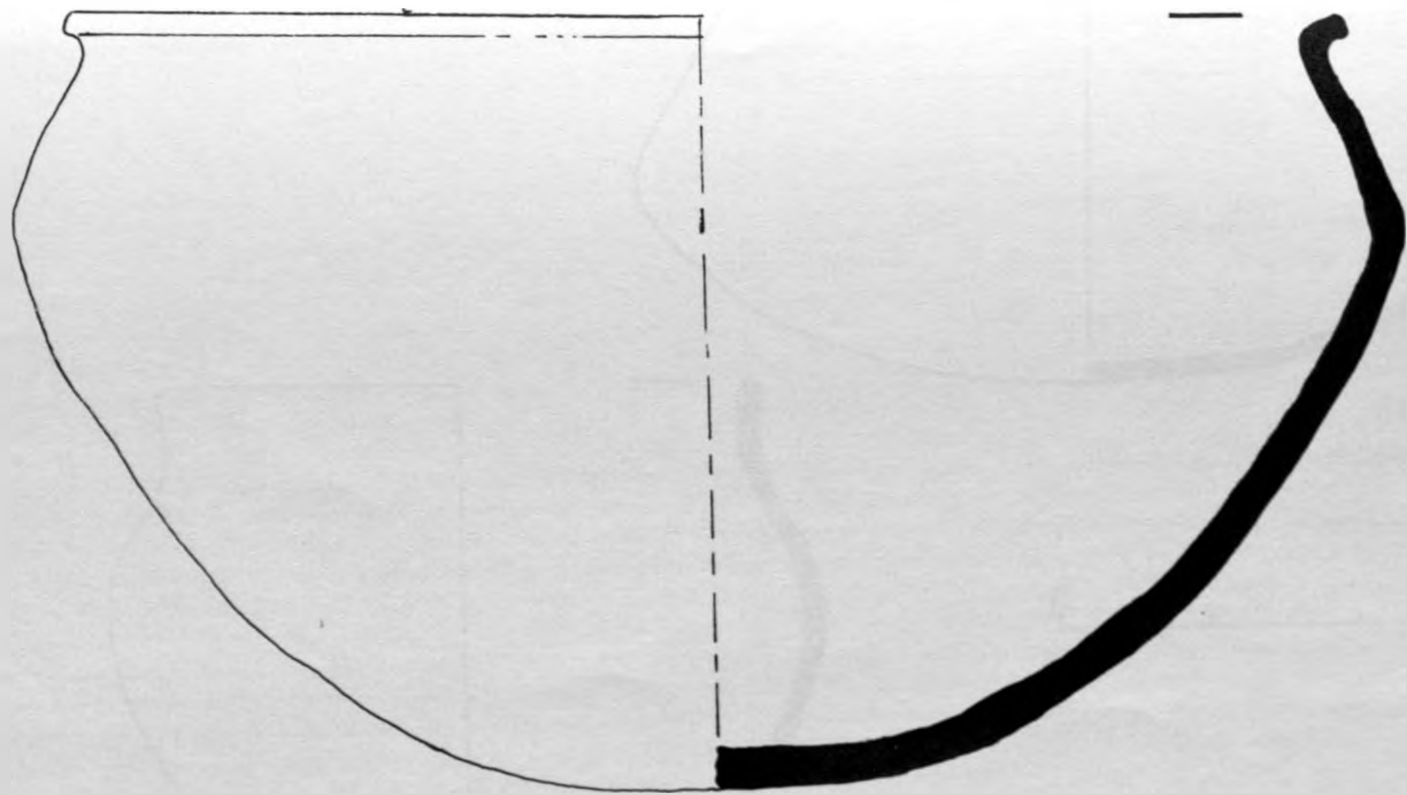
Indian shape



Pl 302



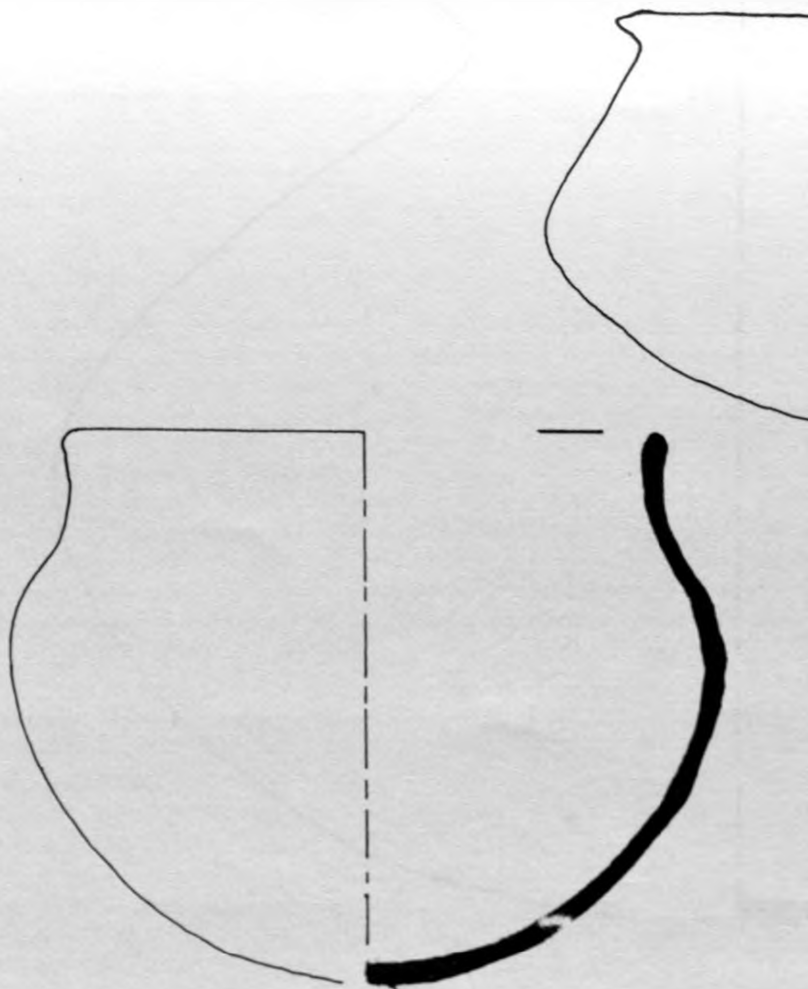
Indian Shape



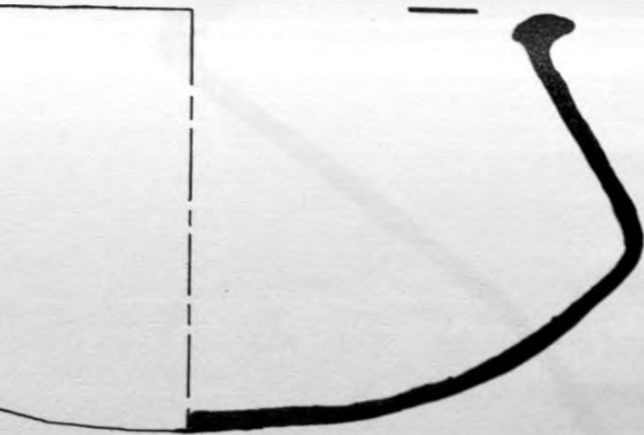
0 10cm

PI 303

Indian shape



PI 304



Indian shape



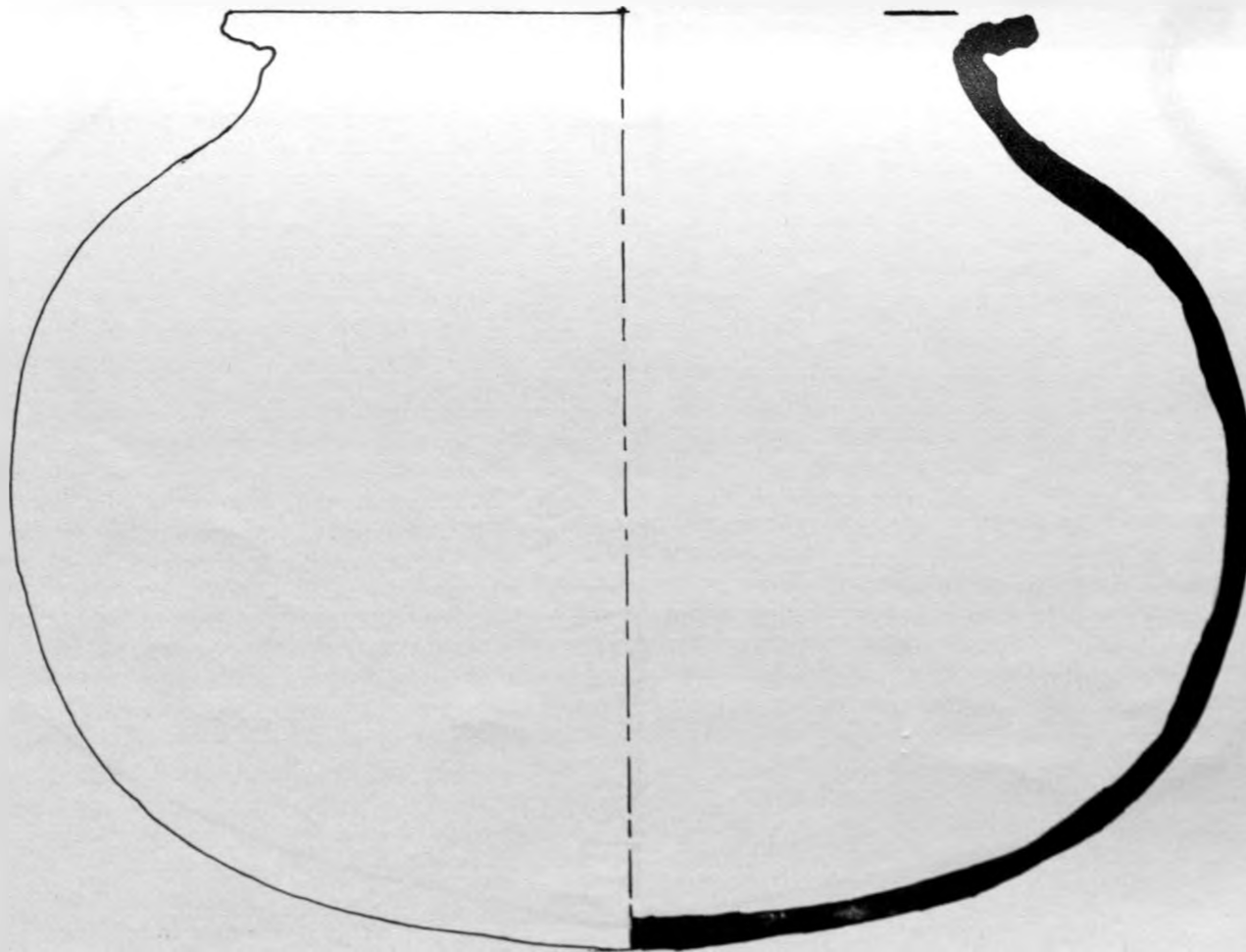
PI 305

0



10 cm

Indian shape



Pl 306

0 10cm

Indian shape