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С. Г. Бочарова, В. Франсуа, А. Г. Ситдикова*

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Changing Tastes: from Lustreware to Polychrome Tiles. Exported Pottery from Valencia in Mediterranean Area and around (14th to 18th cc.)

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Ключевые слова: Валенсия, средневековая керамика, послесредневековая керамика, майолика, распространение

J. Coll Conesa

Changing Tastes: from Lustreware to Polychrome Tiles. Exported Pottery from Valencia in Mediterranean Area and around (14th to 18th cc.)

Medieval ceramics from Paterna and Manises were highly prized and very widely traded in the Mediterranean and Atlantic Europe during the Middle Ages. Although a decline in their presence can be observed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries due to the boom in Italian majolica, they continued to be distributed, despite the fact that they now represented old-fashioned styles and tastes. The eighteenth century saw the beginnings of a certain commercial recovery, thanks to tiles from the factories in the city of Valencia. The Royal Factory at Alcora (Castellón), in the north of the Valencian region, played an important part in this revival of taste, and its products came to be widely distributed throughout the Spanish-speaking world. This study presents a general overview of the commercial distribution of Valencian ceramics between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries based on archaeological and historical evidence.

X. Коль Конеса

Эволюция вкуса. От люстровой керамики к полихромным плиткам. Валенсийский экспорт в Средиземноморье и сопредельные страны (XIV—XVIII вв.)

Средневековая керамика из Патерны и Манисеса высоко ценилась и была очень популярным товаром в Средиземноморье и на Атлантическом побережье Европы в средние века. Несмотря на наблюдаемый спад ее популярности в XVI—XVII вв. в связи с повышенным интересом к итальянской майолике, она все еще имела хождение, хотя и воспринималась как образец старомодного стиля и вкуса. В XVIII в. торговый интерес к ней возродился, благодаря плитке, производимой на городских фабриках Валенсии. Королевская Фабрика в Алькоре (Кастельон-де-ла-Плана), в северной части региона Валенсии, сыграла важную роль в возрождении этого вкуса, а ее продукция широко разошлась по всему испаноязычному миру. В настоящей статье на основе археологических и исторических источников предлагается общий обзор торгового хождения валенсийской керамики между XVI и XVIII вв.

Introduction

The ceramics produced during the medieval period in the Kingdom of Valencia, integrated into the Crown of Aragon, attained a high level of quality and prestige. The Crown territorial policy gave impetus to an expansion in the western Mediterranean, comprising direct dominion over Sardinia, Sicily, Naples, Montenegro and territories in Greece. It also developed a strategy of social pre-eminence and power by promoting mat-

rimonial and economic alliances, which also encompassed the religious sphere, such that some of its families — the Lunas of Aragon and the Borgias of Valencia — came to hold the supreme ecclesiastical office of the papacy of the Catholic Church, through Benedict XIII, Callixtus III and Alexander VI.

Valencian ceramics reflect these relations both by their widespread distribution and by displaying heraldic devices of the leading families of Spain and Europe. Valencian gold lustreware was

the ultimate heir to the courtly prestige of Islamic lustreware, which began in the ninth century in the Abbasid caliphate of Baghdad, a technique passed down through the last Spanish Muslim kingdom of Granada, finally conquered in 1492. The workshops of Manises (Valencian kingdom) supplied large, opulent pieces for eminent personages such as the Counts of Urgell and Luna, Dukes of Burgundy, the Kings of Aragon, France, Sicily, Naples, Castile and Navarre, numerous Italian merchants, princes such as Piero the Gouty, and prelates of the Catholic Church, abbots and even popes, such as Leo X Medici, to cite just a selection. Tiling from Manises and Valencia, especially that decorated in blue and white, also served as a vehicle for the heraldic emblems of these figures to mark the buildings they erected, such as Alfonso V's Castel Nuovo in Naples, Alexander VI's Borgia apartments in the Vatican and Castel Sant'Angelo, Pieter Bladelin's fortress of Middelburg-in-Vlaanderen, and many other cases.

The bourgeoisie and urban artisans also used these products because of their quality and prestige. Both Valencian lustreware and tiling spread far afield through trade as consumer goods, and in the fifteenth century they reached every part of the Mediterranean area as far as Fustat, Damascus and Istanbul, the Crimean peninsula (Teslenko 2009), and at the furthest limits Moscow and Kazan (Koval 2002; 2010). On the Atlantic they were commonly found in the British Isles, the Low Countries and the trade area of Lubeck, and even reached remote spots such as Elblag in Poland (Nawrońska 2003).

However, the dawn of the Early Modern era put an end to that advantageous situation, since the concentration of the peninsular kingdoms under a single crown, initiated by Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon, Atlantic expansion, and the inherent dynamics of economic growth fostered both a change in trade orientation and a proliferation of centres producing this highly-prized lustreware, leading to a reduction in the presence of products from Valencian workshops and to their decline. Focusing on this last point, in the fourteenth century lustreware was manufactured in the Muslim centres of Malaga, Granada and perhaps Almería, and at the Christian sites in the Valencia area (Manises, Paterna, Mislata, Quart de Poblet and Valencia itself). In the second half of the fifteenth century a new location appeared in the Vinalopó valley (possibly in Villena) and production began in Barcelona and Seville. Later Reus (Tarragona) and Muel (Zaragoza) were added, as well as Úbeda (Jaén).

The proliferation of production sites also led to competition through innovation. Gubbio and Deruta, in Tuscany, became the most important centres by incorporating the technique of lustreware and raising the quality to unprecedented levels, while also introducing an innovative Renaissance aesthetic. This is why we begin to find their products in court settings, such as Charles V's Palace at the Alhambra in Granada (Carta 2003), occupying the place that had been covered a century before with lustreware from Valencia. Spanish workshops, by contrast, were preoccupied with imitating late medieval styles and were becoming out of date, their prestige sustained by the mere echo of their technical difficulty. This complete lack of innovation was compounded by the crisis precipitated by social problems such as the persecution of the *Moriscos* at the beginning of the sixteenth century, to which we shall now turn our attention.

Feudal dominion and pottery in the Valencian Region (fourteenth to eighteenth centuries). Historical background

Ceramists in the medieval period were mostly Mudejars or *Sarrains*, Muslim craftsmen integrated into Christian society. Many of them were well regarded and enjoyed a good social position, as was the case with Juan Almurci, supplier of tiles to King Alfonso V, whom he provided with hundreds of thousands of pieces for the Castel Nuovo and the Castel dell'Ovo in Naples and for the Royal Palace in Valencia (1445—1454), although his descendants were regarded as "old Christians" in 1609 and were not expelled.

By their pragmatic decree of 14 February 1502 the Catholic Monarchs ordered the forced conversion of all Muslims in Spain to Christianity. This measure initiated the clandestine practice of Islam and its persecution by the Inquisition, giving rise to an undesirable instability in the daily life of the so-called "new Christians" or "*Moriscos*" (derived from Mauri or Moors, because of their supposed African origin), always subjugated and under suspicion. This situation continued for a century, until their expulsion was finally decreed in 1609, and undoubtedly contributed to the decline of the previously flourishing ceramic production of the potteries of Valencia. Most of the Valencian majolica of the time was manufactured in *Morisco* towns and villages and can properly be called "Morisco ware", enabling us to differentiate it from previous periods (Martínez Caviro 1991: 184). Another serious source of tension arose in

the sixteenth century during the Revolt of the *Germanías* ("Brotherhoods" or guilds), a rural uprising against feudal power which occupied the king's troops between 1519 and 1525. To make matters worse, the *agermanats* (the rebels) were active agents of forced Christian conversion of the *Moriscos*, whom they saw as the bedrock of seigneurial power. Following the suppression of the *Germanías*, around 1525, the Christianisation of the Mudejar population was stepped up. The culmination, introduced as a measure to compensate the rebels for imperial repression, came with Charles V's pragmatic decree of 7 December 1526, by which the *Moriscos* were obliged to abandon their dress, language and customs within a maximum of 40 years.

It is generally considered that after the episode of the *Germanías*, as regards the main Valencian manufacturing centres, Paterna was gradually depopulated whilst Manises maintained a healthy level of population and productive organisation. Given the close coexistence between potters of Christian and *Morisco* origin, we cannot tell whether they distinguished their products, although after the expulsion we can see changes in the style of decoration. The written documents reveal that there was no clear spatial separation between the workshops of *Moriscos* and of old Christians, which were intermingled. There is a vital source to support this statement, arising from the fact that the king's troops wrecked the potteries of Paterna in 1521 when they were quartered there. To quantify the compensation to be paid for the damage, a *Stimació dels dans...* (Estimate of damage) was drawn up, an astonishingly rich chronicle which describes the ceramic workshops and industrial facilities and gives an account of the effects of the royal troops (Gimeno Rosselló 1995: 61). In Manises, from where copious written information survives throughout the sixteenth century, we find that both groups used the same equipment.

Manises

When the *Morisco* problem began, Manises belonged to Pedro Boil y Escrivá, 12th Lord and 5th Baron of Manises (1504–1529), who was succeeded by Pedro Boil y Berenguer (1529–1559), Felipe Boil de la Scala y Joan (later Felipe Joan) (1559–1597), Pedro Joan y Vidal (formerly Boil de la Scala) (1597–1608), and Felipe Albert Vidal (formerly Boil de la Scala) (1608–1627). In general the Boils were always concerned to maintain the productive apparatus of Manises in perfect working order, as it was the basis of a considerable proportion of their income. They organised the government

of the town through assemblies and councils directly answerable to the Lord of Manises, sought to ensure the supply of raw materials by creating the *Cambra de Plom* (Chamber of Lead) and the *Cambra de la Rajola* (Chamber of Bricks), and also controlled the *Molí de l'arrós i del vernís* (Rice and varnish mill) (Nicolau 1987). Their managers were chosen from among Christians and *Moriscos*, without distinction, proposed by the aldermen. Each community appointed its own syndics as representatives. If necessary, specific syndics were chosen in assemblies to deal with the provision of materials or with matters related to annuities or tributes. The Lord also levied a tithe dels fornets ("on the little ovens", possibly small kilns, belonging to him, used to fire lustrewares), and also leased out land and mills. The *Cambra de Plom* served to maintain a constant reserve of lead and tin, to be distributed for the manufacture of ceramics. Its administrators or *cambriers* were appointed annually to organise the sharing out of the materials and to manage its operation financially, receiving the costs of sales or supplying metals on their own account if there was a shortage of raw materials, etc. At the end of the year they settled the income and profits to the Lord's administrators. Those appointed to the post of *cambrier* were normally trustworthy persons with good management skills, assisted by the *pesador* ("weigher"). The function of the *Cambra de la Rajola* de Manises is not clear, although its income was not high. It may have been a repository for construction materials to provide for small repairs that periodically had to be made to kilns and workshops.

Moreover, chronicles and surviving correspondence record the fact that the Lords of Manises tried to defend their interests by averting the expulsion of the *Moriscos*. Specifically, Felipe Albert Vidal and Juan Berenguer de Blanes de Vallterra, Lord of Canet, were commissioned by the nobles to attempt to persuade the Court to mitigate that drastic measure (Nicolau 1987: 213), although they were subsequently entrusted with taking direct action to persecute the *Moriscos* of Valencia and implement the king's orders. The Lord of Manises enjoyed considerable feudal income from ceramics, whereas the Lord of Canet obtained his from sugar cane. Presumably the appointment is evidence of a certain vote of royal confidence, and when the time came to get rid of the *Moriscos* under his jurisdiction, his authority must have given him some room for manoeuvre, probably eliminating those who were troublemakers or surplus to requirements.

The chronicles of Rafael Martí de Vicianá and Gaspar Juan Escolano also throw some light on the scale of the principal Valencian pottery cen-

tres. Viciano (1564) tells us that “en Manises se labran los muy hermosos y delicados vasos y ladrillos vidriados de diferentes hechuras, lavores, colores y matices: de los quales por mar y por tierra gran copia se lleva en otros reynos donde son muy preciados” (“in Manises they make very beautiful, delicate glazed vessels and tiles in various forms, styles, colours and shades, of which great quantities are taken by land and sea to other kingdoms, where they are much prized”), and that it had a population of 200 households. The parish registers record that around 1575 there were 300 souls and 100 Christian households in the town, together with 60 households of new Christians (Nicolau 1987: 172). Iborra Lerma (1988), drawing on information from the historian Joan Reglà, states that in 1609 150 households of old Christians are recorded, amounting to some 600 inhabitants. Escolano (1611) tells us: “Al lado de Quarte, derribada azia la ribera del Rio Turia, a una legua de Valencia, viene la Villa de Manises, famosa por su vidriado y azulejos [...] sus casas, entre Cristianos viejos y nuevos, llegan a ciento y setenta” (“Next to Quart, towards the bank of the River Turia, one league from Valencia, stands the town of Manises, famous for its glazed pottery and tiles [...] it has a hundred and seventy households, including both old and new Christians”). In 1612, however, Archbishop Fray Isidoro Aliaga personally visited the parish of Manises, which according to the parish records had 122 households or families, all of them old Christians, with a population of 420 faithful, of whom 327 were communicants, that is, over the age of ten. Moreover, the demographic evolution of Manises around 1600 shows that mortality increased sharply between 1592 and 1596 while the number of births remained steady, without taking account of the *Morisco* group (Iborra Lerma 1988). It seems clear that there was a serious problem of depopulation between the sixteenth century and the first few years of the seventeenth, perhaps due to the expulsion of the *Moriscos*. Significantly, attention is drawn to the expulsion of two *Morisco* families whose leading figures had been syndics or had performed political roles: Jaime Alazarah and the widow of Jaime Bogiot, deceased, known as Bogiota. The first of these was alderman for the new Christians in 1607, whilst Jaime Bogiot occupied the same post in 1584 and 1588, being descended from a family that had already held the position in 1515 (Nicolau 1987). Perhaps this has something to do with the point suggested above regarding the role of Felipe Boil as royal commissioner for the expulsion.

Onomastics, on the other hand, does not do much to clarify the issues in the population anal-

ysis except when there are additional details in the documents. Thus, for example, the Murcis and their descendants were old Christians in 1610, whereas others named Guzmán, Sorolla, Piquer and Noguera were new Christians (Nicolau 1987: 190). It is worth pointing out that after 1610 we do not find any of the typical new Christian surnames that are recorded, for example, in a document describing a meeting held in 1571 (Nicolau 1987: 163). It is also significant that fewer of them are found at meetings of master potters in the seventeenth century. Indeed, in 1571, 13 *Morisco* potters were present, whilst from among the old Christians we can estimate that 11 potters attended, judging by the number of inhabitants. At the assembly on 28 July 1584, 13 *Morisco* and 22 Christian potters met. A shortage of lead and tin gave rise to another general meeting on 26 November 1595, at which 23 *Morisco* potters and 13 Christian residents were present. On 5 March 1609, Felipe Boil summoned the *Moriscos* to discuss eliminating annuities, assembling 13 of them. After the upheaval of the expulsion, on 4 August 1610, a meeting of townspeople to discuss the upkeep of the Quart de Poblet irrigation channel brought together 52 potters and farmers, eleven fewer than in 1595. Finally, the guild meeting of 1625 recorded the names of 25 potters, a low figure if we compare it with those consistently found in the sixteenth century.

In 1605 the potters gathered in the *cofradía de San Hipólito* (confraternity of Saint Hippolytus), leading to the foundation of the potters' guild. Its first statutes were established in 1619 and periodically amended and expanded (1627, 1652, 1667, 1673, 1697, 1746, 1750, 1759) (Coll Conesa 2009a: 160—161). The regulations governed relations with the Lord of Manises regarding the rents and tributes he was due to receive, promoting clear protectionism towards the industry. They reveal that the number of master potters in attendance remained static over the course of the century at around thirty, which may indicate that the various workshops were passed down from father to son on a clearly regulated basis. We have no information on whether the manufacture of quality ceramics survived in Paterna or Valencia, although I suspect not, apart from tile-making, which became the main form of production in the capital. Indeed, the gifts of lustreware regularly presented to monarchs are not said to be “made in Valencia” (“*obra de Valencia*”), but in Manises, whilst Paterna, judging from the comments of Escolano and Viciano, specialised in ordinary pottery.

The ordinances of the confraternity established St Hippolytus, linked to the Catalan tra-

dition, as patron, replaced in 1746–49 by St Justa and St Rufina, from the Castilian tradition (Nicolau 1987). Their purposes were related to welfare and working practices, as they regulated apprenticeship and admission to mastership, the times involved, duties and examination fees payable to the Lord of Manises, the seigneurial authorisation required to be admitted to them, the local supply of raw materials, and services such as use of the varnish mill or provision of materials in the *Cambra de Plom* and feudal fees. They also laid down certain rules for sales within the territory of Manises or outside it, including resale of ware, among other issues.

Difficulties in the supply of raw materials due to wars led to shortages of lead and tin, necessitating technical modifications which are perceptible in lustreware. The glaze has a lower proportion or even a complete absence of tin as an opacifier and is applied to a bisque deliberately lightened in the first firing. The metallic lustre contains a larger amount of copper and less silver, slightly different in composition from medieval examples but still effective, resulting in a redder, more coppery colour. The blue is applied more dilute and overglaze, and therefore looks paler and more luminous, though less uniform.

In the eighteenth century the regulations were rewritten in Castilian, doubtless in compliance with the Nueva Planta decree of the new monarch, Philip V. Pérez Camps (1996) emphasises that the new versions imposed a reductionist protectionism which caused the stagnation of local production, leading to impoverishment of its technological standards and decorative range. The greatest differences compared with the previous rules involve the establishment of a regulation requiring that in order to become *Clavario* (Treasurer), members had to have served as *Compañero* (Companion), *Mayoral* (Steward), *Vehedor* (Overseer) or *Oidor* (Magistrate), as well as having at least eight years experience as a *Maestro* (master potter). They were elected on 19 July, the feast day of the new patron saints. The right to fire white, luster (called gold) or blue ware was restricted if one was not a master craftsman, and the payment of a sickness benefit to members of the Guild was established, whether they were masters, widows, journeymen or labourers. The 1759 regulations sought to consolidate a certain endogamy by prohibiting non-local labourers from being admitted to workshops in Manises unless they had been living in the town for two years and were registered in the Trade Book. The subsidy for invalids or widows of potters was refined; they now had to have a certificate from a doctor and were even prohibited from firing ungilded white or blue ware and obliged

to submit accounts to the Treasurer and the Steward. The articles constantly refer to *obra dorada, blanca y azul* (gold, white and blue ware) and it is mentioned that lead may only be fritted in one's own *armele* (reverberatory kiln) or in that of the Trade. Regarding the marketing of ware, it was stipulated that payment in kind was prohibited, and also fraudulent contracts poaching customers from master potters belonging to the guild, and masters were even obliged to comply with the Valencian regulation of 1685 whereby one was not allowed to sell in the city unless one had first obtained a permit and a market stall. The *Caballero Intendente* (Gentleman Governor) even stipulated the weeks in which each master could sell, and indeed a limit was imposed on the load that could be brought on market day except during the two weeks before Christmas and Easter.

The regulations reveal disagreements with the feudal authorities over their pressure to retain control of production and high rents. The 1759 version involves the guild members defending themselves against their lord's demands and emphasises the arguments in favour of the ceramics produced in Manises by stating that “*semejante obra (dorado y blanco) es tan útil y conveniente que quasi no se puede pasar sin ella, maiormente no haviendo otra fábrica de obra de vidriado dorado en dicha ciudad de Valencia, ni en todo el Reyno, ni en toda España alguna otra por oficio o sin el*” (“such ware [gold and white] is so useful and beneficial that it is almost impossible to do without it, especially since there is no other lustreware factory in that city of Valencia, nor in the whole kingdom, nor any other in the whole of Spain either official or unofficial”). The text cited invokes alleged historical roots: “*y todos los dichos inconvenientes y demás que en su caso se dirán dimanan de [...] los antiguos Capítulos de dicho Gremio de tiempos del Señor Rey don Jayme el Conquistador*” (“and all these problems and others that will be mentioned where appropriate arise from [...] the old regulations of this guild from the time of King James the Conqueror”). The text mentions the difficulties in the provision of raw materials (firewood and ingredients, especially lead), due to existing rules and regulations, and states that five hundred quintals (hundredweight) of lead are consumed per year, requesting that it should be unloaded in Manises and not have to be purchased at the *estanco* (state monopoly office) in Valencia. This text was submitted for approval to the King and the Royal Council, which sought advice from the Royal Court of Justice; before the matter was resolved, however, an attempt was made to amend it by asking that the authorisation of the

lord, by then a marquis, should not be required to be admitted to the status of master craftsman. On 5 October 1780, after lengthy proceedings, the Court disallowed the new statutes. Subsequently the *Real Sociedad de Amigos del País* (Royal Society of Friends of the Country), in a report entitled *Rectificaciones de las ordenanzas de las artes y oficios* (Corrections to the ordinances of the applied arts) (1790), argued for standardisation of the training of craftsmen through “primers” drawn up by experts and of a general nature, outside the guild system.

Paterna

Paterna was assigned to the jurisdiction of the Duke of Villena, Henry of Aragon, in 1436. In the chronicle of his journey in 1484, von Popplau comments that blue pottery and lustreware (gold ware) was manufactured in Paterna. In the estimate of damage to the houses and workshops of Paterna compiled following the suppression of the Germanías revolt (1521), 78 workshops are mentioned, among which a “*fornet de coure obra de terra daurada*” (“small kiln for firing gilded pottery (lustreware)”) is noted (Gimeno Rosselló 1995: 52). The chronicler Viciano (1564) comments that in this barony “*se labran muchos y muy buenos vasos de tierra, y tinajas grandes*” (“many very fine earthenware vessels and large jars are made”). Despite the general comments on the decline of production in Paterna at the end of the century, some potteries continued in operation, since on 13 February 1587 Maria Chichici, resident of Paterna, leased a workshop in that town to Joan Micó. On the other hand, Escolano (1611) indicates that at that time it was abandoned and ruined, and that out of its ruins “*la van reedificando de nuevo en lo baxo, al sabor de una fuente de agua dulce [...] hoy es población de ciento y veinte casas*” (“it is being rebuilt anew in the lower part, close by a freshwater spring [...] it is now a town of a hundred and twenty households”) (remember that Manises had 122 in 1612).

In the early sixteenth century Paterna belonged to the first Duke of Segorbe, Henry of Aragon and Sicily (†1522), who ceded the ducal title in 1516 to his son Alfonso (†16/12/1563), born of Guiomar, daughter of the Duke of Braganza, on the occasion of Alfonso’s marriage to Joana Folch de Cardona. Alfonso was succeeded by his second son, the 3rd Duke Francisco de Aragón Folch de Cardona (1539—1575), with whom the direct legitimate line of succession of the third dynasty of Aragon was extinguished (Van de Put 1911: 56; Viciano 1564). Alfonso de Aragón, as Viceroy of Valencia from 1559, exe-

cuted the royal order to disarm the *Moriscos* in 1563.

The role of the Dukes with respect to ceramic production in Paterna is not as clear as in Manises. Although they maintained quarters in the town and had clear links with local industry, since lustreware pieces with their heraldic emblems exist, they are not known to have controlled the pottery trade in the way the Boils did. It is fair to say that as far as ceramics were concerned, their jurisdiction was not exercised and organised in the same way as in Manises. The Infante Martín’s Sicilian campaigns in 1392 had already led to the pledging of Paterna. A succession of loans followed and on 3 August 1430 King Alonso V once again pledged some of his towns to the city of Valencia to finance the war with Castile, including Paterna, Benaguacil and La Pobla (Alfonso Barberá 1977: 115 ss). In the sixteenth century this situation remained unchanged, since in 1520 the government of the city of Valencia — Lord of Paterna, La Pobla and Benaguacil — published the decree of free trade for Paterna earthenware. Viciano also reports that the lordship was pledged to the city of Valencia, and it is known that in the first third of the seventeenth century the Duke of Segorbe tried to recover full dominion over this jurisdiction, which he finally achieved in 1664 (Alfonso Barberá 1977: 117).

In 1521, the year the king’s troops laid waste to the town while suppressing the *Germanías* revolt, 62% of Paterna’s workshops belonged to old Christians, while the remaining 38% were the property of *Moriscos*. Productive activity was concentrated in two centres: the *Ollerías Majors* (major potteries), that is, the archaeological area known as *Testar del Molí*, with 33 workshops, and the *Ollerías Menors* (minor potteries), an area on the western edge of the centre of Paterna, with 45 workshops. These names may refer particularly, though not exclusively, to the type of material produced rather than the size of the potteries. In the *Ollerías Majors* 54% of the workshops belonged to old Christians and 32% to *Moriscos* (Gimeno Rosselló 1995: 61).

Overview of valencian medieval ceramics

Decorated tin-glazed earthenware began to appear in the kingdom of Valencia in the early fourteenth century, although both the technique and the decorative subjects it employs are found in Barcelona from the mid-thirteenth century and in Teruel from the second half of that century (Coll Conesa 2012a). The earliest pieces were painted in green and black on white with chivalric subjects which coincide with those ap-



Fig. 1. Dish decorated in green and purple (LVVNC series). Museo Nacional de Cerámica (Valencia, Spain), acc. nº CE1/00648.

Рис. 1. Блюдо, декорированное зеленой и пурпурной краской (серия LVVNC). Национальный Музей Керамики (Валенсия, Испания), № CE1/00648.



Fig. 3. Bowl, decorated in green and purple (LVVNX series). Museo de Cerámica (Paterna, Valencia).

Рис. 3. Чаша, декорированная зеленой и пурпурной краской (серия LVVNX). Национальный Музей Керамики (Патерна, Валенсия).



Fig. 2. Bowl decorated in green and purple (LVVNE series). Museo Nacional de Cerámica, acc. nº CE1/00561.

Рис. 2. Чаша, декорированная зеленой и пурпурной краской (серия LVVNE). Национальный Музей Керамики, № CE1/00561.

plied in coffered ceilings, wall paintings and illuminated manuscripts: coats of arms, castles, dancing women, mermaids, but also representations of animals or zoomorphic chimeras, and there are some with epigraphic decorations in Arabic. This group, produced by individuals trained in the prevailing aesthetic canons, with the participation of Muslims (Mudejars), is known as classic green and black Valencian earthenware (Coll Conesa 2009a) (LVVNC: *loza valenciana verde*



Fig. 4. Lustreware bowl (LVMD series). Incrusted in the tower facade of San Francisco de Pina de Ebro (Zaragoza, Spain). Second quarter 14th century.

Рис. 4. Люстровая чаша (серия LVMD). Инкрустация на фасаде башни монастыря Св. Франциска в Пина-де-Эбро (Сарагоса, Испания). Вторая половина XIV в.

y negro clásica) (Fig. 1). Their potteries were in the territory controlled by the city of Valencia, in Paterna, Manises and also in the city itself. Some pieces display motifs executed in a rougher and more simplified manner (developed decoration, LVVNE) (Fig. 2). Finally, a group which predominated in the second half of the fourteenth century just has green and black strokes arranged in



Fig. 5. Lustreware bowl (LVDMA series). Incrustated in the facade of Santa Susanna in Busachi (Sardinia). Second quarter of 14th century.

Рис. 5. Люстровая чаша (серия LVDMA). Инкрустация на фасаде церкви Санта Сусанна в Бузаки (Сардиния). Вторая половина XIV века.



Fig. 6. Bowl in lustreware and cobalt blue. Pula Type (LVDP series). Museo Nacional de Cerámica. Council of Valencia coll. acc. nº. D06/01269.

Рис. 6. Люстровая чаша с сине-кобальтовым фоном. Тип Пула (серия LVDP). Национальный Музей Керамики. Коллекция Совета Валенсии, № D06/01269.



Fig. 7. Basin. Muhammadan decoration in lustreware and cobalt (LVDCM series). Museo Nacional de Cerámica, acc. nº. CE1/01546.

Рис. 7. Миска, люстр. Магометанский орнамент, с росписью кобальтом (серия LVDCM). Национальный Музей Керамики, № CE1/01546.

a radial pattern (schematic decoration, LVVNX) (Fig. 3). Although these ceramics were exported to the south of France, Italy, Mediterranean is-

lands and the interior of the Iberian peninsula, their distribution was limited, but they have also been found in Fustat (Rooser-Owen 2012: 88).



Fig. 8. Basin. Bryony pattern in lustreware and cobalt (LVDC series). Museo Nacional de Cerámica, acc. nº. CE1/01563.

Рис. 8. Миска, люстр, украшенная цветами, с росписью кобальтом (серия LVDC). Национальный Музей Керамики, № CE1/01563.



Fig. 9. Dish. Dotted Flowers pattern in lustreware and cobalt (LVDC series). Museo Nacional de Cerámica, acc. nº. CE1/16802.

Рис. 9. Блюдо, люстр. Точечный цветочный орнамент с росписью кобальтом (серия LVDC). Национальный Музей Керамики, № CE1/16802.

The spread of the earliest lustreware produced in the Valencian region was a very different matter. The fame previously attained by Hispano-Islamic, and especially Nasrid, lustreware from the late thirteenth century onwards led to an upsurge of interest in controlling and marketing it, and its production in Manises is documented from 1325 (Coll Conesa 2012b). Researchers have classified it under the term Málaga-style Valencian lustreware (LVMD: *loza valenciana malagueña dorada*), as there is no doubt at all that it was produced in imitation of Nasrid lustreware, made in the cities of Málaga and possibly Almería, given that medieval documents relating to orders placed with Valencian potters refer to it as “opus terre Maleche” or “opus terra daurati”. The earliest pieces were small, probably because of the difficulty of the lustre technique, and they have subjects similar to the earthenware decorated in green and black, such as heads of warriors or zoomorphs inspired by Islamic models. Others display stylised plant motifs, such as cordiform leaves (Fig. 4), also similar to motifs on green and black decorated earthenware. From 1333 the documents mention the presence of a new colour together with gold, safra or cobalt, referring to “opus terra daurati cum safra”. Gold and blue lustreware (LVMDA: *loza valenciana malagueña dorada y azul*) (Fig. 5) was already distributed over a vast area covering the Hispanic kingdoms of the peninsula and reaching France, English, the Netherlands, Germany, the islands

of the western Mediterranean and Egypt (Coll Conesa 2012b; Ray 2000: cat. 117). The end of these series may have coincided with the catastrophe caused by the Black Death, as revealed by archaeological sites and deserted areas abandoned on this account. However, it was in the second half of the fourteenth century that Valencian lustreware attained its maximum distribution in the Mediterranean and on the continent, with the earthenware belonging to the group called “Pula type” (Blake et al. 1992) (LVDP: *loza valenciana dorada Pula*) (Fig. 6). This is characterised by new morphologies, it includes larger pieces, and in particular, unlike the earlier series it shows motifs treated using the resist technique; epigraphs or lotuses highlighted in white on a background of metopes painted in lustre. According to recent research, it was distributed as far afield as Gdansk and Elblag (Nawrońska 2003) on the Baltic, Moscow, Bilär and the Black Sea coast (Koval 1996; 1998; 2002; 2010), as well as the Crimea (Teslenko 2009) in continental Europe. We know that it reached Syria and Palestine, and Egypt (Kühnel 1942), and that it was common on the Mediterranean coasts of Africa. The Pula type usually has abstract motifs or epigraphs in Arabic, but on some pieces we see gazelles or peacocks face to face either side of the hom, or even anthropomorphs with characters dressed in long tunics, which relates these decorations to other lustreware from the Nasrid kingdom and to the series which were to influence later Islamic-



Fig. 10. Dish. Ivy leaves pattern in lustware and cobalt (LVDC series). Museo Nacional de Cerámica, acc. nº. CE1/16804.

Рис. 10. Блюдо, люстр, украшенное листьями плюща, с росписью кобальтом (серия LVDC). Национальный Музей Керамики, № CE1/16804.



Fig. 11. Dish. geometric pattern (LVDC series). Museo Nacional de Cerámica, acc. nº. CE1/16803.

Рис. 11. Блюдо с геометрическим орнаментом (серия LVDC). Национальный Музей Керамики, № CE1/16803.



Fig. 12. Dish. Dots and stalks pattern (LVDCO series). Museo Nacional de Cerámica, acc. nº. CE1/16805.

Рис. 12. Блюдо, орнаментированное точками и стеблями растений (серия LVDCO). Национальный Музей Керамики, № CE1/16805.

style classic Valencian products (LVDCM) or muhamaddan (Fig. 7), as A.W. Frothingham (1951) called them. The fifteenth century is characterised by Valencian lustreware of the classic group (LVDC) being valued as luxury objects among wealthy merchants, nobles, prelates of the Church and kings and popes. Not only did Muslim-influenced decorations continue; new motifs inspired by natural and plant elements were incorporated, very often taken from fabrics and even from oriental silks, such as “bryony” (Fig. 8), widely used for his own tablewares by merchants in Tuscany and Liguria (Spallanzani 2006), “dotted flowers” (Fig. 9), “trefoils”, “ivy leaf” or “ilex” (Fig. 10), daisy, half orange or geometric pattern (Fig. 11), and these decorations often surround the heraldic emblems which dominate the composition. Thus, for example, the coats of arms of nobles and kings of Aragon and Castile, Sicily and Naples, the Dukes of Burgundy and the House of Brabant can be seen on many of these pieces. From the last quarter of the fifteenth century imitation of metalwork pieces was introduced with the so-called silversmith style of lustreware (LVDCO: *loza valenciana dorada or febre*), which exhibits ornamental microelements: dots and stalks (Fig. 12), “tiny ivy leaves” or little

flowers and seeds, “thistles” and geometric subjects such as so-called “spurs”. Its commercial distribution was widened, extending to the south of Africa and to the Indian Ocean, where it has been found in Vohemar (Madagascar) (Amigues 2011) and also in Angola and Mozambique, and after 1492 it reached America. But together with these types of lustreware, which began to fall into decline in the first decades of the sixteenth century, others decorated just in cobalt blue on white were also distributed from the last quarter of the fourteenth century (Coll Conesa 2009b). Among them we can distinguish three major groups according to their decoration. The first, schematic blue Valencian majolica (LVAE; *loza valenciana azul esquemática*), has stylised or schematic phytomorphic elements scattered over the interior of plates or bowls (Fig. 13). The second group, simple blue Valencian majolica (LVAS: *loza valenciana azul simple*) exhibits a radial decoration of palmettes and has been located in France, Italy and the Mediterranean, extending as far as Cherny Terik (Black Sea) (Fig. 14). The third, complex blue Valencian majolica (LVAC; *loza valenciana azul compleja*), displays decoration in parallel bands, and as well as being widely distributed in Europe it has been found in Alushta and Funa



Fig. 13. Basin, blue and white (LVAE series). Museo Nacional de Cerámica.

Рис. 13. Миска. Роспись синей и белой краской (серия LVAE). Национальный Музей Керамики.



Fig. 14. Bowl, blue and white (LVAS series). Waster from Manises workshops (excavation Val17, 2015).

Рис. 14. Чаша. Роспись синей и белой краской (серия LVAS). Производственный брак из мастерских Манисеса (раскоп Val17, 2015).

(Crimea) (Fig. 15). In this case, the blue colour on white, the motifs in the border and the composition seem to reflect echoes of Chinese porcelain produced in the reign of the Emperor Hongwu (1368—1398).

The Mediterranean distribution of post-medieval Valencian ceramics

The decorative styles and forms of Manises wares produced in this period have been presented before here and in general surveys by several authors, and I shall therefore not embark on a detailed description of them.

Sixteenth century

The point of interest here is to establish that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, despite the above-mentioned decline of these centres, determined by the factors on which I have commented, we still find Valencian lustreware circulating as a highly prized product in the Mediterranean and Atlantic regions. Evidence of this is the jug from the Confraternità dei Laici in the Museo Nazionale d'Arte Medievale e Moderna in Arezzo (Inv. no. 14820) bearing the Medici coat of arms that we also see on the plate in the Museo Civico in Bologna, on the reverse of which are displayed, in addition, the arms of Leo X (1513—1521) flanked by the motto GLOVIS and SI VOLG [E LA FORTUNA], attributed to the Gonfaloniere Giuliano de Medici (Francovich, Gelichi 1986). The presence of motifs on both



Fig. 15. Bowl, blue and white (LAVAC series). Waster from Manises workshops (excavation Val17, 2015).

Рис. 15. Чаша. Роспись синей и белой краской (серия LAVAC). Производственный брак из мастерских Манисеса (раскоп Val17, 2015).

pieces such as the schematic epigraph “in principio erat verbum”, and the florets, striped seeds and bars from the “golden bands” group (Coll Conesa 2009a: 116 and 118) (Fig. 16), seem to support a dating between the first and second decades of the century. However, there is another plate with the Medici arms in the Cluny Museum (Dectot, Makariou, Miraudot 2008: 104—105). This piece, in the “silversmith style” (LVDCO), presents an exuberant profusion of elements in



Fig. 16. Dish decorated with schematic motto “in principio erat verbum”, florets, striped seeds and bars from the “golden bands” series. Museo Nacional de Cerámica, acc. nº CE1/11133.

Рис. 16. Блюдо, украшенное схематическим девизом «in principio erat verbum» («В начале было Слово»), цветами, заштрихованными семенами растений и поперечными полосами из серии «золотые перевязи». Национальный Музей Керамики, № CE1/11133.

relief, with rosettes and split diamonds, characteristic of the sixteenth century and more typical of the period of Clement VII (1523—1534).

These Medici pieces may be examples of gifts from Valencian dignitaries rather than direct commissions, but the fact that they were preserved indicates the esteem in which they were still held. Bourgeois markets still bear witness to the Mediterranean distribution of Valencian majolica, recorded, for example, in the gabelle of Avignon at the end of the sixteenth century and the trade taxes of Aix-en-Provence (1584), and it is found in inventories of apothecaries' shops (Tarascon 1529; Berre 1547). Archaeology has revealed the existence of cargoes in shipwrecks, such as La Lomellina, which sank off Villefranche-sur-Mer in 1516 (Amouric, Richez, Vallauri 1999), or terrestrial sites in Cagliari, Syracuse (Platamone and Fiorilla 2005; Fiorilla 2005), Lyon (Hory 2002; Pomarede 2002), Silves (Varela, Varela 1991) and the Portuguese North African colony of Qsar es-Seghir, abandoned in 1550 (Redman 1979; 1980; 1986). In the first of these places a plate is documented with the “leaf band” motif, a series we

can date thanks to the large jug with the heraldic emblem of Jaume Valls, Abbot of Santes Creus (1534—1560). In this period they were still plentiful on the Atlantic routes of northern Europe, as is demonstrated by widespread finds in Great Britain (Gerrard et al. 1995; Gutiérrez 2000) (Fig. 17).

Seventeenth century

The crisis in Spanish society precipitated by the almost constant state of war and the expulsion of the *Moriscos* further curtailed the commercial presence of Valencian lustreware in the Mediterranean. They still strove to maintain their prestige in the face of the innovative Renaissance majolicas and copies of Chinese porcelain which established themselves as models. They were still prized by high society, as we can see from their presence in paintings, such as the still life by Antonio Pereda in the Hermitage Museum (1652) which shows majolicas from Talavera and Manises, Chinese porcelain and Mexican vessels from Tonalá side by side. Some armorial wares offer evidence of this prestige, as illus-



Fig. 17. Bowl, morisco ware, with late resist technique. Museo Nacional de Cerámica, acc. nºCE1/01643.

Рис. 17. Чаша в стиле «мориско», в поздней технике заливки фона. Национальный Музей Керамики, № CE1/01643.



Fig. 18. Bowl, morisco ware, with late resist technique and "split leaves". Museo Nacional de Cerámica, acc. nºCE1/08978.

Рис. 18. Чаша в стиле «мориско», в поздней технике заливки фона и с узором в виде «рассеченных листьев». Национальный Музей Керамики, № CE1/08978.



Fig. 19. Dish, morisco ware with pattern "split leaves". Museo Nacional de Cerámica, acc. nºCE1/14618.

Рис. 19. Блюдо в стиле «мориско» с узором в виде «рассеченных листьев». Национальный Музей Керамики, № CE1/14618.

trated by the pair of vases bearing the arms of the Borghese family of Siena together with two busts of warriors (Hispanic Society). Van de Put (1911: 66—68) attributed them to Pope Paul V

(Camilo Borghese 1605—1621), suggesting that they might perhaps have been a gift from Cardinal Gaspar Borgia, son of the sixth Duke of Gandía (1611—1645). On these vases we

can see the new decorations developed in metallic lustre, with the ornamental “split leaves” motif, introduced shortly after 1600 (Coll Conesa 2009a: 124—130) (Figs. 18; 19). Another interesting piece is the heraldic vase dedicated to Cardinal d’Este (British Museum) with the inscription “Ille Sor Cardl Deste In Urbe Ro”. It probably belonged to Rinaldo d’Este (cardinal between 1637 and 1672) or to Alessandro d’Este (cardinal between 1598 and 1624). Frothingham (1951) was of the opinion that it was made in Reus in the mid-sixteenth century, although we now know that it is undoubtedly of Valencian manufacture (Wilson 1995: 339—351; Coll Conesa 2009a: 131) (Fig. 20). From the middle of the century the new pattern of “lined leaves” became established in Manises; we can see it on two flowerpots displaying the heraldic arms of the regent Don Juan of Austria (1677—1679) (Victoria & Albert Museum) (Van de Put 1911; Coll Conesa 2009a: 134), and also on four plates bearing the emblem of an unknown archbishop and decorated with several couples of ladies and gentlemen in various costumes or the typical quadrupeds and birds with striped bodies (Cluny Museum) (Dectot, Taburet-Delhaye 2007; Coll Conesa 2009a: 134) (Fig. 21).

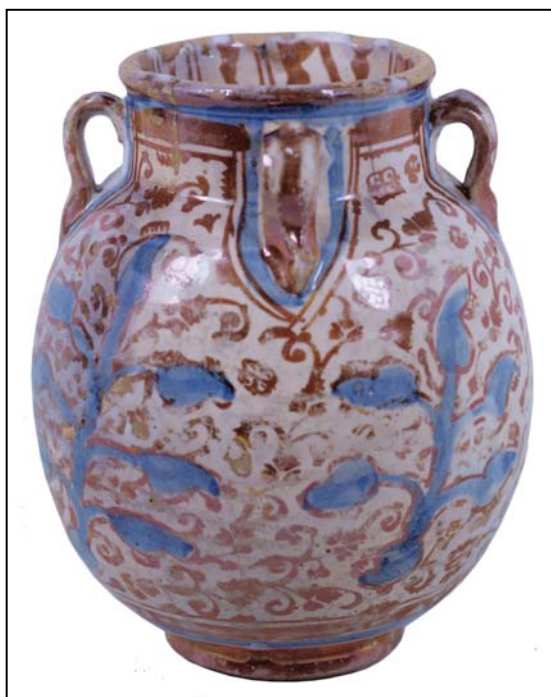


Fig. 20. Jar showing the same decoration of the Cardinal Rinaldo’s vase. Museo Nacional de Cerámica, acc. nº CE1/03109.

Рис. 20. Кувшин с тем же декором, что и на вазе Кардинала Ринальдо. Национальный Музей Керамики, № CE1/03109.



Fig. 21. Dish. Lustreware decorated with quadrupeds and birds with striped bodies and “lined leaves”. Museo Nacional de Cerámica, acc. nº CE1/3119.

Рис. 21. Блюдо, люстр. Роспись с изображением четвероногих животных и птиц с заштрихованными телами и «листьями, нанесёнными тонкой линией». Национальный Музей Керамики, № CE1/3119.



Fig. 22. Dish. Lustreware decorated with “escamas” or “concentric semicircles” and “scales” pattern. Museo Nacional de Cerámica, acc. nº CE1/1679.

Рис. 22. Блюдо, люстр. Роспись с изображением «концентрических полукружий» и «чешуек». Национальный Музей Керамики, № CE1/1679.

Gold lustreware from this period has been found in Cagliari and Syracuse. In the former, plates decorated with the motif of leaves with bands, decoration we can see on the big jug with heraldry of the abbot Jaume Valls of Santes Creus (1534—1560) (Coll Conesa 2009a: 134). Also the “concentric semicircles” or scales are documented, dating from the end of the century (Coll Conesa 2009a: 136—137) (Fig. 22). In Syracuse we have a large lustreware plate with a blue solid bouquet motif, typically found with the decorations from this period (Coll Conesa 2009a: 135—137). Most of these decorations are found on dishes and jugs preserved in Narbonne, where arrived frequently (Amigues 1994), and in the Uffizi in Florence (Marini 2003). The influence of Iznik pottery is evoked by the “carnation bush” motif often joined to “Pardalot” or “Big Bird” (Fig. 23), started in the last quarter of the XVIIth century and extensively used through the next.

Eighteenth century

The new century was marked by the dynastic change brought about by the reign of



Fig. 23. Dish. Lustreware decorated with “clavelinas” and “Pardalot” motifs. Museo Nacional de Cerámica, acc. nº CE1/1649.

Рис. 23. Блюдо, люстр. Роспись с изображением «гвоздик» и «Радужных птиц». Национальный Музей Керамики, № CE1/1649.



Fig. 24. Valencian tile found in the Pointe de Beauduc shipwreck (France), sank in 1771. Taken from Amouric, Richez and Vallauri, 1999.

Рис. 24. Валенсийская плитка, найденная в остане судна, затонувшего у Пуэн-де-Бодюк (Франция) в 1771 г. (по Amouric, Richez and Vallauri, 1999).



Fig. 25. Valencian tile preserved in the National Museum of History and Art at Tlemcen. Last quarter of XVIIIth century.

Рис. 25. Валенсийская плитка из фондов Национального Музея Искусств и Истории в Тлемсене (Алжир). Последняя четверть XVIII века.

Philip V, the first king of the Bourbon dynasty, ushered in by the War of the Spanish Succession (1701—1713), which was motivated by the desire of the European powers to curtail the hegemony of France. The new court spurred an aesthetic renaissance and new systems of organising production by promoting the *Reales Fábricas* (Royal Factories) as a reflection of the doctrines of the minister Colbert, responsible for modernising the French economy under Louis XIV, the grandfather of the new king of Spain. It also introduced new concepts into antiquated Spanish society, the ideals of the Enlightenment and a unifying political vision opposed to the privileges of class, the Church and certain regions with special administrative and legal regimes, such as the Crown of Aragon, in favour of constructing a new nation unified under the authority of an absolute sovereign who represented the modernisation of the state. Having stifled the rebellion of those regions that supported a successor to the throne from the Austrian dynasty, driven partly by hatred of France, the enemy of Spain for the previous fifty years, and also by the desire to defend their particular form of government, which was under threat from the new regime, Philip V managed to provide a certain stability and put the crumbling economy back on a sound footing.

In ceramics a drastic rift opened up between the production system based on guild workshops, inherited from the medieval period, outdated

and incapable of organising itself to meet the new demands of society, and the manufacturing model. The latter represented a capitalised system of production, with an investor who was not a member of the trade and a production process carried out by specialists trained not so much in the guild system as in the new disciplines of science and technology, rationalism and the academy.

The major new development in this century was the burgeoning tile industry, the centre of which was established in the city of Valencia. Those involved in it included painters like Dionís Vidal and Hipólito Rovira, who acted as designers and product directors, as well as various specialists in ceramic painting and firing. A range of references testify to the favourable impression these factories made on contemporaries and travellers. In 1738, for example, the chronicler Pascual Esclapés mentioned the Valencian tiles being made for the Royal Palace in Madrid. In 1762 the Jesuit Tomás Serrano commented that the city had five factories, and the French traveller Gourmay referred to them in 1778. They were also cited by Marcos Antonio de Orellana (1780) and Tomás Ricord (1793), whilst the French writer Jean François Bourgogne praised the quality of their products and their wide distribution in 1797. The most highly regarded factories in the second half of the eighteenth century were those of Vicente Navarro, Manuel Alapont, Josep Cola, Onofre Pedrón and Alejandro Faure, the last of



Fig. 26. Alcora's tray with the arms of Beltrani, c. 1750. Museo Nacional de Cerámica, acc. nº CE1—15235.

Рис. 26. Поднос из Алькоры с гербом Бельтрани, около 1750. Национальный Музей Керамики, № CE1—15235.

which was subsequently acquired by Marcos Antonio Disdier and led to the foundation of the Real Fábrica de Azulejos de Valencia (Valencia Royal Tile Factory) in 1795 (Pérez Guillén 1990, 2005).

Valencian tiles were already being exported in the seventeenth century to Cagliari, still under Spanish rule, where there is a ceramic panel with the “arms of the Lord Archbishop” Francisco de Esquivel (1605—1624), combined with “diamond point” tiles, in the Cripta dei Sancti Innumerabiles of the Cathedral. In the Chiesa di San Domenico (of the Order of Preachers) there is also a heraldic device, possibly the personal arms of St Lucifer, Bishop of Cagliari, which must date from after 1683. There are further serial tiles in the Chiesa di Sant’Efisio. Those in the Chiesa della Purissima, and those in the Capella della Pietà and the Capella della Confraternità dell’Orazione e della Morte of the Chiesa del Santo Sepolcro, are from the eighteenth century, and there are others in San Francesco di Stampace (Porcella, Dadea 1997; Dadea, Porcella 1997).

The wreck located in France at Pointe de Beauduc, which sank in 1771, was carrying Valencian tiles with flower and rocaïlle motifs (Amouric, Richez, Vallauri 1999) (Fig. 24).

We also know that tiles from Valencia reached Topkapi Palace in Istanbul, where they were installed in the Courtyard of the Concubines (research carried out by Amouric and Vallauri); these were decorated with ribbons with fruit and flowers. They also reached Algeria and Tunisia, inspiring local production of Quallaline (Álvarez Dopico 2009), although some tiles of Valencian origin, from ruined buildings, are preserved in the Musée National d’Art et d’Histoire de Tlemcen (Fig. 25).

At Alcora a Real Manufatura (Royal Factory) was established, founded by the Lord of the town, Buenaventura Pedro de Alcántara Abarca de Bolea, Count of Aranda, in 1727. It was an example of enlightenment modernisation which implemented a system of regulation and production by specialised departments under the direction of technical specialists, almost always foreign, and introduced French taste and imitation porcelain, as well as decoration of a thoroughly academic character, executed by staff trained from childhood in the factory’s own school (Coll Conesa 2009a: 177 ss). Its output of hundreds of thousands of pieces and stocks in the millions was directed to Spanish markets overseas, mostly in Latin America, but its products have not been identified by archaeolo-

gists in Mediterranean ports, perhaps because of their similarity to those of other contemporary factories such as Moustiers, Marseilles or Turin, although they must certainly have been distributed through them. However, it is known alcora's Beltrani tableware made for the family, based in Salerno and Trani (Soler Ferrer 2010) (Fig. 26). The influence of a decoration inspired in lace, called "Orla Bérain" — after a French designer Jean de Bérain — or french border, is then seen on lustreware dishes with the carnation motif.

We have had more success in identifying the presence of eighteenth-century Manises ware in Cagliari and Arezzo, probably indicating the existence of late distribution of those products. It is not easy to present an archaeological map of their spread, given the scarcity of sources describing late finds of this kind, which only tend to be mentioned when they are attributed to earlier periods.

Conclusion

The commercial distribution of higher quality Valencian majolica, generally always gold lustreware, declined in the sixteenth century because of a loss of appreciation in the market compared with polychrome ware or Chinese porcelain and because of social problems which impeded

its production. Nevertheless, some emblematic pieces with heraldic devices of eminent personages continued to be made at intervals over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the Mediterranean area it also remained closely linked to territories related to the former Crown of Aragon (Tuscany, Sardinia, Sicily, Naples and the south of France), but also to the trade routes of Italian mercants that reached the Black Sea. International trade brought them also to América and Africa from late XV century. In the eighteenth century polychrome tiling emerged as a new product which achieved recognition in foreign markets, not only reaching distant places such as Istanbul, but also creating a new taste which led to local imitation of its designs in centres like Quallaline (Tunisia).

Beyond these products, Alcora produced the highest quality Valencian ware in the eighteenth century, although it seems to have supplied only Spanish markets, where royal privileges compensated for its high production and distribution costs. The scarcity of archaeological documentation may, however, be due to the fact that Mediterranean archaeology has hitherto paid little attention to these late wares, which, moreover, were very similar in all European factories, making them more difficult to identify archaeologically.

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