OWNING THE EXOTIC: PRODUCTION OF HISPANO-ISLAMIC LUSTERWARE AND ITS RECEPTION IN WESTERN EUROPE, 1350-1650

by

ANDREA ORTUÑO

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faulty in Art History in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

2013

© 2013

Andrea Ortuño

All Rights Reserved

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Art History in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Dr. Jennifer Ball

Date
Chair of Examining Committee

Dr. Claire Bishop

Date
Executive Officer

Dr. Eloise Quiñones-Keber

Dr. Amanda Wunder

Dr. Margaret Connors-McQuade

Supervisory Committee

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

ABSTRACT

Owning the Exotic: Production of Hispano-Islamic Lusterware and its Reception in Western Europe, 1350-1650

by

Andrea Ortuño

Adviser: Professor Jennifer L. Ball

Lusterware, tin-glazed pottery decorated with striking iridescent designs, was first made in Basra, Iraq, in the ninth century. These luxury ceramics and the specialized technique involved in their creation spread rapidly throughout the Islamic world, with the Iberian Peninsula ultimately becoming a center for production. This dissertation examines the social, historical, and artistic circumstances surrounding Hispano-Islamic lusterware production and provides insight into its reception in Western Europe during the height of its consumption from 1350 to 1650.

Given that available scholarship on Hispano-Islamic lusterware is primarily concerned with archaeological excavation, trade practices, and formal analysis, our understanding of what this pottery meant to the artists who created it and to the patrons whose tastes it satisfied has remained unclear. My dissertation clarifies these aspects by viewing both the creation and patronage of this lusterware as driven by its conception as an exotic luxury item in the Iberian Peninsula as well as in Northern Europe and Italy.

Moreover, while waning lusterware consumption in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe, and Spain in particular, has been viewed as evidence of a change of taste imposed by the growth of an Italian Renaissance aesthetic, I demonstrate that new types of attainable exotica, such as Chinese porcelain and New World ceramics, also diminished lusterware's popularity.

ACKNOWLEDGEMNTS

The preparation of this dissertation would not have been possible without the guidance and support of many people. The deepest respect and appreciation is due to my adviser, Dr. Jennifer L. Ball. Her course on the medieval Mediterranean world encouraged me to think about the power of portable objects, and it was in that class that the seed for this dissertation took root. Throughout the process of writing a proposal and turning that proposal into a completed study, Professor Ball has been knowledgeable, attentive, and inspiring. Working with such an outstanding director has truly been a pleasure.

I extend special thanks to the members of my committee, Dr. Eloise Quiñones-Keber, Dr. Amanda Wunder, and Dr. Margaret Connors-McQuade, for their scholarly input and expert guidance. As Assistant Director and Curator of Decorative Arts at The Hispanic Society of America, Dr. Connors-McQuade has provided me with a wealth of research materials and access to one of the finest collections of lustered ceramics in the world. As my friend, she has offered me her sound advice and unwavering encouragement.

I am also extremely grateful to the following members of the staff and administration of The Hispanic Society: Dr. Marcus Burke, Daniel Silva, Monica Katz, Constancio del Alamo, Hélène Fontoira Marzín, Dr. Noemí Espinosa, and Dr. Mitchell Codding. Being able to work within this community of scholars and experts has greatly enriched my academic and professional life. Moreover, with my parents and siblings far away in Texas, I have for several years considered the staff of the Hispanic Society to be my second family.

I would like to offer my thanks as well to Dr. Jaume Coll Conesa, Director of the Museo Nacional de Cerámica y Artes Suntuarias González Martí in Valencia, Dr. Angus McKay, Curator of Metalwork at The Victoria and Albert Museum, London, and Mr. Robert Armitage,

Humanities Bibliographer at The New York Public Library for their invaluable suggestions and research assistance. I am grateful to Dr. Michael Foley of Baylor University and Ms. Patricia Cabral of the Birch Wathen Lenox School for their help with Latin and French translations, respectively. I would also like to acknowledge Dr. Wayne Franits of Syracuse University for selecting me to present some of my early research at the 2011 College Art Association Conference in New York City.

I appreciate the support I have received through The Graduate Center of the City University of New York. I was the recipient of a CUNY doctoral research travel grant, which allowed me to conduct research and view museum collections in Spain. Furthermore, the friendships I have made during my time at The Graduate Center have been of great importance to me. I thank Ellen Hurst, Renee McGarry, Arden Decker, Marisa Lerer, Jennifer Favorite, Anne Vuagniaux, and Sarah Dillon for their willingness to read my writing, their feedback, and their enthusiasm.

For their unconditional love and ability to make me laugh, I am grateful to my fiancé Eliott Taylor and to my oldest friend Tonya Castillo. Finally, I would like to acknowledge my parents, Drs. Marian and Manuel Ortuño. Often parents can provide their children with the financial means necessary to complete their education. My parents have offered me so much more. In appreciation of their academic guidance, their emotional support, their generosity and love, I dedicate this dissertation to them.

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS vi

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS x

INTRODUCTION 1

Chapter

1. LUSTERWARE ARTISTS AND CONSUMERS: EVOLUTION AND MEANING OF DESIGNS 17

    From Religious and Dynastic Symbol to Widespread Luxury Good: The Lusterware of the Kingdom of Granada

    The Diversity of Valencian Production

    Responding to Pan-European Trends: Heraldic Imagery, Northern Metalwork, and Italian Renaissance Ceramics

2. ROMANTICIZING THE MOOR: RECEPTION OF HISPANO-ISLAMIC LUSTERWARE IN LATE MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN SPAIN 68

    Maurophilia in the Arts of Late Medieval and Early Modern Spain

    Obra de Malica: Lusterware and the Legacy of Islamic Spain

    Transferal and Preservation of Luster Potters

    Beautiful, Hidden, and Memorable Things: Christian Responses to Lusterware and Lusterware Communities

3. NORTHERN EUROPEAN CONSUMPTION AND RECEPTION OF HISPANO-ISLAMIC LUSTERWARE 112

    Overview of Trade and Distribution

    Lusterware as Luxury Domestic Good, Collector’s Item, and Eastern Curio

    Evocation of the *Loca Sancta*: Lusterware as Relic and Symbol

    “Saracen Work”: Lusterware as Product of the Heathen

4. THE LIFE OF HISPANO-ISLAMIC LUSTERWARE IN ITALY . . . 156

Overview of Trade and Distribution

Heavenly Revetment and Holy Relics: Hispano-Islamic Luster in Italian Churches

The Lust for Lusterware in Renaissance Florence

Capturing the Exotic Mystique: Derivations of Hispano-Islamic Lusterware and Application of the Technique

5. CHANGING TASTES AND NEW EXOTICA: THE WANING POPULARITY OF HISPANO-ISLAMIC LUSTERWARE 203

The Rise of Italian Maiolica in Western Europe

The Expulsion of the *Moriscos*

Looking Outward: Global Commerce, the Americas, the Far East

CONCLUSION 243

BIBLIOGRAPHY 250

ILLUSTRATIONS 272

ILLUSTRATIONS

Introduction

1. Map showing pottery-producing areas in the Iberian Peninsula. Source: Timothy Husband, "Valencian Lusterware of the Fifteenth Century: Notes and Documents," 11.

2. Fragment of dish, tin-glazed earthenware with luster, Iraq, 10th century, Medina al-Zahra, Museo de las Ruinas, Córdoba.

3. Platter of the Lions, tin-glazed earthenware with luster, probably Málaga, late11th-early 12th century, Museo de Tudela, Tudela, Spain.

4. Platter, tin-glazed earthenware with luster, probably Málaga, Late 12th-first third of the 13th century, Concelleria d'Educació i Cultura, Museo de Mallorca, Palma.

5. Bowl from S. Cecilia, Pisa, tin-glazed earthenware with luster, Málaga, first third of the 13th century, Museo Nazionale, Pisa.

6. Dish with the arms of the Despujol family, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, Manises (Valencia), ca. 1400, The Hispanic Society of America, New York.

Chapter One

1.1. Dish, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, Manises (Valencia), ca. 1375, The Hispanic Society of America, New York.

1.2. Dish, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, Manises (Valencia), ca. 1400-1420, The Hispanic Society of America, New York.

1.3. Covered Jars with the arms of Pope Paul V, Camillo Borghese, tin-glazed earthenware with luster, Reus, 1605-1621, The Hispanic Society of America, New York.

1.4. Gazelle vase, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, Málaga, ca. 1350-1400, Museo de la Alhambra, Granada.

1.5. Bowl, tin-glazed earthenware with luster, probably Málaga, 13th century, Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit, Michigan.

1.6. Bowl with Zodiac Signs, stonepaste with overglaze luster painted on opaque white glaze, Kashan, Iran, 12th century, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

1.7. Bowl, tin-glazed earthenware with luster, Egypt, last quarter of the 11th century, Museo Nazionale, Pisa.

1.8. Fragment, tin-glazed earthenware with luster, Málaga, 1250-1300, The Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

1.9. Reverse of bowl (fig. 5), tin-glazed earthenware with luster, Málaga, first third of the 13th century, Museo Nazionale, Pisa.

1.10. Fragment of *tinaja*, earthenware, Seville, 10th century, The Hispanic Society of America, New York.

1.11. Detail of ewer, fritware with luster and tin glaze, Kashan, early 13th century, Musée du Louvre, Paris.

1.12. Table, tin-glazed earthenware with luster, Kashan, 13th century, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia.

1.13. Dish from the façade of S. Andrea, Pisa, tin-glazed earthenware with luster, 12th-13th century, probably Málaga, Museo Nazionale, Pisa.

1.14. Dish, tin-glazed earthenware with luster, Málaga, second quarter of the 13th century, Museo Nazionale, Pisa.

1.15. Bowl, tin-glazed earthenware with luster, Iraq, 10th century, Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit, Michigan.

1.16. Tile, glazed fritware with cobalt and luster, Kashan, 1270s, The Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

1.17. Dish, tin-glazed earthenware with luster, Málaga, second quarter of the 13th century, Museo Nazionale, Pisa.

1.18. Jar, tin-glazed earthenware with luster, Egypt, 11th century, Kuwait National Museum, Kuwait City.

1.19. Fragments, tin-glazed earthenware with luster, Málaga, 14th and 15th centuries, The Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

1.20. Dish with Nasrid coat-of-arms, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, Málaga, 14th century, Museo de la Alhambra, Granada.

1.21. Detail of the Fortuny Tile, tin-glazed earthenware with luster, Málaga, 14th century, Instituto de Valencia de don Juan, Madrid.

1.22. The Fortuny-Simonetti Vase, tin-glazed earthenware with luster, Málaga, first half of the 14th century, Museo de la Alhambra, Granada.

1.23. The Hornos Vase, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, Málaga, third quarter of the 14th century, Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid.

1.24. The Jerez Vase, tin-glazed earthenware with luster, Málaga, second quarter of the 14th century, Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid.

1.25. The Palermo Vase, tin-glazed earthenware with luster, Málaga, early 14th century, Galleria Regionale della Sicilia, Palazzo Abatellis, Palermo.

1.26. Nasrid Vase, tin-glazed earthenware with luster, Málaga, early 14th century, Instituto de Valencia de don Juan, Madrid.

1.27. Alhambra Vase, tin-glazed earthenware with luster and later gilded bronze mounts, Málaga, second half of the 14th century, National Museum of Fine Arts, Stockholm.

1.28. The Fortuny Vase, tin-glazed earthenware with luster, Málaga, second half of the 14th century, The Hermitage, St. Petersburg.

1.29. Vase body, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, Málaga, 14th century, The Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institute, Washington D.C.

1.30. Vase neck, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, Málaga, 14th century, The Hispanic Society of America, New York.

1.31. Patio de la Acequia, Alhambra Palace, Granada. Source: D. Fairchild Ruggles, "The Gardens of the Alhambra and the Concept of the Garden in Medieval Spain," in *Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992), 162.

1.32. Tiles from the *peinador*, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt, Málaga, 14th century, Museo de la Alhambra, Granada.

1.33. Woven silk, Lucca, 1300-1350, The Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

1.34. The Limbourg Brothers, April from the *Très Riches Heures*, 1412-16, Musée Condé, Chantilly.

1.35. Basin, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, Málaga, late 14th century, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

1.36. Bowl, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, Málaga, late 14th century, The Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

1.37. Pitcher, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, Málaga, late 14th century, Instituto Valencia de don Juan, Madrid.

1.38. Bottom of figure 1.35. Basin, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, Málaga, late 14th century, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

1.39. Basin, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, Málaga, 14th century, Museo de la Alhambra, Granada, and drawing by Manuel Casamar, 1959.

1.40. Dish, tin-glazed earthenware, Tunisia, 12th century, Museo Nazionale, Pisa.

1.41. Pitcher, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, Málaga, second quarter of the 14th century, Pinacoteca Nazionale, Cagliari.

1.42. The Berchulles Pitcher, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, Málaga, first half of the 14th century, Instituto Valencia de don Juan, Madrid.

1.43. Bowl, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, second quarter of the 14th century, Manises (Valencia), Pinacoteca Nazionale, Cagliari.

1.44. Bowl, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, second quarter of the 14th century, Manises (Valencia), Pinacoteca Nazionale, Cagliari.

1.45. Bowl, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, second quarter of the 14th century, Manises (Valencia), Pinacoteca Nazionale, Cagliari.

1.46. Bowl, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, Manises (Valencia), late 14th or early 15th century, Museu de Ceràmica, Barcelona.

1.47. Bowl, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, second quarter of the 14th century, Manises (Valencia), Pinacoteca Nazionale, Cagliari.

1.48. Basin, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, Málaga, 14th century, Museo de la Alhambra, Granada.

1.49. Basin, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, Manises (Valencia), late 14th to early 15th century, British Museum, London.

1.50. Detail of basin, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, Manises (Valencia), late 14th to early 15th century, British Museum, London.

1.51. Funerary Boat, wood, paint, plaster, linen, twine, and cloth, Thebes, c. 1975 B.C., The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

1.52. Basin, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, Manises (Valencia), early 15th century, Musée du Petit Palais, Paris.

1.53. Pillow cover of Queen Berenguela, silk and gold thread, 13th century, Monasterio de Santa María la Real de Huelgas, Burgos.

1.54. Textile with drinking ladies, silk, Spain, 13th century, The Cooper-Hewitt Museum, New York.

1.55. Benozzo Gozzoli, Detail from *The Procession of the Magi*, Palazzo Medici Riccardi, Florence, 1459-60.

1.56. Vase with emblem of Piero de' Medici, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, Manises (Valencia), 1465-92, The British Museum, London.

1.57. Plate, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, Manises (Valencia), 1430-70, The Hispanic Society of America, New York.

1.58. Albarello, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, Manises (Valencia), 1435-75, The Hispanic Society of America, New York.

1.59. Detail from the *Hours of Catherine of Cleves*, MS. M.917, f. 97r, Utrecht, 1434-40, The Morgan Library, New York.

1.60. Detail of basin with bryony motif, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, Manises (Valencia), 1450-70, The Hispanic Society of America, New York.

1.61. Bryony (*Bryonia dioica*). Source: G. Stübing and J.B. Peris, *Plantas medicinales de la comunidad valenciana* (Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana Conselleria de Medio Ambiente, 1998), 315.

1.62. Evergreen oak or *carrasca* (*Quercus ilex*). Source: G. Stübing and J.B. Peris, *Plantas medicinales de la comunidad valenciana* (Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana Conselleria de Medio Ambiente, 1998), 319.

1.63. Detail of plate, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, Manises (Valencia), 1425-1450, The Hispanic Society of America, New York.

1.64. Marigold (*calendula officinalus*). Source: G. Stübing and J.B. Peris, *Plantas medicinales de la comunidad valenciana* (Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana Conselleria de Medio Ambiente, 1998), 305.

1.65. Reverse of basin, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, Manises (Valencia), 1480-1500, The Hispanic Society of America, New York.

1.66. Esparto grass tip (*stipa tenacissima*). Source: Andres Ceballos, *Plantas de nuestros campos y bosques* (Madrid: Ediciones Andriala, 1998), 519.

1.67. Detail of plate with acacia leaves, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, Manises (Valencia), 1430-1460, The Hispanic Society of America, New York.

1.68. Acacia (*Acacia farnesiana*). Source: G. Stübing and J.B. Peris, *Plantas medicinales de la comunidad valenciana* (Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana Conselleria de Medio Ambiente, 1998), 327.

1.69. Thistle head (*Cynara cardunculus*). Source: G. Stübing and J.B. Peris, *Plantas medicinales de la comunidad valenciana* (Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana Conselleria de Medio Ambiente, 1998), 306.

1.70. Detail of bowl with thistle head pattern, tin-glazed earthenware with luster, Manises (Valencia), late 15th to early 16th century, The Hispanic Society of America, New York.

1.71. Detail of plate with arms of the Benvenuti family, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, Manises (Valencia), mid-15th century, The Hispanic Society of America, New York.

1.72. Bowl, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, Valencia, late-15th century, Museu de Ceràmica, Barcelona.

1.73. Plate, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, Manises (Valencia), 1500-25, The Hispanic Society of America, New York.

1.74. Plate, tin-glazed earthenware with luster, Valencia, early 15th century, The Hispanic Society of America, New York.

1.75. Martín de Antón, host container, silver, Burgos, c. 1480, Museo de Retablo, Burgos.

1.76. Basin, beaten brass, Nuremberg, early 16th century, The Hispanic Society of America, New York.

1.77. Jost Amman, Woodcut from *Crafts of the World*, 1568. Source: Jan Gadd, "Brass Basins and Bowls from a Single Nuremburg Workshop, Around 1500-1580," *Journal of the Antique Metalware Society* 16 (June 2008): 3.

1.78. Domenico Ghirlandaio, detail from *Death of St. Fina*, fresco, Collegiata, San Gimignano, 1473-75.

1.79. Vergòs group, *Birth of St. Stephen*, tempera and gold leaf on wood, 1495-1500, Museu Nacional d'Art de Cataluyna.

1.80. Basin, tin-glazed earthenware with luster, Manises (Valencia), mid-16th century, Colección Mascort, Barcelona.

1.81. Footed dish, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, Reus (Tarragona), 1600-1625, The Hispanic Society of America, New York.

1.82. Virgliotto Calamelli, *crespina*, tin-glazed earthenware, Faenza, late-16th century, Museo Internazionale delle Ceramiche, Faenza.

1.83. Bowl, tin-glazed earthenware with luster, Reus, 17th century, The Hispanic Society of America, New York.

1.84. *The Hero Ruggiero*, tin-glazed earthenware, Castel Durante, ca. 1525 or later, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

1.85. Plate, tin-glazed earthenware with luster, Seville, mid-16th century, Museu de Ceràmica, Barcelona.

1.86. Dish, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, Deruta, early 16th century, Museo Communale, Deruta.

1.87. Tile, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, Seville, 16th century, The Hispanic Society of America, New York.

Chapter 2

2.1 Passover plate, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, Manises (Valencia), c. 1480, Israel Museum, Jerusalem.

2.2. Juan de la Corte, detail of *juego de cañas* in *Fiesta de la Plaza Mayor*, 1623, Museo Municipal, Madrid.

2.3. Christopher Weiditz, woman in *chapines*, f. 60 from *Das Trachtenbuch*, 1529, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremburg.

2.4. Fernando Gallego, detail of woman wearing a *toca* from *Christ and the Samaritan*, oil and tempera on panel, Castile, 1480-88, University of Arizona Museum of Art, Tuscon.

2.5. “Alhambra” Silk, Granada, c. 1400, The Hispanic Society of America, New York.

2.6. Fernando Yáñez de Almedina, *St. Catherine*, oil on panel, Museo del Prado, Madrid.

2.7. Fernando Yáñez de Almedina, *Birth of the Virgin*, oil on panel, main altarpiece, Valencia Cathedral.

2.8. Plate, tin-glazed earthenware, Paterna (Valencia), c. 1350, The Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

2.9. Albarello, tin-glazed earthenware, Paterna (Valencia), c. 1400, The Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

2.10. Plate, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, Seville, 16th century, Colección Mascort, Barcelona.

2.11. Plate, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, Muel (Zaragoza), c. 1525-50, The Hispanic Society of America, New York.

2.12. Plate, tin-glazed earthenware with luster, Barcelona, 16th century, Colección Mascort, Barcelona.

2.13. Alhambra Tile, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, Granada, 1350-1400, The Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

2.14. Alhambra Tile, earthenware molded in relief with honey-brown, blue, and white glazes, 1542-1590, The Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

2.15. Jaume Ferrer the Elder, detail from *The Last Supper*, first half of the 15th century, Museo Arqueológico Diocesana, Solsona.

2.16. Jaume Ferrer the Elder, detail from *The Last Supper*, first half of the 15th century, Museo Arqueológico Diocesana, Solsona.

2.17. Jaume Ferrer the Elder, detail from *The Last Supper*, first half of the 15th century, Museo Arqueológico Diocesana, Solsona.

2.18. Jaume Ferrer the Younger, detail of *Annunciation*, oil and tempera on panel, 1457, Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland.

2.19. Master of Bonastre, detail of *Annunciation*, oil and tempera on panel, c. 1440-50, Collection of the Marqués de Mascarell, Valencia.

2.20. Ramón Solà, detail of *Annunciation*, oil and tempera on panel, c. 1480, Girona Cathedral, Girona.

2.21. Master of the Porcíuncula, *Apparition of the Virgin to St. Francis*, oil on panel, c. 1450. Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Barcelona.

2.22. Master of the Porcíuncula, detail of *Apparition of the Virgin to St. Francis*, oil on panel, c. 1450, Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Barcelona.

2.23. Deep dish, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, Manises (Valencia), mid-15th century, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Chapter 3

3.1. Map showing late medieval trade routes and Hanseatic headquarters of Lübeck, Danzig, and Bergen. Source: Wendy R. Childs, *Anglo-Castilian Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1978), 150.

3.2. Dish unearthed at Middleberg and likely brought in through Sluis, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, Manises (Valencia), 1375-1425, Boijmans van Beuningen Museum, Rotterdam.

3.3. Dish, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, Manises (Valencia), 1400-1450, The Hispanic Society of America, New York.

3.4. Dish with arms of Philip the Good of Burgundy, tin-glazed earthenware with luster, c. 1438, Fundación Lázaro Galdiano, Madrid.

3.5. Dish with arms of Philip the Good of Burgundy, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, Manises (Valencia), c. 1428, The Wallace Collection, London.

3.6. Reverse of dish, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, Manises (Valencia), 1430-70, The Hispanic Society of America, New York.

3.7. Dish, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, Manises (Valencia), 1435-75, The Hispanic Society of America, New York.

3.8. Pitcher with arms of the Medici, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, Manises (Valencia), c. 1450-60, Kunstgewerbemuseum, Berlin.

3.9. Dish with arms of René of Anjou, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, Manises (Valencia), c. 1450, The British Museum, London.

3.10. Mamluk basin, brass engraved and inlaid with silver and black compound, Egypt or Syria, 14th century, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

3.11. Master of Mary of Burgundy, *The Hours of Engelbert of Nassau*, f. 145v, 1470s, Bodleian Library, Oxford.

3.12. Master of Mary of Burgundy, *The Hours of Engelbert of Nassau*, f. 146, 1470s, Bodleian Library, Oxford.

3.13. Bowl, tin-glazed earthenware with luster, Manises (Valencia), c. 1450, The Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

3.14. Albarello, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, Manises (Valencia), 1450-75, The Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

3.15. Bowl, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, Manises (Valencia), 1430-70, The Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

3.16. Shallow basin, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, Manises (Valencia), 1380-1430, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

3.17. Georg Hayer, Alhambra Vase, engraving, 1598. Source: Otto, Kurz. “The Strange History of an Alhambra Vase,” *Al-Andalus* XL (1975): 210.

3.18. Hugo van der Goes, detail from *The Portinari Altarpiece*, oil on panel, c. 1476-79, Uffizi, Florence.

3.19. Hugo van der Goes, detail of *The Monforte Altarpiece*, oil on panel, c. 1470, Staatliche Museen, Berlin.

3.20. Hans Multscher, detail from *The Death of the Virgin*, oil on panel, 1437, Staatliche Museen, Berlin.

3.21. Stefan Lochner, detail from the *Annunciation* of *Das Dombild* (*Adoration of the Magi Triptych*), oil on panel, 1442-45, Cathedral, Cologne.

3.22. Canteen, brass inlaid with silver, Syria, c. 1250, The Freer Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.

3.23. Robert Campin, detail from *The Mérode Altarpiece*, oil on panel, c. 1425, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Cloisters Collection, New York.

3.24. Attributed to Robert Campin, detail of *Annunciation*, tempera on panel, 1420s, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Brussels.

3.25. Petrus Christus, detail of *Annunciation*, oil on panel, c. 1450, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

3.26. Viet Stoss, *Betrayal of Christ* from the Vockahmer Monument, 1499, St. Sebalduskirche, Nuremberg.

3.27. Detail of Saladin, *The Luttrell Psalter*, c.1335, The British Library, London.

3.28. The Limbourg Brothers, detail of January from *The Très Riches Heures*, 1412-16, Musèe Condè, Chantilly.

3.29. The Fonthill Vase, Qingbai porcelain, c. 1300-40, National Museum of Ireland, Dublin.

3.30. Jehan de Valence, fragments of roundel tile from the Hall of Justice in Poitiers, tin-glazed earthenware with remnants of luster, 1384-86, Musèe de Sainte-Croix, Poitiers.

3.31. Drawing of roundel tile. Source: M.L. Solon, "The Lustered Tile Pavement of the Palais de Justice of Poitiers," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 12 (Nov., 1907): 84.

3.32. Alhambra tile pavement with Nasrid coat-of-arms, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, 14th century, Instituto Valencia de don Juan, Madrid.

3.33. Willem Kalf, *Still Life with Ming Ginger Jar*, oil on canvas, 1669, Indianapolis Museum of Art, Indianapolis.

3.34. Jan Brueghel I and Peter Paul Rubens, detail from *Allegory of Sight*, oil on canvas, 1617, Museo del Prado, Madrid.

Chapter 4

4.1. Façade of S. Sisto, Pisa. Source: Graziella Berti and Paola Torre. *Arte islamica in Itlalia: i bacini delle chiese pisane* (Rome: Palazzo Brancaccio, 1983), 38.

4.2. Plate with arms of the Medici, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, Manises (Valencia), c. 1450, The British Museum, London.

4.3. Plate with arms of the Nori, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, Manises (Valencia), 1450-80, The Hispanic Society of America, New York.

4.4. Bowl with arms of the Gondi, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, Manises (Valencia), 1486-1487, The Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

4.5. Plate with arms of Pope Leo X, tin-glazed earthenware with luster, Manises (Valencia), 1513-1521, Museo Civico, Bologna.

4.6. Bowl, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, Manises (Valencia), 14th century, Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome.

4.7. Façade of Pisa Cathedral showing *cosmati* work. Source: Alick, McLean. "Romanesque Architecture in Italy, The Monastery as Heavenly Jerusalem," in *Romanesque: Architecture, Sculpture, Painting*, ed. Rolf Toman (Cologne: Könemann, 1997), 96.

4.8. Maius, Heavenly Jerusalem from the *Beatus* of Liébana, late 10th century, The Morgan Library, New York.

4.9. Heavenly Jerusalem, mosaic, 5th century, Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome.

4.10. Vase of St. Hugo, tin-glazed earthenware with luster, Málaga, 1300-25, Chiesa dell'Abbazia, Novara di Sicilia.

4.11. Glaze remnant from the vase of St. Hugo, tin-glazed earthenware with luster, Málaga, 1300-25, Chiesa dell'Abbazia, Novara di Sicilia.

4.12. Bowl from the façade of S. Andrea, Pisa, tin-glazed earthenware with luster, Málaga?, 12th century, Museo Nazionale, Pisa.

4.13. *Tinaja* stand, glazed and stamped earthenware, Seville?, 12th-13th century, Archaeological Museum, Seville.

4.14. *Tinaja*, glazed and stamped earthenware, Seville, 12th-13th century, Archaeological Museum, Seville.

4.15. Neck of the Vase of St. Hugo, tin-glazed and stamped earthenware with metal additions, Chiesa dell'Abbazia, Novara di Sicilia.

4.16. Detail of *sebqa* patern from Nasrid Vase, tin-glazed earthenware with luster, Málaga, early 14th century, Instituto de Valencia de don Juan, Madrid (fig. 1.26).

4.17. Galleried dish, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, Manises (Valencia), after 1405, The Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

4.18. Domenico Ghirlandaio, detail from *Birth of St. John the Baptist*, fresco, 1486-90, Cappella Tornabuoni, Santa Maria Novella, Florence.

4.19. Domenico Ghirlandaio, detail from *Annunciation*, fresco, 1482, Collegiata, San Gimignano.

4.20. Apollonio di Giovanni, detail from *The Feast of Dido*, *cassone* painting, 15th century, Niedersächsisches Landesgalerie, Hanover.

4.21. Cavaliere Piccolpasso, *Firing the Luster Kiln*, f. 49v. from *The Three Books of the Potter's Art*, The Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

4.22. Albarello, tin-glazed earthenware, Florence, early 15th century, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

4.23. Albarello, tin-glazed earthenware, Florence, 15th century, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

4.24. Jug with arms of the Alessandri, tin-glazed earthenware, Montelupo, c.1480-1500, The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

4.25. Albarello, tin-glazed earthenware, Florence, mid-15th century, The Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

4.26. The Medici-Orsini Vase, tin-glazed earthenware, Florence, c. 1470, Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit, Michigan.

4.27. Plaque, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, Deruta, 1501, The Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

4.28. Plate, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, Deruta, 1515-30, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

4.29. *Bella donna* dish, tin-glazed earthenware with luster, Deruta, c.1520, The Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

4.30. Giorgio Andreoli, Plate, Gubbio, 1515, The Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

4.31. Francesco Xanto Avelli di Rovigo, plate from Aeneas series, tin-glazed earthenware with luster, Gubbio, 1532, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Chapter 5

5.1. Giuseppe Maria Mitelli, *Museo Cospiano*, engraving, Bologna, 1677, from Lorenzo Legati, *Museo cospiano annesso a quello del famoso Ulisse Aldrovandi e donato alla sua patria.*

5.2. Pair of wing-handled vases, tin-glazed earthenware with luster, Manises (Valencia), 15th century, Museo Civico, Bologna.

5.3. Workshop of Giunta di Tugio, apothecary jar, tin-glazed earthenware, Florence, c.1430, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

5.4. Hans Memling, detail of still life on reverse of *Portrait of a Man*, oil on panel, c.1490, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid.

5.5. Jug or *boccale*, tin-glazed earthenware, Faenza, 1470-1500, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

5.6. Albarello, tin-glazed earthenware, Antwerp, c.1520-1540, The Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

5.7. Plate, tin-glazed earthenware, Castile, c.1575, The Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

5.8. Workshop of Giovanni Maria Vasaro, plate, tin-glazed earthenware, Castel Durante, 1510-20, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

5.9. Dish, tin-glazed earthenware, probably Faenza, c.1580, The Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

5.10. Plate, tin-glazed earthenware, Talavera de la Reina, 1600-50, The Hispanic Society of America, New York.

5.11. Plate, tin-glazed earthenware, Lérida, 17th century, Museu de Ceràmica, Barcelona.

5.12. Jusepe de Oliva, tile panel of the Virgin and child, Toledo, 1570-75, Salon de Cortes, Generalitat, Valencia.

5.13. *Pisano* tile, tin-glazed and painted earthenware, Seville, 16th-17th century, The Hispanic Society of America, New York.

5.14. Vicente Mostre, *The Expulsion of the Moriscos from the port of Denia*, 1613, Fundación Bancaja, Valencia.

5.15. Plate with arms of the Dominican Order, tin-glazed earthenware with luster, Manises (Valencia), c.1650, The Hispanic Society of America, New York.

5.16. Plate, tin-glazed earthenware, Talavera de la Reina, 1600-25, The Hispanic Society of America, New York.

5.17. Bowl found at Santo Domingo, tin-glazed earthenware with luster, Manises (Valencia), 17th century, Museo Casas Reales, Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic.

5.18. Flask, Medici blue and white soft-paste porcelain, Florence, c.1575-1587, The National Gallery, Washington D.C.

5.19. Dish, tin-glazed earthenware, Delft, c. 1660, The Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

5.20. Dish, tin-glazed earthenware, Lisbon, 1644, The Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

5.21. Manila Galleon Route. Source: *The Arts in Colonial Latin America, 1492-1820* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2006), xxiii.

5.22. Francisco Zurbarán, detail from *St. Hugh in the Refectory*, oil on canvas, c.1633, Museo de Bellas Artes, Seville.

5.23. Plate, tin-glazed earthenware, Talavera de la Reina, c. 1625-75, The Hispanic Society of America, New York.

5.24. Jar attributed to Damián Hernández, tin-glazed earthenware, c.1660, The Hispanic Society of America, New York.

5.25. Turkey sculpture, black micaceous earthenware, Tonalá, Mexico, 17th century, The Hispanic Society of America, New York.

5.26. Drinking cups, black micaceous earthenware, Tonalá, Mexico, c.1650, The Hispanic Society of America, New York.

5.27. Vase, red-slipped earthenware, Tonalá, Mexico, 17th century, The Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

5.28. Cup, red-slipped earthenware, Santiago, Chile, 17th century, The Hispanic Society of America, New York.

5.29. Juan Bautista Espinosa, *Still Life with Metalwork Objects*, oil on canvas, 1624, Colección Masaveu, Oviedo, Spain.

5.30. Tray or *batea*, lacquer on wood, Peribán, Mexico, 17th century, The Hispanic Society of America, New York.

5.31. Folding screen or *biombo* showing the palace of the Viceroy, oil on canvas, Mexico, 17th century, Museo de América, Madrid.

5.32. Augustín del Pino, St. Francis Xavier, oil paint and mother-of-pearl on wood panel, c.1700, Museo de América, Madrid.

5.33. *The Mass of St. Gregory*, feathers on wood panel, Mexico, 1539, Musée d'Auch, France.

Conclusion:

6.1. Postcard, 1904-10, Patronato de la Alhambra, Granada. Source: María del Mar Villafranca Jiménez, ed., *Los jarrones de la Alhambra: simbología y poder,* Exhibition Catalogue (Granada: Patronato de la Alhambra, 2006), 264.

6.2. Joseph-Théodore Deck, Alhambra Vase, earthenware inlaid with colored clays and painted, Manufacture Nationale Sèvres, 1862, The Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

6.3. Dish, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, La Ceramo factory, Valencia, c. 1900, The Hispanic Society of America, New York.

6.4. Dish, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, Manises (Valencia), c. 1375, Musée de Cluny, Paris.

6.5. William Randolph Hearst's apartment at The Clarendon, 1907. Source: Justin Davidson, "The New York Apartment: 1647 to the Present," *New York Magazine*, 11 April 2011, 46.

INTRODUCTION

> That which has been evenly fired reflects like red gold and shines like the light of the sun.[1]
>
> — Abu'l-Qasim, *Treatise on Ceramics*, 1301

The fashioning of lusterware, finely glazed pottery decorated with striking metallic designs, has spanned centuries and continents. Admired by kings, popes, travelers, and merchants since its inception, the art form required intense labor, costly materials, as well as artistic and scientific acumen. The process for making this fine pottery involved the glazing of a clay vessel or tile with tin and lead. After a second firing, the ware would be painstakingly decorated with a glaze made of oxidized silver or copper and returned to the kiln. Upon this third and final firing, the ceramic vessel left the kiln with a dazzling iridescent sheen. Various excavations indicate that the process for making this golden pottery originated in ninth-century Basra in southern Iraq,[2] but it soon spread across the Middle East with traditions arising in Egypt, Syria, and Persia. The wares and the technique itself, however, disseminated rapidly throughout the western Islamic world, with the Iberian Peninsula becoming an important center for lusterware production in the late medieval and early modern periods (fig. 1). This dissertation will examine the social, historical, and artistic circumstances surrounding lusterware production in the Iberian Peninsula and provide insight into its reception in Western Europe during the height of its consumption from 1350 to 1650.

Lusterware first appeared in the Iberian Peninsula in the tenth century, during the reign of the Umayyad caliph, Abd al-Rahman III (912-961), who built Medina al-Zahra, located outside of Córdoba. That palace-city, which boasted elegant architecture, gardens, and baths, was also a destination for imported luxury goods (fig. 2). Lusterware traveled an arduous path from the Middle East to this western Umayyad capital.[3] Wares from Basra, Samarra, and Baghdad followed an over-land route to Damascus, and from there to the Mediterranean coast, where they were loaded onto ships destined for various ports of the western caliphate, which included Almería, Seville, and Málaga. This first lusterware in Spain was intended exclusively for the consumption of the caliph, having from the very onset of its life in the Iberian Peninsula a royal and dynastic significance. Additionally, the golden pottery, like many other luxury imports, served as cultural and aesthetic links connecting the Umayyad capital of Córdoba to the glory and splendor of the courts of the Middle East. Since the mid-eighth century when the Abbasid Caliphate overthrew the Umayyads, the latter lived as exiles from their capital of Damascus. Maintaining trade with the East, particularly with Byzantium and the Abbasid Caliphate, and retaining nostalgia for the lands from which they had been expelled, allowed the Umayyads to create a lavish court culture in Córdoba, which included consumption of eastern lusterware, until the caliphate's dissolution in 1031.

---

[1] J.W. Allan, "Abu'l-Qasim's Treatise on Ceramics," *Iran* 11 (1973): 111-120. The Persian potter's description of lusterware technique is quite specific and is part of a larger work on Persian decorative arts.

[2] Richard Ettinghausen, Oleg Grabar, and Marilyn Jenkins, *Islamic Art and Architecture, 650-1250* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), 68-69.

Lusterware in the Iberian Peninsula dating from the tenth and eleventh centuries was all imported. Only a few examples of twelfth-century lustered ceramics made in the Iberian Peninsula survive; however, in some cases the specific locations of their manufacture remain indeterminable. For instance, a golden luster bowl dating from the early twelfth century that depicts two lions facing a central tree was unearthed at Tudela in northern Spain in 1987 (fig. 3). According to Juan José Bienes Calvo, the bowl shares certain decorative elements with pieces from Fatimid Egypt, but the profiles of the heraldic beasts are more related to Andalusian wares.[4] The piece also could have come originally from a shop in Calatayud, south of Tudela, given that the earliest written evidence confirming lusterware production in the Iberian Peninsula mentions that town in particular. In 1154, the Arab writer al-Idrisi indicated that golden pottery was made in Calatayud and exported internationally.[5] Although luster manufacture in the Iberian Peninsula would not have been widespread in the tumultuous period following the collapse of the Umayyad Caliphate,[6] other examples from the Almoravid, Almohad, and Taifa periods, in addition to the Tudela bowl, have been uncovered in Spain (fig. 4).

---

[3] Alice Wilson Frothingham, *Lustreware of Spain* (New York: The Hispanic Society of America, 1951), 2.

By 1248, Córdoba and Seville had fallen to Christian armies, the latter city having been surrendered to King Ferdinand III through the mediation of Ibn al-Ahmar of the Banu Nasr family. Upon declaring himself a vassal of Ferdinand III, Ibn al-Ahmar established his capital in Granada, and the Kingdom of the Nasrids (1248-1492), which was to be the last vestige of Islamic rule in the Iberian Peninsula, was born. It is in the Nasrid Kingdom that luster pottery truly evolved from luxury import to native product. Muslim artists in Málaga had certainly mastered the technique of creating lusterware by the thirteenth century as can be seen from a bowl mortared into the façade of a Pisa church around 1225 (fig. 5). The practice of the luster technique itself flourished in Málaga during the Nasrid period for a variety of reasons.

Apart from a desire to imitate the tenth- and eleventh-century wares imported into Córdoba mentioned above, other factors also intervened, specifically episodes of social upheaval in the Middle East and subsequent migrations of groups of artists throughout the Islamic world.

---

[4] José Bienes Calvo, "*Ataifor* of the Lions," in *Los jarrones de la Alhambra: simbología y poder.* Exhibition Catalogue, ed. María del Mar Villafranca Jiménez, (Granada: Patronato de la Alhambra, 2006), 322-323.

[5] al-Idrisí, "Relación del viaje," in *Viajes de extranjeros por España y Portugal*, ed. José García Mercadal (Madrid: Aguilar, 1952), 193.

[6] Frothingham, *Lustreware of Spain*, 11-15

The first luster potters working in Basra and Samarra in the ninth century under the Abbasid dynasty are thought to have fled to Egypt by the late tenth century.[7] There they would have enjoyed the patronage of the Fatimids, a dynasty that originated in Tunisia and claimed descent from the Prophet Mohammed's daughter, Fatima. With the dissolution of the Fatimid regime in the second half of the twelfth century, luster potters may have moved across North Africa, and from there, the art spread across the Strait of Gibraltar into Málaga.[8] According to Marilyn Jenkins, luster technique also spread into the western Islamic world through special commissions, such as when ceramists from Baghdad were summoned to make luster tiles for the great Mosque of Kairuoan in Tunisia in the ninth century.[9]

By the mid-thirteenth century another group of experienced potters found its way into al-Andalus according to Alice Wilson Frothingham. She believed that the Mongol invasion of Persia in the first half of the thirteenth century drove potters to Málaga from Kashan, the major luster-producing center under the Seljuks. Frothingham sees the presence of Kashan work in Nasrid lusterware particularly from the fourteenth century, which includes heavy use of cobalt and other design elements frequently found on earlier Persian examples of the pottery. As Anthony Ray has pointed out, the Berber traveler Ibn Battuta, who was in Málaga around 1350, noted the presence of many Persians in the Andalusian city.[10] An influx of Persian potters would help to explain the flourishing of the art of Andalusian lusterware in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in Málaga.

---

[7] Elsie Peck, "Like the Light of the Sun: Luster-Painted Ceramics," *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts* 71 (1997): 20.

[8] Ettinghausen, Grabar, and Jenkins, *Islamic Art and Architecture*, 283-284.

[9] Marilyn Jenkins, "Medieval Maghribi Luster-Painted Pottery," *La céramique médièvale en Méditerranée occidentale. Xe-XVe siècles: Actes du colloque internationale C.N.R.S., Valbonne, 1978* (Paris: 1980), 335-342.

[10] Anthony Ray, *Spanish Pottery*, 1248-1898 (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 2000), 7.

By the end of the fourteenth century and throughout the fifteenth century, however, the luster industry declined on the Iberian Peninsula's southern coast due to political and religious conflict in what remained of Islamic Spain. Luster production then moved northeast to the Christian Kingdom of Aragon. While the Nasrid Kingdom became enveloped in the final throes of the Christian Reconquest, the region of Valencia surged in ceramic productivity. Predominately Muslim artists alongside Christian potters fashioned high-quality wares that were made for local markets in Spain and for export throughout the Mediterranean and Northern Europe. Documentary evidence as well as coats-of-arms on the pieces themselves indicates that the buyers of lusterware ranged in socio-economic status from commoners and clergy of moderate means to members of European royalty, the upper echelons of the Church hierarchy, and noble families such as the Despujol of Cataluña (fig. 6).

By the seventeenth century, while production of lusterware persisted in Valencia and in the Aragonese towns of Muel, Reus, Barcelona, as well as to the south in Seville, the consumption and quality of the ware diminished significantly for both social and political reasons. First, Italianate, historiated ceramics had grown in fashion, siphoning away patronage of luster both in Spain and abroad. Second, in 1609, King Philip III expelled all *Moriscos*, Muslim converts to Christianity, from the Kingdom of Aragon, affecting the skilled workforce needed to make fine lusterware.

Given that available scholarship on lusterware is primarily concerned with archaeological excavation, trade practices, and rudimentary formal analysis, our present understanding of what this pottery meant to the artists who created it and to the patrons whose tastes it satisfied remains unclear. It is the aim of the present study to clarify these aspects by viewing both the creation and patronage of Hispano-Islamic lusterware[11] as driven by its conception as an exotic luxury item in the Iberian Peninsula and also in Northern Europe and Italy.

Moreover, while waning lusterware consumption in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe, and Spain in particular, has been viewed as evidence of a change of taste imposed by the dominance of an Italian Renaissance aesthetic, I will demonstrate that new types of attainable exotica from the Far East and the New World as well as changes in taste from within Spain also diminished lusterware's popularity.

Scope and Terminology

For this project, I have chosen to work within a very expansive time period, that of the fourteenth through the seventeenth century. The late medieval/early modern epoch encompasses the height of lusterware consumption to the ware's decline in popularity. As indicated above, lusterware was made in the Iberian Peninsula before the fourteenth century. Thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century production will be discussed when relevant to the evolution of designs or early instances of export.

Of course, a variety of other types of pottery were produced in the Iberian Peninsula during the period that this study takes into account. My decision to focus specifically on lusterware is based on its unique reception in the local and international marketplace. No other ceramic produced in the Iberian Peninsula, or all of Western Europe for that matter, enjoyed the international success of lusterware during this time. Its singular iridescence made it a far more desirable import than other contemporary fine-glazed pottery, such as the green and brown wares of Paterna and Teruel. While the latter pieces are masterfully painted, they did not exhibit the long commercial life that lusterware did.

---

[11] For the purposes of my study, I have chosen to refer to the lustered pottery made in the Iberian Peninsula during the fourteenth through seventeenth centuries as "Hispano-Islamic." I provide a rationale for this label below.

Throughout this study, I use the term "Hispano-Islamic" to refer to lusterware produced throughout the Iberian Peninsula from the fourteenth through the seventeenth centuries.[12] First, this label distinguishes the art form from luster traditions in other parts of the Islamic world. With the same end in mind, previous scholars have employed terms such as "Hispano-Moresque," "Hispano-Muslim," and "Spanish" to describe this luster pottery. Yet the lusterware fashioned in the Iberian Peninsula during this period could have been made either in Muslim-ruled al-Andalus or in Christian Spain; therefore, referring to the ceramics as simply "Spanish" does not take into consideration the Islamic origins of the art. The designations of "Hispano-Moresque" and "Hispano-Muslim" are also limited, being far too specific with regard to the religion or background of the potters themselves. Lusterware *is* an art invented in Islamic lands in the Middle East, but the potters in the Iberian Peninsula were not *always* Muslims or "Moors," particularly from the mid-fifteenth century on. Many potters were converted Muslims or, in some instances, old Christians trained in the art. Thus, the label, "Hispano-Islamic," functions as a properly inclusive designation for a type of pottery, Islamic in origin, that could have been fashioned by practicing or converted Muslims as well as Christians living in the Iberian Peninsula under various religious and political circumstances.

---

[12] It should be mentioned that when referring to luster pottery made throughout the Iberian Peninsula, geographic terms are most precise (i.e. Andalusian, Valencian, Aragonese, Catalan), but because this study considers reception and export of lusterware made in several different pottery centers, here "Hispano-Islamic" will apply to the art form as a whole.

Previous Literature

Museum curators, art historians, and archaeologists alike have devoted a great deal of attention to Hispano-Islamic lusterware. Manuel González Martí's *Cerámica del levante español*, a well-illustrated book, is invaluable for its encyclopedic organization and identification of lusterware forms and decorative patterns.[13] His focus, however, is limited to fifteenth-century Valencian pieces with little mention of later sixteenth-century luster ceramics produced elsewhere in the Iberian Peninsula. María Isabel Álvaro Zamora's *Cerámica aragonesa* and Luisa Vilaseca Borrás' *Los alfareros y la cerámica de reflejo metálico de Reus* are more recent and exhaustive publications, yet like González Martí, they work within strict geographical and chronological parameters, those of late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Aragonese and Catalan production.[14] By taking into account all regions of production and using the extensive collections of The Hispanic Society of America in New York, London's Victoria and Albert Museum, and Madrid's Instituto Valencia de don Juan as a point of departure, Alice Wilson Frothingham, Anthony Ray, and Balbina Martínez Caviró, respectively, paint more comprehensive and chronological pictures of the luster industry.[15]

While the above sources are either grounded in museological concerns or with the history of the industry in the areas from which lusterware originated, several scholars have chosen to examine the Hispano-Islamic ceramics through studies based on archival materials. Guillermo Joaquín Osma y Scull, Albert Van de Put, José Nicolau Bauzá, and Pedro López Elum have published primary source materials such as shipping documents and letters of request in their respective books, which provide valuable information regarding the origin and destination of lusterware.[16] Marco Spallanzani's recent work, *Maioliche ispano-moresche a Firenze nel Rinascimento*, is another source of primary documents with an appendix that includes shipment records and household inventories that attest to the popularity of Hispano-Islamic lusterware in Renaissance Florence.[17] Nevertheless, Spallanzani's primary concern is the logistics of Italian importation, and he provides no substantial discussion of *why* foreign markets wanted to procure the ware.

---

[13] Manuel González Martí, *Cerámica del levante español: siglos medievales*. 3 vols. (Barcelona: Editorial Labor, 1944).

[14] María Isabel Álvaro Zamora, *Cerámica aragonesa*, 3 vols. (Zaragoza: Ibercaja, 2002); Luisa Vilaseca Borrás, *Los alfareros y la cerámica de reflejo metálico de Reus de 1550 a 1650*, 3 vols. (Reus: Asociación de Estudios Reusenses, 1964).

[15] Frothingham, *Lustreware of Spain*; Ray, *Spanish Pottery*; Balbina Martínez Caviró, *Cerámica hispanomusulmana: andalusí y mudéjar* (Madrid: El Viso, 1991).

Archaeologists, particularly in Italy, England, and the Netherlands, have done significant work on excavating sites of lusterware consumption in Northern Europe and around the Mediterranean.[18] But however crucial these studies are for gaining an understanding of patterns of trade and dissemination, their aim is more technical than social. Like Spallanzani's book, such reports do little to explain *why* patrons and purchasers sought Hispano-Islamic lusterware within the Iberian Peninsula and throughout Western Europe.[19]

---

[16] Guillermo Joaquín Osma y Scull, *Apuntes sobre cerámica morisca, textos y documentos valencianos* (Madrid: Hijos de M. Ginés Hernández, 1906) and *Los maestros alfareros de Manises, Paterna y Valencia: contratos y ordenanzas de los siglos XIV, XV y XVI* (Madrid: Impr. De Fortanet, 1911); Albert Van de Put, *The Valencian Styles of Hispano-Moresque Pottery, 1404-1454: A Companion to the Apuntes sobre cerámica morisca of the late G.J. Osma* (New York: The Hispanic Society of America, 1938); José Nicolau Bauzá, *Páginas de la historia de Manises, XIV a XVIII* (Manises, Spain: Ateneu Cultural i Recreatiu Cant i Fum, 1987); Pedro López Elum, *La Producción cerámica de lujo en la baja edad media: Manises y Paterna* (Valencia: Museo Nacional de Cerámica, 2005).

[17] Marco Spallanzani, *Maioliche ispano-moresche a Firenze nel Rinascimiento* (Florence: Studio per Edizioni Scelte, 2006).

[18] Ezio Tongiorgi and Graziella Berti, *Ceramiche importate dalla Spagna nell'area pisano, XII-XV* (Florence: Ed. All'Insegna del Giglio, 1985); John G. Hurst and David S. Neal, *Pottery Produced and Traded in Northwest Europe, 1350-1650* (Rotterdam: Stichting 'Het Nederlandse Gebruiksvoorwerp, 1986); David Gaimster and Mark Redknap eds., *Everyday and Exotic Pottery from Europe c. 650-1900. Studies in Honor of John G. Hurst* (Oxford: Oxbow, 1992); Christopher M. Gerrard, Alejandra Gutiérrez, and Alan G. Vince eds., *Spanish Medieval Ceramics in Spain and the British Isles* (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports International Series 610, 1995).

[19] In a clear departure from the above scholarship, a recent conference entitled, "The Marvels of the World: Luster and Luxury in European Networks of Exchange," which took place in Berlin on November 17-20, 2011, rightly emphasized the importance of trade and cultural notions regarding lusterware production. I eagerly await the published proceedings from this conference, which no doubt

Methodology

My study is an interdisciplinary one that attempts to transcend the boundaries of traditional art history and move beyond the practice of connoisseurship employed in the study of ceramics and decorative arts in general. While art historians have focused primarily on formal analysis or the more technical aspects of manufacture and trade, archaeologists have called for more interpretive approaches to the study of ceramics. For example, Duncan H. Brown has noted that within the discipline of archaeology, "function and culture of pottery use are rarely considered and have often been viewed as irrelevant to the real business of excavation… Archaeology is apparently the study of evidence of human activity in the past, but unfortunately that human aspect is all too often forgotten."[20] There are many "human aspects" related to pottery acquisition that require investigation. Indeed, pottery of any kind is useful in serving, displaying, and storing food and drink as well as other items. Lusterware, however, lends itself especially well to the interpretation of "human aspects" because it had both aesthetic and utilitarian value and could be used interchangeably with currency or bartered for something of equivalent value.

The sustained demand for the products must be understood through other cultural criteria in addition to function. What concepts or narratives did the Islamic appearance, or provenance, and iridescent glow of the pottery conjure up in the minds of its makers, owners, and viewers throughout Western Europe? To answer this question and ultimately obtain a more complete picture of the cultural significance of Hispano-Islamic lusterware, we are better served by looking to the field of anthropology, where several writers, including Igor Kopytoff, have

---

will include further information on the circulation of Hispano-Islamic lusterware and an array of scholarly opinions about pottery's cultural significance.

[20] Duncan H. Brown, "The Social Significance of Imported Medieval Pottery," in *Not so much a pot, more a way of life: current approaches to artifact analysis in archaeology*, ed. C.G. Cumberpatch and P.W. Blinkhorn (London: Oxbow, 1997), 95-112.

championed a "cultural biography of things."[21] Kopytoff writes that, "What would make a biography cultural is not what it deals with, but how and from what perspective. A culturally informed economic biography of an object would look at it as a culturally constructed entity, endowed with culturally specific meanings, and classified and reclassified into culturally constituted categories." Medievalist Eva R. Hoffman has applied Kopytoff's method to portable objects that circulated throughout the Mediterranean in the Middle Ages. Although she excludes pottery from her study, she advocates tracing the paths or "lives" of portable materials in order to arrive at a better understanding of how "objects were used and perceived interculturally."[22]

A cultural biography of lusterware, one that traces the contextualization and recontextualization of these objects as they moved from the hands of Muslim potters to the courts of England and Burgundy, the households of Castile, or the churches in Italy and Cyprus, yields a rich and multi-faceted life of Hispano-Islamic lusterware during the four centuries covered here. I address a variety of definitions and redefinitions in this study. Various pieces are shown to have been endowed with a religious significance, or are viewed as connoting an air of worldliness, an awareness of Islamic culture, or even a domination of it.

My unifying theme among these diverse interpretations is that the golden pottery was generally perceived as exotic by contemporary consumers, even, in some cases, within the land from which it originated. Any discussion of exoticism must address Edward Said's seminal work, *Orientalism*, in which the author identified the impulse of the Western Europe to objectify the East.[23] Said's study focused primarily on English and French perceptions of the Arab world and the Far East in the late eighteenth century to the present, with no mention of Spain; however, other scholars (some long before Said) have noted a late medieval and early modern current of exoticism connected to the Iberian Peninsula. Therefore, my contention that Hispano-Islamic lusterware was regarded as exotica both in the Iberian Peninsula and in other areas of Western Europe will be buttressed by the scholarship of the Spanish historian and philologist, Ramón Menéndez Pidal, the fashion historian, Carmen Bernis, as well as that of Barbara Fuchs, whose recent book, *Exotic Nation: Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain*, discusses both local and foreign perception of Spain's "otherness."[24]

---

[21] Igor Kopytoff, "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process," in Arjun Appadurai, ed. *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 68.

[22] Eva R. Hoffman, "Pathways of Portability: Islamic and Christian Interchange from the Tenth to Twelfth Century." *Art History* 24 (2001): 17-50, 21.

[23] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978).

Proposed Contributions

In order to gain a thorough understanding of how Hispano-Islamic lusterware was regarded by its makers and patrons, my study integrates the ceramics into contemporary cultural currents in literature, dress, and home décor in Spain, Italy, and Northern Europe.

My work here departs from previous studies that deal primarily with formal analysis or the more technical aspects of manufacture and trade; I instead consider the social, historical, and artistic circumstances of creation, patronage, and reception. By approaching Hispano-Islamic lusterware as a form of exotica in both its country of origin and abroad, my project is the first scholarly work to account for the cultural currents that led early modern audiences throughout

---

[24] Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *España y su historia* (Madrid: Minotaura, 1957); Carmen Bernis, *Trajes y modas en la España de los Reyes Católicos*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Instituto Diego Velázquez del Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1978); Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation: Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009). It should be mentioned that the term "exotic" was not employed until the late sixteenth century, when it was used to describe foreign flora and fauna. See Elizabeth Wilson Gordon, "Traveling to the 'Exotic'," in *Culture and the State: Landscape and Ecology*, eds. James Gifford and Gabrielle Zezulka-Mailloux (Edmonton: CRC Humanities Studio, 2003), 190-191. Nevertheless, the works of Menéndez Pidal, Bernis, and Fuchs attest to the existence of the phenomenon of exoticism in the Iberian Peninsula long before the term was commonly used.

Western Europe to commission, purchase, and collect these ceramics. It also calls attention to the way in which Iberian potters became arbiters of and caterers to the tastes of their clientele.

More broadly, my study adds to the growing body of scholarship on the importance of the arts in late medieval/early modern Iberia. Western art history tends to regard the fourteenth through the seventeenth centuries as an era in which Italy reigned as the most powerful agent of cultural change while the rest of Europe was a passive recipient of its superior artistic achievements. My exploration of the creation and reception of Hispano-Islamic lusterware challenges this problematic narrative, which all too often fails to recognize the significant role such arts played throughout Europe at this time. Furthermore, lusterware was not only utilitarian, but was frequently designed and displayed as a work of art in itself. Therefore, another critical aim of my dissertation is to help break down the false dichotomy that exists in the discipline of art history between "fine" or "high" art and the "minor" or "low" arts.

The present study is divided into five chapters. Chapter one, "Lusterware Artists and Consumers: Evolution and Meaning of Designs," will examine the vast array of decorative imagery employed by late thirteenth- to seventeenth-century potters. These will include animal and vegetal motifs as well as common Arabic and Latin inscriptions. I will analyze these evolving and ever-changing designs on lusterware from Muslim-ruled al-Andalus, fifteenth-century Valencia, and later sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Valencia, Aragon, and Seville. In so doing, I will demonstrate that lusterware made in the Iberian Peninsula carried very different meanings for its predominately Muslim makers and for its local and international consumers. In following the "life" or "history" of this particular art, I demonstrate that Iberian luster potters working in the late medieval/early modern periods were a knowledgeable, flexible, and innovative workforce, one that always strived to address contemporary trends and accommodate the diverse tastes of their international clientele.

Chapter two, “Romanticizing the Moor: Reception of Hispano-Islamic Lusterware in Late Medieval and Early Modern Spain,” examines the ceramics within a broader spectrum of trends that romanticized Moorish customs and a fading Iberian Islamic civilization. Beginning in the fourteenth century, Muslim populations did not pose a vital threat to Christian Spain. Therefore, the literary and material culture in the final stages of the *Reconquista* acquired a different character. *Romances fronterizos*, poetic ballads that described conflict on the border between Christian and Muslim Spain, romanticized the Spanish Moor, casting him as an honorable and valiant foe. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, *Romances moriscos* continued to portray Hispano-Muslims in a favorable light, focusing on their extravagant clothing and weaponry. This body of literature reveals a rich material culture associated with a vanishing and increasingly exoticized Muslim society. Moreover, household inventories attest to this phenomenon in domestic settings where clothing and furnishings reflect the taste for Islamic arts and a wistful nostalgia for al-Andalus. In this chapter, I evaluate the taste for lusterware in the Iberian Peninsula alongside these contemporary cultural currents in literature, fashion, and interior design.

Chapter three, “Northern European Consumption and Reception of Hispano-Islamic Lusterware,” assesses the acquisition and reception of lustered ceramics as an exotic item by examining primary source materials. These include shipping regulations and household inventories, as well as depictions of lusterware in early Netherlandish panel paintings, illuminated manuscripts, and engravings. Artists such as Hugo van der Goes, Stefan Lochner, and The Master of Mary of Burgundy carefully depicted examples of Hispano-Islamic lusterware in their works. It is my contention that these works of art not only served a religious/devotional purpose, but also presented their viewers with allusions to far away locales, the Holy Land in particular, by referencing imported luxury goods, including lusterware. The accounts of northern travelers to the Iberian Peninsula, such as the German scholar Hieronymus Münzer in 1494 and the Flemish courtier Henri Cock in 1585 are evaluated for their descriptions of the land's Muslim populations and related material culture.

Chapter four, "The Life of Hispano-Islamic Lusterware in Italy," addresses the cachet and impact that lusterware enjoyed throughout Italy from the fourteenth through the seventeenth centuries. As early as the twelfth century, luster dishes from Málaga as well as bowls from the wider Islamic world were mortared into the facades of Italian churches. This exterior display and absorption of early Islamic wares on a Christian structure will be considered in depth, as will the interior display of Hispano-Islamic lustered ceramics inside of churches as revered holy relics. The Italian fascination with Hispano-Islamic lusterware continued into the fifteenth century with the popular superimposition of Italian coats-of-arms onto Valencian and Aragonese examples of lusterware. Subsequent Italian derivations of Iberian lusterware, reproductions of common decorative patterns and Kufic inscriptions on wares from Umbria and Tuscany are viewed as local attempts to produce the novelty of Hispano-Islamic luster.

Chapter five, "Changing Tastes and New Exotica: The Waning Popularity of Hispano-Islamic Lusterware," provides reasons for decreased consumption of lustered ceramics from the Iberian Peninsula, including the rise of Italian pottery centers in the sixteenth century coupled with the expulsion of the *Moriscos* from Spain in the seventeenth century. I also consider other contributing factors such as increased global contact and exposure to new sources of exotica from the Americas and the Far East, as well as a general climate of growing austerity within

Spain. Beginning in 1565 the Manila Galleon brought, among other items, Chinese export porcelain by way of the Philippines to Acapulco on western coast of Mexico. From there, goods traveled an overland route to Veracruz where they could be shipped to Europe. Porcelain, folding screens, and lacquered furnishings were shipped through or made in Spain's dominions and consumed by European audiences. Furthermore, New World pottery found popularity among European patrons. In particular, slipped and burnished earthenware vessels, known as *búcaros*, made in Mexico, Panama, and Chile were heavily exported to Western Europe during the seventeenth century. During this time, local as well as international trends also contributed to the decline of the popularity of lusterware. The passing of strict sumptuary laws in the first quarter of the seventeenth century under Philip III and Philip IV limited luxurious and excessive displays of wealth. The works of contemporary writers and dramatists further attest to Spain's move toward greater austerity.

Ultimately, the present study, essentially a cultural history, or "life" of Hispano-Islamic lusterware, recognizes that a thorough consideration of popular material culture can bring to light the thoughts and feelings of very distant and long extinct artists and consumers. Tracing this art form through four centuries of its fashioning and consumption can yield so much more than a catalogue of pottery designs or a better understanding of technical methods or international trade. The cultural biography of lusterware in the pages that follow, rather, has a much farther reach in bringing to light a vivid and complex picture of late medieval and early modern Western European society.

CHAPTER ONE

Lusterware Artists and Consumers: Evolution and Meaning of Designs

> The "history of things" is intended to reunite ideas and objects under the rubric of visual forms…From all these things a shape in time emerges. A visible portrait of the collective identity, whether tribe, class, or nation, comes into being.[1]

Within the four centuries that my study takes into account, lusterware designs from the Iberian Peninsula prove to be astonishingly diverse. From Islamic motifs such as a large bowl covered with a design of an eight-pointed star with radiating petals of chevron and tree patterns (fig. 1.1), to a dish exhibiting gothic floral patterns, a chirping bird, and the Latin Christian inscription, "Ave Maria gratia plena" (fig. 1.2), to forms that imitated imported metalwork items and Italian pottery (fig. 1.3), extremely varied lusterware designs coexisted with and supplanted one another. These varied designs indicate a broad audience for the luxury pottery and shrewd, accommodating artists.

Beautifully glazed ceramics were essentially portable luxury goods. Hispano-Islamic luster pottery traveled extensively throughout Western Europe and the greater Mediterranean region. The wares themselves found a place in many different cultural contexts, and the artists who crafted the golden pottery were, by the fourteenth century, acutely aware of this. Therefore, an examination of lusterware's many different designs, in other words, a concentration on the "life" or "history" of this art form, can provide insight into the motives of its makers and consumers. This type of study is advocated not only by George Kubler, but also more recently by Eva Hoffman, who contends, "Through movement these objects participated in and defined the contours of visual culture and experience. Portability and circulation highlight the active

---

[1] George Kubler, *The Shape of Time: Remarks on the History of Things* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962), 9.

‘lives’ of objects; their openness and permeability; how objects referred to and merged with their makers and users, the people and cultures that exchanged them, and the relationships that they defined.”[2]

In an attempt to illustrate how Hispano-Islamic lusterware “referred to and merged with” makers and consumers, this chapter is not comprised simply of a catalogue of design motifs, described and dated. Such studies have already been done.[3] I, however, analyze what the changing and varied designs on the lusterware objects themselves can tell us about makers, patrons, and changes in Western European taste from the fourteenth through the seventeenth century. What has been written within the last twenty years on the inspiration and motives of the artists who crafted the ware has been scant, and in one particular case, not very favorable. In a 1992 article on the famous lustered Alhambra vases (fig. 1.4), one author, though describing late medieval Hispano-Islamic culture as “decadent, splendid, and artistic,” also wrote the following:

> Islamic artists in Spain almost never innovated; they merely developed existing themes and styles derived from basic concepts of princely motifs or the use of symbolic inscriptions and geometric patterns found in the Umayyad east, such as the royal iconography of the well-known wall paintings at Qusayr ‘Amrah, or the gilt but nearly illegible inscriptions on the Dome of the Rock.[4]

I would argue that Hispano-Islamic luster potters were more than mere copiers and developers of eastern Umayyad arts. My contention is that the following initiatives illustrate and confirm a highly innovative spirit: the merging of distinct pottery designs from throughout the Islamic world; moving forward with the assumption that Iberian lusterware imagery would be accessible for both Muslims in al-Andalus and the Middle East as well as for Christians in the

---

[2] Kubler, *The Shape of Time*, 9; Eva R. Hoffman, “Pathways of Portability,” 17.

[3] Catalogs of luster patterns appear in both older and more recent works. See Manuel González Martí, *Cerámica del levante español* and Anthony Ray, *Spanish Pottery*.

[4] Summer S. Kenesson, “Nasrid Luster Pottery: The Alhambra Vases,” *Muqarnas* 9 (1992); 93-115, 112.

Mediterranean and Northern Europe; and demonstrating the flexibility to bend to certain fashions in European utensil design.

The first section of this chapter will reveal that luster potters in Andalusia, specifically in fourteenth-century Málaga, were able to transform themselves from a group of artists working for an exclusively local Muslim clientele in the Nasrid Kingdom to a knowledgeable and perceptive workforce capable of accommodating both native consumers *and* the varied tastes of international buyers. Later in the chapter, I will demonstrate that even as the industry shifted locations and traveled within the Iberian Peninsula throughout the late medieval and early modern period from Málaga to Valencia, to Muel, Barcelona, and Seville, lusterware potters, from the fourteenth century on, remained abreast of what consumers wanted, at times finding formulas for success, and at other junctures struggling with a changing world.

From Religious and Dynastic Symbol to Widespread Luxury Good: The Lusterware of the Kingdom of Granada

Ever since the first consumers of lustered ceramics in the Iberian Peninsula, the Umayyads, imported the glimmering pottery from centers in the Middle East to their lavish court in Córdoba in the tenth century, the unique wares as well as other luxury products signified a legitimate connection to and continuation of eastern Muslim dynasties. While lusterware and other fine ceramics were produced in the Iberian Peninsula after the dissolution of the Umayyad Caliphate,[5] as the North African geographer al-Idrisi seems to indicate in 1154, it was the

---

[5] For example, archaeological findings have indicated that in the area around Murcia there was some early luster production. See J. Navarro Palazón and M. Picon, "'La loza dorada' de la province Murcie: étude en laboratoire," in *La ceramica medivale nel Mediterraneo Occidentale: proceedings from the Congresso internazionale della Università degli studi di Siena, Dipartimento di archeologia e storia delle arti, Museo internazionale delle ceramiche in Faenza, Siena, 8-12 October 1984, Faenza, 13 October 1984* (Florence: Edizioni All'Insegna del Giglio, 1986), 144-46; Julio Navarro Palazón and Pedro Jiménez Castillo, "La producción cerámica medieval de Murcia," in Christopher M. Gerrard,

Málaga pottery industry under the Nasrid dynasty (1238-1492), particularly its lustered ceramics, that achieved a quality and renown frequently compared to and placed on par with the production of famous Middle Eastern artistic centers.

Pottery from the Nasrid period provides us with the best sampling of early Iberian lusterware with which to begin a history and reading of popular ceramic imagery. As stated above, it is not my intention here to attempt a precise chronology, provenance study, or comprehensive catalogue of designs for early Iberian lusterware; rather, I seek to make a thorough study of the significance of the pottery and its common designs and motifs for both its makers and patrons by examining the evolution of the art form through the patterns on existing pieces of lusterware made during the Nasrid period. Early wares from al-Andalus were covered with motifs strictly associated with the faith of Islam and the glory of the Nasrid dynasty. Yet, as the luster industry grew and became more famous throughout the Mediterranean world and to an ever-encroaching Christian Spain, a change in and expansion of decoration from specifically Islamic to broader and more secular, pan-Mediterranean decoration becomes apparent.

The Earliest Hispano-Islamic Lusterware

The early life of Iberian luster pottery boasts a unique convergence of the ceramic traditions of the Abbasids, Fatimids, and Seljuks, which illustrates the truly cosmopolitan nature of al-Andalus, and Málaga in particular. The intermingling of distinct eastern lusterware decorations also demonstrates the innovative and eclectic nature of the Málaga potters. The imagery on early wares, however, seems to have been created strictly for the enjoyment of a Muslim audience, referencing in either an explicit or abstract manner, the Islamic concept of

---

Alejandra Gutiérrez, and Alan G. Vince eds., *Spanish Medieval Ceramics in Spain and the British Isles* (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports International Series 610, 1995),185-216.

Paradise. One of the earliest dated pieces of lusterware made in the Iberian Peninsula is housed in the Detroit Institute of Arts (fig. 1.5). It depicts a large central *kham*, or hand motif, flanked by two seated figures. The border, which seems to form an arch, or decorated niche, perhaps a depiction of a *mihrab*, is covered with a coarsely rendered, dotted swirling scroll, or *ataurique* pattern. That decorative component and the facial shapes of the two seated figures, indicate influence from contemporary Persian luster pottery (fig. 1.6). The *sgrafitto*, or details scratched into the glaze, that is seen on the clothing of the figures and on the outline of the *kham,* is indebted to both Persian and Fatimid Egyptian luster traditions (fig. 1.7). In fact, Richard Ettinghausen first believed the dish to be an example of Fatimid lusterware.[6] The piece has since been re-evaluated and deemed an early example of Iberian luster pottery by both Ettinghausen and Marilyn Jenkins.[7] Jenkins dates the piece to the twelfth century, believing it to be one of the oldest surviving pieces of luster pottery fashioned in the Iberian Peninsula.[8]

Though the scene on the Detroit dish is an enigmatic one, it likely represents admission to Paradise.[9] The two figures each hold keys, which they direct toward the central *kham*. The rendering of a *kham* can often be read as an apotropaic motif, one that wards off evil and protects one from the ill will of others. In the case of the Detroit dish, however, the *kham* and its five extended fingers may also represent the five major tenets of Islam: professing faith to one God, Allah; worshipping five times daily facing Mecca; giving alms to the poor; fasting during the holy month of Ramadan; and making a pilgrimage to Mecca. The golden luster itself alludes to descriptions of the material richness of the eternal garden of Paradise that appear throughout the sacred text of the Koran. For instance, sura 18.30-31 reads:

---

[6] Richard Ettinghausen, "Notes on the Lusterware of Spain," *Ars Orientalis* 1 (1954): 153.

[7] Ettinghausen, Jenkins, and Grabar, *Islamic Art and Architecture*, 284.

[8] Marilyn Jenkins, "Al-Andalus: Crucible of the Mediterranean," in *The Art of Medieval Spain, A.D. 500-1200*, Exhibition Catalogue (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1994), 103.

[9] Peck, "Like the Light of the Sun," 20.

> Surely for those who believe and do good, we do not waste the reward of him who does good work. These it is for whom are gardens of perpetuity beneath which rivers flow, ornaments shall be given to them therein of bracelets of gold, and they shall wear green robes of fine silk and thick silk brocade interwoven with gold, reclining therein on raised couches excellent the recompense and goodly the resting place.

The faithful owner or viewer of this dish, then, is reminded that only through adherence to these five tenets will he or she truly possess the keys to Paradise and all of the fantastic reward therein. The artist responsible for this early luster piece must have had no other patron in mind than a Muslim one.

Surviving pieces of luster from the thirteenth century, on the other hand, reveal less specific imagery. Explicit depictions of Paradise and of the importance of adhering to the tenets of the Islamic faith give way to more geometric patterns combined either with general blessings of good will written in Arabic or completely secular subject matter. This shift in design on the part of potters coincides with an expansion and broadening of the market for Iberian lusterware. Though al-Idrisi refers to export in the twelfth century, written references to the growing Málaga lusterware industry, and most notably its foreign acclaim and international export increase in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The poet, historian, geographer, and traveler, Ibn Said (1211-1286) writing in the mid-thirteenth century refers to ceramic vessels "bathed in gold" made in Málaga, Almería, and further north in Murcia in his *Book of the Maghreb*.[10] While Ibn Said saw first-hand the artistic culture of the western Islamic world, other writers knew of various products by reputation. In his *Masalik al-Absar*, Ibn Fadl Allah (1301-1349), mentions Málaga lusterware in his account of the Muslim world. Though he never traveled to many of the areas described, al-Andalus included, he knew well of the golden pottery fashioned in Málaga, writing sometime around 1320 that the lusterware of the city was "without equal."[11] In 1337, El Omari, in describing the Nasrid Kingdom under Yusuf I, singled out the production of Málaga golden pottery, the likes of which he said could be found nowhere else.[12] By the mid-fourteenth century, Ibn Battuta had reached Málaga, writing that it was "one of the largest and most beautiful towns of Andalucía." The ceramic industry there did not escape the notice of the Berber traveler, who wrote, "At Málaga there is manufactured excellent gilded pottery, which is exported thence to the most distant lands."[13] And finally, in 1368, Ibn al-Jatib (1313-1374), a prolific scholar who lived both in North Africa and in al-Andalus, wrote that "Málaga lustered pottery was such that all countries clamor for it, even the city of Tabriz."[14] While I am unaware of any current archaeological research that verifies Ibn al-Jatib's statement, to say that such pottery was sought after in the Persian artistic center of Tabriz, which served as a commercial crossroads for the finest Eastern goods, was to assert the presence and preeminence of Málaga arts in other parts of the world.

---

[10] Isabel Flores Escobosa, *Estudio preliminar sobre loza azul y dorada nazarí de la Alhambra* (Madrid: Instituto Hispano-Árabe de Cultura, 1988), 16. See also, Ahmed ibn Mohammed al-Makkari, *The History of Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, trans. Pascual de Gayangos (London: Oriental Translation Fund, 1840), 1: 93. Volume one of this book contains a translation of and commentary on Ibn Said's *Book of the Maghreb*.

Archaeological findings support these thirteenth- and fourteenth-century references to the growing success and renown of the art. In addition to local Nasrid patrons, Christians in Pisa, Ravenna, and Rome as well as Muslims in Fustat, Egypt, emerge as consumers during this time. Luster potters worked with this expanding market and seem to have adjusted the designs of their wares accordingly.

---

[11] Escobosa, *Estudio preliminar*, 17; Frothingham, *Lustreware of Spain*, 283; Ray, *Spanish Pottery*, 7; See also a review of an Arabic edition of the *Masalik* by Gaudefroy Demombynes, F.W.H.M, "Masalik el Absar by Ibn Fadl Allah," *Journal of the Royal African Society* 28 (April 1929): 316-318.

[12] Escobosa, *Estudio Preliminar*, 17.

[13] Ibn Battuta, *Travels in Asia and Africa, 1325-1354*, trans. H.A.R. Gibb (London: Routledge, 1929), 314.

[14] Ray, *Spanish Pottery*, 7.

A thirteenth-century fragment in the Victoria and Albert Museum uncovered in excavations in Fustat shows intricately decorated Iberian lusterware from the period (fig. 1.8).[15] Concentric rings are filled with finely drawn and dotted *atauriques*, a flat, braided pattern, and moving closer to the center of a piece, which was probably once a bowl cover with a lustered knob, an Arabic inscription can be deciphered. Written in Nashki script is the message "prosperity and life, prosperity and blessing."[16] Such finely decorated wares would have been prized indeed in thirteenth-century Fustat given the decline of the Fatimids and their luster industry in the second half of the twelfth century. The same dotted *ataurique* design on the Victoria and Albert fragment corresponds closely to that on the interior of a lustered bowl, broken but repaired, found mortared into a lunette located on the southern façade of Santa Cecilia, Pisa (fig. 5).[17] This type of architectural adornment was a common practice, particularly in Italy, and will be addressed in more detail in chapter four of this study. These "church bowls" have attracted the attention of archaeologists and art historians, whose examinations have shown that the ceramic vessels were set into the building during the time of construction, thus leading to more precise dating of medieval pottery styles.[18] In the case of the bowl from Santa Cecilia, the piece was added to the exterior of the church sometime during the second quarter of the thirteenth century. Along with the *ataurique* pattern and a loose interpretation of the same braided design on the Victoria and Albert fragment, the interior of this remarkable bowl also contains a Nashki inscription, which reads, "peace and serenity."[19] Around the exterior rim of this footed dish is again the flat braided pattern as well as four encircled "lily" motifs alternating with floriated cartouches (fig. 1.9).

---

[15] Ray, *Spanish Pottery*, 9.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Graziella Berti and Liana Tongiorgi, *I bacini ceramici medievali delle chiese di Pisa* (Rome: L'erma di Bretschneider, 1981), 99, 268-269, plate CCII.

[18] In addition to Berti and Tongiorgi, see also Gaetano Ballardini, "The *Bacini* of San Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 32 (April 1918): 128-131, 134-135.

[19] Alan Caiger Smith, *Lustre Pottery: Technique, Tradition and Innovation in Islam and the Western World* (New York: New Amsterdam Books, 1985), 86-87.

The flat braided pattern can be found on earlier Iberian ceramic forms, such as large, wing-handled vessels related to amphorae, called *tinajas*, which date to the tenth century (fig. 1.10). Nevertheless, both the braided pattern and the dotted *ataurique* motif share similarities with contemporary Persian lusterware designs dating from the late twelfth century to the middle of the thirteenth century usually attributed to luster making centers in Rayy and Kashan.[20] The first motif can be seen in many Persian pieces, including around the neck of a lusterware ewer in the Louvre (1.11), and on the legs of a small luster table held in the Philadelphia Museum of Art. The second motif is found in countless examples of what Islamic pottery historian, Oliver Watson, has termed the "monumental style."[21]

From the Victoria and Albert fragment and the Santa Cecilia dish, it becomes apparent that in the thirteenth century the products of Málaga luster potters found a diverse array of consumers who could appreciate their varied and eclectic designs influenced by luxury ceramics from the Islamic East. Potters could appeal to the tastes of a broad Mediterranean audience. The many geometric motifs and the generic blessings of good fortune on the wares were meaningful to Muslims in the Levant and palatable to Christians in Pisa who saw in the shining pottery Eastern exotic symbols painted in gold.

Graziella Berti and Liana Tongiorgi have published more examples of twelfth- and thirteenth-century Iberian lusterware excised from church façades throughout Pisa and the surrounding area.[22] Their findings of Málaga luster pottery on these buildings have dotted *ataurique* patterns and painted or *sgrafitto* spirals, designs that are comparable to contemporary

---

[20] Oliver Watson, *Persian Luster Ware* (London: Faber and Faber, 1985), 19.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Berti and Tongiorgi, *I bacini ceramici*, plates CIC-CCI.

Persian lusterware (fig. 1.13). Yet, while this small sample of early Iberian luster owes much to Persian decoration, potters from al-Andalus also took cues from Fatimid Egyptian pottery of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, as well as Abbasid wares from tenth-century Iraq.

The image of a man riding a camel covers a dish once mortared into the north façade of Santa Cecilia, also placed into the church sometime during the second quarter of the thirteenth century (fig. 1.14). The same animal with a similarly rendered eye was a popular motif on Abbasid wares, as a tenth-century lustered dish at the Detroit Institute of Art demonstrates (fig. 1.15). The Detroit camel dish is a complete example of the same type of lusterware that was first imported into the Iberian Peninsula under the Umayyads. The fragments unearthed at Medina al-Zahra are decorated with the same camel face (fig. 2). The thirteenth-century Iberian luster dish from Santa Cecilia seems to have taken the imagery and overall composition of the tenth-century camel dish and refined it, dispensing with the coarse dash pattern of the Abbasid prototype, and replacing it instead with the elegant dotted *atauriques* of contemporary Persian wares. The Málaga potter, in keeping with Persian aesthetics, elongated the proportions of the camel (figs. 1.14 and 1.16).

Moreover, in appealing to a growing clientele, the Málaga potter departed from the Abbasid prototype by adding not only elegant Persian decorative motifs, but also by choosing to illustrate the subject matter in a far more secular way. The image on the Abbasid camel dish has been discussed in detail by Richard Ettinghausen, who believed that the camel, outfitted with a collar, a waving flag, and a large litter, or palanquin, had a specific, ceremonial meaning within Islam.[23] Tracing the depiction of load-bearing camels from pre-Islamic stone reliefs from the sanctuary of Bel at Palmyra, Syria, to tenth-century, Abbasid luster ceramics, Ettinghausen believed the motif on the Detroit camel dish to be related to the pre-Islamic practice of placing a sacred stone within a domed tent, or *qubbah*.[24] The *qubbah* would be carried on a sacred camel when a clan would either travel or march into battle. This earlier ceremonial litter is mirrored by the later *mahmal*, a beautifully decorated tent topped with a flag and sent with Egyptian pilgrims to Mecca in the year 644, and every year since. The rider-less camel outfitted with a domed tent that decorates the Detroit camel dish (and other tenth-century Abbasid wares) was for Ettinghausen, a link between pre-Islamic tradition and the pilgrimage ceremonies of practicing Muslims.

---

[23] Ettinghausen, “Notes on the Lusterware of Spain,” 134.

While early luster potters in al-Andalus may have been aware of the ceremony, and indeed may have seen the Middle Eastern luster examples depicting the practice, which were among the very first lustered ceramics to have made it to the Iberian Peninsula, the *qubbah*/*mahmal* is absent from thirteenth-century Iberian wares. The Santa Cecilia camel dish from al-Andalus shows a bearded rider beneath a tent who steers the camel (fig. 1.14). It is a far more secular depiction for the Muslim maker and consumer, simply representing a caravan driver. For the Christian in Pisa who mortared the dish into the façade of Santa Cecilia, it could have signified the same—a caravan driver who brought luxurious trade goods from the Orient. Christian consumers in Italy could have also interpreted the figure as one of the three Magi, which would make the dish suitable for the religious context in which it was placed. In any case, the thirteenth-century Iberian camel plate, with its refined and secularized decoration, was perfectly appropriate for international export and suited a diverse audience.

Another Iberian luster plate from the thirteenth century from the southern façade of Santa Cecilia, Pisa, could also appeal to Muslim and Christian consumers. The piece carries the image of a small bird in profile surrounded by dotted *atauriques* and encircled by a rim covered in a chevron pattern (fig. 1.17). The feathers and wings of this creature are articulated through the

---

[24] Ibid, 133-145.

sgrafitto technique, seen on Fatimid production (fig. 1.7), and the central bird motif can be seen on lusterware made throughout the Mid-East (fig 1.18). Avian subjects, particularly birds in profile, are standard imagery on Islamic arts in general from pottery, to silks, to carved ivories.

The animal, in its many forms, can conjure up a myriad of religious meanings, particularly for the follower of Islam. The bird is twice characterized in the Koran as proof of the existence of Allah and his infinite power in suras 24.41 and 16.79. The latter reads, “Do they not see the birds, constrained in the middle of the sky? None withholds them but Allah; most surely there are signs in this for people who believe.” Birds also appear in the Koran as celebrants who sing the praises of Allah with the righteous prophet Dawood (David). Sura 38.18-19 reads, “Surely we made the mountains to sing the glory of Allah in unison with him (Dawood) at the evening and sunrise. And the birds gathered together; all joined in singing with him.” In sura 27.16 Sulaiman (Solomon) is characterized as having a close relationship with birds, proclaiming, “O men! We have been taught the language of the birds, and we have been given all things; most surely this is manifest grace. And his hosts of the jinn and the men and the birds were gathered to him, and they were formed into groups.”

The mystical notion of the “language of the birds” became the subject of a Sufi poem by Attar of Nishapur (1145-1221). In the work a conference of birds gathers together to discuss who will be king. Though avian imagery on ceramics and other decorative arts predates Attar of Nishapur’s mystical poem (there are many examples on Abbasid and Fatimid wares) this does not mean that the luster potter working in al-Andalus did not also associate this imagery with contemporary poetry.[25] If we keep in mind that many luster potters practicing their trade in al-Andalus in the thirteenth century may have been Persians who migrated to Málaga from Kashan after the Mongol invasion, this possible significance of the chirping bird is less tenuous. More generally, however, any Muslim potter would have been familiar with the Koran's allusions to birds.

---

[25] Attar of Nishapur’s *Language of the Birds* was not known outside of Persia until the fifteenth century and cannot be directly connected to the avian imagery found on Andalusian pottery. Nevertheless, the Sufi poem suggests a general understanding of the mysticism of birds.

Certainly Muslim makers and buyers would approach such imagery in a way different from that of Christian consumers. The small bird illuminated in gold can conjure up important Judeo-Christian beliefs, such as the covenant of God with Noah or the presence of the Holy Spirit. Within its Christian context as part of the façade of Santa Cecilia, perhaps such associations entered the mind of the Pisan consumer. The little bird, in any case, is a symbol that carried multiple meanings, and therefore was a pleasing design that found a broad audience.

Fourteenth-Century Lusterware

What Málaga potters achieved in their accommodating designs for local export markets was continued into the fourteenth century. Production and export of wares decorated with fine floral and geometric patterns inspired by pottery and silk designs from throughout the Islamic world, as well as the integration of Western European Gothic traditions begins to take root during this century. For example, in Fustat, the Islamic capital of Egypt on the Nile near Cairo, fourteenth-century fragments show pinecone, checkerboard, and chevron motifs, which seem to have been popular among Muslim buyers in the Levant (fig. 1.19).

Local Muslim patrons within the Kingdom of Granada demanded an array of luster imagery that truly departed from earlier thirteenth-century wares. For instance, the Nasrids commissioned custom wares of various forms emblazoned with their coat-of-arms, a shield with a diagonal banner that reads, "There is no God but Allah" (fig. 1.20). The source of this coat-of-arms has been the subject of debate among scholars specializing in Nasrid Spain. That the heraldry was not simply adapted from Western European tradition, but bestowed upon the Nasrids by a Castilian king is the generally accepted explanation for the rare use of such devices by aristocratic Muslims. Pedro I (r. 1350-1366) may have given the distinction to the Nasrid ruler Mohammed V (r. 1354-59, 1362-91), with whom he had established strong diplomatic ties.[26] Fernando Valdés Fernández has written, on the other hand, that the Nasrid coat-of-arms was in use long before, given the discovery of it on tiles in the *Torre del Peinador de la Reina* in the Alhambra, which date to the reign of Nasr I (1309-1314).[27] The heraldry need not be of western Christian origin, however. The Mamluks in Egypt were known to have used heraldic devices on their ceramics.[28] Whatever the source of the Nasrid coat-of-arms may be, Málaga potters emblazoned the symbol, often in a simplified form, on many objects, from bowls to footed platters to tiles of all shapes and sizes (fig. 1.21). This heraldic device, of either Western European or possibly Mamluk origin, is presented in tiles and vessels alongside white interlace patterns filled in with finely drawn spirals, foliage, chevrons, and refined *atauriques*, all motifs taken from Persian wares. This type of decoration, which includes a profusion of blue cobalt, also of Persian origin, is the very same fine patterning found on the Alhambra vases.

These Alhambra vases, about which much has been written, are a true *tour de force* of Málaga potters.[29] The vessels, dating from the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, were fashioned with an ovoid body, wing handles, and long necks (figs. 1.4, 1.22-1.28). Eight largely intact vases along with seven large components and many other smaller fragments can be found in museums throughout Europe and the United States.[30] It is not known for which room or rooms in the Alhambra the lustered vases were made, and many of the extant vessels did travel to other parts of the Mediterranean world, an issue that will be discussed in more detail in chapters three and four of this study. It is clear, however, from closely examining the neck of one Alhambra vase now housed in The Hispanic Society of America, that some of the lavishly decorated vessels were originally intended for display in a niche or corner (fig. 1.29). The Hispanic Society piece has an inscription of stylized Arabic around only half of the neck. The two markings on either side of the vase indicate where the original wing handles would have been attached. These handles would have framed the inscription in a sense, and demonstrate without a doubt that this piece had a definite front and back.

---

[26] Ana Echevarría Arsuaga, "The Order of the Sash: From Alfonso XI to the House of Trastámara," in *Ibn Khaldun: The Mediterranean in the Fourteenth Century, The Rise and Fall of Empires*, ed. Jesús Viguera Molins (Seville: Fundación El Legado, 2006), 70.

[27] Fernando Valdés Fernández, "Baldosa triangular, olambrilla circular y baldosa cuadrangular," in *Arte islámico en Granada: propuesta para un Museo de la Alhambra*, ed. Jesús Bermúdez López (Granada: Patronato de la Alhambra y Generalife, 1995), 371-372.

[28] Frothingham, *Lustreware of Spain*, 53; Esin Atil, *Renaissance of Islam, Art of the Mamluks* (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1982), 146-151.

[29] Frothingham, *Lustreware of Spain*, 18-63; Kenesson, "Nasrid Luster Pottery," 93-115; Villafranca Jiménez ed., *Los jarrones de la Alhambra* includes an extensive bibliography that covers the history of the Alhambra Vases.

Many other Alhambra vases carry inscriptions. For instance, across the body of the Palermo Vase is written "*al-mulk*," or "the kingdom" (fig. 1.25). This is a shortened version of the message written on the neck and body of the Instituto Valencia de don Juan Vase, which reads, "The kingdom belongs to Allah" (fig. 1.26). These inscriptions underscore the power and legitimacy of the Nasrid dynasty, which would lead us to believe that the purpose of these vases was not to carry any material *per se*, but rather to reaffirm the high status of the Nasrids and their faith in Allah. Nevertheless, an inscription on the Hornos Vase indicates possible use for the winged vessels (fig. 1.23). Part of it reads, "Every stream that emerges seems to be the most perfect of streams, and offers abundant beneficence and excellent fortune." The streams mentioned in the inscription have led more than one scholar to dispute the earlier claims by José Ferrandis Torres and Leopoldo Torres Balbás that the vases were purely decorative.[31] Contributors to the 2006 catalogue for the Alhambra vases exhibition have also dismissed the recent suggestion by Summer Kenesson that the vases were containers for wine or oil.[32] The general consensus from this recent collaboration is that the vessels were intended as water vats. Their shape was uniquely suited to keep water fresh. The long necks and the lids that were fashioned for the mouths of the pieces could filter out impurities.[33] The wing handles could be grasped when pouring from or cleaning inside of the vases. For Juan Zozaya, the chevron and "spur" patterns present on the gold and blue decoration on several of the surviving vases and fragments, reveal a connection to flowing water, the motifs being a stylized depiction of rippling streams or rivers (fig. 1.29).[34] Zozaya also points to "the clear relationship between power and water, which can be found in the main Middle Eastern theogonies, especially in Genesis and the Koran." Though Zozaya does not elaborate on this observation by providing specific examples from the Koran, his assertion here is a strong one. The blue and gold decoration on the vases, which includes inscriptions of "the kingdom" belonging to Allah; floral, vegetal, and animal motifs (as is the case with the Gazelle Vase, fig. 1.4); and the written and decorative references to water, together form a compelling illustration of Paradise as it is described in the Koran, that is, as "the gardens beneath which rivers flow."

---

[30] The eight in-tact vases are the *Gazelle* and *Fortuny-Simonetti Vases* in the Museo de la Alhambra, Granada; The *Hornos* and *Jerez Vases* in the Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid; The Palermo Vase in the Galleria Regionale della Sicilia, Palazzo Abatellis; The Instituto Valencia de Don Juan Vase, Madrid; The Stockholm Vase in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm; The *Fortuny Vase* in the Hermitage, St. Petersburg. Larger pieces and other fragments are housed in The Hispanic Society of America, New York; The Hirsch Collection, New York; The Freer Gallery, Washington D.C.; The Museo de la Alhambra, Granada; The Consejería de Cultura de la Junta de Andalucia, Granada; The Staatliche Museum, Berlin; The Museo Arqueológico, Almería; and Museo de la Ciudad, Murcia.

---

[31] José Ferrandis Torres, "Los vasos de la Alhambra," *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excusiones* 23 (1925): 47-77; Leopoldo Torres Balbás, "Cerámica doméstica de la Alhambra," *Al-Andalus* 2 (1934): 387-388.

[32] Kenesson, "Nasrid Luster Pottery," 98; Ángela Franco, "Charterhouse of Jerez Vase," and Juan Zozaya, "The Alhambra Vases: Their Function, Meaning, and Chronology," in *Los jarrones de la Alhambra*, ed. Villafranca Jiménez, 317, 280.

[33] Zozaya, "The Alhambra Vases: Function, Meaning, and Chronology," 279.

[34] Ibid., 280.

The Alhambra palace itself was a man-made, earthly version of such a Paradise with its vast gardens and networks of streams and fountains (fig. 1.31). In harnessing water for their earth-bound paradise, the Nasrids constructed a lavish display of their wealth, legitimacy, and power—though, as will be discussed in the next chapter, their sovereignty resulted from the payment of tribute to Castilian monarchs. Nevertheless, the lustered pottery made by Málaga craftsmen, and the Alhambra vases in particular, clearly contributed to Nasrid statements of prowess. Important to consider is the versatility of the Málaga luster potters who worked at the behest of Nasrid patrons. These valued artists were literate and even poetic, skilled in handling precious materials, and capable of large-scale and small-scale ceramic works, which could not only dazzle viewers but also communicate and reaffirm noble Nasrid status to visitors and inhabitants of al-Andalus alike.

Whether decorative and/or functional, vessels similar to the Alhambra vases were present in other contexts throughout the Kingdom of Granada. The great size and majestic decoration of such pieces impressed contemporary viewers and communicated their regal significance. By the fifteenth century, an Egyptian visitor to the Nasrid Kingdom looked upon the ceramics that had been produced along the southern coast of the Iberian Peninsula as comparable to, if not better than those made in the Mid-East, even though by that time the center for fine ceramics was located in and around Valencia. Abd al-Basit, left Alexandria in July of 1462, spending time in Tunis, Tripoli, and Oran before boarding a Genoese vessel for Málaga in December of 1465.[35] Upon visiting the port city's citadel, the Alcazaba, Abd al-Basit wrote the following:

> In this citadel I saw a construction made for water in which there were three large vases of Málaga porcelain. I have never seen anything equal or similar to it, nor have I ever heard anything spoken of it. These three vases were arranged side by side one another in

---

[35] The account of Abd al-Basit has been both transcribed from the original Arabic manuscript and translated into Italian by Giorgio Levi della Vida, "Il Regno di Granata nel 1465-66 nei ricordi di un viaggiatore egiziano," *Al-Andalus* 1 (1933): 307-334.

> this construction [and] intended for potable water in the vestibule of that citadel. Each vase had the dimensions of a *tigar* or of a large *jabi'a* from our land… The [Málaga vases] were marvelously fashioned and stupendously decorated with admirable and precious work in relief. There is this type [of vase] in our land, but not of the same magnitude and artistic beauty —the fountain vase that is in front of the Birkat al Nasiriyya in the neighborhood of the *zawiya* of Abu Sama; and so also in the Harat Zuweyla there is the fountain of Ibn Yulud, which can be found near the gate to his house.[36] But there is an immense difference between the two constructions, that is, between that of Málaga and that of our land: that [work made] there [in the Alcazaba] is art for sultans![37]

While Abd al-Basit does not specify whether the three vases that formed the fountain construction at Málaga's Alcazaba were lustered, we know that he was impressed with their decoration. The fountain vases, given their great size, likely resembled the Alhambra vases, which measured five feet in height and also included relief elements around the neck and mouthpiece, matching with the Egyptian traveler's description.

In 1988, Isabel Flores Escobosa conducted excavations at Málaga's Alcazaba, finding not only wasters (deposits of unsuccessfully fired pieces), which indicated the presence of a functioning pottery workshop within the walls of the citadel, but also unearthing considerable quantities of lusterware fragments from the site.[38] Whether the fountain vases Abd al-Basit so enthusiastically described were lustered or not, we can glean from his words and from the accounts of other Muslim writers referred to above, that the pottery produced by artists in

---

[36] Ibid., 319 fn 4. The translator explains that the pool of al-Nasiriyya and the Zuweyla quarter were both located in Cairo.

[37] Ibid., 318-319. "In questa *qasaba* vidi una costruzione fatta per l'acqua nella quale erano tre grandi orci di porcellana di Málaga. Non ho mai visto nulla di eguale nè di simile, nè mai ne ho udito parlare. Questi tre orci erano disposti l'uno di fianco all'altro in questo costruzione destinata all'acqua potabile, nel vestibolo di quella *qasaba*, e ogni orcio aveva le dimensioni di un *tigar* o di una grande *jabi'a* del nostro paese… erano meravigliosamente fabbricati, e stupendamente ornati di mirabili e rari lavori in rilievo. È di questo genere nel nostro paese, ma non della stessa misura di grandezza e di bellezza artistica, l'orcio della fontana che sta di fronte alla Birkat al-Nasiriyya nelle vicinanze della zawiya di Abu Sama; e così anche in Harat Zuweyla vi è la fontana di Ibn Yalud, la quale si trova accanto alla porto della sua casa; ma vi è un'immensa differenza tra le due costruzioni, ossia tra quella di Málaga e quella del nostro paese: quella di laggiù è opera di sultani!" This and all subsequent translations into English in this dissertation are my own unless otherwise specified.

[38] Isabel Flores Escobosa, *Estudio preliminar*, 19. Ray, *Spanish Pottery*, 7.

Málaga was certainly the sort of luxury good that impressed foreign consumers, and also carried with it dynastic significance. The lusterware of Andalusia was the pottery of choice for the Kingdom of Granada's elite. It was, as Abd al-Basit wrote, the "art for sultans."

Another visitor to al-Andalus, the poet and scholar Ibn al-Jatib, mentioned earlier, refers to the noble and ceremonial use of finely glazed and lustered dishes at the Alhambra palace for the celebration of *mawlid*, the observance of the birth of the prophet Mohammed. In December of 1362, Ibn al-Jatib wrote the following:

> Everyone there had washed their hands in *aguamaniles* of noble material, gilded all over and so polished that their plates seemed like mirrors of pure gold…After the dark of night had dissipated and once the morning prayers were finished, palanquins of golden and polished dishes that contained… the very food for our breakfast emerged with the dawn.[39]

The Muslim chronicler of this celebration was, as Balbina Martínez Caviró suggests, "awe-struck by the trappings for entertaining" used by the Nasrids under the reign of Mohammed V.[40] Moreover, Ibn al-Jatib's description of the lusterware itself first expresses the "nobility" of the material and its reflective, glimmering properties. The poet then continues his account of the feast by drawing a clever parallel between the brilliant tone of the dishes and the morning light. The next time he sees the golden wares "they emerge with the dawn."

Western European Tastes

The pieces described by Ibn al-Jatib and Abd al-Basit are firmly rooted in the civic centers and religious celebrations of al-Andalus. Nevertheless, lusterware pieces from Málaga contemporary with their accounts also reveal an appeal to the tastes of Western Christian audiences. At the Alhambra, for example, Nasrid patrons in the fourteenth century commissioned lusterware markedly different from the large vases and other vessels discussed above. Triangular luster and blue tiles made for the *peinador bajo*, or the queen's lower dressing room, in the last quarter of the fourteenth century show the influence and appreciation of the International Gothic style in al-Andalus (fig. 1.32). The triangular tiles fit together to form diamond-shaped compositions, which are decorated with *atauriques* and curling foliage like that found on *mille fleurs* tapestries and on contemporary silks (fig. 1.33). These vegetal motifs encircle an eight-sided frame within which a woman and man together hold up a Nasrid coat-of-arms topped with a gothic crown. The figures are thin and elongated. The female figure in particular is rendered with a swaying form, not unlike the posture of ladies depicted in iconic works of the International Gothic style, such as the *Tres Riches Heures* of Jean Duke of Berry (fig. 1.34).

---

[39] Ibn al-Jatib quoted in Balbina Martínez Caviró, "El arte nazarí y el problema de la loza dorada," in *Arte islámico en Granada: propuesta para un Museo de la Alhambra*, Bermúdez López ed., 155. "Las gentes todas se habían ya lavado las manos en aguamaniles de noble material, sobredorados y tan pulimentados, que sus platos parecían espejos de oro puro…Al disiparse las tinieblas nocturnas y una vez acabada la oración, salieron con la aurora palanquines de escudillas doradas y pulimentadas que contenían…alimentos propios del desayuno."

[40] Ibid.

Manuel Casamar believes that this tile floor dates from the time of Mohammed V (1354-1391) and therefore displays a clear Gothic influence from Western Christian Europe.[41] Other tiles within the same floor depict swans, goats, dragons holding coats-of-arms, and riders knocked from their horses. In considering the context for all of these Gothic motifs, Casamar brings attention to a hypothesis concerning gothic art in al-Andalus put forth by Manuel Gómez Moreno in 1904.[42] In an article entitled "Arte cristiano entre los moros de Granada," Gómez Moreno wrote that pieces such as these tiles were hybrid works; he believed that just as Christians and Muslims worked together to build the Alcázar in Seville for Pedro I, the same intercultural cooperation was no doubt at work in the Alhambra during the reign of Mohammed V.

---

[41] Manuel Casamar, "Solería del peinador," in *Los jarrones de la Alhambra*, ed. Villafranca Jiménez, 328.

[42] Ibid. See also Manuel Gómez Moreno, "Arte cristiano entre los moros de Granada," in Eduardo Saavedra, ed. *Homenaje a Francisco Codera en su jubilación del profesorado: estudios de erudición oriental* (Zaragoza: Escar, 1904).

While the Nasrid ruler could have asked Christian artists to produce such works for the Alhambra, as may have been the case with the paintings in the Hall of Justice,[43] there is no evidence that Christians in any part of the Iberian Peninsula at this time possessed the technical knowledge needed for lusterware production. Most luster potters working in late fourteenth-century and early fifteenth-century Valencia, an area that had been under Christian control since 1238, were Muslims according to the pottery records published by Guillermo J. Osma y Scull in 1908. Christian names of potters appear infrequently in records from the Valencia area from the fifteenth century, too, and it is not clear whether these names were those of old Christians or recent Muslim converts.[44] In view of the fact that at this time the industry was still dominated by Muslim artists in Christian-ruled areas, the inference that Christian potters with luster-making expertise were at work in a part of the Iberian Peninsula still under Muslim rule is simply untenable. It is far more reasonable to suggest, even in the absence of the sort of documentation that exists for Valencia potters, that the lusterware artists living in Málaga were Muslims. These potters were talented enough to adopt and render contemporary Western European motifs of the International Gothic style and to satisfy the diverse and worldly tastes of their Nasrid patrons.

In addition to Nasrid commissions, a growing clientele of Christian buyers in the Iberian Peninsula and abroad seems to have demanded luster pieces that appealed to their own aesthetic sensibilities. Three vessels produced in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries share so many stylistic similarities that the pieces could have been made in the same Málaga workshop.

---

[43] Leopoldo Torres Balbás, *Ars Hispaniae: historia universal del arte hispánico, vol. 4, Arte almohade, arte nazarí, arte mudéjar* (Madrid: Plus Ultra, 1949), 120. See also Jerrilynn Dodds, "The Paintings in the *Sala de Justicia* of the Alhambra: Iconography and Iconology," *The Art Bulletin* 61 (1979): 186-197.

[44] Osma, *Apuntes*, 2: 96-129.

Moreover, this workshop could have catered to broader tastes, particularly that of masterful figural decoration, as opposed to Arabic inscriptions and Islamic geometric and floral motifs. This group of objects consists of a platter in the Metropolitan Museum depicting a rider on horseback slaying a serpent (fig. 1.35), a deep bowl decorated with a large ship in the Victoria and Albert Museum (fig. 1.36), and a spouted pitcher adorned with a falconry scene in the Instituto Valencia de don Juan, Madrid (fig. 1.37). The background composition of all three pieces is comprised of finely drawn spirals. The male figures on the Metropolitan and IVDJ vessels are rendered with the same profile. All three wares include meticulous *sgrafitto* work detailing fashionable clothing, serpentine scales, and even the planks of a sea-faring vessel.[45]

The Metropolitan dish, because of its Christian subject matter, which seems to depict St. George slaying a dragon, has been attributed to Valencia in the past.[46] Recently, however, Jesús Bermúdez López claimed the piece to be of Málaga origin.[47] Its flat-bottomed shape and three low feet support this assertion (fig. 1.38), given that the same form can be found on earlier fourteenth-century pieces of certain Málaga manufacture (fig. 1.39).[48]

Furthermore, the Metropolitan St. George platter's stylistic correspondence with the Victoria and Albert ship bowl (fig. 1.36) supports its Málaga origin. Analysis of the clay body of the ship bowl yielded particles of grey quartz, known as schist. These schistose deposits are found in clay from the Málaga area and are not present in the pinker clay of the Valencia region.[49] This version of the ship bowl is the best preserved. Another example is housed in the Museo de la Alhambra in Granada, and is in considerably poorer condition. Clearly the subject was a popular one, and it had roots in Maghrebi prototypes (fig. 1.40). Yet the Victoria and Albert ship bowl departs from this earlier model in its very specific and personalized decoration. The flag on the mast of the large, sea-faring merchant vessel, or carrack, is emblazoned with the ancient arms of Portugal. This piece, therefore, may have been a special request from a Portuguese consumer, as Anthony Ray suggests.[50] The specific details of such a ship must have been observed by the Málaga potter, who was able to precisely depict the lateen-rigged, or four-cornered, sail. The piece itself embodies the advanced state of maritime commerce in the late-medieval world. The Portuguese arms and supposed Portuguese patron both indicate the golden pottery's broad, international appeal.

---

[45] Jesús Bermúdez López writes the three pieces are among the finest examples of Nasrid lusterware, but does not go so far as to say that they came from the same pottery workshop, which may have specialized in accommodating Christian, or at any rate, more diverse tastes. See his catalogue entry, "Lustered Earthenware Basin," in *Los jarrones de la Alhambra*, ed. Villafranca Jiménez, 325-326.

[46] See, for example, Frothingham, *Lustreware of Spain*, 91. The Metropolitan Museum of Art now labels this piece as probable Málaga production.

[47] Bermúdez López, "Lustered Earthenware Basin," 326.

[48] See Manuel Casamar, "Notas sobre cerámica del ajuar nazarí," *Al-Andalus* 24 (1959): 191.

The tastes of Christian and Muslim clientele would have been well served by the figural imagery seen on the IVDJ pitcher (fig. 1.37). The piece is decorated with three male figures in a composite stance, their faces and legs in profile with their torsos turned forward. The men, accompanied by three falcons, stalk through delicate trees using the birds of prey to procure food. The practice of falconry, for adherents of Islam, was an acceptable way to hunt, one sanctioned by Allah. Sura 5.4 reads, "The good things are allowed to you, and what you have taught the beasts and birds of prey, training them to hunt, you teach them of what Allah has taught you. So eat of that which they catch for you and mention the name of Allah over it…" The falconers on this vase, however, are not Muslims. According to Frothingham, the clothing of these men is the garb of Christians, and can be dated to the last decade of the fourteenth century. They wear gambesons, long-sleeved, quilted jackets embellished with a row of buttons stretching from the collar to the bottom hem. The gambesons, hose, tight-fitting caps, and pointed shoes led Frothingham to believe the pitcher itself dates to around 1390 and was made no later than 1405. She also writes, "the hunting scene stands out as a strange contrast to the patterns that customarily ornament Hispano-Muslim pottery from Nasrid domains."[51]

---

[49] Ray, *Spanish Pottery*, 14.

[50] Ibid.

Yet if we consider this pitcher as having originated from the same workshop as the Metropolitan and Victoria and Albert pieces, the figural and chivalric character of the decoration is not so singular.[52] In fact, the IVDJ falconry pitcher exemplifies the broadening base of late medieval lusterware consumers. Contemporary with this piece is textual support that the art of falconry in the Iberian Peninsula was finding increased popularity among Spanish Christians. The historian, royal chronicler, and statesman, Pedro López de Ayala (1332-1407), wrote his *Libro de las aves de caça* (*The Book on Hunting with Birds of Prey*) in 1385.[53] The workshop that fashioned these pieces knew that it had to cater to the diverse interests of Christian buyers and to local tastes as well.[54] Such pieces also could have found a ready audience with a Muslim clientele in the Nasrid Kingdom, as the figural designs on the tiles from the *peinador* indicate. In either case, these late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century wares attest to the perceptive and innovative character of Málaga potters working in Nasrid territories, and their outstanding ability to blend various Middle Eastern and Gothic motifs.

---

[51] Frothingham, *Lustreware of Spain*, 67.

[52] Of the three pieces, Frothingham considered only the IVDJ pitcher to be from Málaga, while the Metropolitan and Victoria and Albert dishes she believed to be Valencian. The clay body analysis of schistose materials conducted at the British Museum mentioned above refutes her earlier theory.

[53] Pedro López de Ayala, *Libro de las aves de caça*, Pascual de Gayangos, ed. (Madrid: Impr de M. Galiano, 1868).

[54] There is no written evidence describing workshop practices in fourteenth-century Andalucía. Translated documents from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries included in this study indicate that a shop would be headed by one master potter. He may have been assisted by as many as twelve workmen, including assistant potters, clay kneaders, cutters, and throwers, and one man to stoke the kilns. See pages 92-93 and 97-98.

The Diversity of Valencian Production

Even more varied in both forms and patterns than the lusterware produced in the Kingdom of Granada is Valencian production from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Many more examples of lusterware from pottery producing centers around Valencia survive due to a surge in the industry sparked not only by the migration of Málaga potters from politically unstable al-Andalus to the Christian north, but also by an evolution in domestic practices. During the late Middle Ages the materials used for the cooking, serving, and eating of food changed dramatically. This was brought about by the presence of Muslim dynasties in the Iberian Peninsula. Anthony Ray points out that the areas in the Middle East and across North Africa from which Hispano-Muslims originated did not have plentiful sources of wood.[55] A tradition of finely crafted pottery for items beyond storage and cooking vessels had been long-established among these populations and was maintained in the Iberian Peninsula, even though wood was not scarce in this part of the western Islamic world. With the gradual movement south of Christian forces, communities throughout the Iberian Peninsula absorbed Muslim habits and crafts, including the increased use of ceramic vessels. A variety of forms such as pitchers, wash basins, cups, small bowls, and tiles with glazed decoration became fashionable among a wider Iberian population of Muslims, Christians, and Jews, as well as among international buyers in the late Middle Ages.[56]

According to Juan Zozaya, it is with the Nasrids that individual place settings and entire ceramic table services gained popularity throughout Christian Spain.[57] Indeed, before 1248 most pottery was used for storage, rarely making its way to the table. Pedro López Elum's study of household inventories from the Valencia area, which span from 1285 to 1500, indicates that the metal vessels and wooden dishes that were commonly used for cooking in and eating from, respectively, gradually gave way to ceramic wares.[58] This change in domestic practice is mirrored by the growing ceramic production in the eastern coastal Iberian region and the progressive movement of Muslim potters to that area from the ever-shrinking Kingdom of Granada throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. As a result, the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries saw a proliferation of lusterware patterns and imagery in Valencian potteries. Not only did Islamic aesthetics merge with Gothic motifs during this time, but also Arabic, Latin, and Hebrew inscriptions adorned luster pieces attesting to the diverse clientele and wide-ranging abilities of luster potters. In this section, I will examine the wide array of designs produced in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in the Valencia area, particularly in Manises, which show that Iberian luster potters found inspiration in a variety of sources from fine silks and ivories to the natural environment. I will set forth some reasons why Valencian potters adopted certain patterns, some of which were very distinct from those found in Málaga.

---

[55] Ray, *Spanish Pottery*, 22.

[56] Ibid., 23.

[57] Juan Zozaya, "The Alhambra Vases," in *Los jarrones de la Alhambra*, ed. Villafanca Jiménez, 279.

"Pula" and "Persian" or "Fish Border" Styles

Widely acknowledged to be some of the earliest lusterware made in the Valencia area is part of the cache of items known as the "Pula hoard."[59] Eighteen intact and forty broken objects were uncovered in a trench in Pula, in southwestern Sardinia. Twenty-nine bowls and one jug with blue and luster decoration were uncovered at the site and are now housed in the Pinocatoecta Nazionale in Cagliari. Petrological and chemical analysis of the clay bodies of these wares in the 1980's proved beyond a doubt that the thirty pieces were Iberian. While the single lustered jug was of Málaga origin (fig. 1.41), its shape and decoration corresponding to well-known Málaga pieces like the Berchulles pitcher (fig. 1.42), the twenty-nine bowls were fashioned in Valencian workshops during the first half of the fourteenth century (figs. 1.43-46). This provenance and chronology coincide with the establishment of the first luster potteries in Manises. At least four separate pottery workshops were active in the town between 1325 and 1333 according to surviving archival evidence.[60]

---

[58] López Elum, *La producción cerámica de lujo*,16.

[59] Hugo Blake, "The earliest Valencian lustreware? The provenance of the pottery from Pula in Sardinia," in *Everyday and Exotic Pottery from Europe,* eds. Gaimster and Redknap eds., 202-224.

Stylistically what the Pula pieces show is a direct continuation of Málaga style from the thirteenth century. The Santa Cecilia "peace and serenity" bowl dating to around 1240 (fig. 1.9) shares the same stylized "lily" motif and dotted *autarique* patterns as several of the Valencian/Pula group (fig. 1.43). The palmette motifs found on many Pula pieces can also be found on Málaga fragments found in Fustat, now among the holdings of the Victoria and Albert Museum (figs. 1.44 and1.19). The art of inscribed blessings in Kufic script also carried over from Málaga pottery to Valencian production. Valencian potters commonly decorated wares with the blessing, "*alafia*," meaning "health" (fig. 1.45).

By the last quarter of the fourteenth century, Valencia potters had refined the patterns characteristic of the Pula group. For example, the intricately illustrated palmette trees that radiate from the central motif of The Hispanic Society of America's late fourteenth-century bowl from Valencia (fig. 1.1) seem to have a coarsely rendered precedent in the Pula group (fig. 1.44). A large bowl in the Museu de Ceràmica in Barcelona (fig. 1.46), dating from around 1375 to 1400, also finds its stylistic prototype in the Pula hoard (fig. 1.47).

By the turn of the century different Valencian patterns emerge drawing again from Málaga patterns, but also incorporating a host of original imagery. The so-called "Persian Style" or "fish border" frequently found on shallow basins, or *braseros* (fig. 6), takes its cue from

---

[60] Ibid., 217.

Andalusian pieces such as the example unearthed at the Alcazaba, with its looping arcs that encircle a central motif (fig. 1.48). The "fish border" series, more than any other style of Valencian production up until this point, demonstrates the ability of potters on the eastern coast of the Iberian Peninsula to accommodate the ever-changing tastes of their local and international clientele. The decoration of this series included traditionally Islamic designs, figural imagery, and for the very first time, heraldry not intended for royalty, but instead for noble families.[61]

The eight-pointed star and *alafia* inscription found on the "fish border" series proved not only popular throughout the Iberian Peninsula, but also abroad with notable archaeological finds of the style in England, the Netherlands, and Italy.[62] The potters crafting these pieces drew on imagery from the Alhambra vases, with an example in the British Museum depicting two gazelles facing a central tree, perhaps a "tree of life," or *sidra*, a perennial motif in Islamic decorative arts that indicates the "utmost bounds of Paradise" for followers of Islam (figs. 1.4 and 1.49).[63]

Also in the British Museum is another example of the of the "fish border" series depicting four figures in a ship (fig. 1.50). Unlike the roughly contemporary ship bowl made in Málaga discussed in the previous section, the British Museum piece is not at all as specific in its rendering of a sea-faring vessel. It depicts a small boat with a curved bow, seven oars, a single mast with triangular sail, and a front rope ladder. The four passengers are simple profile heads with composite eyes. Both Manuel González Martí and Anthony Ray write that the image may represent the "ship of love," though there is no indication of any amorous sentiment in the maritime scene.[64] It is impossible to argue a precise literary or folkloric source for such imagery. Various ship metaphors can be cited from Horace to Ovid to St. Augustine, and the patron or future owners of the dish could have associated the scene with any number of such literary or religious references. More likely, however, the imagery is a general allusion to the East. The shape of the ship itself resembles ancient Egyptian boats with curved bows, single masts, and one row of oars. The hairstyle and profile images also seem related to Egyptian prototypes. Small-scale ship models and even clay lamps in the form of sporting or funerary boats had been made for centuries in Egypt (fig. 1.51), and potters in the Iberian Peninsula, given the well-established trade that existed between Iberian ports and Fustat, could have known such representations. The imagery on the British Museum piece, then, may have been employed by a Hispano-Muslim potter as appealing foreign subject matter. A local Christian buyer, or any consumer in Western Europe for that matter, may have simply enjoyed the depiction of a strange, eastern ship sailing in far-off seas.

---

[61] Earlier instances of coats-of-arms on Hispano-Islamic lusterware have been strictly associated with royalty. The Nasrids, as we have already seen, had their insignia emblazoned on tiles and vessels in the fourteenth century. Jean Duke of Berry, as we shall see in chapter three, also commissioned luster tiles decorated with his coat-of-arms from Hispano-Muslim potters in the early1380s.

[62] Ray, *Spanish Pottery*, 66.

[63] George Lechler, "The Tree of Life in Indo-European and Islamic Cultures," *Ars Islamica* 4 (1937): 369.

The Musée du Petit Palais in Paris has an example of the "fish border" series decorated with figural imagery, but combined with Arabic inscriptions (fig. 1.52). Two ladies, one smelling a flower, the other drinking from a cup, flank a central palmette tree. Their clothing, the platforms on which they sit, and the base of the tree itself all carry the *alafia* inscription. The motif closely parallels imagery found on late medieval silks made in al-Andalus, such as the roundel found on the thirteenth-century pillow cover of Berenguela of Castile (1180-1246), and the thirteenth-century silk textile now housed in the Cooper-Hewitt depicting drinking ladies (figs. 1.53 and 1.54).

The imagery on the British Museum and Petit Palais pieces may have been a preference or even a special request from a patron. Indeed, such practices were common by the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries in Valencian workshops, particularly with the pottery or potteries that produced the "fish border" pattern. Proof of patron intervention in this case is that within this series are some of the earliest extant examples of "armorial specimens," that is, individual lusterware pieces decorated with the coats-of-arms of Christian consumers. Throughout the fifteenth century this practice would become increasingly more fashionable, particularly in Italy. Nevertheless, it would seem that families in Christian-ruled Spain first ordered these custom-made wares. The Hispanic Society's collection includes a piece from this series featuring the arms of the Despujol family of Cataluña (fig. 6), while the British Museum has another early example of the "fish border" series with arms of Blanca of Navarre. The wide array of influences on Málaga ceramics, from local silk production and Eastern imagery to Western heraldry, demonstrates the innovative and accommodating spirit of Iberian luster potters.

---

[64] González Martí, *Cerámica del levante*, 240-241; Ray, *Spanish Pottery*, 65.

Inspiration from the Natural Environment

Beginning in the first decades of the fifteenth century and continuing into the sixteenth century, Iberian luster potters fashioned a variety of wares covered front to back with floral and vegetal patterns. Such designs were remarkably popular not only in Spain, but throughout Western Europe. The so-called "bryony," "disc flower," "large *ataurique*," "thistle," "half orange," "fern leaf," "ivy," and "wheat ear" patterns dominated Valencian lusterware production from around 1400 to about 1520. As we shall see in chapters three and four, such pieces carrying floral and vegetal motifs could be found in fine homes throughout Northern Europe, such as Dordrecht Castle in the Netherlands, and Dublin Castle in Ireland.[65] Hispano-Islamic lusterware with floral patterns were also among the household possessions of René of Anjou, Jacques Coeur, Philip the Good, Piero de Medici, and Ginevra Sforza. No doubt the golden sheen and intricate patterns of the Hispano-Islamic wares appealed to such distinguished consumers because of an established taste for the International Gothic as well as a rising awareness and appreciation of specific renderings of the natural world. One need only compare the richness in detail and gold embellishment of Piero de' Medici's fresco commission depicting the procession of the Magi for the Medici palace chapel (fig. 1.55) and the lustered, wing-handled, "ivy" patterned vase bearing his insignia to see a common aesthetic (fig. 1.56). The fascination with botanical specimens combined with sumptuous golden accents can be observed in both works of art.

---

[65] Ray, *Spanish Pottery*, 69; Rosanne Meenan, "Iberian Pottery from Ireland," in *Everyday and Exotic Pottery from Europe,* eds. Gaimster and Redknap, 190.

For many scholars, the floral and vegetal patterns appearing on fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Hispano-Islamic lusterware are related to other very costly and highly sought after luxury goods, tapestries and illuminated manuscripts. In discussing foliate designs on Hispano-Islamic lusterware, Alice Wilson Frothingham, for example, wrote, "They are not painted as formal repeat motives; in fact, there is an almost naturalistic freedom in their representation. The effect produced by the myriad of flowers, leaves, and dots, painted in pretty contrast of cobalt blue and luster, recalls the *mille fleurs* tapestries and illuminations of the Gothic period."[66] Similarly Anthony Ray has written that, "the "bryony" and "ivy" leaf owe little to Islamic precedents and seem closer to the floral backgrounds of Gothic miniatures (figs. 1.57 and 1.58).[67] Indeed, the bryony pattern with its climbing vines, twisting tendrils, round buds, tripartite leaves, and small flowers is very similar to the marginal decoration on countless surviving manuscripts from the fifteenth century, including the *Boucicaut Hours*, *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves*, and Jean Fouquet's *Les Antiquités Judaïques* (fig. 1.59).

---

[66] Frothingham, *Lustreware of Spain*, 125-127.
[67] Ray, *Spanish Pottery,* 60.

Both authors rightly point out the naturalistic character of fifteenth-century Valencian luster patterns; however, inspiration for such decoration is certainly not limited to *mille fleurs* tapestries and manuscript illuminations, or Gothic architectural traceries and silks, as Frothingham mentions earlier in her study. No doubt the fine floral and vegetal patterns on Valencian wares of the period were extremely appealing throughout Western Europe because of their resemblance to and consonance with such artistic traditions. From Flanders to Renaissance Florence, tapestries, book illuminations, as well as drawings and panel paintings reflect a growing interest in botanical imagery. Jan van Eyck's *Ghent Altarpiece*, Leonardo's notebooks, and Botticelli's *Primavera* all demonstrate the Renaissance artist's fascination with and observation of the flora and fauna around him. The rendering of specific traits of the natural environment complete with identifiable plants and flowers is a hallmark of the Renaissance. Traditionally, this pronounced interest in scientific pursuits and naturalistic representation has been viewed as an inherent characteristic that distinguishes the Renaissance genius from the medieval artist or the simple artisan. Therefore, it may be the case that because of lusterware's shared aesthetic with the style of the International Gothic and of Renaissance art kept in domestic spaces, sophisticated consumers from Bruges to Valencia to Pisa and Florence purchased the Hispano-Islamic pieces.

As demonstrated in the previous section, the potters that fashioned early Valencian lusterware did take inspiration from a variety of other art forms and luxury goods. We might ask ourselves, however, why the practice of observing one's natural environment and rendering its specific details is thought to be an initiative taken by the Renaissance genius, the manuscript illuminator, the panel painter, or the tapestry designer, and not the luster potter? It would seem that for the makers of this luxury ceramic, past literature has treated them as mere recipients and copiers of the "higher arts." In this study, I contend that Valencian lusterware potters not only looked to other fashionable arts for their decorative patters, but also found inspiration in their natural environment, combining representations of native vegetation with already existing, stylized motifs.

The native plants of the Valencia area, and in the pottery producing area of Manises in particular, can be found in late fourteenth-century and fifteenth-century accounts of the region. The Franciscan friar, Francesc Eiximenis, whose writings on Valencia will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter, took special care to document the vegetation of Valencia and its surrounding villages in his 1383 work entitled, *Les especials belleses de la ciutat de Valencia* (*The Special Attractions of the City of Valencia*). [68] Specifically of Manises, Eiximenis comments on the plethora of medicinal herbs and plants of which the inhabitants of that particular village have an extensive knowledge. The Franciscan lists the following plants and flowers:

> …rosemary, which is in great abundance, hyssop, euphrasia, marjoram, sage, parsley, mint, basil, rue, carnations, savory, jasmine, marigolds, *pom d'amor*, *gauig*, dogrose, iris, roses, violets of blue and other precious varieties, many wild pomegranates, celandine, *besoludí*, strawberries, canary clover, beatamaria herb, bugloss, couch grass, absinthe, artemisia, weld, and countless more, which are too many to name here.[69]

---

[68] Francesc Eiximenis, *Regiment de la cosa pública en el Dotzè del Crestià*, trans. Vicent Martines Peres and and Elena Sánchez López (Madrid: Centro Lingüística Aplicada Atenea, 2009).

[69] Ibid., 303. Translations for the italicized words in this list have yet to be found. "romani, qui molt hic habunda, ysop, eufrasia, moradiux, salvia, julivert, menta, alfabega, ruda, clavelina, sajorida, gezmir, maravelles, pom damor, gauig, anglentina, liri, roses, violes de ultramar e daltres fort precioses, moltes balausties, celedonia, besoludi, fragasta, herba pastoral, herba beate virginis, buglosa, gram, donzell, artemisa, gauda, e daltres infinides, les quals serien longues de comptar."

Other plants, fruits, and trees thriving in the Valencia area mentioned by Eiximenis include: saffron, white poplar, apricots, eggplants, peaches, watermelon, caraway, lucerne, garlic, privet, almonds, oranges, rice, hazelnuts, oats, anise, squash, oak trees, onions, cherries, chick peas, quince, cucumber, cabbage, cumin plant, cotton, sorghum, shallots, spelt, fava and kidney beans, figs, carob, jujube, nettle berry, lentil, lettuce, limes, lemons, millet, turnips, medlar, elm, barley, panic grass, carrots, dyer's woad, pepper, pears, peas, apples, leeks, grapes, radishes, madder, alder tree, parsnips, and sugar cane.[70]

From Eiximenis' late fourteenth-century text it is clear that the eastern coast of Spain was a verdant and fertile area, capable of producing a veritable pharmacopeia. In fact, compared to the rest of Western Europe, the Iberian Peninsula was botanized early, during the time of the Umayyad Caliphate. Many flowers, fruits, and other species of cultivated plants were disseminated throughout Europe from the Middle East via the Iberian Peninsula. Providing a list of garden plants mentioned in medieval Arabic botanical texts written in al-Andalus, John Harvey writes, "So far as these named crops from the Islamic world effectively reached Northern Europe, it seems that they were transmitted through the Christian kingdoms of Spain, and perhaps especially by skilled gardeners working in Aragon, where relations between Muslim and Christian cultures were especially close."[71] Harvey emphasizes the sophisticated garden culture throughout the southern and eastern Iberian Peninsula, and the extensive Arabic literature that accompanied Hispano-Islamic horticulture, including the *Cordovan Calendar* (961-76); Ibn Wafid's *Compendium of Agriculture* (1060); Ibn Bassal's *Book of Agriculture* (c. 1180); and Ibn Luyun's *Treatise on Agriculture* (1348).

---

[70] See Lluis Alpera, *Los nombres trecentistas de botánica valenciana en Francesc Eiximenis* (Valencia: Institución Alfonso el Magnánimo, 1968).

[71] John Harvey, "Garden Plants of Moorish Spain: A Fresh Look," *Garden History* 20 (Spring 1992): 76.

In addition to these influential agricultural texts, there was a great diffusion through both Christian Spain and al-Andalus of Dioscorides' *De materia medica*, as Isidore of Seville (560-636) frequently referred to the Greek physician and pharmacologist in his *Etymologiae*.[72] Abulcasis of Córdoba (936-1013) and Ibn al-Baitar of Málaga (1197-1248) authored the *Book of Simples* and the *Corpus of Simples*, respectively. All of these works were not only important compendiums on herbal medicine, but also served as sources of information for later medieval and early modern herbals. By the late fifteenth century, herbals from throughout Europe had reached Christian Spain, including the 1491 *Hortus sanitatis*.[73] The Iberian Peninsula was therefore a region of Western Europe particularly well acquainted with herbal medicine.

While luster potters may not have been avidly reading treatises on pharmacology, from the account of Eiximenis we do know that Manises itself was a town known for its medicinal plants. The village also produced pottery forms for pharmacies throughout Western Europe.[74] Moreover, studies supported by the Environmental Council of the Generalitat Valenciana attest to the long established use of medicinal plants in the Valencia area.[75] The inhabitants of Manises, Paterna, and the city of Valencia must have been familiar with the health benefits of local plants, and the potters living in the area were certainly well-acquainted with the variety of forms pharmacies desired, which included cylindrical jars, or *albarellos*, oil cruets, and other spouted pots. The plants that decorated these and other domestic wares are so specific that they often can be identified, and most likely the leaves, flowers, and vines depicted had different medicinal and/or nutritive qualities.

---

[72] For more on medicinal plants and pharmacology in the Middle Ages, see Minta Collins, *Medieval Herbals: The Illustrative Traditions* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 148.

[73] See the facsimile based on a copy in the Real Colegiata de San Isidoro de León of the *Hortus sanitatis*, trans. Hipólito Benjamin Riesco Álvarez (León: Universidad de León, 1999).

[74] Rudolph E.A. Drey, *Apothecary Jars: Pharmaceutical Pottery and Porcelain in Europe and the East, 1150-1850* (London: Faber and Faber, 1978), 28.

[75] Gerardo Stübing and J.B. Peris, *Plantas medicinales de la comunidad valenciana* (Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana Conselleria de Medio Ambiente, 1998); J.R. Ruano Martínez, *Cultivo de plantas aromáticas, medicinales y condimentarias en la Comunidad Valenciana : evolución y estudio en parcelas experimentales* (Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana Conselleria de Medio Ambiente, 1998).

The most popular floral pattern on Valencian wares of this period is what pottery historians have since the nineteenth century called the "bryony" motif (fig. 1.60). It would seem that this traditional label is, in fact, an accurate identification. Bryony frequently appears in illuminated manuscripts throughout Europe during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; however, two species of the plant itself are native to the Iberian Peninsula, *E. elaterium dioicum*, known as squirting cucumber, and *Bryonia dioica*, or white bryony (fig. 1.61). The latter grows in the Valencia area and matches with the bryony pattern painted on fifteenth-century Valencian lusterware, including pharmacy pots.[76] Potters captured the curling tendrils, spherical buds, small flowers, and uniquely shaped leaves with the two colors, blue and gold, that they had at their disposal.

Hippocrates, Dioscorides, and Pliny all knew the bryony plant's extracts, which contained *cucurbitacins*, could induce vomiting.[77] By the late fifteenth century, bryony is documented as a multi-purpose miracle plant in the *Hortus sanitatis*.[78] Recorded in this text are the plant's abilities to contract tissue, induce urination, as well as cure eye inflammation, scabies, leprosy, ulcers, and chapped lips. Different pastes made with the large bryony root could be used to clean the skin by eliminating pustules, scars, and circles under the eyes, and treat abscesses and epilepsy. Drinking two "*dracmas*" of bryony juice could cure a snake bite and induce abortion. Finally, the juice of the root mixed with porridge was said to provoke lactation.[79] It is clear from its myriad uses that the plant was of utmost importance in both the home and the apothecary shop.

---

[76] Stübing and Peris, *Plantas medicinales*, 117.

[77] S.M. Volz and S.S. Renner, "Phylogeography of the ancient Eurasian medicinal plant genus *Bryonia* (Cucurbitaceae) inferred from nuclear and chloroplast sequences," *Taxon* 58 (2009): 550.

[78] *Hortus sanitatis*, 193-94.

Another popular vegetal motif is what scholars from Manuel González Martí to Anthony Ray have referred to as the "ivy" pattern (fig. 1.58).[80] Craig Harbison, on the other hand, in addressing the depiction of a lustered *albarello* covered with this decoration in his study of *The Portinari Altarpiece*, writes that the pattern is that of grape leaves and carries a Eucharistic significance.[81] While a contemporary owner or viewer of such a ceramic vessel may have indeed seen a connection to the Eucharistic wine and the blood of Christ, documentary evidence, nonetheless, indicates that Valencian luster potters had a specific plant in mind with regard to this particular pattern. A 1489 inventory taken of the pottery shop of the deceased Pere Requení noted the presence of nine large lusterware pieces covered in "*fulla de carrasqua*," or *carrasca* leaves.[82] The term "*carrasqua*" appears again in a description of the pottery firing process in a fifteenth-century document from the Archivo de Protocolos del Patronato de Valencia. López Elum published this reference, and believes that great care was taken in producing wares of this pattern, for the document specifies, "*e la carrasqua en fornada en lo bo dels forns*," "and the *carrasca* batch [goes] in the best of the kilns."[83]

The *carrasca* is an evergreen oak tree, which grows throughout the Iberian Peninsula, and its presence in the Valencia area in the fourteenth century is noted by Eiximenis in his *Special Attractions of Valencia*.[84] The evergreen oak's small, pointed leaves with fine, yet discernible veins, correspond well to the leaves of this pattern (compare figs. 1.58 and 1.62).

---

[79] Ibid.

[80] Manuel Gonzalez Martí, *Cerámica del levante*, 141; Ray, *Spanish Pottery*, 83.

[81] Craig Harbison, *The Mirror of the Artist: Northern Renaissance Art in its Historical Context* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1995), 58.

[82] López Elum, *La producción cerámica de lujo*, 24.

[83] Ibid.

[84] Stübing and Peris, *Plantas medicinales*, 139; Alpera, *Los nombres trecentistas*, 88-89

While both animals and humans have consumed the acorns of this oak, other parts of the tree are documented as having had medicinal qualities in ancient and medieval sources. Dioscorides wrote that the finely chopped leaves of the tree were "suitable for swellings and firm up areas lacking tonicity."[85] Also, if liquid extracted from the ashes of oak leaves was swallowed, it would relieve pulmonary tension as well as return a victim of poisoning to health. The crushed leaves of the evergreen oak could be applied topically to heal wounds.[86] Furthermore, luster potters may have had a direct connection with this tree in particular in that they likely used its dried branches to muffle the reduction kilns needed to produce the metallic iridescence of their pottery.[87]

Carefully painted on fifteenth-century Valencian luster is another useful medicinal plant of Manises noted by the friar Eiximenis—the marigold (*calendula officialus*), known in Spanish as a *maravilla* (fig. 1.63).[88] This pattern has often been called the "half orange" motif, and of course, the dazzling orange groves of the Valencia area are just as famous today as they were in the late medieval period. When these motifs are carefully examined, delicate stems surrounding the radiating petals with slightly ragged edges of the marigold are evident (fig. 1.64). This flower possessed both medicinal and culinary virtues. The plant could be used as an astringent, an anti-inflammatory, and as a treatment for toothaches and red rashes.[89] Marigolds were also used to imitate the color of saffron and were an ingredient in soups, which explains this pattern's appearance on large platters, vessels, and individual soup bowls.[90]

---

[85] Dioscorides of Anazarbus, *De materia medica*, trans. Lily Y. Beck (New York: Olms-Weidmann, 2005), 1:106; *Hortus sanitatis*, 171.

[86] *Hortus sanitatis*, 171-172.

[87] Frothingham, *Lustreware of Spain*, 197.

[88] Alpera, *Los nombres trecentistas*, 148-149.

[89] Stübing and Peris, *Plantas medicinales*, 70.

[90] Ibid.

Other vital Iberian foodstuffs and agricultural products appear on fifteenth-century lusterware. Commonly found on the reverse of dishes are stylized depictions of what may be wheat, or possibly the tip of esparto grass (figs. 1.65 and 1.66). The latter was a material of great importance throughout southern and eastern Spain, being used to make baskets and ropes.[91] Esparto grows in clay-rich soil, and according to documentary sources published by Osma, the grass served as a packing material for lusterware before it was shipped out from the city's port known as the Grao.[92] Thus, this particular plant, like so many others represented on the golden pottery of Valencia, figured into the daily lives of Manises potters.

The characteristic leaves and buds of other local plants such as acacia and thistle also form part of the decorative repertoire of fifteenth-century lusterware. The leaves and sharp spines of the acacia plant can be found on a variety of vessels including apothecary jars and large plates (fig. 1.67). The small acacia flower functioned as an anti-spasmodic, astringent, and aphrodisiac (fig. 1.68).[93] Dioscorides wrote that the plant could cure ocular disorders, calm the womb, and prevent discharge of blood in women.[94] Also thought to be beneficial to the womb is the thistle (fig. 1.69).[95] This plant's jagged leaves are painted on both dishes and apothecary jars, and the depiction of the thistle head on Valencian luster continued into the late-sixteenth century (fig. 1.70). Pliny and Galen of Pergamon wrote that different types of thistle root were thought to expel urine, prevent body odor, induce vomiting, kill worms, and treat herpes, scabies, and impetigo.[96]

---

[91] See the fifteenth-century account of Hieronymus Münzer in Valencia from *Viajes de extranjeros*, ed. García Mercadel, 341.

[92] Osma, *Apuntes* 2: 13.

[93] *Hortus sanitatis*, 142.

[94] Dioscorides, *De materia medica*, 1:101.

[95] *Hortus sanitatis*, 202.

[96] Ibid.

Such plants and the many mixtures and pastes made from them were of paramount importance to human existence in the late medieval and early modern eras. To have even a rudimentary understanding of the virtues of medicinal plants, or simply to see representations of them in one's home or pharmacy, symbolized power and health for the contemporary viewer. The depiction of specific botanical forms on Valencian lusterware made the golden pottery not only as attractive as manuscripts and tapestries, but also endowed the objects with medicinal and salutary significance. These patterns indicate the Valencian luster potter's observation of his natural environment, as well as his awareness of the tastes and needs of his consumers.

Responding to Pan-European Trends: Heraldic Imagery, Northern Metalwork, and Italian Renaissance Ceramics

The ability of luster potters to appeal to a broad audience continued into the latter half of the fifteenth and well into the sixteenth century. In fact, during this time certain styles of the golden pottery became attractive to the growing urban middle class. For instance, a looser, non-specific use of heraldic imagery began to appear on lusterware pieces thus creating an aura of respectability that would appeal to a more affluent public. Contemporary with this proliferation of heraldic imagery was the greater accessibility of metal vessels in Western Europe and the growth of Italian pottery centers. Iberian luster potters responded to such trends, demonstrating their flexibility and awareness of changing tastes. While keeping abreast of popular predilections and international trends indicates the versatility and perceptiveness of these potters, their efforts did not translate into increased export or even sustained consumption. By the second half of the sixteenth century, consumption of Hispano-Islamic luster pottery abroad declined, and purchasers remained local.

Specific Coats-of-Arms and Heraldic Imagery

Well-known or easily identifiable coats-of-arms that luster artists painted on large platters and at times on whole services of the golden pottery at the request of wealthy local and foreign patrons have been studied by several scholars. In 1904 Albert van de Put published a study focused on “armorial specimens,” of royal and noble consumers of lusterware from Alfonso V of Aragon to René of Anjou to the Medici of Florence.[97] As recently as 2008, Marco Spallanzani published an intensive study that identified the plethora of Florentine families that ordered custom-made Valencian lusterware bearing their coats-of-arms.[98] The latter patrons obtained these personalized goods through Italian merchants who had them shipped from Valencia to the island of Mallorca and across the Mediterranean to Genoa or the port of Pisa. From those points of entry the wares continued the journey by land to Florence. Yet little scholarly attention has been paid to examples of Hispano-Islamic lusterware made *after* the mid-fifteenth century that bear heraldic imagery. This has occurred because the coats-of-arms themselves, which are general and vague, have proved quite difficult to connect with the very precise images and accompanying language found in heraldry manuals.

Such pieces decorated with what appear to be heraldry, in fact, do not represent official coats-of-arms, but rather carry generic imagery that was not intended to correspond to particular families. Countless examples of this practice can be found on wares from the Valencia area. One might see a simple shield decorated with a single pear, wing, flower, bird, or *fleur-de-lis*. These late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century wares, when compared to earlier fifteenth-century armorial pieces, lack a fine and careful rendering. The difference in representation of heraldic imagery can be seen in comparing a Hispanic Society dish emblazoned with the arms of the Benvenuti family of Florence with the simple and quickly painted shields on small soup bowls in the Museu de Ceràmica in Barcelona (figs. 1.71 and 1.72). Lusterware potters were, by the end of the fifteenth century, fashioning pieces for a broad and somewhat affluent audience that desired an air of nobility in their homes, yet had not the means to commission custom-made vessels. In the sixteenth century, one particular lusterware series shows a heraldic beast removed from its shield and enlarged, graphically illustrating a bold statement of strength and prowess for the owner of such a piece, who may not have possessed his own personal insignia (fig. 1.73).

---

[97] Van de Put, *Hispano-Moresque ware of the Fifteenth Century.*

[98] Spallanzani, *Ceramiche ispano-moresche*, 2008.

Documentary studies support the notion that luster potters in the Valencia area produced pieces decorated with generic heraldic imagery for consumers of moderate means. According to the more than 1,000 documents analyzed by Pedro López Elum, the majority of luxury pottery made on the outskirts of Valencia, in the towns of Paterna, and Manises before 1445, was purchased by individuals before a notary.[99] Thereafter, a greater quantity and variety of ceramic vessels could be purchased by the general public at *botigues*, or shops, located along Valencia's port, the *Grao*. López Elum notes the related growth of terminology used in merchandise inventories to describe the various wares in the second half of the fifteenth century.[100] The greater accessibility to a broader clientele had a significant impact on the type of patterns and imagery that luster artisans made. The innovative potter was creating the look of nobility through "faux" coats-of-arms for a growing customer base, one that had the freedom and disposable income to walk into a *botigue* and purchase what he wished.

---

[99] López Elum, *La producción cerámica de lujo*, 16.
[100] Ibid., 15.

Renaissance Metalwork

In the first decades of the sixteenth century, Valencian luster potters fashioned wares that combined rich, Hispano-Islamic decorative elements with various forms and attributes of contemporary metalwork. Several authors have commented on this phenomenon; however, very little discussion of this stylistic change in Hispano-Islamic lusterware of the early modern period has been published.[101]

While luster pottery forms since the fourteenth century shared certain characteristics with Middle Eastern wares made of metal, particularly Syrian and Turkish basins, distinct features unrelated to earlier Islamic forms arose in the sixteenth century. These included central bosses in high relief as well as the appearance of swirling gadroons, that is, radiating, convex, petal-like motifs, which in sixteenth-century lusterware are either painted on the surface of or molded into the clay body of the piece (fig. 1.74). Although various examples of liturgical silver made in Spain in the last quarter of the fifteenth century feature molded gadroons, the overall forms of such pieces do not resemble sixteenth-century lusterware to the extent that direct influence can be postulated (fig. 1.75). In any case, it is doubtful that the Valencian potters had access to such silver pieces in order for them to serve as workshop models. Moreover, it seems unlikely that the local or foreign lusterware consumer would have wanted to display ceramics that imitated church vessels in a domestic context. Therefore, the pronounced stylistic change of lusterware's imitation of metalwork in the sixteenth century raises one question in particular: What kind of metalwork was both accessible and so highly sought after by consumers in the Iberian Peninsula and abroad that it was to serve as a catalyst for change in luster pottery design of sixteenth century?

---

[101] Frothingham, *Lustreware of Spain*, 189; Ray, *Spanish Pottery*, 96. These authors noted the general appearance of metalwork characteristics in lusterware, yet neither includes information about the type or origin of the influential metal objects.

The most widely circulating metal ware at the time, which most resembles sixteenth-century luster, was the beaten brass basin (fig. 1.76). Brass wares had been fashioned for centuries in Dinant, located in the Meuse River valley in Flanders, since the tenth century.[102] The material was easily produced in the area given the close proximity of deposits of copper and zinc. Flemish pieces made in this area included candlesticks, chandeliers, aquamaniles, and, of course, basins.[103]

The powerful German merchant fleet, the Hanseatic League, shipped brass wares from the Meuse valley to Bruges, and from there throughout Northern Europe.[104] From Bruges, brass pieces presumably made their way south to Iberian ports too. Yet, in 1466, Charles the Bold sacked and burned the town of Dinant, after which the primary center for brass production became the flourishing German city of Nuremberg. Zinc from the Meuse valley was sold commercially to Nuremberg.[105] Merchants from that city as well as Augsburg also controlled the European copper trade, having possession of mines in the Harz Mountains. Consequently, Nuremberg oversaw a monopoly of brass production in the last quarter of the fifteenth and throughout the sixteenth century.[106] The industry there was strictly controlled by the town council, which was comprised of important merchant families.[107] Brass-smiths in Nuremberg had to present masterpieces to a panel of five council members and take an oath that they had made the pieces themselves. Moreover, after 1493, no craftsman could serve as apprentice to a Nuremberg brass-smith unless he had been born to a local burgher.[108]

---

[102] Hanns-Ulrich Haedeke, *Metalwork*, trans. Vivienne Menkes (New York: Universe Books, 1969), 30.

[103] The fame of Dinant for producing such wares led to the common designation of brass pieces as *Dinanderie*. The term is used as early as 1466 by Philippe de Commynes. See Andrew R. Scoble, ed., *The Memoires of Philippe de Commynes*, vol. I (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1911), 88.

[104] Haedeke, *Metalwork*, 31.

[105] Ibid.

[106] Ibid, 28.

[107] Jan Gadd, "Brass Basins and Bowls from a Single Nuremburg Workshop, Around 1500-1580," *Journal of the Antique Metalware Society* 16 (June 2008), 3. Due to a 1348 insurrection and later suppression of Nuremeberg craftsmen, there was no guild system in place in the city.

In 1568, Joseph Amman published a book of woodcuts entitled *Crafts of the World*. The shop of the Nuremberg *Beckenschlager*, or basin-beater, is depicted in the book (fig. 1.77) and accompanied by the verse below composed by Hans Sachs:

> Basins are carried far afield, they are of all kinds; large but also small, hammered in good brass, punched with plants and flowers in bloom, first mirror plain then with a bowl, large ones for gentry and barber, also small for the common man.[109]

From Sachs' verse it is clear that the products of the Nuremberg *Beckenschlager* were popular not only with a local market, but also with an international one. Beautifully gadrooned brass basins appear in Ghirlandaio's late fifteenth-century frescoes of showing Florentine domestic interiors (fig. 1.78). In fact, brass basins were so popular in Italian markets that the Lomabardian trade house of Morexini tried to lure *Beckenschläger* from Nuremberg to Milan.[110] That the trade in brass basins also flourished in the Iberian Peninsula is supported by a late fifteenth-century Catalan painting of the birth of St. Stephen, where a woman serves a new mother with a gadrooned platter (fig. 1.79). Not surprisingly, basins and other brass wares appear in fifteenth-century household inventories from Valencia and Cataluña. The inventory of Maria of Castile's Valencia palace includes references to brass wares from Northern Europe and the Middle East.[111] The Lords of Manises, the Buyls, owned brass pieces from basins to candlesticks.[112] Many imported brass basins can be found in museums throughout Spain, as well as in monasteries and convents. The convent at Pedralbes maintained a pawn shop within its walls, wherein many "*bacínes de llautó*" figure into its surviving records.[113] In 2003, Ignacio Miguelíz Valcarlos published an article noting the presence of Nuremberg basins throughout the Basque region of northern Spain, illustrating twenty-seven examples.[114] Nearly half of this sample of brass wares exported to the Iberian Peninsula was the gadrooned type as opposed to other varieties of basins, which were hammered with religious scenes. Miguelíz emphasizes the strong commerce that the northern Iberian coast conducted with ports in the Low Countries in the beaten brass ware trade.[115] So many of these pieces, as the author points out, can be found in churches today because they served various purposes including the collection of alms and the dispensing of holy oil in the sacrament of extreme unction.

---

[108] Ibid.

[109] Ibid., 16.

[110] Wolfgang von Stromer, "Nuremberg in the International Economics of the Middle Ages," *The Business History Review* 44 (Summer 1970): 212.

[111] José Toledo Girau, *Inventarios del palacio real de Valencia a la muerte de doña María, esposa de Alfonso el Magnánimo* (Valencia: Centro de Cultura Valenciana, 1961), 76, 80, 107, 108-110.

[112] Bauzá, *Páginas de la historia de Manises*, 334.

Nevertheless, the product of the Nuremberg *Beckenschlager* also found its way into the domestic context, where like lusterware basins, the brass vessels could be used for washing hands at the table. Many buyers, not only clergy, had access to the wares because they were commonly sold at the famous trade fair at Medina del Campo. The Museo de las Ferias at Medina del Campo has a collection of the brass basins, as well as other products from Nuremberg including jetons and nested weights. Fernando Ramos González, curator at the Museo de las Ferias, also believes that such goods entered the Iberian Peninsula through Cantabrian ports on the northern coast, and from there, were bought, sold, and disseminated through Spain from Medina del Campo.[116]

A second point of entry for Nuremberg basins was Barcelona. Nuremberg enjoyed trade privileges as well as a reduction of duties at the Catalan port. As early as the late fourteenth century, the Stromeir firm of Nuremberg took part in a far-reaching maritime trade network that stretched from Genoa to Naples to Barcelona, and on to Bruges. The dealings of these German merchants at this time were so extensive that Tuscan merchants complained about the number of Nuremberg ships sailing from Cataluña to the mouth of the Rhone.[117]

---

[113] Anna Castellano i Tresserra, *Pedralbes a l'edat mitjana: historia d'un monastir femení* (Barcelona: L'Abadia de Montserrat, 1998), 185-186.

[114] Ignacio Miguelíz Valcrosa, "Platos limosneros en Guipuzkoa," *Ondare* 22 (2003): 271-300.

[115] Ibid., 272.

[116] Fernando Ramos González, "Platos litúrgicos," in *La pieza del mes*, ed. Antonio Sánchez del Barrio (Valladolid: Museo de las Ferias, 2010), 198-99.

German merchants maintained a pronounced presence on the eastern coast of the Iberian Peninsula as well as on the northern coast. The scholar and citizen of Nuremberg, Hieronymus Münzer, who traveled to both Valencia and Barcelona in 1494, noted the presence of many of his countrymen in the two cities. Münzer names Nuremberg merchants as well as agents working for the Society of Ravensburg, dealers in paper and textiles, at work in Valencia especially.[118] From this Mediterranean coast, more so than from the Cantabrian coast, Nuremberg brass wares could reach merchants who dealt with communities of luster potters in the Valencia area. Such pieces may have inspired the Valencian artisan to imitation for the simple reason that brass ware was a competing good, which, like lusterware, was an economical and therefore attainable alternative to gold and silver vessels. Even the definition of brass in Covarrubias's 1611 dictionary, *Tesoro de la lengua castellano*, reveals that the metal's "sheen and reflection imitates the beauty and color of gold."[119]

It is likely that in order to address competition, or simply to follow the evolving taste of Western European consumers, the luster potter molded and decorated his wares, copying some of the motifs employed by the Nuremberg *Beckenschlager*. The characteristic *horror vacui* and the intricate geometric and vegetal patterns inherited from Islamic art, such as the "wagon wheel" and thistle head, were combined with pronounced gadrooning and molded bosses, as seen in an example from the Colección Mascort, Barcelona, (fig. 1.80). The merging of Hispano-Islamic decorative conventions with the formal elements of brass basins described above indicates true innovation on the part of the luster potter. In order to make molded pottery that imitated the forms of contemporary metalwork—specifically the imported brass basin—new techniques had to be employed in workshops. Rather than simply turning wares on a wheel, designs often had to be pressed into the unfired clay body by using a potter's jig or jolly. The potter could also score the molded elements he desired into the rim or center of a plate, basin, or vase, and then very carefully push the clay out from the opposite side. Another technical change, the sparing use of cobalt and almost exclusive use of metallic glaze for embellishment, also seems to indicate that sixteenth-century luster potters were attempting to compete with, or even outdo the products of *Beckenschläger*. In any case, the luster artisan was no doubt aware of popular imports and was ambitious enough to address them.

---

[117] Von Stromer, "Nuremberg in the International Economics of the Middle Ages," 211-212.

[118] Hieronymus Münzer, "Relación del viaje," in *Viajes de extranjeros*, ed. García Mercadal, 332, 338, 339, 349.

[119] Sebastián Orozco de Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana* (Madrid: Sanchez, 1873), 33. "…por su resplandor, y buen parecer, remedando la hermosura, y color rubio del oro."

Italian Renaissance Influences

Nuremburg brass was not the only ware providing artistic inspiration and encouraging the competitive impulse of the luster potter. The decoration and forms of Italian tin-glazed earthenware, which was surging in popularity throughout Italy and the rest of Europe, affected the design of Hispano-Islamic lusterware in several centers in the Iberian Peninsula. The growing international appeal of Italian pottery in the sixteenth century and its impact on the decline of Iberian wares will be addressed more thoroughly in chapter five of my study. Yet the attempt made by luster potters in Seville and Reus, in particular, to imitate and thus compete with production from Faenza and Castel Durante is applicable here. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries some Iberian lusterware took inspiration from the decoration and forms of Italian wares.

A shallow, footed dish in The Hispanic Society's collection illustrates the presence of either Italian potters and/or Italian pieces in Catalan luster shops. The form with its ruffled edges and molded underside of scallop shells and human heads is that of the Faenza *crespina* (figs. 1.81 and 1.82).[120] Made in Reus in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, it is part of a group of seven other similar surviving pieces. Examples of the same Faenza form can be found in the Metropolitan Museum and Philadelphia Museum of Art.

Evident in Reus luster is the coexistence of Hispano-Islamic designs with Italian Renaissance imagery. Pieces showcasing swirling vegetal motifs as well as Islamic avian figures, which have appeared on Iberian luster since the thirteenth century, were fashioned at the same time as wares adorned with Italianate helmeted or turbaned profile heads (figs. 1.83 and 1.3). While luster has a two-dimensional surface effect and does not attempt to capture the depth and detail of Italian wares, The Hispanic Society's covered jars dating from the mid-seventeenth century reveal an effort on the part of the Iberian luster potter to imitate the stylish motifs turned out in Castel Durante (fig. 1.84). Prints or Italianate pieces produced in Castile could have served as inspiration for the luster potters of Muel and Reus in rendering this type of decoration.

Lusterware produced in Seville during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries also exhibits a strong connection to Italian tin-glazed earthenware. To cite one example, the sunburst pattern appearing on many examples of the golden pottery from the second half of the sixteenth century seems to have been taken from wares fashioned in Deruta. The Umbrian pottery-producing center was itself influenced by Iberian pottery in the previous century; however, a Deruta dish from around 1530 shows a refined version of the sunburst pattern that probably served as a model for the less delicately rendered motif on Seville lusterware (figs. 1.85 and 1.86).

---

[120] Ray, *Spanish Pottery*, 139.

According to Dora Thornton, "commercial competition with Spanish imports spurred Italian potters first to imitation and then to rivalry, and with such success that, having pushed Spanish imports out of their local markets by about 1500, they then captured the entire European market, exporting both their wares and their craftsmen."[121] Italian potters did indeed reach Iberian soil during the sixteenth century. The most famous was Francisco Niculoso, known as the "Pisano" in Spain, who around 1500 moved to Seville bringing with him the style and varied color palette of Italian pottery.[122] By the second half of the sixteenth century other potters producing Italianate vessels and tiles had set up shop in Seville and elsewhere, including Jan Floris in Plasencia. Frans Andries, son of the potter Guido Andries of Castel Durante who had set up a pottery workshop in Antwerp, came from the Netherlands to establish himself in Seville in 1561.[123] Additionally, many other Genoese potters were at work in the Andalusian city during the last half of the sixteenth and throughout the seventeenth century. Lustered tiles produced in Seville attest to the increasing taste for Italian decorative motifs, being stamped with patterns that resemble acanthus scrolls or Renaissance ceiling coffers (fig. 1.87).

That Iberian luster potters in the sixteenth century addressed the ceramic products of Italy, as well as wares made of metal from Northern Europe, proves their acute ability to adapt to the changing tastes and growing trends in early modern European material culture. Over the course of four centuries, these heirs to the Islamic art of luster pottery, whether they were old Christians or *Morisco* converts, took into account what a broad, Western European clientele desired. Here, I would like to return to Summer Kenesson's characterization of the Islamic artist in the Iberian Peninsula quoted at the beginning of this chapter as one who, "almost never innovated" and simply perpetuated the arts of Eastern Islam. On the contrary, it is clear that the Iberian luster potter *always* innovated. From the fourteenth through the seventeenth century, the practitioners of this Islamic art in the Iberian Peninsula constantly acquired and fused Eastern and Western designs, frequently drew inspiration from their natural environment, and attempted to compete with various arts produced throughout Western Europe from Nuremberg to Castel Durante. By the middle of the sixteenth century the luster industry failed to compete on an international scale with wares from Italy, the New World, and the Far East. In the fourteenth and fifteenth century, however, no other comparable products could rival the luminescent beauty and mystique of Hispano-Islamic luster ceramics. A reading of this pottery's reception throughout Western Europe as highly sought-after exotica and as objects endowed with spiritual meaning follows.

---

[121] Dora Thornton, "Maiolica Production in Renaissance Italy," in *Pottery in the Making: World Ceramic Traditions*, eds. Ian Freestone and David Gaimster (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997), 116.

[122] Ray, *Spanish Pottery*, 157, 357. See also Anthony Ray, "Francisco Niculoso called the "Pisano," *Italian Renaissance Pottery: Papers Written in Association with a Colloquium at the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1995), 261-266. Francisco Niculoso was, in all likelihood, from Florence and not from Pisa.

[123] Anthony Ray, "Renaissance Pottery in Seville," *Burlington Magazine* 132 (May 1990): 343.

CHAPTER TWO

Romanticizing the Moor: Reception of Hispano-Islamic Lusterware in Late Medieval and Early Modern Spain

Allí habló el rey don Juan,	Then King John spoke,
bien oiréis lo que decía:	you will hear what he said:
"Si tú quisieses, Granada,	"If you would, Granada,
contigo me casaría:	I would marry you:
daréte en arras y dote	I will give you in property and dowry
a Córdoba y a Sevilla.	Cordoba and Seville.[1]

The above excerpt is from the renowned, anonymous, fifteenth-century frontier ballad, "Abenámar." In the late medieval poem King John II of Castile (r. 1406-1454) asks the noble Moor Abenámar to describe the ornate buildings and lush gardens of Granada. After the graceful and sophisticated Abenámar complies with John's wishes, the latter, overcome with passion for the Nasrid city, asks Granada to marry him. In his hasty and impassioned proposal, John offers to relinquish cities long reconquered by Christian forces if only he can have and hold Granada. This frontier ballad and many others like it convey the overwhelming desire on the part of Spanish Christians to possess the arts and achievements of what remained of Islamic Spain.[2]

By the fourteenth century not only works of literature, but also festivals, fashions, and interior decoration struck a common note—an exoticized conception of the Iberian Moor. This chapter proposes that the popularity of lusterware in the land where it originated can be attributed in large part to the phenomenon of a maurophilia that was unique to the Iberian

---

[1] Translation by David William Foster, *The Early Spanish Ballad* (New York: Dwayne Publishers, 1971), 95.

[2] Frontier ballads were popular poetry forms that evolved from longer epics in the fourteenth century, and spread from town to town by traveling performers through an oral tradition. The audience from these would have included a wide swath of Iberian society. See Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *Romancero hispánico* (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1953), 158.

Peninsula. In an effort to set the stage for the reader, the chapter will begin with a discussion of cultural currents in late medieval and early modern Spain that exoticized Islamic culture and created a sentimental portrayal of the Iberian Moor. Then I will argue that the consumption of Hispano-Islamic lusterware in Spain was inextricably linked to a concomitant romanticizing of Moorish arts and habits. While many examples of Valencian and Aragonese lusterware could be viewed simply as manifestations of *mudejarismo*, or a product of Muslim populations living under Christian rule marked by a convergence of the arts of both cultures, the designation of this ceramic as *mudéjar* does not offer a sufficient explanation as to why the golden pottery produced in the Iberian Peninsula was so alluring to native, particularly Christian patrons. It is my contention here that the phenomenon of late medieval and early modern maurophilia and the attendant view of the Iberian Moor as exotic can provide us with more insight into the contemporary reception of lusterware.

Maurophilia in the Arts of Late Medieval and Early Modern Spain

The social climate of the Iberian Peninsula during the late medieval period has often been characterized in terms of two general, yet opposing concepts—coexistence and conflict.[3] This coexistence, or *convivencia* as it is often called, refers to the presence and interaction of Jews, Muslims, and Christians in medieval Spain.[4] Integration of these three cultures is evident in medieval art and architecture, literature, and in other objects and documents related to daily life.

---

[3] See Mann, Glick, and Dodds eds., *Convivencia*; Federico Carlos Scharn y Vidal, *Reconquista católica de la España musulmana, 718-1492* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Nueva Hispanidad, 2002).

[4] For a history of this concept from the initial coining of the term by Ramón Menéndez Pidal to its scrutiny by later scholars, see Thomas F. Glick, "Convivencia: An Introductory Note," in *Convivencia*, eds. Glick, Mann and Dodds, 1-9. While the concept of *convivencia* has certainly been applied to periods that predate the paramenters of my study, 1350-1650, many of the objects that epitomize this cultural interaction (particularly those included in the *Convivencia* catalogue) date from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Moreover, some scholars argue that the *convivencia* continued until the end of the sixteenth century in the kingdom of Aragon. See, for instance, Anthony Ray, *Spanish Pottery*, 107.

In that regard, fine glazed ceramics like lusterware embody the idea of multi-cultural interaction and coexistence (fig. 2.1). Muslim potters in al-Andalus and potters of Muslim background in Valencia and Aragon actively fashioned wares while Christians also worked as potters and served as merchants, buying and selling the wares, sometimes internationally. In the region of Valencia, potters' supplies needed to produce glazed ceramics, such as tin, lead, and cobalt, were often purchased from Jewish merchants in the nearby community of Murviedro.[5] Thus cultural and economic exchange of this sort continued to occur over centuries. Jews, for instance, had long been a presence in the Iberian Peninsula since Roman times, while Islam took root in the eighth century, shortly after Muslim invaders from North Africa had overtaken Visigothic Spain.

While integration of the three cultural groups occurred throughout the Middle Ages, complete assimilation did not.[6] Consequently, the utopian connotations of the term *convivencia* need to be viewed in a critical light. Though followers of Judaism, Islam, and Christianity often inhabited the same social and intellectual space in medieval Spain, the Iberian Peninsula was also at that time the site of forced conversions, pogroms, and a constantly shifting border between Christian lands and Muslim al-Andalus. Thus, the concept of a pronounced maurophilia in late medieval Spain seems almost paradoxical when seen against the backdrop of either familiarity brought on by frequent interaction (coexistence), or deep-seated intolerance and outright warfare (conflict). Nevertheless, the notion of an exotic, idealized, Iberian Moor had existed since the fourteenth century.

The French historian Georges Cirot first identified this phenomenon in early modern Spanish literature in a series of articles published in the *Bulletin Hispanique*.[7] The Spanish philologist and historian, Ramón Menéndez Pidal (1869-1968), then went on to expand Cirot's concept, writing that maurophilia in late medieval and early modern Spain was culturally pervasive and not simply confined to the literary realm. Moreover, Menéndez Pidal asked future scholars to delve more deeply into its study:

---

[5] Leila Avrin, "The Spanish Passover Plate in the Israel Museum," *Sefarad* 39 (1979): 27-46, 36.

[6] Glick, *Convivencia*, 4.

[7] See, for example, Georges Cirot, "La maurophilie littéraire en Espagne au XVIe siècle," *Bulletin Hispanique* 44 (1942): 96-102.

> Since only the Kingdom of Granada remained on Iberian soil as a tributary vassal of Castile, representing no major threat, the toil of the reconquest ceased during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; and the Castilians far from feeling repulsion towards the few refugee Muslims in their last stronghold of Granada, felt attracted to that exotic civilization, that Eastern luxury of their dress, that splendid ornamentation of their buildings, that foreign manner of living, that style of horsemanship, armor, and warfare, that meticulous agriculture on the plain of Granada…maurophilia ultimately became the fashion; a maurophilia that is begging for special study by scholars of Islamic culture.[8]

The attraction to Islamic Spain that Menéndez Pidal describes grew out of historical reality. By the fourteenth century, the weakened Kingdom of Granada was no longer a threat to the growing dominance of Castilian culture, so Spanish Christians were free to construct a wistful and romantic vision of the Iberian Moor and his fading civilization. These attitudes manifested themselves in an entire genre of performed poetry and popular literature in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. Traveling performers, known as *juglares*, first spread the image of the noble and sentimental Moor from town to town in the form of sung ballads, or *romances moriscos*.[9] These ballads were the most dramatic excerpts often taken from longer, epic poems.[10] This poetic art form steadily maintained popularity from the second half of the fourteenth century to the first decades of the sixteenth century.[11]

---

[8] Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *España y su historia*, vol. 2 (Madrid: Minotaura, 1957), 276. "Cuando quedó solo sobre el suelo de la Península el reino de Granada como vasallo tributario de Castilla, sin representar ninguna importante amenaza, cesó el afán de la reconquista durante los siglos XIV y XV; y los castellanos, lejos de sentir repulsión hacia los pocos musulmanes refugiados en su último reducto de Granada se sintieron atraídos hacia aquella exótica civilización, aquel lujo oriental en vestuario, aquella espléndida ornamentación en los edificios, aquella extraña manera de vida, aquel modo de cabalgar, de armarse y de combatir, aquella esmerada agricultura en la vega granadina…la maurofilia, en fin, se hizo moda; maurofilia que está pidiendo un estudio especial por parte de los arabistas."

[9] The Spanish ballad or *romance* is defined as, "A short, narrative poem, fragmentary in character, consisting of verses of sixteen syllables, divided into hemistichs or half-lines of eight syllables each, and employing assonance rather than rhyme." This definition, as well as masterfully translated examples of all types of romances, can be found in Shasta M. Bryant, ed., *The Spanish Ballad in English* (Lexington: The University of Kentucky Press, 1973), 11.

By the sixteenth century, the oral tradition of the *romances*, which were performed not only at court, but also among a general public, gave way to printed compilations of the short poems. This proved highly influential to the writers of the *novela morisca*, longer tales that featured the exoticized Moor. For instance, in 1561 the *Historia de Abindarráez y la hermosa Xarifa* appeared in Jorge de Montemayor's *Los siete libros de la Diana*. Subsequent versions of this widely read *novela morisca*, which centered upon a valiant Moor, Abindarráez, his love for the maiden, Xarifa, and a mutual respect between him and the brave Christian knight, Rodrigo de Narváez, were published in 1562 and 1565.

In addition to featuring idealized and noble Grenadine Moors, both the *romances moriscos* and the *novela morisca* included detailed descriptions of the elegance of Moorish material culture. In one *romance*, which provides an account of a frontier battle at Santa Fe, a formidable Moor riding a fierce black stallion is richly adorned.

> The Moor was clad in vesture fine, of scarlet, white, and blue
> And underneath his flowing robes, a coat of armor true;
> He bore a double-headed lance of temper wondrous keen,
> And buckler of the buffalo hide, the finest Fez had seen.[12]

The trappings of the Moor, his clothing, leathers, and weaponry, while notable in the *romance*, play an even larger role in the *novela morisca* chronicling the relationship of Abindarráez and Xarifa. When the Christian knight, Narváez, and his companions first set eyes on their Moorish foe, Abindarráez, they see a dazzling vision of intricately worked arms and elaborately embroidered textiles.

---

[10] For more on the theory of fragmentation, see Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *Flor nueva de romances viejos que recogió de la tradición antigua y moderna* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1965), 8.

[11] Menéndez Pidal, *Romancero hispánico* (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1953), 158. See also, Bryant, *The Spanish Ballad*, 13.

[12] Bryant, *The Spanish Ballad in English*, 158.

> He wore a crimson *marlota* (cape) and a damask burnoose of the same color, and both were embroidered with gold and silver. His right sleeve was turned back, and embroidered on it was the figure of a lovely girl, while he carried in his hand a heavy and beautiful lance with two points. He wore a shield and scimitar, and on his head, a Tunisian turban, which, as it was wrapped around his head, served as a decoration as well as a protection to his person.[13]

In the instance of Abindarráez, the noble Moor is admired by his Castilian enemies who, hiding in a thicket, observe his expert horsemanship and gaze upon his "heroic physique and handsome countenance." Though Jorge de Montemayor's publication of the Abindarráez tale dates to the second half of the sixteenth century, even earlier literature romanticizes the Iberian Moor. The literary historian, Maria Soledad Carrasco Urgoiti believed, like Menéndez Pidal before her, that Christian Spaniards began to form a romantic vision of the inhabitants and artistry of Islamic Spain while the Nasrid capital of Granada still remained intact. In her study on the Grenadine Moor in Spanish literature, Carrasco writes, "The Castilians sensed the aesthetic appeal that the beauty of Granada offered, and furthermore they knew that the Moorish capital boasted a life of luxury and refinement superior to their own."[14]

Not only did Spanish Christians laud the dress and horsemanship of the Iberian Muslim, they appropriated their dress and demeanor, actively "playing the Moor," as Barbara Fuchs maintains, in public festivities, namely in the *juego de cañas*, a game in which light-weight reeds are thrown from horseback.[15] Spaniards not only appreciated the artistry of these games, they assumed the figures of its Muslim inventors, dressing and riding in the Moorish fashion. In the early fifteenth century, the *juego de cañas* functioned as a diplomatic ceremony between rulers of al-Andalus and Christian Spain. The Muslim riders of the Kingdom of Granada, dressed in their finery and riding in their own unique style with high-backed seats and short stirrups, performed before Juan II of Castile, the same maurophilic monarch who appears, albeit fictitiously, in the ballad of Abenámar. In 1418, the Andalusian game was so impressive to Alfonso V of Aragon that Muhammad VIII sent the king a set of all of the equipment needed to play.

---

[13] This passage is taken from the 1565 version from the *Inventario* of Antonio de Villegas, *The Abencerraje and the Beautiful Jarifa*, trans. Francisco López Estrada and John Esten Keller (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1964), 47.

[14] Maria Soledad Carrasco Urgoiti, *El moro de Granada en la literatura del siglo XV al XX* (Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1956), 25. "Los castellanos sienten emoción estética que ofrece la belleza de Granada, y además saben que en la capital mora se despliega una vida de lujo y refinamiento superior al suyo."

In subsequent decades, and long after the fall of the Nasrid state to the Catholic Monarchs, Christian riders dressed up in elaborate Moorish costume, including the turban and Moorish cape, or *marlota*, would perform the *juego de cañas* (fig. 2.2). Fuchs notes that "playing the Moor," in this instance, was not simply a statement of Christian supremacy and Muslim defeat, as in other re-created, mock battles. This was a true expression of maurophilia, one in which Spaniards (and often other foreign dignitaries) celebrated the elegance of Moorish dress and the precision of Moorish horsemanship.[16] Indeed, not all Spaniards were fans of the *juego de cañas*. The seventeenth-century poet Francisco de Quevedo disparagingly described the sport as a "contagion." Nevertheless, since the Middle Ages it was a sign of elevated social class and part of a noble, cultured upbringing to embrace valuable social contributions made by Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula.[17]

---

[15] Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 88-114.

[16] Ibid., 90.

[17] Benjamin Gampel, "Jews, Christians, and Muslims in Medieval Iberia: *Convivencia* through the eyes of Sephardic Jews," in *Convivencia*, eds. Mann, Glick, and Dodds, 24-25.

The appropriation of Moorish fashions by Christian Spaniards was not simply relegated to the realm of literature and public festivities involving role playing. Christian society embraced many forms of Moorish clothing. Women wore items such as the *alcandora*, a blouse with ample sleeves and intricate embroideries that was visible through openings in the bodice.[18] Men and women both wore *chapines*, richly adorned shoes with high, cork platforms, and *calzas moriscas*, wide, pleated stockings made of linen (fig. 2.3). Perhaps the article of clothing most clearly of Moorish origins, was the *toca,* or headdress. Specific types of the *toca*, such as the *alhareme* and the *almaizar*, were wound like turbans and included pieces that wrapped around the neck or chin to cover the face (fig. 2.4).[19]

Clothing fashioned with Moorish silk made in Granada and Valencia was sought after and highly prized in late medieval/early modern Spain. On his 1502 journey to Spain, Antoine de Lalaing described the silk production of Granada, writing that it was the city's chief commercial enterprise and that its products were not simply for a local market, but also for an international clientele that included Italian merchants.[20] These silks were multicolored, decorated with geometric and floral motifs, as well as Islamic script, as can be seen from existing pieces (fig. 2.5). While these luxurious fabrics could be used to decorate interiors too, Fernando Yáñez de Almedina's careful rendering of such textiles in his painting of St. Catherine shows the way in which they could be fashioned into clothing (fig. 2.6). Furthermore, depictions of whole ensembles of Moorish dress from sixteenth-century Spain can be found in the illustrations of the 1529 *Trachtenbuch* of Christopher Weiditz (fig. 2.3 for example).[21]

---

[18] Carmen Bernis, *Trajes y* modas, 1: 14.

[19] Ibid., 16-18.

[20] Antoine de Lalaing, "Primer viaje de Felipe el 'hermoso' a España en 1501," in *Viajes de extranjeros*, ed. García Mercadal, 474; Bernis, *Trajes y modas*, vol. 1, 20-23; Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 22-23.

[21] For additional illustrations, see Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 64, 69.

Recently María Judith Feliciano has argued that for Castilians courtly and ecclesiastical of textiles from al-Andalus in the Middle Ages had "neither exotic nor incongruous elements of cultural display."[22] Writing about thirteenth-century Andalusian silks, Feliciano notes that contemporary texts that mention textiles only focus on the richness of the material, and therefore "we must eliminate any ethnic or religious association from the aesthetic perspective of the Castilian consumer."[23] Indeed, throughout the Middle Ages Andalusian textiles signaled wealth and power. At that time Castilian consumption of of Andalusian textiles did not necessarily allude to an exoticization or subjugation of Muslim culture. By the fifteenth century, however, the specification of certain textiles and apparel as Moorish becomes more common in written sources indicating that the cultural origin of such materials had cachet. According to the work of historian Carmen Bernis, the fifteenth-century desire for Moorish clothing is connected to the phenomenon of late medieval/early modern maurophilia that Ramón Menéndez Pidal previously identified. Bernis writes:

> By the second half of the fifteenth century, an outpouring of attraction was revived towards the exotic and brilliant civilization of the Muslims in the Kingdom of Granada, the final holdout of Islam in Spain. Maurophilia became fashionable. Our literary and cultural history from that time bears witness to it. One of the ways in which that maurophilia manifested itself was in the adoption of lavish Moorish fashions by knights and nobility.[24]

Bernis' comprehensive studies, which take into account not only contemporary depictions of dress in paintings, sculpture, and other illustrations, but also archival evidence such as inventories, demonstrate that the owners and wearers of these fashions were often cognizant of the Moorish origins of their garb.[25] For instance, the 1503 inventory from the Alcázar of Segovia indicates that Queen Isabel of Spain possessed several "Tunisian headdresses and turbans" (*tocas tunecíes, alharemes, y almaizares*).[26] These fashions are often explicitly referred to as Moorish in other royal inventories of the Catholic Monarchs. In the inventory from the royal chapel of Granada one such item is described as "a Moorish turban of six *varas* or more in length made of white taffeta with ends of silk and gold and Moorish letters in gold. It is very lovely."[27]

---

[22] María Judith Feliciano, "Muslim Shrouds for Christian Kings? A Reassessment of Andalusí Textiles in Thirteenth-Century Life and Ritual," in *Under the Influence: Questioning the Comparative in Medieval Castile*, eds. Cynthia Robinson and Leyla Rouhi (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 102.

[23] Ibid., 118.

[24] Bernis, *Trajes y Modas*, 2: 20. "Al llegar el siglo XV, en la segunda mitad, se reavivó una corriente de atracción hacia la éxotica y brillante civilización de los musulmanes del reino de Granada, último reducto del Islam en España. Entonces la maurofilia se hizo moda. Nuestra historia literaria y cultural de aquel tiempo da testimonio de ello. Una de las maneras cómo esa maurofilia se manifestó fue en la adopción, por nobles y caballeros, de algunos trajes granadinos para vestir de gala."

Within a domestic setting, Moorish furnishings and the practices that they engendered can also be observed in late medieval/early modern Spain. For instance, women, primarily, sat on the floor on a low platform around a brazier, a footed metal container that held hot coals. Cushions and carpets would be set around the heating apparatus in an arrangement called an *estrado*. For some scholars, the *estrado* was a place that some Spanish Christians would not have identified as particularly Islamic. Helen Nader writes that in the homes of Spanish aristocrats little distinction was made between Moorish, Roman, and other Western European, particularly Flemish, decorative elements.[28] Barbara Fuchs similarly maintains that "Arab-derived domestic practices, such as sitting on cushions among braziers, [are] so commonplace that they are not even recognized as such by Spaniards themselves."[29] Yet, Fuchs does point out that Spain's relationship with its own "Moorishness" was quite complex. She notes that the use and Islamic origin of the *estrado* was often maligned for political purposes. The fifteenth-century royal chronicler, Alfonso de Palencia, criticized King Enrique IV for sitting in an *estrado*, adding to the portrayal of the monarch as a treasonous maurophile, and thus legitimizing the succession of Isabel of Spain.[30] An even earlier political allusion to the *estrado* designating a powerful, yet exoticized "other" occurs in two late medieval accounts of the Castilian king, Alfonso VIII (1158-1214) and his seductive Jewish mistress, Raquel.[31] Alfonso forsakes both his wife and all of his royal responsibilities by locking himself away with the beautiful Raquel, who is deemed to be both a political and religious threat to the King's reign. Alfonso's men find Raquel in "a very noble *estrado*," wherein they slit her throat as well as those of her ladies in waiting. Though Raquel is Jewish, not Muslim, her foreign and therefore questionable identity is highlighted by the decadent, domestic space of the *estrado*.

---

[25] Bernis, "Modas moriscas en la sociedad cristiana española del siglo XV y principios del siglo XVI," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 144 (1959): 199-228, and *Indumentaria española en tiempos de Carlos V* (Madrid: Instituto Diego Velázquez, 1962).

[26] Bernis, "Modas moriscas," 205. As mentioned above, the Tunisian toca is the headdress of choice for the romantic and valiant knight Abindarráez.

[27] Ibid., 206. "Una almaizar morisco de seis varas o más, texidos los cabos con seda y oro, es de tafetán blanco, a los cabos cada doze renglones de letras moriscas de oro, es muy bueno."

[28] Helen Nader, "Introduction," in *Power and Gender in Renaissance Spain: Eight Women of the Mendoza Family, 1450-1650*, ed. Helen Nader (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004), 9.

[29] Fuchs, 12.

Literary and artistic allusions to the *estrado* confirm that Christian Spaniards not only knew that the domestic space was a uniquely Moorish construct, but also conceived of it as an elegant and luxurious status symbol. A fascinating depiction of the *estrado* appears in the work of the Valencian painter Fernando Yáñez de la Almedina (fig. 2.7). The artist's entire oeuvre, particularly his work on the main altarpiece for the Valencia cathedral, exhibits a direct link with Italian Renaissance painting.[32] Having traveled to Florence to assist Leonardo da Vinci with his depiction of the *Battle of Anghiari*, Yáñez's style upon his 1506 return to Valencia incorporates elements of his master as well as those of other painters of Renaissance Florence. In the

---

[30] Fuchs, 18-19.

[31] The account of Alfonso the VIII and Raquel appears in Alfonso X's (1221-1284) *Estoria de España* and in *Castigos e documentos* (1293). For a discussion of the broader significance of the story, see Cristina Guardiola, "Romancing the Past: Two Narrative Examples of Interfaith Relations," in *Wine, Women, and Song: Hebrew and Arabic Literature of Medieval Iberia*, Michelle Marie Hamilton, Sarah J. Portnoy, and David A. Wacks eds. (Newark: Juan de la Cuesta, 2004), 101-110.

[32] Jonathan Brown, *Painting in Spain, 1500-1700* (New Haven: Yale University Press), 1998.

Valencian artist's *Birth of the Virgin*, the hazy, *sfumato* of Leonardo is evident in the faces of St. Anne and her attendants.[33] Even clearer, however, is the influence of Domenico Ghirlandaio's *Birth of the Virgin* and *Birth of John the Baptist* from the church of Santa Maria Novella, which Yáñez undoubtedly visited during his time in Florence. Yet, for all of the Italianate elements, the artist's decision to relegate St. Anne to the background while her attendants take center stage in an *estrado* is striking. For Yáñez, it seems his representation of an opulent, domestic setting inhabited primarily by women had to include an *estrado*. The incorporation of this Hispano-Islamic element into this work denoted the height of refinement and luxury.

A well-known reference to the *estrado* also appears over a century later in chapter five of book two of Miguel de Cervantes' *Don Quixote*. The knight-errant's humorous companion, Sancho Panza, discusses with his wife the kind of elegant living situation he wishes for their daughter, Sanchica. This includes "an *estrado* with more velvet pillows than there were Moors in the lineage of the Almohads of Morocco."[34] Even Sancho Panza, a man of very low social standing, knows the *estrado* with all of its accessories to be a symbol of Moorish luxury desired by many. Thus to appreciate and to appropriate the beauty and magnificence of the arts of the Moor, as mentioned earlier, was an indication of good breeding, worldliness, and stylishness, or, at the very least, an aspiration to such distinctions. The high opinion of the *estrado* and the *juego de cañas,* as well as the popularity of fine Moorish clothing, or any other kind of prized Moorish artistry for that matter, all played a role in the phenomenon of maurophilia in late medieval/early modern Spain.

---

[33] Ibid.

[34] Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *Don Quijote de La Mancha*, ed. Martín de Riquer (Barcelona: Editorial Juventud, 1968), 575. "un estrado de más almohadas de velludo que tuvieron moros en su linaje los Almohadas de Marruecos."

Obra de Málica: Lusterware and the Legacy of Islamic Spain

While Menendez Pidal, Bernis, and Fuchs examine maurophilia as related to literature, fashion, and festivities, the connection between the phenomenon and the visual arts has not been sufficiently explored. For instance, the golden pottery fashioned on the southern and eastern coasts of Spain, much like the written, performed, and material arts discussed above, also had the capacity to capture the essence of a vanishing Iberian Islamic civilization for Christian consumers. The very names used to describe the luxury ceramic in household inventories and trade documents indicate that the intricate metallic designs and fine forms of lusterware were frequently conceived of as an art form associated with the Kingdom of Granada even when the pottery itself was likely, or, as will be shown below, definitively made by suppliers in and around Valencia.

In 1950, Marçal Olivar Daydí published 70 inventories found in various archives in Valencia and Barcelona, focusing on the wooden and ceramic vessels in use during the fourteenth century.[35] These documents, ranging in date from 1319 to 1401 and taken from homes in Valencia, Barcelona, as well as in outlying communities such as Játiva and Murviedro, provide us with the contemporary vocabulary used by consumers and city officials. The words describing earthenware vary from general to specific. For instance, a 1329 inventory of goods belonging to the Valencian apothecary, Arnau de Torrella, simply lists several "*pots de terra*."[36] Similarly, among the goods of Pere Domingo were "*morters de terra*," and a large serving bowl, or "*escudella gran de terra*."[37] In these documents, the glazing and decoration of this pottery, if there was any at all, was not made clear by the inventory taker. Nevertheless, other wares are described with more detail. Variations of the designations "*obra de Málecha*," or "*terra de Málica*" appear frequently within the sample of documents transcribed by Olivar Daydí. In fact, some variation of the term "*obra de Málecha*" appears in twenty-one out of the seventy published inventories.[38] Appearing less frequently is the description of ceramic vessels as "*terra de Manizes*" or "*terra de Valencia*." These designations appear in only seven of the inventories.[39]

---

[35] Marçal Olivar Daydí, *La vajilla de madera y la cerámica de uso en Valencia y en Cataluña durante el siglo XIV* (Valencia: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1950).
[36] Ibid., 26-27.
[37] Ibid., 32.

Such labels raise some important questions, which I will attempt to answer here. First, what types of decoration do the terms "*obra de Málecha*," "*obra de Manizes*," or "*terra de Valencia*" indicate? There was, after all, a variety of pottery produced in and around Málaga and Valencia in the fourteenth century, including simple green wares from Andalucía, as well as green and brown wares from Paterna, located northwest of Valencia (fig. 2.8).[40] There were also a variety of blue and white decorated vessels made in both Málaga and in the Valencia area (fig. 2.9). Noting this ambiguity, there is a possibility that some of the pottery described as "*obra de Málecha*" or earthenware from Valencia were blue and white, non-lustered pieces. It is unlikely, however, that "*obra de Málecha*" or "*terra de Valencia*" signified green brown wares in these late medieval inventories, given that in the majority of Olivar Daydí's documents, a green glaze is indicated by the inventory taker, as in the case of the Barcelona pharmacy owner Guillem Metge, who owned both "*XIII pots verts de Valencia*" and various "*pots pintats de Valencia*."[41] The former clearly indicated pottery covered with green glaze or green designs, while the latter described something "painted" and far more decorative. Presumably these "*pots pintat de*

---

[38] Ibid., 18.

[39] Ibid., 30, 33, 40-42, 49, 52-53.

[40] For information about these industries, see Alfonso Ruiz García, "La cerámica in vidriado verde del Museo de la Alhambra," in *Los jarrones de la Alhambra*, ed. Villafranca Jiménez, 75-88; Ray, *Spanish Pottery*, 41-49.

[41] Olivar Daydí, *La vajilla de madera y la cerámica*, 41.

Valencia" were lusterware, which was being produced in and around the city in the fourteenth century. We can safely assume that a great deal of the pottery described in these and other documents as "*obra de Málecha*" or "*terra de Manizes*" was lusterware. Moreover, such labels seem to have been a less verbose way of quickly documenting a specialty item. Therefore, it seems quite logical that the many different inventory takers that appear in Olivar Daydí's study would have repeatedly used such convenient terminology, rather than have painstakingly described the blue, white, and iridescent golden decoration of the pottery.

Secondly, why is the label "*obra de Málecha*" used more frequently than "*obra de Manizes*" or "*obra de Valencia*"? As I will also address in chapter three, variations of this label do not necessarily indicate the geographic origin of the golden ceramics.[42] Often these commonly used words, whether found in Spanish inventories, trade documents, or custom books from foreign ports, function, in part, as a stylistic term, which denotes the intricately decorated Iberian pottery, but the words conjure up other associations given that in many of these cases the Valencia origin of lusterware was known. For instance, a well-known example of a consumer using the label "*obra de Melica*" for lustered pottery that was not made anywhere near Málaga was published in 1906 by Guillermo Joaquín Osma y Scull.[43] Osma devoted the greater part of the first volume of his *Apuntes sobre la cerámica morisca* to a letter from Maria of Castile, Queen of Aragon and wife to Alfonso V, to the Lord of Manises, don Pedro Buyl (r. 1428-1454).

---

[42] François Amigues, "Las importaciones de cerámicas doradas valencianas (Talleres de Paterna) en el Languedoc-Rosellón," in *La cerámica de Paterna: reflejos del Mediterráneo*, ed. Mercedes Mesquida García (Valencia: Museo de Bellas Artes, 2002), 68. François Amigues noted in 2002 that the narrow interpretation of the commonly used label has led some scholars astray in that almost twenty years earlier Pedro López Elum wrote that there had been no lustered ceramics produced in the town of Paterna in *Los orígenes de la cerámica de Manises y Paterna*, 1285-1335 (Valencia: F. Domenech, 1984). Archaeological evidence indicated otherwise, and fourteenth-century documents do indicate the presence of makers of "*terra de Malicha*" in Paterna.

[43] Osma y Scull, *Apuntes*, 1: 6-7.

Dated November 26, 1454, and written in the Valencian dialect, the letter was transcribed and translated into Castilian by Osma. An English translation of the letter follows:

> Noble and dear friend:
>
> We would like, for the use and service of our person, [a set of] *obra de Melica* according to the itemized list of pieces, which we have written and sent to you within the present letter. Because of [the personal use to which it will be put] we request and commission, as affectionately as we are able, that out of love and consideration for us, you have the said wares be made beautiful and fine, and trusting in you, have them form a matching set. And suffer with patience that we implore you so for it is because we consider you our devoted servant that we ask this of you, and because you are at the very source of the said craft. God willing, the service you undertake now will live in our memory as previous ones do. And once the work is finished, immediately notify our loyal agent, don Cristobal de Montblanch, to whom we have given the authority to summon you in written form regarding this matter so that, as soon as [the set of tableware] is ready, it may be shipped. We wish that it were already made. Written and sent from our city of Borja on the 26th of November of the year 1454. The Queen.
>
> To our noble and beloved don Pedro Buyl
>
> By the order of our Mistress the Queen, [her secretary] Bartolomé Serena.
>
> A list of the earthenware items, ordered by our Mistress the Queen, which must form a matching set and be of the finest workmanship.
>
> First: Two plates for washing hands.
> Item: Large platters for serving and carrying food.
> Item: Dinner plates.
> Item: Bowls.
> Item: Delicate bowls from which to sip broth.
> Item: Light-weight water pitchers that must be lustered inside and out.
> Item: Vases for flowers, with two golden handles.
> Item: Mortars, half a dozen that are of good size.
> Item: Little bowls and other small wares.
> Item: Bowls for making brothless soup.[44]

---

[44] Ibid. "Noble y amado nuestro: Nos quisiéramos, para uso y servicio de nuestra persona, obra de Melica con arreglo á la lista que de ella hemos hecho escribir y os enviamos dentro de la presente. Por lo cual os rogamos y encargamos, tan afectuosamente como podemos, que por amor y consideración nuestra mandéis que dicha obra para nos se haga hermosa, fina, y cual confiamos en vos que toda ella forme un juego. Y sufrid con paciencia que nos valgamos así de vos, pues esto vos mandamos hacer por consideraros devoto servidor nuestro, y porque estáis en la fuente de la dicha labor; confiamos en Dios que este servicio que nos hagáis lo tendremos con los anteriores muy presente á nuestra memoria. Y acabada que sea la obra, avisad de ello inmediatamente á nuestro leal procurador don Cristóbal de Montblanch á quien hemos encargado que os requiera y os escriba sobre esto, para que tan pronto como

In this letter the cordial tone of the queen and the specificity of her order are clearly evident. Yet, the missive also indicates that the label "*obra de Melica*" is a stylistic term that signified lusterware, as can be gleaned by the references to golden glaze made in the queen's itemized list. Maria of Castile even specifies where and to what extent she would like certain pieces covered in the metallic luster.[45] The letter also proves too that "*obra de Melica*" did not have to come from Málaga. By the year 1454, Valencian pottery-producing areas, especially Manises, were, as Maria of Castile writes, "the very source of the said craft." Why apply this label to a specific type of pottery not made in Málaga, but rather Manises? Perhaps because the words "*obra de Melica, Malica, Máleche*," etc. linked the Valencian art to the long-established, luxurious culture and high-quality decorative arts of Islamic Spain and was therefore an exoticizing label.

The same terminology can be found in an array of documentary sources. In the second volume of Osma's *Apuntes sobre la cerámica morisca*, the author includes an appendix of ninety-two documents, ranging from contracts of sale, employment, and the leasing of kilns, as

---

esté hecha la pueda remitir: Y quisiéramos que ya estuviese hecha. –Dada en nuestra ciudad de Borja á 26 días de Noviembre del año 1454. La Reina. Á nuestro noble y amado don Pedro Buyl. Por orden de la Señora Reina, Yo Bartolomé Serena. Relación de la obra de la tierra que pide la Señora Reina que forme toda ella un juego, y que sea obra fina: Primero: Dos platos para dar agua á manos. Item: Platos grandes para servir y llevar vianda. Item: Platos para comer. Item: Escudillas. Item: Escudillas delgadas para beber caldo. Item: Jarras delgadas para servir agua: que estén todo doradas. Item: Vasos para flores, con dos asas doradas. Item: Morteros, media docena, que sean grandecitos. Item: Escudillitas y obra menuda. Item: Escudillas para hacer sopas secas." The Queen's tastes were so specific that on March 21, 1455, after receiving the above set of lusterware from don Pedro Buyl, she sent a second letter asking that he send supplemental pieces, which were again, "to be lustered inside and out." She asks for six more pitchers, three with spouts and three without, as well as six cups for drinking. The tone of this missive is as cordial as the preceding one with the queen wishing good health to Buyl's wife. See Osma, 28.

[45] This and earlier sets of lusterware that Maria of Castile commissioned (pieces from the 1420's that bear her coat of arms are in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London and the National Ceramic Museum, Sèvres) do not figure into a 1458 inventory of her Valencia palace taken upon her death. Nevertheless, many *morisco* vessels and fabrics are noted as having belonged to the queen. See Toledo Girau, *Inventarios del palacio real de Valencia a la muerte de doña María*.

well as letters of safe conduct for Valencian potters to other lands, and of course, household inventories. A list of goods taken on October 20, 1406, in Selva de Camp located in the province of Tarragona, Aragon, lists the following pieces of lusterware in the home of Bernardo Salvador, brother to the bishop: "two jars of *Melicha*, two pitchers of *Melicha*, six bowls of *Melicha*."[46] Also, in contracts for public lusterware commissions within the region of Valencia, the same label is used. On March 14, 1434, Çaat Naxr (Saad Nasr), "Moor of Mislata," was promised a sum of thirty-three *reales* for fashioning two finials, or "*poms de obra de maleca daurats*."[47] These finials were to adorn a large, covered crucifix, one of four that marked the main roads to Valencia.

Far more recent studies confirm that "*obra de Málica*" was the most commonly used designation for luster pottery. Pedro López Elum, as G.J. Osma had previously written, interpreted the label as one for wares of high quality and therefore an equivalent for the golden ceramics. In a 2005 publication, Pedro López Elum evaluated documentary sources from three separate Valencian archives, analyzing notarized contracts between merchants and potters as well as household inventories dating from the late thirteenth to the sixteenth century. Designations other than "*obra de Málica*" come to light for luxury pottery, including lusterware. These terms include "*obra real*" (royal ware), "*obra de emperador*" (emperor's ware), "*obra de papa*"[48] (pope's ware), and "*obra de timbre*."[49] The *timbre* was a gold coin issued in 1426 by

---

[46] Osma, *Apuntes*, 2: 20-21.

[47] Ibid.

[48] López Elum, *La producción cerámica de lujo*, 7, 18. López Elum writes of this particular denomination that it may refer to pottery being used for the consumption of potatoes or brothless soups. I must disagree, however, especially in light of the documentary evidence found in the Archivo de Protocolos del Patriarca de Valencia de Miquel Joan, 26.455, which López Elum himself published. The Latin translation clearly indicates that the pottery is extremely rich and associated with the majesty of the papacy. A 1417 contract between a merchant, Joan Nicholau, and the master potter, Hacen Musa, indicates the former desired pottery that was to be "*bonum, clarum, et dauratum cum çafre et pictum*

Alfonso V of Aragon, which weighed twenty-four grams and featured a portrait bust of the king himself.[50] Although the above labels occur less frequently than "*obra de Málica*" in documentary sources, such terms indicate the royal and ecclesiastical associations with the pottery, as well as the high esteem in which lustered ceramics were generally held.

The label of Málaga ware, however, continued to be used into the following century and was applied to lusterware fashioned in various pottery communities not only in the Valencia region, but also in Muel in Aragon and further south in Seville. In the year 1500, the female merchant, Isabel de Berencasa, purchased a large quantity of lusterware made by a group of Paterna potters.[51] Throughout the month of January, Berencasa made agreements with Jaime Rodrigo, Martín Rodrigo, Fernando Salvador Piquiquo, García Alcudorí, Juan Almila, and Pascasio Gil, specifying that she would be buying "*opus terre de Malequa*," presumably to sell for a profit. The earliest known document attesting to lusterware manufacture in the pottery town of Muel also used similar terminology, indicating that in 1517 one Pedro Maza lived in the village. He and other specialized luster potters in the village were referred to as "*almalagueros*," or makers of Málagaware.[52] Later in 1550, "*obra de Málaga*" made in Muel was sold in the Plaza de Nuestra Señora (now the Plaza del Pilar) in Zaragoza.[53] And in 1549 Pedro de Medina wrote of the Sevillian pottery-producing area of Triana in his *Libro de grandezas y cosas memorables de España*. Medina, the royal cosmographer to the Emperor Charles V, relates, "In

---

pulcriter secundum oppus pape" (good, clear, golden and blue, and with beautiful designs as is customary with Pope's ware).

[49] Ibid., 17.

[50] Albert R. Frey, *A Dictionary of Numismatic Names, their Official and Popular Designations* (New York: The American Numismatic Society, 1917), 242.

[51] Osma, *Apuntes,* 2:146-149. See also, François Amigues and Mercedes Mesquida García, *Les ateliers et la céramique de Paterna (XIII^{e}-XV^{e} siecle)*, Exhibition Catalogue (Béziers: Musée Saint-Jacques, 1993).

[52] María Isabel Álvaro Zamora, *Cerámica aragonesa*, 1: 120.

[53] Ibid., 1:119. Álvaro Zamora found reference to this market in the Archivo Municipal de Zaragoza's *Libro de pregones*, 1548-55.

this place of Triana is made a great deal of fine Málaga pottery, white and yellow,[54] and of all shapes and sizes. There are nearly fifty workshops where it is manufactured and it is shipped to many places."[55]

For the greater part of the fifteenth century the actual city of Málaga remained under the control of the Nasrids, the final Muslim dynasty to rule over the Kingdom of Granada. Christian forces would not take the city until 1487. Nevertheless, Christian owners, commissioners, traders, and admirers of lusterware, continued to call this pottery made in Valencia "Málaga ware," and in so doing, conjured up the legacy of the vanishing Kingdom of Granada and its elegant, courtly arts. In the years following the Reconquest, the golden pottery's association with the Andalusian city persisted, as potters continued to relocate within the Iberian Peninsula.

Relocation of Skilled Luster Potters

Artists who possessed the singular knowledge of how to fashion lustered ceramics were a sought-after workforce throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. With the Nasrid Kingdom of Granada losing its political potency and exhibiting waning military might from the early fourteenth century on, and with Christian and Marinid incursions into that last vestige of Nasrid Spain, provincial lords and government officials acted shrewdly to transfer, preserve, and, of course, profit from the luxury pottery industry. Muslim potters within the kingdom of Granada were operating under unstable political conditions particularly in the first decade of the fourteenth century. Though the Nasrid Kingdom endured for more than two centuries, the historian María Jesús Viguera Molins writes that the reign "was condemned from the very start by the northern kingdoms' desire to culminate their reconquest."[56] Viguera writes that the political history of the Nasrid Kingdom can be broken down into six periods: its constitution, between 1232 and 1309; the first crisis, between 1309 and 1333; its apogee, from 1333 to 1391; its decadence, from 1391 to 1364; recovery, from 1464 to 1482; and finally, its end, from 1482 to 1492.[57]

---

[54] Yellow in this context most certainly means golden. See Ray, *Spanish Pottery*, 137, and Frothingham, *Lustreware of Spain*, 275.

[55] Pedro de Medina, *Libro de grandezas and cosas memorables de España* (Seville, 1549), folio lii. "En este lugar de Triana se haze mucha y buena loça de malaga blanca y amarillo y de todas maneras y fuentes."

The "first crisis" was indeed a time of upheaval for the Muslim state. Under its ruler, Nasr (r. 1309-1314), the Kingdom of Granada was not only at war with Castile and Aragon, but also at odds with the dominant power in the Maghreb, the Marinids, for control over the Strait of Gibraltar.[58] In the first year of Nasr's reign, the rulers of Castile, Aragon, and the Marinids had set their sights on the coastal town of Algeciras. The same year, Nasr witnessed the loss of Gibraltar to the Castilians who maintained control of it for the next twenty-four years. The Kingdom of Aragon, to which Valencia belonged, launched a campaign in August of 1309 to take Almería on the eastern side of the Nasrid state. The push to Almería would prove unsuccessful and in December a truce was reached between the Nasrids and the Aragonese.[59]

James II of Aragon sent envoys to Nasr's court in the citadel of the Alhambra in December of 1309, with the Lord of Manises, don Pedro Buyl, the first in a long line of provincial lords of the town to bear that name, to act as ambassador.[60] Pedro Buyl assumed his lordship of the Valencian town in 1304 and maintained the position until 1323, after having purchased the title from don Lope Ferrenc de Luna. Buyl was a well-traveled diplomat and a man of considerable importance to the King of Aragon both before and during his tenure as Lord of Manises. He had served as treasurer to James II and would later be the sovereign's steward and adviser. On many occasions he served as ambassador to the court of Naples and to the papal court of Clement V. Buyl also had a distinguished military career that included fighting in the Almería campaign on behalf of James II.

---

[56] María Jesús Viguera Molins, "The Nasrid Emirate of Granada, the last of al-Andalus," in *Los jarrones de la Alhambra*, ed. Villafranca Jiménez, 276.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Leonard Patrick Harvey, *Islamic Spain, 1250 to 1500* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 171.

[59] Ibid., 173-178.

[60] José Nicolau Bauzá, *Páginas de la historia de Manises*, 39; López Elum, *La producción cerámica de lujo*, 15; Balbina Martínez Caviró, "Golden Earthenware and the Alhambra Vases," in *Los jarrones de la Alhambra*, ed. Villafranca Jiménez, 285.

Aside from its political and military significance, Buyl's 1309 visit to the Nasrid court at Granada would have major ramifications for the luxury pottery industry in the Valencia region. While in al-Andalus, the Lord of Manises presumably secured a workforce of Málaga potters who would move from the unstable southern kingdom to Valencia.[61] Such a business venture is supported by documentary evidence from the first three decades of the fourteenth century that attest to the presence of the industry in Manises. In 1325 lusterware is recorded as having been produced there. A notarized contract indicates that Hamet and Addolaziç Almurcí, "masters of painted earthenware," were to make and deliver twenty-five dozen bowls of "painted earthenware similar to the work of Málaga."[62]

Although Buyl cannot be credited with single-handedly bringing the art of lustered ceramics to the area, he most certainly strengthened and augmented the production of the wares with what Balbina Martínez Caviró calls "a considerable commercial vision."[63] The Manises lord was certainly shrewd enough to recognize that the lucrative pottery industry would flourish in his domain. In nearby Paterna, glazed pottery had been made from rich, local clay, a natural resource also found in Manises. Buyl could promise not only the proper resources, but also religious tolerance for potters and a safe port for shipping in the reconquered and relatively peaceful Valencian town. More than simply seeing a profit to be made, however, Buyl must have also recognized a noble, but vanishing civilization in Granada. To transfer and to preserve the renowned art of fashioning golden pottery was to foresee its appeal to a broader clientele of Christians, Moriscos, and Jews, and essentially to profit from the luxurious artistic tradition of a fading civilization.

---

[61] Martínez Caviró, "Golden Earthenware," 285.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid.

Muslim potters were not simply asked to relocate from the vanishing Nasrid Kingdom to Valencia and to continue working at their trade there. The artisits, once in Christian territory, moved periodically and had to practice their specialized and renowned art within parameters set for them by their new employers. A contract dated July 2, 1405, from the municipal archive of Valencia states that Mahomet Çuleyman Alfaquí and Maymo Annajar, Moors and masters of "*obra de Malequa*," residents of the town of Manises, were to establish a workshop and lodge themselves at the home of Mossen Guillén de Martorell, knight and Lord of the town of Murla.[64] In Murla, located south of Manises within the region of Valencia, the two potters were to stay for a duration of five years and make their "*obratge de Malequa*." They were not permitted to leave or to make lusterware for anyone else during this time. The two Muslim artists would be fined five gold Argonese florins for any infraction of this notarized contract. Thus, the Lord of Murla was able to exercise complete control over a small, private workforce. Perhaps Martorell eventually wanted to establish his own community of potteries that fashioned fine, glazed ceramics just as the Lords of Manises had successfully done in the previous century, or perhaps he simply wanted to amass enough lusterware for personal use, sale, and profit. In any case, the products as well as the expertise of these two masters of "Málagaware" were held in high esteem by this quasi-feudal lord whose contractual agreement indicates a heavy-handed desire to possess and guard a luxurious craft of Islamic Spain.

---

[64] Osma, *Apuntes*, 1:18-19.

By the middle of the fifteenth century, Christian pirates succeeded in severely compromising the maritime prowess the Kingdom of Granada. In order to ship their ceramics internationally, Muslim potters were left to depend upon Valencian and Catalan fleets, and the industry found it advantageous to relocate further afield into the Kingdom of Aragon.[65] By the end of the fifteenth century, however, the absence of the fine ceramics industry was felt most keenly in Málaga. Only four years after its fall to Christian forces in 1487, the solicitor general of Málaga asked that the art of fine glazed pottery be restored to the city. Writing to the royal distributor, that is, the official charged with transferring sections of the recently reconquered city from royal ownership to municipal hands, the solicitor general designates the particular industries that are suited to various areas of Málaga. While a guild making *ollas* and *tinajas*, large and usually unglazed storage jars, still operated within Málaga, the solicitor general notes a significant hole in the market for luxury wares. His petition follows:

> Furthermore, I [the solicitor general of the municipal council] say that one of the largest commercial enterprises that existed in [Málaga] during the time of the Moors was the manufacture of pottery and tableware, and if such prominence in this industry were to be restored, it would greatly benefit and ennoble the city. Clearly those who travel here with merchandise to sell would find and buy quality ceramic goods to take with them on their return home. As a result, the city's pottery and tableware factories, being [as well run] as they currently are, would increase their output and income, and as indicated above, this would be followed by the accrual of various and sundry benefits to the city and its inhabitants. The municipal council on my recommendation has agreed that we ask our counterpart in Valencia to select and send us two master ceramists, and now on behalf of the council I ask that you [the distributor of funds and properties] set aside two houses and their furnishings for the use of the said master craftsmen. It is largely through these two individuals that the profitability and renown of [Malaga's] ceramics industry will be restored.[66]

---

[65] Frothingham, *Lustreware of Spain*, 78.

[66] Juan Temboury Alvaro, "La cerámica vidriada de Málaga después de la reconquista de la ciudad," *Al-Andalus* 4 (1939): 42-43. "Otrosí digo que uno de los grandes tratos que en esta cibdad en tiempo de moros avia era de las ollerias e vedriado que en ella se fazia, e porque sy este se Reformase seria gran pro e noblecimiento della, porque los que a ella viniesen con mercaderías hallarían Retorno que llevar, e porque siendo las ollerias de la cibdad como son se acrecentarían sus propios, e por otros muchos provechos que a la dicha cibdad e vecinos della de lo suso dicho se seguiría la dicha cibdad mi parte ha acordado de enviar a valencia por dos maestros escogidos de fazer vedriado, para los cuales de parte de la

While the author of this document seems primarily to be concerned with the economic condition of the city after its 1487 conquest, and with the financial benefits of the manufacture of fine glazed wares (which most certainly would have included lusterware), the petition also betrays a nostalgia and appreciation for Hispano-Islamic arts. He alludes right away to the "*tiempo de moros*," which is a bygone era in Málaga by 1491. But moreover, the language used by the solicitor general conveys a two-fold agenda. He believes a restoration of the formerly successful glazed ceramics industry will both "greatly benefit *and ennoble* the city," and also that through the talents of these two master potters (who are in all likelihood two Muslims now working in Valencia), the trade's "profitability *and renown*" will be resuscitated. Clearly, his primary interest here is motivated by profit, but the solicitor also evokes the high quality and general esteem felt for the luxurious arts made by displaced Muslim potters. That such objects should "ennoble" Málaga and restore its international fame is clearly stated in the above petition, and it ultimately conveys that all proposed economic benefits would be supplemented by cultural and cosmopolitan enhancements to the city.

The financial and cultural improvements that the return of fine ceramics manufacture to the city of Málaga promised by the solicitor general, as well as his romantic, almost wistful attitude toward the art, seems to have conflicted with the daily lives of certain Málaga residents. A *cédula*, or royal decree, issued in the city of Granada only nine years after the above petition, pointed out the harmful repercussions of a working pottery on neighboring buildings.[67] The document, dated December 24, 1500, follows:

---

dicha cibdad vos pido deys dos casas con sus faziendas que estén guardadas para los dichos oficiales, para que por estos se torne a Reformar el dicho tracto e oficio de facer vedriado."

[67] Luis Morales García-Goyena, *Documentos históricos de Málaga*, vol. 2 (Granada: Tipografía de López Guerara, 1906), 73-74.

[From] Don Fernando and Doña Isabel, by the grace of God, King and Queen of Castile, León, Aragón, etc.; to you, the [individual] who is, or is to be, our magistrate or judge in residence in the city of Málaga, or to your mayor who exercises such judicial powers, and to [all of] you who [make up] the governing council of said city, greetings and salutations.

Let it be known that Francisco de Alcaraz and Diego Romero, city council members and residents of said city, speaking for the council, have reported to us in their petition [the following]: in close proximity to city-owned land designated for kilns that produce earthenware for local buyers, a Franciscan monastery has been founded and said kilns pose a great danger and are very damaging to it. Consequently, these [councilmen] on behalf of the council have asked that we grant them permission and power to move said kilns to an area of the city that would be more suitable for such an enterprise, or that we decide and act on the matter as we see fit. After considering their wishes in our council, it was agreed that the proper course [of action] would be to send you this letter regarding said question. Therefore, we command that you must go now with this letter [in hand] and inform yourselves and learn the truth with regard to what has been stated above. And if you find that any harm or damage continues or might continue to befall the Monastery of Saint Francis, its friars, or its building, if said kilns remain where they now are, then remedy [the situation] in a way that you find most appropriate for the common good of said city and it residents. In this letter we give you complete power, to be used if necessary, so that no one is harmed to the extent that complaints are generated. And none of the parties should do, or attempt to do, otherwise in any way under penalty of [the loss of] our good graces and a fine [in the amount] of ten thousand *maravedis* [paid] to the Royal Court of Justice.

Handed down in the most renowned and eminent city of Granada on the twenty-fourth day of the month of December, in the year one thousand five hundred since the birth of Our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ. - John, Bishop of Oviedo - John, Bachelor of Law/Theology - Martin, Doctor of Law/Theology - Bachelor Zapata - Ferdinand Tello, Bachelor - Bachelor Mujica Written by command of Our Sovereign King and Queen [and] in agreement with their Council, I, Pedro Fernández de Madrid, Scribe of the Royal Court.[68]

---

[68] Ibid. "don Fernando y doña Ysabel por la graçia de Dios Rey e Reyna de Castilla de Leon de Aragon etc; a vos el que es o fuere nuestro corregidor o Juez de Residençia de la çibdad de Malaga o a vuestro alcalde en el dicho ofiçio, e a vos el conçejo e Regimiento de la dicha çibdad, salud e graçia; sepades que françisco de alcaraz e diego Romero Regidores e vesinos desa dicha çibdad en nonbre del conçejo della, nos fisieron Relaçion por su petiçion diziendo que cabe un sytio que fue dado a la dicha çibdad para faser hornos de barro cozido para las propias de la dicha çibdad, dis que se a fecho el monasterio de Señor Sant Françisco, al qual diz que son muy peligrosas e dañosos los dichos hornos. Por ende que nos suplicavan e pedian por merçed en el dicho nonbre les mandasemos dar liçençia e facultad para mudar los dichos hornos a otra parte que fuse mas conviniente para ello o que sobre ello mandasemos proveer como la nuestra merçed fuse; lo qual visto en el nuestro consejo fue acordado que deviamos mandar dar esta nuestra carta para vosotros en la dicha Rason, e nos tovimoslo por bien. por que vos mandamos que luego que con esta nuestra carta furdes Requeridos vos ynformeys e sepays la verdad çerca de lo suso dicho. E su fallardesque de estar los dichos hornos en el logar e parte donde agora estan se sigue o puede seguir algun daño o perjuisio al dicho monasterio de Sant Francisco e frayles

The residents of the neighborhood, especially the Franciscan friars and their coreligionists, wanted this particular Málaga pottery establishment moved to another part of the city, and they used local and royal authority to force that outcome. The everyday reality of ceramic production—the grinding of glaze materials, the washing of clays, and most of all, the stoking of large and possibly combustible kilns—was not only a threat to public health but also at odds with the solicitor general's 1491 notion of ennobling the Andalusian city.

While the revival of a luster industry in fifteenth-century Málaga was not successful, the art of fashioning the luxury pottery took root in other areas in the south and northeast of the Iberian Peninsula. Though certainly not as prolific as the Valencian industry, Seville, as mentioned above, supported luster manufacture from the late fifteenth century on (fig. 2.10).[69] Documentary evidence published by José Gestoso y Pérez in 1903 indicates that in July of 1501, a potter by the name of Diego Díaz and his wife paid the large sum of 15,000 *maravedis* to the merchant, Juan Martínez de Sili, for supplies to make luster glaze, or "*vedriado de oro*."[70] Another potter, master Fernán Martínez Guijarro, was also producing luster pottery in the early sixteenth century, given that his 1508 will indicates that several "*tiendas del dorada*" were located on his property in Seville.[71] As to how exactly the luster industry came to be established in Seville, Gestoso y Pérez writes, "It is logical to suppose, in view of certain historical facts,

---

e convento del, lo proveays e Remedieys como vierdes que mas conviene al pro e bien comun desa dicha çibdad e vesinos della, por manera que ninguno Resçiba agravio de que tenga Rason de se quexar, para lo qual sy nesçesario es vos damos poder conplido por esta nuestra carta. E los unos ni los otros non fagades ni fagan ende al por alguna manera so pena de la nuestra merçed e de diez mill maravedies para la nuestra Camara. Dada en la muy nonbrada çibdad de Granada a veynte e quarto dias del mes de dizienbre, año del Nasçimiento de nuestro Salvador Jhesu-Christo de mill e quinientos años. Johanes episcopus ovetensis. Johanes liçençiatus. Martinus doctor. liçençiatus çapata. fernandus tello liçençiatus. liçenciatus muxica. Yo pedro fernandus de Madrid escrivano de Camara del Rey e de la Reyna nuestros señores la fise escrevir por su mandado con acuerdo de los del su consejo."

[69] Ray, *Spanish Pottery*, 140.

[70] Gestoso y Pérez, *Historia de los barros vidriados*, 290.

[71] Ibid., 163-64.

that between the *mudéjares* of Seville and the Moors of Málaga and Granada there had to be close relationships, which were sustained and strengthened by the commerce that took place in times of truce...” and, of course, in the years following the fall of Granada.[72]

While geographic, cultural, and commercial proximity may explain the establishment of luster technique in Seville, accounting for the spread of the industry to lands further north is more problematic. In Aragon, specifically in the town of Muel, the origins of the art are unclear and may be due to the gradual migration of Muslim luster potters from the Kingdom of Granada, through Murcia, and again further north through Valencia to the banks of the Huerva River (fig. 2.11). Anthony Ray, however, also suggests a scenario quite similar to that of Pedro López Elum regarding the further expansion and strengthening of the luxury pottery industry in Manises. That is, a provincial lord may have been responsible for the establishment and sustained presence of the art in Muel.[73] In 1392, Juan I of Aragon awarded Muel to Fernando López de Luna, his descendants maintaining a distinguished position in the town well into the sixteenth century under the title of Marqués de Camarasa. The Luna family formerly had been the lords of Manises until don Pedro Buyl’s 1304 acquisition of the title. Presumably, the Lunas’ direct link to the heart of the lusterware industry in the Valencia region could have contributed to this instance of transferal, and like the Buyls, this family saw the opportunity for setting up a community that could produce a refined, luxury product from Islamic Spain. In Muel, the art rested almost exclusively in the hands of artists of Muslim background who were permitted to fashion the ceramics in peace until their expulsion from the village in 1610 under the order of King Philip III, whose edict will be discussed in more detail in chapter five.[74]

---

[72] Ibid., 286. “Que es lógico suponer, en vista de las enseñanzas históricas, que entre los mudéjares sevillanos y los moros malagueños y granadinos tuvieron que existir relaciones íntimas, las culaes eran sostenidas y estrechadas por el comercio que se efectuaba en las épocas de tregua…”

[73] Ray, *Spanish Pottery*, 132.

Regarding the establishment of the venerable and profitable luster industry in Cataluña, there is more tangible evidence (fig. 2.12). Potters with Christian names from the Kingdom of Valencia who saw that producing the Hispano-Islamic ware could flourish in the area brought the art to the northeastern region of the Iberian Peninsula. In the middle of the fifteenth century, Jaume, Martí, and Pere Eiximeno were operating in Barcelona, with Pere being referred to as a "*mestre d'obra de Malica*."[75] These three brothers may have been part of a family of luster artists long established in Manises. G. J. Osma lists many potters of the same last name in his registers from the mid-fourteenth to the mid-fifteenth century.[76] According to Anthony Ray, it was Pere Eiximeno who was the most successful of the brothers. Seeing the opportunity for a local luxury ceramic market in Cataluña, Pere Eiximeno, like don Pedro Buyl and other business-minded Christian nobles before him, imported the specialized workforce he needed from Valencia. In 1461, he contracted three men to set up and work in a Barcelona pottery.[77]

Early in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, the merchant Francesc Reyner imported finished Valencian wares to sell in a thriving Catalan market. Working in the luxury pottery trade in Barcelona from 1477 to 1502, Francesc eventually sold local luster ceramics, which were produced in the workshop of his son, Nicolas Reyner. Nicolas was a master potter whose shop created a variety of wares, including luster ceramics. The younger Reyner recorded his luster formula sometime between 1514 and 1519 in an important documentary source, the *Llibre de fornades*.[78] Reyner's shop was comprised of twelve workmen: three assistant potters, Joan Pahull, Onofre Espelta, and Joan Guimerà Montoliu; two men who cut and kneaded the clay, Jaume and Miquel Poncela; six "*tiraterras*" or clay-throwers; and one young boy who helped stoke the kiln.[79] These workers have Christian names showing a stark contrast with the many Moors who appear in the pottery records of Manises and Paterna throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[80] It is likely, however, that some Barcelona potters and shop workers were of Muslim background, having converted and taken Christian names.[81] These workers and assistants were brought to this and other shops already knowing, or being entrusted with, the process of luster firing, and so ready to take part in a newly established and growing industry. The success of local Catalan luster business can be observed in the number of wares fired in one reduction kiln load, which could be as many as 3,000 pieces. Sixteenth-century customers in northeastern Spain were therefore admiring and buying the arts of a conquered Islamic Spain at a staggering rate.

---

[74] Álvaro Zamora, *Cerámica aragonesa*, 1: 32. The records of expulsion list that almost the entire town was cleared out, specifying that 1,273 inhabitants were made to leave.

[75] Ray, *Spanish Pottery*, 134. The luster industry in another Catalan center, Reus, likely spread there from Barcelona given the similarities in design that pieces from both areas share. See Frothingham, *Lustreware of Spain*, 253 and Luisa Vilaseca Borrás, *Los alfareros y la cerámica de reflejo metálico de Reus de 1550 a 1650*, 3 vols. (Reus: Asociación de Estudios Reusnses, 1964).

[76] Osma, *Apuntes*, vol. 2.

[77] José Ainaud y Lasarte, "Loza dorada y alfarería barcelonesa, siglos XV-XVI, *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte Barcelona* 1 (1941), 92; Ray, *Spanish Pottery*, 134.

Yet perhaps the most notable example of sixteenth-century patronage that indicates an admiration of and attempt to preserve the crafts of luster potters concerns the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V. Enamored of the former Nasrid capital of Granada, the Hapsburg ruler famously commissioned the architect, Pedro Machuca, to construct a Renaissance-style *palazzo* within the walls of the Alhambra. The palace of Charles V has been viewed as a forceful statement on the part of the Emperor to "reclaim" a former Muslim stronghold for Christian

---

[78] For a translation and a technical explanation of Reyner's luster formula, see Alan Caiger-Smith, *Lustre Pottery*, 212.

[79] Ainaud y Lasarte, "Loza dorada," 93.

[80] See Osma, *Apuntes*, vol. 2.

[81] This is certainly the case with the village of Muel, where recorded potters have Christian names, but according to eyewitness accounts and expulsion records, most were Moriscos. See Álvaro Zamora, *Cerámica aragonesa*, 1: 31.

Spain, combating the intricate Moorish stuccowork and organic construction of the Alhambra with the rational order of classical architectural forms.[82] Nevertheless, Charles V also felt a nostalgia for the artistry of Moorish Spain, and particularly for its lustered ceramics.

Along with building the Renaissance palace, Charles had repairs made to the Alhambra's many buildings, thus showing that he greatly admired the Moorish part of the complex and wished to preserve it.[83] To refurbish the Alhambra's floors, throughout the 1540s, several potters working in Seville were commissioned to make replicas of the original late fourteenth-century blue and luster tiles emblazoned with the coat-of-arms of the Nasrids (fig. 2.13).[84] A certain *maestre* Francisco was dispatched to Seville where he arranged for the production of 3,615 tiles, which were paid for between the years 1542 and 1544.[85] Evidently the repair work on the Alhambra's floors continued into the reign of Charles' son, Philip II, and in 1590, a potter by the name of Gaspar Hernández fashioned "*110 azulejos de la banda*," or tiles with the Nasrid insignia, for the former Muslim stronghold.[86] Examples of these replica tiles can be found in pottery collections throughout Europe and the United States, including the Victoria and Albert Museum and The Hispanic Society of America. Close examination of these sixteenth-century replicas alongside the original fourteenth-century tiles reveals that the later replacements were not manufactured using the traditional luster technique (fig. 2.14). The replicas were instead decorated with a honey-brown glaze in place of the reflective metallic luster, which would have required a third, reduction firing and thus more labor and costly materials. Yet in any case, the commission of these sixteenth-century replicas attests to a sort of maurophilia in the need to preserve the elegance of al-Andalus felt by the kings of Spain, who were, at times, simultaneously the staunchest enemies of Islam and the most fervent defenders of the Catholic faith in Europe.

---

[82] See, for example, John F. Moffitt, *The Arts in Spain* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1999), 87-88.

[83] See Antonio Urquízar Herrera, *Coleccionismo y nobleza, signos de distinción en la Andalucía del Renacimiento* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2007), 33. Urquízar discusses the concept of "*mudéjar de lujo*" in Andalucía, where Italian Renaissance and Moorish architectural elements could be juxtaposed or integrated with one another in order to produce luxurious and opulent settings. The author writes that while Italian Renaissance styles were becoming increasingly fashionable, the presence of Islamic decoration lended prestige to architectural schemes.

[84] Ray, *Spanish Pottery*, 367.

[85] Ibid.

[86] Ibid.

Beautiful, Hidden, and Memorable Things: Christian Responses to Lusterware and Lusterware Communities

From the fourteenth through the seventeenth century, Christian observers, makers, and consumers of lusterware responded to the pottery by writing about it and by including depictions of it in religious paintings. The golden ceramics are frequently referred to in texts as the most beautiful and precious wares in the land. And though one prominent writer described the area from which the pottery came and the populations that made it as cloaked in mystery, both written accounts and paintings consistently indicate that Christians felt that lusterware carried with it an exquisiteness and golden glowing aura worthy of earthly kings and heavenly beings alike.

The blue and golden glaze of lusterware and its rich decorative patterns denoted luxury for Christian consumers. Even though the majority of potters working in the region of Valencia and throughout the rest of the Kingdom of Aragon in the fifteenth century were of Muslim background, contemporary Christian artists featured their wares in religious paintings. Italian and Northern European painters depicted Hispano-Islamic lusterware in their works as an exotic, quasi-Eastern import, one that could illustrate a sacred event taking place in the Holy Land. This will be discussed in-depth in the following two chapters. In depictions of lusterware in the works of Iberian, particularly Aragonese painters, however, the blue and golden pottery is no import from a far-off land. Rather, it was emblematic of local luxury and beauty, and often employed to convey commonly held religious beliefs concerning the Virgin Mary, especially in paintings of the fifteenth century when lusterware made on the eastern coast of Spain was at its peak of production and renown. Like silks, brocades, rugs, and costly metal and glass vessels, artists deemed this intricately crafted ware worthy to share the same space with major figures of the Catholic faith.

A Catalan painting of the *Last Supper* from the first half of the fifteenth century shows Christ and the twelve Apostles seated at and serving themselves from a table set with blue and lustered ceramics, most of which are plates, bowls, and pitchers decorated with floral patterns and Latin inscriptions of the *Hail Mary*. Attributed to Jaume Ferrer the Elder,[87] the panel shows an Apostle drinking from one of the beautifully glazed vessels (fig. 2.15), and another follower of Christ dipping his hand into a bowl (fig. 2.16). The largest and most impressive example of the blue and lustered pottery is set at the center of the action in the painting (fig. 2.17). Over the large platter decorated with Gothic script, Christ raises his hand in a gesture of blessing with a sleeping John the Evangelist nestled underneath his arm. On the opposite side of the table is a kneeling female servant and the traitorous Judas.[88] Indeed, the piece of Hispano-Islamic pottery plays a very important role in this representation of the Last Supper, second only to the cup of Christ. As recorded in the Gospel according to Matthew 26: 23, Christ reveals that he will be betrayed by “the one who has dipped his hand into the dish with me.”

An *Annunciation* from the first half of the fifteenth century attributed to Jaume Ferrer the Younger, and now housed at the Cleveland Museum of Art, features the pottery as well (fig. 2.18). In this miraculous scene, the artist depicts a shelf of materials endowed with deeply religious meaning. Two books, one closed and one open, represent the Old and New Testaments, respectively. An apple symbolizes the fall of man, while a pomegranate, with its blood red seeds, foreshadows the crucifixion of Christ. Between the books and fruit is a blue and lustered cylindrical jar, or *albarello*, covered with linen, which serves as a reminder of the Virgin Mary's purity and inviolable body even after Christ's incarnation.

---

[87] The Frick Art Reference also notes that this artist was known as both the Master of Solsona and the Master of Albatàrrec. He was active in the Lérida region ca. 1400-1433.

[88] This was a common device used in depictions of the Last Supper and can be seen in examples by Giotto, Taddeo Gaddi, and Andrea del Castagno.

A prominent lusterware vase also serves as a parallel for the Virgin Mary herself in another *Annunciation* (fig. 2.19) attributed to the Master of Bonastre. In the painting, a serene Virgin clothed in brocaded fabrics willingly accepts her role as the mother of Christ as told to her by the Angel Gabriel. Between the two figures is placed a double-handled vase decorated with blue and gold *carrasca* leaves. From the mouth of this anthropomorphic vessel sprout the white lilies emblematic of Mary's purity and typically found in images of the Annunciation. In another painting of the same episode found on the main *retablo* of the Girona Cathedral and attributed to Ramon Solà, both a covered blue and luster *albarello* and a double-handled vase can be seen in the house of the Virgin. Next to the *albarello* on the shelf behind Mary, a plate with the crowned shield of Valencia also appears (fig 2.20).[89] Clearly, more than one Christian artist depicted the unique wares as a means of symbolizing both local pride and the many virtues of the Virgin Mary.

Around the same time, a painter known as the Master of the Porcíuncula depicted an example of lusterware in a Marian/Franciscan context (fig. 2.21). The Virgin is shown crowned and seated on a throne with the Christ child on her lap and a cloth of honor unfurled behind her. She, the child, and a multitude of angels appear to a reverently kneeling St. Francis. An angel serves Mary cherries from a blue and luster plate decorated with a crown motif (fig. 2.22). This pattern, where blue cobalt glaze predominates, was especially popular with royal patrons, as can be discerned from an example in the Instituto Valencia de don Juan in Madrid painted with the royal arms of France, another piece in the British Museum (formerly in the Godman Collection) emblazoned with the coat-of-arms of Louis, Duke of Savoy, and an example from the Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 2.23).[90] Returning now to the Master of the Porcíncula, luxury pottery from Islamic Spain was considered appropriate to the Virgin's royal status as Queen of Heaven.

---

[89] Frothingham, *Lustreware of Spain*, 133.

If lusterware pieces in fifteenth-century Aragonese paintings are shown to be used and owned by the Virgin Mary, Jesus Christ, and the Apostles, then it should be no surprise that, like painters, contemporary writers from the region describe the golden ceramics as having a similarly prestigious reputation. The Catalan Franciscan friar, Francesc Eiximenis, a prolific writer who taught at the University of Toulouse, and worked for the Kings of Aragon as well as for the town council, or the *jurats*, of Valencia,[91] mentions the luster pottery of Manises in the twelfth book of his 1383 encyclopedia, *Lo Crestià*.

Within the twelfth book, Eiximenis authored "*Lo regiment de la cosa pública*" (The Government of the Public Sector), a section of which includes an enumerated list with the heading of '*Les especials belleses de la ciutat de Valencia*' (The Special Attractions of the City of Valencia). Eiximenis first lists the clean air; second, the flat land; third, the access to the sea, and so on, moving from the large, natural, geographical advantages of the Valencia region to the specific foods, plants, minerals, and local industries. He writes that the twenty-seventh of such attractions is uncommonly beautiful pottery:

> …here are fashioned various objects that give great fame to the land because they are things that are very pleasing and beautiful that usually cannot be found in any other place,

---

[90] Van de Put, *Hispano-Moresque Ware of the Fifteenth Century*, 68-69.

[91] For more on the biography of Eiximenis, see Albert Hauf i Valls' Introduction in Francesc Eiximenis, *Regiment de la cosa pública en el dotzè del Crestià*, trans. Peres and Sánchez López, 21-25.

> as is commonly said about the works of pottery that are made in Paterna and Cárcer, which are jars, pitchers, pots, jugs, small bowls, crucibles, basins, tiles, and many other similar objects. But above all, the beauty of the works of Manises stands out, golden and magnificently painted. Everyone is in love with it, so much so that the Pope, the cardinals, and princes the world over seek it out for its special beauty and marvel that such excellent and noble work can be created from mere earth.[92]

Eiximenis, like many other writers who set their eyes upon the golden pottery, expresses his wonderment of the art. In fact, he holds the beauty of the lusterware of Manises in higher esteem than the pottery of Paterna; however, the Franciscan friar does not allude to the inhabitants of Manises who are responsible for the art, at least not in this part of his recounting of the special attractions of the Valencia region. Nevertheless, Francesc Eiximenis, who lived in Valencia from 1383 until 1408, observed the different religious communities living in the area and wrote about them extensively. His writings reveal much about contemporary Christian attitudes towards Jewish and Muslim minorities in the Kingdom of Aragon.[93] The friar's words at times reflect unfavorable views toward Islam held by the clergy, the Valencia *jurats*, and upper-class Christian communities.[94] On the other hand, Eiximenis is not at all reticent when it comes to praising the aspects of Muslim culture that he finds admirable. And we can assume that when the Franciscan lauds the Muslim judicial system; their respect for Mary; their regard for Christ as a prophet; their manner of dress; and the eating habits of Muslims in and around

---

[92] Francesc Eiximenis, *Regiment de la cosa pública*, 309. "La vint e setena, es que açis fan coses artificials, les quals donen gran fama a la terra, car son coses fort polides e belles, e qui noos troben comunament en altre loch, axi com dit es comunament la obra comuna de terra, ques fa a Paterna e a Carçre, axi com jarres, cantes, olles, teraços, scudelles, cresols, librells, rajoles, teules, e semblants coses moltes. Mas sobre tot es la bellessa de la obra de Manizes, daurada e maestriuolment pintada, que ja tot lo mon ha enamorat, entant que lo Papa e los cardenals e los princeps del mon per special gracia la requeren e stan marauellats que de terra se puxa fer obra axi excellent e noble."

[93] David J. Viera, "The Treatment of the Jew and the Moor in the Catalan Works of Francesc Eiximenis," *Revista canadiense de estudios hispánicos* 9 (Winter, 1985): 203.

[94] Ibid.

Valencia, he is speaking for the greater Christian community and putting forth widely held opinions.[95]

Such maurophilic tendencies, nevertheless, are tempered by some negative overtones in the writings of Eiximenis. In particular, the town of Manises for him is a subject that evokes his admiration, curiosity, and ire. Preceding his reference to the pottery made in Manises, the friar records for the *jurats* of Valencia the fourteenth special attraction of their land:

> …it abounds in precious medicinal herbs, especially in the mountains, where many such things grow that, if their virtues were known, it would be a great benefit to the world. [These herbs] moreover are very prized [locally] such as rosemary, which is found in great abundance, hyssop, eupharsia, marjoram, sage, parsley, mint, basil…Furthermore, my lords, know that you have here in various parts of the kingdom great and remarkable hiding places (*amagatalls*) that have been kept secret since the Moors were expelled,[96] and in them there are very precious hidden things, but because of the malevolence of these remaining Moors these things have been lost to us. With your good interest, you could easily have knowledge of all these things. Of these hiding places, I am to understand that there is a very remarkable one near the Fuente de Benifaio, and another very notable one outside of Manises; and inside the city [of Manises] itself there are many about which you could learn from old Moors, and if you were to pressure or torment them a little so that they would tell the truth, then the said Moors might reveal their secrets.[97]

Eiximenis characterizes Manises as an enclave of old Muslims brimming with secrets and science. Although the production of luster pottery is not mentioned at this particular point, here the scholarly friar provides his Christian readers with the context in which "golden and magnificently painted" ceramics are made. In short, he sees Manises as a mysterious town populated by "others" who possess secret, specialized, and coveted knowledge.

---

[95] Ibid., 208, n. 31.

[96] Eiximenis is here referring to the 1238 conquest of Valencia by James I of Aragon.

[97] Eiximenis, *Regiment de la cosa pública,* 303. " La quatorzena, habunda en precioses herbes, specialment en les mutanyes, hon sen fan de tals, que, si eren conegudes en lur virtut, seria gran excelencia de la terra, les quals no res menys son fort precioses; axi com es romani, qui molt hic habunda, ysop, Eufrasia, moradiux, saluia, juliert, menta, alfabega…Ultra aço, senyors meus, sapiats que hauets, en diuerses parts del regne, de grans e de notables amagatalls, que hic son despuys que los moros ne foren gitats ença, en los qualsha coses fort precioses amagades, jatsia que, ab maleficis dels dits moros, les dites coses hajen perdudes les lurs propries colors; de les quals coses, ab vostra bona industria, poriets venir en conexença leugerament. De aquests amagatalls he entes que na hu fory notable apres la Font de Benifallo, e altre fort asenyalat en lo terme de Manizes, e dins la ciutat meteixa ni ha molts dels dits amagatalls, segons que poriets saber an los moros mateixs antichs se aci de la terra, sils strenyets de noues, o per altra forma de turment, a dir veritat, e quels dits moros antichs reuelassen lurs registres secrets."

Over a century later, the master potter of Seville mentioned above, Fernán Martínez Guijarro, seems to have felt that the knowledge of certain Muslim artistic techniques had to be carefully protected, so as to maintain the mystique of Hispano-Islamic pottery production. In a contract drawn up on October 21, 1506, Martínez Guijarro and another Sevillian artist, Alfons de Villareal, entered into a professional partnership.[98] Martínez Guijarro owned a sizeable pottery shop in the Triana district of Seville, where he was making a variety of ceramics, which required specialized knowledge. Alfons de Villareal, who is described in the document as a maker of "enamels…acids, crucibles, and other metal things," was to set up shop in the facilities of Martínez Guijarro where the two of them would, "without concealing anything, show each other and their heirs *the secrets that we know* without any reservations."[99] The two men were not only to share trade secrets with one another and their relatives, they were also, according to the terms of the contract, to share the costs of and profits from the items made in the facilities. The contract goes on to stipulate the following: "And because I, Alfons de Villareal, am obligated to show and declare all of my secrets that I know to you, the said Fernán Martínez Guijarro, or to your heirs, you are thus obligated to pay me 10,000 *maravedis*."[100] Furthermore, if either of the men violated the terms of the contract, the party at fault would be obligated to pay the other 50,000 *marevedis*.

---

[98] Gestoso y Pérez, *Historia de los barros vidriados,* 161-163. Gestoso includes the entire transcribed document.

[99] Ibid., 161-162. "…esmaltes…aguas fuertes e crisoles e las otras cosas de metales…" "el uno al otro e al otro al otro mostremos a los dichos herederos los secretos que sabemos syn nos encobrir cosa alguna…"

[100] Ibid., 162. "Et porque sea obligado yo el dicho alfonso de villa Real de declarer e mostrar todo el secreto que see a vos el dicho fernand martines o a vuestros herederos vos el dicho fernand martines seays obligado a me pagar diez mill maravedis…"

Obviously, both men stood to gain in this partnership if their respective "secrets" were revealed to each other and to no one else but their heirs. Villareal received 10,000 *maravedis* for his intellectual property, a workshop, and a share of the profits earned.[101] In all likelihood, Villareal was recruited to join the Martínez operation because he was well versed in the valuable and specialized skills needed for making luster glazes. He is described as having worked with enamels, acids, and metals. There is no documentary evidence before 1508 that confirms the making of golden pottery on Martínez's premises. Thus, it is safe to say that in 1506 Martínez either paid a large sum up front to learn from Villareal how to manufacture lusterware, or he already may have known the process and needed to attract and hire a skilled technician with practical experience. In either case, what Martínez gained was the ability to produce the most prized and financially profitable of all pottery. Moreover, it is clear that master potters like Martínez routinely used legal restraints involving huge fines in order to keep luster technique a secret.[102]

Written evidence that the golden ceramics were thought to be the product of a secretive art continues well into the sixteenth century. For instance, the humanist scholar, Lucio Marineo Sículo, noted the beauty and preciousness of luster pottery above all other Spanish production. Marineo was born in Sicily but lived most of his life in Castile, serving as professor at the University of Salamanca and as court chronicler to Ferdinand the Catholic. As chronicler, he authored a history of the Catholic Monarchs and compiled an encyclopedic account of the natural, political, and religious history of Spain and Portugal, paying special attention to the

---

[101] This equals approximately 26 ducats. In early sixteenth-century Spain 10,000 *maravedis* would have been an entire year's pay for a skilled worker. My thanks to Dr. Marcus B. Burke for contextualizing this sum.

[102] Ibid., 290.

Iberian Peninsula's kings, saints, resources, and products.[103] Published in 1539, *De las cosas memorables de España*, is lacking the cultural analysis and value judgments of Muslim communities, such as those made by Francesc Eiximenis in 1383. Marineo, having resided in central Spain as opposed to the eastern coast, had considerably less exposure to *Morisco* communities. Moreover, much of his information is borrowed from Pliny, Strabo, and other writers of antiquity.

His reference to ceramics manufacture is found in the first book of the *Cosas memorables* among descriptions of various trees, fruits, and wines from Spain. He writes:

> Also made in Spain are dishes and earthenwares of various shapes and sizes and glassware. Although in many parts of Spain [the pottery] is excellent, the most prized is that of Valencia, which is very finely made and gilded. Also in Murcia they make the same art well. In Murviedro as well as Toledo much pottery is made and fashioned [that is] very strong, white, with some green, and a great deal of yellow [glaze] so that it seems gilded.[104]

Marineo goes on to discuss the different pottery and glass-making centers around Spain including Talavera de la Reina and Barcelona. Yet, it is important to note that the lusterware made in Valencia is mentioned first by the author, and he stipulates that it actually carries the golden glaze as opposed to the yellow glaze of Toledo ceramics, which only give the appearance of a metallic luster. But above all, Marineo's reference indicates that inhabitants of Castile still held the golden pottery that hailed from the region of Valencia in high esteem in the first third of the sixteenth century.

---

[103] Oddly, Lucio Marineo Sículo did not address the discovery of the New World. For more on the cultural ambit of the humanist and historian see Caro Lynn, *A College Professor of the Renaissance: Lucio Marineo Sículo among the Spanish Humanists* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937).

[104] Lucio Marineo Sículo, *Obra de las cosas memorables de España* (Alcala de Henares: Juan de Broncar, 1539), f.5 verso. "Hazen se tambien en España vasijas y obras de barro de muchas maneras y cosas de vidrio. Y auque en muchos lugares de España son excelentes, las mas preciadas son las de Valencia que estan muy labradas y doradas. Y tambien en Murcia se hazen buenas desta misma arte y en Monviedro y en Toledo se haze y labra mucho y muy rezio blanco y alguno verde y mucho amarillo que parece dorado."

By the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, though the craftsmanship was not of the same quality as that of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century pieces and certainly not as frequently exported, Valencian lusterware was still deemed prestigious enough to serve as a diplomatic gift for visiting dignitaries. Philip II arrived in Valencia in the winter of 1586, staying in the city and enjoying its many pleasures from January 19th until February 27th.[105] Festivities held in his honor continued throughout the duration of his visit, and the luxurious and quasi-Moorish character of the city was used to advantage by the town council to impress the monarch. Celebrations on the 8th of February included a valiant display of Moorish horsemanship in a *juego de cañas*.[106] Later that day the *jurats* of the city hosted a splendid banquet for Philip. "It consisted of more than one hundred large plates made in Manises in which there were regal cakes, peels and snacks of citron and lemon, other confections of orange and lemon…various marmalades…and other gilded and silvered pastries, all adorned with fifty dozen little flags in different colors."[107]

A similar array of Manises lusterware filled with dazzling treats greeted Philip IV on the 22nd of April, 1632. In this case, the golden Valencian pottery was certainly a diplomatic gift that the King of Spain admired and took with him upon leaving the city. While examining the Casa de Diputación in Valencia, and after observing a procession in honor of St. Vincent Ferrer from a balcony, the *jurats* paid the following compliment to the king. "They honored the King by giving him fifty large Manises dishes, meticulously decorated in gold, and filled with delectable sweets, which were appreciated so much that [Philip IV] ordered the plates be brought to the royal palace, and then from there to Madrid."[108]

---

[105] Henry Kamen, *Philip of Spain* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), 260-61.

[106] Salvador Carreres Zacarés, *Ensayo de una bibliografia de libros de fiestas celebradas en Valencia y su antiguo reino de Valencia* (Valencia: Hijo de F. Vives Mora, 1925), 165.

[107] Ibid., 165-66. "Consistía ésta en más de cien platos grandes de Manises, en lo que había tortas reales, cascas, bocados de poncil y de limón, orellanes de naranja y limón…diversas mermeladas…y otras pastas doradas y plateadas, todo adornado con cincuenta docenas de banderitas de diferentes colores."

The popularity of lusterware proved to be far more sustainable in Spain than in any other European export market. Although a few notable commissions and ornate pieces can be found in sixteenth in seventeenth century Italy,[109] as early as the sixteenth century, export of Hispano-Islamic lusterware had declined, in part because of the rise of various pottery centers in Tuscany, Umbria, and Liguria. In Northern Europe, which will be discussed in the next chapter, the importing of Hispano-Islamic lusterware also tapered off in the sixteenth century. As we have seen in the Iberian Peninsula, however, a deeper appreciation of the golden pottery rooted in the Islamic past of the land persisted in Valencia, and even flourished in various centers in Cataluña and Aragon. In Barcelona and Seville, confraternities and guilds protected the potters skilled in this craft from the sixteenth century on.[110] In Manises, shortly before the 1609 expulsion of the *Moriscos* from Valencia, the Lord of Manises, don Felipe Buyl de la Scala, acting as jurisdictional lord of Manises attempted to protect the industry from the economic chaos that a mass expulsion would cause.[111] Along with the Lord of Canet, don Felipe Buyl pleaded with the Court of Philip III to not carry out the order. It was a fruitless endeavor. On the 22nd of

---

[108] Francisco Javier Borrull y Vilanova, *Descripción del magnífico edificio de la antigua diputación de este reino, y ahora de la real audiencia* (Valencia, 1834), 26-27. "Y reconocida la Diputacion, le hizo el obsequio de regalarle cincuenta platos grandes de Manises primorosamente dorados y llenos de delicados dulces, de que hizo tanto aprecio, que mandó llevarlos al Palacio Real, y de allí los envió á Madrid."

[109] Sixteenth-century luster pieces with the coat of arms of the Medici Pope, Leo X (r. 1513-1521), are housed in the Bologna and British Museums. Two covered jars in The Hispanic Society of America made in Reus are emblazoned with the coat of arms of Pope Paul V and date from 1605 to 1621. See Ray, *Spanish Pottery*, 113, and Frothingham, *Lustreware of Spain*, 260-262.

[110] Ainaud, "Loza dorada barcelonesa," 90.

[111] Bauzá, *Páginas de la historia de Manises*, 227.

September 1609, the decree of expulsion came down from don Luis Carillo de Toledo, the Viceroy of Valencia, and Felipe Buyl had no choice but to comply and enforce it.[112]

The expulsion no doubt affected the ceramics industry in the Valencia region. While there are no records indicating exactly how many potters were expelled, thirty-five percent of the population of the Valencia area at the beginning of the seventeenth century was of Muslim background.[113] Unlike Muel, which was a predominantly *Morisco* pottery village, there were certainly enough Christian potters remaining in Manises to continue making lustered ceramics given that many seventeenth-century examples survive, and that quality items were fashioned for Philip IV, the Dominican Order, and other important consumers.

While the preservation of the luster industry always carried with it economic incentives, the sustained consumption of the golden pottery, from the height of its popularity in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to the appreciation felt for it well into the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was also profoundly connected to the cultural phenomenon of maurophilia. The lavish arts and unique knowledge that hailed from Muslim society in the late medieval and early modern eras attracted the attention of a very diverse Christian audience that overwhelmingly expressed praise. Hispano-Islamic lusterware ignited the enthusiasm of chroniclers, provincial lords, painters, playwrights, poets, merchants, their clientele, and even the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V. It is indeed a paradox that the art of lusterware enjoyed a long and distinguished reputation in a land where the Muslim society from which it originated and much of the workforce that fashioned it was subjected to political conquest, forced conversion, and outright expulsion from the fourteenth through the seventeenth centuries. Yet, the unique, native crosscurrents of romanticizing Iberian Islamic culture and lamenting a vanishing civilization helped to exoticize Hispano-Islamic artistic production, including lusterware, and energized its consumption for centuries.

---

[112] Ibid., 212-13.
[113] Ray, *Spanish Pottery*, 242.

CHAPTER THREE

Northern European Consumption and Reception of Hispano-Islamic Lusterware

Overview of Trade and Distribution

The majestic carrack painted in golden luster on the Victoria and Albert Museum's bowl discussed in chapter one testifies to the importance of maritime commerce in the late fourteenth century (fig. 1.36). Like so many staple goods and luxury items, Hispano-Islamic lusterware enjoyed an international market in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The major maritime powers responsible for bringing the pottery to English, Netherlandish, and German ports or outposts in the late Middle Ages were the Venetians, Ligurians, Aragonese, and a successful German merchant fleet known as the Hanseatic League (fig. 3.1). As early as 1289, a Spanish ship brought a number of pots, most of them Andalusian lusterware to Southampton for Eleanor of Castile, wife of Edward I of England.[1] By the first years of the next century, not only royal patrons purchased the ware in England. Duties paid on "*discorum et picherorum de Malyk*," that is, dishes and jugs of Málaga lusterware, figure into the records of the port of Sandwich in 1303, suggesting that a wider variety of consumers desired the pottery as well.[2] The Castilian trade in lusterware and other Andalusian and Valencian luxury ceramics, however, declined during the fourteenth century, and by the fifteenth century the Castilians took very little part in the trade.[3] At that point, ceramic shipments from the Mediterranean to the North were largely in the hands of Genoese and Venetian merchants who could collect the wares in Málaga, Mallorca, or Valencia.[4]

---

[1] See Jean Le Patourel, "Documentary Evidence for the Pottery Trade in North-West Europe," in *Ceramics and Trade: The Production and Distribution of Later Medieval Pottery in North-West Europe*, ed. Peter Davey and Richard Hodges (Sheffield, UK: University of Sheffield, 1983), 27; Wendy R. Childs, *Anglo-Castilian Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1978), 141.

[2] Anthony Ray, *Spanish Pottery*, 7.

[3] Childs, *Anglo-Castilian Trade*, 141.

For English consumers, Iberian wares could be collected in Southampton and London, where Genoese and Venetian ships docked several times a year. Another important northern center for import and further distribution of the golden pottery was Flemish Sluis, the port of Bruges located on the Zwin River (fig. 3.2). Regulations for the navigation and levy of tolls on the Zwin indicate that lusterware frequently made its way to Sluis by the mid-fourteenth century.[5] Later documentary evidence from the fifteenth century shows that lusterware from Valencia was so sought after that it was to be imported into the Bruges port without duty.[6] Large caches of lusterware shards have been found at that port and at nearby sites in Middleburg and Zeeland.[7] From these Netherlandish ports, Hanseatic merchants transported luster further afield. Because of the far reaches of the Hanseatic League, shards of luster pottery have been found on both sides of the North Sea and the Baltic, not surprisingly in towns that functioned as *kontors*, or foreign trading offices for the German merchant fleet, such as Bergen and Lübeck.[8] In the last forty years, a plethora of archaeological reports on imported Iberian ceramics have been published providing insight into the widespread consumption of lusterware in Northern Europe.

---

[4] A.A. Ruddock, *Italian Merchants and Shipping in Southampton, 1270-1600* (Southampton: University College, 1951), 76; Wendy R. Childs, “Imports of Spanish Pottery to England in the Later Middle Ages,” *Medieval Ceramics* 17 (1993): 35-38, 35.

[5] J.H. Van Dale, “Verhandelingen. Reglement voor de scheepvaart en de heffing der tollen op het Zwin,” *Bijdragen tot de oudheidkunde en geschiedenis inzonderheid van Zeeuwsch-Vlaanderen* 5-6 (1860-1863): 1-135, 9.

[6] A. Viaene, “Valenschwerc: Hispano-moreske faience op de galeien in Sluis (1441) en in musea van Damme en Brugge,” *Biekorf* LXXI (1970): 46.

[7] John G.Hurst, “Spanish Pottery Imported in Medieval Britain,” *Medieval Archaeology* 21 (1977): 72. These findings are held in the J.E. Van Beuningen Collection in Rotterdam, Netherlands.

[8] John G. Hurst and David S. Neal, *Pottery Produced and Traded in Northwest Europe, 1350-1650* (Rotterdam: Stichting ‘Het Nederlandse Gebruiksvoorwerp,1986), 42; A.E. Herteig, “The Excavation of Bryggen, the Old Hanseatic Wharf in Bergen,” *Medieval Archaeology* 3 (1959): 177-186; John G. Hurst, “Medieval and Post-Medieval Imports of Pottery at Lübeck,” *Lübecker Schriften zur Archäologie und Kulturgeschicte* I (1978):113-117.

Lusterware finds from Sluis, Oud Krabbendijke, and Reimerswaal in Flanders, from Hampshire, Southampton, and Staffordshire in England, as well as from Elblag in present-day Poland indicate an established maritime trade network for the golden pottery, one in which an international coalition of merchant fleets took part.[9]

Most of the finds referenced above consist of pieces made in the late fourteenth to fifteenth century, at a time when Valencian manufacture experienced a peak in export and the pottery itself boasted its finest shapes and most delicate decorations. Less sophisticated sixteenth- and seventeenth-century examples of Hispano-Islamic luster from Valencia and centers in Catalonia and Aragon trickled into various northern sites as well, including Sluis, Delft, Graft, Amsterdam, London, Southampton, and Plymouth to name only a few points of destination.[10]

While archaeologists have unearthed shards and intact examples of lustered ceramics from the Iberian Peninsula at numerous sites throughout northwest Europe, documentary evidence indicates that the materials yielded from excavations may account for a mere fraction of the pottery imported into this area in the late Middle Ages.[11] John P. Allan, an archaeologist working in the city of Exeter, has combined findings in the field with archival sources. While the remains of only four Andalusian vessels had been uncovered in Exeter by 1999, port books and customs accounts indicate that as many as 5000 pieces of the pottery may have been imported throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[12] Allan's study proves that consumption of Iberian wares was far more widespread than any hard, archaeological evidence could ever substantiate. What may appear to be isolated findings of lusterware throughout Northern Europe in the later Middle Ages, in fact, may be a small sample of a pronounced luxury trade.

---

[9] See, for example, Gaimster and Reknap eds., *Everyday and Exotic Pottery from Europe*; Gerrard, Gutiérrez, and Vince eds., *Spanish Medieval Ceramics in Spain and the British Isles*; Grazya, Nawrolska,"Discoveries of Spanish Ceramics in Medieval Elblag," in Barbara Scholkmann, ed. *Center Region and Periphery: Medieval Europe* (Hertigen: Folio-Vertag 2002.)

[10] Hurst and Neal, *Pottery Produced and Traded in Northwest Europe, 1350-1650*, 49-53.

[11] John G. Hurst, "Imported Ceramics Studies in Britain," *Medieval Ceramics* 24 (2000): 23-30, 27.

Precise statistics for northern importation of Iberian ceramics, let alone for lusterware in particular, are impossible to obtain, however, given the relative shortcomings associated with both archaeological and archival investigations. Both sources must be read with great caution. Archaeological findings are difficult to quantify because only select areas can be excavated at any given time. Similarly, documentary evidence such as custom books is often incomplete or unreliable. Smuggling could occur, and the entry of some goods could remain undocumented, or the words used in shipping records can be misleading as to the provenance of the pottery in question.[13] For instance, Venetian galleys docking in London in 1442 and 1445 unloaded, among other items, forty "*olle damask*," or Damascus jars.[14] Were these ceramics actually from Syria? Or were they Iberian and simply decorated with standard Islamic imagery? Fifteenth-century documents also mention lusterware quite frequently, calling the wares "*terre de Malyk*."[15] As discussed in chapter two, this "pottery of Málaga," was in all likelihood made in Valencia at that time and the terminology in the custom books may be the result of a genuine mistake in provenance, or it may be a stylistic term that should not be read literally as the geographic source for the ceramics. Furthermore, "*terre de Malyk*" also could have served as an exoticizing label for the wares, designating them as a craft from al-Andalus, as opposed to a product made in a long-since reconquered Christian state.

---

[12] John P. Allan, *Medieval and Post-Medieval Finds from Exeter, 1971-1980* (Exeter: Exeter Archaeological Reports 3, 1983).

[13] Wendy R. Childs, "Documentary Evidence for the Import of Spanish Pottery to England in the Later Middle Ages," in *Spanish Medieval Ceramics in Spain and the British Isles*, eds. Gerrard, Gutiérrez, and Vince, 25.

[14] Childs, "Imports of Spanish Pottery to England in the Later Middle Ages," 36.

[15] Childs, "Documentary Evidence for Import," 27.

While exact figures for the entry of Hispano-Islamic lusterware into northern ports and reliable information regarding its origin cannot be gleaned from contemporary records, I believe the cultural significance of the pottery in a Northern European context can be illustrated by combining careful, critical readings of archaeological and archival sources with contemporary currents in literary and visual culture. Such an examination of Hispano-Islamic lusterware is indeed lacking. As mentioned in my introduction, the cultural and social significance of such a trade has heretofore not been the object of extended study, particularly in the realm of Northern European markets, as Duncan Brown and other archaeologists working in the area have observed.

Therefore, the place that this luxury import occupied within the late medieval/early modern Northern European imagination will be evaluated here. The exoticized view of Hispano-Islamic lusterware will differ in many respects from that discussed in the preceding chapter. The nostalgia for a vanishing, neighboring civilization is, of course, not relevant here. With physical distance from the cultural group that made the golden pottery, in many instances, comes a less nuanced understanding of exactly from where and from whom imported lusterware originated. Even in cases where German and Flemish travelers observe the circumstances of production first-hand, it is apparent from their writings that the makers were still exoticized and/or their wares shrouded in mystery.

Lusterware as Luxury Domestic Good, Collector's Item, and Eastern Curio

During his 1494 journey through Spain, the German scholar Hieronymus Münzer enthusiastically described the luxury products of the realm of Valencia. Along with his description of lavish silks, sweet oranges, and rich honey that hailed from the region, Münzer wrote the following:

> Most noteworthy is the kind of clay found here and nowhere else with which they make pots…jars, bowls, plates, jugs, and other vessels, all shaped and painted in a singular way because they create the effect of having been painted with silver and gold. Because so many potters work in this industry, entire ships laden with these products sail regularly to Venice, Florence, Seville, Portugal, Avignon, and Lyon.[16]

While earlier in his account Münzer writes of *conversos* and other inhabitants of fifteenth-century Valencia who were clearly not of an old and venerable Christian bloodline, his eyewitness account does not mention the ethnic background or religious persuasion of the makers of lusterware. On the surface, his description of the Valencian luster business seems to be confined to the industry itself and its international success. Immediately after listing the many destinations for the pottery, he emphatically proclaims "*Mirabilis in terris Dominus*!"[17] Münzer's Latin quote could be interpreted in a variety of ways. Taken as "The Lord works wonders on Earth!" the German scholar may simply refer to the sheer impressiveness of maritime trade in his own time. Upon further examination, however, Münzer seems to endow the golden Valencian ceramics with a mystical aura. Perhaps the exclamation refers to the miraculous, even alchemical process that gives these wares their golden effect. Or, "*Mirabilis in*

---

[16] Hieronymus Münzer, "Relación del viaje," in *Viajes de extranjeros*, ed. García Mercadal, 341. "Y sobre todo, una clase de terra arcillosa que no se halla en ningún otro sitio, con la que fabrican ollas de tal tamaño, que parecen tinajas…escudillas, platos, jarros y demás vasijas, trabajadas y pintadas de modo singular porque hacen el efecto de estar decoradas con oro y plata; naves enteras se envían cargadas de este producto con destino a Venecia, Florencia, Sevilla, Portugal, Aviñon, Lyon, etc., por lo cual los alfareros dedicados a esta labor son numerosísimos."

[17] Ibid.

terris Dominus" is a clever play on words that could be interpreted as "The Lord works wonders in earth!" and that the *terris* to which Münzer refers is the blessed, almost magical Valencian earth itself used by the potters to make their vessels.

This "singular" golden pottery from the Iberian Peninsula had a much older and far-reaching reputation than Münzer knew. The 1289 shipment of lusterware to England mentioned above is the earliest indication of the golden pottery's designation as exotic curio in Northern Europe. In November of that year, Eleanor of Castile, Queen of England, dispatched her clerk, Gundisalvus Martini to Southampton where he met "a certain great ship which came from Spain."[18] Martini purchased the following items: figs from Seville, raisins, dates, pomegranates, oranges, four jars of olive oil, 42 dishes (*scutelli*), ten saucers (*salsarii*), and four pottery jars, all of a strange painted color (*olle terrene extraei coloris*).[19] Some of this pottery may have been green and brown wares from Paterna, but certainly the "strange color" of some of the earthenware refers to the dynamic iridescence of luster glaze, which can exhibit purple, yellow, or coppery tones.

The materials and foodstuffs acquired by Martini could be understood simply as items the Castilian queen sought from her homeland; however, the pottery was probably desired for its exotic cachet as well. This lusterware reference comes from documented miscellaneous expenses in the rolls of the Chancery,[20] but other sources, such as the *Liber garderobe* show us a queen who collected various luxury items from throughout Europe and the Mediterranean world.[21]

---

[18] John Carmi Parsons, *The Court and Household of Eleanor of Castile in 1290: An Edition of British Library, Additional Manuscript 35294 with Introduction and Notes* (Toronto: Toronto Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1977), 11, n 35; Childs, "Imports of Spanish Pottery to England in the Later Middle Ages," 35.

[19] Ibid.

[20] The original document is held in the Public Records Office, London, C47/4/5.

Among her belongings were vases of Venetian glass, ornate textiles from Cologne, enamel caskets from Limoges, twenty-four cloths from Tripoli, and three basins of "Damascene work."[22] The last items are of particular interest given their provenance, and seem to fall under the rubric of what Jaroslav Folda has termed "Crusader art."[23] Thirteenth-century metal vessels from Syria were items that found their way to Western Europe via Mediterranean trade, and some examples, notably pieces in the Freer-Sackler Gallery in Washington D.C. that feature Islamic design elements mixed with Christian imagery, may have even been made for and transported by crusaders returning home from the East.[24] Moreover, the many fabrics that Eleanor of Castile owned from Tripoli, a major silk-weaving center where according to the account of Taqi ad-Din al-Maqrizi there were over 4000 looms at the time of the 1289 Mamluk invasion, were in all likelihood made when the bustling port was a Crusader state and stronghold of the Hospitallers.[25] Eleanor herself traveled extensively and even accompanied her husband on a crusade to Acre in Palestine from 1270 to 1272.[26] This sojourn as well as her upbringing in the Iberian Peninsula, where her father Ferdinand III famously reconquered Seville for the Christians, certainly gave her first-hand knowledge of Islam and likely made her a supporter of the Crusades. Materials such as textiles from Tripoli and Syrian metalwork, together with

---

[21] British Library, Additional Manuscript 35294, reproduced in Parsons, *The Court and Household of Eleanor of Castile.*

[22] Parsons, 85.

[23] See Jaroslav Folda, *Crusader Art: The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1099-1291* (Aldershot: Lund Humphries, 2008).

[24] Eva R. Hoffman, "Christian-Islamic Encounters on Thirteenth-Century Ayyubid Metalwork: Local Culture, Authenticity, and Memory," *Gesta* 43 (2004): 129-142.

[25] Francesco Gabrieli, *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, trans. E.J. Costello (Berkley: University of California Press, 1984), 343.

[26] Parsons, 10.

Hispano-Islamic ceramics from Málaga, comprised an exotic collection of arts connected to Islam and the Crusades. Their acquisition indicates an appreciation of the arts of Islam, and perhaps, in a sense, even a desire to dominate the culture itself. Within the Iberian Peninsula, the arts of the Kingdom of Granada were widely considered to be the pinnacle of opulence as discussed in the first and second chapters of this study. Eleanor of Castile may have felt that, as royalty, she was worthy of owning the type of pottery used by the Nasrid elite. At the very least, the luster pottery with its "strange painted color" that Eleanor of Castile's clerk acquired for her figured into an ever-growing collection of luxurious art objects that exhibited the queen's worldliness and acquaintance with diverse cultures.

Consumption of Hispano-Islamic lusterware by the royalty and nobility of Northern Europe continued throughout the fourteenth century[27] and peaked during the fifteenth century. By the first quarter of the century Dutch nobles were purchasing many pieces of the pottery as can be gleaned from the shards discovered in the ruins of Dordrecht Castle. Vessels with the disc flower /*Ave Maria* pattern, a popular design used for whole services of tableware, were unearthed at the site (fig. 3.3).[28] This finding indicates the bulk in which relatively simple patterns were exported to the Low Countries, but does this indicate that by the fifteenth century the golden pottery had become a common item, a standard type of ware found in any fashionable home? Or was lusterware still regarded as a curio even after over a century of being an established export to the North?

---

[27] See the subsequent discussion on Jean Duke of Berry's special commission of a luster tile pavement for the Palace of Justice in Poitiers during the 1380's.

[28] Dordrecht Castle was destroyed in 1410; therefore, these pottery fragments had to have been imported before that year. See Ray, *Spanish Pottery*, 69; On the popularity of the disc flower/*Ave Maria* pattern and its use for services and table settings, see Frothingham, *Lustreware of Spain*, 119-20 and López Elum, *La producción cerámica de lujo*, 67-68.

A contemporary document reveals that lusterware from the Iberian Peninsula, while heavily imported to the point of being exempt from duty, still fell under the category of exotica. In 1441, Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy from 1419 to 1467, issued an ordinance listing the goods that enjoyed tax-exempt status upon entering Sluis. This included, "oranges, pomegranates, olives, citrons, and the like; rose water, water from Damascus and other scented waters and perfumes…monkeys (large and small), bears, lions, falcons, parrots, and sorts of birds and strange wild animals…mats, mirrors, so-called *valenschwerc*, sponges, glasses, and any other novelties that the galleys and carracks bring."[29] Philip the Good must have had his own pocketbook in mind with these tax exemptions given that the Duke amassed a famous menagerie of wild animals; however, for our purposes it is the term *valenschwerc* that concerns us. In the context of the other exotic items mentioned in the ordinance, the word likely refers to Valencian lusterware, more so than any other type of ceramic produced in the region. Above all, however, the ordinance proves that although some Northern merchants, tax collectors, and even consumers knew Valencia to be the place of origin by the mid-fifteenth century (as opposed to believing the wares to be from Málaga or some far-off port in the Levant), the ceramics still figure among Mediterranean citrus fruit, strange animals, and products from the East. Hispano-Islamic lusterware is here clearly designated as a "novelty," an unusual item brought by merchant vessels from distant lands.

Philip the Good himself owned lusterware from the Iberian Peninsula with Islamic decorative elements. Nevertheless, like Eleanor of Castile before him, he thought of himself as a devout crusader morally opposed to the spread of Islam. In 1454, having been spurred on by the sack of Constantinople a year earlier, and by his own father's failure at the disastrous Crusade of Nicopolis in 1396, the Duke vowed to quash Muslim infidels in the East.[30] Yet in spite of his censure of Islam, Philip's lavish court culture, patronage of the arts, and collecting practices reveal a man who was fascinated with luxury exports from distant lands, many of which were inhabited by Muslims. A large *brasero*, or basin, now in the Fundación Lázaro Galdiano in Madrid, bears the coat-of-arms of the Duke (fig. 3.4). The arms are emblazoned upon a background of complex interlaced motifs including trees of life, the common Islamic symbol referring to Paradise, and the Kufic inscription of *alafia*, or health. This example embodies an overt contrast of Eastern motifs with Western European heraldry. Yet this particular superimposition of Philip's coat-of-arms upon such imagery may be an attempt at appropriation of Islamic visual language and, moreover, a statement of domination over Muslim culture.

---

[29] A. Viaene, "Valenschwerc," 46. "Oranjen, granaatappelen, olijven, citroenen, limoenen en dergelijke; rozewater, water van Damascus en adere reukwateren en parfums…apen (grote en kleine), beren, leeuwen, valken, papegaaien en alle soorten van vogels en vreemde wilde dieren …matten, speghelaers, hurdin valensch werc, spongen, glasen ende ghelicke nieuwicheden die de galeyen ende craken bringhen." A French version of the document can also be found in Gilliodts van Severen, *Inventaire des archives de la ville de Bruges publié sous les auspices de l'administration communale*, vol. 2 (Bruges: E. Gailliard, 1871), 245.

Looking at other pieces that the Duke owned will reveal that Philip the Good (and likely many other Northern patrons) regarded the golden pottery as a true collector's item. Consumers sought to acquire and display various patterns, some more Gothic than Islamic. Philip the Good's coat-of-arms can be found on another striking piece of lusterware now housed in the Wallace Collection in London (fig. 3.5). The rim of the dish is decorated with the popular disc flower pattern, a design Alice Wilson Frothingham concluded to be essentially Gothic and perhaps inspired by quatrefoils or "foliated tracery ornamenting Gothic window heads."[31] Encircling the Duke's arms is an unusual motif of a twisted vine, which Frothingham noted may refer to the famous vineyards of Burgundy.[32] His coat-of-arms on both the Madrid and London pieces reliably date them prior to 1430. From that year forward, Philip the Good impaled the lions of Brabant and Limburg with the second and third quarterings of the shield.[33] The precision dating on such pieces prompted Frothingham to write that in the first half of the fifteenth century, "pottery in purely Gothic manner was contemporary with that which is essentially Muslim in style."[34] But to take Frothingham's assessment further, the contemporary dates of manufacture and divergent motifs reveal that patrons attempted to collect as many patterns as were available. These two pieces could have been displayed together on a credenza or sideboard with other ceramic, glass, or metal objects to create an environment of wealth and worldliness.[35]

---

[30] Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Good: The Apogee of Burgundy* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2002), 143-144, 216.

[31] Frothingham, *Lusterware of Spain*, 108.

[32] Ibid.

Contemporary inventories offer some insight into how Hispano-Islamic lusterware figured into artful, *wunderkammer*-like arrangements of luxurious vessels in Northern homes. For instance, King René of Anjou kept pieces of lusterware throughout his castle at Angers, according to an inventory drawn up in 1471.[36] At Angers were the following pieces of lusterware from Valencia:

> In the small drawing room of the King…item, a large plate of *terre de Valence* with an eagle on the back…item, a basin of the same *terre*, with a lion on the back…item, a basin for the washing of hands, of *terre de Valence*…What follows is kept on the small sideboards in the chapel of the King…A large plate of white *terre de Valence*, with golden leaves…item, another plate made of the same white *terre de Valence*, decorated with blue leaves…item, a jug of the same *terre de Valence*, with a large bottom in the shape of a gourd, decorated with blue flowers.[37]

---

[33] Albert van de Put, *Hispano-Moresque Ware of the Fifteenth Century*, 62; Timothy Husband, "Valencian Lusterware of the Fifteenth Century: Notes and Documents," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 29 (Summer, 1970): 18.

[34] Frothingham, *Lustreware of Spain*, 109.

[35] For more on sideboard display, see Husband, "Valencian Lusterware," 15-16.

[36] A. Lecoy de la Marche, *Extraits des comptes et mémoriaux du Roi René pour servir a l'histoire des arts au XVe siécle* (Paris: A. Picard, 1873), 241-242, 270-271.

[37] Ibid. "En la chambre du petit retrait du roy…item, ung grant plat de terre de Valence, où a au fons ung eigle…item, ung bacin de pareille terre, où a au fons ung lyon…ítem, ung lavouer à mains, de terre de Valence…S'ensuit ce qui est demouré sur les petiz dressouers de la chapelle du roy. Ung grant plat de terre blanche de Valence, à fueillages dorez. Item, ung autre plat parfont de ladite terre de

It is evident that René of Anjou owned two pieces with the motifs of various, loosely painted, heraldic animals commonly found on the backs of larger dishes (fig. 3.6). The next piece listed with golden leaves likely denotes either the all-gold ivy or *carrasca* leaf pattern given that flowers rarely figured into this design (fig. 3.7). The jug decorated with blue flowers is most definitely an example of the bryony pattern, an extremely popular decoration in the last half of the fifteenth century, especially in the export market. Moreover, similar bryony jugs with round bottoms that taper toward the spout exist to this day (fig. 3.8). Though the inventory does not specifically refer to examples of lusterware emblazoned with René of Anjou's coat-of-arms, he certainly owned such pieces as the British Museum possesses an armorial dish that belonged to the French king (fig. 3.9).

René of Anjou's inventory has been of special interest to scholars studying Hispano-Islamic lusterware for some time in that it describes in detail several different patterns that were featured in one man's collection. In 1904, Albert van de Put published the excerpts cited above in a book on armorial specimens found on the Iberian pottery.[38] Since then, these excised references have continued to be included in pottery studies with no regard to overall domestic context or to the predilections of the pottery's owner.[39] Such repetition provides only a truncated understanding of the kind of interior display in which Hispano-Islamic lusterware figured in the homes of its illustrious consumers. When a wider swath of the contents of the rooms at Angers

---

Vallance blanche, ouvré à fueillages pers. Item, ung pot de ladite terre de Vallance, qui a le cul long en faczon de gougourdes, ouvré à fleurs perses." While Anthony Ray read "fueillages pers" and "fleurs perses" in the original French literally as "Persian leaves" and "Persian flowers," his translation is incorrect. See Ray, *Spanish Pottery*, 65. From the Middle Ages on, "pers" denoted the color blue. See Randle Cotgrave's *Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues*, 1611. The modifier may specifically refer to cobalt blue, as Persia was the main source for the pigment.

[38] Van de Put, *Hispano-Moresque Ware of the Fifteenth Century*, 15.

[39] Viaene, "Valenschwerc,"47; Husband, "Valencian Lusterware," 15; Ray, *Spanish Pottery*, 65.

is analyzed, however, a rich display of exotica from the Islamic world, one in which wares from Valencia were included, can come to light.

In the small drawing room of René of Anjou were two copper basins of the "Turkish style" kept alongside Valencian lusterware (fig. 3.10).[40] On the same sideboard together with the two lustered plates and jug were various wooden and blue glass vessels, a metal-tipped baton covered with peacock feathers, and three large pieces of Turkish leather, one decorated with the arms of Isabelle of Lorraine.[41] In the chapel, even more eastern furnishings are noted in the document. Adorning the altar was a frontal of "golden Moorish cloth" for which there was a matching chasuble.[42] But perhaps most intriguing is the Islamic weaponry René of Anjou kept in a nearby larger drawing room. This included four leather shields made in the Tunisian style along with several Turkish quivers, bows, arrows, and knives. Also, in the same room, is one item that above all shows the king's keen interest in Muslim culture: "A large tablet on which is written the ABC's by which one can write for all the countries of Christianity and Saracenism."[43] In fact, the entire inventory can be read as a document that prizes imports, particularly those from the East. Reading through its pages one can see the heightened consciousness on the part of the inventory taker to single out pieces imported to Angers from the Islamic world. Very rarely are items of European manufacture stipulated, with the exception of the "*ouvraige de*

---

[40] Lecoy de la Marche, *Extraits des comptes*, 241. "Item, deux petiz bacins de cuivre ouvrez à faczon de Turquie." These basins were certainly Islamic in design, but were not necessarily Ottoman. They were likely Mamluk pieces made in Egypt or Syria given that such pieces were frequently exported from the Eastern Mediterranean to Western Europe in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. See the discussion of Mamluk brass and copper exports in Rosamond Mack, *Bazaar to Piazza: Islamic Trade and Italian Art, 1300-1600* (Berkley: University of California Press, 2002), 139-147.

[41] Ibid., 274.

[42] Ibid., 270. "ung parement de drap d'or morisque."

[43] Ibid., 243. "Item, ung grant tableau ouquel sont escriptz les ABC par lesquelx ont peut escripre par touz les pays de chrestianté et sarrasinaisme."

Valence," and that pottery, I argue, was conceived of as exotica and therefore occupied the same domestic space as other Islamic art objects.

The variety of imported goods found in the rooms at Angers forms a compendium of items that many Northern consumers strove to possess. For example, in 1453 in the house of the famous Bourges merchant, Jacques Coeur, were five plates, five pots, and two more vessels for storing marjoram designated as "*ouvraige de Valence*." Apparently, Jacques Coeur owned enough Valencian lusterware for a small table setting along with two of what were likely *albarellos* being used as spice jars.[44] Also, in the mid-fifteenth century, Duke Karel of Stout kept a small Valencian bowl together with some glass bottles inside of a small casket, according to a 1467 inventory.[45] Therefore, not only the golden Iberian pottery, but other examples of glazed earthenware, metalwork, and glass of all different shapes and sizes were frequently kept and arranged together, forming an eclectic display, or an early *wunderkammer*, which ultimately alluded to the worldliness of its owner.

One outstanding visual source in particular lends support to the above textual evidence of Hispano-Islamic lusterware forming part of an exotic display in the homes of Northern European nobility. It is found in the *Hours of Engelbert of Nassau*, illuminated by the so-called Master of Mary of Burgundy sometime in the 1470s, and now housed in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.[46] On folios 145v and 146r the artist painted the Adoration of the Magi and the Procession of the Three Kings, respectively (figs. 3.11 and 3.12). These pictorial narratives, which take place in detailed, deeply receding landscapes, are fluidly merged with both an explanatory text and a unique framing device. The innovation of the Master of Mary of Burgundy is evident here in his fusing of the present and past, and the near and distant. The cabinet depicted, filled with luxury vessels that are so convincingly represented that they even cast shadows, seamlessly connects the viewer's space with the spatially and temporally distant setting of the biblical narrative. The objects in the framing cabinet include glass vases, flowers, fruit, peacock feathers, Italian and perhaps Netherlandish examples of tin-glazed earthenware, and Hispano-Islamic lusterware. The Master of Mary of Burgundy must have observed such a display, perhaps even within the home of Engelbert of Nassau himself, given the minute detail with which the pottery, glass, and even cabinetry have been represented. The selection and arrangement of a variety of imported earthenware along with peacock feathers and glass of different colors (other imported novelties if we consider the glass and rare birds included in the 1441 ordinance mentioned above) is quite similar to the array of fine objects described in René of Anjou's rooms at Angers. Thus, on these two folios we have a visual source for the placement of lusterware within a domestic context. Most important to consider, however, is that depictions of Hispano-Islamic lusterware appear in a book of hours that essentially functioned as a painted, handheld *wunderkammer*. Throughout the book, the Master of Mary of Burgundy painstakingly adorned the margins of the pages with illuminations of specific types of flowers, insects, and birds as well as jewels, skulls, feathers, shells, and pilgrim badges.

---

[44] Viaene, "Valenschwerc,"47.

[45] Ibid.

[46] See Otto Pächt, *Master of Mary of Burgundy* (London: Faber and Faber, 1948) and the facsimile with an introduction by J.J.G. Alexander, *The Master of Mary of Burgundy, A Book of Hours for Engelbert of Nassau in The Bodleian Library, Oxford* (New York: George Braziller, 1970).

As with the aforementioned items, the illustration of the Iberian ceramics was carried out with impressive specificity. The vessels reproduced in the illuminations can be perfectly matched with surviving pieces of fifteenth-century Valencian production. The small, lug-handled bowl with its exterior fern leaf decoration on folio 145v, the *albarello*, covered with a loosely rendered leaf pattern, and the deep dish with the lustered monogram of Christ, "IHS," encircled by a bryony motif on folio 146r can all be dated roughly to the decades between 1430 and 1470 (figs. 3.13-3.15). The piece on the upper left margin of folio 145v, however, carries both an earlier date and decidedly more Islamic decoration. This *brasero*, with its well-articulated, “fish-border” rim, would have been produced between 1380 and 1430 (fig. 3.16). The Kufic inscription found on the *brasero* is the painter’s loose interpretation of the *alafia* blessing for health, a common phrase on “fish border” wares produced in Valencia in the late fourteenth century and first few decades of the fifteenth century. It is unlikely that the Northern owners of such pottery knew the exact meaning of the knotted loop and inverted *V* of the *alafia*. Rather, the “otherness” of such shimmering inscriptions and imagery lead to the conception of Valencian lusterware as highly-prized exotica in the collective imagination of Northern European buyers like Engelbert of Nassau.

Supporting this notion is the artist’s choice in biblical narrative that accompanies his depiction of the luxurious pottery. To the immediate right of the *brasero* are the Three Kings, whose representation alludes to far away civilizations and whose rendering is almost always an excuse for an artist to paint sumptuous brocades, exotic animals, and general pomp. The vessels depicted in the framing cabinet are part of that tradition. The contemporary designation of these objects, and in particular, our “fish border” piece of Valencian luster, as pure exotica can be deduced because of their vaguely Eastern appearance and association with the Magi, the most famous purveyors of luxury goods from distant lands.

Evocation of the *Loca Sancta*: Lusterware as Relic and Symbol

To conceive of Hispano-Islamic lusterware as a luxury good intended for domestic display would be to understand only one facet of the golden pottery’s cultural significance to Northern European consumers and admirers. The appearance and representation of the ceramics along with their innate ability to be moved or circulated encouraged far more exoticized conceptions of the wares, which I will address below. I do not refer to vague associations with distant Eastern civilizations as in the preceding section. Rather, I argue that lusterware also enabled northern audiences to forge firm connections with the Holy Land in particular. To that end, I will focus on the shifting contexts of Hispano-Islamic lusterware. The way in which Northern European artists, patrons, and travelers regarded lusterware could be shaped not only by the geographic location of actual pieces, but also by representations of the pottery in specific biblical scenes in Northern European art.

An Alhambra Vase on the Island of Cyprus

On July 17, 1553, an English pilgrim, John Locke, set sail for the Holy Land aboard a Venetian ship, the *Fila Cavenna*. He reached the port town of Famagusta located on the eastern side of the island of Cyprus on September 29.[47] Two days later, Locke and his traveling companions visited several sites, including a small church that held a special holy relic.

> We went to one of the Greek churches to see a pot or jarre of stone, which is said to bee one of the seven jars of water, the which the Lord God at the marriage converted into wine. It is a pot of earth very faire, white enameled, and fairely wrought upon with drawn worke, and hath on either side of it, instead of handles, eares made in fourme as the painters make angels wings, it was about an ell high, and small at the bottome, with a long necke and correspondent in circuit to the bottome, the belly very great and round, it holdeth full twelve gallons, and hath a top hole to drawe wine out thereat, the jarre is very auncient, but whether it be one of them or no, I know not."[48]

Locke was looking upon one of the famed Alhambra vases, the large, lustered, wing-handled vessels that were made in Málaga during the fourteenth century (figs. 1.4, 1.22-1.29). The vessel, covered with geometric and vegetal motifs as well as calligraphic Arabic inscriptions, may have found its way to Cyprus through various routes at any time from the late fourteenth to the early sixteenth century. The most probable scenario is that the Genoese, who controlled the island from 1384 to 1464, were responsible for transporting the vase to Cyprus.[49] During that period, they maintained a well-established trade network with southern and eastern Iberian ports, particularly with Málaga, where they had their own quarter within the city.[50] The Genoese also mandated that all ships, including foreign vessels, unload their trade goods at Famagusta, whose deep waters proved an ideal dock for such activity. Therefore the vase may have been shipped to the Cypriot port via a Genoese galley quite soon after it was crafted in Málaga. The primacy of Famagusta, however, began to decline in the final decades of Genoese occupation. When the Venetians assumed control over the Mediterranean island in 1489, the port of Les Salines at Larnaca became the primary point of entry for foreign goods.[51] Nevertheless, had the vase been taken to Cyprus aboard a Venetian carrack sometime later in the fifteenth or early sixteenth century, it is more likely to have been discharged at Famagusta, rather than unloaded at Les Salines and transported north.

---

[47] The account of John Locke along with those of other travelers to Cyprus can be found in Claude Delaval Cobham, ed., *Excerpta Cypria: Materials for a History of Cyprus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1908).

[48] Ibid., 70-71.

In 1975, Otto Kurz published a short article on the fascinating, peripatetic history of this particular vase, now housed in the National Museum of Fine Arts in Stockholm, Sweden (fig. 1.27).[52] Kurtz notes the accounts of Spanish, Italian, and German pilgrims who saw the Hispano-Islamic vase in the small Cypriot church, S. Maria Hydria.[53] For example, Christoph Fürer, a pilgrim from Nuremburg, who seemed to be less suspicious than Locke about the vase's status as a relic, wrote in 1566, "There is another church of no great size called S. Maria Hydria, in which on the right hand is preserved one of the waterpots in which was the water which Christ at the marriage of Cana in Galilee turned into wine. It is a large earthen pot, one handle of which is completely torn off, while the other is partly broken."[54] Thus, sometime between Locke's 1553 visit and Fürer's viewing of the vase in 1566, one of the wing-handles broke away from the piece. The miraculous powers with which relics are believed to be imbued may have prompted overzealous pilgrims to take away broken pieces or even break off fragile parts and keep them for themselves, their families, and congregations. In spite of the damage, the vessel retained its identity and value, albeit an anachronistic one, as an indispensible part of Christ's first miracle.

---

[49] Jean Richard, "Kingdom of Cyprus," in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*.

[50] Juan Zozaya, "Material Culture in Medieval Spain," in *Convivencia*, eds. Mann, Glick and Dodds, 167.

[51] Jean Richard, "Cyprus, Kingdom of," in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*.

[52] Otto Kurz, "The Strange History of an Alhambra Vase," *Al-Andalus* XL (1975): 203-213.

[53] Ibid.

In 1571, the Ottoman Turks captured Cyprus and carted the reputed relic off to Istanbul. The Turkish commander Mustafa Pasha possessed the vase until at least 1578.[55] From that year until 1581, Joachim von Sinzendorf served as the Hapsburg ambassador to the Ottoman court, and sometime during this term Sinzendorf acquired the vessel for the Emperor Rudolf II.[56] The vase then passed into the imperial collection in Prague. The artist Georg Hayer would later document the vase's singular appearance and venerable history in a 1598 engraving (fig. 3.17). In 1648 the Swedish army invaded Prague, taking the vase along with many other works of art from the court of Rudolf II for the collection of Queen Christina. Upon her abdication, the vessel went to Drottningholm Castle near Stockholm, and finally, in 1872, the piece passed from the royal collection into the Museum of Fine Arts, Stockholm.[57]

Kurz's tracing of the path that this seminal piece of Hispano-Islamic art traveled over the course of three centuries is impressive; however, his article lacks discussion as to *why* this vase, not even 200 years old at the time of Locke's visit, was cherished as a holy relic by Northern European travelers, ambassadors, printmakers, and royalty alike. Presumably, the piece would have seemed foreign in the eyes of English, German, Austrian, and Swedish viewers in any context. Yet, to gain a better understanding of why the lustered ceramic assumed the identity of a holy relic, it is essential to consider that both place and provenance exponentially increased the exotic value of the golden vase. What Kurz, as well as later writers, including Merit Laine, and Summer Kenneson, have failed to note is the very significant role that the site of Cyprus, and in particular, Famagusta, played in the redefinition of the Alhambra vase.

---

[54] See Cobham, 78.
[55] Kurz, 208.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Ibid., 209-212.

For centuries Cyprus was an important site for Westerners en-route to the Holy Land. From the island, medieval pilgrims could travel by sea to the port of Jaffa, where the overland journey to Jerusalem could begin.[58] For instance, the Navarrese rabbi, Benjamin of Tudela, traveled to the island on his extended journey to Jerusalem during the years 1160 to 1173, and in 1191, Richard I the Lionhearted landed on the island on his way to the Third Crusade. By the late twelfth century Cyprus had already become well-trodden by pilgrims as evidenced by Richard's chronicler, Benedict of Peterborough, who wrote of the English king's seizure of the island and his defeat of the then emperor of Cyprus, Isaac Komnenos. One of Richard's demands was that European pilgrims, whom "the Emperor was keeping in durance, be restored to him with their belongings."[59]

Many pilgrims from the West made their way to Famagusta in particular, not only because of its accommodating harbor, but also because it held great importance for Christian sightseers. Though a popular fifteenth-century guidebook for English travelers, the *Information for Pilgrims unto the Holy Land*, advised the devout to dock in Paphos as opposed to Famagusta, "for many englysshe men and other also have deyed, for the ayre is so corrupt there aboute, and the water there also," the individual accounts of pilgrims indicate that the town, rich in relics and holy sites, was indeed worth the journey.[60] Pilgrims came to the immediate vicinity of Famagusta to visit what was thought to be the birthplace of St. Catherine. William Wey, who traveled to Cyprus in 1458, wrote, "Two miles from Famacosta, in a city called Constantia, S. Katerina was born. Also in Famacosta is a chapel in the church of the Friars Minor behind the high altar and the spot where S. Katerina learned to read."[61] Constantia also laid claim to being site of the martyrdom and burial of St. Barnabas, according to the accounts of countless pilgrims from Northern Europe including a Westphalian priest writing in the fourteenth century, Ludoph von Suchen, a fifteenth-century Dominican monk from Ulm, Felix Faber, as well as the illustrious traveler Sir John Mandeville.[62]

---

[58] See the accounts of anonymous pilgrims to the Holy Land in the twelfth century reproduced in Aubrey Stewart, trans., *Anonymous Pilgrims, Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (London: Hanover Square, 1894) 13-14; 17.

[59] See Cobham, 6.

A day's journey from Famagusta, one could see the Mount of the Holy Cross, on top of which sat a Benedictine monastery housing the cross of St. Dismas, the good thief. Wilbrand von Oldenburg, a canon of Hildesheim and, later the bishop of Utretch, wrote the following in 1211:

> Within the convent is a small chapel, in which that precious cross is kept with much honour. It hangs and swings in the air, they say, resting on no support. But it is not easy to see this. This was the manner and this the reason of it being set there: The devil, that enemy of all good, pursued the settlers and dwellers of this land with such malice that he used to tear up by night the bodies of the dead who had been interred during the day, and brought them back to the homes of their friends, so that the natives could not bury their dead. Helena the mother of Constantine who was then ruler there pitied their trouble, and set that cross which she had brought whole from Jerusalem, as it stands today, on that mountain; and thus she drove with power those malicious foes not only from the land, but from the lower air which is thought to be the prison of devils…[63]

---

[60] E. Gordon Duff, ed., *Information for Pilgrims unto the Holy Land* (London: Lawrence and Bullen, 1893). Duff's work is a reprint of the 1498 edition of the *Information* (London: Roxburghe Club, 1824).

[61] Cobham, 35.

[62] See Cobham for the accounts of these and other travelers to Cyprus.

[63] Ibid., 14.

Though Oldenburg and others portrayed Famagusta as an unforgiving land plagued by pestilence and demons, its place as a strategic stop on the way to Jerusalem made the old city an ideal locale to gaze upon relics. Many a Christian traveler dispensed with the unhappy descriptions of the port in order to visit its holy sites. This venerable reputation, then, is what inducted a fourteenth-century Hispano-Islamic luster vase into the cult of relics, for the piece was not thought of as a sacred *hydria* from Christ's first miracle until it reached the island of Cyprus. Thus the power of place and the vase's ability to be moved into such a context ignited redefinition.

After leaving Famagusta for Istanbul, and later Vienna and Prague, the aura of the vessel's remarkable provenance made it an object of desire. The Cypriots attempted to pay a ransom of sorts to redeem the cherished "relic," but Mustafa Pasha rejected all offers.[64] Upon the Turkish commander's death, Sinzendorf (Hapsburg ambassador to the Ottoman court) and his preacher, Salomon Shweigger, gained possession of the vase. As for the reasons behind the two Protestant envoys' acquisition of the piece, Kurz offers none.[65] A likely explanation is that the two wanted to curry favor with Emperor Rudolf II, in whose 1607-1611 inventories the vase appears.[66] The Emperor, having passed much of his youth with his uncle, Philip II of Spain, surely inherited the taste for collecting relics. Rudolf spent the years 1563 to 1571 at the Escorial outside of Madrid, a massive royal complex that was at once a palace, monastery, library, mausoleum, and relic repository.[67] Over 6000 of the sacred objects could be found at the Escorial, where Philip, Rudolf, and other members of the royal family venerated them.[68]

---

[64] Kurz, 208.

[65] Ibid., 210.

[66] Ibid., 211.

[67] Peter H. Marshall, *The Magic Circle of Rudolf II: Alchemy and Astrology in Renaissance Prague* (New York: Walker and Company, 2006), 21.

[68] Ibid.

Sinzendorf and Schweigger would have known of the Hapsburgs' almost fanatical attitude regarding relic acquisition; the Alhambra vase they saw in Istanbul was an obvious addition to Rudolf's own collection. For Sinzendorf, and for his descendants, the acquisition of the vase was of paramount importance. The ambassador himself had a souvenir painting made of the "relic," which remained in his family's possession until 1822.[69] This depiction was likely the inspiration for the eighteenth-century fresco found on the vault of the state apartment in the Chateau Trpist, a manorial estate built by Prosper Anton Josef von Sinzendorf, a counselor at the imperial court in Vienna and a direct descendant of Joachim von Sinzendorf. The fresco shows the ambassador Joachim at the court of the Ottoman Sultan Murad III. Beneath the throne of the sultan a young court attendant in Turkish garb can be seen presenting a golden vase with a long neck, wide shoulders, and tapered base to Sinzendorf.

This Alhambra vase also achieved fame as a relic outside of the immediate circle of Emperor Rudolph II. A painting of the vessel, for example, could be seen in the garden of Laurentius Scholz (1522-1599), a physician, botanist, and art collector.[70] In Breslau, now located in present-day southwestern Poland, which in the sixteenth century formed part of the Austrian Hapsburg dominion, Scholz's garden was a celebrated landmark, commemorated in contemporary poetry. The garden not only included numerous specimens of plants from Europe and the New World, but also boasted a central pavilion that functioned as an art gallery.[71] Among Greco-Roman statues, paintings by Lucas Cranach, musical instruments, and precious stones and shells, was the painted image of the Alhambra vase.[72] One of the many visitors that frequented Scholz's garden, Georg Hayer, produced an engraving from the painting, complete with a Latin inscription.[73] (fig. 3.17). The translation follows:

---

[69] Kurz, 211.

[70] Ibid., 210.

[71] Manfred P. Fleischer, "The Garden of Laurentius Scholz: A Cultural Landmark of Late-Sixteenth-Century Lutheranism," *The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 9 (1979): 29-48.

[72] Kurz, 211.

> One of the stone hydrias from the wedding at Cana in Galilee, filled with water to the brim, [in which] water turned into wine in the first miracle of Christ, and which the Cypriots and all of the Christians of the East religiously preserved for many centuries at the Holy See of Santa Maria of Famagusta, commonly called The Blessed Virgin of the Hydria. When by the arms and power of the Turks, Mustafa Pasha occupied the island of Cyprus in 1571, and rejected the price of 1100 gold pieces offered by the Christians for the hydria, he took it to Constantinople in a trireme because the pure gold offered did not satisfy him. After his death, [and] broken by much movement, the Byzantine ambassador to the Turkish emperor Amurathem III,[74] Joachim von Sinzendorf, acquired it at great expense for the Holy Roman Emperor being at that time Rudolph II, and he concerned himself with the translation of the inscribed letters and took it to Vienna in Austria. Matías de Faro, Turkish translator for the Roman Emperor of Byzantium, interpreted the Assyrian letters that were inscribed as: "I [am a] sinner and You who bestows time and does not punish in haste, You are the benevolent Lord who guides and finishes my works in good." When the precise image of this hydria was exhibited for the enjoyment of all in his garden [in which] also were sculpted figures in bronze with the admiration of memorable Antiquity, Georg Hayer of Breslau engraved it in Breslau in the year 1598 under the care of the doctor Laurentius Scholztius of Rosenau.[75]

Both the depiction and historical account Hayer offers provide us with further insight into the late sixteenth-century reception of the Hispano-Islamic lusterware vase. Hayer shows the vessel displayed in a semi-circular niche flanked by Roman pilasters with Corinthian capitals and garland reliefs. This illustrated setting places the piece securely in the ancient world, while the inscription above further ages and exoticizes the late fourteenth-century ceramic. The unfurled scroll at the top of the engraving tells us that the Turkish translator, Matías de Faro, believed the golden writing on the vase to be "Assyrian letters." The inscription on the shoulder of the vase, is an Arabic one,[76] but this did not prevent Faro from not only attributing the writing to a pre-Islamic, Near Eastern civilization, but also providing a completely fabricated translation of the inscription.

---

[73] Ibid.

[74] Ottoman Sultan, Murad III (r. 1574-1595).

[75] Kurz, 209-10. "Una ex lapideis hydriis in Cana Galilaeae nuptis, aqua ad summum impletis, in quibus Christi primo miraculo aqua vinum facta est, quam Cyprii, et omnes in oriente Christiani, Famagustae in Aede S. Mariae sacra, vulgo Beata virgo ad Hydriam vocata, per multa secula religiosissme conservarunt. Hanc Mustafa Bassa cum Cyprum Insulam armis potentiaque Turcorum Anno MDLXXI occupasset, et a Christianis oblatum pretium DDC aureorum pro hydria recusasset, Constantinopolin sua triremi detulit, propterea quod puri auri ad summum usque impletionem non obtinuisset. Post cuius obitum multa circumvectione disruptam, Joachimus a Sinzendorf, Rudolph II Imp. Rom. Consil. et apud Amurathem III Turcorum Imp. eo tempore Byzantii Orator magnis sumptibus acquisivit, inscriptasque literas interpretatione converti et Viennam Austriae devehi, curavit. Matthias de Faro, Rom. Imp. Byzantii Turcicus interpres inscriptasque literas Assirias sic est interpretatus: Ego peccator, et tu qui donas tempus, et cito non punis, Tu es Dominus benevolus; Dirigas ac finias in bonum opera mea. Hydriae istius exactam effigiem omnium oculis expositam in Horto suo cum haberet, memorabilis Antiquitatis admiratione, eandem etiam typis aeneis ad amussim exsculpandam, Vratisl[avia]e Anno 1598 curavit Laurentius Scholzius a Rosenau Med. D. Georg Hayer Pict. Vratisl." My thanks to Constancio del Alamo for the English translation above.

The holy relic status of the vase does figure into Oleg Granburg's 1621 inventory of the *raretéz* in the cabinet of Queen Christina of Sweden; the piece is only "*said* to be one of the six used at the wedding at Cana in Galilee."[77] The designation, however, began to fade in the piece's new home in Sweden. Later, while at Drottningholm Castle in the eighteenth century, the vessel was thought to be an example of ancient Egyptian pottery. During that time, bronze mounts, including a fanciful dragon figure were added to the piece to both stabilize it and compensate for the long-missing handle, respectively. Only in the nineteenth century would the piece be correctly identified, its reputation as a most sacred relic from the Holy Land long forgotten.[78]

Illustrating the Holy Site

Pilgrimage, a central institution of the Church throughout the Middle Ages, took on many forms particularly during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries when Europeans displayed an obsession with the practice. It is during this time that the greatest pilgrimage narratives were written, such as the accounts of William of Boldensele (1337), Bernhard von Breydenbach (1483-84), and Felix Fabri (1483-84).[79] Various rules governing where and how one might undertake a pilgrimage were also instituted. A journey to the Holy Land, Rome, Santiago de Compostela in Galicia, or to a more convenient site such as the house of Our Lady of Walsingham in England, which boasted a replica of the Virgin Mary's home, was not the only way for the faithful and penitent of Northern Europe to follow in the footsteps of Christ, the holy family, the apostles and saints. Pilgrimages to any destination could be done by proxy, with a hired traveler visiting the stipulated holy site on behalf of a devout patron.[80] Metaphorical pilgrimages were also undertaken in many Gothic churches, most famously at the Cathedral of Chartres. The faithful could walk along a labyrinth design set into the floor of the nave, the paths of which lead to a central rosette all symbolizing the road to Holy Jerusalem.[81]

---

[76] Merit Laine, "Jarrón de la Alhambra," in *Los jarrones de la Alhambra*, ed. Villafranca Jiménez, 156. I have yet to find a translation of the inscription on the shoulder of this vase, likely because some of it is obscured by eighteenth-century bronze embellishments.

[77] Kurz, 211.

[78] Laine 156.

The commissioning of a painting could serve as a memento or symbol of a pilgrimage. Matthew Botvinick, focusing upon the work of Robert Campin, put forth the convincing argument that Northern European paintings of kneeling donors viewing biblical events alluded to the practice of pilgrimage.[82] The donors depicted in such paintings may well have undertaken a pilgrimage, part of which included being transported back into time where one could have a religious vision and be a witness to the Annunciation, Crucifixion, Nativity, or Entombment. Botvinick writes that with this interpretation comes the following:

> …an intriguing parallel between the pilgrim within the painting and the worshipper before it. For the latter, like the pilgrim, was thought capable of visionary experience. Throughout the Middle Ages, theologians taught that the value of a painted image, its excuse for engaging the base corporeal senses, lay in its efficacy as a stimulus to more

---

[79] Donald Roy Howard, *Writers and Pilgrims: Medieval Pilgrimage Narratives and their Posterity* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1980), 11-47.

[80] Ibid., 12.

[81] Ibid.

[82] Matthew Botvinick, "The Painting as Pilgrimage: Traces of a Subtext in the Work of Campin and his Contemporaries," *Art History* 15 (March 1992): 1-17

> ethereal modes of vision. Thus, prayer before a devotional image has much in common with a pilgrimage to a sacred shrine. In both, one is set before a material scene of visionary pilgrimage within a devotional painting. Campin has, so to speak, placed a play within a play.[83]

If the painted pilgrim, as well as the worshipper gazing upon the holy event is "set before a material scene of visionary pilgrimage," then we must consider the objects the fifteenth-century artist chose to include in such a scene.

The Bruges painter, Hugo van der Goes, depicted a Valencian *albarello* covered with cobalt and luster *carrasca* leaves in the foreground of his well-known work, *The Portinari Altarpiece* (fig. 3.18). The same artist also perched a Valencian, lug-handled bowl, which can be precisely identified by its common exterior decoration, in a niche directly behind the head of the Virgin in his *Monforte Altarpiece* (fig. 3.19). Earlier, the German artist Hans Multscher placed a cobalt and luster vase with the popular bryony motif alongside the bed of the dying Virgin Mary (fig. 3.20). Another German painter who painstakingly reproduced the golden pottery was Stefan Lochner. In the *Annunciation* on the exterior wings of Lochner's Cologne altarpiece a bryony-patterned pot with fanciful lustered script is precariously set on the edge of the Virgin's bench (fig. 3.21). Indeed, pots and vases of many different materials and styles are featured in Marian imagery because they all parallel her function as a vessel of Christ; nevertheless, the Islamic or vaguely Eastern character of Valencian lusterware (as well as other decorative arts such as silks and gold damasks), I would argue, serves another purpose. The cobalt and iridescent designs and inscriptions, the latter being in all likelihood indecipherable to Northern European audiences, also serve as a reference to the *loca sancta*, that is, a holy site in Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and other Middle Eastern locales where the particular event took place.

---

[83] Ibid., 7.

Eva Hoffman has ascribed this function to twelfth- and thirteenth-century Ayyubid metalwork.[84] The Freer Canteen, for example, is decorated with intricate all-over patterning, Christian imagery, and Arabic script (fig. 3.22). Hoffman believes this item and others like it are examples of Crusader art and that the Freer Canteen not only represents a Christian-Muslim encounter in the Mid-East, but that it was also a portable object meant to serve as a memento of sorts from the Holy Land. She writes, "For Crusaders, the use of local/Islamic vocabulary not only introduced an exotic visual element, but also defined an association and identity connected to biblical history, framing the central biblical theme as it were in a an authentic aura of the Holy Land."[85]

With Hoffman's interpretation in mind, let us now return to some of our Northern European depictions of Valencian lusterware. Although these Hispano-Islamic ceramics certainly do not qualify as Crusader art, they *were* portable objects that manifested some of the same exotic qualities for Western Europeans as the Freer Canteen and other pieces of Ayyubid metalwork. When pieces of Valencian lusterware are associated with the Nativity, the Annunciation, and the Adoration of the Magi in Northern European paintings, we may, in fact, be looking at an anachronistic artist's prop. In other words, like silks, brocades, strange animals, and expensive metal vessels, the golden Iberian pottery was for the viewer just another exotic, eastern luxury good depicted in order to set the stage of the *loca sancta*.

Moreover, depictions of ceramic vessels that cannot be matched with existing lusterware forms, but nonetheless attempt to mimic the pottery's forms and designs, can be found in Northern European paintings, particularly in representations of the Annunciation. The event in which the angel Gabriel announces that Mary will bear the son of God takes place in the Virgin's house in Nazareth, giving artists license to depict all variety of domestic furnishings. Many of these materials are fashionable items contemporary with a painting's date of execution. In Robert Campin's *Mérode Altarpiece* and in another *Annunciation* attributed to him in the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Brussels, Belgium, the ceramic pitchers set on the tables before the Virgin may have been made in Flanders or in Italy in the first quarter of the fifteenth century (figs. 3.23 and 3.24). In any case, the pieces are indebted to Iberian lusterware, and have been added to the scene in order to endow the work with a feel of the East. The bird, more clearly seen on the vessel in the Brussels Annunciation, is stock imagery found on countless examples of Iberian luster ceramics sent to Flanders in the fifteenth century (fig. 1.2). An *Annunciation* painted by Petrus Christus, ca. 1450, a blue and luster footed vase decorated with indecipherable script, sits upon a ledge at the entryway to the Virgin's home (fig. 3.25). Again, this vessel's decoration is indebted to Hispano-Islamic luster pottery, and its inclusion exoticized the painted scene helping the viewer to locate the event as occurring in the Holy Land.

---

[84] Hoffman, "Christian-Islamic Encounters," 129-142.
[85] Ibid., 138.

The anachronism of Islamic design elements on the depicted ceramic items addressed above did not in any way diminish a painting or object's ability to conjure up biblical associations. Rather, these items served as a reification of sorts of the cultural group inhabiting the Holy Land during the fifteenth century. Although Valencian lusterware was produced in a region of the Iberian Peninsula that had been under Christian rule since 1238, Northern audiences could associate the pottery's decorative elements with *all* of Islam, the political and military power of which was becoming increasingly alarming to European Christian communities.

“Saracen Work”: Lusterware as Product of the Heathen

The notion of early modern European audiences receiving Valencian lusterware with enthusiasm and fascination as the product of Muslim infidels may seem far-fetched. Yet, the language for pottery used in a shipping document supports an exoticized view of the Iberian ceramics. In 1863 the Dutch archivist and philologist J.H. Van Dale transcribed and published the levy of tolls and rules for shipping in force during the late Middle Ages on the Zwin, the river that fed into Sluis, the port for Bruges.[86] This archival material provides a vivid picture of the variety of goods imported into Bruges. Among the valuable items brought in from the Iberian Peninsula by what were predominately Venetian, Genoese, and Catalan merchants, were oranges, citrons, lemons, leather boots, sponges, and “pots and dishes of Saracen work.”[87]

The “Saracen work” in the regulation likely refers to a variety of Hispano-Islamic ceramics, including lusterware. But as general as the label may seem, it does provide us with some insight into the contemporary perception of *who* made the pottery brought into Bruges from Iberian ports. The term “Saracen” had been used since antiquity to denote Arab tribes and nomadic peoples; however, by the Middle Ages the word identified all followers of Islam no matter what their cultural or geographical origins may have been. From the time of the Crusades and continuing into the early modern period, the designation carried a negative connotation. In the French *chansons de geste,* which remained a popular literary form from the twelfth until the fifteenth century, the Saracen is often cast as evil, destructive, and duplicitous. In the epic poem, the *Chanson de Roland*, for example, the treacherous Saracen, King Marsilion, is portrayed as a breaker of treaties who baits the forces of Charlemagne to their doom. It is important to note that the image of the dark and fierce Saracen was not only pervasive in medieval and early modern literary culture, but also deeply imbedded within visual culture. Grotesque depictions of Saracens abound in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century illuminated manuscripts, paintings, sculptures, and stained glass windows (figs. 3.26 and 3.27).

---

[86] Van Dale, “Reglement voor scheepvaart,” 1:35. Van Dale wrote that the old regulation dated to 1252, but later scholars believe circa 1350 as a more acceptable date for the document. See Viaene, “Valenschwerc,” 46 n 1.

[87] Van Dale, “Reglement voor scheepvaart,” 9. “…van potten van scotelen sarazijns werck.”

The Northern European identification of ceramics from pottery-producing centers in the Iberian Peninsula as "Saracen work" is certainly paradoxical, if not almost amusing, especially if the shipping regulations that call them such do indeed date to around 1350. At that time, many potteries were located not only in Nasrid ruled Málaga, but also within the Christian region of Valencia. While a predominately Muslim workforce of artists in Manises worked for a feudal Christian lord, they also worked with Christian merchants, both Spanish and Italian. We can add another intriguing dimension to the actual production of the pottery when we consider that the material used for glazes was likely procured in part from Jewish merchants in the nearby community of Murviedro (now Sagunto).[88] The lusterware Passover plate housed in the Israel Museum in Jerusalem is emblematic of the coexistence of the three religious groups when a lucrative business demanded such cooperation (fig. 2.1). Thus the historical and economic reality of pottery production along Spain's eastern coast is somewhat at odds with the exoticized Saracen of the Northern European imagination.

And still the notion of Valencian luster pottery as luxurious Saracen product endured into the second half of the fourteenth century among the most sophisticated patrons and collectors in Western Europe, including Jean Duke of Berry. The Duke's extravagant taste is well known, particularly with regard to illuminated manuscripts. The *Tres Riches Heueres*, illuminated by the Limbourg Brothers between 1409 and 1416, is perhaps his most famous commission. Within the folios of this precious book, more of a showpiece than a religious aid, the Duke's predilection for the decorative arts, especially for tableware and ornate vessels, comes to light. In the banquet featured in the full-page depiction of the month of January, both a table and sideboard overflow with impressive metal wares (fig. 3.28). The Duke, however, also prized ceramics. He was, for instance, one of the many owners of the Fonthill vase, the earliest documented piece of Chinese porcelain to have reached Europe (fig. 3.29). In addition to this piece, the Duke was well-acquainted with the fine golden pottery made in Manises, so much so that he imported Iberian potters to work for him. A document housed in the Archive of the Crown of Aragon verifies that the Duke of Berry had one Pascual Martí[89] working for him in Bourges up until the time of his death in 1387.[90] The written record states that the widow and children of Martí have been informed of his death and that the property of the deceased potter will be entrusted to a royal agent and returned to his family in Barcelona. The property of Pascual Martí, which must have included furnishings and equipment for the fashioning of tin-glazed earthenware, not only must have been extensive, but also costly for its transport to be mentioned in the Register of the Chancery of Juan of Aragon. Exactly how long Pascual Martí made pottery at the behest of the Duke of Berry is not clear, but it is likely that he remained in Bourges practicing his esteemed craft for a number of years based on other instances of foreign potters working for the Duke.

---

[88] Leila Avrin, "The Spanish Passover Plate in the Israel Musuem," 36.

A vast number of written records documenting the Duke of Berry's construction of the Palace of Justice in Poitiers between the years 1384 and 1386 reveal that several Muslim potters from the Iberian Peninsula were also occupied with the task of fashioning a tile pavement for the structure's great hall.[91] The pavement no longer exists; however, in 1902 an archaeologist, M. Louis Dupré, uncovered two small fragments from a pile of debris alongside the outside wall of the Palace of Justice (fig. 3.30).[92] These miniscule remains were photographed two years later by the French architectural historian Lucien Magne, who completed a thorough study of the building of the palace. Magne's sizeable tome includes not only visual, but quite detailed textual evidence regarding the tile floor, which he transcribed from the original manuscript held in the National Archives in Paris (KK, 256, 257, a-b).

---

[89] The document does not indicate the ethnic or religious background of this potter. Pascual Martí may have been an old Christian or may have been of Muslim background. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries it was common for converted Muslims and their descendants to assume Spanish Christian names. This Pascual Martí may be the same potter mentioned along with Juan Albalat in a 1362 document published by Osma in which his name appears as Pascasio Martín. See Osma, *Apuntes* 2: 94. The two men were described as "*magistri seu artifices regolarum et operis de Melicha*," and relocated to Avignon to manufacture a green and brown glazed tile pavement for Cardinal Audoin. It is possible that Pascual Martí traveled north to Bourges to enjoy the patronage of Jean Duke of Berry upon completion of the pavement and lived out the last twenty or so years of his life in France.

[90] Archive of the Crown of Aragon, Barcelona, Chancery 1673, folio 87v.

The master tilemaker, one Jehan de Valence, relocated to Poitiers from the eastern coast of the Iberian Peninsula. He was charged with constructing a tile factory near the Palace in the Hôtel de Vivonne.[93] This project required that an employee of the Duke of Berry keep an account of all that was supplied "to the Saracen to make the work of the tiles with the arms and devices of my said Lord."[94] Jehan de Valence is repeatedly referred to as "*le Sarrazin ovrer de carreaux*," or "the Saracen tile-maker" throughout the accounts, and every material that he acquired to make the kilns and the lustered tiles themselves is meticulously registered. Glaze components, including "*zafre*," or cobalt, tin, lead, and copper for the luster, figure into the documents. Dry brush and gorsewood to make the smoky atmosphere needed for the third reduction firing were purchased by the bundle from local providers.[95] Nontheless, out of these seemingly pedestrian details there emerges a picture of a Muslim artist with a special skill set and scientific or alchemical knowledge.

---

[91] Lucien Magne, *Le Palais de Justice de Poitiers: étude sur l'art français au XIVe et au XVe siècles* (Paris: Librairie Centrale des Beaux-Arts, 1904).

[92] These fragments are currently housed in the Musée de Sainte-Croix, Poitiers.

[93] The construction of tile factories in France was not unheard of before 1384. As early as 1358, and again in 1382, Valencian potters had been sent to Avignon to make green and brown, Paterna style tiles. See Ray, *Spanish Pottery*, 314; Christopher Norton, "Medieval Tin-Glazed Painted Tiles in North-West Europe," *Medieval Archaeology* 28 (1984): 133-72.

[94] Magne, 161. "…au Sarrazin pour fere l'euvre des carreaux poins aux armes et devises de mon dit seigneur."

The Saracen luster potter was, in fact, a sort of alchemist, combining clay with various metals to produce a golden object. This pseudo-science of alchemy captivated the Western European imagination throughout the late medieval and early modern periods, with alchemy texts spreading from Spain throughout Northern Europe. Beginning in 1144, with the Englishman Robert of Chester's Latin translation of the Arabic treatise *The Book of the Composition of Alchemy,* scholars from Vincent of Beauvais to Roger Bacon continued to draw on Arabic writings when dealing with the subject.[96] For Jean Duke of Berry, then, enlisting the Saracen luster potter's services was an effort to acquire the rare, scientific expertise of the Islamic world.

The tiles that Jehan de Valence made for the Hall of Justice at Poitiers not only exhibit connections to the realm of science, but are also tied to a major, contemporary work of Islamic architecture, the Nasrid palace in Granada, the Alhambra. The two surviving fragments of luster tile from Poitiers have rounded edges and the remnants of *fleur-de-lis*, suggesting that they formed a circular, medallion-like inset in the pavement (fig. 3.31).[97] Lustered pavements from the Alhambra also boast circular tiles emblazoned with the coat-of-arms of the Nasrid dynasty (fig. 3.32). These medallions fit into semi-circular cut-outs from the corners of square tiles, as can be seen in existing fragments and portions of tile ensembles housed in the Victoria and Albert Museum, The Hispanic Society of America, and the Instituto Valencia de don Juan in Madrid. Whether or not, Jean Duke of Berry knew of the blue and golden pavements made only decades earlier for the Nasrid palace, he knew quite well that he had to import the knowledge of the luster technique from Valencia.

---

[95] In 1946 Arthur Lane wrote that the tiles made for the Hall of Justice at Poitiers could not have been lustered, given that Jehan de Valence purchased copper filings for the project, and that luster glaze was made from silver and gold during this time. Lane believed the tiles to be green and brown wares, like those fashioned for patrons in Avignon. See Arthur Lane, "Early Hispano-Moresque Pottery: A Reconsideration," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 88 (Oct., 1946): 251. Nevertheless, the materials that Jehan de Valence bought *are* consistent with luster firings. The brush and gorsewood would have been optimal for muffling the kiln and depriving the kiln of oxygen in the final luster firing. Moreover, copper figures into recipes for the iridescent glaze in the early ceramic treatise by Abu al'Qasim as well as in Cavaliere Piccolpasso's sixteenth-century work, *The Three Books on the Potters Art*, trans. Albert van de Put and Bernard Rackhma (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1934).

[96] Eric John Holmyard, *Alchemy* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1957), 106-107.

[97] A drawing of the reconstructed tile can be found in M.L. Solon, "The Lustered Tile Pavement of the Palais de Justice of Poitiers," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 12 (Nov., 1907): 83-86.

Jehan de Valence appears in the accounts for the Palace at Poitiers in 1384 and continued to collect payment until 1387; however, exactly how the Duke of Berry came to enlist the services of the Muslim potter remained unknown. In 1955, J. Chompret wrote that Jehan was sent in 1387 by Juan, King of Aragon, the uncle of the Duke of Berry's wife.[98] While the date of 1387 is not consistent with the dates in the accounts from Poitiers, the potter was in all likelihood dispatched to France by Juan of Aragon. Two letters conserved in the Archive of the Crown of Aragon indicate that three "Saracen" potters were authorized as early as May of 1382 to travel to the court of the Duke of Berry.[99] In fact, the first of the two documents suggests that the Duke pointedly asked the Juan of Aragon for the potters. A translation of the letter follows:

> Very dear brother,
> Having received your letter in which you asked us that we should give leave that certain Moors of this land who are makers of earthenware would go to you, and to have among them a master of works in their office, to which letter, dear brother, we respond to you. We, desiring to comply with your [wishes] in all things, and that the honor and profit be yours, I have given leave that three of the said workers skilled in that art would go with your squire, who for this reason was sent. And if there are any other things, dear brother,

---

[98] Norton, "Medieval Tin-Glazed Painted Tiles," 157, n 90.

[99] These two documents were transcribed by Marçal Olivar Daydí, *Fonts Documentals Inèdites per l'Estudi de la Ceràmica Valenciana Medieval* (Barcelona: Miscellània Puig i Cadafalch, 1950), 36-37. See also, Maria Millington Evans, "Moorish Potters in France," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 69 (Sep. 1936): 136.

> that would please you from these parts, write to us, so that we may please you most voluntarily. Written in Valencia, bearing our privy seal, 17 May 1382[100]

Jean de Guerart, the chamberlain of the Duke of Berry, included these Muslim artists in his retinue upon his return to Burgundy, and Jehan de Valence, "*le Sarazin*," was more than likely among them. A letter of safe passage from the court of Juan of Aragon was issued on the same day.

> Know that Jean Geuerart, with our license and permission, is presently going from the *camera* of the illustrious and magnificent Duc de Berry, as dear to us as a brother, to parts of France. Accordingly, we want of you, and we say to whichever of you, and we expressly and with certain knowledge command that you gladly allow said Jean and his household, namely, three Saracens under royal authority and subject to us, and one servant with five workhorses, otherwise known as *trotins*; gold and silver; cases, accoutrements, and other things of theirs—to pass through, and that you do not allow anyone in any way to be an impediment or obstacle to them or their possessions. And truly, if it is necessary, provide him safe transit and conduct without interruption during the time of this day, before and not beyond the route.
>
> Given to Valencia, under our privy seal, on May 17, in the 1,382nd year of Our Lord's birth.[101]

---

[100] Olivar Daydí, *Fonts Documentals*, 36-37. "Molt car frare. Vostra letra havem reebuda, en la qual nos pregàvets que donàssem paciència que alscuns moros d'aquesta terra, qui són obrers de obra de terra, anassen a vós, qui.ls havíets mester per obrar de lur ofici, a la qual, car frare, vos responem que nós, volents complaure a vós de allóe de quant puxam que honor e proffit sia vostre, havem donat loch que tres dels dits obrers abtes en aquella cosa se.n va[ge]n ab aquest vostre escuder, lo qual per aquesta rahó havets tramès. E si algunes otres coses, car freare, vos plaen de les parts de ça, scrivits nos-en, que nós les farem complir fort volenterosament. Dada en Valencia, sots nostre segell secret, a .XVII. dies de Maig del any .M.CCC.LXXXII." My thanks to Dr. Marcus Burke for the above translation.

[101] Ibid., 37. "Infanis Johannes, Serenissimi domini Regis Primogenitus et suorum Regnorum ac terrarum Generalis Gubernator. Dilectis et ffidelibus universis et singulis officialibus et subditis dicti domini Regis et nostris, ac custodibus passuum et rerum prohibitarum in confinibus Regni constitutis, salutem et dilectionem. Vos scire volumus quod Johannes Guerart, de camera Incliti ac magnifici ducis de Berri, nobis carissimi velut fratris, de nostris licentia et permissu versus partes de Francie impresentiarum *(sic)* accedit; propterea volumus vobisque a vestrum cuilibet dicimus et expresse ac de certa scientia mandamus, quatinus dictum Johannem cum eius familiis *(sic)*, videlicet, tribus sarracenis dicioni Regie atque nostre subiectis et uno famulo, cum quinque roscinis, alias *trotins*, auro et argento, jocalibus, arnesiis ac aliis eorum rebus, transire libenter permittatis et nullum eisdem seu eorum rebus impedimentum vel obstaculum apponatis seu apponi modo aliquo per quemvis permittatis; quinimo, eius, si necesse fuerit, prvideatis de securo transitu et conductu durante tempore huius diei in antea continue sequturum et non ultra. Datum Valencie, sub nostro sigillo secreto, .XVII. die Madii, anno a Nativitate Domini .M°CCC.LXXX. secundo." My thanks to Dr. Michael Foley for the above translation.

Not only are the potters themselves protected by this letter, but their possessions, the tools and materials of their craft, are also to be guarded by order of the king. Boxes of supplies as well as silver and gold must have been brought in large quantities to necessitate five workhorses for transport. The silver and gold was certainly needed for the journey, but it may well have been intended for making luster glaze once in France. Juan of Aragon's order of safe conduct offers us insight into the importance and prestige of the skill that these Saracen artists brought with them to foreign lands.

Two very detailed accounts written by Northern travelers to the Iberian Peninsula also attest to the exoticized perception of the Saracen potter. Though separated by a century, these two traveler accounts are similar in that they express fascination with lustered pottery, but also mark the Muslim makers as abhorrent, infidel "others." The earlier account comes from the Germanized Pole, Nicolas von Poplau, who was born in Breslau around 1450, and obtained permission from the German imperial court to travel to various parts of Europe.[102] In 1483, he left Vienna for England, passing through Heidelberg, Bonn, Cologne, Maastricht, and Valenciennes. In June of 1484, Poplau left the court of Richard III for Portugal and subsequently went on a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela in Galicia. He remained in the Iberian Peninsula until January of 1485 and finally returned to Breslau in 1486. During his time in Spain he traveled extensively in the Kingdoms of Aragon, and in his writings paid special attention to the villages that surrounded the cities of Valencia and Zaragoza:

> Throughout Aragon there live Saracens, which we Germans call rats. The Christian conquerors of these lands concede them the right to establish themselves, to live and to keep to their separate houses, villages, and cities on the condition that they pay tribute to the Christian nobility and work harder than the Christian peasantry.

---

[102] Nicolas von Poplau, "Relación del viaje," in *Viajes de extranjeros*, ed. García Mercadal, 307-325.

> One mile from Valencia there are four cities that are called Mislata, Manises, Gesarte, and Paterna where they live and fashion beautiful pots and plates with blue and golden colors, which are sold throughout Christendom. Among them [the Saracens] can be found some Jews. Valencia is far superior and more luxuriously adorned than any other city in all the King's dominion; for this reason many members of the nobility reside and live there.
>
> When the Christians conquered the kingdoms and dominions of Aragon, Andalucía, of Castile and Portugal, the king during that time wanted to strip all the Jews living, who were relegated to the non-Christian category, of their possessions if they refused to convert to Christianity. In order to conserve their assets and fortunes, they accepted the holy Christian faith; however, scarcely one in a hundred can be found who truly practices it. They believe and practice their Judaic fantasies in secret, and if they are caught in the act [of practicing non-Christian rituals], they are taken prisoner and burned miserably.
>
> In Valencia there live not only baptized Jews, as I have said, who occupy more or less one-quarter of the city, but also a large number of Saracens and other non-Christians. Fifty miles from Valencia can be found an impressive capital city of Aragon called Zaragoza. The Saracen inhabitants outnumber Christians in the [surrounding] villages. Some [Christians] condemn the Polish king because he permits various faiths to live in his kingdom; nevertheless, the kingdoms of Spain are inhabited by baptized and converted Jews, and also by infidel Saracens, and in far greater numbers than those who are truly faithful to Christ, and the Holy Father tolerates them as well.[103]

---

[103] Ibid., 322. "Por todo Aragón viven sarracenos, que nosotros los alemanos llamamos ratas. Los conquistadores cristianos de aquellos países les concedieron la libertad para establecerse, vivir, y mantenerse en separadas casas, aldeas y ciudades, mas a condición de pagar censos a la nobleza cristiana y trabajos más duros que los campesinos cristianos. A milla de Valencia poseen cuatro ciudades que se llaman Misslata, Manisis, Gesart, y Eterna, donde viven y elaboran hermosas ollas y platos, con colores azules y dorados, que sirven de comercio a toda la cristianidad. Entre ellos se encuentran algunos judíos conversos; en la ciudad misma de Valencia también hay una cuarta parte de judíos convertidos. Valencia está mucho mejor y con más lujo adornada que qualquiera otra ciudad del rey en todos sus dominios; por esta razón, mucha nobleza reside y vive allí. Cuando los cristianos conquistaron los reinos y dominios de Aragón, Andalucía, de Castilla y de Portugal, el rey en aquella época quiso despojar de los bienes a todos los judíos que se encontraban entre los paganos, en el caso que no hubieran querido convertirse al cristianismo. Ellos, para conservar sus haberes y fortunas, aceptaron la santa fe cristiana; mas entre ciento apenas se halla una que la pratique verdaderamete. Confiesan y ejercen su fantasía judaica ocultamente, y si los sorprenden in fraganti, los cogen presos y los queman miserablemente. En Valencia viven, no sólo judíos bautizados como se ha dicho, y ocupan más o menos la cuarta parte de la ciudad, sino también en gran numero paganos y saracenos. A cincuenta millas de camino de Valencia se encuentra una gran ciudad que figura entre las capitales, y se llama Zaragoza, situada en Aragón. Los habitantes sarracenos son más numerosos en las aldeas que los cristianos. Algunos condenan al rey de Polonia porque permite en sus dominios vivir varias confesiones religiosas; sin embargo, los reinos de España están habitados por los judíos bautizados y convertidos, y también por sarracenos infieles, en mucho más gran número que los verdaderos fieles del Cristo, y el Padre Santo los sufre también."

Here Nicolas von Poplau presents us with an unabashed account of a region teaming with non-believing *conversos* and outright infidels. Embedded within, or one could say inextricably linked to his description of Saracen "rats" and crypto-Jews, is clear admiration for the luxuries of Valencia, with specific reference to the beauty of lusterware and international consumption of it by a Christian clientele. In this instance, the Germanic traveler exoticizes the golden pottery through a positive/negative binary. He lauds the unique appearance of the wares, while denigrating the society that fashioned them.

One hundred years later, Henri Cock, the Flemish courtier and member of the Royal Guard of Archers, would do the same. In 1585, Cock accompanied the King of Spain, Philip II, on an excursion through Zaragoza, Barcelona, and Valencia.[104] Cock provides an extremely detailed account of the pottery-producing center of Muel, south of Zaragoza, where from the second half of the sixteenth century until 1610, potters created lusterware of a somewhat cruder and less sophisticated sort than the variety fashioned in and around Valencia during the previous century. It is during the second half of the sixteenth century that Northern European consumption of Hispano-Islamic lusterware declined drastically; nevertheless, for the Fleming traveling through Aragon, the luster technique continued to elicit interest, while the behavior of the Muslim potters, euphemistically called new Christians, proved to be shockingly foreign and provocative. Here are Cock's observations:

> Having reached the end of our travels [for the day] about three hours after having eaten [the mid-day meal] we came to Muel, a town well known for new Christians, held by the Marquesa of Camarasa, and situated on the banks of the Huerva River, which flows along the southern side of the town. This river, originating in the mountains of Daroca and flowing east where it drains into the Ebro, not far from Zaragoza, has many good fish that the Moors catch with nets and hooks. These Moors from the time that their ancestors conquered Spain in the year of our Lord 714, have always lived under their laws—they do not eat pork, nor do they drink wine, and *this* we saw there—all of the clay and glass

---

[104] Henri Cock, "Anales del año ochenta y cinco," in *Viajes de extranjeros*, ed. García Mercadal, 1291-1412.

> dishes that had touched pork or wine were broken after we left so that they would not smell or taste of it.
>
> Almost all of the people of this place are potters and all of the pottery that is sold in Zaragoza is made here in this way: First they make vessels of a certain material that there the earth gives them, in any form they wish; once made, they are baked in a prepared kiln; after having been taken out again in order that they be given a white glaze and made smooth, they make a vat of certain materials in this manner: they take a sack full of lead with which they mix three to four pounds of tin and then several more pounds of a certain type of sand they have there—all of this they make into a mixture similar to ice and cut it into pieces and grind it like flour, and they reserve the powder made in this way.
>
> They then mix this powder with water and dip the plates in it and bake them again in the kiln, and then with this heat they maintain their shine. Later, so that all of the dishes be made golden, they take very strong vinegar with which they mix about two ground-up silver *reales* and vermillion and red ochre and a little bit of alum, with all of this mixed they write all they please on the plates and bowls with a quill pen and put them in the kiln for a third time, and then they are left with the color of gold, which can only be removed from them if it were to be chipped away. This the very potters told me.[105]

Immediately following this very technical description of the luster process, Henri Cock goes on to exoticize the potters of Muel:

> The said town of Muel has fewer than two hundred inhabitants. It also has its church, but it is very seldom visited by the townspeople there, because it is always closed if it is not

---

[105] Ibid., 1307-1308. "Acabado el camino, como a las tres después de comer vinimos a Muel, pueblo muy nombrado de cristianos nuevos de la marquesa de Camarasa puesto en la ribera del Huerva que allí pasa al lado de Mediodía. Este río nace en las sierras de Daroca y corre siempre hacia Levante de donde se desagua en el Ebro, no muy lejos de Zaragoza, tiene muy Buenos peces que los moros pescan con redes y anzuelos. Estos moros, desde el tiempo que los sus antepasados ganaron a España, año del Señor 714, siempre han quedado en sus leyes, no comen tocino ni beben vino, y estos vimos allá que todos vasos de barro y vidrio que habían tocado tocino o vino, luego después de nuestra partida, los rompían para que no sintiesen olor ni sabor de ello. Todos los vecinos casi de este lugar son olleros y todo el barro y todo el barro que se vende en Zaragoza lo hacen aquí y de esta manera. Primeramente hacen los vasos de cierta material que allí la tierra les da, de tal suerte como los quieren; hechos, los cuecen en un horno que para esto tienen aparejado; vueltos después a quitar para que los den lustre blanco y los hagan llanos, hacen un lavatorio de ciertos materiales de esa manera: toman una arroba de plomo con la cual mezclan tres o cuatros libras de estaño y luego otras tantas libras de cierta arena que allí tienen, de todo lo cual hacen una masa como de hielo y lo hacen en menudas piezas y muelen como harina, y hecho así polvo lo guardan. Este polvo después mezclan con agua y tiran los platos por ella y los cuecen otro vez en el horno, y entonces con este calor conservan su lustre. Después para que toda la vajilla hagan dorada, toman vinagre muy fuerte con el cual todo mezclan como dos reales de plata en polvo y bermellón y almagre y un poco de alumbre, lo cual todo mezclado escriben con una pluma sobre los platos y escudillas todo lo que quieren y los meten por tercera vez en el horno, y entonces quedan con el color de oro que no se les puede quitar hasta que caigan en pedazos. Esto me contaron los mismos olleros."

> Sunday or a feast day when they are forced to hear mass. They told me in the whole place there are no more than three old Christians, the priest, the notary, and the tavernkeeper, who is also the innkeeper. The rest would rather go on a pilgrimage to Mecca than to Santiago in Galicia.[106]

In this case, the northern traveler does not praise the beauty of the lusterware from Muel as Hieronymus Münzer and Nicolas von Poplau before him. Rather, he is concerned with the science of its manufacture, and, in one instance, seems to express wonderment at the durability of the golden sheen on the final product. Above all, however, Cock's primary interest is the identity of the inhabitants of the small village in which he finds himself. He states overtly that these Aragonese potters comprise an entire crypto-Muslim community within Spain. Their strict adherence to the laws of Islam, according to the courtier, even brings the artists to destroy the valuable goods of their trade if any of the vessels should come into contact with forbidden foodstuffs.

More so than any other travel writer, Henri Cock focuses on the otherness of the makers of lusterware. Furthermore, any reference to international export of the pottery is conspicuously absent. The furthest the Muel wares travel in Cock's account is to markets in nearby Zaragoza. At the close of the sixteenth century, we learn first-hand that while the exotic mystique of luster potters had not faded in the northern imagination, the international acclaim for the ware had certainly diminished among Northern European consumers.

Several factors contributed to this decline. A series of floods from 1375 to 1424 caused silting of the Zwin, which made navigating large ships to the port of Sluis increasingly difficult.

---

[106] Ibid., 1308. "La dicha villa de Muel tiene poco más o menos que doscientos vecinos. Tiene también su iglesia, pero muy poco visitada de los vecinos de ella, porque siempre está cerrada, si no es los domingos y fiestas cuando por fuerza han de oír misa. Dijéronme que en todo el lugar no había más que tres cristianos viejos, el cura, el notario y el tabernero, el cual también es mesonero, los demás irían de mejor gana en romería a la casa de Mecha que a Santiago de Galicia."

Consequently, economic activities shifted to the larger harbor of Antwerp.[107] The economic historian Raymond van Uytven writes that new industries, like sugar refineries, silk-weaving mills, glass factories, and printers were established in Antwerp.[108] As a result, ceramic consumption in the North changed accordingly. Because of economic stagnation in Bruges, the city never attracted potters from the Iberian Peninsula in the fifteenth century, and by the sixteenth century, historiated Italianate ceramics had come into fashion, particularly in Northern Europe.[109] With the rise of Antwerp came a local pottery industry, but the first-known immigrant potter to set up shop there was not from Valencia, but rather from Urbino.

While sixteenth-century lusterware still remained popular within local Iberian markets, export to the North dropped sharply. Archaeological excavations conducted in and around Sluis and Middleburg support these written sources indicating that later Catalan and Aragonese lusterware reached the North only in small numbers. Some lug-handeled bowls of the variety Henri Cock observed being produced in Muel have been unearthed near Sluis; however, these were likely carried by travelers as souvenirs rather than brought into northern ports through an established trade.[110]

Given my assertion that fourteenth- and fifteenth-century lusterware from the Iberian Peninsula satiated the Northern European taste for the exotic, what then replaced these products in later centuries? Simply put, colonial trade provided increased accessibility to different types of exotica, particularly in the realm of tableware. A shortage of precious metals in the fifteenth century gave way to an influx of silver in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which spurred on the production of fine silver objects, such as the Dutch silver tray in a painting by Willem Kalf and the countless metal vessels that appear not only in Dutch, but Flemish *pronk* pieces (fig. 3.33).[111] In addition to local metalworking industries in the North, Chinese export porcelain and New World ceramics flooded European markets as we shall see in chapter five. Northern collectors' fascination with Asian (and to some extent, New World) wares is evident in seventeenth-century cabinet paintings. In these paintings, wares currently available through new global markets are placed among large-scale works of painting and sculpture. For example, in *The Allegory of Sight*, attributed to Jan Breughel the Elder, pieces of the Mexican pottery are displayed on the same crowded shelves as luxurious metal vessels and Chinese porcelain (fig. 3.34).

---

[107] J.C.H. Blom and E. Lamberts eds., *History of the Low Countries*, trans. James C Kennedy (New York: Berghahn Books, 1999), 102.

[108] Raymond van Uytven, “What is New in the Sixteenth-Century Netherlands,” in *Production and Consumption in the Low Countries, 13th-16th Centuries* (Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate, 2001), 32.

[109] Viaene, 50; Ray, 111; For specific examples, see Bernard Rackham, *Early Netherlands Maiolica*.

[110] Hurst and Neal, *Pottery Produced and Traded in Northwest Europe, 1350-1650*, 48-49.

What the depiction of such wares in seventeenth-century paintings demonstrates is that intellectual interests and collecting impulses acquired a global flavor. Hieronymus Münzer's amazement at the fifteenth-century Valencian lusterware industry was now dwarfed by the far reaches of colonial trade. The mystique of the Saracens who produced ceramics with a metallic sheen faded next to the wares of newly discovered or formerly inaccessible civilizations. The trade routes that once crisscrossed the Mediterranean and North Seas grew into ones that extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific Oceans and beyond.

---

[111] Van Uytven, 18; Mariët Westermann, *A Worldly Art: The Dutch Republic, 1585-1718* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 116.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Life of Hispano-Islamic Lusterware in Italy

In 1393 the Florentine branch of the Datini Company sent the following missive to its Valencia office:

> Francesco di Marco wants you to have made… a lot of beautiful bowls… And there must be four or five beautiful basins to wash the hands and the same number of ewers, those beautiful ones, and a few salt cellars and things that you think are beautiful… And at the same time have bowls, large bowls, basins, chopping boards and everything else you can have made with his family crest. With this letter there will be a paper with the design and indication of the colors — in red and white stripes. By God make sure you serve him well and quickly![1]

Francesco di Marco Datini (1335-1411), an upwardly mobile Italian merchant who managed to acquire a coat-of-arms as well as luxurious and customized imported pottery for himself, owned a company that distributed the kind of Hispano-Islamic pottery mentioned above throughout the Mediterranean.[2] Born in Prato to a tavern-keeper, Francesco Datini rose above his humble beginnings to become one of the most esteemed citizens of his native town. He left Italy at the age of fifteen, bound for Avignon, where he remained for over thirty years. He spent the majority of his time there working in partnership with other Tuscan merchants, supplying luxury goods to the papal court.[3] In 1383, Datini moved back to Prato, and three years later to Florence, a city inhabited by "rich bankers, merchants, and professional men whose laws he thought likely to be favorable to trade."[4]

---

[1] Marco Spallanzani, "Lusterware of Valencia," in *Francesco di Marco Datini: The Man, the Merchant*, ed. Giampiero Nigro (Florence: University of Florence Press, 2010), 390. All of the Datini company's original documents can be seen in the Fondo Datini, through the Archivio di Stato di Prato, www.archiviodistato.prato.it

[2] That the passage above refers to lusterware specifically, as opposed to other types of pottery, is supported by two factors. The wares include heraldry and this makes it unlikely that any other kinds of Valencian ceramic of the time would have been decorated in such a manner. Because the order was large and for an important person, there is more documentation related to it, and at times the ceramics are referred to as "*maiolica*." In the late fourteenth century this label signified lustered pottery. See related documents in Marco Spallanzani, *Maioliche ispano-moresche a Firenze nel Rinascimento*, 338-344.

Datini was not mistaken. During the final two decades of the fourteenth century, he established a network of *fondaci*, foreign trade houses dealing in the import and export of cloth and luxury goods, with branches in Avignon, Genoa, Barcelona, Valencia, and Mallorca.[5] From the three Iberian trade houses, Datini's merchants collected wool, silk, wax, saffron, olive oil, leather, and, of course, Hispano-Islamic lusterware.[6] With respect to the latter product, his success is noteworthy. He expanded the already established but limited transport of the golden pottery to his native land, where Iberian lusterware reached both the Tyrrhenian and Adriatic coasts as well as the islands of Sicily and Sardinia.

In this chapter, I will first provide a brief overview of the Italian import of Hispano-Islamic lusterware. I will then trace the pottery's shifting reception in Italy, from revered religious symbol in the fourteenth century, to a desired and often imitated, imported status symbol in the fifteenth century, to its waning popularity in the sixteenth and seventeenth century. I intend to demonstrate that, while the pottery's consumption in Italy peaked and subsequently faded, the golden aura and complex technique of Hispano-Islamic lusterware continued to excite Italian viewers, consumers, and potters throughout the late medieval and early modern periods.

---

[3] Iris Origo, *The Merchant of Prato: Francesco di Marco Datini* (New York: Knopf, 1957), 3-64.

[4] Ibid., 64

[5] M.M. Postan, *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe, vol. II, Trade and Industry in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 378 -79.

[6] Origo, *Merchant of Prato*, 87-89.

Overview of Trade and Distribution

Some of the earliest examples of Hispano-Islamic lusterware have been found in Italy, where pieces were mortared into the façades and bell towers of various churches (fig. 5). Many of the bowls used in this practice included lusterware and other glazed ceramics from Egypt, North Africa, and Italy itself, and their application to buildings can be seen from Spain, to France, to Greece. Nevertheless, Hispano-Islamic luster pieces play a notable role in this type of architectural adornment, which seems to have been particularly popular in Italy. Three hundred buildings exhibit (or once exhibited) bowls, totaling 6,500 separate recorded instances of their insertion.[7] Almost 3,000 of these ceramics have been removed from their exterior settings and placed into museums throughout Italy (fig. 4.1).[8]

As noted in chapter one of this study, San Andrea and Santa Cecilia in Pisa exhibited twelfth- and thirteenth-century Hispano-Islamic luster dishes.[9] By the fourteenth century, the export of lusterware became even more pronounced as various archaeological and archival discoveries indicate. Bowls and other dishes continued to be inserted in church exteriors from Pisa to Rome.[10] A six-volume publication of archaeological reports on ceramic findings in Rome and Lazio testifies to the widespread dissemination of Iberian luster pottery along the western coast of Italy.[11] In sites such as Tuscia, Foro di Nerva, and Formello, fourteenth- and fifteenth-century fragments have been uncovered in several excavations.[12] In Tarquinia, excavations of wells conducted throughout the 1990s yielded 630 luster fragments, leading archaeologists Domenica Camardo and Beatrice Casocavallo to believe that the Roman city was once a privileged channel for the importing of Hispano-Islamic luster ceramics.[13] Because Tarquinia had long maintained commercial relations with Sardinia, Camardo and Casocavallo suggest that Hispano-Islamic luster regularly reached the mainland town indirectly from the island.[14] Given that various shards uncovered in Tarquinia are of the same type as those found in the "Pula Hoard" in southwestern Sardinia, this is a valid theory. (figs. 1.43-1.45, 1.47)

---

[7] Carmen Ravanelli Guidotti, *MediTERRAneum: Ceramica spagnola in Italia tra medioevo e rinascimento* (Viterbo: FAVL, 1992), 15.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Graziella Berti and Liana Tongiorgi, *I Bacini ceramici*, 70-84; 99-109; Plates CXCVII, CXCVIII, CIC, CC, CCI, CCII.

[10] Ravanelli Guidotti, *MediTERRAneum*, 26; Gaetano Ballardini, "The Bacini of San Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna."

[11] Elizabetta de Minicis ed., *Le ceramiche di Roma e del Lazio in età medievale e moderna,* 6 vols. (Rome: Edizioni Kappa, 2002).

[12] Ibid., 2: 118-123; 4: 129-154, 101-105.

As discussed in chapter one, the findings from the Pula discovery in the late nineteenth century are acknowledged as examples of some of the earliest lusterware made in Valencia.[15] While Hispano-Islamic luster had been exported into Italy since the twelfth century as the church bowls indicate, the fact that very early Valencian luster pottery appears in Sardinia and throughout the Italian mainland reveals that the demand for and the means of supplying such luxury goods to an Italian market had reached new heights in the fourteenth century.

Michael Postan includes the fourteenth century in what he has labeled the "Commercial Revolution," which he defines as a "startling surge in economic life in southern Europe" occurring between the years 950 and 1350.[16] The author writes, "At no other time or place have there been as many governments by and for the merchants…What is more, Italy maintained its lead throughout the Commercial Revolution, even increasing some of its sectors toward the end of the period."[17] Postan marks the final one hundred years of this period as the "hey day of medieval trade."[18]

---

[13] Ibid., vol. V, 312. See also David Abulafia, "Corneto-Tarquinia and the Italian Mercantile Republics: The Earliest Evidence," in Italy, Sicily, and the Mediterranean, 1100-1400 (London: Variorum, 1987), 225. Abulafia conjectured here that Corneto-Tarquinia and the Iberian Peninsula enjoyed direct trade, writing, "But the main proof for links with Spain will have to come from archaeology, for the Genoese contracts do not shed light on this side of the commercial life of Corneto." The findings of Camardo and Casocavallo seem to support Abulafia's theory.

[14] Ibid., 320.

[15] Blake, "The earliest Valencian lustreware?," 202-224.

[16] Postan, *Cambridge Economic History*, 330.

Recurrent warfare and the Black Plague ultimately brought an end to the Commercial Revolution,[19] but even during the second half of the fourteenth century, Mediterranean trade networks persisted, Fracesco Datini's being a prime example. In 1393, Datini dispatched one of his partners, Luca del Sera, to Barcelona, and by 1394, the *fondaco* in that city as well as the other trade houses in Valencia and Mallorca had been established.[20] Before the construction of the Iberian *fondaci*, Datini must have had the trade in lusterware in mind. As early as 1386, Bonifacio Ruspi, an Italian merchant living in Valencia, had sent word to Francesco Datini reminding him about the attractive luxury objects to be had in the port city. Ruspi wrote, "Here they make those beautiful painted bowls of *Malicha* that seem gilded and similarly good candles at six *denari* a pound. I remind you of this in case you would like to spend."[21]

In the second half of the fourteenth century, the principal maritime trade routes stretched from the Levant (Constantinople, Antioch, Famagusta, and Alexandria) to Italy, southern France, and Spain.[22] The portion of that route that Datini and other merchants used in trade with the Iberian Peninsula ran from Spain, to North Africa, to the Balearics, to Italy. When agents in Valencia collected goods for export, which included lustered pottery, they made arrangements at the Grao for shipment. The Datini company used a variety of ships, Genoese, Venetian, or Catalan, to send goods to Italy.[23] The shipment of lusterware required agents to send invoices to the client who had originally placed the order. The client would be charged for the cost of the ceramics, as well as for storage, taxes, and packing. In most cases, large, earthenware jars with wide necks would be used for shipping containers.[24] Once these goods were on board, ships set sail during periods of clement weather, between May and September. The wine, fruit, leather, and ceramics from Iberian and North African ports would be unloaded in Genoa or Livorno occasionally, but Pisa served as the primary point of entry.[25] In Pisa, Valencian lusterware went to the local market, but large quantities traveled from the port to Florence either on mule-back by an overland route, or by a slower, but safer river route on the Arno.[26]

---

[17] Ibid., 331.
[18] Ibid., 360.
[19] Ibid., 379.
[20] Origo, *Merchant of Prato*, 86.
[21] Spallanzani, "Lusterware of Valencia," 386.
[22] Origo, *Merchant of Prato*, 80.
[23] Spallanzani, "Lusterware of Valencia," 388

Hispano-Islamic lusterware also reached Venice by means of Datini's trade network, most likely on occasions when his various *fondaci* entrusted goods to Venetian ships. In 1978, Marco Spallanzani published a document from 1401-02 recording the purchase of over 200 pieces of lusterware from one Manises potter by the name of Azmet Zuleima that were to be sent to Venice.[27] The contemporary names and prices of the wares were recorded, with the large footed vessel, or *reinfrescatori*, and basil pot, or *alfabeuger*, being the most costly luster forms.[28] Unlike the findings from Tarquinia, which were small dishes, and therefore were less expensive, the shipments going to the cosmopolitan port of Venice consisted of larger, more ornate wares such as flower vases and herb pots, basins used for display on a credenza, and footed vessels used for festive arrangements of fruit on a table. Indeed, a sophisticated and discerning customer base regularly demanded such artistry for their homes. The same Azmet Zuleima, whose career we will hear more of later, is recorded in G.J. Osma's study, *Apuntes sobre la cerámica morisca*. Osma included a contract in his book, which reveals that on June 16, 1418, an Italian merchant

---

[24] Ibid.

[25] Origo, *Merchant of Prato*, 80.

[26] Spallanzani, "Lusterware of Valencia," 388.

[27] Marco Spallanzani, "Un invio di maioliche ispano-moresche a Venezia negli anni 1401-1402," *Archaeologia Medievale* V (1978): 529-541.

[28] Ibid., 530.

Antonio di Andrea, commissioned Zuleima for, among other wares, "*scutellarum veneciarum, bene pictatum*."[29] In other words, the master potter was to provide beautifully painted ceramics for the Venetian market.

The influx of Hispano-Islamic pottery and other imported goods into Venice led to a decree from the senate of that city in 1437, which prohibited the entry of foreign earthenware goods, glazed or unglazed, into the gulf.[30] Such a law was intended to impede foreign competition with locally produced wares. By 1455, however, the error of this ban was corrected. That year the senate issued a slightly different decree, one that still prohibited the entry of imported pottery, with the notable exception of all "*lauorieri da maiorica e da Valenza*."[31]

In the Venetian decree we see the additional term "*maiorica*," which further complicates our understanding of different labels for the golden pottery. The word "*maiorica*," in this context, bears witness to the importance of the island of Mallorca in the export of Hispano-Islamic lusterware to Italy, particularly to Florence via Pisa. In chapter two, while the label "*obra de Malica*" signified connection to the industry and culture of al-Andalus, when considering the life of lusterware in Italy the term "*maiorica*" seen in the 1455 document is related to the role of Mallorca, not of Málaga. Mallorca was, at least since the establishment of the Datini *fondaco* there, a collection and distribution point for luxury ceramics being shipped from the eastern coast of the Iberian Peninsula, across the Mediterranean into western Italian ports. The word "*maiorica*," is the source from which the term *maiolica* derives. The label is seen frequently in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Italian letters and inventories. For example, wares described as "*da Maiolica*," "from/of Maiolica," refer to lustered pottery ultimately made in the Valencian area, but shipped through the Balearic Island. By the sixteenth-century, however, "*maiolica*" can mean fine, glazed wares from Italian centers as well as Spanish ones. And today the term is a very general designation applied to tin-glazed earthenware as a whole.

---

[29] Osma, *Apuntes*, 2: 111.
[30] Ibid., 1: 39.
[31] Ibid., 1: 41.

During the fifteenth century, the demand for *maiolica* (i.e. lusterware from the Valencia area) emblazoned with the heraldry of prominent Italian families reached a fever pitch, particularly in Florence. A great many fine examples with identifiable coat-of-arms can be seen in museum collections throughout the United States and Europe. The Medici, the renowned merchant bankers, and later popes and grand dukes; the Nori, agents of the Medici in Lyons; the Gondi, also bankers, but of old Florentine nobility, are among the prominent families whose coats-of-arms appear on lustered ceramics (figs. 4.2-4.4).[32] Ginevra Sforza (1440-1507), wife of the Lord of Bologna, Giovanni Bentivoglio, possessed in her *guardaroba* several "*vasi fittili aurati*," that is, golden vases.[33] Into the sixteenth century, while Italian patronage of Hispano-Islamic luster pottery waned, some notable commissions were made. The arms of the Medici pope, Leo X, appear on a lustered and gadrooned dish in the Museo Civico, Bologna (fig. 4.5). The same pontiff also ordered a Valencian pavement to enrich the Castel San Angelo.[34]

Throughout the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, Italian potters marveled at and found inspiration in the Hispano-Islamic lusterware that had, for centuries, been imported to their native land. Derivations of Iberian forms and designs can be seen on pieces from throughout Tuscany, and from Montelupo in particular. By 1500, the reduction technique for achieving the iridescent sheen of the pottery had spread. Deruta, Gubbio, and, for a brief period, Caffagiolo produced lustered ceramics for a local, and then international clientele. In chapter five, I will show that in Italy, by the second half of the sixteenth, and certainly by the seventeenth century, the golden pottery of the Iberian Peninsula had become little more than a curious item to be placed within a noble household or *Wunderkammer* alongside other items from far more distant and fascinating locales. In this chapter, however, the conception of Hispano-Islamic luster as a spiritual, exotic, and coveted object in late medieval and early modern Italy is emphasized.

---

[32] Examples of such wares can be seen in the British Museum, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and The Hispanic Society of America.

[33] Ravanelli Guidotti, *MediTERRAneum*, 68.

[34] Otto Mazzucato, *I pavimenti pontifici di Castel San Angelo* (Rome: Paleani, 1985).

Heavenly Revetment and Holy Relics: Hispano-Islamic Luster in Italian Churches

In medieval churches throughout Italy and Sicily, Hispano-Islamic lusterware was not only set into façades and bell towers, but was also displayed inside of churches. In looking at these different instances of luster pottery in the religious context, it will be possible to gain a clearer understanding of the reception of the ceramics within Italy in the earliest years of its export.

The Church Exterior

Beginning in the eleventh and continuing into the fifteenth century, various concave and glazed dishes formed part of the exterior decorative ensembles of churches throughout Italy. Not all of these wares were lustered, nor did all of them originate in the Iberian Peninsula. Many, in fact, came from Egypt, Syria, Tunis, Morocco, and by the mid-thirteenth century, some of the inset bowls were of native Italian manufacture.[35] Study of these bowls, or *bacini*, as they are also known, has mostly fallen within the discipline of archaeology. Italian scholars, Graziella Berti and Liana and Ezio Tongiorgi, in particular have published many studies on the *bacini* focusing predominately on their presence on the exteriors of Pisa churches.[36] Hugo Blake has also published reports concerning the presence of the ceramic ornaments in Northern Europe.[37] Otto Mazzucato has noted the insertion of fourteenth-century Hispano-Islamic wares onto the campanile of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome (fig. 4.6), while Gaetano Ballardini published a short notice on the *bacini* of San Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna.[38] These studies (I have only noted a few here) are extremely valuable in that they provide an understanding of the dissemination of late medieval ceramics; however, they are works that focus on the more technical aspects of the initial placement and subsequent excavation of the wares rather than the cultural function of the bowls in an architectural context. Therefore, I will argue that the *bacini*, many of which were lustered examples of Hispano-Islamic pottery, carried not only an exotic connotation, but also had both an economic purpose and a specific religious significance.

---

[35] See Berti and Tongiorgi, *I bacini ceramici*; Caiger Smith, *Lustre Pottery*, 43; Marilyn Jenkins, "Islamic Pottery: A Brief History," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 40 (1983): 14; David Abulafia, "The Pisan Bacini and the Medieval Mediterranean Economy: A Historian's Viewpoint," in *Italy, Sicily, and the Mediterranean, 1100-1400* (London: Variorum, 1987), 287.

Previously, scholars have addressed the wider social significance of the *bacini*. For instance, Carmen Ravanelli Guidotti has written the following:

> Others instead prefer to think of the bowls that were applied to, or better still, displayed on the façades of religious buildings as trophies from military campaigns or as surplus vessels of sea-faring people. At the end of their journey, these vessels were offered to certain religious communities and therefore were thought of as the propitious *ex votos* of pilgrims and merchants; they served as a devout memento after the conclusion of a pilgrimage or commercial voyage to distant lands.[39]

---

[36] Berti and Liana Tongiorgi, *I bacini ceramici;* Ezio Tongiorgi and Graziella Berti, C*eramici importate dalla Spagna nell'area pisana dal XII al XV secolo* (Florence: Ediziono all'Insegna del Giglio, 1985); Berti and Paola Torre, *Arte islamica in Itlalia: i bacini delle chiese pisane* (Rome: Palazzo Brancaccio, 1983).

[37] Hugo Blake, "The *Bacini* of North Italy," in *La céramique médievale en Méditerranée occidentale, Xe-XVe siécles* (Paris: Centre national de Recherche Scientifique, 1980), 93-111.

[38] Gaetano Ballardini, "The Bacini of San Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna," 128-131, 134-135.

[39] Ravanelli Guidotti, *MediTERRAneum*, 15. "Otros en vez, prefieren pensar que los cuencos estaban aplicados o más bien expuestos en fachadas de edificios religiosos como trofeos de empresas militares o bien como vajillas sobrantes de personas que viajaban por mar. Esas vajillas al terminar el viaje eran ofrecidas como voto a ciertas comunidades religiosas y valían por lo tanto como una suerte de ex-voto a ciertas de peregrinos y comerciantes; servían de recuerdo devoto después de la conclusión de peregrinajes o viajes de comercio en tierras lejanas."

Here Ravanelli Guidotti comments on the connection of the *bacini* to established commercial routes, but also notes the way in which medieval worshippers exoticized the bowls, viewing them as trophies or souvenirs. According to this interpretation, imported bowls from the Iberian Peninsula, just like other ceramic wares made in the Islamic East, formed parts of the ensembles of foreign goods on the front of religious structures. These materials were capable of conjuring up images of far-away places and the concept of a holy pilgrimage.

Ravanelli Guidotti alludes to other scholars who have considered the *bacini* to be *spolia*, which in its strictest sense refers to goods taken by force and placed into a context wherein defeat or triumph over an enemy is emphasized.[40] This interpretation has existed since the nineteenth century. In 1870, C. Drury Fortnum published an article entitled, "Notes on the *Bacini*, or Dishes of Enameled Earthenware Introduced as Ornaments to the Architecture of some Churches in Italy."[41] In spite of his title, Fortnum confined his study to Pisa, writing that the *bacini* found in the churches of the city were related to specific military events that transpired at the beginning of the twelfth century. According to this author, the Pisans, being particularly terrorized by King Nazaredeck of Mallorca, "made great exertions to rid the Tyrrenian Sea of Moorish pirates." Fortnum writes:

> Majorca was attacked, the town assaulted, and after a year's obstinate defence, fell into the hands of the Pisans, about Easter 1115. The king was killed, his successor made prisoner, and with enormous spoil the Pisans returned triumphantly to their native city. As the Moors are believed to have been the great ceramic artists of that age, it is probable that their products were eagerly sought and highly prized; and it has been supposed that a quantity of these precious specimens of the potter's skill were secured and brought to Pisa by the captors, where they were built into the towers and façades of the churches as memorials of this triumph.[42]

---

[40] For an excellent discussion of the many understandings of *spolia* in the Middle Ages, see Dale Kinney, "The Concept of *Spolia*," in *A Companion to Medieval Art*, ed. Conrad Rudolph (New York: Wiley and Sons, 2008), 233.

[41] C. Drury Fortnum, "Notes on the "Bacini," or Dishes of Enamelled Earthenware, introduced as Ornaments to the Architecture of some of the Churches in Italy," *Archaeologia* 42 (1870): 379.

[42] Ibid.

Fortnum's theory in no way accounts for earlier incidents of imported pottery on Pisan churches. David Abulafia, however, has stressed the triumphal and commercial significance of the *bacini*, emphasizing the pottery's foreign origins and providing a sounder chronology, which explains the presence of the ceramics on the eleventh-century buildings. For Abulafia the inclusion of these bowls is evidence of piracy as well as Pisa's flourishing trade.[43] The author writes that at the end of the eleventh century Pisa participated in raids in both Sicily and Tunisia. Some of the earliest *bacini*, examples of fine Egyptian luster found on S. Piero a Grado and S. Sisto, were brought into Pisa along with silks, glass, crystal, and other luxury materials looted from Muslim Palermo in 1063 and al-Mahdiyyah in 1087. Abulafia points out that the bowls were possibly "odds and ends found among hoards of booty. This might explain the origin of the custom of utilizing the *bacini*, but it cannot explain the persistence of the custom." According to Abulafia, the later presence of the *bacini* on church buildings attests to Pisa's growing (and legitimate) trade network in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which is significant given that commercial contracts between the port city and various Mediterranean powers do not survive from this period, as they do for Venice and Genoa.

It is possible too that the medieval worshipper may have been aware that the majority of the *bacini* came from the Islamic world, and therefore he may have drawn not only connections to foreign lands and the concept of pilgrimage, but also more generally to the Crusades. A profusion of the application of imported Islamic bowls on Italian churches is contemporary with a heightened anxiety about the spread of Islam in the East. The First Crusade launched by Urban II in 1095 sent Christian peasants and knights alike to fight Muslims in the Holy Land. The medieval worshipper may have viewed a display of Islamic ceramics on their church, especially those that exhibited a rich, golden brilliance, as a symbol of the possession of, or triumph over infidels in the East. In the following centuries, the incorporation of imported pottery, whether Egyptian, Syrian, or even from a Christian Iberian center, such as the late fourteenth-century luster bowls featured on the campanile of Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome,[44] may have been broadly conceived of as *spolia* wrested from an Islamic "other." There very well may have been a collective consciousness on the part of devout Christians in medieval Italy with regard to the process of triumphant display. There are well-known examples of *spolia* incorporated into religious and civic buildings such as the bronze horses and the porphyry tetrarchs taken in the 1204 sack of Constantinople that were placed in San Marco in Venice. Yet, the *bacini* in these architectural recesses were certainly not as conspicuous.

---

[43] Abulafia, "The Pisan *Bacini*," 287-302.

Most recently, Michelle Hobart, who studied the use of *bacini* in Sardinian churches, has dismissed such theories, writing, "The hypothesis that the pottery was war booty taken from Muslims and placed on churches to represent the Christian triumph over the 'infidel,' thereby warding off the enemy in case of its returns is untenable. The pottery was traded regularly in the Mediterranean basin and was not, in fact, seized as loot."[45] Hobart goes on to discount other attempts to find meaning in the *bacini*, ruling out numerological and semiotic interpretations. The author does point out that, unlike the Victorine and the Vallumbrosian orders on the island, the Cistercian and Franciscan churches in Sardinia did not employ this type of adornment, in keeping with their ascetic beliefs. Yet Hobart does not tread any further into cultural readings of the *bacini*. Ultimately, she is concerned with using the pottery as a means of dating Sardinian churches so stylistically influenced by Pisa. The author believes very simply that the ceramics were "an ideal decorative element."[46]

---

[44] See Otto Mazzucato, "I bacini del campanile di S. Maria Maggiore a Roma," in *Atti XIV Convegno Internazionale dell Ceramica, Abisola June 5-7, 1981 by the Centro ligure per la storia della ceramica* (Abisola: Centro ligure per la storia della ceramica, 1984), 75-82.

[45] Michelle Hobart, "Sardinian Medieval Churches and their Bacini: Architecture embedded with Archaeology" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, Institute of Fine Arts, 2006), 50.

The studies discussed above all share the common thread of addressing the *bacini* within the context of Pisa's political, religious, and commercial situation in the eleventh through the thirteenth centuries. While intriguing, such geographically specific works do not completely explain the persistence of mortaring glazed bowls into church façades well into the fifteenth century, nor do they explain the widespread nature of the practice and its reception in Rome, Lucca, Tolentino, and Ravenna. Even Hobart's theory that the *bacini* were essentially decorative and more palatable to non-mendicant orders does not function outside of Sardinia, given that the inset bowls appear on Franciscan churches in Pisa and Rome. Nevertheless, as Hobart points out, these ceramic goods were a common trade item and circulated throughout the Mediterranean world. Therefore, I contend that medieval builders and worshippers may not have exclusively viewed the *bacini* as symbols of holy pilgrimage, commercial success, or *spolia* from military victories. Rather the bowls applied to the façades of church buildings were also conceived of as important architectural components that had both economical and optical advantages.

The *bacini* are commonly observed on smaller, more humble churches. Far more grandiose examples of Italian Romanesque architecture, such as the Florence baptistry, boast colorful marble revetment instead. Later constructions, like the church façades of the Orvieto and Siena cathedrals feature not only multi-colored marbles, but also mosaics and sculptural programs. Rosamond E. Mack has noted this, writing of the bowls that, "They contributed color and sheen to brick façades—more cheaply than the marble and mosaic inlay popular in contemporary Italian Romanesque architecture. The importation and use of the *bacini*, in addition to demonstrating the diffusion of Islamic domestic utensils during the late Middle Ages, show that Italians appreciated their aesthetic qualities and were quick to employ them ornamentally, even in their most important religious buildings."[47]

---

[46] Ibid., 51.

Like Rosamond Mack, David Abulafia (in addition to viewing the earliest *bacini* as *spolia*) writes, "On the tower of San Bartolomeo all'Isola in Rome *bacini* and marble decorations existed side by side; so too on several Pisan churches. But the grandest church of all in Pisa, the marble-coated cathedral, has almost no *bacini*, and may be taken to illustrate a preference for colored marble insets. So *bacini* are second-class decorations."[48]

To label the inset, glazed bowls, which included very fine examples of the luxurious lustered pottery of both Egypt and the Iberian Peninsula, "second-class," belittles this art form to some extent. It is safe to say, however, the ceramics were cost-effective and easily attained when compared to other building materials. They were also an efficient alternative to the *cosmati* roundels seen on Romanesque and Gothic churches throughout Italy and Sicily.[49] The *bacini* are very similar in shape to the intricately cut, circular insets on the Pisa Cathedral (fig. 4.7), the Monreale Cathedral, San Domenico di Fiesole, and countless other churches, but they could be placed quickly and with their often metallic glaze, achieve a far more reflective effect than *cosmati* work.

Considering the presence of *bacini* on Santa Maria Maggiore and the Pisa Cathedral as well as on smaller or more provincial churches, these bowls could stand alone on an unadorned stone façade, or be incorporated into the decorative scheme of a richly embellished church. In both cases, the shining, imported pottery served a specific purpose—to form a glistening, chromatic display and reflect the light of the sun. In considering this function, the notion that the

---

[47] Mack, *Bazaar to Piazza*, 3.

[48] Abulafia, "The Pisan Bacini," 288.

[49] Gothic churches in Italy still maintained the basilica form and timber roofs of earlier medieval constructions, but the façades exhibited decorative gothic elements, such as traceries and spires. In this respect, they were structurally different from the French Gothic.

bacini were looked upon by medieval worshippers as Islamic in appearance, and therefore products of and *spolia* from Muslim infidels can be reassessed. Unlike the exotic collections and displays of Hispano-Islamic lusterware, Tunisian shields, and Turkish basins and knives found in a lavish domestic context discussed in the previous chapter (for example, the drawing room of René of Anjou), the intricate, Islamic designs on the *bacini* could not be deciphered by on-lookers. The bowls were mortared in at too great a height for viewers to see anything other than the pottery's shining qualities.

To my knowledge, no medieval accounts referring specifically to the *bacini* on church façades exist. The earliest description that I could locate of an observer discussing the appearance of the ceramics on church exteriors dates to 1758, but I believe it should be mentioned here to gain an understanding of the nature of this architectural ornament. It comes from Giambattista Passeri (1694-1780) who wrote a history of tin-glazed earthenware. Passeri notes, "Before 1300 was introduced the custom of adorning church façades with beautifully polished, glazed earthenware, which made such a pretty sight, picking up in the recesses the rays of the sun, and reflecting them with much gracefulness."[50] It is noteworthy that Passeri does not describe the designs or possible provenance of the inserted pottery. What concerns him is the light. His account is of utmost importance because he viewed the church façades long before the ceramics were removed and placed in museums, and when the colored glazes on the *bacini* were far more vivid.

The use of Hispano-Islamic lusterware in *bacini* ensembles of church façades is unique when compared to every other context for the ceramics examined in this study so far. Within this architectural setting, the pottery does not serve as interior palace decoration, nor is it a novelty in a noble or royal home. The shining *bacini* were placed in an open and more public way. Like mosaics, or like intricate, cut marble compositions on the exteriors of Romanesque and Gothic churches in Italy, the dazzling optical properties of the bowls were intended, I believe, to attract the faithful and to communicate a specific message to the Christian community, that of the Church as Heavenly Jerusalem.

---

[50] Giambattista Passeri, *Istoria delle pitture in maiolica fatte in Pesaro e ne' luoghi circonvicini* (Pesaro: Nobiliana, 1838), 29. "Non così succedette dopo il 1300: s'introdusse allora la moda di adornare I frontespizi delle chiese con de'bacini di terra colorati, ed inverniciati assai bene, che facevano un bel vedere, reccogliendo nel concavo I raggi del sole, e riflettendoli con molta vagheza."

The image of a radiant and jewel encrusted building that represents a Celestial Jerusalem is found in Revelation 21:10 in which an angel leads John to the realm. “He took me in spirit to a great, high mountain and showed me the holy city Jerusalem coming down out of heaven from God. Its radiance was like that of a precious stone, like jasper, clear as crystal.” John goes on to describe a square city with high walls and twelve gates. “The wall was constructed of jasper, while the city was gold, clear as glass. The foundations of the city wall were decorated with every precious stone.” These include jasper, sapphire, chalcedony, emerald, sardonyx, carnelian, topaz, amethyst, etc. Each of the twelve gates is made from a single pearl. The subtle, but still gleaming and chromatically diverse glazed pottery applied to Italian churches may have been a modest attempt on the part of medieval builders to capture the luminescent and multi-colored effect that was associated with the Heavenly Jerusalem.

In fact, the description of the Heavenly Jerusalem has often figured into scholarship on medieval religious architecture, most commonly with Gothic cathedrals. The German art historian, Otto von Simson, popularized this idea.[51] For Simson, “The church is, mystically and liturgically, an image of heaven. Medieval theologians have, on innumerable occasions, dwelt on this correspondence. The authoritative language of the dedication ritual of a church explicitly relates the vision of the Celestial City, as described in the book of Revelation to the building that is to be erected."[52]

---

[51] Otto von Simson, *The Gothic Cathedral: Origins of Gothic Arhcitecture and the Medieval Concept of Order* (New York: Harper and Row, 1964). Before Von Simson the Gothic church as Heavenly Jerusalem had been considered by Adolphe Napoléon Didron, *Manuel d’iconographie chrétienne* (Paris: Impr. Royale, 1842), and Hans Sedlmayr, *Die Entstehung der Kathedrale* (Zurich: Atlantis Verlag, 1950).

The author's chief aim in this work was to view the Gothic cathedral specifically as structurally and functionally similar to glass-like Heavenly Jerusalem from Revelation. Yet Von Simson does note that the same concept of the church as the Celestial City existed with earlier Romanesque buildings.[53] In the case of these older constructions, the author writes that mosaics, paintings, and all decorations were meant to cloak the stone structure of the church. While at the same time, medieval chronicles looked upon the decoration on and in Romanesque churches as dazzling and radiant. One visitor to the church of Trinité at Fecamp wrote that the Romanesque church was like Heavenly Jerusalem in that it was "resplendent with gold and silver."[54] So it was the mere shining of lustrous materials that could evoke the Celestial City for the medieval viewer.

Since the work of Otto von Simson, theologians and art historians alike have continued to stress the parallel between the Heavenly Jerusalem and the church building. Laurence Hull Stookey focused on the liturgical and theological writings that compare the earthly church structure with the Heavenly Jerusalem, writing that such concepts appear in liturgies as early as the tenth century.[55]

Unlike Simson and Stookey who consider French Gothic churches exclusively, architectural historian Alick McLean emphasizes the special relationship Tuscan Romanesque churches have with the Heavenly Jerusalem described in Revelation. He writes, "The imagery of a splendid paradise —of the Celestial Jerusalem—rendered in classical arcades and rich polychrome marbles became the common theme of churches along Tuscany's own major river valley, the Arno. It also appears in Florence in the Baptistry, in Vescovado, in Santo Stefano al Ponte, and in the church of SS. Apostoli as well as in the Badia in Fiesole."[56] According to McLean, the ability of the elaborate façades and colorful marble revetment of these churches to inspire a vision of Heavenly Jerusalem was a widespread phenomenon. The connection between the church and the Celestial City is most apparent at the Pisa Cathedral complex, built between 1063 and 1350. When the archbishop of Pisa was serving as patriarch for the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem and many Pisan crusaders had made their way to the Holy Land, McLean notes the similarities between the Pisa complex and the Temple Mount in Jersusalem:

---

[52] Von Simson, *The Gothic Cathedral*, 8.

[53] Ibid., 11.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Laurence Hull Stookey, "The Gothic Cathedral as the Heavenly Jerusalem: Liturgical and Theological Sources," *Gesta* 8 (1969): 35-36. Stookey also discusses the church consecration rituals that make this comparison alluded to by Otto von Simson.

> The circle and line composition of Pisa's baptistry and Cathedral echoes that at the Temple Mount's Haram-al-Sharif, or Noble Sacred Enclosure, where the centrally-planned Dome of the Rock, known to the Pisans and crusaders as the Temple of the Lord, aligns with the basilical Mosque of al-Aqsa, then called the Temple of Solomon. At the time of its completion the Pisan complex would have been even more splendid than its Holy Land prototype, with its polychromatic intarsia, marble, and richly sculpted elevations gleaming like that other Jerusalem of Revelation, the Heavenly Jerusalem, which John describes as studded in precious stone.[57]

So too was the likely purpose of the less expensive, but highly reflective and lustrous *bacini* on more humble churches throughout Italy. Medieval depictions of the Heavenly Jerusalem show buildings adorned with round, jewel insets of various colors. A tenth-century Spanish manuscript, the Morgan Library's *Beatus*, contains a rendering of the Celestial City with the round stones mentioned by John above each of the twelve gates (fig. 4.8). The *bacini* on actual churches, however, do not adhere literally to the number of precious stones found in

---

[56] Alick McLean, "Romanesque Architecture in Italy, The Monastery as Heavenly Jerusalem," in *Romanesque: Architecture, Sculpture, Painting*, ed. Rolf Toman (Cologne: Könemann, 1997), 97.

[57] Ibid., 98.

Revelation; rather the impression of a splendidly, bejeweled structure alone had the power to allude to the Heavenly Jerusalem. An even earlier, fifth-century mosaic from the triumphal arch of Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome, depicts the Celestial City as a structure studded with many more than twelve circular insets (fig. 4.9). Though it is not a literal interpretation of the city described in Revelation, the mosaic effectively illustrates the Heavenly Jerusalem. It is important to note again here, that Santa Maria Maggiore's bell tower is studded with fifty-eight examples of fourteenth-century Hispano-Islamic lusterware dishes (fig. 4.6).

The small bowls gleaming like round jewels on the façades of churches throughout Italy designated sacred ground. The luminous properties of the glazed *bacini*, many of which were lustered examples from Málaga and the Valencia area, contributed to the construction of a Heavenly Jerusalem on Earth. In this architectural context, lusterware served an economic purpose, but more importantly, it was invested with a mystical and theological meaning.

A Revered Holy Relic in Sicily

The brilliant appearance of Hispano-Islamic lusterware was not only harnessed for the exterior decoration of churches throughout Italy. The golden ceramics were also featured *inside* of religious buildings, where they could be endowed with specific, even miraculous properties. In the previous chapter, I examined the way in which Northern European pilgrims who reached the church of S. Maria Hydria on the island of Cyprus exoticized one of the Alhambra Vases. That vase, now known as the Stockholm vase, had been regarded for centuries as one of the vessels used by Jesus of Christ at the Wedding at Cana, making the piece an important holy relic, one worthy of the veneration of devout travelers en-route to the Holy Land (fig. 1.27). In Sicily, another lustered vase with the same ovoid body and wing handles as the Alhambra vases also assumed holy relic status. The so-called "*giara di Sant'Ugo*," or the Vase of St. Hugo, is to this day kept in the eastern Sicilian town, Novara di Sicilia, where it was considered to be an object invested with a special, religious significance (fig. 4.10). As we shall see, this particular vase type with its large size and almost anthropomorphic shape was, more than any other type of smaller ware, subject to such interpretations.

The Vase of St. Hugo: Date of Manufacture and Physical Appearance

The Novara Vase likely dates to the early fourteenth century based on its shared attributes with the Alhambra vases (fashioned between about 1350 and 1425) as well as with earlier, medieval Iberian ceramics. Although in poor condition, some of the original glaze on the swelling of the St. Hugo Vase's body survives. The piece was covered with an opaque, white tin glaze, which featured lustered embellishment of scrolling stems and leaves, the veins of which were articulated using *sgrafitto* technique (fig. 4.11). Spiraling lines accented by dots surround these vegetal patterns and bear a resemblance to the gold and white motifs around the rim of the thirteenth-century St. Cecilia bowl (fig. 5) and on the sides of a lustered grave marker from Huelva (Instituto Valencia de don Juan, Madrid), as well as on other ceramic fragments in the Patronato de la Alhambra. The scrolling stems and leaves, on the other hand, are similar in appearance to those rendered on very early examples of lusterware from Andalucía from the twelfth century found mortared into churches in Pisa (fig. 4.12).

Like the Alhambra vases, the tapered base of the Novara Vase has several thin grooves, almost like the threads of a screw (fig. 4.10). These were worked into the clay body so that the vessel could be fitted securely into a cylindrical stand (fig. 4.13).[58] These thin grooves are also a feature commonly found on earlier non-lustered and stamped *tinajas* dating from the twelfth to the fourteenth century, such as the green-glazed, finned vat housed in the Archaeological Museum of Seville (fig. 4.14).

---

[58] Existing bases can be seen in *Los jarrones de la Alhambra*, ed. Villafranca Jiménez, 191.

I believe the previously undated Vase of St. Hugo was manufactured around 1300 to 1325, earlier than the Alhambra vases, because of its less refined, less elongated shape. The Stockholm Vase, for example, is 119 cm tall, and even non-lustered, stamped *tinajas* from the mid fourteenth and early fifteenth century, such as a green-glazed example in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum, is 86 cm tall. It seems that around 1350, Hispano-Islamic wing-handled vases took on more slender proportions. The Vase of St. Hugo, however, has a shorter, stouter form, its height being only 74 cm and its diameter wider than any of the Alhambra vases at 67 cm. Its dimensions, therefore, are related more so to the earlier *tinajas* created in Andalucía throughout the twelfth, thirteenth, and early fourteenth centuries. For example, the thirteenth-century green-glazed vat in Seville has similar proportions to the St. Hugo Vase with a diameter of 64 cm (fig. 4.14).

The wings of the Novara Vase, like so many other vessels with these flat, finned handles, have broken off long ago. Given the squat form of the Vase of St. Hugo, its wing handles were most likely shorter than the elegant ones on the Alhambra vases, and more like the fins found on earlier *tinajas*, like the Seville example mentioned above. As for the neck of the Novara Vase (fig. 4.15), there is nothing comparable to it on either the refined luster vases made in the fourteenth century or on earlier *tinajas*. The neck of the St. Hugo Vase is octagonal in form. Four bands in a relief, zigzag pattern make up the base of the neck. Glazed compartments make up the middle portion, which is topped with an unusual and unglazed, octagonal ring carved with a star pattern and vertical notches. A round, metal lid has been attached to the top of the vase, no doubt a later addition. In fact, given its singular appearance, the entire neckpiece may be a later addition altogether. The original neck of the St. Hugo Vase may have broken off at the same time as the wing handles. Necks and wings were fashioned separately and then slipped on to the body of such vases before firing, so it is very common to see these pieces missing or detached from surviving vessels. The painted decoration on the glazed portion of the neck of the Novara Vase is unusual too, being a very crude rendering of the *sebqa* or diaper pattern. Neck fragments in the Victoria and Albert Museum as well as the necks of the Palermo, Hornos, and Instituto Valencia de don Juan Alhambra vases all carry far more delicate *sebqa* patterns (fig. 4.16). At one time the neck of the Novara Vase may have had the same finely painted decoration. Further examination of this piece is necessary, but in any case, perhaps the entire neck, or at the very least, parts of the neck seem to be old repairs made to what has been for centuries, an object of prestige for the town of Novara di Sicilia.

Piecing Together the Legend of the Vase

To my knowledge, no recent scholarly publications have mentioned the Vase of St. Hugo. The lustered, wing-handled vessel did not appear in the 2006 Alhambra vase exhibition, *Los jarrones de Alhambra: simbología y poder*, held in Granada, which brought together not only every Alhambra vase and related pieces and fragments, but also included *tinajas* as well as less studied green-glazed wares and other household items from Nasrid Spain. Nor did an image of the Novara Vase appear in the exhibition's catalogue. Summer Kenesson did not refer to the piece in her article on the Alhambra vases. Anthony Ray's book on Spanish pottery does not mention the vase either.

Alice Wilson Frothingham did not inlcude any significant discussion of the St. Hugo Vase in her 1951 book, *Lustreware of Spain*. She did know about the piece, however, but it seems that she was not able to obtain an image of it until several years after her study was published. Frothingham requested several photographs of the Hispano-Islamic vase from the Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale in Rome. She received photos of the entire vase, plus details of its neck and existing patches of glazed decoration on May 4th of 1965. She wrote this date along with the designation, "Giarra di S. Ugo, found in the church of S. Maria Novara (Sicily)" on the back of each photograph. Frothingham may have been prompted to order the pictures by a brief reference to the St. Hugo Vase in a 1930 edition of the Italian pottery journal, *Faenza*.

In an article entitled, "Le officine sicilane di ceramica," Encrico Mauceri provided the following description of the vase:

> In the old church of Santa Maria in Novara di Sicilia (province of Messina) where dear to the local tradition are the memories of St. Hugo who was the abbot of this celebrated Cistercian monastery, I saw cordoned off against the wall left of the entrance a magnificent amphora, called the Jar of St. Hugo. It was seventy-four cm high, with a very elongated neck…octagonal in form, and decorated in zigzags and lilies inscribed with geometric patterns in gold on a greenish white background, and perforated hexagons on the upper edge. The vase is unfortunately very deteriorated. Also what remains of the handles is barely attached, and given its unhappy location, it was impossible for me to photograph it.[59]

Mauceri goes on to say that the vase is of "Hispano-Moresque manufacture," and recalls other Alhambra vases some of which had been found in Sicily.

For the purposes of my study, one that attempts to trace the way in which Hispano-Islamic lusterware was regarded in its various contexts, it is the connection of a fourteenth-century Iberian luster vase to a twelfth-century saint that is most fascinating. Very little is known of the life of St. Hugo of Novara. The few hagiographical sources that mention this obscure holy man are not consistent with major facts regarding the place of his birth, his arrival in Sicily, or even the date his feast day. For example, in his 1630 *Menologium cisterciense*, the Spanish Cistercian chronicler, Crisostomo Henríquez, lists the saint's feast day as November 20th.[60] Another source says it is observed on November 17th, but that the inhabitants of Novara today celebrate his feast on August 16th.[61] Traditionally, Hugo is thought to have been a disciple of the famous Cistercian former, Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153).[62] By some accounts, Hugo was from France; however, another seventeenth-century Cistercian chronicler, Ángel Manrique claimed St. Hugo of Novara to be Spanish.[63]

---

[59] Enrico Mauceri, "Le officine sicilane di ceramica," *Faenza* 18 (1930): 10. "Nella vecchia Chiesa di S. Maria la Novara in Novara di Sicilia (prov. Messina) cara alla tradizione del luogo per i ricordi di S. Ugo che fu abate di quel celebre monastero cistercense, ho visto murata nella parete a sinistra entrando, una magnifica anfora, detta "Giarra di S. Ugo," alta centimetri 74, col collo molto allungato…di forma ottagonale, decorato a zig-zag i gigli inscriti in motivi geometrici in oro su fondo bianco verdognolo, e di esagoni traforati presso l'orlo superiore. Il vaso è disgraziatamente assai deteriorato, anche nelle anse cui rimangano appena gli attacchi, e data la infelice collocazione, non mi fu possibile avere una fotografía."

Hugo was reputedly dispatched to the abbey of Santa Maria della Sambucina in Calabria at the tip of Italy, before crossing into Sicily around either 1160 or 1180.[64] Cistercian documents record the abbey of Santa Maria la Novara in Sicily as a daughter of the Sambucina abbey.[65] This transferal from Calabria to Sicily was the result of improved relations between Bernard of Clairvaux and the Norman King of Sicily, Roger II (1095-1154). The two had been at odds with each other during the papal schism that followed the death of Honorius II. While Bernard of Clairvaux supported Innocent II, Roger championed the pro-Norman antipope, Anacletus II. Only after the death of Anacletus in 1139, and Roger's reconciliation with Innocent II, could the Cistercian order have spread into the Norman Kingdom of Sicily. Throughout the twelfth century, the presence of Western monasticism increased on the Mediterranean island, which had been ruled previously by Arab Muslims and Orthodox Christians from the Byzantine Empire. According to Lynn Townsend White, Roger II himself was responsible for the establishment of Cistercian abbeys in Sicily. The author writes, "Whatever hints Bernard may have dropped, it was Roger who took the real initiative by sending a person named Alfanus to Clairvaux to ask Bernard to send two monks to the Norman Kingdom to select a site for the abbey."[66]

---

[60] Crisostomo Henríquez, *Menologium cisterciense notationibus illustratum* (Antwerp: Ex officinal Plantiniana Balthasaris Moretti, 1630), 89.

[61] Carlo Gregorio, *I santi siciliani* (Messina: Intilla Editore, 1999), 314.

[62] Marie-Anselme Dimier, "Ugo, abate a Novara di Sicilia," in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, vol.12 (Rome: Instituto Giovanni XXIII nella Pontificia Universita lateranense,1969), 773.

[63] Gregorio, *I santi siciliani*, 312; Ángel Manrique, *Annales cistercienses* (Lyon: Boissat and Laurant, 1643), 522.

[64] Ibid.

[65] Lynn Townsend White, Jr. *Latin Monasticism in Norman Sicily* (Cambridge, MA; The Medieval Academy of America, 1938), 182.

The abbey of Santa Maria la Novara, now known as the *badia vecchia*, was built about two miles away from the city in the Val Demone, and has been suggested as a possible candidate for the first Cistercian abbey in Sicily.[67] Though White does not agree with the assertion, given that there is no documentary evidence for its existence before 1193, local tradition asserts that the abbey of Santa Maria la Novara was founded between 1171 and 1172.[68] Both Henríquez and Manrique believed St. Hugo to be the first abbot of Santa Maria la Novara. The so-called Vase of St. Hugo was probably at the *badia vecchia*, though the vessel would not have made it into the church until sometime in the fourteenth century at the earliest, long after the death of the local saint.

Information about the early Cistercian establishments of Novara di Sicilia can be found in two studies written by Gaetano Borghese. Despite the fact that in his first book, *Novara di Sicilia, notizie storiche*, Borghese's dates are completely inaccurate (he writes that the old Cistercian abbey was founded in 1050 and that St. Hugo died there around 1130, years before any efforts would have been made on the part of Roger II to establish the order in Sicily), this author does provide some useful background about our saint, no doubt gleaned from local legend.[69] According to Borghese, “From the city and the countryside people came in droves to see the superb monastery and to visit piously the abbot Hugo, who had already risen to fame as a saint. It was extremely honorable to wear that monastic garb and to live in that order, which was maintained purely and rigorously for so many years.”[70] Borghese goes on to write that this *badia vecchia*, located just outside of Novara di Siclia, was abandoned and in 1659, the monks moved to a new church inside of town, also called Santa Maria la Novara (and also known as the *chiesa dell’Abbazia* or the *chiesa di S. Ugo*).[71] Flooding and water damage had compromised the original abbey since the early sixteenth century.[72]

---

[66] Ibid., 163.
[67] Ibid., 164.
[68] Gregorio, *I santi siciliani*, 314; Dimier, "Ugo," 773.

That Hugo’s legacy had been in place long before the abbey moved locations in the mid-seventeenth century is clear in that Pope Clement VIII beatified the Cistercian abbot in 1604.[73] Though Borghese writes that Hugo was already known as a saint in his own time, I have found no indication that he was officially canonized; nevertheless, beatification allows for veneration on a local level, and in 1664 Hugo was named patron of the city of Novara.[74] His position as a locally revered saint is also evident in the transferal of more than 130 of Hugo’s relics to the new church in 1659. Among them, Borghese notes the head, gloves, and handkerchief of the abbot, as well as “a most valuable ancient vase.”[75]

---

[69] Gaetano Borghese, *Novara di Sicilia, notizie storiche* (Milan: Regis e Comp., 1875), 70-71.

[70] Ibid., 71. “Dalle città e da vicini paesi correvano a gara onde vedere il superbo monastero e visitare piamente l’abbate Ugo, già salito in fama di santo. Fa sommamente in pregio poter indossare quell’abito monastico e vivere in quella regola, che pura e rigorosa si mantenne per tanti anni.”

[71] Ibid.

[72] Gaetano Borghese, “Novara di Sicilia e le sue opere d’arte da documenti inediti,” *Archivio Storico Messinese* 7 (1906): 261-262. Here Borghese is able to support these dates with documentary evidence uncovered in the Archivio di Stato di Messina.

[73] Gregorio, 314.

[74] Ibid.

[75] Borghese, *Novara di Sicilia, notizie storiche*, 72. “…un pregevolissimo vaso antico.”

Today, celebrations in honor of Novara's first Cistercian abbot are observed. Every 16th of August, several of Hugo's relics are processed through the streets of Novara.[76] Available tourism information on Novara mentions the vase as well, claiming that the fourteenth-century Hispano-Islamic vessel once belonged to their local saint. Moreover, the object was thought to be endowed with salutatory properties. In years past, apparently the Novaresi would draw water from the vase, which they would drink in order to enjoy its healing properties and the protection of St. Hugo.[77]

While I have no way of ascertaining exactly just how long ago these beliefs and traditions took root, I believe that the religious and hagiographical significance of the Hispano-Islamic vase had been established in the late fourteenth or fifteenth century—in the decades following its import to Sicily via Mediterranean trade routes maintained between that island and the Iberian Peninsula—while the vessel was still housed in the *baddia vecchia*. If not, the purported relic would not have been brought to the new church in the seventeenth century. The religious aura of this vessel was no doubt augmented by its traces of golden glaze and its unusual, wing-handled form, unlike anything that had been made in Italy. Like the Stockholm Vase on view in a pilgrimage church on Cyprus in the sixteenth century, the physical aspects of the Novara Vase in conjunction with its sacred setting made the piece seem singular and ancient. The spiritual qualities of the St. Hugo Vase, and its connection to the roots of Western monasticism in Sicily, emanated from its placement in the interior of a church, one that inhabited a celebrated position in local lore.

---

[76] Mario Fonte, *Il Folklore Religioso in Sicilia* (Catania: Edizioni Greco, 2001), 227-228.

[77] "Nella chiesa si conserva anche la Giara di S.Ugo, in terracotta, con tracce di smalti e decori, alla quale i Novaresi attingevano per impetrare grazie e favori dal Santo: l'acqua veniva bevuta per devozione e per ottenere guarigioni." from www.comune.novara-di-sicilia.me.it

As far as how and when the Vase of St. Hugo made it to Sicily in the first place, the most likely scenario is that the lustered vessel, like so many of the *bacini* discussed above, came in as a result of the Commercial Revolution in the first half of the fourteenth century and the growing strength of various Mediterranean mercantile powers. Sicily officially became an Aragonese possession after 1302, when the Angevin King, Charles II of Naples was required to recognize Frederick III of Aragon as King of Sicily under the Treaty of Caltabellota.[78] According to James M. Powell, throughout the fourteenth century and well into the fifteenth, Sicily experienced an "increased intrusion of Spanish nobles."[79] The trade of Sicily was also "drawn into the orbit of Catalan merchants" after the Sicilian Vespers, a revolt carried out in 1282 against Charles I by the inhabitants of the island who were aided by the Aragonese and the Byzantines.[80]

It is during this time of Aragonese rule and increased trade with that eastern Iberian kingdom in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, that the Vase of St. Hugo could have come to Novara di Sicilia via the nearest major port, Messina. It also could have reached Sicily by other ports, given that Hispano-Islamic ceramics also entered from Palermo to the west and Syracuse to the east. Carmen Ravanelli Guidotti notes that some of the earliest pieces of Hispano-Islamic ceramics to reach Sicily were the *tinajas* stamped with intricate relief decoration made in Andalucía in the thirteenth and fourteenth century.[81] A well-preserved example was discovered in the Sea of Palermo in 1955 and in now housed in the Galleria Nazionale there. Antonino Ragona has pointed to the notable presence of "*operis de Melica*" in fourteenth-century Sicilian inventories.[82] Enrico Mauceri unearthed Hispano-Islamic luster ceramics from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in the old city center of Syracuse.[83] More excavations from that Sicilian city form part of the collection of the Museo Cívico, Rovereto.[84] Lusterware pieces have also been discovered at the Palazzo Chiaramonte-Steri in Palermo, the late fourteenth-century royal Aragonese palace, and later the seat of the Spanish viceroy.[85]

---

[78] James M. Powell, "Sicily," in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, vol. 11 (New York: Scribner and Sons, 1988), 273.

[79] Ibid.

[80] Ibid., 275.

[81] Ravanelli Guidotti, *MediTERRAneum*, 55-56.

[82] Antonino Ragona, *La maiolica siciliana dalle origini all'ottocento* (Palermo: Selerio, 1975).

Ravanelli Guidotti also notes a fifteenth-century document indicating the sale of several large jars filled with smaller Valencian dishes to Palermo merchants.[86] It is unlikely that the St. Hugo Vase was intended for this purpose given its fine decoration and narrow neck. The piece was most likely initially imported as an attractive water vat. This is not an unlikely scenario, with two of the well-known Alhambra vases, the Palermo and Instituto Valencia de don Juan Vases, having a Sicilian provenance (figs. 1.25 and 1.26).[87] Interestingly enough, both of those vessels were on display together in the church of Madonna del Paradiso in Mazzara del Vallo, located south of Palermo on the western coast of the island.[88] Manuel Gómez-Moreno acquired one of them for the Instituto Valencia de don Juan, having to sell off the museum's collection of fans in order to amass a portion of the sale price. Gómez-Moreno brought that vase to Madrid, while the other remained in Sicily.

These two lustered, wing-handled vases are mentioned in various sources throughout the nineteenth century, but Evelina de Castro writes, "We have yet to discover in what epoch and under what circumstances these two pieces—probably originally a pair—reached Sicily."[89] Castro notes that one of the vessels had been in the possession of the Burgio family in the nineteenth century. Historically, this family enjoyed a close relationship with Alfonso the Magnanimous through Giovanni Burgio, Bishop of Mazzara from 1458-1467. During this period the bishop could have had access to such luxurious pottery. In the early sixteenth century, Juana of Aragon also lived in Mazzara and one or both of the vases may have been sent at her behest.[90]

---

[83] Enrico Mauceri, "L'arte della maiolica in Sicilia," *Rasegna d'Arte antica e moderna* 2 (1915): 102-109.

[84] Ravanelli Guidotti, *MediTERRAneum,* 57.

[85] Ibid., 59.

[86] Ibid., 59-61.

[87] Evelina de Castro, "The Palermo Vase," in *Los jarrones de la Alhambra*, ed. Villafranca Jiménez, 315.

[88] Ibid.

[89] Ibid.

If any cristological or saintly connections existed for either the Palermo or Instituto Valencia de don Juan Vases, they are unknown today. Given their placement in a church setting, they very well may have. I believe, however, that the Vase of St. Hugo, like the Stockholm Vase, was invested with a religious significance for centuries. The appearance and innate portability of the Novara Vase and its journey from Nasrid Málaga to a Cistercian abbey in Sicily conferred miraculous, holy relic status upon an example of Hispano-Islamic lusterware.

The Lust for Lusterware in Renaissance Florence

Moving from a religious setting to a domestic context, this section considers lusterware from Valencia that figured into the lavish furnishings of homes in Florence during the late fourteenth and fifteenth century. This influx of the lustered ceramics into Renaissance Florence has been covered extensively in the publications of Marco Spallanzani; therefore, it will be dealt with briefly here.

Spallanzani's 2006 book, *Maioliche ispano-moresche a Firenze nel Rinascimento*, is his most ambitious work on the subject to date. He provides an in-depth discussion of patterns of trade, identification of Italian heraldry, and an impressive appendix of illuminating documents related to shipping and collecting. The author notes two distinct currents in Florentine consumption. The first is indirect consumption of wares of "*media qualità*," which trading companies imported in large quantities, sometimes several thousand pieces at a time.[91] The second is the prestigious client who often ordered his coat-of-arms to be emblazoned upon the wares, which were destined for city palaces or country villas. Spallanzani cautions that "the admiration that Valencian lusterware provoked in Europe should not lead… to a distorted impression of its importance in international commerce."[92] Certainly bulk trade in cloth and grain outweighed commerce in luxury goods in late medieval and early modern Europe; however, even Spallanzani is compelled to point out that lusterware from Valencia was the only luxury object from Spain that the Florentines imported consistently for more than one hundred years.[93] Moreover, considering the importation of luxury goods into Florence in general can shed light on the reception of Hispano-Islamic lusterware in this center of the Italian Renaissance.

---

[90] Ibid.

Spallanzani has published several works on the type of luxury items popular with Florentine buyers in the Renaissance, such as oriental rugs, Islamic metalwork, and Chinese porcelain.[94] What is clear from these books is that, among many goods, the inhabitants of the city of Florence coveted the fine domestic wares of Eastern civilizations. Lisa Jardine has noted this "Culture of Commodities" in Renaissance Florence.[95] Likewise, Rosamond Mack has emphasized the conspicuous consumption of luxury goods in Florence, particularly from the Islamic world. Of course, she mentions the Medici in this context. This family of bankers had access to the finest materials from the known world. The fifteenth-century artist and theorist,

---

[91] Spallanzani, *Maioliche ispano-moresche a Firenze nel Rinascimento*, 9-10.

[92] Spallanzani, "Lusterware of Valencia," 392.

[93] Ibid.

[94] Spallanzani, *Oriental Rugs in Florence* (Florence: Studio per Edizioni Scelte, 2007); *Metalli islamici a Firenze nel Rinascimento* (Florence: Studio per Edizioni Scelte, 2012); *Ceramiche orientali a Firenze nel Rinascimento* (Florence: Libreria Chiari, 1997).

[95] Lisa Jardine, *Wordly Goods: A New History of the Renaissance* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1998).

Filarete, famously described the books, jewels, crystal, and ancient coins that Piero de' Medici kept in his *studiolo*. In 1487, Sultan Qaitbay of Egypt gave a giraffe to Lorenzo de' Medici as a diplomatic gift. But along with this animal, the Medici patriarch also received porcelain, textiles, spices, a striped ceremonial tent, and some Valencian vases.[96] While the Medici, Pazzi, Soderini, Tournabuoni, Strozzi, and Rucellai are only a few of the illustrious families that special ordered Valencian lusterware, Italian trading companies like Datini's imported a great deal of middle-range quality luster, that is smaller wares without custom heraldry, and sold it to haberdashers who, in turn, would sell the wares out of their shops to a general public.[97] Therefore both a noble and more humble clientele wanted to possess Valencian lusterware, with the taste for foreign luxury permeating different segments of society.

In discussing the passion for Valencian lusterware in Florence, I would like to use as a point of departure a revealing statement made by Spallanzani regarding Charles Davillier's nineteenth-century label of "hispano-moresque." Spallanzani writes:

> After having read thousands of documents in the archives of Florence and Prato, the old denomination of Davillier seems to reflect, better than any other, the demand of the Florentine clientele…For more than a century, the Florentine—and not only them—considered Valencian lusterware the work of Moors.[98]

What the author does not explicitly state is that it *is* this perception, that lusterware from Valencia was Moorish work, that played a notable role in exactly *why* Florentine merchants and consumers wanted to own the pottery at the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century. I will also suggest that lusterware enjoyed a similar reception to the carpets, metalwork, and other exotic, eastern luxury goods imported into Florence.

---

[96] Mack, *Bazaar to Piazza*, 23.

[97] Spallanzani, "Lusterware of Valencia," 386-387.

[98] Spallanzani, *Maioliche ispano-moresche*, 4.

Authenticity and the Beginning of a Florentine Trend

The company of Francesco Datini began to import lusterware, or "*opera di Maiolicha*," as early as 1383. By 1390, one of Datini's agents, Andrea di Bonanno, who left Genoa for Valencia, altered the business of importing lusterware into central Italy, and Florence especially. A month after arriving in Valencia, Bonanno wrote to Datini informing him that he had already selected and paid a deposit to a "Saracen" potter so that the artisan could create custom wares for Datini.[99] The practice of directly contracting a Muslim potter seems to have become not just commonplace, but preferred. Four years later the Datini *fondaco* in Valencia had established connections with Azmet Zuleima (or Amett moro, as he is often called in the surviving documents) in Manises.[100] Zuleima seems to have worked exclusively for the Datini company for the next fifteen years, making wares not simply for the firm's owner, Francesco, but fashioning fine lusterware for other correspondents of the company stationed throughout the Mediterranean. These included Luca del Sera in Barcelona, Giovanni Franceschi in Montpellier, Gigliolo da Como in Venice, and Lorenzo di Cresci in Florence.[101]

The contractual obligation established with Azmet Zuleima was not the only impetus the Datini Company had to continue to order lusterware from the Muslim artist. In fact, Zuleima tested those bonds. He frequently neglected to fill requested orders until long after they were made. In October of 1403, the Valencian *fondaco* wrote to the Florence branch that the ceramics ordered by Luca del Sera were unfinished, and the agents were considering legal action "because the Moor has not come and is in hiding."[102] Zuleima's superb work rather than his business practices must have contributed to the retention of the potter. The Datini Company could have supplied a name and guaranteed the work of an authentic, Moorish master of lusterware for their high-profile clients like the Agli family of Florence.

---

[99] Ibid., 331.
[100] Ibid., 340.
[101] Ibid., 340-399.
[102] Ibid., 382.

In 1405, Barnaba degli Agli ordered a lot consisting of 486 pieces of lusterware, from which an outstanding example of lusterware emblazoned with the coat-of-arms of the Agli family survives (fig. 4.17).[103] The piece, which because of Spallanzani's exahaustive work can be directly connected with Azmet Zuleima, was rendered with a meticulous hand. The heraldic device features a lion whose mane was methodically articulated with *sgrafitto* technique. Encircling that motif is a blue band with white heads of garlic (*aglio* meaning garlic in Italian). A fluidly painted bryony pattern decorates the outer gallery of the dish. Clay beads were slipped on to the edges of the piece and subsequently lustered, making this armorial specimen even more sumptuous. Keeping in mind this level of workmanship, it is clear that with the output of Azmet Zuleima, both patrons and traders could be assured of a high-quality product. In any case, a trend had emerged, and it would seems that many Florentine families wanted to own the same "brand," in other words, the same finely painted, personalized and imported goods as their neighbors. The fact that the Datini branches worked with Azmet Zuleima almost exclusively for so many years also explains the proliferation of the bryony pattern, which was ostensibly a specialty of the Muslim potter, or of other potters in his workshop.

By the second quarter of the sixteenth century, however, the documents transcribed by Spallanzani no longer note the names of individual potters. Florentine consumers bought lusterware from various Pisa firms including the Salviati Company, which ordered ceramics in enormous consignments. In 1482, for example, a Sienese merchant working in Valencia sent around 6,700 pieces of "*maioliche*" to the Salviati Company, which it, in turn, sold to a local Tuscan merchant.[104]

---

[103] Ibid., 183.

Attitudes toward Valencian lusterware imported in this manner can be evaluated through examining its appearance in contemporary works of art, where the golden pottery is depicted in a domestic context or lavish, celebratory scene among other foreign luxury goods.

In a fresco cycle made for the Tornabuoni chapel in Santa Maria Novella, Domenico Ghirlandaio depicted the *Birth of St. John the Baptist* (fig. 4.18). The setting for this sacred event is that of a bedchamber in a wealthy Florentine household. Giorgio Vasari described the scene of women coming to visit St. Elizabeth, noting, "there is a woman who following Florentine custom, brings fruit and flasks of wine from the country—a very beautiful detail."[105] This is not the only detail Ghirlandaio included in the well-decorated room outfitted with ceiling coffers and Corinthian pilasters. A rich green silk hangs on the wall, a pitcher and beaten brass tray, certainly from Nuremberg, sits atop a low table, and placed on the ledge of Elizabeth's bed frame is a box of sweetmeats, two pomegranates, and a lustered *albarello* from Valencia. The same artist shows another set of lustered pieces in his *Annunciation* in the Oratory of S. Giovanni in San Gimingnano (fig. 4.19). Mary wears rich silk of blue and green trimmed in gold, and in this context, the lustered vase, a vessel for flowers, is a complement to the Virgin's new status as a vessel for Christ.

On a *cassone* panel attributed to Apollonio di Giovanni is painted *The Feast of Dido* (fig. 4.20). This episode from the *Aeneid* takes place in Carthage. Among the hanging silks and festive musicians, several men are depicted wearing the long beard and distinctive headdress of the Byzantine emperor, John Palaiologos, who visited Florence in 1434. His unique appearance was made famous throughout Renaissance Italy by Pisanello's medal and was subsequently used by many central Italian artists to denote foreign figures.[106] Injected into this antique and eastern splendor is a credenza that prominently displays several lustered basins from Valencia. From these works of art it is clear that in fifteenth-century Florence Valencian lusterware figured into conceptions of distinguished and sumptuous living.

---

[104] Ibid., 488-489. Whether all were lustered is doubtful, given that at this late date *maioliche* could mean any glazed ware.

[105] Giorgio Vasari, *The Lives of the Artists*, trans. Julia Conway Bondanella and Peter Bondanella (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 219.

Capturing the Exotic Mystique: Derivations of Hispano-Islamic Lusterware and Application of the Technique

> "Although this is an art that depends on skill, it seems also that chance has some part in it. Thus the craftsman sometimes marvels when he knows that he has used every precaution and sees the results differ. Concerning this I do not know how to tell you that it proceeds from anything other than celestial influences, for I believe it is thus with vessels as with men, especially when I see that among a large number of pieces in one baking, one or two exceed all the others in beauty, and among those made for eating or drinking or other humbler services, some are destined to break."[107]

Vannoccio Biringuccio wrote the above excerpt in his 1540 treatise on metallurgy, *De la Pirotechnia*. The Sienese writer illustrates well the more frustrating aspects of pottery making in general. The technique for producing luster pottery, which required three highly controlled firings, was even more complex and labor intensive than the standard two-fire process that Biringuccio described. Italian artists and consumers were not only dazzled by the Hispano-Islamic lusterware of the Iberian Peninsula to the extent that they purchased the ceramics. Italian potters also avidly sought the formulas and expertise required to make works similar in form, pattern, and lustrous sheen to luxury imports from Valencia. This section of my study will examine ceramic production of Tuscany and Umbria that demonstrates the cachet and allure of

---

[106] Mack, *Bazaar to Piazza*, 154-156.

[107] Vannoccio Biringuccio, *De la pirotechnia*, trans. and ed. Cyril Stanley Smith and Martha Teach Gnudi (Cambridge, MA: M.I.T. Press, 1966), 395.

Hispano-Islamic luster. Ultimately, it should become evident here that the Valencian ceramics were thought to be on an equal footing with other luxurious, foreign imports, but it will also be revealed that the pottery was far more sophisticated than any other ware being created in and around Florence during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Pottery scholars often emphasize this last point; however, it has broader ramifications for the discipline of art history in general, which has traditionally viewed quattrocento Florence as *the* prominent center for artistic achievement in Western Europe. Here, the ceramic art of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Valencia will be shown as cherished and influential within the artistic ambit of Renaissance Florence.

The most famous source describing pottery production in the early modern period, Cavaliere Cipriano Piccolpasso's 1558 work, *The Three Books of the Potter's Art*, describes the making of lusterware as a rare and specialized skill. He writes, "I purpose to go no further until I have discoursed to you upon *maiolica*, from what I have heard of it from others, not that I have ever made it, even less seen it made."[108] In the sixteenth-century treatise, Piccolpasso goes on to document the recipe for luster glaze, the way in which it should be painted onto ceramic vessels, as well as the manner in which one should build, load, and operate a reduction kiln (fig. 4.21). Alan Caiger-Smith has pointed out that in this work Piccolpasso consistently refers to lustered pottery as "maiolica," which indicates the sixteenth-century author's knowledge that the technique for making the golden ware was Iberian in origin.[109] Also, from the excerpt quoted above, it is clear that the author had no experience or first-hand knowledge of the art form, but that the technical methods required for fashioning the golden ceramics were quite familiar to

---

[108] Piccolpasso, *Three Books of the Potter's Art,* 51.
[109] Caiger Smith, *Lustre Pottery*, 127.

Italian potters by the mid-sixteenth century. Around 1500, the luster technique had spread throughout central Italy with two main centers practicing the art: Deruta and Gubbio.

Local production of the golden ceramics came only after over a century of importing Hispano-Islamic luster from Valencia, and throughout the fifteenth century, these luxury imports first inspired Tuscan potters to stylistic, rather than technical, imitation. From these earliest, derivative pieces, fashioned in and around Florence, and specifically in Montelupo, an effort to recreate the intricate plant motifs that comprised the *horror vacui* on Valencian pottery can be seen (fig. 4.22).

An attempt to capture the warm and glistening golden tones of fine Hispano-Islamic models is also evident. Florentine potters, as well as various merchants and noble patrons were quite driven to obtain the recipe and expertise that Iberian luster potters possessed. Italian artisans in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries must have viewed the predominately Muslim masters of the Valencia area as alchemists who could produce the character of gold on clay. One very early document attributed to a Florentine, Benedetto di Baldassare Ubriarchi, is proof of this quest for alchemical knowledge. Sometime in the early fifteenth century, Ubriarchi wrote down the following formula:

> You take the dry vessel of earthenware that you wish to paint as is done by the makes of maiolica; first they give the vessel they want to paint a ground of *cofollo*, which is made of lead finely crushed. This they apply as a tempering ground for the other colors, which without it would neither melt nor would they shine so well. For the color that looks like gold they take ground orpiment (mercuric sulfide) and a little fine silver, filed very fine; and following their receipt you add one ounce of fine silver to one ounce of orpiment, and take some water which has some of the forementioned *cofollo* in it and mix the orpiment and the finely ground particles of fine silver with all this together; and with a brush paint whatever design you wish with this mixture on the vessel. And to get blue you need no other than *zaffre* (cobalt) which is used for making blue glass and in the same manner every other color which is made among us: and place the vessel in the

> furnace; and I think it will be seen to be done as is stated by Benedetto di Baldassare Ubriarchi, citizen of Florence.[110]

Based on Ubriarchi's instructions, Caiger-Smith has written that the Florentine "did not fully understand the method and his directions could not have worked."[111] Indeed Tuscan potters did not understand the technique at this early date. In the early fifteenth century, Ubriarchi could not provide explicit directions for the third, reduction firing, which required a cooler, muffled kiln in order to produce the iridescent, metallic effect of the pottery. Instead, potters in Tuscany first began to imitate Hispano-Islamic luster pigment with a brownish-purple glaze made from manganese or an orange glaze made from antimony and iron.[112]

An example of manganese being substituted for luster is found on a Florentine *albarello* from the first half of the fifteenth century in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (fig. 4.23). The piece seeks to imitate the *carrasca* or "ivy leaf" pattern found on so many blue and lustered Valencian pharmacy pots and other wares exported to Italy. The leaves and tendrils on the Florentine example have none of the freedom or fluidity of design of the foliage on the Valencian piece. In another more successful Valencian-inspired piece held in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, a jug emblazoned with the arms of the Alessandri family includes decoration derived from a Valencian motif so popular in Renaissance Florence (fig. 4.24). In this particular example, dots of orange glaze are scattered about a wiry and schematic interpretation of the bryony pattern.[113]

---

[110] Benedetto di Baldassare Ubriarchi, "A fare le invetriature delle scodelle do maiolica," in *Dell' Arte del vetro per musaico tre trattatelli dei secoli XIV e XV ora per la prima volta pubblicati*, ed. Gaetano Milanesi (Bologna: Gaetano Romagnoli, 1864), 100-101; Translation in Caiger Smith, *Lustre Pottery*, 211-212.

[111] Caiger Smith, *Lustre Pottery*, 128.

[112] Timothy Wilson, *Italian Maiolica* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1989), 12.

[113] Early fifteenth-century glazed ceramics from the Florence area also feature patterns inspired by other Hispano-Islamic motifs, such as the blue birds in profile and the "disk flowers" seen on the *ave Maria* series; parallels and spirals; and two figures flanking a tree of life. See Galeazzo Cora, *Storia della*

The extensive work carried out by Galeazzo Cora and Fausto Berti attests to the admiration potters in and around Florence felt for Valencian lusterware.[114] Volume two of Cora's, *Storia della maiolica di Firenze*, is filled with examples of Tuscan pottery inspired by popular Valencian vegetal patterns, but also by patterns and forms originally found in Nasrid ceramics. Both Kufic inscriptions and the winged handles found on Nasrid water vats were continued by Valencian potters, whose wares were then imported into Tuscany, where such features were incorporated into local wares from the region. An *albarello* in the Victoria and Albert Museum of mid-fifteenth-century Florentine manufacture, shows an attempt to reproduce the *alafia* blessing (fig. 4.25). Scalloped wing handles also appear on pharmacy containers and on footed vessels, like the Medici-Orsini vase in the Detroit Institute of Arts (fig. 4.26).

The latter piece indicates that Valencian luster forms were so highly esteemed that they were to provide inspiration for local ceramic productions intended to commemorate high-profile events. The impaled arms emblazoned on the vase either refer to the wedding of Lorenzo de' Medici to Claire Orsini in 1469, or to the marriage of Piero de' Medici to Alfonsina Orsini in 1487.[115] Most likely fashioned in Montelupo, the potter used both orange and brown glaze to imitate Hispano-Islamic luster. The Medici certainly had some direct input into the appearance of this vase given that it is an armorial specimen and also because a Valencian lustered and wing-handled piece, datable by its coat of arms to 1465-1492, could have already been in the family's possession and could have served as a model (fig. 1.56).

---

maiolica di Firenze e del Contado, s. XIV e XV, vol. 2 (Florence: Sansoni, 1973), Tav. 121, 126, 136-138, 141-142.

[114] Fausto Berti, *Storia della ceramica di Montelupo, uomini e fornaci di produzione dal XIV al XVIII secolo*, 2 vols. (Montelupo: Aedo, 2003).

[115] Dora Thornton, "Two-Handled Vase with Arms of the Medici Impaling Orsini," in *Art and Love in Renaissance Italy*, ed. Andrea Bayer (New York: Metropolitan Museum, 2009), 68-69.

A 1494 inventory documents the Detroit vase at the elegant Medici villa, Poggio a Caiano.[116] Though the piece was meant to imitate the lustered products of Valencia, it is important to note that the discriminating fifteenth-century Florentine consumer certainly knew the difference between the wares of Montelupo and items of foreign luxury. In the many inventories published by Galeazzo Cora, the Islamic appearance of brass goods that could have been made in Syria, Egypt, and/or Venice is described as "*domaschina.*"[117] The foreign provenance of porcelain from China as well as earthenware "*da Maiolica*" is specified. Owners of the household wares and/or the notaries that drew up the inventories of homes, hospitals, and shops, knew (or at least thought they knew) the place of origin for the various vessels around them.

Though Tuscan potters drew inspiration from the form, design, and luminesence of Hispano-Islamic luster, the actual technique required to produce the golden sheen did not take hold in the area in any substantial way. For example, Galeazzo Cora writes of fifteenth-century consumers and craftsmen in and around Florence, "It is true that the fashion they continued to enjoy through the middle of the century was certainly the lustered, Hispano-Moresque maiolica, which induced our own potters to imitate it to the extent of their abilities, but without being able to apply golden luster."[118] In the sixteenth century, potters in Tuscany and throughout Italy in general would become far more attracted to pottery as a vehicle for narrative and naturalistic works of art, akin to large-scale paintings. The two-dimensional surface effect of golden luster was not a crucial, technical skill for Tuscan potters who sought to create perspectival and figural compositions on ceramic objects. Nevertheless, an interesting reference in Sigismondo Tizio's *Historiae senenses* indicates that even in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, Tuscan potters still coveted knowledge of the Valencian luster technique. Tizio writes:

---

[116] Marco Spallanzani, "Il Vaso Medici-Orsini di Detroit in un documento d'archivio," *Faenza* 60 (1974): 88-90.

[117] Cora, *Storia della maiolica di Firenze*, 1: 415-443.

[118] Cora, *Storia della maiolica di Firenze*, 1: 129. "Fu certo la voga di cui continuavano a godere verso la metà del secolo le maioliche lustrate ispano-moresche, che indusse i vasai nostrani ad imitarle nella misura delle loro possibilità, pur senza essere in grado di applicarvi i lustri dorati." Cora also says there were some "sporatic attempts" in the area, however. Caffagiolo, for example, produced some lustered wares. See also, Caiger Smith, *Lustre Pottery, 145*, and Catherine Hess, "Brilliant Achievements: The Journey of Islamic Glass and Ceramics to Renaissance Italy," in *Arts of Fire: Islamic Influences on Glass and Ceramics of the Italian Renaissance*, ed. Hess (Los Angeles: Getty Museum, 2004), 14.

> Galgano di Belforte, a potter from Siena, once was taken to Valencia by Hieronymous Scintilla, a Spanish scholar. Once there, aided by Babtista Bulgarino, a merchant from Siena, he disguised himself and secretly learned how to luster pottery in a pottery workshop. Once he had learned that, he travelled back to Siena in March.[119]

This journey supposedly took place in 1514, long after other pottery styles had taken hold throughout Italy, yet the language used still implies a mystique attached to luster production. And perhaps the disguise that was so necessary for Galgano to wear in the pottery workshop was one of *Morisco* garb. In any case, the Valencian art was still thought to be a secret process, one that was shrouded in mystery by this chronicler, even though Italian potters outside of Siena had already learned the skill of lustering pottery in the previous century.

As opposed to Siena, the Umbrian town of Deruta became a major center for fashioning lusterware. Here the golden pottery was produced in large quantities, and it was probably made earlier in Deruta than in any other part of Italy. Both Dora Thornton and Catherine Hess believe that as early as 1465 potters in the Umbrian town may have been experimenting with or already knowledgeable of the process.[120] A statute from that year mentions that piles of brushwood and broom were blocking the streets of Deruta, and delivery of such material should only occur the day before a kiln firing.[121] Broom in particular was used to muffle the kilns needed to make luster, as can be seen by the large bundles of brush illustrated in Piccolpasso's depiction of potters operating a reduction kiln (fig. 4.21). In any case, by 1500, Deruta potters had mastered the bright yellow lustrous effect unique to their wares. A luster panel in the Victoria and Albert Museum has been attributed to Deruta and is dated 1501 (fig. 4.27). A type of Deruta lusterware betrays Valencian influence in the pattern of arabesques and small blue flowers, again inspired by the bryony pattern (fig. 4.28).[122]

---

[119] Sigismondo Tizio, *Historiae senenses* (1520); trans. and quoted in Marta Caroscio in "Archaeological Data and Written Sources: Lusterware Production in Renaissance Italy, A Case Study," *European Journal of Archaeology* 13 (2010): 238.

[120] Dora Thornton, "Maiolica Production in Renaissance Italy," 117; Hess, "Brilliant Achievements," 14.

Deruta luster was also applied to the so-called "*bella donna*" plates, a specialty of the town (fig. 4.29). The faces of the beautiful women on these wares led Gonzalez Martí to suggest that potters drew their inspiration from the paintings of Pinturrichio from nearby Perugia.[123] With these *bella donna* dishes, it becomes clear that Italian ceramics in general began to move away from the imitation of Hispano-Islamic models, and instead embrace the work of native artists in the first decade of the sixteenth century. It seems more believable, however, that the imagery on Deruta pottery was far more indebted to the circulation of prints, rather than from the direct observation of paintings. Illustrations in printed books, such as Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (Venice, 1497) and *Aesop's Fables* (Naples, 1485) often provided templates for the skilled painters of Deruta pottery.[124]

Though the patterns of Deruta lusterware were no slavish imitations of the Hispano-Islamic wares that came to Italy from the Valencian area via Mallorca, contemporaries were acutely aware that the golden pottery made in the Umbrian town had foreign roots, and that acquisition of the skill had been achieved only with great difficulty. In his *Descrittione di tutta l'Italia*, first published in 1550, the Dominican friar and historian, Leandro Alberti, wrote the following of Deruta lusterware:

---

[121] Excerpts from this document can be found in Ugolino Nicolini, "La ceramica di Deruta; organizzazione economia maestri. I documenti," in *Antiche Maioliche di Deruta*, ed. Grazietta Guaitini (Florence: Nuova Guaraldi, 1980) 22.

[122] Ibid., 96-97.

[123] Gonzalez Martí, *Ceramica del levante español*, 2: 163.

[124] Caiger Smith, *Lustre Pottery*, 133.

> The wares made here are renowned for being made to look as if they were gilt. It is such an ingenious technique that up to now no other craftsman in Italy has been found to equal them, although experiments and attempts have been made often. The wares are called Maiorica because this art was first encountered on the island of Maiorica, and from there it was brought.[125]

Alberti did not know that the lustered pottery actually came from Málaga and primarily Valencia, but he was familiar with the original Iberian provenance of the "ingenious technique."

While Leandro Alberti touted the potters of Deruta as possessing an unequaled skill in the mid-sixteenth century, Timothy Wilson points out that the Dominican friar may not have been familiar with the luster production of another Umbrian town, Gubbio.[126] Piccolpasso, who was writing around the same time as Alberti, certainly was acquainted with the lusterware technique in the Umbrian village, noting of the art, "This I have seen at Gubbio in the house of one Maestro Cencio of that place."[127] Yet, Gubbio's reputation as a center for "gold maiolica" had been established before Piccolpasso visited the master in his shop. A family workshop in the town, set up by Maestro Giorgio Andreoli in the last years of the fifteenth century, fashioned lusterware with a deeper, redder color than that of Deruta (fig. 4.30).[128] Maestro Giorgio's business was well under way by 1498, when he received a tax exemption from Guidobaldo I, Duke of Urbino.[129]

---

[125] Leandro Alberti, *Descrittione di tutta l'Italia et isole pertinenti ad essa* (Venice: Paul Ugolino, 1596), 93. "Sono molto nomate I vasi di terra cotta quivi fatti, per affertalmente lavorati, che paiono Dorati. Et anche tanto sottilmente sono codotti, che in fino ad hora no ritrova alcun' artifice nell' Italia che se li possa aggualiare; Benche assai sovente habbiano isperimentato e tentato di farne di simili. Sono dimandati questi vasi di maiorica, perche primieramente fu ritrovata questt' arte nell' isola di Maiorica, e quivi portata." For a partial translation of this quote into English, see Timothy Wilson, *Ceramic Art of the Italian Renaissance* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987), 91.

[126] Wilson, *Ceramic Art*, 91.

[127] Piccolpasso, *The Three Books of the Potter's Art*, 51.

[128] Caiger Smith, *Lustre Pottery*, 145-147.

Pope Leo X, a collector and patron of fine Valencian lusterware, recognized the talent of Maestro Giorgio in 1519, declaring the potter, "an excellent master without rival in the art of maiolica, whose work brings honor to the city, lord, and people of Gubbio, in all of the nations to which the pottery of his workshop is exported, as well as the great income it brings in custom dues."[130] While the Medici pope seemed overjoyed at the revenue that this art earned, he is also impressed with the honor and acclaim Maestro Giorgio attained in mastering the foreign art of maiolica, as well as the potter's ability to surpass all others in the craft.

Designs on pottery from Gubbio show fine arabesques and naturalistic, historiated compositions that feature religious or classical subject matter, frequently taken from the prints of Marcantonio Raimondi. Though potters throughout Italy, particularly in Urbino, also created historiated (*istoriato*) wares, these potters often sent their wares to Gubbio to be lustered. This is likely the case with the famous Xanto of Urbino, whose maiolica creations are lustered in the manner of Maestro Giorgio (fig. 4.31).[131] That Xanto, one of the most famous potters in Italy, who was not only an esteemed potter, but also a poet, outsourced the lustering of his fine wares to another workshop indicates the rarity of the technique, and an admiration for luster potter's specialized knowledge. During the sixteenth century, exports of lusterware from the Valencia area and other Iberian regions had decreased. Having cornered the market for fine earthenware, Italian makers and consumers could rejoice in their acquisition of a unique, foreign technique, and its application to their native aesthetic.

---

[129] Wilson, *Ceramic Art*, 103.

[130] Ibid.

[131] Ibid. See also J.V.G. Mallet, *Xanto: Pottery-Painter, Poet, Man of the Renaissance* (London: The Wallace Collection, 2007).

In previous centuries, however, the reception of Hispano-Islamic lusterware imports throughout Italy varied according to the context and placement of the pottery. Just as Eva Hoffman explains, it is setting that shapes the meaning of portable objects.[132] When mortared into the walls of Italian churches, the glimmer and exoticism of lusterware had the capacity to go beyond simple decoration. This special placement of the pottery could conjure up notions of holy pilgrimage, *spolia*, and even the concept of Heavenly Jerusalem. Within the walls of a particular church in Sicily, one very large and majestic lusterware form acquired the label of saint's relic. On the other hand, within a domestic context in fifteenth-century Florence, Hispano-Islamic lusterware was imported, often personalized, luxury exotica, while at the height of the Renaissance, the admiration of luster technique prompted not only imitation in Italy, but wholly original designs.

---

[132] Eva R. Hoffman, "Pathways of Portability," 17.

CHAPTER FIVE

Changing Tastes and New Exotica: The Waning Popularity of Hispano-Islamic Lusterware

In a 1677 book of engravings, the Bolognese artist Giuseppe Maria Mitelli meticulously illustrated the collection of objects on display at the Museo Cospiano, now the Museo Civico Medievale in Bologna (fig. 5.1).[1] The items in the cabinets comprised an early seventeenth-century museum owned by the Marquis Fernando Cospi. The far left side of the display is labeled "art and nature" and presents an ensemble of ancient coins, nautilus cups, pieces of coral, an ostrich egg, rhinoceros horns, an armadillo, and two lustered Valencian vases (fig. 5.2).[2] The engraving sheds light on the reception of Hispano-Islamic lusterware in Baroque Italy. The golden pottery was still deemed special or curious enough to be displayed in the museum context alongside natural phenomenon and ancient artifacts.

Nevertheless, Mitelli's visual inventory of the Museo Cospiano betrays the pan-European fascination for items from the New World, Africa, and the East. Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth century, Italy, Spain, and Northern Europe enjoyed increased contact and commerce with parts of the world that had formerly been inaccessible or unknown. More than in previous centuries, Western Europe, particularly Spain and Portugal, engaged in trade with the Far East as well. The excitement and wonder that goods produced in China or Mexico, for instance, elicited for European audiences cannot be underestimated. The exotic appeal that a fragrant, perfumed vessel, or *búcaro*, from Guadalajara or a lacquered vessel from Michoacán held in seventeenth-century Spain would have been much stronger than the lustered pottery that had been and was still being produced in Valencia, Seville, Reus, and Barcelona. Though lusterware was still a prestige item in the late sixteenth and seventeenth century, as it was given by the city of Valencia as a diplomatic gift for both Philip II and Philip IV (see chapter two), it carried very little of the allure that the novel and now attainable domestic furnishings made in the New World and Far East possessed.

---

[1] Mitelli's engraving is found in Lorenzo Legati, *Museo cospiano annesso a quello del famoso Ulisse Aldrovandi e donato alla sua patria* (Bologna: Giacomo Monti, 1677).

[2] These vases are still part of the collection of the Museo Civico in Bologna.

In this chapter, I will examine the traditional explanations for the decline in consumption and overall popularity of Hispano-Islamic lusterware throughout Western Europe. These include the growing taste for Italian pottery styles in Spain and Northern Europe, and the expulsion of the *Morisco* populations from the Kingdom of Aragon (1609-1612).[3] These instances of changing taste and social upheaval certainly account, in part, for the diminished status and production of Hispano-Islamic lusterware in Western Europe. Yet I believe a more nuanced understanding that takes into account several other social factors is needed to provide a complete picture of the decreased production and popularity of the Hispano-Islamic luxury pottery. These factors include seventeenth-century currents in Spain that encouraged simplicity; local Valencian unrest in the first quarter of the sixteenth century; and the ramifications of the new global economy of the early modern period.

I will begin by discussing the growth of Italian pottery trends and the expulsion of the *Moriscos* while also taking into account other catalysts for the decline of Hispano-Islamic lusterware, including appeals for non-ostentatious living and the revolt of the *germanías*, or brotherhoods, in the Valencia area (1519-1521). Finally, I will suggest that a whole host of precious materials, including Chinese blue and white porcelain, burnished ceramics from the

---

[3] See, for example, Heather Ecker, *Caliphs and Kings: The Art and Influence of Islamic Spain* (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 2004), 78.

Americas, and other New World items made with lacquer, shells, and feathers, not only dazzled upper-class Western Europeans, but also satisfied their need to own the exotic—a need previously fulfilled in part by Hispano-Islamic lusterware and other luxury items imported from the Islamic world.

The Rise of Italian Maiolica in Western Europe

Anthony Ray has written of Hispano-Islamic lusterware made in the sixteenth century, "It no longer represented the best in luxury pottery, its place being taken by Italian maiolica, and the demand for fine lusterware abroad rapidly declined."[4] Valencian wares rarely traveled outside of the local market by the end of the sixteenth century.[5] The 1585 account of the Flemish courtier, Henri Cock, confirms the lusterware of Muel being sold in nearby Zaragoza—a far cry from the accounts of Francesc Eiximenis in the fourteenth century and Hieronymus Münzer in the fifteenth century that name the many international destinations for the golden pottery. There are only a few instances of specific patronage of Hispano-Islamic lusterware outside of Spain in the seventeenth century. The two covered jars from Reus in the collection of The Hispanic Society of America were in the possession of Pope Paul V, Camillo Borghese, but these were most likely not a custom order originating from the Vatican, but rather a gift sent from an obsequious Catalan clergyman (fig. 1.3).[6] Moreover, as discussed in chapter one, the profile heads topped with large helmets owe more to the pottery designs of Castel Durante than any native tradition.

---

[4] Ray, *Spanish Pottery*, 111.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Frothingham, *Lustreware of Spain*, 261. It is possible that Camillo Borghese did order these vases himself given that before he ascended to the papacy in 1605 he traveled to Spain in 1594. During that journey he spent time in both Zaragoza and Barcelona, making a pilgrimage between the two cities to the Benedictine monastery of Monserrat. He may have seen the luster production of Muel, Reus, and/or Barcelona during this stint abroad, and ordered the vases made years later emblazoned with his papal coat-of-arms.

Such pieces indicate the great impact that Italian historiated wares had on pottery consumption and production in Italy, Spain, and Northern Europe.

Italy

The inventories published by Galeazzo Cora demonstrate the growing popularity of native Italian wares, particularly from Montelupo, in households and hospitals throughout Tuscany. Beginning in the fifteenth century, output and consumption of Italian ceramics surged. In 1430, the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova in Florence ordered 1,000 pharmacy pots decorated with the insignia of the institution from the Florentine potter, Giunta di Tugio (fig. 5.3).[7] Though the decoration of these jars was inspired by Hispano-Islamic imports, this very early example of local patronage points to the future growth of the pottery industry in Tuscany, which would churn out wholly original and sought-after wares in the next century. Surviving contracts attest to the steadily increasing consumption of local wares in the area around Florence. By 1465, one Faenza potter painted almost 700 pieces a month over the course of five months.[8] By the mid-sixteenth century, Faenza contracts reveal orders for 3,500 pieces of tin-glazed earthenware to be made in two months, as well as 7,000 pieces to be made over the course of four months.[9]

Documents from the sixteenth-century also reflect the increasing consumption of Tuscan pottery among high-ranking members of Florentine nobility. An analysis of inventories made by Marco Spallanzani of pottery collections of the Medici in the sixteenth century illustrates the rising consumption of local wares in the households of Grand Ducal family.[10] In 1587, the *guardaroba* of Francesco I de' Medici, son of Cosimo I, held 3,400 pieces of Faenza manufacture, 820 pieces of the Medici's own brand of porcelain, and 150 pieces fashioned in Urbino.[11] Despite the fact that Francesco was half Spanish, his mother having been Eleanora of Toledo, the Grand Duke seemed to have no predilection for the pottery of the Iberian Peninsula. His brother and successor, Ferdinando de' Medici, however, owned a modest twenty-two pieces of "*vasi di terra di Spagna*" according to the 1571 inventory of his *guardaroba*. Throughout the course of the 1570's, Fernando acquired no more wares from Spain, but continued to purchase fine pottery both from Faenza and Deruta.[12]

---

[7] Cora, *Storia della maiolica di Firenze*, 1:56-57.

[8] Dora Thornton, "Maiolica Production in Renaissance Italy," 121.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Marco Spallanzani, *Ceramiche alle corte dei Medici nel Cinquecento* (Modena: Franco Cosimi Panini, 1994).

Northern Europe

The tin-glazed earthenware from Tuscany and Umbria that found steadily increasing consumption in Italy, also was exported to international markets. In Northern Europe the popularity of Iberian wares declined, while the growth of Tuscan and Umbrian ceramics had a profound effect on pottery production in the North, particularly in Antwerp.

According to Alejandra Gutierrez, the peak of consumption for Valencian dishes and bowls in medieval England occurred in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[13] Archaeologists working in the Netherlands have not found sixteenth-century wares in the same bulk as earlier lusterware either, which seems to imply that smaller pieces unearthed at sites in the Netherlands were transported north in isolated instances. John G. Hurst has written that easily portable items like a small lustered bowl, or *escuduilla*, functioned more as souvenirs than evidence of an established trade.[14]

---

[11] Ibid., 86.

[12] Ibid., 102.

[13] Alejandra Gutierrez, "Cheapish and Spanish: Meaning and Design on Imported Spanish Pottery," *Medieval Ceramics* 21 (1997): 73-81.

[14] Hurst, *Pottery Produced and Traded in north-west Europe*, 49.

Sluis, the port of Bruges on the Zwin River, had been the point of entry for Hispano-Islamic lusterware into the North from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries. With the silting of the Zwin at the end of the fifteenth century and consequently the decline of Bruges as an international commercial hub, Antwerp, strategically located on the Scheldt River, rose in importance. Italian tin-glazed earthenware found markets throughout Northern Europe, and migrant Italian potters also saw great opportunity in flourishing Antwerp. Early Netherlandish paintings show the consumption of Italian tin-glazed earthenware in the North. A well-known example of the popularity of Italian wares can be found on the reverse of Hans Memling's *Portrait of a Man* made in the mid-1480s and now held in the Thyssen-Bornemiza Collection, Madrid (fig. 5.4). The identity of the sitter on the other side of this panel remains unknown, but the origin of the jug depicted in the still-life composition is certain. The form is known as a *boccale* and is of Faenza manufacture. The monogram of Christ and the blue sunburst motif correspond with late fifteenth-century pieces (fig. 5.5).[15]

Earlier evidence for the presence of Italian pottery, and perhaps even for the manufacture of Italianate wares in the North was put forth by Bernard Rackham in the 1920s.[16] The two illuminated pages from the *Hours of Engelbert of Nassau* discussed in chapter three provide visual proof of the import of Italian wares into the Low Countries in the 1470s (figs. 3.11 and 3.12). Rackham, who was made aware of the illuminations by G.J. Osma, went as far as to suggest that even though the two vases depicted on the left of the page showing the Adoration of the Magi share some similarities with late fifteenth-century Faenza pottery, there is no reason why these wares could not have been made in Antwerp.[17] Based on comparisons with surviving examples of Netherlandish pottery, Rackham believed that this Book of Hours attested to the burgeoning production of Italianate tin-glazed earthenware in the city of Antwerp in the late fifteenth century—an industry for which there is no surviving written documentation prior to 1512.[18]

---

[15] Zsombor Jékely, "Maiolica Jugs in Late Medieval Painting," in *The Dowry of Beatrice: Italain Maiolica Art and the Court of King Matthias*, ed. Gabriella Balla and Zsombor Jékely (Budapest: Museum of Applied Arts, 2008), 57. Jékely provides several examples of Italain maiolica in Netherlandish paintings.

[16] See Rackham, *Early Netherlands Maiolica.*

It is in that year that a document within the communal archives of Antwerp notes that one Guido Andries had already been established in that city as a "*geleyerspotbacker*," or gallipot-maker.[19] Guido Andries is also recorded as being married to a Flemish woman, Margaretha Bollekens, which suggests that the migrant potter spent some time in the North before this 1512 reference. After Bollekens' death in 1529, Andries married Anna van Duren, with whom he had seven children. Andries dies in 1541, and by 1562 Anna sold his pottery workshop to their eldest son, Lucas, who is also described in archival sources as a *geleyerspotbacker*. This Antwerp pottery shop remained in family hands until 1581.[20]

In *The Three Books of the Potter's Art*, Piccolpasso refers to ceramic production in Antwerp, crediting a Guido di Savino with bringing the art to the northern port city. Piccolpasso, writing in the 1550s, adds that the business, "is still carried on at the present day by his sons."[21] Bernard Rackham believed that this Guido di Savino and Guido Andries were one and the same.[22] This suggestion is supported by the fact that in 1552, two other sons of Guido Andries, Frans and Joris, were enrolled as potters and painters in the Antwerp Guild of St. Luke.[23] Another son of Andries is also listed as a "*potverkooper*," or pottery vendor.[24] All of these references indicate more than just the presence of Italian potters in Antwerp, but show the growth of a successful business over the course of the sixteenth century in which several members of the same family both fashioned and sold tin-glazed wares.

---

[17] Ibid., 31.

[18] Ibid., 27. More recently, analysis of clays has disproved Rackham's research that tin-glazed pottery influenced by Italian maiolica was manufactured in the Low Countries in the late fifteenth century. See Hugo Blake, "*De nomine Jhesu*. An Italian export ware and the origin of Renaissance maiolica pottery-making in the Low Countries," in *Maiolica in the North: The Archaeology of Tin-glazed Earthenware in North-West Europe, c. 1500-1600*, ed. David Gaimster (London: The British Museum, 1999), 23-56.

[19] Both Rackham and Viaene have written that this label derives from glazed wares brought into Bruges aboard foreign galleys, before any sort of native industry developed. Rackham, 33-34; Viaene, 50.

[20] Rackham, *Netherlands Maiolica*, 35; Claire Dumortier, "Maiolica Production in Antwerp: The Documentary Evidence," in *Maiolica in the North,* ed., Gaimster, 107.

[21] Piccolpasso, *The Three Books of the Potter's Art*, 8.

The art, as Rackham writes, was "introduced by Italian wanderers," and then "taken up by native Flemings and Brabanters." The records of the Antwerp Guild of St. Luke are filled with the names of gallipot-makers as well as "*telloorshilders*," or plate painters. These names listed attest to the presence of potters of native birth in Antwerp between 1570 and 1637.[25]

Drug jars from sixteenth-century Antwerp held in the Victoria and Albert Museum exhibit common motifs found on Italian wares (fig. 5.6). These pieces are covered in white glaze with blue and orange decoration, and are likely related to the glaze colors used in Montelupo to imitate Hispano-Islamic lusterware. Incidentally, no lustered pottery was made in Northern Europe during the early modern period. The wares made in Antwerp, such as the tiles and plates illustrated by Bernard Rackham, and most recently by Claire Dumortier, are adorned with profile heads and female portrait heads commonly found on pottery made in Castel Durante in Urbino.[26]

By the last decades of the sixteenth century the Antwerp ceramics industry established by migrant Italian potters and trained locals was compromised by a general state of unrest in the northern port city. The 1566 Protestant iconoclasm sparked retaliation from the Spanish in 1576 and again in 1585.[27] Commercial stagnation in Antwerp, as well as the fact that some potters embraced Protestant beliefs, sent ceramic artists into England, and into Haarlem, Middleburg, and Delft.[28] This last city was not known as a center for ceramic production until about 1600, when porcelain from the Far East would affect local wares far more than any Italianate designs.

---

[22] Rackham, *Netherlands Maiolica*, 37.

[23] As noted at the end of chapter one, Frans Andries later moved to Seville, where he set up a pottery workshop in 1561. He presumably fashioned wares in an Italianate style in both Antwerp and Seville.

[24] Ibid., 39.

[25] Ibid., 41.

[26] See Dumortier, *Céramique de la renaissance à anver*s (Paris: Les Editions de l'Amateur, 2002).

Spain

In the Iberian Peninsula, however, the tin-glazed earthenware of Italy had a pronounced impact on pottery production throughout the seventeenth century. I discussed the influence of Tuscan and Umbrian forms and decoration on lusterware fashioned in Valencia, Cataluña, and Seville briefly in chapter one. But various wares from Italy affected the design of tin-glazed ceramics of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain in general. This is evident in pottery-producing areas throughout the Iberian Peninsula, from northern Castile to Andalucía.

The most well-known pottery center of the late sixteenth century and seventeenth century manufacturing non-lustered tin-glazed earthenware, much of which was inspired by Italian examples, was Talavera de la Reina. Located in the province of Toledo within the region of Castile, the town's ceramics were so popular that the word "*talavera*" came to mean any white-glazed pottery produced in Spain and in the larger Hispanic world. Tiles destined for royal palaces as well as items for everyday use originated from Talavera de la Reina. The potter, Juan Fernández, for example, received a high-profile commission to fashion tiles for the Escorial, pottery for that palace's gardens, table services for the Escorial's refectory, and jars for the pharmacy there.[29] On the other hand, simple and affordable wares such as plates and bowls found a market with a broad clientele who could use Talavera pottery in their more humble kitchens and pharmacies.

---

[27] Rackham, *Netherlands Maiolica*, 45.
[28] Dumortier, "Maiolica Production in Antwerp," 108.

The influence of wares from Tuscany and Urbino on the late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century output of Talavera de la Reina can be observed on many surviving pieces. For example, the Victoria and Albert Museum holds a dish dating to the last quarter of the sixteenth century, which may have been made in Talavera or nearby Puente de Arzobispo (fig. 5.7). This piece, decorated in blue and yellow, features an androgynous profile head. While Anthony Ray writes that this dish may represent Bradamante from *Orlando Furioso*, a subject common on Deruta lusterware, the piece in both composition and color palate resembles the work of potters from Castel Durante.[30] When compared to an example from the Castel Durante workshop of Giovanni Maria Vasaro, dating to around 1520, the Castilian dish is a sketchier, but still a finely executed derivation (fig. 5.8).

Ray has also compared what are known as Faenza *compendiario* wares with certain pottery styles from Talavera de la Reina, Puente del Arzobispo, and Catalan pottery from Lérida.[31] *Compendiario* wares came into fashion in central Italy around 1550 and are characterized by a glossy white glaze upon which sketchy decorations of a limited color palate are painted (fig. 5.9). The so-called "tri-color family" of pottery made in Talavera and Puente share the same freely painted, sketchy style as Faenza examples (fig. 5.10). On both Castilian tri-color wares and Faenza *compendiario* production, the central motif on such pieces, which could be a profile head, a full-length figure, a mythological animal, a fanciful building, or simply a round decorative flourish, is clearly set off from a distinct decorative border. The Castilian tri-color palate consisted of red, blue, and dark brown glazes. While many Spanish examples do not feature as much undecorated white glaze as Tuscan pieces, Ray still maintains that in this type of Castilian pottery design, "nothing could be further from the *horror vacui* so typical of Moorish decorative ideas."[32] Ray sees the impact of Tuscan pottery styles too in the pottery made further north in Cataluña. *Putti* and profile busts painted either in blue or polychrome glazes appear on seventeenth-century examples from Lérida. (fig. 5.11) Moreover, early seventeenth-century ceramics made in Barcelona that carry a bright green glaze seem to indicate the influence of glazed earthenware from Montelupo on Catalan products.[33]

---

[29] Anthony Ray, "Sixteenth-Century Pottery in Castile: A Documentary Study," *The Burlington Magazine* 133 (May 1991): 299-300.

[30] Ray, *Spanish Pottery*, 158.

[31] Ray, *Spanish Pottery*, 157, 164.

Although it has proven difficult to distinguish plates, bowls, and jugs made in Castilian centers as being definitively from Talavera de la Reina, Puente del Arzobispo, or Toledo, specific attributions to particular ceramic towns can be made with tile panels. For instance, three tile panels made the council chamber of the *Generalitat* of Valencia, which can be dated to 1570 to 1575 are signed "*en Toledo Oliva invent* (fig. 5.12)."[34] The signature refers to one Jusepe de Oliva, established in Toledo. His tile panels for this extremely important seat of the Valencian government represented three key components of the ideal city: civil authority, the military, and the Church. The tile panel depicting the Church is symbolized by the Virgin and child, and is the only one of these panels that is still visible.[35] The composition reveals an artist well acquainted with an Italian Renaissance aesthetic. Oliva painted onto the tiles a naturalistic Virgin and Child within a convincing and receding landscape. His command of shading and ability to show depth with atmospheric perspective is evident in the folds of Mary's dress as well as in the lighter blue glaze applied to the sky, trees, and other background elements. As to where Oliva honed his skills, Talavera is a possibility. He may also have been trained by the migrant potter of Italian descent, Frans Andries, who was working in Seville in 1561.[36] In any case, these tile panels in the *Generalitat* reveal changing tastes and a predilection for historiated Italianate ceramic styles in mid-sixteenth-century Valencia, of all places. After all, a potter from Toledo, as opposed to any local master, was selected for this prominent commission. In addition to the *Generalitat* panels, other high-profile commissions came to Toledo potters for thousands of tiles to be made for the Escorial and for the Alcázar in Segovia.[37]

---

[32] Ray, *Spanish Pottery*, 173.
[33] Ibid., 163.
[34] Ray, "Sixteenth-Century Pottery in Castile: A Documentary Study," 302.
[35] Ibid., 301. The other two panels have been obstructed by air conditioning equipment.

In Seville, too, the turn towards Italian ceramic styles took root in the sixteenth century. As briefly discussed in chapter one, Italian potters began to immigrate to the southern port at the end of the fifteenth century. Francisco Niculoso, who was probably from Florence, is thought to have introduced historiated tiles and a more diverse Italian color palate to the ceramics of Andalucía. In the second half of the sixteenth century, Philip II's accession to the throne brought new ceramic styles to Spain, and potters working in an Italian style in the Netherlands, Frans Andries and Jan Floris, moved south to Seville.[38] Once in Spain, Andries partnered with a Spanish potter with whom he would fashion "*pisano*" style tiles. The term "*pisano*" during the sixteenth century became a general term that designated tiles of an Italian type, which were perfectly smooth with a variety of colors applied to an already glazed surface (fig. 5.13).[39] Tiles of this sort are mentioned in many contemporary records. For example, the tiles commissioned for the Alcázar in the 1570s are referred to as "*azulejos de pisano*" and "*holambres de pisano*," meaning "tiles in the *pisano* style," and "small decorative inset tiles (*olambrillas*) in the *pisano* style."[40] In the 1580s, more commissions of tiles for that same palace were made, including one that names Juan Gascon, who was called a "*maestro de hacer y pintar azulejos pisanos*," "a master of making and painting *pisano* tiles." [41]

---

[36] Ibid.

[37] Ibid., 302-305.

[38] Ray, "Renaissance Pottery in Seville," *The Burlington Magazine* 132 (May 1990); 343.

[39] This type of tile was quite different from earlier varieties of wall, ceiling, and floor tiles used in the Iberian Peninsula. In the Nasrid period tiled surfaces were known as *alicatados*, in which individually cut shapes, called *aliceres*, were fitted together like puzzle pieces to form intricate patterned surfaces. Less labor-intensive tile-making techniques replaced *alicatados* in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. For instance, *cuerda seca* tiles imitated the look of *alicatados*. In this process, geometric designs made with lines of manganese and grease were drawn onto a tile, after which the created shapes would be filled in with different colored glazes. The manganese and grease lines would burn off during firing, creating

Also from Italy, the blue and white ceramics of Liguria came into Seville, as attested to by Ligurian potters, Tomás and Jusepe Pesaro. These men, like so many other merchants in the last half of the sixteenth century, had come to take advantage of new markets in Seville, the bustling port city that enjoyed exclusive privileges with the Americas. Tomás Pesaro set up a pottery workshop producing Italianate ceramics in the former house of Columbus' son. Pesaro presided over a large operation according to surviving tax documents from the throughout the 1570s. [42]

A Call for Austerity in Seventeenth-Century Spain

The Italianate wares produced in various centers in Castille, Cataluña, and Andalucía, as discussed above, found a market with noble and humble patrons alike. Talavera or Talavera-style wares made throughout the Iberian Peninsula carried with them a special meaning within Spain, given that the popularity of the ceramics coincided with appeals and even legislation for

---

an impression into the tile, thus preventing the colored glazes from running together. Replacing the *cuerda seca* technique, was the *cuenca* or *arista* technique, which separated different colored glazes on a tile through the use of a pattern stamp, which created ridges and depressions on a tile. With *pisano* tiles, reputedly introduced by Francisco Niculoso, however, multi-colored tile pictures were painted directly onto the smooth, glazed tile face without any sort of preliminary surface treatment.

[40] José Gestoso y Pérez, *Historia de los barros vidriados*, 232.

[41] Ibid., 237.

[42] Florence C. Lister and Robert Lister, *Andalusian Ceramics in Spain and New Spain: A Cultural Register from the Third Century B.C. to 1700* (Tuscon: Univeristy of Arizona Press, 1987),350, n. 45.

greater austerity in the country. The move to reform Spain both economically and culturally in the seventeenth century began in 1619 under Philip III and was prompted by the financial woes of the nation. The Council of Castile met that year and issued several recommendations including the reduction of taxes, a stop to the establishment of religious foundations, and the issuance of sumptuary laws, which were to curb the display of luxury.[43] It would not be until 1623, however, during the reign of Philip IV that the articles of reform were published. John Elliott has written. "These were a mixed series of ordinances… and were infused by a conviction that morals and economics were inextricably intertwined."[44] The statutes of reform called for, among other things, a reduction in the number of municipal offices, a reduction in the amount of imported goods allowed into the country, and the closing of all brothels. The government of Philip IV also instituted sumptuary laws. The use of gold and silver ornament on clothing, coaches, banners, and furniture was banned. Also notable is the change made to men's apparel in which ornate, lacey ruff collars were to be replaced by the simple and rigid *golilla* collar. The King of England's visit to Spain that same year temporarily "threw austerity to the winds" as far as the court was concerned.[45]

Nevertheless, appeals for scaled-back living can be found in contemporary dramatic works. The plays of Golden Age dramatists mention Talavera wares specifically in this new climate of austerity. In Lope de Vega's *Peribañez y el comendador de Ocaña*, the virtuous Casilda, a picture of female loyalty and modesty, sets her table with Talavera pottery.[46] In Tirso de Molina's work, *La prudencia en la mujer*, Queen María sells her jewels and silver so that she can protect her people during wartime. She replaces her costly tableware with Talavera pottery.[47]

---

[43] John Elliott, *Imperial Spain, 1469-1716* (London: Penguin Books, 1963, 2002), 322.

[44] Ibid., 327.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Lope de Vega, *Peribañez y el comendador de Ocaña*, trans. J.M. Ruano and J.E. Varey (London: Tamesis, 1980), 80.

Not only fictional characters, but actual church dignitaries used tin-glazed Talavera wares in order to make similar statements of generosity and restraint. When the former viceroy of New Spain, Juan Palafox de Mendoza, moved back to Castile to serve as bishop in the small town of Burgo de Osma, his biographer noted that Palafox's silver service "lasted less time than if it had been of clay, for at the first emergency in the bishopric, which he recognized as worthy of this help, he ordered the dinner set sold… then with the silver gone, pious poverty returned to brighten the table of the bishop-prince… who was indifferent to all objects of extreme value, preferring the earthenware of Talavera to the silver of Potosí."[48] As early as 1590, in fact, chroniclers praised the simple pottery as well. The 1590 edition of Pedro de Medina's 1549 *Grandezas y cosas notables de España*, augmented by Diego Pérez de Mesa, reads:

> This is the finest ware made, not only in Spain but almost anywhere in the world. Such a great quantity of Talavera ware is made that it is incredible, beyond imagining; for although so much of it is used everywhere and by every class of people, and although it is so easily broken, nevertheless it is still to be found in abundance in houses and shops in every town in Spain because of its cheapness.[49]

Thus during an economic crisis in Spain, the consumption of simple Talavera wares was both responsible and patriotic. The older arts of Islamic Spain and the luxury of metallic luster meant to imitate precious metals could not express the same sentiment of dutiful austerity.

The Expulsion of the *Moriscos*

While the discussion above indicates a change in collective tastes marked by the influence of Italian and Italianate pottery throughout Western Europe beginning in the sixteenth century, as well as an economic situation in Spain that encouraged the consumption of simpler, Italianate ceramics, this shift is not the only explanation traditionally offered for the decreased consumption of Hispano-Islamic lusterware. The expulsion of the *Moriscos*,[50] people of Muslim heritage, took place under the reign of Philip III in the years between 1609 and 1612.[51] The term *Morisco* in most scholarship refers to converted Muslims living in Spain, some of whom were actually practicing Christians, and many others crypto-Muslims who chose to adhere to Islam secretly.

---

[47] Frothingham, *Talavera Pottery* (New York: The Hispanic Society of America, 1944), 24.
[48] Ibid., 25.
[49] Diego Pérez de Mesa quoted in Ray, *Spanish Pottery*, 159-160.

The process of making all inhabitants of the Iberian Peninsula Christians (at least in the nominal sense) played out through the course of the sixteenth century. Immediately following the Christian Reconquest, which was marked by the Catholic Monarchs' seizure of Granada in 1492, Muslims continued to practice their religion as they had before. As Leonard Patrick Harvey explains, "The Muslims of the formerly independent Kingdom of Granada after 1492 simply had their status assimilated to that of the *Mudéjars* (subject Muslims who accepted Christian rule) of the rest of the peninsula."[52] At the beginning of the sixteenth century, however, forcible conversions were conducted throughout the various kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula: Castile in 1500-1502; Navarre in 1515-1516; and Aragon (which included the lands of not only the present-day province of Aragon, but also Cataluña and Valencia) in 1523-1526.

Less than a century later, these *Moriscos* received an order of expulsion. Men, women, and children (although children had the option to stay owing to the belief their souls were considered innocent and open to true Christian conversion) boarded ships along the eastern coast of Spain at Denia, Alfaques, and Alicante that were headed to North Africa. A contemporaneous series of paintings documents the pain, anguish, and bitter farewells of the *Moriscos* to the only land they knew (fig. 5.14). As stipulated by the decree, they could bring only what they could carry, while their property in Spain would be turned over to old Christian nobility or to the crown. It is estimated that somewhere between 275,000 to 300,000 *Moriscos* left Spain in the forced mass exodus.[53]

---

[50] Before the sixteenth century, morisco simply meant anything or anyone that was Moorish or North African. See L.P. Harvey, *Muslims in Spain* (Chicago: Univeristy of Chicago Press, 2005), 2-3.

[51] These years apply to the expulsion from the kingdom of Aragon where populations of moriscos were dense; however, the era of expulsion lasted until1614 and stretched into Castile.

[52] Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*, 14.

The roots for this sweeping eradication of Muslim presence in Spain could be followed back to the eighth century, when the first invaders from North Africa set foot on Iberian soil. Certainly after 1492, there were calls for expulsion when triumphant Christian forces recognized that they had to contend with an "insubordinate minority."[54] As for the more immediate driving forces behind the expulsion of the *Moriscos*, several theories have been put forth. For instance, the *Morisco* population of Spain was thought to be an insidious force that would compromise Spain's identity as a champion of the Catholic faith. The *Morisco* presence allowed Protestants in the Netherlands to demonize Spain as a country inhabited by Muslim infidels. Additionally, populations of *Moriscos* could communicate with, or at the very least, embolden the Ottoman Turks with whom Spain was constantly at odds during the sixteenth century.[55] Moreover, the economic situation in Spain may have contributed to the decision to expel the *Moriscos*. With the nation having entered a recession in 1604, the crown would be able to confiscate *Morisco* property and receive a much needed boost for the Spanish economy.[56]

Furthermore, Philip III's signing of the Twelve Year Truce likely had a direct impact on the final decision as well. On April 9, 1609, the very day the king issued the order of expulsion, the Spanish monarchy recognized the independence of the United Provinces of the Dutch

---

[53] Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*, 12-13; Elliott, *Imperial Spain*, 307.

[54] Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*, 291.

[55] Bauzá, *Páginas de la Historia de Manises*, 211; Elliott, Imperial Spain, 306. See also, Andrew C. Hess, "The Moriscos: An Ottoman Fifth Column," *The American Historical Review* 74 (1968): 1-25.

[56] John Lynch, *Spain under the Hapsburgs*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1969), 40-46.

Republic. Whereas Philip II had sunk money and countless lives into suppressing Protestant revolts in the North, his son, Philip III, agreed to cease hostilities. On this point Leonard Patrick Harvey refers to one well-known interpretation of these events:

> Voltaire observed, "Philip III could not get the better of a few Dutchmen, and unfortunately he could drive out 700,000 moors from his dominions." The unstated implication of Voltaire's sarcasm seems to be that for the frustrated monarch the decision to do something that did lie in his power was a substitute for what he wished to do elsewhere but could not.[57]

Whatever the motivating factors, the decree of expulsion had major economic repercussions for the areas around Zaragoza and especially for the Valencian countryside, particularly with regard to agricultural affairs. As we shall see, however, the effect that it had on actual lusterware production does not seem to have been as pronounced as an earlier conflict in Paterna. Nor did the expulsion affect the consumption of lusterware as much as the changing tastes and evolving interests of consumers in Spain and throughout Western Europe. Moreover, the impact the expulsion had on overall ceramic production was not long lasting in Aragonese Muel and the Valencia region. Orders to repopulate these affected areas with experienced men who would carry on various industries were issued almost immediately.

The region of Valencia saw one-third of its population expelled during the fall of 1609.[58] This severe depopulation dramatically affected rural, agricultural areas where Valencian noblemen of old Christian stock were deprived of their *Morisco* workforce. Even the chief adviser, or *privado*, of King Philip III, the Duke of Lerma, who eventually supported the decree of expulsion, initially protested the notion.[59] Lerma owned extensive property in Valencia and did not want to see his revenues diminished. The same protest could be heard from don Felipe Albert Vidal Buyl de la Scala, the then Lord of Manises, who earned a substantial income from the production of luster and other fine pottery in his town. As discussed in chapter two of this study, Felipe Buyl petitioned the King of Spain on behalf of Manises to allow the *Moriscos* to remain.[60] His efforts did nothing to halt the expulsion, and Buyl too, just as the Duke of Lerma, not only acquiesced, but also helped to enforce the decree.[61]

---

[57] Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*, 308.
[58] Elliott, *Imperial Spain*, 307; Ray, *Spanish Pottery*, 242.
[59] Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*, 300-301.

Nevertheless, fashioning of luster pottery continued throughout the first half of the seventeenth century. Even before the order was issued, the golden pottery did not enjoy the same international popularity as it had previously in the fourteenth and fifteenth century. The pottery did, however, circulate in Spanish markets, but references to the beauty and singularity of lusterware are not as frequent during the seventeenth century as contemporary references to the production of Talavera. There were skilled Christian potters in the Valencian area that the 1609 order did not affect, and they continued to make the golden ceramic wares. A document from 1625 that records the purchase of tin and lead for pottery glazes contains the names of twenty-four Manises "*maestros de obra de terra*," or master potters, all of whom have Christian names.[62] In order to fill the gap left by the expulsion of the *Moriscos*, it is also possible that immediately following the decree, trained Christian potters from Cataluña may have been transferred to Valencia.

Potters from Talavera de la Reina may have moved to the eastern coast of Spain to operate workshops as well. While there is no documentary evidence for these "replacement" potters from Castile operating in post-expulsion Valencia, the decorative motifs on a great deal of surviving seventeenth-century lusterware from the Valencia area bears a very strong resemblance to popular late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Talavera wares. A frequently encountered decorative pattern on seventeenth-century Valencian lusterware is the

---

[60] Bauzá, *Páginas de la historia de Manises*, 212.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Ray, *Spanish Pottery*, 242.

"coiled and hatched leaves" motif. Wares adorned with this decoration still carry coats-of-arms, but usually of native patrons. A large basil or flowerpot in the Victoria and Albert Museum is emblazoned with the heraldry of the Spanish Hapsburgs. A large plate at the Hispanic Society bears the insignia of the Dominican Order, which can also be seen on many other seventeenth-century pieces of this type (fig. 5.15). The hatching and scrolling of the plant motifs on these pieces is very similar to the blue and white "butterfly" series from Talavera de la Reina (fig. 5.16), and it is also similar to the floral decoration found on the tri-color family made both in Talavera and in Puente del Arzobispo.[63]

With the pottery industry in the Valencia area either sustained by local Christian masters and/or supplemented by ceramists from elsewhere in the Iberian Peninsula, Anthony Ray goes as far as to claim that, "However limited the production in the decade following the expulsion, there seems to have been a great expansion in the second quarter of the century."[64] Contemporary records support this assertion. It is during this period that we see the first documentary evidence for the establishment of a potters' guild in Manises. José Nicolau Bauzá's archival study on the history of Manises includes a transcription of these earliest surviving guild ordinances, which were recorded on April 6, 1619, and augmented on May 7, 1627.[65] Thus while *Morisco* potters in Manises in the past had lived in a separate community, it would seem that this force of Christian artists working in post-expulsion Valencia, and particularly the Lord of Manises, don Pedro Buyl (r.1608-1627), required clear rules regarding the production and sale of their pottery. Clearly, the Buyls wanted to maintain their grasp of the Manises ceramics industry and keep as many profits as possible. The guild ordinances included the following stipulations: workshops could not be set up without the lord's permission; Manises potters could not relocate and bring their skills elsewhere; and Manises ceramics had to be sold at the proper price within the city limits.[66]

---

[63] Ibid., 243.
[64] Ibid., 242.
[65] Bauzá, *Páginas de la Historia de Manises*, 344-346.

Ultimately, these guild ordinances indicate that at the very least there was still a Manises ceramics industry to be regulated and that the 1609 decree of expulsion for *Moriscos* living in the Valencia area did not terminate the production of fine lustered pottery. By mid-century, however, a shortage of raw materials does seem to have had an effect on Manises luster production. Guild ordinances from 1652, 1667, and 1673, provide insight into the difficulty potters in the Valencia area had in procuring the tin and lead they needed to make glazes.[67]

Also in the Valencia area, in nearby Paterna, it was not the expulsion of the *Moriscos* that halted the production of luster pottery in the town, but an earlier event that dealt a fatal blow to potters in the village. Almost ninety years before the order of expulsion in 1609, the revolt of the *germanías*, or brotherhoods, had a significant and long-lasting effect on the luster production of Paterna. The Spanish crown under Charles V elected to arm the guilds of Valencia in an effort to combat the attacks of Turkish pirates on the eastern coast of the Iberian Peninsula.[68] The ultimate consequence of arming a middle-class force of weavers, spinners, and other organized Christian craftsmen was a revolt on their part against Valencian nobles and their subject Muslim workforce.[69] As Mark D. Meyerson has written, this revolt was not driven by religious intolerance, but rather by economic concerns. “Because *Mudéjar* vassals farmed the land and provided revenue for many a Valencian noble, indeed often paying more taxes than their

---

[66] Ray, *Spanish Pottery*, 242.

[67] Ibid.

[68] Elliott, *Imperial Spain*, 156.

[69] This subject Muslim workforce included Muslim potters in the Valencia area who had no guild at this time and whose jurisdictional Christian lords received a percentage of profits from the sale of their fine wares.

Christian counterparts, killing or converting the Muslims, the *germanías* reasoned, would deliver a crippling blow to the nobility."[70]

In 1521, royal troops moved into the Valencia area to crush the revolt, and consequently the town of Paterna, with its many potteries, was destroyed. María José Gimeno Roselló published a document revealing that the conflict destroyed several lusterware workshops, including a "*casa del fornet de coure obra de terra daurada*" belonging to Martí de Luna.[71] While archaeologist María Mesquida claims that lusterware was produced in Paterna after 1521, Pedro López Elum writes that his extensive archaeological excavations indicate that a thick level of ash covers the pottery district of Paterna suggesting large-scale destruction of the kilns of the village.[72] López Elum wrote that this discovery along with careful archival research demonstrates that many Muslim potters fled Paterna, unable to make a living, and that many kilns were not rebuilt. The author estimates a 90 percent drop in pottery production there after the events of 1521.[73]

Therefore in the Valencia area, the 1609 expulsion was not the only event that led to decreased production of fine pottery. The revolt of the *germanías* laid waste to Paterna in the sixteenth century. Nonetheless, the industry continued in nearby Manises and did so even after the 1609 decree. While Valencia lost 35 percent of its population after the order of expulsion was issued, other pottery towns suffered still greater population losses, and yet, production continued post-expulsion. Further north, the luster-producing village of Muel near Zaragoza lost nearly all of its population. Still, it would seem that while the decree emptied out Muel for a short period of time, potters from elsewhere relocated to the area and the ceramics industry there endured. Yet, changes in taste and evolving interests had made the lusterware of Aragon more of a local product than an internationally acclaimed one even before the 1610 expulsion of *Moriscos* from Muel.

---

[70] Mark D. Meyerson, *The Muslims of Valencia in the Age of Fernando and Isabel*: *Between Coexistence and Crusade* (Berkley; University of California Press, 1990), 90.

[71] María José Gimeno Roselló, *Las germanías en Paterna, el tejido artesenal alfarero, 1520-1521* (Valencia: Ajuntament, 1995); quoted in Ray, *Spanish Pottery*, 112. "A house with kilns for firing golden pottery."

[72] López Elum, *La producción cerámica de lujo*, 36-39.

[73] Ibid.

In 1585, Henri Cock wrote his exoticized description of Muel, which he says was overrun by Muslims.[74] Fifteen years later, Muel, a town primarily made up of *Moriscos* working in the pottery industry, was all but depopulated. María Isabel Álavaro Zamora, in her study of the ceramic production of Aragon, writes that the records of expulsion from Muel document that 377 men, 398 women, 209 boys, 180 girls, and 109 babies were made to leave the village.[75] In total, 1,273 people were forced to travel by land from Muel to the Valencian port of Alfaques, where they boarded ships bound for North Africa.[76] An eye-witness account of the empty town from 1611 comes from the Portuguese cartographer, João Baptista Lavanha. He wrote that Muel was once populated by over 1,000 *Moriscos*, but at the time of his visit, only sixteen inhabitants remained.[77]

It would seem that the order of expulsion would have completely destroyed not only the pottery industry in Muel permanently, but there is documentary evidence from the early seventeenth century to the early-nineteenth century that suggests it did not. In 1611, a *carta puebla*, or permit of residence, was issued that sought to repopulate the town and ensure that the valuable clay deposits along the Huerva River would not go to waste. With this *carta puebla* began a new phase of ceramic production.[78] Scholars believe that the first potters who relocated to the empty village had been transferred from Reus, a Catalan town also known for lusterware production. According to Álavro Zamora, while the town of Muel had been completely wiped clean of its *Morisco* luster potters causing a brief interruption in Aragonese lusterware production, the hiatus did not last long:

---

[74] See chapter three of this study, 150-152.

[75] María Isabel Álvaro Zamora, *Cerámica aragonesa*, 1: 32.

[76] Ibid.

[77] João Baptista Lavanha, *Intinerario del reino de Aragón*, eds. Lupercio Leonardo y Argensola and Tomás Fermín de Lezaún y Tornos (Zaragoza: Tipografía del Hospicio Provincial, 1895), 3-4.

[78] Álavaro Zamora, *Cerámica aragonesa*, 1: 32.

> …the first potters to repopulate were from Reus and they continued, during this particular time, to employ the technique of luster, just as the mudéjars and others had done before, and just as they were required to in their contracts. Thus, initially there was no substantial rupture in production [of the pottery], not at the technical level, nor at the formal level.[79]

Although the production of lusterware in Muel did not last long after potters from Reus reinhabited the town, the pottery industry in general not only recovered, but endured. Simple blue and white wares were fashioned in the Aragonese village, some of them being very similar to Talavera production.[80] The English traveler, Joseph Townsend, in 1786, and the French traveler Alexander Laborde in 1809, both describe the notable presence of a ceramics industry in the village of Muel.[81]

Therefore the 1610 decree of expulsion did not have permanently detrimental consequences for the pottery made in Muel, and certainly did not affect native consumption of ceramics from the area as much as changing tastes did. A combination of several factors including the growing popularity of Italian and Italianate ceramics in Spain and abroad, native consumption of Talavera pottery, and a tone of austerity within Spain itself had a significant effect on the decline of the Hispano-Islamic art of lusterware throughout Western Europe. As we shall see, upper-class tastes in Western Europe also succumbed to the allure of novel items from Far East and New World.

---

[79] Ibid., 35. "…los primeros escudilleros repopladores fueron reusenses y continuaron durante cierto tiempo produciendo la técnica de reflejo metálico (loza dorada), tal como lo habían hecho antes los mudéjares y ellos mismos en sus obradores de de origen , y tal como se les exigió en sus contratos de trabajo, con lo cual en un primer momento no hubo una ruptura sustancial de la producción ni nivel técnico ni a nivel formal."

[80] Ray, *Spanish Pottery*, 207-208.

[81] Álavaro Zamora, *CerámicaaAragonesa*, 1: 32.

Looking Outward: Global Commerce, the Americas, the Far East

Further proof that the appeal of lusterware throughout Western Europe began to diminish in the sixteenth century can be seen in the very sparse export of the golden pottery to the New World. Of the lustered dishes and tiles that were made in Valencia, Seville, and further north in the regions of Aragon and Cataluña during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, very little of it would find its way to the Americas.

What must be the earliest evidence of Hispano-Islamic lusterware being brought to the New World occurred in 1498, during the third voyage of Christopher Columbus when the admiral and his men were situated on the island of Cubagua located off the coast of Venezuela. An account of this journey was recorded in the early sixteenth century by the Spanish chronicler Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo.[82] He writes:

> When the Admiral [Christopher Columbus] had anchored his three ships off [the island] of Cubagua, he ordered several sailors to launch a skiff and to approach a canoe [whose occupants were] engaged in diving for pearls. When they saw the Spaniards coming in their direction, the canoe [with all aboard] made for shore. And [there] among other natives [the Spaniards] saw a woman who had around her neck many strings of pearls, [all] of good size (for the natives did not value the small ones since they had neither the ability nor instruments to drill them). Then one of the sailors took a ceramic dish of the type made in Valencia (and Málaga as well), that are finished in such a way that their [surface] designs and colors have a luminous sheen, and he smashed it to pieces. [He and his comrades], in exchange for the bright colored shards, obtained from the divers and the woman some strings of large pearls. And because it seemed proper to the sailors, they took the treasure to the Admiral. The latter, having a better understanding of the ramifications of what had happened, thought [for a moment] not to give the matter great importance, but the obvious pleasure he took in seeing the pearls did not allow him to do so. His words rang true: "I say to you, men, you are in the richest land on earth, and for

---

[82] I encountered this reference to lusterware in the New World first in Lister and Lister, *Andalusian Ceramics*, 197. Yet the author translated Fernández de Oviedo's account incorrectly writing that Columbus' men were trading luster pottery fragments for gold. As we shall see that was not the case.

> that let us give commensurate thanks to God." The Admiral sent the skiff back to the island with a different crew ordering them to obtain a bowl full of pearls by using as the media of exchange fragments of another plate of the kind described above and some small [metal] bells. The trading that took place between the Spaniards and the pearl divers on the second trip to the island resulted in five or six *marcos* [83]of large and small pearls, all mixed together in the manner in which the natives harvest them. The Admiral took the large ones for a gift to present [in person] or to send to Fernando and Isabel, the Catholic Monarchs of Spain.[84]

Fernández de Oviedo's account is an emblematic one, demonstrating that the lusterware made in the Valencia area was nowhere near as enticing as the treasures to be had in parts of the world previously unknown to Europeans. The golden pottery, quickly smashed by one of Columbus' sailors, held little to no exotic appeal when faced with the material splendor of "the richest land on Earth."

In her archaeological study of Spanish colonies in Florida and the Caribbean, Kathleen Deagan affirms the rarity of Hispano-Islamic lusterware finds in the Americas.[85] Both Deagan and John M. Goggin have uncovered pieces of the golden Iberian pottery in pre-1550 archaeological sites in the Dominican Republic, the earliest of Spain's New World settlements.[86] Deagan illustrates one small lustered dish, about 33 cm in diameter, unearthed in Santo Domingo (fig. 5.17).[87]

---

[83] A *marco* is a unit of weight equal to eight ounces.

[84] Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, vol. 2 (Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1959), 190-191. "Asi como el Almirante surgió a par de Cubagua con sus tres carabelas, mandó a ciertos marineros salir en una barca y que fuesen a una canoa que andaba pescando perlas, la cual, como vido que los cristianos iban a ella, se recogió hacia la tierra de la isla; y entre otros indios, vieron una mujer que tenía al cuello una gran cantidad de hilos de aljófar y perlas, grueso el aljófar (poque de lo menudo no hacían caso los indios, ni tenían arte ni instrumento tan sotil con que lo horadar). Entonces uno de aquellos marineros tomó un plato de barro de los de Valencia (que también llaman de Málaga), que son labrados de labores que relucen las figuras y pinturas que hay en los tales platos, y hízole en pendazos, y ha trueco de los cascos del plato, rescataron con los indios y india ciertos hilos de aquel aljófar grueso; e cómo les paresció bien a aquellos marineros, llevarónlo al Almirante, el cual, como entendió el negocio más profundamente, pensó de lo disimular, pero no le dió lugar el placer que hobo en verlo, e dijo: "Dígoos que estáis en la más rica tierra que hay en el mundo, y sean dadas a Dios muchas gracias por ello." E tornó a enviar la barca con otros hombres a tierra, e mandóles que rescatesen tanto aljófar o perlas cunato cupiese en una escudilla, a trueco de otro plato hecho pedazos, como el que es dicho, y de algunos cascabeles. Y llegadas a la isla, rescataron con aquellos pescadores hasta cinco o seis marcos de perlas y aljófar, todo mezclado, de la forma que los indios lo pescan, grueso y menudo. Y tomó el Almirante aquellas perlas para las llevar él o las enviar a España a los reyes Católicos, don Fernando e doña Isabel, de gloriosa memoria."

[85] Kathleen Deagan, *Artifacts of the Spanish Colonies of Florida and the Caribbean* (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1987).

This piece, along with other physical and archival evidence published by Florence C. Lister, indicate that Hispano-Islamic lusterware *did* cross the Atlantic in both the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but not in large quantities. For example, of a convoy of twenty ships en-route to the New World in 1509, nine of the vessels carried orders of pottery.[88] Lister believes the amount of pottery transported to Santo Domingo suggests that a ceramics shop was to be established in the new Spanish settlement. Six-hundred and ten packages of various ceramic wares, one-hundred and thirty pieces of other earthenware forms, an unknown number of Spanish *cuenca* as well as Dutch tiles, and nine boxes of "*loza de Valencia*," likely lusterware, sailed across the ocean in this shipment.[89] When compared to more humble and simply glazed wares, however, the lusterware of the 1509 convoy appears in lesser quantities.

In addition to the rather limited presence of Hispano-Islamic lusterware in the Americas, the actual technique for fashioning the golden pottery was infrequently employed in a colonial context. Nevertheless, potters in Mexico seem to have been acquainted with the method. Relief tiles from the Rosary Chapel in the church of Santo Domingo, Puebla, which was constructed between 1623 and 1690, once carried the luminous golden glaze.[90] A 1690 account of the lavishly decorated Mexican chapel written by fray Juan de Gorospe refers to an altar frontal made of tiles, which were "of such extraordinary craftsmanship and cost as they are so finely made and gilded without forgoing the luster for the sake of cost."[91] Documents regarding the Puebla ceramics industry published by Enrique A. Cervantes in 1939 indicate that a potter, Miguel de la Rosa, was known as "*dorador*" or "gilder" of ceramics in 1687.[92] These few instances, however, comprise the very limited physical and archival evidence for the transfer and implementation of luster technique to the New World.

---

[86] Ibid., 54. Also see John M. Goggin, *Spanish Maiolica in the New World: Types of the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), 141.

[87] While the author dates this piece as a sixteenth-century example, it is decorated with the coiled and hatched leaves motif found on Valencian wares from the first half of the seventeenth century.

[88] Lister, *Andalusian Ceramics*, 202.

[89] Ibid.

[90] Margaret E. Connors McQuade, "The Emergence of a Mexican Tile Tradition," in *Cerámica y Cultura: The Story of Spanish and Mexican Mayólica*, ed. Robin Farwell Gavin (Santa Fe: University of New Mexico Press, 2003), 216-217.

After the 1550s, the export of European ceramics in general to the New World declined. Of interest to Western European markets was not simply what could be *exported to* the Americas, but also what could be *procured from* and *through* the New World. Ceramics and other domestic wares, made in or shipped via Mexico in particular, did not only satisfy Western European curiosity about New World and Far East cultures, such items satiated a need to own and display exotica. In addition to items made in and shipped through the Americas, Portuguese commerce with the Far East beginning in the late fifteenth century, and later, Dutch involvement with Eastern markets, provided channels for obtaining fine Chinese porcelain in Western Europe. The awe and excitement that such rare or formerly unknown ceramics from these various corners of the world inspired in Spain, Italy, and Northern Europe cannot be overestimated. Western European markets not only sought to procure elegant examples of Chinese export porcelain, potteries in the Dutch Republic, in Italy, and throughout the Iberian Peninsula produced their own imitations of the refined blue and white wares. Moreover, noble and royal collectors, especially in Spain and Italy, avidly acquired items from the Americas including examples of New World pottery and lacquerware.

---

[91] Fray Juan de Gorospe, *Octava maravilla del Nuevo Mundo en la Gran Capilla del Rosario* (Puebla, 1690), 39; quoted in Connors McQuade, "The Emergence of a Mexican Tile Tradition," 216.

[92] Enrique A. Cervantes, *Loza blanca y azulejos de Puebla*, vol. 2 , 227; quoted in Connors McQuade, "The Emergence of a Mexican Tile Tradition," 225, n. 34.

In this section, I will provide a broad overview of the trade, collecting, and in some cases, the imitation of Far East and New World wares in Western Europe. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the wonder and fascination such goods evoked in Northern Europe, Italy, and Spain was a new cultural current, one that prized the exotic mystique of products from distant, or formerly inaccessible civilizations. During this period, new, attainable exotica from the Far East and the Americas, I will argue, was far more fashionable and appealing to European audiences that the Islamic luxury arts they so desired in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Chinese Export Porcelain and the West

Throughout Western Europe, increasing global contact ignited a fascination for the delicate, translucent porcelain of China. Examples of porcelain from the Far East first appeared in Western Europe in the fourteenth century, but by the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, increased export of Chinese porcelain made imitations pervasive in the West.[93] Italy, Holland, Germany, France, and England all boast early modern pottery styles highly influenced by Chinese export porcelain. The most famous and most successful attempt to produce the actual material of porcelain (as opposed to Chinese-inspired earthenware vessels) occurs in Florence under the Grand Duke Francesco de' Medici. In 1582, the Medici workshops, using clay from Vicenza, which contained a small amount kaolin, produced "soft-paste" porcelain, a material finer than earthenware but not as resilient as true, hard-paste Chinese porcelain (fig. 5.18).[94] While the floral designs on these pieces are influenced by Iznik pottery, such experiments in the Medici workshops could not have been possible without a substantial, grand-ducal collection of

---

[93] Edward A. Maser, "The European Imitators and their Wares," in *Blue and White: Chinese Porcelain and its Impact on the Western World*, ed. John Carswell (London: British Museum, 2000), 37.

[94] Ibid., 38-40.

Chinese porcelain. At the time of his death in 1587, Francesco de' Medici had 340 pieces of Chinese porcelain in his *guardaroba*.[95]

While a technical triumph, the Medici factory created only a few pieces in the final decades of the sixteenth century. There are only sixty known examples of Medici porcelain today. Nevertheless, by the beginning of the seventeenth century, the prolific mercantile activity of the Dutch would bring more of the genuine article to Europe. Rich, seventeenth-century Dutch still-life, or *pronk* paintings, frequently showcase the Chinese porcelain brought to Holland via the Dutch East India Company, which was established in 1602. Willem Kalf's many *pronk* pieces include various bowls and plates from the Wan-li period, a transitional period between the Ming and Kangxi dynasties. In the Dutch Republic, imports prompted imitations.[96] Blue and white earthenware decorated with imagery derived from Wan-li pieces was fashioned in Haarlem, Dordrecht, and perhaps most famously in Delft. Dutch potters added to these Chinese-inspired wares a clear lead glaze known as *kwaart*, which enhanced their sheen giving the native product as dazzling an appearance as the costly imported prototype (fig. 5.19).[97]

Throughout the course of the seventeenth century, other ceramic enterprises in Western Europe would draw inspiration directly and indirectly from Chinese porcelain. In 1666, potteries in Hamburg began to imitate the output of Delft. Frankfurt did the same. French potteries in Nevers received Chinese examples through both the Dutch and Portuguese trade with the Far East. France also established its own East India Company in 1662, which brought in more Chinese porcelain. Finally, the English produced blue and white wares in Southwark and Lambeth influenced by Dutch imitations of Chinese porcelain.[98]

---

[95] Spallanzani, *Ceramiche alle corte dei Medici*, 86.
[96] Mazer, "The European Imitators," 40.
[97] Ibid., 41.
[98] Ibid., 41-42.

Yet, it was in Portugal and the Americas that significant trade in Chinese porcelain and the rage to imitate the wares took root the earliest. Jean McClure Mudge has written, "In the modern era, potters in Portugal, Spain, and Mexico initiated the West's imitation of Chinese export blue-and-white porcelain thirty to forty years before their counterparts anywhere in Europe or England."[99] Indeed, in the early modern era, Portugal was the first European nation to "pioneer Europe's trade with the Far East."[100] Portuguese trade routes stretched south from Lisbon, along the western coast of Africa, around the Cape of Good Hope, and then north along the eastern coast of Africa. Ships would cross the Indian Ocean, dock in Goa and Malacca, and then turn into the South China Sea, and head north to Macao.[101] As early as the 1530s, the Portuguese were already shipping large quantities of Chinese porcelain back to Lisbon, ranging anywhere from 40,000 to 60,000 pieces per year.[102] From Portugal, much of this very costly ware was exported north to the ports of Antwerp and Amsterdam. Imitation of the fine, Eastern porcelain was well established by the late sixteenth century in areas around Lisbon, and enthusiasm and pride in the native derivations are well documented. Philip II of Spain (and of Portugal after 1580) wrote to his daughters in 1582 of Portuguese "*porcelanas*" made in a style that he had not seen before.[103] During Philip III's 1619 visit to Portugal, a poem praising local imitations of Chinese porcelain was written on a temporary triumphal arch built for the King's entry into Lisbon.[104] It read:

> Here most gracious Majesty
> We offer you the pilgrim art

---

[99] Jean McClure Mudge, "Hispanic Blue-and-White Faience in the Chinese Style," in *Blue and White: Chinese Porcelain and its Impact on the Western World*, 43.

[100] Ibid.

[101] Maura Rinaldi, *Kraak Porcelain: A Moment in the History of Trade* (London: Bamboo Publications, 1989), 26-27.

[102] Mudge, "Hispanic Blue-and-White," 43.

[103] Ibid., 44.

[104] Rinaldi, *Kraak Porcelain*, 216.

> Made in the Lusitanian Kingdom
> Which formerly China sold us at such high prices![105]

The earthenware is called "pilgrim art" because, like pilgrims, the Portuguese imitations traveled around the world, being exported throughout Western Europe.[106]

Portuguese interpretations of late Ming porcelain adhere rather strictly to the blue and white palate (fig. 5.20). Plates often bear paneled rims filled in with floral and vegetal patterns. Floral and/or animal imagery can be found in the center of these plates and bowls. The Portuguese also fashioned Chinese forms, such as narrow-necked bottles and teapots, while they also applied eastern decorative motifs to forms like the *albarello*, which was not made in China.[107]

Though the Portuguese trade in and imitation of Chinese porcelain predates that of Spain, by 1565, the Spanish had charted their own trade route by which they could procure luxury items from the Far East. From the mid-sixteenth century until 1815, the Manila Galleon brought finery from Asia into the Americas. From the New World, objects were shipped further afield to Spain (fig. 5.21).[108] The Philippines had been a Spanish holding since Ferdinand Magellan's 1519-1522 voyage. In 1543, the archipelago was named in honor of Philip II, and a little more than twenty years later Spain would recognize the full potential of Manila as a strategic trading post.[109] Luxurious items from China were collected in Manila and loaded onto galleons bound for New Spain. While the galleon trade brought new World silver East, the ships returned to the Americas carrying Chinese porcelain, silks, lacquer, spices, tea, and ivory to Acapulco on the western coast of Mexico.[110] Often these items traveled an arduous overland route from Acapulco to Veracruz on the eastern coast, where goods made in the Far East as well as goods fashioned in the Americas could be shipped across the Atlantic to Spain.[111]

---

[105] Mudge, "Hispanic Blue-and-White," 44.
[106] Ibid.
[107] Ibid., 45.
[108] See William Lytle Schurz, *The Manila Galleon* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1939).
[109] Ibid., 21-25.

While significantly less Chinese export porcelain reached Spain than Portugal, the blue and white ceramics from the Far East appear occasionally in contemporary paintings and did have an effect on pottery styles in Castile in the seventeenth century. The well-known painting by Francisco de Zurbarán, *St. Hugh in the Refectory*, shows an upturned Chinese bowl on the table as well as simple blue and white wares that could have been made in either Talavera de la Reina or in the Triana district of Seville (fig. 5.22).[112] A dish in the Hispanic Society from the mid-seventeenth century shares a very similar aesthetic with early seventeenth-century Wan-li porcelain (fig. 5.23). Like Chinese prototypes, this plate has six “lotus-shaped” border panels filled in with flowers and fern leaves. Animal and vegetal imagery occupies the center of the plate. Anthony Ray has categorized this dish and others like it as part of a “Chinese series” from Talavera,[113] while other scholars have called such wares “Delft imitations.” Mudge warns that the later designation could be a misnomer given that some of these Talavera Chinese-style pieces predate those of Delft.[114]

Chinese and Japanese goods, including export porcelain and lacquer encrusted with mother-of-pearl, also remained in Colonial Latin America.[115] With Mexico City and Puebla located on the route between Acapulco and Veracruz, the Manila Galleon trade not only helped to bring Far Eastern luxury items to Europe, it sparked the creation of unique, hybrid arts throughout New Spain. More than in Spain, blue and white Chinese export porcelain attained through the Manila Galleon trade inspired potters in Mexico to create their own tin-glazed earthenware interpretations. In Puebla, where local clay deposits made the area ideal for pottery production, ceramists fashioned blue and white earthenware that drew from Chinese decorations and forms (fig. 5.24).[116] While this *talavera poblana* was not exported to Spain in significant quantities, it did grace the tables of fine *criollo* homes and lessened the need for European ceramic imports in New Spain.

---

[110] Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *Art of Colonial Latin America* (London: Phaidon, 2005), 125.
[111] Ibid., 65.
[112] Frothingham, *Talavera Pottery*, 25-26.
[113] Ray, *Spanish Pottery*, 178-179.
[114] Mudge, “Hispanic Blue-and-White Faience,” 48.
[115] Bailey, *Art of Colonial Latin America*, 139; 322-324.

New World Treasures in Europe

While the raw material wealth of the New World was of utmost importance to Spain, Western Europeans also marveled at the arts of the Americas. Albrecht Dürer's often-quoted journal entry from 1520 captures the wonder that Europeans felt for the craftsmanship of indigenous objects. The German artist saw the treasures of Mexico displayed in Brussels in honor of the coronation of the Emperor Charles V, and wrote the following:

> I have also seen the objects they have brought the king from the new golden land: a sun of solid gold that measures a full two meters; also a moon of pure silver, equal in size; also two halls filled with curious armaments…an endless number of strange objects…In all my life I have never seen anything that has so delighted my heart as did these objects; for there I saw strange works of art and have been left amazed by the subtle inventiveness of the men of far-off lands.[117]

Five years later, Andrea Navagero, the Venetian ambassador to Spain, penned a series of letters describing all that he saw in the Iberian Peninsula. To his friend, Juan Bautista Ramusio, he wrote of the American birds and featherwork objects made of their plumage that he saw in

---

[116] See Margaret E. Connors McQuade, "*Loza Poblana*: The Emergence of a Mexican Ceramic Tradition" (Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, Graduate Center, 2005).

[117] Albrecht Dürer as quoted by Donna Pierce, "At the Crossroads: Cultural Confluence and Daily Life in Mexico, 1521-1821," in ed. Pierce, *Painting a New World: Mexican Art and Life, 1521-1821* (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2004), 28.

Seville. “I saw, while in the presence of the president [of the Council of the Indies] the most beautiful bird in the world, which having come from those lands was already dead, but still marvelous to look upon, although it had no feet…Also I saw many things made with the most beautiful feathers that Pedro Martir[118] has, and everyday new objects are to be seen.”[119]

In the following decades, hybrid arts from the Americas that combined Asian, indigenous, and European characteristics traveled across the Atlantic. Many of these objects were produced especially for the European market.[120] Beginning in the sixteenth century and continuing into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Colonial Latin American decorative arts would satisfy the Western European need for information and products from the New World. Pottery and lacquer made with indigenous methods and materials were made to suit European tastes. Paintings and furnishings that combined American and Asian features (products indebted in part to the Manila Galleon trade) were also to be found in Western European homes. High-ranking consumers throughout Europe collected the newly attainable exotica.

***Búcaros* from the Americas**

Sophisticated ceramic traditions existed throughout Central and South America before the arrival of the Spanish.[121] Though the Europeans introduced the potter’s wheel and tin glazes to the New World, unglazed pottery, often hand-built or made with molds, was most commonly exported from the Americas to Europe, particularly to Spain and Italy. These ceramics are known as *búcaros*[122] and were among the most sought-after wares of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

---

[118] Navagero is referring here to Pietro Martire d’Anghiera, an Italian historian of Spain and the New World.

[119] Andrea Navagero, “Cartas a Juan Bautista Ramusio,” in *Viajes de extranjeros*, ed. García Mercadel, 879. “He visto en poder del presidente [del Consejo de las Indias] in pájaro, la cosa más bella del mundi, venido de aquellas tierras ya muerto, pero maravillosa de ver, pues no tiene pies y del todo diverso de los que hay por aquí; también he visto muchas cosas hechas con plumas hermosísimas que tiene micer Pedro Mártir, y todos los días se ven objetos nuevos.”

[120] Mitchell A. Codding, “The Decorative Arts in Latin America, 1492-1820,” in eds. Joseph J. Rishel and Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt, *The Arts in Latin America, 1492-1820* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2006), 98.

[121] Bailey, *Art of Colonial Latin America*, 338.

Búcaros were fashioned in Panama, Chile, and Mexico.[123] Each of these unique traditions combined indigenous techniques with European forms and decoration. Wares from Panama were made in Natán on the pacific coast of the country, and were renowned for their glittering, micaceous black clay. Black wares also came from Tonalá, located in the state of Jalisco, Mexico.[124] Surviving pieces in the Hispanic Society's collection include decorative, sculptural pieces, a fish and a turkey (an animal that would have been relatively new to European audiences), as well as small drinking cups, the interiors of which are decorated with frogs, snakes, birds, and moss (figs. 5.25 and 5.26). These drinking cups combine indigenous pottery tradition with the applied elements made popular in Europe by the sixteenth-century French ceramic artist, Bernard Palissy.[125]

In addition to the black *búcaros* made in Tonalá, the Mexican pottery center also produced red earthenware vessels, which were covered in slip, a thin liquid mixture of clay and water (fig. 5.27). These vessels, which could either be decorated with painted, dimpled, punched, or incised patterns, were burnished, or rubbed with an animal tooth or bone, before firing in order to endow the wares with an exterior sheen. Red wares were also made in Chile.

---

[122] See Connors McQuade, "The Decorative Arts," in *The Arts of Colonial Latin America, 1492-1820*, eds. Rishel and Stratton-Pruitt, 115. The term *búcaro* connects this American pottery type with other slipped vessels made throughout Europe including the *bucchieri* of the ancient Etruscans and the medieval Portuguese *púcaros*. Connors-McQuade writes that *búcaros* from the Americas were not always hand-built, but also could be fashioned using the wheel.

[123] Ibid.

[124] Ibid., 119.

[125] Ibid., 120.

Nuns in a Santiago convent fashioned a variety of forms that often featured ornate surface decoration (fig. 5.28).[126]

What united these diverse *búcaro* traditions and what made these New World objects so prized in Europe was their fragrant clay. In Tonalá, Mexican potters infused fruit and plant extracts into the clay used for these vessels.[127] The water that the containers held was then endowed with the pleasant aroma of the clay. The perfumed body of the *búcaro* not only improved the taste of water, the clay itself was thought to have medicinal properties, such as improving the complexion of one's skin. Eating small pieces of the pottery, as Mitchell Codding writes, "was not just fashionable, but a true obsession among the woman of Spain's aristocracy in the seventeenth century."[128] Though many believed ingesting this material was beneficial to the state of one's complexion and digestion, the health benefits of this "geophagia" were, however, unfounded. Codding explains, "As a result of ingesting the clay, those privileged enough to afford this luxury on a regular basis experienced yellowing of the skin, distention, and hardening of the stomach, intestinal blockages, and reduced menstruation."[129]

While such complications are known to us at present, during the seventeenth century the exotic appeal of this pottery, in all of its forms, surged throughout Europe. *Búcaros* from the Indies figured into the collections of the Queen of Spain, Maria Luisa of Orleans, the Medici Grand-Duke Cosimo III, and Frederick I, Duke of Prussia.[130] Perhaps the most impressive collection of *búcaros* amassed was that of the Countess of Oñate, wife of don Iñigo Velez de

---

[126] Ibid., 116-120.

[127] Ibid., 117.

[128] Codding, "The Decorative Arts of Latin America," 101-102.

[129] Ibid., 102.

[130] Christopher Maxwell, "Let them eat clay: Mexican búcaros in the Victoria and Albert Museum," *Keramos* 209 (2010): 6.

Guevara, Viceroy of Naples, now housed at the Museo de América in Madrid.[131] Moreover, even boxes of ready-to-eat *búcaro* fragments enjoyed a market in Europe.[132]

As humble or as unsophisticated as such pottery may seem today, it is important to consider these products within the context of their own time. As Christopher Maxwell has observed, these simple, earthenware vessels were desired even "at a time when Europe was gripped by porcelain mania...Sometimes these vessels were mounted in silver, embellished like precious imported Chinese porcelain, and still life paintings of the period often depict *búcaros* next to gold and silver, glass and porcelain luxury goods set out on cabinets and on buffets."[133] A still life painted by Juan Bautista Espinosa illustrates this point perfectly (fig. 5.29). Red-slipped *búcaros* grace the same table as large silver platters.

Much of what is known of the reception of the *búcaros* during the time in which they were fashioned comes from the writings of the Florentine scholar, Lorenzo Magalotti.[134] In addition to providing information on the various *búcaro* traditions throughout Latin America, Magalotti provides insight into the care of his own pieces:

> The first thing I did was to perfume the little boxes by rubbing them for eight days with a little sponge impregnated with flower scents, especially aromatic water made out of thistles and carnations. Then I had them lined with pearl colored silk since this color is most suitable to reflect the color of the type of clay used in these pieces. I proceeded to dilute the tragacanth sap in the perfumed water of orange blossoms and their leaves, for…thistles and orange blossoms are flowers that best enhance the aromas from these lands. At the bottom of these little boxes I placed tiny cushions filled with perfumed cotton, which was marinated for several days in a sachet with smoke of balsam. I took great care not to spoil its rich and delicate aroma.[135]

The passage indicates Magalotti's appreciation, reverence, and prodigious care for these New World ceramics. The tastes of this seventeenth-century Italian consumer stand in stark contrast to the tastes of two centuries earlier, when noble Florentine families clamored for emblazoned lusterware services from the Iberian Peninsula. New trends stemming from new lands replaced the exotica of the Islamic world.

---

[131] Codding, "The Decorative Arts of Latin America," 102.

[132] Maxwell, "Let them eat clay," 12.

[133] Ibid., 6.

[134] Lorenzo Magalotti, *Lettere sopra i bucchieri*, ed. Mario Praz (Florence: F. le Monnier, 1945).

[135] Magalotti as quoted in Maxwell, "Let them eat clay," 10-11.

Lacquerware and other items made for European Consumption

Two separate indigenous lacquer traditions existed in the Americas, one in Mexico and the other in South America in Columbia, Ecuador, and Peru.[136] Different from Asian lacquer, which made use of resin from a lacquer tree, South American lacquer utilized resin from the buds of the *mopa-mopa* tree, while Mexican lacquer was made from the oils of native insects and seeds.[137]

Contact with European as well as Asian cultures sparked new forms and decoration of lacquered objects, which were often made of wood and took the form of trays (*bateas*), cups (*jícaras*), and writing desks (fig. 5.30). The earliest known center for production in Mexico was in Peribán, in Michoacán, where furnishings were decorated with a colorful array of lacquers.[138] Such items found their place in the homes of viceroys and colonial elites; however, many examples of Latin American lacquer survive in Spanish collections. Two Peribán lacquer desks are held in the collection of the Descalzas Reales in Madrid. Another *batea* from Peribán is housed in a convent in Soria, Spain. These items were almost certainly gifts bestowed to the nuns by King Philip IV, and once formed part of the royal collection.[139]

Still other hybrid arts such as folding screens, or *biombos*, made in Mexico but influenced by Japanese prototypes can be seen in Spanish collections like the Museo de América in Madrid

---

[136] Codding, "Decorative Arts of Latin America,"106.
[137] Ibid.
[138] Ibid., 110.
[139] Ibid.

(fig. 5.31).[140] Paintings encrusted with mother-of-pearl, called *enconchados*, also found their way to European collections (fig. 5.32).[141] No doubt they were desired in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as a thoroughly unique and original art form from the Americas – one that combined the imagery of Flemish and Italian prints with the technique of oil painting as well as Mexican and Asian lacquer traditions.

The Precolumbian art of featherwork also converged with European prints. Christian imagery taken from imported prints adorned panels and even liturgical garments and was illustrated with the exotic plumage of New World birds.[142] Such featherwork pieces were not only owned by Spanish dignitaries, but other European nobility and royalty including the Tuscan Grand-Duke Ferdinando de' Medici and the Rudolph II of Prague (fig. 5.33).[143]

In no way were prized colonial objects like lacquerware furnishings, *biombos*, *enconchados*, and featherwork mosaics owned by a large swath of European society. Yet the wonder that such items, as well as the *búcaros* and Chinese porcelain discussed above, inspired in Western Europe indicates a marked shift in the cultures and parts of the world that were of interest to European consumers. This new exoticism triggered by the Age of Exploration and increasing global commerce collided with the growing popularity of Italianate earthenware throughout Europe and trends of austerity in seventeenth-century Spain. More so than the social upheaval caused by the expulsion of the *Moriscos*, this convergence of events constituted pronounced changes in Western European tastes, which parallels a decline in the consumption Hispano-Islamic lusterware beginning in the sixteenth century and continuing into the seventeenth century.

---

[140] Ibid., 104-105.
[141] Ibid., 105.
[142] See Bailey, *Art of Colonial Latin America*, 104-106.
[143] Detlef Heikamp, *Mexico and the Medici* (Florence: Editrice Edam, 1972), 15-16l, 77.

CONCLUSION

Although the present study concludes with the seventeenth century, when Italianate aesthetics and growing global commerce continued to contribute to changing tastes in pottery and the decline of lusterware consumption, it is important to note that the golden ceramics continued to be fashioned in Spain in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries. Rather humble examples of lusterware were still made in Manises throughout the eighteenth century, and there was some interest in reviving the industry's previous success. In 1785, the chief magistrate of Valencia, don Martínez de Irujo, recorded the formula then in use in the area for making lustered ceramics. These specifications had been requested from Irujo by the Count of Floridablanca, who presumably wanted to establish a ceramics factory near Madrid.[1] The luster technique was also employed in the eighteenth century by potters in the province of Castellón at the royal ceramics factory of Alcora, a center known for high-quality earthenware and porcelain production. A 1749 recipe for luster glaze used at Alcora is evidence of this continuing production.[2]

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, however, Romantic conceptions of Spain truly reignited interest in Hispano-Islamic lusterware. María Paz Soler describes the attraction to Spain at this time, writing that the country "was depicted as a place that had hardly been contaminated by civilization, full of people with violent passions about to explode, fierce and proud, where it was possible to have adventures that would be unthinkable in other European countries."[3] Hispano-Islamic lusterware was employed in illustrating this Spanish fantasy.

---

[1] Caiger-Smith, *Lustre Pottery*, 167.

[2] Frothingham, *Lustreware of Spain*, 203.

[3] María Paz Soler, "Morophilia: The False Alhambras," in *Los jarrones de la Alhambra*, ed. Villafranca Jiménez, 305.

Imagery on postcards and other materials made use of the Alhambra vases in order to disseminate romantic visions of Moorish Spain for tourists. One such photograph printed on an Alhambra postcard from around 1906, features a turbaned boy clothed in sumptuous fabrics wistfully looking back at the Gazelle Vase (fig. 6.1).

This imagined vision of Spain was not only alluring to travelers and writers, but it was also appealing to potters throughout Europe as well as European and American art collectors. Beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, revival pieces of high-quality lusterware that celebrated the styles of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries began to be fashioned in France, Italy, and Spain. In 1842, the Manufacture Nationale at Sèvres made large-scale porcelain reproductions of the famed Gazelle Vase from the Alhambra (fig. 1.4).[4] Experiments continued into the 1860s when Joseph-Théodore Deck created the earthenware version of the Gazelle Vase now at the Victoria and Albert Museum, though Deck did not use the luster technique employed in the Iberian Peninsula centuries earlier (fig. 6.2).[5] Revival wares also came out of Tuscany and Umbria in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These included works from the Florentine manufacturer Cantagalli beginning in 1878 and pieces made by Alfredo Santarelli in the 1920s.[6]

In Spain, notable revival wares were produced in Madrid at the Moncloa Factory throughout the 1880s and in Seville at the La Cartuja Factory in the 1890s.[7] Beginning in 1894, a Catalan Factory, Pujol i Bausis, made a variety of lustered pieces including Alhambra vase reproductions. Of course in Valencia many revival luster factories were established at this time.[8] The most famous of them was La Ceramo, which was founded in 1885 by José Ros Furió and which remained in business until 1992. La Ceramo adhered to traditional luster technique and made use of late medieval patterns. A large, unmarked dish in the Hispanic Society is likely from the La Ceramo Factory (fig. 6.3), its shape and decoration being inspired from a fourteenth-century dish in the Musée de Cluny (fig. 6.4).[9]

---

[4] Ibid., 306.

[5] Reino Liefkes and Hilary Young, eds., *Masterpieces of World Ceramics* (London: V & A Publishing, 2008), 114-115.

[6] Soler, "Morophilia," 306.

[7] Ibid.

While potters made modern reproductions, European and American collectors purchased early modern Hispano-Islamic lusterware, much of which would find its way to major museums where it would provide the basis for important collections of ceramics. For example, Edmond du Sommerard (1817-1885), son of the founder of the Musée de Cluny, started collecting the pottery in 1847.[10] Pieces from the private collection of Australian-born George Salting (1835-1909) are now housed at the Victoria and Albert Museum.[11] The collection of lusterware owned by the English naturalist Frederick DuCane Godman (1834-1919) was bequeathed to the British Museum in 1983.[12] And in the United States, Archer Milton Huntington (1870-1955) purchased much of the Hispano-Islamic lusterware for The Hispanic Society of America between 1904 and 1908.[13] In an effort not to strip Spain of its cultural patrimony, Huntington acquired exquisite examples of the pottery primarily from dealers in Paris and London.

---

[8] See José Pérez Camps, *La cerámica de reflejo metálico en Manises, 1850-1960* (Valencia: Museo de etnología, 1998).

[9] A revival dish identical to The Hispanic Society's piece is in the Victoria and Albert Museum. It is catalogued as La Ceramo ware. See Ray, *Spanish Pottery*, 295-302.

[10] Connors-McQuade, "Collections and Collectors: Spanish Ceramics at The Hispanic Society of America," in *El esplendor de la cerámica española: colección de al Fundación Francisco Godi*a. Exhibition Catalogue. ed. Maria Antonia Casanovas (Barcelona: Fundación Francisco Godia, 2004),120.

[11] Ray, *Spanish Pottery*, 73-95.

[12] J.M. Rogers, "The Godman Bequest of Islamic Pottery," *Apollo* 120 (July 1984): 24-31.

[13] Connors-McQuade, "Collections and Collectors," 120.

Such sensitive collecting practices can be contrasted with those of another American, William Randolph Hearst (1863-1951), whose insatiable appetite for collecting works of art also included the golden pottery. In 1957, six years after his death, The Metropolitan Museum of Art purchased the bulk of Hearst's Hispano-Islamic lusterware collection, which amounted to ninety-seven pieces.[14] A photograph from fifty years earlier of the publishing magnate's apartment on Riverside Drive shows Hearst's passion for acquiring and displaying these wares (fig. 6.5). It would seem that the appeal of Hispano-Islamic lusterware even had a pronounced effect on a man who famously denigrated Spain by means of yellow journalism during the Spanish-American War. Perhaps a romantic, exoticized concept of the country superseded Hearst's own political feelings toward Spain, encouraging him to exhibit its artistic production.[15] From another perspective, Hearst's collecting and display of Hispano-Islamic ceramics could be examined through the lens of Edward Said's concept of Orientalism, in which a Western force attempts "to dominate" or "have authority over" a foreign other.[16]

While Said's identification of Orientalism, or exoticism, can help us to understand English, French, and American attitudes toward the East from the late eighteenth century to the present, exoticism has also served to illustrate late medieval/early modern reception of Hispano-Islamic lusterware in this study. A broader application of exoticism to earlier periods and to the material culture of the Iberian Peninsula has here facilitated a nuanced understanding of the various attitudes of consumers and viewers of Hispano-Islamic arts.

---

[14] Dudley T. Easby Jr. and James J. Rorimer, "Review of the Year 1956-1957," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 16 (October 1957): 38; Richard H. Randall Jr., "Lusterware of Spain," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art* 15 (June 1957): 213-221.

[15] For more on conflicting attitudes toward the art and culture of Spain in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century America, see the essay by Richard Kagan, "Blame it on Washington Irving: New York's Discovery of the Art and Architecture of Spain," in *Nueva York, 1613-1945*. Exhibition Catalogue. ed. Edward Sullivan (London: Scala, 2010), 155-170.

[16] Said, *Orientalism*, 32.

With the chief aim of this dissertation being to move beyond connoisseurship and archaeology, and instead provide a cultural biography of Hispano-Islamic lusterware during the peak of its consumption, in the preceding chapters I have traced both the production of this unique pottery and its reception as exotica in the land of its own origin as well as in Northern Europe and Italy. I have shown that luster potters in various centers of the Iberian Peninsula were an innovative force capable of following changing tastes and creating diverse wares that were appealing to local and international buyers. I have also integrated the golden pottery into maurophilic currents in literature and fashion in the Iberian Peninsula throughout the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. In doing so, Hispano-Islamic lusterware can be included in the luxurious material culture of al-Andalus, which Christian Spaniards not only coveted and exoticized, but also felt to be vanishing before their very eyes.

In examining international reception, on the other hand, I have brought to light still more contemporary exotic conceptions of the pottery. The travel accounts of the German Hieronymus Münzer, the Pole Nicolas von Poplau, and the Flemming Henri Cock, provide insight into Northern European opinions of the luxury ceramics. While all three writers express their fascination with the lustered pottery, Poplau and Cock also voice their disdain for the Muslim communities that fashioned the wares. Though their accounts are separated by a century, their attitudes are strikingly similar in that they embrace the artistic products of the religious "other," but criticized his presence.

Detaching Hispano-Islamic lusterware from the circumstances of its production and placing either the actual wares or depictions of the pottery in purely Christian contexts further attests to the exotic conception of the golden ceramics. Fifteenth- and sixteenth-century panel paintings, frescoes, and manuscript illuminations from Spain, Italy, and Northern Europe show lusterware in the same space as the Virgin Mary, Christ, and the Apostles, connecting these items with events that occurred the Holy Land, or the *loca sancta*. In the case of *The Hours of Engelbert of Nassau*, an array of Hispano-Islamic lusterware and other examples of imported pottery and glass are directly tied to the Magi and thus associated with luxurious goods brought from the East.

In Italy, where the practice of mortaring imported ceramics into the façades of churches was most prevalent, Hispano-Islamic lusterware formed part of an exterior architectural display. The pottery may have been conceived of as *spolia*, incorporated into various public buildings as a statement of military superiority over a vanquished, Muslim "other." Also, these "church bowls," as I contend, may have been a sort of heavenly revetment mortared into church façades throughout Europe in an attempt to catch the light of the sun and to create a vision of the church building as the glistening and bejeweled Heavenly Jerusalem.

It was the innate portability of pottery that most dramatically affected the ways in which Hispano-Islamic lusterware was regarded in the late medieval/early modern period. Specific locations have contributed to exoticized readings of fourteenth-century vessels fashioned in Málaga in particular. The large, wing-handled Alhambra vase now in Stockholm had been venerated for centuries as one of the vessels containing water at the wedding at Cana, primarily due to its placement inside of a church on the island of Cyprus, a frequent stop for devout pilgrims anxious to see sacred relics on their way to the Holy Land. Similarly, another wing-handled vessel made in the early fourteenth century acquired an association with a local, twelfth-century Sicilian saint, Hugo of Novara, because of the vase's placement within a medieval Cistercian abbey in Sicily. While well-established Mediterranean trade routes circulated these vessels, their respective locations endowed them with imagined antiquity and sanctity that could have never been surmised of at the time of the vases' creation.

Moreover, the singular beauty of Hispano-Islamic lusterware made in Valencia prompted custom orders of the ceramics by the Florentine nobility and inspired potters throughout Italy to first copy, and later acquire the luster technique. The mystery surrounding the coveted process is evident in Sigismondo Tizio's sixteenth-century anecdote of a Sienese potter traveling to Spain and disguising himself before entering a luster pottery workshop in order to learn valuable trade secrets. In focusing on this "life" of Hispano-Islamic lusterware in Italy, the present study contributes to a reassessment of Italy as artistic epicenter of early modern Western Europe. A more even-handed approach to the Italian Renaissance patron and his tastes can be made when tracing the consumption of Hispano-Islamic in fifteenth-century Florence. For example, while Lorenzo and Piero de' Medici enlisted the talents of famous Renaissance painters and sculptors, they also commissioned services of lusterware from Valencia and ordered local ceramic products inspired by such wares. In tracing these different contexts for Hispano-Islamic lusterware and in gauging contemporary opinions, whether they were that of the maurophilic Spanish author, the Flemish traveler or manuscript illuminator, the Italian potter, or the devout pilgrim, a cultural biography of these ceramics has come to light.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abulafia, David. "The Pisan *bacini* and the Medieval Mediterranean Economy: A Historian's Viewpoint." In *Italy, Sicily and the Mediterranean, 1100-1400*. London: Variorum, 1987.

________. "Corneto-Tarquinia and the Italian Mercantile Republics: The Earliest Evidence." In Italy, Sicily, and the Mediterranean, 1100-1400. London: Variorum, 1987.

Aguado Villalba, José. *Tinajas medievales españoles: Islámicas y Mudéjares*. Madrid: Instituto provincial de investigaciones y estudios toledanos, 1991.

Ainaud de Lasarte, Juan. "Loza dorada y alfarería barcelonesa: siglos XV-XVI."*Anales y boletín de los museos de arte de Barcelona* 1 (Winter 1942): 89-104.

________. *Ars Hispaniae X. Cerámica y vidrio*. Madrid: Editorial Plus-Ultra, 1952.

Alberti, Leandro. *Descrittione di tutta l'Italia et isole pertinenti ad essa*. Venice: Paul Ugolino, 1596.

Alexander, J.J.G. *The Master of Mary of Burgundy, A Book of Hours for Engelbert of Nassau in The Bodleian Library, Oxford*. New York: George Braziller, 1970.

Allan, John P. *Medieval and Post-Medieval Finds from Exeter, 1971-1980*. Exeter: Exeter Archaeological Reports 3, 1983.

Allan, J.W. "Abu'l-Qasim's Treatise on Ceramics, 1301." *Iran* 11 (1973): 111-120.

Alpera, Lluis. *Los nombres trecentistas de botánica valenciana en Francesc Eiximenis.* Valencia: Institución Alfonso el Magnánimo, 1968.

Álvaro Zamora, María Isabel. *Cerámica aragonesa decorada*. Zaragoza: Librería General, 1976.

________. *Cerámica aragonesa decorada, desde la expulsión de los moriscos a la extinción de los alfares, XII-XX*. Zaragoza: Libros Pórticos, 1978.

________. *Lexico de la cerámica y alfarería aragonesa*. Libros Porticos, 1981.

________. *Cerámica aragonesa*, 3 vols. Zaragoza: Ibercaja, 2002.

Amigues, François. "Las importaciones de cerámicas doradas valencianas (talleres de Paterna) en el Languedoc-Rosellón." In *La cerámica de Paterna: reflejos del Mediterráneo*, ed. Mercedes Mesquida García, 58-83. Valencia: Museo de Bellas Artes, 2002.

Amigues, François and Mercedes Mesquida García. *Les ateliers et la céramique de Paterna (XIII^{e}-XV^{e} siecle)*. Beziers: Musée Saint-Jacques, 1993.

Atil, Esin. *Renaissance of Islam, Art of the Mamluks*. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1982.

Avrin, Leila. "The Spanish Passover Plate in the Israel Musuem." *Sefarad* 39 (1979): 27-46.

Bailey, Gauvin Alexander. *Art of Colonial Latin America*. London: Phaidon, 2005.

Ballardini, Gaetano. "The *Bacini* of San Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna." *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 32 (April 1918): 128-131, 134-135.

Bancetti, Francesca. "Ceramica d'importazione a Formello: I lustri spagnoli." In *Le Ceramiche di Roma e del Lazio in etá medievale e moderna, IV*: *atti del IV convegno di studi, Viterbo 22-23 May 1998*, ed. Elisabetta de Minicis, 101-109. Rome: Kappa, 2002.

Bauzá, José Nicolau. *Páginas de la historia de Manises, siglos XIV a XVIII*. Manises: Ateneu Cultural i Recreatiu Cant i Fum, 1987.

Belver, Jordi y José Guerrero Martin. *Alfares y alfareros de España*. Barcelona: Ediciones del Serbal, 1988.

Benito del Caño, Ciro and Rafael Rodan y Guerrero. *Cerámica farmacéutica: apuntes para su estudio*. Madrid: Jesús López, 1928.

Bermúdez López, Jesús, ed. *Arte islámico en Granada: propuesta para un Museo de la Alhambra*. Granada: Patronato de la Alhambra y Generalife, 1995.

________"Lustered Earthenware Basin." In *Los jarrones de la Alhambra: simbología y poder,* ed. María del Mar Villafranca Jiménez, 326. Granada: Patronato de la Alhambra, 2006.

Bernis, Carmen. "Modas moriscas en la Sociedad cristiana española del siglo XV y principios del siglo XVI." *Boletín Real Academia de la Historia* 144 (1959): 199-228.

________. *Indumentaria española en tiempos de Carlos V*. Madrid: Instituto Diego Velázquez, 1962.

________. *Trajes y Modas en la España de los Reyes Católicos*, 2 vols. Madrid: Instituto Diego Velázquez del Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1978.

Berti, Fausto. *Storia della ceramica di Montelupo, uomini e fornaci di produzione dal XIV al XVIII secolo*, 2 vols. Montelupo: Aedo, 2003.

Berti, Graziella and Liana Tongiorgi. *I bacini ceramici medievale delle chiese pisani*. Rome: L'erma di Bretschneider, 1981.

Berti, Graziella and Paola Torre. *Arte islamica in Itlalia: i bacini delle chiese pisane.* Rome: Palazzo Brancaccio, 1983.

Bienes Calvo, José. "*Ataifor* of the Lions." In *Los jarrones de la Alhambra: simbología y poder.* ed. María del Mar Villafranca Jiménez, 322-323. Granada: Patronato de la Alhambra, 2006.

Biringuccio, Vannoccio. *De la pirotechnia*. Translated by Cyril Stanley Smith and Martha Teach Gnudi. Cambridge, MA: M.I.T. Press, 1966.

Blake, Hugo. "The *Bacini* of North Italy." In *La céramique médievale en Méditerranée occidentale, Xe-XVe siécles*, 93-111. Paris: Centre National de Recherche Scientifique, 1980.

________. "The Earliest Valencian Lusterware? The Provenance of the Pottery from Pula in Sardinia." In *Everyday and Exotic Pottery from Europe c. 650-1900. Studies in Honor of John G. Hurst*, eds. David Gaimster and M. Redknap, 202-224. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1992.

________. "*De nomine Jhesu*. An Italian export ware and the origin of Renaissance maiolica pottery-making in the Low Countries." In *Maiolica in the North: The Archaeology of Tin-glazed Earthenware in North-West Europe, c. 1500-1600*, ed. David Gaimster, 23-56. London: The British Museum, 1999.

Blom, J.C.H. and E. Lamberts eds., *History of the Low Countries*. Translated by James C. Kennedy. New York: Berghahn Books, 1999.

Bofill Catalá, Francesc. "Cerámica barcelonesa de reflejo metálico." *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona* I (1941): 53-78.

________. *Cerámica Española*. Barcelona: Ediciones Selectas, 1942.

Borull y Vilanova, Francisco Javier. *Descripción del magnífico edificio de la antigua diputación de este reino, y ahora de la real audencia*. Valencia: Benito Monfort, 1834.

Borghese, Gaetano. *Novara di Sicilia, notizie storiche*. Milan: Regis e Comp., 1875.

________. "Novara di Sicilia e le sue opere d'arte da documenti inediti," *Archivio Storico Messinese* 7 (1906): 223-262.

Botvinick, Matthew. "The Painting as Pilgrimage: Traces of a Subtext in the Work of Campin and his Contemporaries." *Art History* 15 (March 1992): 1-17.

Brown, Duncan H. "The Social Significance of Imported Medieval Pottery," In *Not so much a pot, more a way of life: current approaches to artifact analysis in archaeology*, eds. G.C. Cumberpatch and P.W. Blinkhorn, 95-112. London: Oxbow, 1997.

Brown, Jonathan. *Painting in Spain, 1500-1700*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.

Bryant, Shasta M. *The Spanish Ballad in English*. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1973.

Caiger-Smith, Alan. *Lustre Pottery: Technique, tradition and innovation in Islam and the Western World*. New York: New Amsterdam Books, 1985.

________. *Tin-glaze Pottery in Europe and the Islamic World: The Tradition of 1000 years in Maiolica, Faience and Delftware*. London: Faber and Faber, 1973.

Camarado, Domenico and Beatrice Casocavallo. "Analisi dei renvenimenti di ceramiche ispano-moresche nel centro urbano di Tarquinia," In *Le Ceramiche di Roma e del Lazio in etá medievale e moderna,V*: *atti del IV convegno di studi, Viterbo 22-23 May 1998*, ed. Elisabetta de Minicis, 312-320. Rome: Kappa, 2002.

Caroscio, Marta. "Archaeological Data and Written Sources: Lusterware Production in Renaissance Italy, A Case Study." *European Journal of Archaeology* 13 (2010): 217-244.

Carrada, Francesca. "Ceramiche del Castello di Monreale, Sadara-Cagliari." In *Cittá, Territorio: produzione e commerci nella Sardegna medievale: studi in onore di Letizia Pani Ermini*, ed. Rosanna Martorelli, 378-417. Cagliari: AM&D, 2002.

Carrasco Urgoiti, María Soledad. *El Moro de Granda en la Literatura del siglo XV al XX*. Madrid: Revista del Occident, 1956.

Carreres, Salvador Zacarés. *Ensayo de una bibliografia de libros de fiestas celebradas en Valencia y su antiguo reino Valencia*. Valencia: Hijo de F. Vives Mora, 1925.

Carswell, John, ed. *Blue and White: Chinese Porcelain and its Impact on the Western World*. London: British Museum, 2000.

Casamar, Manuel. "Notas sobre cerámica del ajuar nazarí." *Al-Andalus* 24 (1959): 189-196.

________. "Solería del peinador." In *Los jarrones de la Alhambra: simbología y poder,* ed. María del Mar Villafranca Jiménez, 369-370. Granada: Patronato de la Alhambra, 2006.

Casanovas, María Antonia. *La cerámica catalana*. Barcelona: Els Llibres de la Fronterra, 1983.

Castellano i Tresserra, Anna. *Pedralbes a l'edat mitjana: historia d'un monastir femení*. Barcelona: L'Abadia de Montserrat, 1998.

Castro, Evelina de. "The Palermo Vase." In *Los jarrones de la Alhambra*, ed. María del Mar Francavilla Jiménez, 315. Granada: Patronato de la Alhambra, 2006.

Ceballos, Andres. *Plantas de nuestros campos y bosques*. Madrid: Ediciones Andriala, 1998.

Childs, Wendy R. *Anglo-Castilian Trade in the Later Middle Ages*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1978.

________. "Imports of Spanish Pottery to England in the Later Middle Ages." *Medieval Ceramics* 17 (1993): 35-38.

________. "Documentary Evidence for the Import of Spanish Pottery to England in the Later Middle Ages." In *Spanish Medieval Ceramics in Spain and the British Isles*, eds. Christopher M. Gerrard, Alejandra Gutiérrez, and Alan G. Vince, 25-32. Oxford: Hadrian Books, 1995.

Cirot, Georges. "La maurophilie littéraire en Espagne au XVIe siècle." *Bulletin Hispanique* 44 (1942): 96-102.

Cobham, Claude Delaval, ed. *Excerpta Cypria: Materials for a History of Cyprus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1908.

Cock, Henri. "Anales del ochenta y cinco." In *Viajes de extranjeros por España y Portugal*, ed. José García Mercadal, 1291-1412. Madrid: Aguilar, 1952.

Codding, Mitchell A. "The Decorative Arts in Latin America, 1492-1820." In *The Arts in Latin America, 1492-1820,* eds. Joseph J. Rishel and Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt, 98-113. Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2006.

Collins, Minta. *Medieval Herbals: The Illustrative Traditions*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000.

Connors McQuade, Margaret E. "The Emergence of a Mexican Tile Tradition." In *Cerámica y Cultura: The Story of Spanish and Mexican Mayólica*, ed. Robin Farwell Gavin, 204-225. Santa Fe: University of New Mexico Press, 2003.

________. "Collections and Collectors: Spanish Ceramics at The Hispanic Society of America." In *El esplendor de la cerámica española: colección de al Fundación Francisco Godi*a. Exhibition Catalogue. ed. Maria Antonia Casanovas, 120-121. Barcelona: Fundación Francisco Godia, 2004.

________. "*Loza Poblana*: The Emergence of a Mexican Ceramic Tradition." Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, Graduate Center, 2005.

________. "The Decorative Arts." In *The Arts in Latin America, 1492-1820,* eds. Joseph J. Rishel and Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt, 114-121. Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2006.

Conti, Giovanni. *Catalogo delle maioliche, Palazzo del Bargello*. Florence: Centro Di, 1971.

Cora, Galeazzo. *Storia della maiolica di Firenze e del Contado, s. XIV e XV*, 2 vols. Florence: Sansoni, 1973.

Davey, Peter and Richard Hodges, eds. *Ceramics and Trade: The Production and Distribution of Later Medieval Pottery in North-West Europe*. Sheffield: The University of Sheffield, 1983.

Deagan, Kathleen. *Artifacts of the Spanish Colonies of Florida and the Caribbean*. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1987.

Della Vida, Giorgio Levi. "Il Regno di Granata nel 1465-66 nei ricordi di un viaggiatore egiziano." *Al-Andalus* I (1933); 307-334.

Didron, Adolphe Napoléon. *Manuel d'iconographie chrétienne*. Paris: Impr. Royale, 1842.

Dimier, Marie-Anselme. "Ugo, abate a Novara di Sicilia." In *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, vol.12. Rome: Instituto Giovanni XXIII nella Pontificia Universita lateranense,1969.

Dioscorides of Anazarbus. *De materia medica*. Translated by Lily Y. Beck. New York: Olms-Weidmann, 2005.

Dodds, Jerrilynn D. "The Paintings in the *Sala de Justicia* of the Alhambra: Iconography and Iconology." *The Art Bulletin* 61 (1979): 186-197.

________. *Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992.

Drey, Rudolf E.A., *Apothecary Jars: Pharmaceutical Pottery and Porcelain in Europe and the East, 1150-1850*. London: Faber and Faber, 1978.

Duff, E. Gordon, ed. *Information for Pilgrims unto the Holy Land*. London: Lawrence and Bullen, 1893.

Dumortier, Claire. "Maiolica Production in Antwerp: The Documentary Evidence." In Maiolica in the North: *The Archaeology of Tin-glazed Earthenware in North-West Europe, c. 1500-1600*, ed. David Gaimster, 107-111. London: The British Museum, 1999.

________. *Céramique de la renaissance à anver*s. Paris: Les Editions de l'Amateur, 2002.

Easby Jr., Dudley T. and James J. Rorimer. "Review of the Year 1956-1957." *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 16 (October 1957): 38-61.

Echevarría Arsuaga, Ana. "The Order of the Sash: From Alfonso XI to the House of Trastámara." In *Ibn Khaldun: The Mediterranean in the Fourteenth Century, The Rise* *and Fall of Empires*, ed. Jesús Viguera Molins, 68-73. Seville: Fundación El Legado, 2006.

Ecker, Heather. *Caliphs and Kings: The Art and Influence of Islamic Spain*. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 2004.

Eiximenis, Francesc. *Regiment de la cosa pública* en el Dotzè del Crestià. Translated by Albert Hauf, Vicent Martines, and Elena Sánchez López. Madrid: Centro de Lingüística Aplicada Atenea, 2009.

Elliott, John. *Imperial Spain, 1469-1716*. London: Penguin Books, 1963, 2002.

Ettinghausen, Richard. "Notes on the Lusterware of Spain." *Ars Orientalis* 1 (1954): 133-156.

Ettinghausen, Richard, Oleg Grabar, and Marilyn Jenkins. *Islamic Art and Architecture, 650-1250*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001.

Evans, Maria Millington. "Moorish Potters in France." *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 69 (Sep. 1936): 136.

Feliciano Chaves, Maria Judith. "Muslim Shrouds for Christian Kings? A Reassessment of Andalusí Textiles in Thirteenth-Century Life and Ritual." In *Under the Influence: Questioning the Comparative in Medieval Castile*, eds. Cynthia Robinson and Leyla Rouhi, 101-131. Leiden: Brill, 2005.

Fernández de Oviedo, Gonzalo. *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, vol. 2. Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1959.

Ferrandis Torres, José. "Los vasos de la Alhambra." *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excusiones* 23 (1925): 47-77.

Fleischer, Manfred P. "The Garden of Laurentius Scholz: A Cultural Landmark of Late-Sixteenth Century Lutheranism." *The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 9 (1979): 29-48.

Flores Escobosa, Isabel. *Estudio preliminary sobre loza azul y dorada nazarí de la Alhambra*. Madrid: Instituto Hispano-árabe de Cultura, 1988.

Folch Jou, Guillermo. *Catálogo de los botes de farmacia*. Madrid: Museo de la Farmacia Hispana, 1966.

Folda, Jaroslav. *Crusader Art: The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1099-1291*. Aldershot: Lund Humphries, 2008.

Fonte, Mario. *Il Folklore Religioso in Sicilia*. Catania: Edizioni Greco, 2001.

Fortnum, C. Drury. "Notes on the "Bacini," or Dishes of Enamelled Earthenware, introduced as Ornaments to the Architecture of some of the Churches in Italy." *Archaeologia* 42 (1870): 379-386.

Foster, David William. *The Early Spanish Ballad*. New York: Dwayne Publishers, 1971.

Francovich, Riccardo and Sauro Gelichi. *La cerámica spagnola in Toscana nel bassomedievo*. Florence: Edizioni All'Insegna del Giglio, 1984.

Freestone, Ian and David Gaimster, eds. *Pottery in the Making: World Ceramic Traditions*. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997.

Frey, Albert R. *A Dictionary of Numismatic Names, their Official and Popular Designations*. New York: The American Numismatic Society, 1917.

Frothingham, Alice Wilson. *Talavera Pottery*. New York: The Hispanic Society of America, 1944.

________. *Lustreware of Spain*. New York: The Hispanic Society of America, 1951.

________. "Valencian Lusterware with Italian Coats of Arms in The Collection of the Hispanic Society of America." *Faenza* 39 (1953).

Fuchs, Barbara. *Exotic Nation: Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009.

Gabrielli, Francesco. *Arab Historians of the Crusades*. Translated by E.J. Costello. Berkley: University of California Press, 1984.

Gadd, Jan. "Brass Basins and Bowls from a Single Nuremburg Workshop, Around 1500-1580." *Journal of the Antique Metalware Society* 16 (June 2008): 2-21.

Gaimster, David. "A Late Medieval Hispano-Moresque Vase from the City of London." *Medieval Archaeology* 35 (1991): 118-123.

________. *Maiolica in the North: The Archaeology of Tin-glazed Earthenware in North-West Europe, c. 1500-1600*. London: The British Museum, 1999.

Gaimster, David and Mark Redknap, eds. *Everyday and Exotic Pottery from Europe c. 650-1900. Studies in Honor of John G. Hurst*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1992.

Galaiy Sarañana, José. *Cerámica aragonesa de reflejo metallico*. Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1947.

Gampel, Benjamin. "Jews, Christians, and Muslims in Medieval Iberia: Convivencia through the eyes of Sephardic Jews." In *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Medieval*

Spain, eds. Vivian Mann, Thomas Glick, and Jerrilynn Dodds, 10-37. New York: George Braziller, 1992.

García-Goyena, Luis Morales. *Documentos históricos de Málaga*. Granada: Tipografía de López Guerara, 1906.

García Mercadal, José, ed. *Viajes de extranjeros por España y Portugal*. Madrid: Aguilar, 1952.

Gavin, Robin Farwell and Donna Pierce eds. *Cerámica y Cultura: The Story of Spanish and Mexican Mayolica*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003.

Gerrard, Chistopher M., Alejandra Gutiérrez, and Alan G. Vince. *Spanish Medieval Ceramics in Spain and the British Isles*. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports Interantional Series 610, 1995.

Gestoso y Pérez, José. *Historia de los Barros Vidriados Sevillanos desde sus Orígenes hasta nuestros Días*. Seville: Tipografía la Andalucía Moderna, 1904.

Gimeno Roselló, María José. *Las germanías en Paterna, el tejido artesenal alfarero, 1520-1521.* Valencia: Ajuntament, 1995.

Goggin, John M. *Spanish Maiolica in the New World: Types of the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968.

Gómez Moreno, Manuel. "Arte uristiano entre los moros de Granda." In *Homenaje a Francisco Codera en su jubilación del prefessorado: estudios de erudición oriental*, ed. Eduardo Saavedra, 259-270. Zaragoza: Escar, 1904.

________. *Cerámica Medieval Española*. Madrid, 1924.

________. "La loza primitiva de Málaga." *Al-Andalus* V (1940): 383-398.

González Martí, Manuel. "Cerámica medieval valenciana; el pavimiento." *Archivo de Arte Valenciano* XII (1926): 3-66; XIII (1927): 3-66; (1928): 99-128.

________. *Cerámica Española*. Barcelona: Editorial Labor, 1933.

________. *Cerámica del levante español. Siglos medievales*. 3 vols. Barcelona: Editorial Labor, 1944.

________. "Azulejos valenzianos exportados a Italia." *Faenza* 34 (1948).

Gregorio, Carlo. *I santi siciliani*. Messina: Intilla Editore, 1999.

Guardiola, Cristina. "Romancing the Past: Two Narrative Examples of Interfaith Relations." In *Wine, Women, and Song: Hebrew and Arabic Literature of Medieval Iberia*, eds.

Michelle Marie Hamilton, Sarah J. Portnoy, and David A. Wacks, 101-110. Newark: Juan de la Cuesta, 2004.

Gutiérrez, Alejandra. "The Dean's Dump? Or the Merchant of Stafford?" *Medieval Ceramics* 20 (1996): 67-71.

________. "Cheapish and Spanish: Meaning and Design on Imported Spanish Pottery." *Medieval Ceramics* 21 (1997): 73-81.

Haedeke, Hanns-Ulrich. *Metalwork*. Translated by Vivienne Menkes. New York: Universe Books, 1969.

Hamilton, Michelle Marie, Sarah J. Portnoy, and David A. Wacks, eds. *Wine, Women, and Song: Hebrew and Arabic Literature of Medieval Iberia*. Newark: Juan de la Cuesta, 2004.

Harbison, Craig. *The Mirror of the Artist: Northern Renaissance Art in its Historical Context.* New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1995.

Harvey, John. "Garden Plants of Moorish Spain: A Fresh Look." *Garden History* 20 (Spring 1992): 71-82.

Harvey, Leonard Patrick. *Islamic Spain, 1250 to 1500*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.

________. *Muslims in Spain*. Chicago: Univeristy of Chicago Press, 2005.

Heikamp, Detlef. *Mexico and the Medici*. Florence: Editrice Edam, 1972.

Henríquez, Crisostomo. *Menologium cisterciense notationibus illustratum*. Antwerp: Ex officinal Plantiniana Balthasaris Moretti, 1630.

Hertig, A.H. "The Excavation of Bryggen, the Old Hanseatic Wharf in Bergen." *Medieval Archaeology* 3 (1959): 177-186.

Hess, Andrew C., "The Moriscos: An Ottoman Fifth Column." *The American Historical Review* 74 (1968): 1-25.

Hess, Catherine. "Brilliant Achievements: The Journey of Islamic Glass and Ceramics to Renaissance Italy." In *Arts of Fire: Islamic Influences on Glass and Ceramics of the Italian Renaissance*. Los Angeles: Getty Museum, 2004.

Hobart, Michelle. "Sardinian Medieval Churches and their Bacini: Architecture embedded with Archaeology." Ph.D. diss., New York University, Institute of Fine Arts, 2006.

Hodges, Richard, ed. *La Ceramica medievale nel Mediterraneo Occidentale: Proceedings from III Congresso Internazionale la Ceramica Medievale nel Mediterraneo Occidentale,* *Siena, October 8-12, 1984; Faenza, October 13, 1984*. Florence: All'Insegna del Giglio, 1986.

Hoffman, Eva R. "Pathways of Portability: Islamic and Christian Interchange from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century." *Art History* 24 (February 2001): 17-50.

________. "Christian-Islamic Encounters on Thirteenth-Century Ayyubid Metalwork: Local Culture, Authenticity, and Memory." *Gesta* 43 (2004): 129-142.

Holmyard, Eric John. *Alchemy*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1957.

Hortus Sanitatis. Translated by Hipólito Benjamin Riesco Álvarez. León: Universidad de León, 1999.

Howard, Donald Roy. *Writers and Pilgrims: Medieval Pilgrimage Narratives and their Posterity*. Berkley: University of California Press, 1980

Hurst, John G. and David S. Neal. *Pottery Produced and Traded in Northwest Europe, 1350-1650*. Rotterdam: Stichting 'Het Nederlandse Gebruiksvoorwerp, 1986.

Hurst, John G. "Spanish Pottery imported into medieval Britain." *Medieval Archaeology* 21 (1977): 68-105.

________. "Medieval and Post-Medieval Imports of pottery at Lübeck." *Lübecker Schriften zur Archäologie und Kulturgeschicte* I (1978):113-117.

________. "The Export of Spanish Lusterware to Northwest Europe." In *Céramique médiévale en Méditerranée occidentale, xe-xve siécles: actes du colloque international, Valbonne September 11-14, 1978, by the Centre national de la recherche scientifique*, 373. Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1980.

________. "Imported Ceramics Studies in Britain." *Medieval Ceramics* 24 (2000): 23-30.

Husband, Timothy. "Valencian Lusterware of the Fifteenth Century: Notes and Documents." *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 29 (Summer 1970), 11-19.

Ibn Batuta. *Travels in Asia and Africa, 1325-1354*. Translated by H.A.R. Gibb. London: Routledge, 1929.

Ibn Said. *Book of the Maghreb*. In *The History of Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, vol.1, ed. Ahmed ibn Mohammed al-Makkari and translated by Pascual de Gayangos. London: Oriental Translation Fund, 1840.

Ibn Yahya. *The Hundred Letters*. Translated by Paul Jackson. Patna: Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, 2002.

al-Idrisi. “Relación del viaje.” In *Viajes de extranjeros por España y Portugal*, ed. José García Mercadal, 181-212. Madrid: Aguilar, 1952.

Jardine, Lisa. *Wordly Goods: A New History of the Renaissance*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1998.

Jékely, Zsombor. “Maiolica Jugs in Late Medieval Painting.” In *The Dowry of Beatrice: Italain Maiolica Art and the Court of King Matthias*, eds. Gabriella Balla and Zsombor Jékely, 55-66. Budapest: Museum of Applied Arts, 2008.

Jenkins, Marilyn. “Medieval Maghribi Luster-Painted Pottery,” In *Céramique médiévale en Méditerranée occidentale, xe-xve siécles: actes du colloque international, Valbonne September 11-14, 1978, by the Centre national de la recherche scientifique*, 335-342. Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1980.

________. “Islamic Pottery: A Brief History,” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 40 (1983): 1+4-52.

________. “Al-Andalus: Crucible of the Mediterranean,” In *The Art of Medieval Spain, A.D. 500-1200*, 73-84. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993.

Kagan, Richard. “Blame it on Washington Irving: New York’s Discovery of the Art and Architecture of Spain.” In *Nueva York, 1613-1945*, ed. Edward Sullivan, 155-170. London: Scala, 2010.

Kamen, Henry. *Philip of Spain*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997.

Kenneson, Summer. “Nasrid Luster Pottery: The Alhambra Vases.” *Muqarnas* 9 (1992): 93-115.

Kinney, Dale. “The Concept of *Spolia*.” In *A Companion to Medieval Art*, ed. Conrad Rudolph, 233-252. New York: Wiley and Sons, 2008.

Kopytoff, Igor. “The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process.” In *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai, 64-91. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Kubler, George. *The Shape of Time: Remarks on the History of Things*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962.

Kurz, Otto. “The Strange History of an Alhambra Vase.” *Al-Andalus* XL (1975): 203-213.

Laine, Merit. “Jarrón de la Alhambra.” In *Los jarrones de la Alhambra: simbología y poder,* ed. María de Mar Villafranca Jiménez, 156. Granada: Patronato de la Alhambra, 2006.

Lalaing, Antoine de. "Primer viaje de Felipe el 'hermoso' a España in 1501." In *Viajes de extranjeros por España y Portugal*, ed. José García Mercadal, 433-548. Madrid: Aguilar, 1952.

Lane, Arthur. "Early Hispano-Moresque Pottery: A Reconsideration." *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 88 (Oct., 1946): 256, 148-153.

Lavanha, João Baptista. *Intinerario del reino de Aragón*. Edited by Lupercio Leonardo y Argensola and Tomás Fermín de Lezaún y Tornos. Zaragoza: Tipografía del Hospicio Provincial, 1895.

Lechler, George. "The Tree of Life in Indo-European and Islamic Cultures." *Ars Islamica* 4 (1937): 369-419.

Lecoy de la Marche, A. *Extraits des comptes ed mémoriaux du Roi René pour servir a l'histoire des arts au XVe siécle*. Paris: A. Picard, 1873.

Legati, Lorenzo. *Museo cospiano annesso a quello del famoso Ulisse Aldrovandi e donato alla sua patria.* Bologna: Giacomo Monti, 1677.

Le Patorel, Jean. "Documentary Evidence for the Pottery Trade in North-West Europe." In *Ceramics and Trade: The Production and Distribution of Later Medieval Pottery in North-West Europe*, eds. Peter Davey and Richard Hodges, 27-35. Sheffield: The University of Sheffield, 1983.

Liefkes, Reino and Hilary Young, eds. *Masterpieces of World Ceramics*. London: V & A Publishing, 2008.

Lippera, Francesca. "Bacini ceramici nel chiostro del convento di San Nicola a Tolentino." In *Il chiostro di San Nicola a Tolentino: storia e arte*, ed. Maria Giannatiempo, 37-50. Tolentino: Biblioteca egidiana, 2001.

Lister, Florence C. and Robert H. Lister. *A Descriptive Dictionary for 500 years of Spanish-Tradition Ceramics: 13th-18th centuries*. Glassboro: N.J.: Society for Historical Archaeology, 1976.

________. *Andalusian Ceramics in Spain and New Spain: A cultural register from the 3rd century BC to 1700*. Tuscon: University of Arizona Pres, 1987.

Llorens, Jordi. *Cerámica Catalana de reflex metallic. Segles XV al XVII*. Barcelona: Edita F. Llorens, S.A., 1989.

López Campuzano, Julia. *Cerámica farmacéutica: las farmacias de Madrid*. Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1995.

López de Ayala, Pedro. *Libro de la aves de caça*. Edited by Pascual de Gayangos, Madrid: Impr. de M. Galiano, 1868.

López Elum, Pedro. *Los origenes de la cerámica de Manises y Paterna, 1285-1335*. Valencia, 1984.

________. *La Producción cerámica de lujo en la baja edad media: Manises y Paterna*. Valencia: Museo Nacional de Cerámica y Artes Suntuarias González Martí, 2005.

Lynch, John. *Spain under the Hapsburgs*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1969.

Lynn, Caro. *A College Professor of the Renaissance: Lucio Marineo Sículo among the Spanish Humanists*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937

Mack, Rosamond. *Bazaar to Piazza: Islamic Trade and Italian Art, 1300-1600*. Berkley: University of California Press, 2002.

Magalotti, Lorenzo. *Lettere sopra i bucchieri*, ed. Mario Praz. Florence: F. le Monnier, 1945.

Magne, Lucien. *Le Palais de Justice de Poitiers: étude sur l'art français au XIVe et au XVe siècles*. Paris: Librairie Centrale des Beaux-Arts, 1904.

Mallet, J.V.G. *Xanto: Pottery-Painter, Poet, Man of the Renaissance*. London: The Wallace Collection, 2007.

Mann, Vivian, Thomas Glick, and Jerrilynn D. Dodds, eds. *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Medieval Spain*. New York: George Braziller, 1992.

Manrique, Ángel. *Annales cistercienses*. Lyon: Boissat and Laurant, 1643.

Marshall, Peter H. *The Magic Circle of Rudolf II: Alchemy and Astrology in Renaissance Prague*. New York: Walker and Company, 2006.

Martínez Caviró, Balbina. *Cerámica española en el Instituto Valencia de Don Juan*. Madrid: Instituto Valencia de Don Juan, 1978.

________. *Cerámica Hispanomusulmana: andalusí y mudéjar*. Madrid: El Viso, 1991.

________. "El arte nazarí y el problema de la loza dorada." In *Arte islámico en Granada. Propuesta para un Museo de la Alhambra*, ed. Jesús Bermúdez López, 145-163. Granada: Patronato de la Alhambra, 1995.

________. "Golden Earthenware and the Alhambra Vases." In *Los jarrones de la Alhambra: simbología y poder,* ed. María del Mar Villafranca Jiménez, 282-285. Granada: Patronato de la Alhambra, 2006.

________. *La loza dorada en el Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan: oro y lapis lázuli*. Valencia: Orts Molins, 2011.

Maser, Edward A. "The European Imitators and their Wares." In *Blue and White: Chinese Porcelain and its Impact on the Western World*, ed. John Carswell, 37-42. pages. London: British Museum, 2000.

Mauceri, Enrico. "L'arte della maiolica in Sicilia," *Rasegna d'Arte antica e moderna* 2 (1915): 102-109.

________. "Le officine sicilane di ceramica." *Faenza* 18 (1930): 3-13.

Maxwell, Christopher. "Let them eat clay: Mexican búcaros in the Victoria and Albert Museum." *Keramos* 209 (2010): 3-16.

Mazzucato, Otto. "I bacini del campanile di S. Maria Maggiore a Roma." In *Atti XIV Convegno Internazionale dell Ceramica, Abisola June 5-7, 1981 by the Centro ligure per la storia della ceramica*, 75-82. Abisola: Centro ligure per la storia della ceramica, 1984.

________. *I Pavimenti Pontifici di Castel San Angelo*. Rome: Paleani, 1985.

McClure Mudge, Jean. "Hispanic Blue-and-White Faience in the Chinese Style." In *Blue and White: Chinese Porcelain and its Impact on the Western World*, ed. John Carswell, 43-54. London: British Museum, 2000.

McLean, Alick. "Romanesque Architecture in Italy, The Monastery as Heavenly Jerusalem." In *Romanesque: Architecture, Sculpture, Painting*, ed. Rolf Toman, 74-119. Cologne: Könemann, 1997.

Medina, Pedro de. *Libro de grandezas and cosas memorables de España*. Seville, 1549.

Meenan, Roseanne. "Iberian Pottery from Ireland." In *Everyday and Exotic Pottery from Europe,* eds. Gaimster and Redknap, 186-193. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1992.

Menéndez Pidal, Ramón. *Romancero hispánico*. Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1953.

________. *España y su historia*. Madrid: Minotaura, 1957.

________. *Flor nueva de romances viejos que recogió de la tradición antigua y moderna*. Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1965.

Mesquida García, Mercedes. *La cerámica de Paterna: reflejos de Mediterráneo*. Valencia: Museo de Bellas Artes, 2002.

Meyerson, Mark D., *The Muslims of Valencia in the Age of Fernando and Isabel*: *Between Coexistence and Crusade*. Berkley: University of California Press, 1990.

Miguelíz Valcrosa, Ignacio. "Platos limosneros en Guipuzkoa." *Ondare* 22 (2003): 271-300.

Milanesi, Gaetano, ed. *Dell' Arte del vetro per musaico tre trattatelli dei secoli XIV e XV ora per la prima volta pubblicati*. Bologna: Gaetano Romagnoli, 1864.

Minicis, Elisabetta de, ed. *Le ceramiche di Roma e del Lazio in etá medievale e moderna,V: atti del IV convegno di studi, Viterbo 22-23 May 1998*, 6 vols. Rome: Kappa, 2002.

Moffitt, John F. *The Arts in Spain*. New York: Thames and Hudson, 1999.

Montagut, Robert ed. *El Reflejo de manises: cerámica hispano-moresca del museo Cluny de Paris*. Madrid: Electa, 1996.

Morales García-Goyena, Luis. *Documentos Históricos de Málaga*. Granada: López Guerara, 1906.

Münzer, Hieronymus. "Relación del viaje." In *Viajes de extranjeros por España y Portugal*, ed. José García Mercadal, 327-417. Madrid: Aguilar, 1952.

Nader, Helen. *Power and Gender in Renaissance Spain: Eight Women of the Mendoza Family, 1450-1650*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004.

Navagero, Andrea. "Cartas a Juan Bautista Ramusio." In *Viajes de extranjeros por España y Portugal*, ed. José García Mercadal, 877-892. Madrid: Aguilar, 1952.

Navarro Palazón, Julio and M. Picon. "'La loza dorada' de la province Murcie: étude en laboratoire." In *La ceramica medivale nel Mediterraneo Occidentale: proceedings from the Congresso internazionale della Università degli studi di Siena, Dipartimento di archeologia e storia delle arti, Museo internazionale delle ceramiche in Faenza, Siena, 8-12 October 1984, Faenza, 13 October 1984*, 144-46. Florence: Edizioni All'Insegna del Giglio, 1986.

Navarro Palazón, Julio and Pedro Jiménez Castillo. "La producción cerámica medieval de Murcia." In *Spanish Medieval Ceramics in Spain and the British Isles*, eds. Christopher M. Gerrard, Alejandra Gutiérrez, and Alan G. Vince, 185-216. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports International Series 610, 1995.

Nawrolska, Grazya. "Discoveries of Spanish Ceramics in Medieval Elblag." In *Center, Region and Periphery: Medieval Europe, proceedings from the Archäologische Bodenforschung Basel-Stadt, 2002*, ed. Barbara Scholkmann, 191-195. Hertingen: Folio Verlag Dr. G. Wesselkamp, 2002.

Nicolini, Ugolino. "La ceramica di Deruta; organizzazione economia maestri. I documenti." In *Antiche Maioliche di Deruta*, ed. Grazietta Guaitini, 21-43. Florence: Nuova Guaraldi, 1980.

Norton, Christopher. “Medieval Tin-Glazed Painted Tiles in North-West Europe.” *Medieval Archaeology* 28 (1984): 133-72.

Olivar Daydí, Marçal. *La Vajilla de Madera y la Cerámica de uso en Valencia y en Cataluña durante el XIV*. Valencia: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1950.

________. *Fonts Documentals Inèdites per l’Estudi de la Ceràmica Valenciana Medieval*. Barcelona: Miscellània Puig i Cadafalch, 1950.

Origo, Iris. *The Merchant of Prato: Francesco di Marco Datini, 1335-1410*. London: J. Cape, 1957.

Osma, y Scull, Guillermo Joaquín. *Apuntes sobre cerámica morisca, textos y documentos valencianos*. Madrid: Impr de los Hijos de M. Ginés Hernández, 1906.

________. *Los maestros alfareros de Manises, Paterna y Valencia: Contratos y Ordenanzas de los siglos XIV, XV y XVI*. Madrid, 1908.

Pächt, Otto. *Master of Mary of Burgundy*. London: Faber and Faber, 1948.

Parsons, John Carmi. *The Court and Household of Eleanor of Castile in 1290: An Edition of British Library, Additional Manuscript 35294 with Introduction and Notes.* Toronto: Toronto Pontifical Institut of Mediaeval Studies, 1977.

Passeri, Giambattista. *Istoria delle pitture in maiolica fatte in Pesaro e ne’ luoghi circonvicini.* Pesaro: Nobiliana, 1838.

Paz Soler Ferrer, María. *Historia de la cerámica valenciana*. Valencia: Vicent García Editores S.A., 1988.

Peck, Elsie. “Like the Light of the Sun: Luster-Painted Ceramics.” Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts 71 (1997): 17-36.

Pérez Camps, José. *La cerámica de reflejo metálico en Manises, 1850-1960*. Valencia: Museo de Etnología, 1998.

Piccolpasso, Cavaliere Cipriano. *Three books of the potter’s art which treat not only the practice but also briefly all the secrets of this art, a matter which until today has always been kept concealed*. Translated by Albert van de Put and Bernard Rackham. London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1934.

Pierce, Donna, ed. *Painting a New World: Mexican Art and Life, 1521-1821*. Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2004.

Postan, M.M. *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe, vol. II, Trade and Industry in the*

Middle Ages. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Rackham, Bernard. *Early Netherlands Maiolica*. London: Geoffrey Bles, 1926.

Ragona, Antonino. *La maiolica siciliana dalle origini all'ottocento*. Palermo: Selerio, 1975.

Ramos González, Fernando. "Platos litúrgicos." In *La pieza del mes*, ed. Antonio Sánchez del Barrio, 198-99. Valladolid: Museo de las Ferias, 2010.

Randall, Richard H. Jr. "Lusterware of Spain." *The Metropolitan Museum of Art* 15 (June 1957): 213-221.

Ravenelli Guidotti, Carmen. *MediTERRAneum: cerámica española en Italia entre el medioevo y el renacimiento*. Viterbo: FAVL, 1992.

Ray, Anthony. "Renaissance Pottery in Seville." *Burlington Magazine* 132 (May 1990): 343-344.

________. "Sixteenth-Century Pottery in Castile: A Documentary Study." *The Burlington Magazine* 133 (May 1991): 299-300.

________. "Spanish Lustreware Imported to England: Three New Fourteenth-Century Examples." In *Everyday and Exotic Pottery from Europe c. 650-1900. Studies in Honor of John G. Hurst*, eds. David Gaimster and M. Redknap, 198-201. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1992.

________. "Francisco Niculoso called the "Pisano," *Italian Renaissance Pottery: Papers Written in Association with a Colloquium at the British Museum,* 261-166. London: British Museum, 1995.

________. *Spanish Pottery, 1248-1898*. London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 2000.

Rinaldi, Maura. *Kraak Porcelain: A Moment in the History of Trade*. London: Bamboo Publications, 1989.

Rishel, Joseph J. and Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt. *The Arts in Latin America, 1492-1820.* Exhibition Catalogue. Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2006.

Rogers, J.M. "The Godman Bequest of Islamic Pottery." *Apollo* 120 (July 1984): 24-31.

Rosselló Bordoy, Guillem. "Observaciones sobre la cerámica común nazarí: continente y contenido." In *Arte islámico en Granada. Propuesta para un Museo de la Alhambra*, ed. Jesús Bermúdez López, 133-144. Granada: Patronato de la Alhambra, 1995.

Ruano Martínez, J.R. *Cultivo de plantas aromáticas, medicinales y condimentarias en la*

Comunidad Valenciana : evolución y estudio en parcelas experimentales. Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana Conselleria de Medio Ambiente, 1998.

Ruddock, A.A. *Italian Merchants and Shipping in Southampton, 1270-1600.* Southampton: University College,1951.

Ruiz García, Alfonso. "La cerámica in vidriado verde del Museo de la Alhambra." In *Los jarrones de la Alhambra*, *simbología y poder,* ed. María del Mar Villafranca Jiménez, 75-88. Granada: Patronato de la Alhambra, 2006.

Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books, 1978.

Schurz, William Lytle. *The Manila Galleon*, New York: E.P. Dutton, 1939.

Scoble, Andrew R., ed. *The Memoires of Philippe de Commynes*. London: G. Bell and Sons, 1911.

Sedlmayr, Hans. *Die Entstehung der Kathedrale*. Zurich: Atlantis Verlag, 1950.

Sículo, Lucio Marineo. *Cosas memorables de España*. Alcala de Henares: Juan de Broncar, 1539.

Spallanzani, Marco. "Il Vaso Medici-Orsini di Detroit in un documento d'archivio." *Faenza* 60 (1974): 88-90.

________. "Un invio di maioliche ispano-moresche a Venezia negli anni 1401-1402." *Archeologia Medievale* V (1978): 529-541.

________. *Ceramiche alle corte dei Medici nel Cinquecento*. Modena: Franco Cosimi Panini, 1994.

________. *Ceramiche orientali a Firenze nel Rinascimento*. Florence: Libreria Chiari, 1997.

________. *Maioliche ispano-moresche a Firenze nel Rinascimento*. Florence: Studio per Edizioni Scelte, 2006.

________. *Oriental Rugs in Florence*. Florence: Studio per Edizioni Scelte, 2007.

________. Spallanzani, Marco. "Lusterware of Valencia." In *Francesco di Marco Datini: The Man, the Merchant*, ed. Giampiero Nigro, 385-394. Florence: University of Florence Press, 2010.

________. *Metalli islamici a Firenze nel Rinascimento*. Florence: Studio per Edizioni Scelte, 2012.

Soler, María Paz. "Morophilia: The False Alhambras." In *Los jarrones de la Alhambra:*

simbología y poder, ed. Villafranca Jiménez, 305-308. Granada: Patronato de la Alhambra, 2006.

Solon, M.L. "The Lustered Tile Pavement of the Palais de Justice of Poitiers." *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 12 (Nov., 1907): 83-86.

Stewart, Aubrey, ed. *Anonymous Pilgrims, eleventh and twelth centuries*. London: Hanover Square, 1894.

Stookey, Laurence Hull. "The Gothic Cathedral as the Heavenly Jerusalem: Liturgical and Theological Sources." *Gesta* 8 (1969): 35-41.

Stübing, Gerardo and J.B. Peris. *Plantas medicinales de la comunidad valenciana*. Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana Conselleria de Medio Ambiente, 1998.

Tembourey Alvaro, Juan. "La cerámica vidriada de Málaga después de la reconquista de ciudad." *Al-Andalus* 4 (1939); 42-43.

Thornton, Dora. "Maiolica Production in Renaissance Italy." In *Pottery in the Making: World Ceramic Traditions*, eds. Ian Freestone and David Gaimster, 116-121. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997.

________. "Two-Handled Vase with Arms of the Medici Impaling Orsini." In *Art and Love in Renaissance Italy*, ed. Andrea Bayer, 68-69. New York: The Metropolitan Museum, 2009.

Toledo Girau, José. *Inventarios del palacio real de Valencia a la muerte de doña María, esposa de Alfonso el Magnánimo*. Valencia: Centro de Cultura Valenciana, 1961.

Tongiorgi, Ezio and Berti, Graziella. *Ceramiche importate dalla Spagna nell'area pisano, XII-XV*. 1985.

Torres Balbás, Leopoldo. "Cerámica doméstica de la Alhambra." *Al-Andalus* 2 (1934): 387-388.

________. *Ars Hispaniae: historia universal del arte hispánico, vol. 4, arte almohade, arte nazarí, arte mudéjar*. Madrid: Plus Ultra, 1949.

Trusted, Marjorie. *The Arts of Spain: Iberia and Latin America, 1400-1700*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007.

Ubriarchi, Benedetto di Baldassare. "A fare le invetriature delle scodelle do maiolica." In *Dell' Arte del vetro per musaico tre trattatelli dei secoli XIV e XV ora per la prima volta pubblicati*, ed. Gaetano Milanesi, 100-101. Bologna: Gaetano Romagnoli, 1864.

Urquízar Herrera, Antonio. *Coleccionismo y nobleza, signos de distinción social en la Andalucía del Renacimiento*. Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2007.

Valdés Fernández, Fernando. "Baldosa triangular, olambrilla circular y balsosa cuadrangular." In *Arte islámico en Granada. Propuesta para un Museo de la Alhambra*, ed. Jesús Bermúdez López, 371-372. Granada: Patronato de la Alhambra, 1995.

Van Dale, J.H. "Verhandelingen. Reglement voor de scheepvaart en de heffing der tollen op het Zwin." *Bijdragen tot de oudheidkunde en geschiedenis inzonderheid van Zeeuwsch-Vlaanderen* 5-6 (1860-1863): 1-135

Van de Put, Albert. *Hispano-Moresque Ware of the Fifiteenth Century. A Contribution to its History and Chronology Based upon Armorial Specimens*. London: Chapman and Hall, 1904.

________. *The Valencian styles of Hispano-Moresque pottery, 1404-1454: A companion to the Apuntes sobre cerámica morisca of the late G.J. Osma*. New York: The Hispanic Society of America, 1938.

Van Severen, Gilliodts. *Inventaire des archives de la ville de Bruges publié sous les auspices de l'administration communale*. Bruges: E. Gailliard, 1871.

Van Uytven, Raymond. "What is New in the Sixteenth-Century Netherlands." In *Production and Consumption in the Low Countries, 13th-16th Centuries*. Burlington,Vermont: Ashgate, 2001.

Vasari, Giorgio. *The Lives of the Artists*, trans. Julia Conway Bondanella and Peter Bondanella. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Vaughan, Richard. *Philip the Good: The Apogee of Burgundy*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2002.

Vega, Lope de. *Peribañez y el comendador de Ocaña*. Translated by J.M. Ruano and J.E. Varey. London: Tamesis, 1980.

Viaene, A. "Valenschwerc: Hispano-moreske faience op de galeien in Sluis (1441) en in musea van Damme en Brugge." *Biekorf* LXXI (1970): 46-50.

Viera, David J. "The Treatment of the Jew and the Moor in the Catalan Works of Francesc Eiximenis." *Revista canadiense de estudios hispánicos* 9 (Winter, 1985): 203-213.

Viguera Molins, María Jesús. "The Nasrid Emirate of Granada, the last of al-Andalus." In *Los jarrones de la Alhambra: simbología y poder,* ed. María del Mar Villfranca Jiménez, 276-278. Granada: Patronato de la Alhambra, 2006.

________, ed. *Ibn Khaldun: The Mediterranean in the Fourteenth Century, The Rise and Fall of Empires*. Seville: Fundación El Legado, 2006.

Vilaseca Borrás, Luisa. *Los alfareros y la cerámica de reflejo metálico de Reus de 1550-1650*. 3 vols. Reus: Asociación de Estudios Reusenses, 1964.

Villafranca Jiménez, María del Mar, ed. *Los jarrones de la Alhambra: simbología y poder.* Exhibition Catalogue. Granada: Patronato de la Alhambra, 2006.

Villegas, Antonio de. *The Abencerraje and the Beautiful Jarifa*. Translated by Francisco López Estrada and John Esten Keller. Chapel Hill: Univeristy of North Carolina Press, 1964.

Volz, S.M. and S.S. Renner. "Phylogeography of the ancient Eurasian medicinal plant genus *Bryonia* (Cucurbitaceae) inferred from nuclear and chloroplast sequences." *Taxon* 58 (2009): 550-560.

Von Poplau, Nicolas. "Relación del viaje." In *Viajes de extranjeros* por España y Portugal, ed. José García Mercadal, 307-325. Madrid: Aguilar, 1952.

Von Simson, Otto. *The Gothic Cathedral: Origins of Gothic Arhcitecture and the Medieval Concept of Order*. New York: Harper and Row, 1964.

Von Stromer,Wolfgang. "Nuremberg in the International Economics of the Middle Ages." *The Business History Review* 44 (Summer 1970): 210-225.

Watson, Oliver. *Persian Luster Ware*. London: Faber and Faber, 1985.

Westermann, Mariët. *A Wordly Art: The Dutch Republic, 1585-1718*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004.

White, Lynn Townsend Jr. *Latin Monasticism in Norman Sicily*. Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America, 1938.

Wilson, Timothy. *Italian Maiolica*. Oxford: Phaidon, 1989.

________. *Ceramic Art of the Italian Renaissance*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987.

Zozaya, Juan. "Material Culture in Medieval Spain," in *Convivencia*: *Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Medieval Spain*, eds. Vivian Mann, Thomas Glick, and Jerrilynn Dodds, 157-174. New York: George Braziller, 1992.

________. "The Alhambra Vases: Their Function, Meaning, and Chronology." In *Los jarrones de la Alhambra: simbología y poder,* ed. María del Mar Villfranca Jiménez, 279-281. Granada: Patronato de la Alhambra, 2006.