LOZA POBLANA: THE EMERGENCE OF A MEXICAN CERAMIC TRADITION

BY

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ABSTRACT

LOZA POBLANA: THE EMERGENCE OF A MEXICAN CERAMIC TRADITION

by

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For over four centuries, the Mexican city of Puebla de los Angeles has been recognized as the most important producer of maiolica (tin-glazed earthenware) in Latin America. Referred to in colonial documents as *loza*, this ware enjoyed the widest distribution of any ceramic made in the Americas. The study of Puebla colonial ceramics provides an avenue for exploring the emergence of an artistic tradition born of converging cultures, for it reflects the cultural encounters of Spain, Italy, China, and the Islamic world.

The origin of *loza poblana* (Puebla maiolica) dates to Spain's conquest of Mexico in 1521, when Spaniards introduced techniques for producing the ceramic ware they had known in Europe—most notably tin- and lead-based glaze, the potter's wheel, and an up-draft kiln—contributions that may be counted among the most important artistic innovations introduced to New Spain in the sixteenth century. This dissertation explores developments in the Puebla ceramic tradition from the sixteenth century through the early twentieth century, with a focus on its emergence. Analyses and conclusions rely on archival documents, historic literature, archaeological findings, as well as close object

studies and recent scholarship. The introduction presents the subject and gives a historical overview of ceramic practices, especially in regard to maiolica. Next follows the historical background for the tradition in Spain and Puebla, and the important trade networks that developed across the Atlantic and the Pacific coasts as well as within the American colonies. Chapter 3 is dedicated to the potters and their workshops, with an attempt to restore their names and those of their workshops to ceramic history. The next chapter deals with tilework, focusing on Puebla's tradition of decorating churches and conventos with tiles, while the chapter on vessels focuses on the development of their forms and designs. The final chapter is devoted to the history of the largest and most important collections of Puebla pottery in Mexico and the United States. This dissertation fills gaps in extant scholarship by bringing to the fore the development of a tradition over centuries, and by outlining the social and cultural conditions and ramifications of its production.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The preparation of this dissertation would not have been possible without the help of numerous individuals and institutions in the United States, Mexico, Guatemala and Spain. My debts are too numerous to list fully here and most are mentioned individually in the footnotes of the text.

Above all, I owe a very special thank you to my advisor Professor Eloise Quiñones Keber who suggested that I continue my work on this subject as a dissertation and guided me through the arduous process to the very end. Across oceans and vast stretches of land, Professor Quiñones Keber made herself available and extended her support well beyond her call of duty. She has my deepest gratitude, respect and admiration. Also at the Graduate School and University Center of the City University of New York, I am grateful to Professor Judy Sund and Professor Katherine Manthorne for the time and energy they devoted to reading this dissertation as well as for their editorial contributions to the text.

Funding was provided by a Milton Brown Dissertation Fellowship in the Arts awarded by the Graduate Center at the City University of New York in 2003 to complete my research and writing of this dissertation. This Fellowship made it possible for me to make several trips to Mexico, photograph collections, and commission the transcription and translation of dozens of unpublished archival documents. I am grateful to the awards committee for their confidence in my work and interest in this topic.

Over the past eight years I have had the opportunity to study several museum collections in the United States, Mexico and Spain. As Assistant Curator of Ceramics at The Hispanic Society of America in New York, I have had the opportunity to study its important collection of Spanish colonial ceramics, including a collection of European and Spanish colonial fragments excavated and subsequently donated by archaeologists José Cruxent and José Eduardo Vaz, as well as its vast holdings of Hispanic decorative arts. I have been especially fortunate to be surrounded by some of the greatest minds of Spanish colonial history, art, and culture. Marcus Burke, Curator of Paintings at the Hispanic Society, was generous enough to be one of the four readers of this dissertation. In addition to his important contributions to this text, he has been a great mentor throughout my graduate career and a good friend. Mitchell Codding, Director of the Hispanic Society, was the one who first encouraged me to research the topic nearly ten years ago. With a particular fondness for ceramics, Dr. Codding also has been instrumental in guiding me through a self-education on Spanish colonial ceramics and decorative arts, and exceedingly generous in assisting me with a number of issues and questions related to this and other subjects. John O'Neill, Curator of Rare Books and Manuscripts, and Susan Rosenstein, Assistant Librarian of Rare Books and Manuscripts, were generous with their time in allowing me to examine some of the rare books dating before 1700 under their care. Other individuals at the Hispanic Society to whom I owe my gratitude are Constancio del Alamo, Patrick Lenaghan, and Diana Liddy, Gerald MacDonald, Diana Mession, and Priscilla Muller, Edwin Rolón.

Also in the United States, I am thankful to Robin Farwell Gavin, former Curator of Spanish Colonial Collections at the Museum of International Folk Art in Santa Fe, for

allowing me to study the ceramic collection at the museum and for including an earlier version of my chapter on tiles (chapter 4) in her exhibition catalogue titled *Cerámica y Cultura: The Story of Spanish and Mexican Mayólica,* which opened in 2002. I am grateful to George Kuwayama, former Curator at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, for his help regarding trade across the Pacific and the Asian vessels that arrived in numbers to New Spain. At the Philadelphia Museum of Art, I am most grateful to Donna Corbin both for providing access to their Puebla maiolica collection in storage and for the photocopies of documents she generously sent me regarding the relationships among Edwin Atlee Barber, Emily de Forest and Archer Milton Huntington. Alice Cooney Frelinghuysen, Curator of American Decorative Arts at The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, made it possible for me to examine the collection of Puebla maiolica held by the museum. I acknowledge Ian Wardropper, former Chair of the Department of European Decorative Arts at the Art Institute of Chicago, for granting me permission to study the Institute's collection of Puebla pottery, and Lynn Carlson who generously accompanied me to the storage room of the Institute where the majority of their collection of Puebla pottery was held at the time. Marion Oettinger, Director of the San Antonio Museum of Art, devoted time to viewing the museum's collection of Puebla pottery with me, exchanging ideas about the subject, and allowing me to examine his files on the subject.

In Mexico City, a very special thank you is due to the staff members at the Museo Franz Mayer, each one of whom made every effort to see that I was able to study and photograph the 726 pieces of Puebla maiolica as well as any other works I felt were relevant to my research. In particular, I extend my sincerest gratitude to the museum's

Director, Hector Rivero Borrell,, and the Curator of Ceramics, Rosa Dopazo, for their confidence in my work and unrelenting support during numerous visits to the museum. I also thank them for including me in the 2002 exhibition organized with the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston titled *The Grandeur of Viceregal Mexico: Treasures from the Museo Franz Mayer*, to which I contributed catalogue entries for over thirty objects, many of them incorporated into the text of chapter 5. Other individuals at the Museo Franz Mayer to whom I owe my gratitude are: Agustín García Real, Beatriz MacGregor, Ricardo Pérez Álvarez.

At the Museo Amparo in Puebla, I am grateful to Angeles Espinosa Yglesias, Director, and the museum's staff for their assistance with my research at various stages. Juan Fidel Pérez, former Director of the Museo José Luis Bello y González (INAH) in Puebla, made it possible for me to study the collection of Puebla pottery prior to the earthquake of 1999 and afterwards despite difficulty in gaining access to some of the storage areas.

In Spain, I extend my deepest gratitude to María Antonia Casanovas, Curator at the Museu de Ceràmica in Barcelona, for guiding me through the vast collection under her care both in storage and on exhibition. I also am thankful to Alfonso Pleguezuelo of the Universidad de Sevilla, and Jaume Coll Conesa of the Museo Nacional de Cerámica y de las Artes Suntuarias "Gonzalez Martí" in Valencia. These ceramic scholars have been extremely gracious with their time, knowledge, and support and I am forever grateful to them.

Archaeology played a particularly important role in this study and my research would not have been complete if it were not for the individuals who allowed me to study

the thousands of ceramic fragments excavated from various sites under their care. At the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH) in New York I had the opportunity to examine material excavated from St. Catherine's Island off the coast of Georgia. I thank Loran Pendleton Thomas and Matt Sanger of the AMNH for calling this site to my attention and for allowing me to examine the material at the museum before it was returned to Georgia. Also at the AMNH, I am grateful to Charles Spencer and Christina Elson for granting me access to examples of late post-Classic and early colonial unglazed pottery from the central basin of Mexico.

In Antigua, Guatemala, I was fortunate to meet Tony Pasinski, who not only showed me the collection of maiolica fragments excavated from the former Convento de Santo Domingo, but also has been extremely generous in sharing his research and ideas with me. Mr. Pasinski has been an invaluable friend and colleague, and I am grateful to him for his endless support and good humor.

In Puebla de los Angeles, Mexico, I had the privilege of studying the collection of fragments excavated by INAH at various sites throughout the city of Puebla and Cholula, all housed at the INAH laboratory in Puebla. For this privilege I thank archaeologists Arnulfo Allende Carrera and Carlos Cedillo Ortega of INAH. I am particularly grateful to Arq. Allende Carrera for meeting with me on numerous visits to Puebla to point out a number of tiles found in situ as well as individual pieces that I never would have found otherwise, and for generously sharing his knowledge and work on this subject.

In Mexico City, I am thankful to Patricia Fournier of ENAH, who generously removed bags of fragments in her laboratory, gathered from various sites throughout the capital, and shared her ideas about a number of different maiolica types; to Cuauhtemoc

Domínguez of ENAH, who, with Dr. Fournier's introduction, allowed me to carefully examine fragments from the excavation of the former Hotel del Prado; and to Gilda Cano of INAH at Casa Talavera where we spent an entire evening well past closing talking about the history of maiolica production in Mexico while closely examining fragments excavated from the hotel, both on display and in storage.

Information generated from unpublished archival documents also was critical to this dissertation. I am grateful to Manuel Ramos Medina for permitting me to study the Cervantes documents at the Centro de Estudios de Historia de México de Condumex in Mexico City, and for the time he extended to direct me to other treasures held by the CEHMC. I am especially thankful to independent scholar Arturo Córdova Duran of Puebla for his help in navigating through several archives in Puebla and for his superb transcriptions of many of the documents cited here. Architect and historian Francisco Pérez de Salazar Verea was exceedingly generous in sharing some of the earliest documents relating to his family's participation in the ceramic industry in Puebla. I am also grateful to him for opening his personal library to me, and for taking the time and energy to take me to see various collections held by his immediate and extended family members. In Puebla, I had to fortune to meet Enrique Ventosa and his parents, Sr. and Sra. Enrique Ventosa. They graciously invited me to their home showed me a photograph and a painted portrait of the artist Enrique Luis Ventosa, who helped revive the industry at the turn of the twentieth century, and displayed plates from their collection. I am also indebted to independent scholars Debra Nagao and Anne Hill de Mayagoitia in Mexico for their excellent translation of the potter's ordinances. Patrick Lenaghan, Curator of

Prints and Photographs at the Hispanic Society, took time from his busy schedule to translate several other passages in the text.

My numerous trips to Mexico over the past eight years would not have been the same without the friendship and support of several individuals I wish to acknowledge. Independent scholar and conservator Patricia Acuña, formerly at the Museo Amparo, graciously welcomed me into her home in San Andres de Cholula outside of Puebla, where I stayed on several occasions. She also was instrumental in helping me with the 1999 exhibition I curated at the Americas Society as well as my research on the Uriarte family and many other aspects of my dissertation. Fernanda Gamboa, potter, designer and owner of the ceramic workshop Talavera Santa Catarina in San Ándres de Cholula, taught me more about making ceramics than any book or manual could. Sra. Gamboa shared her knowledge about the ceramic tradition in Puebla and opened her workshop and home to me and my family. I am forever grateful to her for her support and friendship. Ana Paulina Gamez Martínez, Curator at the Museo Nacional de Arte in Mexico City, has been extremely generous in sharing her expertise on colonial ceramics and decorative arts. I am indebted to collector and antiques dealer Rodrigo Rivero Lake for indulging my requests for photographs of objects, information, and introductions to institutions such as the Museo del Carmen, and individuals such as architect Jaime Abundis, who graciously shared his research on the former convento and gave me a tour of the entire complex, and Michel Zabé, who took professional photographs of the tiles there for me.

I also wish to recognize the support of my good friend and classmate, Angela Marie Herren, who traveled with me through the entire dissertation process. My graduate

career would not have been the same without her friendship. In the final phase of completing this dissertation I was fortunate to be helped by Rebecca Friedman, Dianna Mession, Daniel Silva and César Vargas. I am grateful to each of them for their contributions and for helping me with the final nuances of this dissertation.

The completion of this dissertation would not have been possible without the help and support of my entire family as well as my good friend and babysitter Juana Vargas. My older daughter Kaitlin, now three-and-a-half years old, endured life without me during several short trips to Mexico, and my younger daughter, Amelia, now nine months old, was only an infant when I entered the final stage of writing. Both my husband, James Henry McQuade, and my mother, Diane Winter Sunshine, contributed to my work in more ways than I can articulate here. No words can express my appreciation to them all for indulging me in every way possible, and for allowing me the time to bring this dissertation to a completion.

ABBREVIATIONS

AAP	Archivo del Ayuntamiento de Puebla
ACP	Archivo de la Catedral de Puebla
AGI	Archivo General de las Indias, Seville
AGN	Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City
AGNP	Archivo General de la Notarías de Puebla
AHMP	Archivo Histórico Municipal de Puebla
AMNH	American Museum of Natural History, New York
APNS	Archivo de Protocolos Notariales de Sevilla
CEHMC	Centro de Estudios de Historia de México de Condumex, Mexico City
ENAH	Escuela Nacional de Arqueología e Historia, Mexico City
HSA	The Hispanic Society of America, New York
INAH	Instituto Naciónal de Arqueología e Historia, Mexico City and Puebla
UNAM	Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Mexico City
UPAEP	Universidad Popular Autónoma del Estado de Puebla

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION:
LOZA POBLANA: EMERGENCE OF A COLONIAL MEXICAN TRADITION

DISSERTATION PROJECT

This dissertation focuses on the production of maiolica (tin-and lead-glazed earthenware) produced in Puebla de los Angeles (usually called Puebla), Mexico, beginning in the sixteenth century with the introduction of European techniques to New Spain.[1] It examines the golden age of the industry in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which ended before the demise of the colonial period in Mexico in 1821. It locates the roots of the maiolica tradition in Muslim Spain and examines adaptations from Spanish, Chinese, Italian, and later French ceramics, as well as local contributions to the development of the distinctive Puebla ceramic style. It discusses how the industry was first established and flourished during the colonial period. Finally it briefly analyzes the near collapse of the tradition at the end of the nineteenth century, and explains the revival that took place at the turn of the twentieth century.

My analyses and conclusions rely on archival documents, contemporary writing, archaeological findings, and close object studies. My dissertation will fill gaps in extant scholarship by reconsidering the various types of ceramics produced in Puebla, by

[1] The definition, spelling and history of the term "maiolica" are discussed on p. 13.

outlining social and cultural conditions that affected its development, and by considering the artistic and social ramifications of its production in Mexico.

The first part of Chapter 1, Introduction to "*Loza Poblana*: Emergence of a Colonial Mexican Tradition," introduces my dissertation project, its subject, previous scholarship on the topic, methodology employed, and contribution to the field of colonial Mexican art. The second part provides a general background on ceramics, particularly a history of the tradition called "maiolica."

Chapter 2, "Seville, Puebla, and Trade," discusses the historical, social and material background that made the maiolica industry possible in Puebla soon after its founding. It considers, for example, the materials, people, and practices Spain brought to the New World. Among these, the craft guild of sixteenth-century Spain, which varied from region to region, was introduced and adopted to protect Spanish potters from competition. A critical part of this chapter is an examination of the importance of trade with Asia, through Spain's occupation of the Philippines, and the annual, or biannual, voyages of the galleons known as *naos de Manila*.

Chapter 3, "The Puebla Potters and Their Workshops," focuses on the potters' origins, training, and approaches to organizing themselves professionally. Of particular interest is the late sixteenth-century tilemaker Gaspar Encinas, who came to Mexico from Seville after having lived earlier in Talavera, Spain. With the help of colonial maps and documents, I am able to specify where these potters worked and how, by the last quarter of the sixteenth century, they began to center themselves around the Ermita of San Antonio de Abad, currently the parish church of San Marcos in Puebla. I am particularly interested in how individual workshops were organized, especially in comparison with

what is known of the later nineteenth- and early-twentieth century Puebla workshop. This chapter also examines the first potter's guild of Puebla, founded in 1653, and identifies the ordinances that continued to be amended throughout the colonial period.

Chapter 4, "Origin, Production, and Use of Puebla Tiles," focuses on the distinctive ceramic tilework found in Puebla and uncovered in archaeological sites, with an emphasis on the tilework that distinguishes Puebla churches and conventos. I will begin by identifying some of the late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century tiles imported from Spain, including some made by known Sevillian ceramists. Although many early tiled interiors have been removed, individual tiles and tile-panels now in museum collections can be attributed to individual Spanish and colonial workshops.

Chapter 5, "Puebla Pottery: Forms and Designs," details the forms and decoration of Puebla maiolica vessels. I examine the most important vessel forms used by Puebla potters and their subsequent development. In addition, I identify the most important types of decoration produced during the colonial period and provide new names for some of the types previously identified by archaeologists. While Puebla potters rarely copied models slavishly, I identify prototypes of major vessel forms and their decoration. Four different grades of ceramics were specified in the potter's ordinances, as was the manner in which each type was to be decorated. For examples of types and decorations, I have chosen to concentrate on the collection of Puebla pottery in the Museo Franz Mayer in Mexico City, since it holds the largest and most representative collection. I also use examples from archaeological excavations in Puebla for some early types, especially in cases where place of origin might otherwise be in question. The last section looks at the revival of the maiolica tradition at the turn of the twentieth century, with particular

attention to Spanish painter and ceramics enthusiast Enrique Luis Ventosa, who moved to Puebla from Barcelona in 1897 and helped revive the waning industry.

Chapter 6, "Conclusion: Collecting Puebla Maiolica in Mexico and the United States," examines major collections of Puebla ceramics formed in these two countries. In Mexico, I focus on a trio of outstanding collections: German businessman Franz Mayer lived in Mexico City and assembled the most significant collection of Puebla ware in the world, today housed in the Mexico City museum that bears his name; a Pueblan textile entrepreneur, José Luis Bello y González, formed Puebla's finest collection of Puebla pottery, which was left to the city to form a museum in his name; the Francisco de Pérez de Salazar collection held the earliest extant examples before it was recently sold. In the United States, Emily Johnston de Forest, New York socialite and collector of American and European ceramics, and Edwin Atlee Barber of the Philadelphia Museum played important roles in raising the profile of colonial Puebla maiolica in the United States.

The study includes three appendices. The first lists the names of potters who worked in Puebla, their estimated dates of activity, and known workshop locations. The list was generated from names found in unpublished documents housed in several archives in Puebla; most of these names are not included in the list published by Cervantes in his 1939 monograph. Appendix 2 charts the most important styles with my new designations and formerly assigned names. The images for Appendix 2 come from drawings of pieces excavated from the archaeological site of the sixteenth-century Convento of San Francisco, as well as photographs of pieces in the Museo Franz Mayer and other collections. Appendix 3 uses a detail of a map of Puebla from 1717 to locate the potter's quarters in Puebla and some of the most important workshops.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE ON COLONIAL PUEBLA CERAMICS

Primary sources regarding colonial Puebla pottery include archival documents that are mainly housed in Puebla and Mexico City. Historical information can also be found in accounts published in Mexico from the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries. For example, Father Bernabé Cobo, who traveled to New Spain and Peru between 1629 and 1642, comments in his 1630 *Historia del Nuevo Mundo* on the colonial production of glazed earthenware. He reveals that high quality ware was being produced at that time, some of it already styled after Chinese models. Ecclesiastical publications include such works as Juan Gorospe's *Octava maravilla del Nuevo Mundo en la Gran Capilla del Rosario* (1690), which describes the impressive tilework in the seventeenth-century Rosary Chapel in Puebla. Other sources include descriptions of Puebla and Mexico City, such as Juan Villa Sánchez's *Puebla sagrada y profana* (1746), which discusses the eighteenth-century manufacture of pottery in Puebla.

More recently, Edwin Atlee Barber—former curator and director of the Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art (today the Philadelphia Museum of Art), and the first scholar of Puebla pottery—published a general survey, *The Maiolica of Mexico,* in 1908, and three subsequent catalogues in 1911, 1915, and 1922.[2] Barber placed Puebla ceramics in four categories: "Spanish or Talavera," "Chinese," "Hispano-Mexican," and "Puebla." One of my aims in this dissertation will be to define more

[2] Edwin Atlee Barber, *The Maiolica of Mexico* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art, 1908); Edwin Atlee Barber, *Catalogue of Mexican Maiolica Belonging to Mrs. Robert W. de Forest* (New York: The Hispanic Society of America, 1911); Edwin Atlee Barber, *Mexican Maiolica in the Collection of the Hispanic Society of America* (New York: The Hispanic Society of America, 1915); and Edwin Atlee Barber, *The Emily Johnston de Forest Collection of Mexican Maiolica* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1922).

precisely the styles and types, some of which combine the influence of more than one culture.

John Goggin, an archaeologist at the University of Florida, was the first to classify ceramic material excavated in the former Spanish colonies and compare them to works in museums and private collections in his 1968 publication, *Spanish Majolica in the New World: Types of Sixteenth Century to Eighteenth Century*. Despite his ground-breaking research covering Spain, Mexico, and the former colonies in the United States and the Caribbean, his classifications of ceramic types and chronology need to be examined against more concrete historical information found in archival documents, as well as through stylistic analysis. Kathleen Deagan's *Artifacts of the Spanish Colonies of Florida and the Caribbean: 1500-1800* (1989) re-examines Goggin's work and outlines each ceramic type with a focus on former Hispanic sites in Florida and the Caribbean.

The prolific southwestern anthropologists Robert and Florence Lister have made significant contributions in documenting Hispanic ceramics and social history in their numerous publications. *Andalusian Ceramics in Spain and New Spain* (1987) considers the cultural implications of the ceramic tradition's Muslim roots. *Sixteenth Century Maiolica Pottery in the Valley of Mexico* (1982) examines material excavated from sites surrounding the Plaza Mayor in Mexico City and analyzes new types of ceramic ware as well as those first identified by Goggin. In the later book, the Listers also provide shipping records of ceramics, although they make little use of the information in their analysis. In 2001, the Museum of International Folk Art published the Listers' 1978 catalogue of their collection of Spanish and Mexican maiolica.

George Kuwayama's catalogue, *Chinese Ceramics in Colonial Mexico* (1997), is the first to explore the relationship between Chinese porcelain and Puebla maiolica, and is essential for understanding the types of porcelains Puebla potters must have studied directly.

Though Enrique Cervantes's monograph, *Loza blanca y azulejos de Puebla* (1939) remains the most comprehensive study of Puebla ceramics (including transcribed excerpts from documents archived in Mexico City and Puebla as well as information on individual potters), it does not provide any analysis of the pottery or the documents.[3] My use of these documents in this dissertation will reveal their importance to the history of the Puebla ceramic tradition.

Since the first exhibitions of Mexican maiolica staged in New York at the Hispanic Society of America of New York in 1911 and the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1918,[4] there have been two exhibitions focusing exclusively on this material: *Talavera de Puebla* at the Grupo Financiero Comermex in Mexico City in 1973 and *Talavera Poblana: Four Centuries of a Mexican Ceramic Tradition*, which I curated at the Americas Society in 1999.[5] Works of Puebla maiolica also have been included in a few broad-based exhibitions of Spanish colonial art, including the recent traveling exhibition devoted to outstanding decorative art pieces from the Museo Franz Mayer in Mexico

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[3] Enrique A. Cervantes, *Loza blanca y azulejos de Puebla,* 2 vols. (Mexico City: privately printed, 1939), 2:197-332.

[4] Barber, *Catalogue of Mexican Maiolica*; Barber, *Mexican Maiolica*; and Edwin Atlee Barber, *The Emily Johnston de Forest Collection.*

[5] *Talavera Poblana* (Mexico City: Fomento Cultural Banamex, 1979); and Margaret Connors McQuade, *Talavera Poblana: Four Centuries of Mexican Ceramic Tradition* (New York*:* Americas Society, 1999).

City, organized by the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, to which I contributed catalogue entries on the Puebla ceramics included.[6] Most recently, the Museum of International Folk Art in Santa Fe organized the exhibition, *Cerámica y Cultura: The Story of Spanish and Mexican Mayólica*, which examined the history of maiolica in the Hispanic world and its production today. My catalogue essay for this show describes the emergence of the Puebla tile tradition.[7]

METHODOLOGY

To discuss the cultural and artistic history of the Puebla ceramic tradition, I have employed a comparative methodology, using archaeological specimens, archival documents, historical writings, inventories and shipping records, as well as stylistic analysis. By comparing the Puebla ware to European and Asian ceramics, I am able to distinguish better the types and identify the sources of varied forms and motifs. A combination of methodologies is essential for a thorough analysis of the history and significance of this ceramic tradition.

Most material excavated by archaeologists comes from archaeological sites in Mexico and former Spanish colonies in the United States and the Caribbean. Little has been published on Mexican sites that have yielded colonial ceramics. Published studies have been mainly written by American archaeologists working on Hispanic sites in

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[6] Héctor Rivero Borrell M. et. al., *The Grandeur of Viceregal Mexico: Treasures from the Museo Franz Mayer* (Houston: Museum of Fine Arts, 2002).

[7] Robin Farwell Gavin, Donna Pierce, and Alfonso Pleguezuelo, eds., *Cerámica y Cultura: The Story of Spanish and Mexican Maiolica* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003).

Florida and the Caribbean.[8] Whiles these excavations have yielded useful information, they do not provide sufficient data on commercial activity and ceramic production in Mexico during the early colonial period. Studies conducted in the United States are especially useful for their typology descriptions and for generating date ranges. The dating for sites in Mexico, on the other hand, is often imprecise. The dredging of Lake Texcoco beginning in the eighteenth century,[9] for example, resulted in the shifting of buried material. While stratification at archaeological sites in Mexico City can yield accurate data, early material uncovered in areas that once formed part of the lake is often mixed with that of later periods.[10]

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[8] John M. Goggin, *Spanish Maiolica in the New World: Types of the 16th to 18th Centuries,* Yale University Publications in Anthropology, no. 72 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968); Kathleen Deagan, *Artifacts of the Spanish Colonies of Florida and the Caribbean: 1500-1800,* vol. 1*, Ceramics, Glassware, and Beads* (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1987).

[9] The former city of Tenochtitlan was an island on the salt water Lake Texcoco. With no drainage system, the Aztecs developed a system of dams to separate the salt water from the rain water; this system also helped control the water levels of the lake. When the Spaniards arrived the dams were destroyed and never rebuilt. Flooding became a big problem, and none of the drainage systems built by the Spaniards seem to hold. The lake was eventually drained and today remains underneath Mexico City, which inevitably causes parts of the city to sink a few centimeters every year. For additional information on the drainage program of Lake Texcoco, see Junta Directiva del Desagüe del Valle de México*, Memoria histórica, técnica y administrativa de las obras del desagüe del valle de México, 1449-1900*. 2 vols. (Mexico: Tipografía de la Oficina Impresora de Estampillas, 1902), 1:xiv-xv.

[10] Florence C. Lister and Robert H. Lister, "Non-Indian Ceramics from the Mexico City Subway," *El Palacio* 81, no. 2 (1975): 24-48; Gonzalo López Cervantes, *Cerámica colonial en la ciudad de México*, Colección científica, *Arqueología* 38 (Mexico City: INAH, 1976); Lister and Lister, *Sixteenth-Century Maiolica Pottery*; Patricia Fournier García, "Mexican Ceramic Analysis," in *The Presidio and the River on the Borderlands*, vol. 1, ed. Bradely J. Vierra and Richard C. Chapman (Albuquerque: Office of Contract Archaeology, University of New Mexico, 1997), 199-256.

In Puebla, the most important archaeological site to have yielded maiolica is located at the Centro Cultural San Francisco (between 6 and 14 Oriente, in front of Boulevard 5 de Mayo, the location of the church and former Convento of San Francisco).[11] Established in 1535, just four years after the city was founded, it was the first convento built in Puebla. Maiolica from this site was published in 1997 with drawings of the various types discovered there.[12] The best documented sites, however, are in Mexico City, and are published by Lister and Lister, who worked on the ceramic material from Europe, Asia and Mexico.[13] The archaeological sites they studied include those realized during the construction of the Mexico City subway system, the restoration of the Metropolitan Cathedral, trenches excavated at various points surrounding the Plaza Mayor (the onetime Aztec ceremonial center), the former causeway under Tacuba Street—which connected the Plaza Mayor to the western shore of Lake Texcoco—and the area of the first construction of the Sagrario (or sanctuary) adjoining the Metropolitan Cathedral.

Colonial documents from municipal and notary archives in Puebla and the national archive of Mexico City have yielded an extraordinary amount of previously

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[11] Alberto Aguirre Anaya, Arnulfo Allende Carrera, and Carlos Cedillo Ortega, *Catalogo de mayólicas, proyectos arqueológico, arquitectónico e histórico del "Estanque de los pescaditos" y salvamento arqueológico del paseo del Río d*e *San Francisco* (Puebla: INAH, 1997).

[12] Ibid. I am grateful to Arnulfo Allende Carrera for his on-going help with this and other unpublished sites in Puebla, and to Carlos Cedillo Ortega, who brought Tony Pasinski and me to see the vast material excavated from the site over five years ago.

[13] Florence C. Lister and Robert H. Lister, *Sixteenth-Century Maiolica in the Valley of Mexico,* Anthropological Papers of the University of Arizona 39 (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1982), 5-12.

unknown information about the potters and how they worked. Some of this information has served to support archaeological findings.

Contributions to the Field

My dissertation contributes to the general history of colonial art in the Americas as well as its relationship to contemporaneous works in Asia and Spain. More specifically, it places Mexican maiolica within the history of world ceramics. It is the first up-to-date analysis to combine archival documents, publications from the period, the results of archaeological excavations, and close object study. It is also the first to examine in depth the cross-cultural roots of the forms and decorations of Puebla pottery, setting the standard for discussion in any language. The fact that there are a number of past and present exhibitions that focus on or include colonial Puebla maiolica indicates the importance of this ceramic tradition, historically, culturally, and artistically.

Historical Background

The use of clay to make utilitarian and decorative objects is among the most important technological developments since the beginning of time. Virtually every culture throughout the world has developed a ceramic tradition of its own, shaped by need, taste, status issues, economy, and available resources. The introduction of new techniques has taken individual traditions in new directions. The interaction of cultures and regions throughout history also has impacted designs and techniques.

HISTORY OF THE TERM "MAIOLICA"

This dissertation focuses on the tradition of maiolica, wheel-thrown earthenware with a glaze of tin and lead that traveled from the Middle East to Spain and eventually to Mexico. Of all the ceramic techniques to travel through time and space, maiolica is one of the most significant.

Earthenware is a term used to describe unglazed pottery that is not vitrified and therefore porous. The surface of the earthenware becomes white with the application of a layer of tin oxide that may either be painted or left undecorated. The additional coating of lead results in a vitreous transparent glaze. Lead also serves as a fluxing agent, which helps fuse the glaze to the earthenware and provides a useful solvent for coloring oxides. The process requires two firings at temperatures between 800°C. and 1050°C. The preliminary firing, known as the biscuit firing, hardens the earthenware; the second firing, known as the color firing, fuses the tin- and lead-based glaze to the clay body as well as any colored decoration added to the white ground. It is the vitreous white ground that characterizes tin- and lead-glazed earthenware,[14] which is known variously as maiolica (also spelled mayolica, or majolica), faience, Faenza, Delft, or Talavera, depending on the location and period of production.[15]

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[14] The term tin-glazed earthenware usually refers to earthenware that is coated in both a tin- and lead-based glaze. Because both "tin and lead-glazed earthenware" and "tin-glazed earthenware" are discussed here, the term is specified for clarity.

[15] For example, pottery made in Talavera de la Reina in Spain is known as "Talavera," pottery made in Delft, Holland, is known as "Delft." The international popularity of the pottery of Faenza, Italy, in the sixteenth century resulted in the French term "faience" and the German term "fayence." All these terms are synonymous with tin- and lead-glazed earthenware.

The history of the word "maiolica" has not been well documented. Although the term does not appear in Webster's Dictionary, it is found in many authoritative dictionaries of decorative art, which all suggest that the word was originally used for the tin- and lead-based glazed earthenware produced in Italy.[16] It is now generally believed that while the term originated in Italy, it was first used (in the fourteenth century) to describe the famed lusterware of the Iberian Peninsula. The iridescent surface of lusterware was achieved by adding copper and silver oxides to maiolica vessels and firing them a third time in a smoky reduction kiln deprived of oxygen. Islamic in origin, lusterware was introduced to the Iberian Peninsula in the tenth century, and produced there by the twelfth century. By the fourteenth century, peninsular lusterware had won international recognition, distributed across the Mediterranean from the island of Mallorca, an important entrepôt for Italy, North Africa, England, and Flanders.[17] As a result, it became known as *obra de Mallorca* ("work from Mallorca"), from which the term "maiolica" derives. In English, the term has been applied to tin- and lead-glazed earthenware. Its spelling is variable; American archaeologists studying the subject, for example, often use the term "majolica," an anglicized version of maiolica.[18] Since this spelling also was used as a trade-name used by the ceramic workshop founded by Thomas Minton (1765-1836) at Stoke-on-Trent, Staffordshire, England (for a specific

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[16] *Art & Architecture Thesaurus*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), s.v. "maiolica." John Fleming and Hugh Honour, *Dictionary of the Decorative Arts* (New York: Harper & Row, 1977), s.v. "maiolica."

[17] Anthony Ray, *Spanish Pottery, 1248-1898: With A Catalogue of the Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum* (London: Victoria and Albert Publications, 2000), 61.

[18] For example, see Deagan, *Artifacts of the Spanish Colonies,* 53.

type of pottery introduced to the factory around 1850), the more generic term "maiolica," is used in this dissertation.

HISTORY OF THE TERM "TALAVERA"

In Spanish and Mexican documents from the period of the colonization of New Spain (1521-1821), the generic term "*loza*" is used to describe this glazed ceramics. Today, however, "*loza*" is used only by individuals studying the subject. The popular term in Mexico today is "talavera," a designation derived from Talavera de la Reina, a center of Spanish ceramic production since the sixteenth century (see Fig. 1.1). It is not clear when the term "talavera" first became popular in Mexico, although several theories have been proposed. One theory suggests that five or six Dominican friars from their monastery in Talavera de la Reina introduced the glazed ceramic process (unknown to indigenous people at the time of the conquest) to the town of Puebla de los Angeles (the full name of the city commonly known as Puebla) in colonial Mexico.[19] Another holds that the Puebla ceramic tradition was named after the Spanish ceramist Roque de Talavera, who settled in Puebla sometime in the early seventeenth century. It has also been proposed that the term was designated to both honor the ceramists from the workshops at Talavera de la Reina who settled in New Spain and to elevate the status of Puebla ware to that of its parent in Spain.

More concrete evidence is found in late seventeenth and eighteenth century documents. A 1682 amendment to the ordinances of the potter's guild of Puebla specified that "in order that there may be variety, the other decoration for this fine *loza*

[19] A. M. Gottschalk, "Mexican Pottery, Heraldic Patterns, Medieval in Design," *Daily Consular and Trade Report* 2975 (18 September 1907), 15.

[pottery] shall be in the style of Talavera."[20] In 1698, Franciscan historian Agustín de Vetancurt recorded that in the city of Puebla, "the *loza* is finer than that of Talavera, and can compete with that of China in its fineness."[21] Almost fifty years later, another Franciscan historian, Juan Villa Sánchez, wrote in his history of Puebla, "The *loza,* of which so much is produced in Puebla, is so fine and beautiful that it equals or exceeds that of Talavera and of Cartagena of the Indies. It succeeds in the goal of Puebla potters to emulate and stimulate the beauty of the *loza* of China."[22] Francisco de Ajofrín, a Capuchin friar who traveled throughout Mexico in the second quarter of the eighteenth century, similarly reported: "The workshops that employ the local people (rightly considered the most capable and talented in all New Spain) [produce] . . . beautiful, delicate and clean *loza*, or clay that is even finer than that of Talavera."[23] Although apparently derived from Vetancurt's work, the comments of Villa Sánchez and Ajofrín suggest that in the eighteenth century the term talavera still referred only to the Spanish ware.

By the eighteenth century, however, the term "talavera" had come to reference not just the ceramics of Talavera de la Reina but all beautifully glazed maiolica vessels in

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[20] Cited in Cervantes, *Loza blanca*, 1:28-29.

[21] Agustín de Vetancurt, "Tratado de la Ciudad de la Puebla de los Angeles, y grandezas que la ilustran," in *Teatro mexicano: Descripción breve de los sucessos exemplares historicos, politicos, militares, y religiosos del Nuevo Mundo Occidental de las Indias,* pt. 3 (Mexico City: Doña María de Benavides Viuda de Juan de Rivera, 1698), 47.

[22] Juan Villa Sánchez, *Puebla sagrada y profana* (Mexico City: Casa del Ciudadano José María Campos, 1835), 42.

[23] Francisco de Ajofrín, *Diario del viaje que por orden de la sagrada congreción de propaganda fide hizo a la América septentrional en el siglo XVIII el P. Fray Francisco de Ajofrín, capuchino,* vol. 1, ed. Vicente Casteñada y Alcover, in *Archivo documental español* 12 (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1958), 47.

Spain.[24] So special and highly esteemed was maiolica from Talavera that it was believed to stimulate the appetite, "because it enhanced the savour of food with its shiny purity."[25] Moreover, the creamy opaque surface of the glazed ware made the term a comparative standard for pristine beauty. The sixteenth-century Spanish dramatist Juan Quirós wrote in his poem "La Famosa Toledana" of 1591:

> She is not as you wish
> this lady who has surpassing grace
> and beauty besides
> comparable to the dishes of Talavera.[26]

Admiration for Talavera in Spain waned somewhat after other centers such as Alcora in the eastern region of Castellón de la Plana, won popularity in the second quarter of the eighteenth century. The term, nonetheless, remained in the minds of potters working in the New World as the ideal to which they aspired. It appears that the term "talavera" was not widely used to designate Mexican-made ceramics until the nineteenth century, when potter Ysauro Uriarte, for instance, named his workshop "Fábrica de loza de Talavera" and other craftsman sought, like Uriarte, to identify their products with the pedigree Spanish ones they emulated. However, Ventosa, who helped revive the industry at the turn of the twentieth century, referred to the fine ware as "mayolica" in an article he wrote in the first third of the twentieth century.

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[24] Alice Wilson Frothingham, *Talavera Pottery* (New York: The Hispanic Society of America, 1944), 9-12.

[25] Diodoro Vaca González, *Algunas datos para una historia de la cerámica de Talavera de la Reina* (Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1943), 11.

[26] Juan Quirós, "La famosa toledana," *Revue hispanique* 41 (December 1971): 459, trans. in Frothingham, *Talavera Pottery,* 11.

> Upon my arrival in the city of Puebla at the beginning of the year 1897, I was stroke by the brilliant white and hard *mayolica* from which acceptable work could be made.[27]

On the other hand, Ventosa was Spanish and may not have adopted the regional terminology for the ware at that point.

EARLY HISTORY OF MAIOLICA

The history of maiolica production remains something of a mystery. The earliest datable example of maiolica was made in the region of Mesopotamia in the ninth century.[28] Prior to that time, lead alone had been used in the Middle East (as early as 200 B.C.E.) to make transparent glazes that allowed the color of the clay to remain visible. Oxides were added to create solid colored grounds, though designs could not be painted, since the colors were likely to run together. As early as 1000 B.C.E., tin-glazed earthenware (without lead) was made in Syria and looked to be painted with fine, white, matte pigment.[29] A monumental discovery in ceramic history occurred in the ninth century, when tin-oxide was combined with a lead glaze, resulting in a creamy, white, opaque surface upon which elaborate polychrome designs could be painted.

With the expansion of the Islam,, an army under the aegis of the Umayyad Dynasty in Demascus and their North African allies entered the Iberian Peninsula in 711, defeated the

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[27] "A principio del año 97, a mi llegada a la ciudad de Puebla, me llamó la atención esta mayolica brillante, blanca, firme, con la que se podia hacer obras aceptables." Enrique Luis Ventosa, "La loza poblana," in Rafael Carrasco Puente, ed., *Puebla azulejos mexicanos* (Puebla: Ayuntamiento de Puebla, 1971), 264.

[28] Alan Caiger-Smith, *Tin-Glazed Pottery in Europe and the Islamic World: The Tradition of 1,000 years in Maiolica, Faience and Delftware* (London: Faber & Faber, 1973), 21.

[29] Ibid., 22.

Visigothic rulers, and firmly established al-Andalus in southern Spain. Córdoba was made its capital.[30] In the ninth century, Middle Eastern and North African maiolica was imported to the Iberian Peninsula, but maiolica production did not begin in there until the tenth century, when examples first appear at the Umayyad palace of Madinat al-Zahra (ca. 936-976), located outside of Córdoba, the headquarters of the caliphate in Spain (see Fig. 1.1). Maiolica from this period was decorated in copper green and manganese purple. A technique known as *cuerda seca,* also was employed, in which a resist created by combining oil or fat with manganese separated the oxide colors. Islamic potters also introduced new forms, such as basins, jars, inkwells, trays, and chamber pots and promoted the use of ceramic tiles. With these developments, maiolica became the "painter's pottery,"[31] since the Islamic techniques transformed ceramic surfaces into milky white, porcelain-like backdrops for some of the most stunning imagery in history.

Although the technique for producing porcelain was apparently discovered in the ninth century, the roots of that tradition date to the sixth century, when various ceramic centers in northern China moved toward the development of a refined clay body that would vitrify when fired. Porcelain is a hard, translucent, and generally white ceramic ware made from kaolin—a non-plastic white clay of which there are significant deposits in China—and a feldspathic rock known as *petunse*—a material derived from decayed granite known chemically as a silicate of potassium and aluminum.[32] When these

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[30] For a review of current terminology on Islamic Spain, see María Judith Feliciano Chaves, "*Mudejarismo* in Its Colonial Context: Iberian Cultural Display, Viceregal Luxury Consumption, and the Negotiation of Identities in Sixteenth-Century New Spain" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2004).

[31] Caiger-Smith, *Tin-Glazed Pottery,* 81.

[32] For an in-depth definition of porcelain and its production, see Margaret Medley, *The Chinese Potter: A Practical History of Chinese Ceramics* (London: Phaidon, 1998), 13-

ingredients are fused together at a temperature between 1280º C. and 1400º C. the clay body becomes vitrified and impermeable. A feldspathic glaze usually is used to coat porcelain vessels, which then require a second firing to secure the fusion.[33]

Porcelain made China the envy of potters throughout the Western and Middle-Eastern worlds, as neither the technology nor the primary materials necessary to make it were available in Europe. Not until the beginning of the eighteenth century did German potters at Meissen finally produce porcelain comparable to—but certainly not as refined as—the Chinese prototype.[34] For centuries, the Chinese had a virtual monopoly on the export and distribution of porcelain, but the cost of transporting barrels of the fragile ware across the silk roads made it prohibitively expensive. Maiolica thus became a reasonable substitute for those who coveted the opaque white ground and shiny surface of Chinese porcelain, but did not have the means to afford it.

EUROPEAN CERAMIC TECHNOLOGIES

The two fundamental devices necessary to properly produce most maiolica shapes and finishes are the potter's wheel and the updraft kiln. The potter's wheel is a machine that gave potters the ability to shape uniformly vessels into a variety of rounded forms. It could be made in various ways, but the one that became most popular in Europe in the sixteenth century had two horizontally placed wheels connected by a vertical shaft; the larger wheel

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[33] Low-fired glazes are generally fluxed with lead or an alkali, while high-fired glazes use an alkali and possibly feldspar. See Medley, *The Chinese Potter*, 14-15.

[34] Although centers throughout Europe earlier developed a similar-looking soft-paste or imitation porcelain, not until 1709 did potters in Meissen, Germany would earn a reputation for having produced the first porcelain in Europe.

was placed at floor level, and the smaller wheel was at bench height. When the bottom wheel was propelled, usually by foot, the force rotated the upper wheel head. The potter—or "thrower," as they were called—was able to use the wheel's thrust to evenly mold the clay.

The exact origin of the potter's wheel is unknown, though the first may have been designed in Mesopotamia as early as the sixth millennium B.C.E. Egypt and China may have independently invented similar devices. The potter's wheel was used on the Iberian Peninsula from at least as early as the Visigothic period (394-711), and possibly before that.[35]

The potter's wheels were simple turntables. By the sixteenth century they were bench-high tables, as a drawing by the Italian potter Cavaliere Cipriano Piccolpasso (1524-1579) shows (Fig. 1.2). Piccolpasso's *Li Tre Libri dell' Arte del Vasio* (1558) recorded the methods and formulas of maiolica production in Urbino, Italy.[36] Its plate illustrates potters seated on benches and surrounded by wooden planks that held their tools, water to keep thrown vessels wet, and finished pieces. In his section titled "Manner of Making Wheels," Piccolpasso specifies that "all wheels in all places that I have seen are of one fashion, and I hear the same from those who have seen more than I."[37] This suggests that the Piccolpasso's wheel was probably very similar to those used in Spain, especially given the contact between the two countries at this time.

Our knowledge of the origins of the chamber in which ceramic vessels are fired, known as the kiln, also is somewhat vague. Its mode of construction varies widely. The

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[35] In the collection of The Hispanic Society of America are several pieces of Roman pottery from the city of Italica in southern Spain with ring marks on the bottom, which suggest that they were made on a potter's wheel. Thus it must have been in use in Spain as early as the Roman occupation.

[36] Cavaliere Ciprano Piccolpasso, *The Three Books of the Potter's Art,* ed. and trans. Bernard Rackham (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1934), pls. 11-23.

[37] Ibid., 14.

kiln was known throughout the Roman Empire, further advanced by potters in the Near East, and spread by Islamic expansion over centuries. Its mode of construction varies widely. The type used by potters in Spain, and the one introduced to the New World, is known in Spanish as *horno árabe* (Arabic oven or kiln), after the term *horno moruno* (Moorish oven or kiln), indicating its Islamic roots. The *horno árabe* is a two chambered, elliptical updraft kiln, made of fired bricks (or of stones if they are more readily available). Designed with an intersecting *boveda* (arched roof), it has one or more openings to expel the smoky fumes.[38] Three variations on the two-chambered updraft kiln were used by Spanish potters (Fig. 1.3). The first two (Fig. 1.3a, Fig. 1.3b) feature fuel chambers located partially beneath the ground and separated from the firing chamber by a grid or ceramic rods. With time, the roof of the kiln became elliptical or circular in form. By the second half of the sixteenth century, the firing chamber was separated from the fuel chamber, and both were constructed out of bricks, with a domed roof.[39] This allowed for the use of saggars—boxes made from refractory fired clay—which were used to contain the individual vessels during a second firing. A drawing by Piccolpasso illustrates the structure of one of the more sophisticated multi-chambered updraft kilns of the sixteenth century (Fig. 1.4). According to the Urbino potter, the secrets to building kilns were closely guarded.

> Here is the plan. There are many who build it without foundations, they are even, I say, accustomed to make it on the floor of locked houses under close guard, for they hold the method of making the kiln an important secret and say the whole art consists in this, and I for the good and dessert of them that have a given me this

[38] Florence C. Lister and Robert H. Lister, *A Descriptive Dictionary for 500 Years of Spanish-Tradition Ceramics (13th Through 18th Centuries),* Special Publication Series 1 (Society for Historical Archaeology, 1976), s.v. "*horno*."

[39] Lister and Lister, *Sixteenth-Century Maiolica Pottery*, 82.

> secret, am going to attempt to show, better than I know how, all I understand about it, without flattery.[40]

It is not clear exactly what the Spanish colonial kiln looked like, as none have been discovered to date. According to Lister and Lister, the kiln used in New Spain at the time of the conquest was probably similar to the *horno árabe*: elliptical, two-chambered, updraft kiln made of brick and stone, lacking a chimney, but outfitted with one or more ports in the domed roof to pull fumes out of the structure.[41] Simpler ones may have been made without roofs and may have had long clay rods laid across the top chambers to create shelves to hold vessels. More sophisticated models may have appeared similar to the one illustrated by Piccolpasso. Regardless of the kiln type, most colonial vessels show evidence of having been fired on cockspurs, tripod supports that hold and separate vessels in the kiln. The three points at which the cockspur touched a vessel or tile left what are known as spur-marks. Despite the potter's ordinances requiring makers of fine pottery to use saggars for vessels, potters used cockspurs because they were less expensive and easier to use, as well as allowing more vessels to be fired at once.

In most countries, kilns were fueled by whatever local materials were plentiful. In Spain, olive branches and pits were typically used, as were grape vines. The common material used in the Basin of Mexico was *ocote,* a type of tree that grows in abundance there and produces multiple small branches.[42]

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[40] Piccolpasso, *Three Books*, 52.

[41] Lister and Lister, *Sixteenth-Century Maiolica Pottery,* 81.

[42] Ibid.

MAIOLICA PRODUCTION IN MEXICO

One of the main reasons Puebla (see Fig. 1.5) emerged as a center of ceramic production was its rich deposits of two types of clay: a light pink clay found near the town of Totimehuacan and a black clay (*pardusco*) extracted from deposits in the nearby mountains of Loreto[43] They were mixed in equal amounts to create *compostura del barro* (clay mixture), a compound that ensured strong body ample plasticity and ideal color. The *compostura* was passed through a sieve to remove organic materials, deposited in tanks filled with water, then transferred to a barrel and left to ripen for at least two months. The longer the clay was aged, the better the quality.

The ripened clay was processed in manner called *repisar* (packed down), which involved working it with bare feet to remove excess water and to obtain an even consistency. It was then cut into *tallos* (large blocks) or *balas* (small blocks) and stored in a cool, dry place for up to one year in order to further ripen it and increase plasticity.

Wheel-thrown and hand-molded vessels were left to dry before being fired in a wood-fueled kiln for up to twelve hours. After this first firing, vessels were dipped into maiolica glaze and left to dry. Decoration was applied thereafter, either free-hand or sketched with powdered carbon (*polvo de carboncillo*), and painted, often with the aid of a stencil (*estarcido*). Once dry, the decorated vessels were returned to the kiln for the final firing (*decoraciones de color*), which lasted up to forty hours.

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[43] Patricia Eugenia Acuña, *Talavera de Puebla*, Lectura históricas de Puebla 10 (Puebla: Gobierno del Estado de Puebla, 1987), 16.

INDIGENOUS MEXICAN POTTERY TECHNIQUES

For millennia before the Spanish arrived, Mesoamerica had enjoyed a long and remarkable ceramic tradition; however, the potter's wheel, kiln, and glazes were not used. Instead, clay was sculpted, molded, and hand-built to produce an array of vessels and objects, often elaborately decorated with stamps, surface texturing, or clay slips (liquid clay colored with minerals).[44] Burnishing produced the smooth and polished surface most akin to a glazed one. . It was employed in a number of areas in Mesoamerica, including the famed pre-Hispanic ceramic center of Cholula, just 15 miles west of Puebla. Cholula was particularly famous for its burnished and polychromed ceramics (see Fig. 1.5), which were distributed throughout Mesoamerica prior to the arrival of the Spaniards in 1519. Burnished and painted pottery was made in a number of places in the neighboring Oaxaca and Puebla regions, yet Cholula ware was considered the finest (Fig. 1.6).

Mesoamerican potters employed a variety of techniques to create some of the most sophisticated ceramic ware ever made. Without the use of a wheel, they formed vessels using three basic techniques: pinching, coiling, and molds.[45] The technique known to potters today as "pinching" is perhaps the most basic (Fig. 1.7a). A pinched vessel is made by taking a ball of moistened clay, making a hole in the center with the thumb, and pinching outward along the walls to make them thinner with each pinch. Mesoamerican also used a stone or ceramic ball (*guijarro*) to even out the vessel walls (Fig. 1.7b). Coiling involved building up a vessel in layers of long coils of clay joined

[44] See Gonzalo López Cervantes, *Cerámica Mexicana* (Mexico City: Everest Mexicana, 1983), 15-27.

[45] Ibid.

together by hand or with a special scraping instrument (Fig. 1.8). The use of molds enabled potters to make a wide variety of objects individually and in combination with other techniques.

In some cases, designs were incised and painted like the prehispanic Totanac vessel shown here (Fig. 1.9). Stamps allowed potters to repeat the design on a single piece or reproduce it on multiple objects (Fig. 1.10). Vessels were also painted with clay slips and burnished to create a distinctive shiny effect on the surface. Burnishing required the potter to cover the vessel with slip and rub it with something hard (i.e., a section of a gourd or a rock). In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, potters from Tonalá, near Guadalajara, often used a dog's or wolf's tooth to burnish pottery,[46] a practice that probably dates to the pre-Hispanic period.

It is generally believed that potters in Mesoamerica fired vessels only once, in pit fires, which are kilns in their most basic form (and still used today). A fire is built at the bottom of a pit, on top of which long rods support vessels that are covered with tree limbs or other materials to keep heat from escaping. Since it is difficult to keep air from escaping, pit-fired vessels are fired at low (less than 900°C) and often at uneven temperatures.

Native ceramic traditions continued into the colonial period despite the introduction of new technologies. A sixteenth-century slip-painted, burnished goblet from Cholula is one such example (Fig. 1.11). Most scholars agree that while elite art forms, such as sculpture and painting, changed significantly with the arrival of the Spanish, popular art forms were less affected. Maiolica did not so much replace

[46] Joseph Antonio Alzate Ramírez, *Gazeta de Literatura* 2 (Mexico, 15 May 1792), 310.

indigenous ceramic traditions as join those already in existence. Certainly, however, the success of the maiolica industry led native potters to learn new techniques and experiment with instruments formally unknown to them.

INDIGENA WARE: INDIGENOUS CERAMICS IN THE COLONIAL PERIOD

The experimental phase of native glazed ceramic ware is manifest in a type known as "Indigena Ware." It was hand-modeled—either by coiling or using molds—and glazed, made in indigenous or European forms, and decorated with mostly indigenous motifs.[47] This pseudo-maiolica, or mezza (half) maiolica, as it also is known, was made by using a thin coat of white engobe[48] to create a uniform white surface similar to that of true maiolica. The existence of this ceramic type reveals that native potters were well aware of at least some European techniques and were willing to experiment with them. By producing a vitreous glaze, native potters would have been able to make their household and ceremonial vessels shiny and waterproof. Although intact pieces are extremely scarce, the ample presence of shards of this type in Mexico City archaeological deposits suggests that it was used extensively by sixteenth-century inhabitants of the Plaza Mayor area, where most of the known examples were excavated (Fig. 1.12).[49]

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[47] Decorated Indigena ware is also known as "Romita Sgraffito" after a similarly incised pottery from Italy. See Lister and Lister, *Sixteenth-Century Maiolica Pottery*, 35-37; and Ana P. Gámez and Patricia Fournier, "Forgotten Potting Centers: Historic Ceramics Produced in the Basin of Mexico (1521-1940)," (Quebec: Society of Historical Archaeology, Conference on Historical Underwater Archaeology, 2000).

[48] Engobe is a solution, or slip, of clay, silica, and flux.

[49] Lister and Lister, *Sixteenth-Century Maiolica Pottery*, 34-37.

Other examples also come from the archaeological site of the former Hotel del Prado, a few blocks west of the main plaza present-day (Fig. 1.13).[50]

The new component of this ware is the glaze, which emulated maiolica made by combining colored slips with a transparent lead glaze. Although there were local sources for tin in the west-coast state of Guerrero, much of it was used to smelt silver and was not readily available for ceramics.[51] Tin, in fact, was largely imported from Spain, Portugal, and later Peru. Imported tin was actually preferred, as its quality was superior to local sources. In some cases, Peruvian tin was exchanged for maiolica from Puebla, though this does not seem to have been a regular occurrence.[52] The lack of fire clouds or other discolorations, which are frequent in pit-fired ware, indicate that Indigena Ware was fired once in some sort of kiln environment, making it easier to achieve the higher temperatures necessary for vitrification. The decoration, on the other hand, is native in style. For example, the birds and flowers drawn on these pieces closely resemble pre-Hispanic designs (Fig. 1.14). Because little research has been conducted on Indigena Ware, the extent of its distribution is unknown. Given its limited presence at archaeological sites in Mexico, it is believed to have been a local phenomenon among residents at the capital and possibly at Puebla.

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[50] I am grateful to Cuauhtémoc Domínguez of ENAH, for allowing me to study these and other pieces discovered in the excavation of this site.

[51] Modesto Bargalló, *La minería en la América colonial* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Economía, 1955), 26.

[52] For example, Diego Salvador Carreto, a master potter in Puebla, sold fifteen boxes of his maiolica for both cash and nine hundred pounds of tin from Peru. Cited in Cervantes, *Loza blanca,* 2:179.

In addition to Indigena Ware, other forms were made by combining indigenous and European techniques, forms, and decorations. Most of these were made by using lead without tin (or a pseudo-lead white surface), causing the color of the natural clay to be seen.[53]

The Emergence of the Maiolica Industry in the Colonial Period

When the Spanish first arrived in the New World, they relied on the abundant native pottery available to supplement the ceramic vessels they had brought with them from home. In fact, because of the limited availability of European women in the colonies, settlers took native wives who apparently preferred native cooking vessels to those imported from Europe.[54] Yet, maiolica tableware had been an important visible means of social identification in Spain, and Hispanic sites in the Caribbean with the highest income level also had the greatest proportion of maiolica and the lowest proportion of native pottery.[55] Until imported maiolica vessels became readily available, native potters made specialized shapes to suit the European' tastes.

As early as the mid-sixteenth century, Spanish ceramists began to set up the first maiolica workshops in New Spain, introducing the potter's wheels and updraft kilns into the viceregal capital of Mexico City to meet the demands of the colonizers. As more artisans began to migrate, the cost of importing ceramic vessels became unnecessary.

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[53] See Federica Sodi Miranda, *La Cerámica Novohispana vidriada y con decoración sellada del siglo XVI*, Colección Científica, Arqueología 50 (Mexico City: INAH, 1994).

[54] Bonnie Gair McEwan, "An Archaeological Prespective of Sixteenth Century Spanish Life in the Old World and the Americas" (Ph.D. diss., University of Florida, 1988), 209-210.

[55] Ibid., 200.

Production in Mexico City continued throughout the colonial period (1521-1821)[56] but a series of disasters, including flooding, epidemics, and famine, devastated the capital and caused a major shift in maiolica production. Before the last quarter of the sixteenth century, many potters in Mexico City had moved to the new city of Puebla.

Founded in 1531 as the second city of New Spain, Puebla was conceived as an industrial center where Spaniards could find employment in a number of the industries operating to supply European-style goods for settlers. Puebla must have been an attractive city for potters, since the climate was mild, the soil fertile, and, most importantly, there were extensive beds of suitable clay and sufficient deposits of raw sodium essential for glaze preparation. Even though maiolica continued to be produced in the capital, Puebla became the most important center of ceramic manufacture in the New World. From contemporary documents we know that there continued to be a number of *loceros* (potters) in Mexico City, yet a workshop in Puebla was commissioned to make tiles for the street names and numbers in Mexico City at the end of the eighteenth century.[57] The fact that during pre-Hispanic times the nearby city of Cholula had captured the market for quality pre-Hispanic ceramics suggests that skilled native potters along with beds of suitable clay, played an important role in Puebla's developing colonial ceramics industry.

Excavations in Mexico and other former Spanish colonies, as well as recovered shipwrecks in the Caribbean Sea and off the coast of California and the Philippines exhibit a variety of ceramic wares from Europe and Asia that were being imported into

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[56] See Ana Paulina Gámez Martínez, "The Forgotten Potters of Mexico City," in Gavin, Pierce, and Pleguezuelo, *Cerámica y Cultura*, 227-243.

[57] AGN, Indias, 1798, n.p.

the New World during the colonial period.[58] These products also had a profound impact on the development of Puebla pottery manufacture, and Puebla maiolica reflects Spain's rich cultural, political and economic ties to the Islamic world, northern Europe, the Mediterranean, and Asia.

[58] Goggin, *Spanish Maiolica*, 115-151; Deagan, *Artifacts of the Spanish Colonies*, 25-71; Lister and Lister, *Sixteenth-Century Maiolica Pottery*, 45-79; and Mitchell W. Marken, *Pottery from Spanish Shipwrecks: 1500-1800* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1994), 41-239.

CHAPTER 2

SPAIN, ASIA, MEXICO, AND TRADE WITH THE NEW WORLD

To understand properly the complex formation of the Puebla ceramic industry, it is necessary to examine historical aspects of Spain, Asia, and New Spain, as well as the trans-Atlantic and trans-Pacific trade that helped shape the tradition and allowed it to flourish throughout most of the colonial period in Mexico (1521-1821). This background will provide a survey of Spanish industries, explain the origin of the guild system in Spain, demonstrate the importance of Seville as both a center of commerce and origin of many potters in New Spain, and illustrate the impact of trade with Spain and Asia on maiolica production in Puebla.

SPAIN: THE CATHOLIC KINGS AND CHARLES V

At the time of the conquest of Mexico in 1521, Spain was at the forefront of European expansion. The marriage in 1469 of Ferdinand, King of Aragon (1474-1504), and Isabella, Queen of Castile (1479-1516), led to the eventual unification of Spain, which had been divided into three Christian kingdoms—Castilla-León, Aragón-Cataluña, and Portugal (see map Fig. 1.1). This union laid the foundation for Spain's emergence as one of the greatest world powers in history. Even though each region remained semi-independent, common religious, political and economic systems united them.

In 1492, two of the most significant events in the history of the Iberian Peninsula took place, redefining the country as it existed on the European political stage: the fall of Granada, the last Muslim outpost of al-Andalus, and the European encounter of the Americas by Christopher Columbus, whose voyage had been financed by Queen Isabella. In connection with these events, Ferdinand and Isabella, known as the "Catholic Monarchs"—a name bestowed upon them by Pope Alexander VI in 1494 after their victory over Granada—embarked on the most ambitious religious, military and economic reforms in Spain's history. The army of the Catholic monarchs unified all of Spain into a single kingdom, and the conquest of the Americas brought wealth and new trade routes across the Atlantic and later the Pacific.

It was the beginning of the monarchy's golden age—politically, economically, and artistically. The two rulers combined the strengths of their respective regions: Ferdinand brought the administrative methods and organizing capacity of Aragón, while Isabella brought the creative exuberance and dynamism of Castile.

It also was during this period that Spain began to rediscover itself.[59] A new intellectual determination and thirst for contact with the outside world led not only to exploration, but to increased commerce with other areas of Europe (particularly with Flanders and Italy).[60] Before the era of the Catholic monarchs, Christian artistic and intellectual currents had coexisted with Jewish and Islamic ones;[61] to these were added

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[59] John H. Elliot, *Imperial Spain, 1469-1716* (New York: Penguin Books, 2002), 126-127.

[60] Ibid., 127.

[61] See Vivian B. Mann, Thomas F. Glick, and Jerrilyn Dodds, *Covivencia: Jews, Muslims and Christians in Medieval Spain* (New York: Jewish Museum, 1992).

European currents from other countries. For example, Flemish realism was introduced from the North, and Italian humanism was brought from the Mediterranean.[62] From this convergence of traditions was born a new national Spanish style, aspects of which crossed the Atlantic to the Americas. Its multicultural aspects were significant.

The events that took place under the Catholic Kings gave the peninsula reason to celebrate. The Spanish humanist, Antonio de Nebrija (1444-1522), wrote in *Gramática de la lengua castellana* published in 1492:

> And who now cannot see that although the title of empire is in Germany its reality lies in the power of the Spanish monarchs, who, masters of the large parts of Italy and the isles of the Mediterranean sea, carry the war to Africa and send out the fleet, following the course of the stars, to the isles of the Indies and the New World, linking the Orient to the western boundary of Spain and Africa.[63]

Despite the Catholic monarch's instigation of Spain's transformation into a global empire, medieval ideals, values, and conventions still held sway at home and were projected overseas throughout the reign of the period of conquest and colonization. The most aggressive of Ferdinand and Isabella's "reform," the Inquisition demanded the expulsion of all those who professed not to be Catholic, namely Jews and Muslims.[64] Begun in 1478, with the blessing of Pope Sixtus IV, the Inquisition was intended to weed those perceived as a threat to Christian unity. The harmony—or *convivencia,* as it was called—that had existed between all three faiths in several areas of the Peninsula was eventually brought to an end. Previously, Jews, Muslims, and Christian had lived and worked together in relative peace. Iberian Muslims had been deeply invested in

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[62] Ibid., 126.

[63] Antonio de Nebrija, *Gramática de la lengua castellana*, ed. Ignacio González-Llumbrera (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1926), 6-7.

[64] See Hugh Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal: A Political History of al-Andalus* (New York: Longman, 1996).

developing artistic traditions in Spain, while Iberian Jews had become important participants in the country's commercial sector—including production of maiolica. The removal of Muslims and Jews had a dramatic effect on the economy, particularly in industry. As a result, substantial political, social and economic disturbance was felt throughout the country.

Isabella, who died in 1504, had made a decision not to pass the throne of Castile to Ferdinand. Their son Juan (1478-1498), heir to the throne, had died in 1497, and his sister Isabella (1479-98), second in line, died less than a year later. The crown eventually passed to another daughter, Juana (after 1479-1555), and her husband the Hapsburg Archduke Philip of Austria (1478-1506), who became known as Philip I of Spain. When Philip died in 1506, Juana became psychologically unstable—thus her name *Juana la loca* ("Juana the mad")—and was declared unfit to rule by the regency council. It was a volatile time for Castile, and the council requested Ferdinand's return from Naples. Ferdinand was not officially accepted as regent of Castile until 1510, and his death six years later ended a trying period for Spain and officially closed the reign of the Catholic Kings.

Isabella and Ferdinand were eventually succeeded in 1516 by Juana and Philip's son, Charles of Ghent (1500-1556), who would become one of the most powerful rulers in Spain's history. In 1519, at the age of nineteen, Charles I of Spain was also elected Holy Roman Emperor, making him Charles V of the Holy Roman Empire. From his maternal grandparents he inherited the expanding empire of Spain, which included Castile, Aragón, Navarre, the Balearic Islands, and outposts in North Africa, Sardinia, Sicily, Naples, Milan; from his father, a Hapsburg, he gained the Netherlands,

Luxembourg, and the Franche-Comté; and from his paternal grandfather, Austria, Bohemia, and Hungary. Vast regions conquered in the New World and later the Philippines later added to his empire. The number of titles and territories belonging to Charles made him an extraordinarily powerful man, but the increase in responsibilities both at home and abroad became burdensome, particularly towards the end of his reign. Considerable power was therefore delegated to such individuals as Hernando de Valdés, Inquisitor General from 1547, who took control of the Inquisition and expanded it.[65]

While expeditions in the Americas drew increasing enthusiasm at home, conflicts within the country created a bleak outlook. Under Charles V and his successor Philip II (1527-1598), the "open society" that was an essential part of the Renaissance in Spain, and drew upon European humanism, began to transform into a semi-closed one dedicated to the Counter-Reformation.[66] These years saw the founding of the Jesuit order to help defend Catholicism. Continued turmoil in Spain (and throughout most of Europe) had dramatic effects on its intellectual well-being. For example, the import of foreign books began to be restricted and theological and devotional writing was carefully controlled. Travel to foreign countries also was barred, although some distinguished individuals were able to bypass these restrictions.[67] Charles V weakened the Empire with his penchant for waging war, for which he was constantly forced to solicit funds from German financiers. These circumstances may have had a positive impact in the New World, since Spain was now in great need of colonial silver. Although it is not clear whether the thirst for silver

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[65] Elliot, *Imperial Spain,* 224-229.

[66] Ibid., 125-129; see Anne J. Cruz and Mary Elizabeth Perry, eds. *Culture and Control in Counter-Reformation Spain* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992).

[67] Ibid., 224-227.

benefited or hurt New World economic development. Uncertain times provided some an impetus to search a new life in the Americas, which seemed a potential utopia.

Despite problems at home, the years following Columbus's "discovery" brought new opportunities for trade, exploration, power, and riches. By 1508, the island of Hispaniola, which Columbus himself had tried to colonize, was under complete Spanish control and eventually replaced Spain as the base for future expeditions in the New World.[68] In 1519, the founding of Panama gave the Spain control over the isthmus, and access to the Pacific Ocean, which Nuñez de Balboa had sighted in 1513. Ferdinand Magellan first sailed westward across the Pacific in 1521, but it was not until 1559, when Philip II ordered that the Philippines be occupied as a Spanish colony (named after him), and 1565 when Andres Urdaneta located a viable eastward route, that a trans-oceanic trade finally opened up.

SPANISH ECONOMY: INDUSTRY AND TRADE

In the spirit of revitalizing the monarchy and establishing an authoritarian state, the Catholic Monarchs made efforts to organize resources and restructure the administration: Every aspect of the economy that had shown signs of success was carefully scrutinized and controlled. Industry was one of the many facets of Spanish economy affected by royal policy during the reign of Isabella and Ferdinand. Spain's most lucrative products were cloth from central Castile, silk from Granada, and iron from Vizcaya. Industries that supported trade with the Americas, such as shipbuilding in the Basque region and

[68] Ibid., 62.

machine-manufacture in Castile, also showed Many Spanish industries, however, were dramatically affected by the Inquisition and the expulsion of Jews and Muslims.

In the case of maiolica, disruption was temporarily overcome with the production of lusterware in Manises in Valencia. Pedro Buyl, the lord of Manises who had served as an emissary to Granada for the kingdom of Aragón in 1308 to 1309, protected the *Mudéjar* (Muslims living under Christian rule) potters on his territory, who had built the maiolica industry, and continued to produce lusterware for noble clients in Spain as well as other Mediterranean countries,[69] until they were "ordered" to convert (1499 in Granada, 1502 in Castile, 1520 in Aragón); they finally were expelled from Spain between 1608 and 1614.[70]

To help rebuild certain industries, the Catholic Kings instituted the *Consulado* system of Burgos in 1494, which would connect producers with exporters.[71] Originally designed to facilitate wool trade in Burgos in the thirteenth century, the *Consulado* imitated Aragonese agencies that combined the function of a guild and mercantile court.[72] Their successes were emulated in Spanish trade with the Americas, and the *Consulado* provided the model for the *Casa de Contratación de Indias* (the House of Trade in the Indies), founded in Seville in 1503.

Guilds regulated all aspects of production as well as the lives of their members; in addition, they maintained high standards of quality and production through a system of

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[69] Anthony Ray, *Spanish Pottery, 1248-1898 with a Catalogue of the Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum* (London: V&A Publications, 2000), 50-51.

[70] Elliot, *Imperial Spain,* 305.

[71] Ibid., 120-122.

[72] Ibid., 121.

apprenticeships, examinations, and close supervision. Spain's guild system was imposed at a time when other parts of Europe were moving toward less rigid industrial organization;[73] Catholic monarchs felt that it was an appropriate way to control all aspects of contact with the New World. The medieval system of promotion from apprentice to journeyman to master craftsman—with increasingly greater social and economic benefits for each grade—was maintained. As the Listers write:

> Guilds were seen as useful means for ordering and stimulating the backward economy, for bringing national uniformity to techniques, prices, and policies that for centuries had suffered from localism, for conserving public calm among the masses, as well as for administration of the growing volume of taxation and bureaucratic documentation.[74]

The guild system also helped to keep control of each industry in the hands of Christian Spaniards, since application to any guild required the submission of baptismal records to prove purity of blood.[75]

SEVILLE: A CENTER FOR TRADE

In the absence of an official Spanish capital before 1556, Seville was a preeminent city, granted a virtual monopoly over trade with the Americas in 1503. The prosperity there, and civic unrest in other Spanish regions, led many to migrate to Seville—and thence across the Atlantic, to explore new opportunities in the Americas.

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[73] Ibid., 122.

[74] Florence C. Lister and Robert H. Lister, *Andalusian Ceramics in Spain and New Spain, A Cultural Register from the third Century B.C. to 1700* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1987), 290.

[75] Ibid.

Seville "acted as an irresistible magnet to the inhabitants of northern and central Spain, who thought of it as an El Dorado in its own right and as the gateway to the untold riches of America."[76] It also drew new residents from Portugal, Italy, and Flanders; Italian and Flemish artists were encouraged to immigrate by offers of tax exemption for ten years.[77] The Mediterranean region witnessed a boom in population during the sixteenth century, with estimates as high as sixty million.[78] Of this number, Spain accounted for approximately 15.8 percent increase.[79] Seville, "mistress of the Atlantic," was a meeting ground for luxurious and exotic items brought to Spain from the New World and all corners of Europe. The sixty to seventy-thousand inhabitants living in Seville in 1500 eventually grew by 1588 to an estimated high of 150,000, making it one of the largest cities in Europe at the time.[80]

As more and more cities in Spain adopted the guild system, so did Seville. In 1470, regulations were issued there for seventy integrated trades; though maiolica production, long a leading industry, was not included.[81] Muslims, who still made most of Seville's ceramics, were ineligible for guild membership, and to eliminate them from the

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[76] Elliot, *Imperial Spain,* 187.

[77] Ibid.*,* 111.

[78] Fernand Braudel, "The Mediterranean Economy in the Sixteenth Century," in *Essays in European Economic History 1500-1800* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), 2; Fernand Braudel, *The Structures of Everyday Life,* trans. Siân Reyolds (New York: Harper and Row, 1981), 127.

[79] Bonnie Gair McEwan, "An Archaeological Perspective of Sixteenth-Century Spanish life in the Old World and the Americas" (Ph.D. diss., University of Florida, 1988), 17.

[80] Ruth Pike, "Seville in the Sixteenth Century," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 47, no. 3 (1967): 344.

[81] Lister and Lister, *Andalusian Ceramics*, 290.

industry would have had disastrous effects. Likewise, Italian and Flemish artists in Seville were banned from guild membership. Thus, a strictly protected potter's guild would not have survived in fifteenth century Seville, and none was established there until the mid-sixteenth century. Even then, it did not issue clearly-defined regulations.

Trade Across the Atlantic and its Impact on Production in New Spain

It became obvious to the crown soon after Columbus's first voyage that there were vast areas of land to be explored, conquered, and overseen by a Spanish bureaucracy. To that end, the *Casa de Contratación de Indias* (house of trade with the Indies) was established in Seville, the port from which Spanish galleons departed for the Americas. Seville thus became "the de facto capital of the Indies."[82]

The *Casa de Contratación* was designed to handle, control, and encourage all commercial affairs with the Americas. All voyages and trade with the New World had to begin at the *Casa de Contratación* in Seville. A *mappamundi* or map of the world, drawn in 1526 by Florentine cartographer Juan Vespucci (nephew of Amérigo Vespucci), for the *Casa de Contratación,* illustrates Hispanic expansion in the sixteenth century and the trade networks that had developed up to that date (Fig. 2.1). Depicting Spanish ships throughout the world's major oceans, with a particular concentration across the Atlantic to the Americas, the map reflects Spain's vision of itself at the center of the world.

From as least as early as 1550, Spanish ships transported domestic goods (food, clothes, and tools) as well as luxury objects (ornate book hardware, jewelry, and Venetian

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[82] Hugh Thomas, *Rivers of Gold: The Rise of the Spanish Empire, from Columbus to Magellan* (New York: Random House, 2003), 230.

glass, Spanish and Italian ceramics) to the colonists in the New World.[83] By 1570, an estimated 118,000 Europeans had already settled there.[84] Many "clung nostalgically to Spanish ways of life" and wanted the luxuries of the Old World, including books, foods, cloth, wine, oil and corn.[85]

The Castilian government held complete control over trade with the New World, and Seville held a monopoly over shipping and merchants. Under a mercantilist policy, the colonies only were permitted to import and export within Spain. Spanish trade focused on the Caribbean for the first half of the sixteenth century. By the mid-sixteenth century, interest shifted to New Spain and to Central and South America "in response to the increasing output of gold and silver from those areas and to the depletion of precious metals and population in the Antilles."[86] The bypassing of the Caribbean for the more profitable areas eventually led to chronic contraband trade.[87]

The number of ships deployed to the New World each year varied from sixty to one hundred, depending on the economic and political circumstances.[88] Ships were organized into convoys, or *flotas,* after Venetian and Portuguese models. The dangerous voyage took two months and required a skilled captain and guard. All cargo had to be

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[83] Kathleen Deagan, *Artifacts of the Spanish Colonies of Florida and the Caribbean: 1500-1800,* vol. 1*, Ceramics, Glassware, and Beads* (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1987), 19.

[84] Elliot, *Imperial Spain,* 185.

[85] Ibid.

[86] Deagan, *Artifacts of the Spanish Colonies,* 19.

[87] See Kenneth Andrews, *The Spanish Caribbean: Trade and Plunder 1530-1630* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978), 70.

[88] Elliot, *Imperial Spain,* 185.

registered to determine the *almojarifazgo*, the seven and a half percent duty for merchandise imported from Europe into America. Convoys left from Seville and Cádiz and traveled to Veracruz (Mexico), Cartagena (Colombia), or Nombre de Dios (Panama) (Fig. 2.2). The *Carrera de las Indias,* or "route of the Indies" as the American Spanish colonies were then called, was controlled by the *Casa de Contratación* and Sevillian merchants specializing in trade with the Americas. The *flota* system was established by 1560, and from then on organized convoys sailed annually from Seville; one headed to New Spain, the other to Tierra Firme in South America. The *flota* going to New Spain left in April or May for the Gulf of Mexico; the other *flota* set sail in August for the Isthmus of Panama. The voyages were not inexpensive, since they required several warships, called *galeones* (galleons), to accompany them to prevent capture by enemy ships.[89]

The *Casa de Contratación* was eventually moved from Seville to Cádiz under Philip V (r. 1700-1724) in an effort to reform trade by making regional companies responsible for managing trade between specific colonies and Spain. In 1765, further reforms were issued by Charles III (r. 1759-1788) opening the Caribbean market to nine additional Spanish ports, where duty exemption and tax reduction were also implemented.

TRADE ACROSS THE PACIFIC

Philip II ordered the occupation of the Philippines as a Spanish colony in 1559, and in 1571 Miguel López de Legazpi (ca. 1510-1572) founded a permanent Spanish settlement

[89] Ibid., 187.

at Manila, which became an ideal link to Asia for the Spanish. Urdaneta discovered a safer and more feasible route for galleons to circumnavigate the treacherous winds by traveling north into Japanese waters and then east across the Pacific (Fig. 2.3). A new trade route was thus established for the first time across the Pacific, connecting Spanish territories across three continents. With its excellent port, Manila became an important meeting ground for Chinese merchants and Spanish sailors (Fig. 2.4). The city itself became one large market, designated by the Spaniards as a center for the exchange of Asian luxury goods and bountiful Spanish American silver and gold. In his discussion of Manila from 1663, Jesuit Francisco Colín records:

> Equal to any other emporium of the monarchy due to the fact that it [Manila] is the center through which the wealth of East and West flows . . . pearls and precious stones from India, diamonds from Goa, rubies, sapphires and topazes from Thailand, cinnamon from Ceylon, pepper from Sumatra and Java, cloves, nutmeg and spice from the Molluccas and Bunda, rich curtains and bedspreads from Bengal, camphor from Borneo and ivory from Abada, and Cambodia, Anglia from Lequiois and from Imperial China, all sorts of silks, raw and woven into velvet and damask, taffeta, and other materials of diverse texture, linens, cotton, table cloths and napkins, gold enameled articles, embroidery, porcelain, paper, and other treasures of great value and much demand; from Japan, amber colored silks, secretaries, chests and tables made of precious wood.[90]

From 1565 to 1815, galleons transported luxury goods, including highly prized Chinese porcelain, from Asia to the Mexican port of Acapulco. Some of the items that came to Acapulco from the Philippines were transported to Mexico City and sold at the Parían, an open market with rows of canopied stalls where the most luxurious of items and foods were sold (Fig. 2.5). Other crates were shipped to South America; still others were transported through the mountains to Veracruz for continued shipment to Spain.

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[90] Francisco Colín, *Labor evangélica, misterios apostólicos de los obreros de la Compañía de Jesús, fundación y progresos en las Islas Filipinas* (Madrid: José Fernández de Buendía, 1663), quoted and trans. in Miguel Angel Fernández and Victor Ruiz Naufal, *Mesa Mexicana* (Mexico City: Grupo Financiero Bancomer, 1993), 138.

Undoubtedly, merchants traveling to Veracruz from Acapulco sold goods to wealthy customers in Puebla.

On the return trip, galleons brought enormous quantities of silver and gold struck in New Spain, Bolivia and Peru. The ships themselves were neither Spanish nor Chinese; rather, they were constructed first in Mexican ports, and later in Cavite, north of Manila.[91] The voyage from New Spain to the Philippines, which took about three months with good wind, was relatively easy, sailing westward with the Equatorial Current. The return trip, on the other hand, was long and arduous—taking up to seven months—and many never returned. In addition to treacherous conditions, the galleons were subject to attack. The cargo aboard made the cost of such disasters very high.

Among excavated shipwrecks of the Manila galleons, perhaps the richest of all was the San Diego, sunk by Dutch ships on December 14, 1600. Located off Fortune Island near the west coast of Luzon in Manila Bay, the San Diego wreck yielded more than five hundred blue and white porcelain vessels from the Wan-li dynasty (1573-1620), and over 750 utilitarian stoneware jars of Chinese, Thai, Burmese, Spanish, and Mexican origin.[92] A photograph illustrates the types of treasure uncovered at the site (Fig. 2.6). The porcelain found there has counterparts from archaeological sites in Mexico.

In the bureaucratic Spanish tradition, every aspect of the Manila galleons was carefully controlled. A manifest dated 1752, from the galleon Santísima Trinidad, which

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[91] Donald D. Brand, "Geographical Exploration by the Spaniards," in Dennis O. Fylnn, Arthur Giráldez, and James Sobredo, *European Entry into the Pacific: Spain and the Acapulco-Manila Galleons,* The Pacific World: Lands Peoples and History of the Pacific, 1500-1900 4 (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2001), 24-27.

[92] George Kuwayama, *Chinese Ceramics in Colonial Mexico* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1997), 21; Jean-Paul Desroches, Gabriel Casal, and Franck Goddio, eds., *Treasures of the San Diego* (Manila: National Museum of the Philippines), 1997).

sailed the Acapulco-Manila route, exemplifies the seriousness of Spanish record-keeping. Among other things, the manifest records the crew-members, cargo, and supplies aboard (Fig. 2.7).

The number of collections of Chinese porcelain formed during the colonial period and the amount of Chinese porcelain recovered in excavations in Mexico indicates that porcelain of differing quality made its way into nearly every level of Mexican colonial society. The largest quantity of Asian porcelain has been found in excavations in Mexico City, particularly in the center where the Parían was located. A rare intact porcelain cup of the Kangxi period (1662-1722) of the Qing dynasty (1644-1911) was among numerous examples of porcelain recovered from the site of the Templo Mayor (Main Temple) in Mexico City (Fig. 2.8).[93] Such delicate cups were used throughout the Hispanic world for serving hot cocoa, a beverage of pre-Hispanic origin that combined cacao with water (not milk), sugar, cinnamon, vanilla, and sometimes even hot chilies.

Europeans had become increasingly familiar with Chinese porcelain since the fourteenth century, when luxury Asian products were first transported westward in caravans across vast stretches of Asia. Beginning in the early sixteenth century, the Portuguese developed two regular eastward maritime routes, which navigated the length of Africa, rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and sailed across the Indian Ocean in East Asia. Trade with Asia was largely controlled by Portugal and China, making it difficult for Spain to acquire these riches. Some Asian porcelain did arrive in Spain prior to the colonization of the New World, but most Asian products came to Spain by way of New Spain, aboard galleons crossing the Pacific and Atlantic oceans. Therefore, the period in which potters

[93] Kuwayama, *Chinese Ceramics,* 74.

were influenced most by Asian forms and designs occurred almost simultaneously in Spain and Mexico. Puebla potters may have even produced Chinese style ceramic ware before such ware was made in Spain. The variety of Chinese-style maiolica produced in Puebla suggests that the potters there had direct contact with Chinese models, whereas potters who produced a more limited number of maiolica types in the Chinese style, may not have seen as many different types of Chinese porcelain.

IMMIGRATION TO THE NEW WORLD

Cortés invaded the Central Basin of Mexico, and defeating the Aztecs by 1521. Their overthrow was accomplished by thousands of Indian allies fighting in tandem with just a handful of Spaniards, most of whom were from the al-Andalus and Extremadura regions. The first people to arrive in the New World were for the most part unmarried men with military experience. "Socially, they were drawn from the gentry class and below, for the upper aristocracy played no part in the conquest and tended to look askance at projects for emigrants that would take laborers from its estates."[94] The *mayorazgo* system—in which estates were inherited by first born sons—motivated younger sons of aristocrats to seek fortune and opportunities unavailable to them in Spain. According to Bernal Díaz de Castillo, "We came here to serve God and the king, and also get rich."[95] *Hidalgos* (gentlemen) were well represented among the conquistadores; Cortés, for instance, came from a poor but noble family.

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[94] Elliot, *Imperial Spain,* 63.

[95] Quoted in Ibid.

Migration and settlement by Spaniards and others were necessary to secure Spain's new possession. Land was settled, cities built—or rebuilt in some cases—governments established, and native populations confined to areas determined by the Spaniards. The system used to distribute land was largely based on the principle used for the settlement of lands recaptured from the Moors during the reconquest of al-Andalus. To establish land as their own, commanders put claims on towns, secured their legal incorporation by the Crown, and appointed their own men to key municipal offices.[96] With vast new territories they could engage in urban planning; the basic tenets of urban dwelling remained largely the same, their layouts were less haphazard.[97]

PUEBLA: A NEW URBAN CENTER

Founded in 1531, Puebla was the second city of New Spain (Fig. 2.9), and conceived as a model urban setting for Spanish life, intended to relieve the pressure of overpopulation in Mexico City, which was ridden with floods and disease.[98] The Franciscans considered it a spiritual center, and as Franciscan historian Agustín Vetancurt (1620-1700) writes in his *Teatro mexicano,* published in 1696:

> Persons born in this city [of Puebla] are resolute in character . . .; those who apply themselves to study have subtle intellects and, inspired by a praiseworthy zeal, become learned. The town is inhabited by many gentlemen of recognized nobility, and some are members of the great military orders; there are coaches and riding

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[96] Elliot, *Imperial Spain,* 67.

[97] See Richard L. Kagan, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World, 1493-1793* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 28-34.

[98] Jacques Lafaye, *Quetzalcoatl and Guadalupe: The Formation of Mexican National Consciousness, 1531-1813,* trans. Benjamin Keen (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1976), 10.

> horses and (although it has no viceregal court) both men and women display a courtly elegance and refinement.[99]

By the seventeenth century, Puebla was often preferred to the capital,[100] as an Italian traveler, Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri (1651-1725) made clear in his description of it:

> [A]lmost all the buildings there are built of stone and lime and are not at all inferior to those in Mexico City. Although the streets are not paved, they are much cleaner. . . . The square of the Cathedral of Puebla is much more beautiful than that of Mexico City.[101]

Puebla was "a city for Spanish farmers and artisans rather than of conquerors or *encomenderos*, where with peaceful colonization underway, many settlers had taken Indian women for wives, thus rearing a new Christian *mestizo* population."[102] Puebla industry catered to this new Europeanized population. In addition to manufacturing soap, furniture, glass, paper, leather goods, ironwork and textiles, Puebla became the most important center for the manufacture of maiolica, thanks to its extensive clay beds and raw sodium essential for glaze preparation. Generations of native potters must have been drawn to this area for the same reasons.

Its strategic location along the Acapulco-Veracruz trade route was paramount to its development. Inventories of the rich and the middle class households in Puebla typically

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[99] Agustín Vetancurt, *Teatro mexicano, Descripción breve de los sucessos ejemplares de la Nueva España* (Madrid: Porrúa Turanzas, 1960), 2:305-306.

[100] W. Michael Mathes, "To Save a City: The *Desagua* of Mexico Huechuetoca, 1607," *The Americas* 26 (1970): 419-438.

[101] Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri, *Viaje a la Nueva España (México a fines del siglo XVIII)* (Mexico City: Libro-Mex, 1955), 2:232.

[102] D.A. Brading, *The First American: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots, and Liberal State, 1492-1867* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 108.

include Chinese porcelain brought to New Spain aboard the Manila galleons.[103] An inventory, dated 1589, of items belonging to Jerónimo de la Fuente, a *maestro de cantería* (master of stone carving) from Toledo (Spain), living in Puebla, includes a "dozen Chinese plates and bowls valued at 5 pesos, two large porcelains of China valued at 3 pesos."[104] This document confirms that by the end of the sixteenth century, porcelain had already formed part of common household items in Puebla.

Chinese porcelain has been excavated at a number of sites in Mexico.[105] The excavation conducted by Goggin in 1951 of the church and convento de San Miguel in Huejotzingo, located just outside of Puebla, yielded sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Chinese porcelain.[106] Goggin points out that at the Huejotzingo site there was a proportionately higher frequency of Chinese porcelain than European ceramic ware.[107] This may indicate that Chinese porcelain was more available in that area than European

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[103] Gustavo Curiel, "Customs, Conventions, and Daily Rituals among the Elites of New Spain: The Evidence from Material Culture," in *The Grandeur of Viceregal Mexico: Treasures from the Museo Franz Mayer*, ed. by Hector Borrell M. et al. (Houston: Museum of Fine Art, 2002), 33.

[104] AGNP, Notaría 4, box 35, Protocolos 1589, fols. 1339-1341r and 1341-1342r.

[105] Unfortunately, little has been published on the types of Chinese porcelain excavated in Mexico. Kuwayama does, however, illustrate a number of whole and fragmented pieces in his catalogue, *Chinese Ceramics,* 53-75; see also, Gónzalo López Cervantes, "Porcelana oriental en la Nueva España," *Anales de Antroplogía* 1 (1977): 65-82; Patricia Fournier García, *Evidencias arqueológicas de la importación de cerámica en México, con base en los materiales del ex-convento de San Jerónimo* (Mexico City: INAH, 1990); and Linda R. Shulsky, "Chinese Porcelain in New Mexico," *Vormer uit Vuur* 153, no. 3 (1994): 13-18.

[106] John M. Goggin, *Spanish Maiolica in the New World: Types of the 16th to 18th Centuries,* Yale University Publications in Anthropology, no. 72 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), 93-99.

[107] Ibid., 97.

ceramic ware or that the Franciscans living at the convento could afford Chinese porcelain and had a preference for it.

Although maiolica was also available in Mexico City, Puebla developed a vast trade network throughout the colonies and earned a reputation as the most important New World center for of its production. In 1746, Franciscan historian Juan Villa Sánchez wrote in *Puebla sagrada y profana*, "There is great demand for this [Puebla] product, especially for the most ordinary qualities which are most in demand throughout the Kingdom."[108] This statement underlines the importance of the industry, as not only was it distributed within New Spain itself but also to colonies throughout the Americas.

Puebla maiolica was traded by both land and sea, beginning as early as the late sixteenth century. The *flotas* gathered goods at the port of Veracruz that were then distributed to Spanish colonies in the Caribbean and Florida.[109] Puebla maiolica also was distributed through the overland trade route known as the *Camino Real*, which led north through the high plateau of Mexico to the various mission sites in the northern outposts of the Spanish American world (see map, Fig. 1.5). Some archaeologists have recently argued that maiolica from both Puebla and Mexico City were distributed throughout the colonies, but archival documents listing *loza de Puebla* suggests that Puebla was much more successful.[110] The estate inventory of Teresa Aguirre de Rocha de Mendizábal,

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[108] Juan Villa Sánchez, *Puebla sagrada y profana* (Mexico City: Casa del Ciudadano José Maria Campos, 1835), 42.

[109] Deagan, *Artifacts of the Spanish Colonies,* 23.

[110] See Cordelia Thomas Snow, "A Brief History of the Palace of Governors and a Preliminary Report on the 1974 Excavation," *El Palacio* 80, no. 3 (October 1974): 1-22.

wife of the governor of New Mexico, records that she owned at least one "chocolate cup from Puebla" in 1662.[111]

By the end of the eighteenth century, however, a number other centers in New Spain had sprung up to compete with the famed Puebla ware. Moreover, native potters in the northern frontier also made attempts to copy the designs and shapes of the famed ware of Puebla. After the ban on trade with other countries was lifted in 1821, they had to compete with European and other American workshops as well. Puebla potters could no longer hold a monopoly on the ceramic industry in the New World, and their distribution of pottery significantly decreased.

[111] Donna Pierce, "Mayólica in Daily Life of Colonial Mexico," in *Cerámica y Cultura: The Story of Spanish and Mexican Mayólica,* eds. Robin Farwell Gavin, Donna Pierce, and Alfonso Pleguezuelo (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003), 264.

CHAPTER 3

PUEBLA POTTERS AND THEIR WORKSHOPS

The Spaniards, who conquered the Aztec capital of Tenochtitlan, quickly became aware of the sophisticated objects produced in the Basin of Mexico. Among the numerous types of elite art they encountered were varieties of ceramic ware made for both utilitarian (Fig. 3.1) and ceremonial use (Fig. 1.10). The Spaniards were especially captivated by Mixteca-Puebla style pottery from the region of present-day Puebla-Tlaxcala-Oaxaca, particularly the pottery produced in the city of Cholula near Puebla.

In the early sixteenth century, Spaniards relied on the indigenous pottery they encountered to supplement the vessels that they had brought with them from Europe. The unfamiliar forms and finishes did not suit Spanish tastes, however, and they clearly preferred the shiny, white-surfaced pottery to which they were accustomed. Maiolica had been an indicator of social status in Spain, and would become so in the New World by the turn of the seventeenth century.

Although shipments of European supplies continued to arrive in New Spain throughout the colonial period, Spanish workshops could not keep up with the increasing demand for maiolica ware of all grades. As a result, resident potters at the capital quickly set up workshops of their own and producing the desired ceramic ware locally. The first maiolica workshops in the Americas were set up in Mexico City in the second quarter of the sixteenth century, when itinerant Spaniards introduced the potter's wheel, tin-and

lead- based glaze (maiolica), and the updraft kiln. Production at the capital continued throughout the colonial period, although the tradition there was largely overshadowed by the industry in Puebla.[112]

According to the Listers, Spanish potters Francisco de la Reyna and Francisco Morales—the earliest documented potters to migrate—arrived in New Spain before 1537.[113] They were among the first to introduce the techniques for producing maiolica in the New World, an emergent industry documented by a letter written in 1541 by Alonso de Figuerola Chantre de Oaxaca to the King:

> With work and ingenuity I achieved the glazed earthenware, since they did not have a plate to eat on if it did not come from Castile, it took me a year spent doing nothing more than putting together kilns and taking them apart and searching throughout the mountains for the *alcohol* to run them. I showed the Indians of Mexico without any interest on my part from which I could have earned more than 3000 pesos until now, because at the time that the work was begun, they paid half a peso for a medium sized pot.[114]

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[112] Ana Paulina Gámez Martínez, "The Forgotten Potters of Mexico City," in *Cerámica y Cultura: The Story of Spanish and Mexican Mayólica,* eds. Robin Farwell Gavin, Donna Pierce, and Alfonso Pleguezuelo (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003), 227-243; see also Florence C. Lister and Robert H. Lister, *Sixteenth-Century Maiolica Pottery in the Valley of Mexico*, Anthropological Papers of the University of Arizona 39 (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1982); Florence C. Lister and Robert H. Lister, "Non-indian Ceramics from the Mexico City Subway." *El Palacio* 81, no. 2 (1975): 24-48.

[113] Lister and Lister, *Sixteenth-Century Maiolica Pottery*, 89.

[114] "Con trabajo e ingenio alcancé el vidriado, que no tenían un plata en que comer sino venía de Castilla, me durá un año que no hacía sino hacer y deshacer hornos y buscar por las sierras el alcohol para ello. Lo amostré a los indios de México sin interesarse ninguno que pudiese yo ganar dello mas de 3,000 pesos hasta agora, por que en el tiempo que se comenzó a hacer, daban medio peso por una lla mediana." Alonso Figuerola Chantre de Oaxaca, Mexico City, to the King of Spain, 29 July, 1541, in Documentos de Indias 3, 530, cited in Enrique A. Cervantes, *Loza blanca y azulejos de Puebla,* 2 vols. (Mexico City: privately printed, 1939)*,* 1:17. Translation by Debra Nagao.

His letter suggests that Figuerola was among the earliest European potters to show native artisans the process; the word "*alcohol*" in the text probably refers to the powdered galena, or sulfide of lead, that was applied to ceramic vessels painted green to create a crude lead glaze.[115] This practice devised by Spanish potters centuries earlier probably continued even after other superior techniques had been discovered. Figuerola's letter confirms that powdered galena also was used by Spanish potters in New Spain in the sixteenth century.[116]

Fray Bernardino de Sahagún in book eleven on "earthly things" of his multivolume *Historia general de las cosas de la Nueva España* (*Florentine Codex*) recorded that in the third quarter of the sixteenth century maiolica production was still at an experimental stage:

> I make *ollas*, I make water jars. I make large water jars. I make bowls, pots basins. Whatsoever I make, I make of clay.
> It is the same as *teçoquitl*. It is that which may be beaten, which may be thinned.
> I knead it, I temper it with reed stem fibers. I beat it, I thin it out. I make griddles, I fire griddles. I fire things in an oven [kiln]. I cool the oven [kiln].
> I make bowls. I make things with molds. I mold things.
> Iztatlalli is very salty, exceedingly bitter, exceedingly salty.
> I heap up alkaline soil. I leach the alkaline soil. I make brine, I make salt.
> Tlalcoztli is a medium which stains things yellow, which serves as a wash.[117]

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[115] Florence C. Lister and Robert H. Lister, *A Descriptive Dictionary for 500 Years of Spanish-Tradition Ceramics (13th Through 18th Centuries),* Special Publication Series 1 (Society for Historical Archaeology, 1976), s.v. "*alcohol*."

[116] According to documents discovered by Tony Pasinski in Antigua, Alonso Figuerola appeared in Antigua in the mid-1540s to purchase a house. It is not known if he had a workshop there or if he returned to New Spain. Nothing else is known of him in New Spain. Figuerola may have helped introduce maiolica to Antigua, where they was a thriving industry throughout the colonial period.

[117] Bernardino de Sahagún, *Florentine Codex*, 13 vols., trans. Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble, Monographs of the School of American Research, no. 14 (Santa Fe: School of American Research; Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1950-1982), bk. 11:257.

Sahagún's mention of tlalcoztli as "a medium that stains things yellow" apparently refers to glazes that did not contain sufficient tin oxide to produce the desired pure white surface. This may explain why inexpensive common maiolica ware was referred to as *loza amarilla* (yellow pottery).

Although the early development of maiolica production in Mexico City is documented, that of Puebla is not. Cervantes suggests that the maiolica industry was initiated in Puebla by some of the first settlers of the city between 1550 and 1570, soon after production had been established at the capital.[118] Unfortunately, however, he provides no evidence of this.

Ethnicity of Puebla Potters

According to potter's ordinances issued in Puebla in 1653, only ceramists of pure Spanish heritage were permitted to rise to the title of master potter. Nevertheless, a number of mulatto (of African and Spanish parentage) and mestizo (of Spanish and Indian parentage) potters are documented, some of whom were, in fact, master potters.[119] The maiolica trade was a European tradition from the start, which explains why the ware eventually became known as "talavera" (after the city of Talavera de la Reina in central Spain, famed for its maiolica ware since the early sixteenth century). Despite popular belief that production of maiolica in New Spain had been introduced exclusively by Dominican friars from the city of Talavera de la Reina (to decorate their colonial

[118] Cervantes, *Loza blanca,* 1:18.

[119] Ibid., 2:218.

conventos with tiles), the notary archives of Puebla identify potters from a number of cities in Europe.

Like most of the immigrants who journeyed to New Spain, the majority of potters had been living in Seville at the time of their departure. Many probably were born in Seville, others probably had moved there to take advantage of new opportunities (see chapter 2).[120]

One of the earliest and best documented ceramists from Seville is undoubtedly Gaspar de Encinas (c. 1537-before 1619). Gaspar de Encinas was probably born in Seville around 1537; he married María Gaitan from Talavera de la Reina and had four children (Gaspar, Cecilia, Gabriel, and Salvador) before he left for New Spain sometime between 1587 and 1590.[121] Prior to leaving for Seville, the Encinas family lived for a time in Talavera de la Reina, where at least some of the children were born. In Talavera de la Reina, Encinas probably worked as a potter, possibly with Diego Gaitan—a recognized potter of the period—who may have been his father-in-law. Encinas is often is called "*el viejo*" (the elder) to distinguish him from namesake son Gaspar Encinas "*el*

[120] See Cervantes, *Loza blanca,* 2:197-332.

[121] Many of the documents on Encinas contradict one another. It is possible that his wife María was either Muslim or Jewish, which made it difficult for her to get the proper paperwork to go to the New World with her husband. As a result, either one of them could have filled out some of the paperwork falsely. AGI, 1596 "Solicitud de licencia de María Gaitán," Indiferent, 2080, no. 117; and AGI, "Información de María Gaitán, Talavera," 1596, Contratación 5254, N. 1, R. 51. A letter written from Gaspar de Encinas to his wife María Gaitán indicates that he was in Puebla in 1596, and had been there for six years. This does not necessarily mean that he left in 1590, as many potters had come to Puebla from Mexico City, where the first maiolica workshops in the New World had been established. I am grateful to anthropologist Pastor Gómez for sending me copies of these documents from the AGI.

mozo" (the younger), who also was a potter.[122] It is still uncertain exactly when Encinas arrived in Puebla and set up his workshop. Cervantes indicates that Encinas had opened a workshop by 1580,[123] although the documents he cites are lost today. The earliest known documents place Encinas in Puebla around 1590, six years before he was commissioned to make *caños de agua* ("water pipes made of ceramic") for Gabriel de Rojas.[124] Apparently, a number of master potters made and sold water pipes during the era in which Puebla was first under construction. It was surely most convenient for builders to commission pipes locally from ceramists who worked only blocks from the center of the city.

Encinas's workshop was located on the street of *los Herreros* (the Blacksmiths) just a couple of blocks away from the Cathedral, where construction had just commenced in the last quarter of the sixteenth century (Fig. 3.2 and appendix 3).[125] In a letter to his wife from 1596, Encinas requested that she send the "best color oxides available in blue, green, as well as others, and the book for them as well."[126] This letter confirms that

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[122] According to a document from 1619, Gaspar *el mozo* was born in Talavera de la Reina. AGNP, 29 October 1619, Escritura de Testamento, Notaría no. 4, Protocolos de 1619, fols. 183-6r. Escribanía de Alonso Corona.

[123] Cited in Cervantes, *Loza blanca,* 2:197. Other documents regarding Encinas suggest that he could not have been in Puebla at this early date. It is possible that Cervantes misdated the document from the AGNP. If such a document did exist from 1580 and 1585, it has not been located and may now be lost.

[124] AHMP, Libro de Actas de Cabildos, no. 12, fols. 309v-310r and 335-335r. In 1598, Encinas is mentioned as the "person in charge of piping for waterworks" (encargado de los caños de la obra del agua). AHMP, Libros de Actas de Cabildo, no. 13, fols. 32-32r.

[125] AGNP, 1580, 1582, and 1585, cited in Cervantes, *Loza blanca,* 2:197.

[126] "Y mirad que, como abiso en las demás, de los mejores colores que ubiere azul, berde, con las demás, y el libro dellas también." AGI, "Gaspar de Encinas a su mujer María

Encinas had been a potter prior to his departure to New Spain, and suggests that "the book," which he must have used in Spain, contained formulas for mixing oxides. His wife may have brought these items with her when she made the voyage a year later aboard the Nao del Maestro Tomás Gallardo with her son Gaspar *el mozo*.[127] In 1602, Encinas *el viejo* was commissioned to design tile panels in one of the chapels and on the main altar frontal of the Cathedral in Mexico City (see chapter 4).[128]

The younger Gaspar followed in his father's footsteps and eventually became a master potter, although it is not clear if he was trained in Spain or Puebla. A document from 1619 indicates that he and his second wife Ursula de Espíndola lived with their two children, Francisco de Encinas and Ana de Espíndola, and his mother on the street of *los Mesones*, where they also kept a store.[129] Ursula Espíndola probably was from a family of potters, some living on the street of *Mesón de Sosa* (today 4 Poniente 900) while others lived on the eponymous street of *Espíndola* (2 Poniente 900).[130] The testament of Encinas *el mozo* reveals that he was a relatively wealthy man, although he owed money as well as crates of pottery to his creditors in Mexico City.[131] His younger brother,

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Gaitán, en Triana," 30 April 1596 (Puebla), Indifferentes.

[127] 1597, AGI, Contratación 5254, no. 1, r. 51.

[128] ACP, Fábrica Municipal, Legajo II, cited in Cervantes, *Loza blanca,* 1:102-106.

[129] AGNP, Notaría no. 4, Protocolos de 1619, folios 183-186r.

[130] Hugo Leicht, *Las Calles de Puebla* (Puebla: Junta de Mejoramento Moral, Cívico y Material del Municipal, 1986), s.v. "Calle de Zayas," "Calle de Espíndola."

[131] "Cuatro piezas de esclavos, 200 pesos de plata labrada, 150 pesos de joyas de oro, 25 doblones de oro, 4 doseles de tafetán de China, el ajuar y muebles de su casa, así como la ropa de que disponía. Sus acreedores eran don Manuel González, con 200 pesos; Juan Martínez de Aguayo con otros 200 pesos, Antonio Hernández, vecino de la ciudad de

Salvador, also was a master potter, although he apparently studied under Sebastián García rather than his father.[132]

While biographical information on the Encinas family greatly outweighs information on other potters from this period, the surnames of various European potters give clues to their origin. For example, the name of master potter Francisco de Pezaro, who worked in Puebla at the turn of the seventeenth century, can be traced back to Europe.[133] A relative of his, Tomaso da Pesaro, had moved to Seville from Genoa, although his family had originated in Pesaro, Italy—as the name indicates—and traveled to Venice before moving to Genoa. The Genoese in Seville in the sixteenth century were numerous enough to occupy their own *barrio* (neighborhood) of the city. There, the Pesaro family was known for ceramics in imitation of both Venetian and Talavera de la Reina styles.[134]

Another master potter, Juan Pizón, also from an Italian family of potters, had come to Puebla in the mid-seventeenth century from his home in Savona.[135] Other potters with names derived from towns of origin, include Roque de Talavera, Alonso

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México y con quien tenía trato de enviarle losa de esta ciudad, de las que ya le había mandado 6 cargas. En cambio a Mateo Hernández y a Manuel Fernández, también vecinos de la ciudad de México, les debía una carga de losa a cada uno de ellos. Por último, a Miguel Sánchez Cerezo le entregó 7 cajones de losa a cuenta de los 100 pesos que le adeudaba." AGNP, Notaría no. 4, Protocolos de 1619, folios 183-186r.

[132] AGNP, 1613, cited in Cervantes, *Loza blanca,* 2:207.

[133] Cited in Cervantes, *Loza blanca,* 2:223; and Alice Wilson Frothingham, *Talavera Pottery, with a Catalogue of the Collection of the Hispanic Society of America* (New York: The Hispanic Society of America, 1944), 35.

[134] Frothingham, *Talavera Pottery*, 38.

[135] Cited in Cervantes, *Loza blanca,* 2:223-4.

Sevilla, and Juan de Valencia. It is important to note, however, that while the names of potters probably point to their family's roots, by the seventeenth century most resident potters in Puebla were born in New Spain. In some cases, documents indicate a potter's birth city, but usually specify only "*vecino de,*" indicating city of residence. Obviously, the potters in question here were living in our vicinity of Puebla, but some had moved there from other cities in New Spain such as Mexico City, Oaxaca, Orizaba and Jalapa in Veracruz, and Tlaxcala just outside of the city of Puebla.[136]

Slaves also apparently participated in Puebla's burgeoning pottery industry. They were apparently lent to workshop owners for a fee. Diego de Sandrera, a mulatto slave of Juan Pólez Gallegos, is documented as an apprentice of *pintar de loza fina* (painting fine maiolica) with Diego Serrano y Peña in 1681.[137] The fact that he was an apprentice raises questions as to why, as a slave, he was trained to become a potter, and therefore a participant of the guild system. The painting of fine pottery was generally reserved for masters, so Sandrera must have been a quite talented.

Domingo del Rosario, a *chino esclavo* (Chinese slave), apprenticed with master potter and lieutenant Juan Gómez de Villegas in 1662.[138] José de Escoto owned two Chinese slaves, Alejo (b. 1681) and Gaspar (b. 1691), who may have worked in his workshop; he sold them in February of 1621 to Juan Alonso del Moral, a *maestro*

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[136] Sebastián García was from Oaxaca, Simón Poblete was from Orizaba, Roque de Talavera was from Jalapa, Nicolás de la Cuevas was from Tlaxcala and all lived in Puebla in the seventeenth century; cited in Cervantes, *Loza blanca,* 2:210, 224, 234, 206.

[137] AGNP, Puebla, 1651, cited in Cervantes, *Loza blanca,* 2:229.

[138] AGNP, 1662, foja 670, cited in Cervantes, *Loza blanca,* 2:228.

jabonero (master soap maker).[139] Documentation on other Chinese potters in New Spain is extremely scarce. These documents, however, offer rare evidence that there were Chinese men working in Puebla workshops; though they were not necessarily potters before they arrived to New Spain. In general, slavery was not widely accepted in New Spain, and yet slaves who spoke more than one language were particularly important to Spaniards in Asian and New Spain to help with communication along their travels to unknown territories.

NATIVE POTTERS

Little is known about the interaction between the European potters migrating to Puebla in the sixteenth century and the accomplished native potters from the nearby pre-Hispanic city of Cholula. Cholula had been a ceramic center long before the Spanish had arrived, with an important trade network throughout Mesoamerica. The conquistador writer Bernal Díaz del Castillo commented on the impressive elite ware made there, stating that it was the ware from which the Mexica ruler Motecuhzoma II ate.[140] The ceramic industry in Cholula continued to flourish throughout the colonial period (see Fig. 1.11), as it does today, although more research is needed to properly document the tradition.[141]

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[139] AGNP, 1621, Notaria Alonso de la Parra, cited in Cervantes, *Loza blanca,* 2:208.

[140] Bernal Díaz de Castillo, *The Discovery and Conquest of Mexico, 1517-1521,* trans. A. P. Maudslay with an introduction by Hugo Thomas (New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1956; reprint, Cambridge: Da Capo Press, 2003), 210.

[141] Literature on the subject is scant. Nonetheless, there are a few important publications that explore the importance and controversies surrounding this area of research. See H. B. Nicholson and Eloise Quinones Keber, eds., *Mixteca-Puebla: Discoveries and Research*

An observation made by Francisco Gerónimo de Mendieta in his discussion on the "ingenuity of the Indians for all trades"—in *Historia eclesiástica indiana,* written between 1571 and 1596—documents the complex relationship between European and native potters in regard to maiolica:

> [The Indians] were masters of pottery and clay hollow ware for eating and drinking. Their pottery was finely painted and well made. And although they were not familiar with glazing, they learned this process later from the first master who arrived from Spain, no matter how much he guarded and protected it from them.[142]

Mendieta's observations indicate that even though European potters could profit from the skilled labor of native potters whom they would not have to pay as much as European potters, they were reluctant to train them, and thus foster competitors. It was from a sixteenth-century site in Cholula that an unusual feline was excavated by the Instituto Nacional de Arqueología y Historia in 2003 (Fig. 3.3).[143] This figure may provide evidence that native potters were in fact involved with the maiolica industry from the beginning of production, either as employees of workshops run by Spaniards or in workshops of their own. In any case, it demonstrates that they were active participants in the industry at this nascent stage.

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in Mesoamerican Art and Archaeology (Culver City, California: Labyrinthos, 1994); Michael Lind, *The Sociocultural Dimension of Mixtec Ceramics* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University), 1987; Geoffrey McCafferty, *Ceramics of Postclassic Cholula, Mexico: Typology and Serration of Pottery from the UA-1 Domestic Compound* (Los Angeles: Cotsem Institute of Archaeology of the University of California, 2001).

[142] Gerónimo de Mendieta, *Historia eclesiástica indiana* (Mexico: Porrúa, 1980), bk. 4, 404. I am grateful to Mitchell Codding, Director of The Hispanic Society of America, for assisting me with this translation.

[143] I am grateful to INAH archaeologist Arnulfo Allende for having shown me this remarkable piece held at the INAH facility in Puebla.

The figure was formed by hand and decorated with a maiolica white glaze and blue spots. The hole at the top of the feline's back suggests that it probably functioned as an incense burner. The sophistication of the glaze reveals that it was not an experimental piece, especially given the amount of costly blue oxide that was used to decorate it. Unfortunately, with the head missing it is difficult to identify the animal precisely. The spots recall a jaguar, which had been the most feared and venerated Middle American predator and an animal of great importance in Mesoamerican ideology and art. If it is a jaguar, it can be assumed that it was made by indigenous potters in recollection of a pre-Hispanic ceremonial form. This would reflect a willingness of Indians to use European techniques for pre-Hispanic objects and practices prohibited by the Spaniards. If a lion, on the other hand, it would represent one of the earliest extant works of art to have been influenced directly by Asian art, in this case, Chinese porcelain sculpted felines.[144] Regardless of the type of animal, the modeling is unlike anything that had been made in Spain up to the sixteenth century. It resembles instead some of the stunning feline sculptures realized during the late Postclassic period in Mesoamerica.

Though master potters clearly were reluctant to share trade secrets with potential competitors, they recognized and took advantage of native potters' skill in their workshops as an agreement between Antonio Xinovés and Gerónimo Pérez de Salazar, (who founded a workshop together in 1579) shows.[145] In this document, Pérez de Salazar agrees to provide funds to Xinovés to purchase supplies and hire Indian laborers.

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[144] It should be noted that no porcelain figures of felines are known to have been shipped to the New World.

[145] AGNP, 1579, Notaría 4, Protocolos de 1580, fols. 35-6v.

> I, the said Antonio Xinovés, shall contribute to this said company my person, attention, and labor so as to make as said master the said *loza*. And it is a condition that the costs shall be paid in half between us the said members of the company, both those arising during [the term of] this company to feed me, the said Antonio Xinovés, the other journeymen, and the Indians employed as well as those incurred for the profit of the said company.[146]

The document clearly indicates that Indians were an essential part of this workshop; regrettably, their role in the workshop is not mentioned.

The domination of European potters in this industry resulted in a predominantly European style. A number of styles, however, reflect the intermingling of European and indigenous motifs (see chapter 5). It is uncertain how these indigenous motifs (i.e., humming birds, jaguars, nopal cacti) became standard for decorators at the workshops. Undoubtedly, native (if not mestizo) potters must have had some input in the motifs chosen for vessel decoration.

By the second half of the eighteenth century, Juan Simón Cardosa, an *indio tributario de la Real Corona*—that is an Indian potter who had passed the competency exam and paid tribute tax to the royal crown—was listed as an *oficial locero* (journeyman potter).[147] In general, however, Indians were not permitted to take the exams required for higher level positions, such as *maestro.* Mestizos, on the other hand, were eventually

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[146] Ibid. "Yten, yo, el dicho Antonio Xinovés, pongo en esta dicha companya my persona, solicitud e travajo para hazer como tal maestro la dicha loza. Y es condición que la costa que se hiziere durante esta conpanya de comyda, de my, el dicho Antonio Xinovés, e demás oficiales y servicio de yndios y otras costas que se hizieron para el beneficio de esta dicha conpanya, a de ser de por mitad entre nos los dichos compañeros." I am grateful to Francisco Pérez de Salazar, descendant of Gerónimo Pérez de Salazar, for sending me a copy of this document. I am also grateful to Patrick Lenaghan, curator at the Hispanic Society, for translating this passage for me.

[147] AGNP, 1768, cited in Cervantes, *Loza blanca,* 2:252.

allowed to attain master status. Francisco Martín, who had worked since 1666 on the street of the *Troje de la Santa Iglesia Catedral* in Puebla was one such potter.[148]

ORGANIZATION OF MAIOLICA WORKSHOPS

The organization of potters in Puebla workshops—known as *locerías*—followed a Spanish system. Sevillian potters comprised "corporate groups" within a larger community, and themselves followed the Muslim custom whereby "participants in crafts were informally distinguished as being masters (*mu'allim*), journeymen (*sani'*), and apprentices (*muta'allim*)."[149] Yet the guild system was mainly an outgrowth of the European confraternity (*cofradía*) that reached Spain as a result of Cluniac influence along the northern Santiago de Compostela pilgrimage route across northern Spain. The medieval practice of organizing societies into groups with fixed roles became particularly popular in the regions of Aragón and later Catalonia, Asturias, and the Biscay Coast. "These lay federations associated themselves with a particular church or chapel, adopted a patron saint, urged upon their members an active role in religious observances, and undertook various kinds of charitable services."[150]

Colonial documents reveal that a similar hierarchical system also existed in Puebla, with masters (*maestros*), journeymen (*oficiales*), and apprentices (*aprentices*). It is interesting to note that such titles appear in colonial documents even before the potter's

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[148] AGNP, 1666, fojo 1399, cited in Cervantes, *Loza blanca,* 2:218.

[149] E. Lévi-Provencal, "España musulman hasta la caída del califato de Córdoba (711-1031 de J. C.)," *Instituciones y Vida Social e Intelectual*, in *Historia de España* 5 (Madrid: R. Menéndez Pidal, 1957), 179.

[150] Lister and Lister, *Andalusian Ceramics*, 289.

guild was founded and its ordinances issued. This would suggest that some potters carried titles with them from Spain, and that the custom was followed in New Spain before its formalization there.

A document from 1573 records the appointment of *alcaldes* (aldermen) and *veedores* (inspectors) for various *oficios* (trades), including maiolica. These appointments in the late sixteenth century are unusual, especially considering the guild would not be established in Puebla for another ninety years. It states:

> The city shall be present before the justices and deputies to name the aldermen [*alcaldes*] and inspector [*veedores*] of their professions, as they are obligated to do each year pursuant to their ordinances . . . As alderman for the ceramists of *loza*, they named Juan Vázquez and Franicsco Trujillo as inspector.[151]
> Aldermen and inspectors were officials elected by master potters.

The alderman was a guild administrator and a link to city authorities, while the inspector was responsible for making periodic inspections of workshops to ensure that regulations were being observed. Though Puebla's potter's guild was not established until 1653, this document indicates that some form of potter's organization existed there by the late sixteenth century.

Early administrative documents distinguish individuals by name, title, and rank. Some titles specify areas of the workshop in which the potter specialized, such as "throwing" and "painting fine or extra-fine ceramic ware," while others are more general. They include the following:

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[151] "La ciudad asistan antes los señores justicias y diputados a nombrar alcaldes y veedores de sus oficios, como son obligados cada año conforme a sus ordenanzas. Se hicieron los nombramientos de la siguiente manera. Como alcalde de trato de loceros a Juan Vásquez y a Francisco de Trujillo por veedor." AHMP, 5 December 1573, Libro de Actas de Cabildos no. 10, fols. 118-118v.

-*Maestro mayor de locero de lo fino* (head master of fine pottery)
-*Maestro locero* (master potter)
-*Oficial locero de lo blanco* (journeyman potter of maiolica)
-*Oficial locero de lo fino* (journeyman potter of fine pottery)
-*Locero* (potter)
-*Aprendiz de locero* (potter's apprentice)
-*Aprendiz de locero de rueda y pintura de lo fino* (apprentice to a wheel thrower)
- *Aprendiz de pintura de lo fino* (apprentice to potter of finely painted pottery)
-*Aprendiz de locero de lo blanco y todo lo anexo a dicho oficio* (apprentice to potter of maiolica pottery and all that relates to it)
-*Aprendiz de locero de lo fino y entre fino* (apprentice to potter of fine and refined pottery)[152]

Some potters held more than one position. This was especially true for apprentices who learned more than one area of production in search of one best suited for their skills. For example, in 1685 José de Campos was an *aprendiz de locero de rueda y pintura* (apprentice wheel thrower and painter) to master potter Miguel de Castañeda *el viejo*.[153]

Master potters achieved that distinction by passing examinations, but generally only pure-blooded Spaniards were permitted to take them. Ordinances issued in 1653 further specified that only those who had earned a *carta de examen* could sell vessels from their homes or even in public stores. Although those with journeyman status already had passed an exam, and been found competent to undertake a specified position within the workshop, they, like apprentices, worked under a master craftsman.

Apprentices generally were orphaned boys who needed homes, and guidance to a profession. They generally apprenticed from one to six years, with the idea of earning guild membership and, eventually master status. Apprenticeships probably were secured through the community of potters clustered in the northwestern quadrant of the city (see

[152] This list was generated from numerous archival documents that mention potters and their profession.

[153] AGNP, 1685, cited in Cervantes, *Loza blanca,* 2:202.

Fig. 3.2). They were formalized in written contracts, which stated the length of the apprenticeship and the responsibilities of both parties. In one case, sixteen-year-old Spaniard Domingo de Herrera, whose father had died, was granted an apprenticeship with Hipólito de Sevilla, *maestro de locero de rueda* (master wheel-thrower).[154] It was agreed that for three years beginning on 21 June 1667, Sevilla was to pay Herrera every other day the same amount a journeyman earned and to teach him the appropriate skills to be a thrower. In addition, Sevilla was responsible for providing Herrera with the following,

> . . . housing, a bed to sleep in, clean clothing and the garb and shoes necessary and to cure him of his illnesses with a doctor and medicines, and finally for him, he must give him a garb of closely woven local woolen cloth, breeches, *sopilla*, cape, two shirts with their collars, stockings, shoes, and hat, all issued and provided at the cost of said master . . .[155]

In return the Herrera was obliged to work for and live with Sevilla. If he left the house without permission, Sevilla was advised to search for him and "turn him in with shackles so that with these [shackles] he fulfill the said trade plus the missing days that there may have been."[156]

Workshops were typically owned by the master potter operating them, such as potter Juan García Carrillo, who is identified as both a master potter and *dueño de obraje* (workshop owner) in a document written in 1593.[157] Workshops also were owned

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[154] AGNP, 1667, protocolo de Nicolás Gallegos, cited in Cervantes, *Loza blanca,* 1:202.

[155] Ibid. "y durante el tiempo le a de dar casa, cama en que duerma, ropa limpia y el bestido y calzado nesesario y curarlo en sus enfermedades con medico y botica, y por fin de el, leade dar un bestido depaño de la tierra diesicheno, calson, sopilla, capa, dos camisas con sus balones, medias, zapatos y sombrero, todo fecho y acabado a costa de dho maestro . . ."

[156] Ibid. "Y si lo hisiere lo buscará y se lo entregará con priciones para que con ellas cumpla el dho oficio con mas las faltas que hubiere fecho . . ."

[157] AGNP, 1593, cited in Cervantes, *Loza blanca,* 2:197.

jointly. For example, a document discovered by Mexican historian Efraín Castro Morales indicates that Alejandro de Ojeda had begun working in Puebla by 1573, and established a partnership with Bartólome de Reina a year later "to make earthenware of all varieties, including tiles."[158] This document indicates that workshops produced vessels side by side with tiles, although individual potters may have focused on one or the other (Encinas, for instance specialized in tiles). Another document, from 1579, reveals that Gerónimo Pérez invested 275 *pesos* in common gold for "materials, a kiln, food and expenses, which include the services of Indians and other things that will benefit the company" in master potter Antonio Xinovés's business.[159]

A photograph taken by Enrique Cervantes in 1918 for his monograph on Puebla pottery is a rare image of the typical workshop environment (Fig. 3.4). The recorded workshop belonged to Pedro Padierna, who is seen standing in the courtyard of the workshop behind his brother Felipe, with whom he ran the business. Both wear business suits. A kiln appears in the back to the left, the wall above blackened. The wood to fuel it is stored to the right of a door. The glazing process probably was performed outside in the same container still present in the courtyard today. The Padierna bothers' sons, as well as young boys and other workmen, appear as well, but Cervantes does not specify their positions. Those who are barefoot, with their pants rolled up, probably cleaned and prepared the clay with their feet—a task that is still commonly performed by young boys.

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[158] Unfortunately the whereabouts of these documents are unknown. Efraín Castro Morales, "Puebla y la talavera a través de los siglos," *Artes de Mexico* 3 (Spring 1989), 77.

[159] AGNP, Notaría no. 4, Protocolos, 1580, fols. 25-26v.

The Padierna brothers were employed in the workshop of Antonio Espinosa for over twenty years, then took it over outright after Espinosa's death in 1917. A new beginning for the workshop may explain why they decided to make the enormous jars (measuring 2.15 meters tall) behind them during one of Puebla most tumultuous periods, the Mexican Revolution (1910-1920). According to Cervantes, only ten jars of the twenty two fired survived; [160] this figure is actually quite impressive given their size and the delicate nature of firing such vessels.

Behind the front gate of the workshop is a tile panel with the inscription *Fábrica de loza y azulejos la Union de J. Pastor Romero,* dated 1917. This would suggest that the workshop also had been used by Pastor Romero around the same time. If the Padierna brothers worked in this very space for over twenty years under Antonio Espinosa, then it must have been shared by more than one business at a time. Perhaps the cost of running a shop, especially during the Mexican Revolution, made it practical to share expenses of upkeep, materials, and workers (who may have come on different days, depending on schedule of the two businesses).

The building seen in this early twentieth-century photograph dates to the seventeenth century, when it was occupied by a ceramic workshop and bread factory, both under the ownership of the Zayas family,[161] since at least 1674, when Nicolás de Zayas, a mestizo *official de lo blanco* was married.[162] Workshops were typically family-

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[160] Cervantes, *Loza blanca,* 1:294.

[161] Leicht, *Las Calles de Puebla*, s.v. "Calle de Zayas."

[162] Sagrario Angelopolitano, Libros de Matrimonios, cited in Cervantes, 2:238; see also Dirk Bühler, *Puebla: Patrimonio de arquitectura civil del Virreinato* (Munich: Deutsches, 2001), 246-249.

run businesses and many owners lived on the premises. The street in which the Zayas family lived and worked was named after them (today located at Avenida 10 and Poniente 700), suggesting that the family had held an important position on the block and possibly within society at the time.[163]

Much of the façade and interior of the Zayas building(s)—which date to the seventeenth century—were renovated in the nineteenth century (Fig. 3.5). In 1852, the ceramic workshop was considered the most important shop in the city, with twenty journeymen, the largest number in a workshop at the time.[164]

Many workshops were located on this and parallel streets in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, including the *Locería de Alfaro* (Fig. 3.6) and the *Locería de Cabezas* (Fig.3.7). *Locería de Alfaro* was founded by Miguel Alfaro at the end of the seventeenth century (he died in the early eighteenth century), but it was his son Cristóbal Alfaro who seems to have purchased the house on the street "that follows the Convento of Santa Catalina de Siena to the neighborhood of San Matías, and comes to a corner with the Church of San Pablo de los Indios a la Plazuela de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe and the beautiful house of Don Diego de Santa Cruz Oyanguren y Espinola [also spelled Espindola]" in 1754 for 1200 *pesos* in gold.[165] This document probably refers to the workshop on the street of *Alfaro,* located on Avenida 8 Poniente 700. According to Mexican historian Hugo Leicht, once emblazoned the front of the workshop was a tile

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[163] The entire avenue was originally called *Calle que va del Puente de S. Francisco a S. Pablo* (the street that follows the San Francisco bridge to San Pablo) before 1612-33, when the *Libros del Cabezón* listing nomenclature, were first issued. Leicht, *Calles de Puebla,* s.v. "Calle de Zayas."

[164] Ibid.

[165] AGNP, no. 6, 1754, foja 336, cited in Cervantes, 2:241.

panel with an image of Saint Christopher,[166] who would have been the patron saint of Cristóbal Alfaro and of the workshop itself. A plaque still fixed to the door is dated 1713, which suggests that the building was constructed in that year, although it is not clear when the tiles were first installed. Ceramic manufacture was a family affair for the Alvaros; the son of Cristóbal, named Cristóbal Alfaro *el mozo,* also was a master potter, as well as alderman (*alcalde*) of the guild in 1775 and inspector (*veedor*) from 1759 to 1761, and 1771 to 1772. His sister Ignacia married master potter Miguel de Priego, and their son Cristóbal Priego y Alfaro was also a master potter.[167] The building remained a workshop until 1913.[168]

Locería de Cabezas, today located at 12 Poniente 700, is another eighteenth-century workshop that can still be located. Despite its ruined state, it is one of the most beautiful eighteenth-century tiled buildings in Puebla (Fig.3.7). The workshop appears to have been founded by Juan Antonio Cabezas (b. 1699), who at the age of twenty-five passed his competency exam to become a master potter; his success is evident by his appointment as an inspector in 1769 and alderman in 1770, 1776, 1778, and 1787.[169] The workshop finally closed in 1845. The 1796 publication of official Puebla ordinances, *Ordenanzas para el Nuevo establecimiento e alcaldes de quartel de la ciudad de Puebla*

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[166] Leicht, *Calles de Puebla,* s.v. "Calle de Alfaro;" Antonio Peñafiel, *Cerámica mexicana y loza de talavera de Puebla* (Mexico City: Secretaría de Fomento, 1910), pl. 43.

[167] Cited in Cervantes, *Loza blanca,* 1:241, 294.

[168] Florence C. Lister and Robert H. Lister, "The Potter's Quarters of Colonial Puebla, Mexico," *Historical Archaeology* 18, no. 1 (1984): 92.

[169] CEHMC, Colección Cervantes, "Cartas de examinación," cited in Cervantes, 2:250-251.

de los Angeles, records several streets named for potters who lived and worked in them—such as *Calle de Alfaro, Calle Cabeza, Calle de Zayas,* and *Calle de Espíndola*—an indication of their industry's importance to the city.[170]

Methods and Materials in Puebla Workshops

Though little is known about the methods and materials used to make maiolica in colonial Puebla, photographs Cervantes took of Ysauro Uriarte's workshop in the early twentieth century illustrate the setting for and various steps in producing maiolica (Figs. 3.8-3.12).[171] Since the workshop environment has remained practically unchanged for centuries, these photographs provide insight to colonial practices. One photograph shows a man and young boy preparing the clay; the presence of a woman in the far left suggests women may have participated in production (Fig. 3.8). Since potters often lived in their workplaces, their family members must have been present during working hours and may have assisted in production. Another of Cervantes's photograph shows a thrower shaping a vessel on a wheel that probably is not very different from those used during the colonial period; it required the potter to spin it with one foot as he works the clay with his hands (Fig. 3.9). Another photograph shows two men sitting in a courtyard, close to a kiln and carefully dipping vessels into the maiolica glaze contained in a barrel, then resting them on boards (Fig. 3.10). Once dry, the vessels were painted by artists, who often used a

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[170] "Explicación del anterior mapa por cuartel," in *Ordenanzas para el nuevo establecimiento e alcaldes de quartel de la ciudad de Puebla de los Angeles* (Puebla: Oficina de D. Pedro de la Rosa, 1796), nos. 17 and 23. I am grateful to Francisco Pérez de Salazar for graciously lending me his copy of this volume during my visit to Mexico City in July 2004.

[171] Cervantes, *Loza blanca,* 1:1-16.

turning wheel to rotate them to ensure an even design, as seen in another photograph (Fig. 3.11). One craftsman outlined the design with carbon, while another colored in the forms, prior to firing the vessel in a kiln (Fig. 3.12). Kiln size varied widely, but probably did not change much after the original owner built it. It is only in the past fifty years that electrical kilns and wheels have replaced older equipment, and not all workshops have adopted them.

A few colonial documents include workshop inventories of equipment, raw materials, and vessels in stock. One of the earliest inventories is found in a document regarding a property that Encinas *el viejo* rented to Hernando de Narváez for three years beginning on 11 March 1604. It lists the following equipment for producing maiolica:[172]

> -Three good and safe maiolica kilns (*tres hornos de cocer losa, buenos y sanos*)
> -One small kiln [for calcination of glaze ingredients] in which glass is fired (*una padilla en que se quema el vidrio*)
> -Three complete seated potter's wheels (*tres ruedas sentadas y aviadas*)
> -Ninety lids for wall cisterns(?)[173] (*noventa tapamaniles*)
> -Six scaffolds to rest the maiolica [for drying] (*seis andamios para poner la losa*)
> -1,200 covers for wide bowls (*mil y doscientas cubiertas de escudillas*)
> -250 large flagstones (*doscientas y cincuenta lajas grandes*)
> -200 small and large slabs [probably of clay] to cover saggars (*doscientas tortas chicas y grandes para tapar las cobijas*)
> -one new utensil used [to combine tin, lead, and sand to form frit][174] for firing glass (*un tramuji nuevo, para quemar vidrio*)
> -2 dozen seats (*dos docenas de rodales*)
> -the usual brick[175] (*el atajona, moliente y corriente*)
> -6 large boards (*seis tablones grandes*)

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[172] AGNP, Notaría No. 4, Protocolos, 1604, f.s.n.

[173] It is unclear what *tapamaniles* means. This may refer to lids (*tapas*) for wall cisterns (*aguamaniles*).

[174] Lister and Lister, *Descriptive Dictionary,* s.v. "*tramuji*."

[175] Brick used by potters to disperse heat entering upper chamber of kiln. In Spain such bricks were used for firing lusterware. Lister and Lister, *Descriptive Dictionary*, s.v. "*atobon*."

This inventory establishes that the maiolica industry was well established by the turn of the seventeenth century. Encinas's workshop must have had ample space to accommodate the potters occupied the two dozen seats and produced the hundreds of vessels indicated by 200 saggar lids (the approximate number of vessels that could be fired at once) and 1,200 bowl lids.

Another document, from 1687 records that on 20 November 1697 Diego Salvador Carreto (d. 1657) rented Martín de Mafra a house/workshop located on the closed street of the Convento de Santo Domingo outfitted with the following materials:[176]

-sixteen dozen good and bad ceramic saggars
-fifty boxes used as molds
-seven dozen saggar lids
-three dozen saggars for small plates for nuns
-one large and one small mill
-a template (probably for tracing decoration)
-two wooden potter's wheels
-a twenty-five *vara* long wooden scaffold,
-one large and one *padilla* (small kiln used for calcination of glazed ingredients)
-three pits for sieve ingredients
-a large block on which to crush *tequestquite* (sodium deposits used to mix blue and dark brown pigments)
-wooden sledge
-a grinding stone (*piedra mexicana*) to prepare pigments

Ten years later, a similar list is recorded for the workshop of Roque de Talavera (d. ca. 1700), who rented space on the same street from master potter Gregorio de Perea. The inventory included:[177]

-a mill to grind glaze materials
-two other mills for preparing and applying glaze

[176] AGNP, Notaria 4, 1696-1697; Sagrario Angelopolitano, matrimonial records, cited in Cervantes, *Loza blanca,* 2:216.

[177] ANP, 1697 and 1699; Sagrario Angelopolitano, matrimonial records, cited in Cervantes, *Loza blanca* 2:222.

-a grinding stone on which to pulverize mineral pigments
-one hundred twenty-six loads of plates, half of which were in poor condition
-eight dozen broken and two and a half dozen saggar lids

Together, these documents give us some idea of the type and quantity of materials used by workshops in the seventeenth century, as well as suggesting the size and sophistication of these specific concerns.

THE PUEBLA WORKSHOPS IN THE URBAN FABRIC

Thanks to the bureaucratic nature of Spanish colonial society, informed by legacy of Ferdinand and Isabella, there are numerous colonial documents that include the locations of the most prominent maiolica workshops within the 120 rectangular blocks surrounding the central plaza, or *zócalo*, of Puebla. Street names of Puebla have changed over the course of time; the earliest ones, however, are descriptive, and indicate important landmarks that help identify them. By the end of the sixteenth century, streets began to be named after families who lived and operated important businesses along them. With workshop addresses, colonial and modern maps, and Hugo Leicht's dictionary of street names in Puebla, it is possible to chart potters' quarters over the centuries (see appendix 3).[178]

A Map of Puebla drawn by Francisco Xavier de Alcalá in 1717 from the collection of the Bancroft Library at the University of California (Fig. 3.2), and one from 1754, drawn by José Mariano de Medina and engraved by José Ortiz Carnero (Fig. 2.9), indicate the location of many landmarks within the city of Puebla.[179] Unlike ceramic

[178] Lister and Lister, "Potter's Quarters," 87-88.

[179] It should be noted that the 1754 map is oriented with the north at the bottom.

workshops in Seville, which were located beyond the city's walls to keep the pollution produced by the kilns away from city residents and to facilitate access to raw materials, Puebla's were grouped in the northwestern quadrant of the city (west of the Church of Santo Domingo), and centered around and slightly to the north of the parish Church of San Marcos (Fig. 3.2 and appendix 3).

The church of San Marcos was, in fact, the seat of the potter's guild in the eighteenth century (Fig. 4.41). Long before its present façade was built, the space was occupied by the Ermita (small church) of San Antonio de Abad. The Ayuntamiento (town council) is said to have designated the site for a church in 1538, just seven years after the city was founded and three years after permission was granted to build the Cathedral. Since a confraternity and/or a quasi-guild seem to have been established by Puebla's potters as early as the sixteenth century, it is possible that this church was their headquarters from the beginning.[180] If Cervantes is correct in his assumption that some of the founders of the city were in fact potters, this small church may have been built for the potter's confraternity, and its location may even have been a consideration in the planning of the city.

It can be estimated that maiolica production commenced in Puebla at least as early as 1570. By 1573, potters had sufficiently organized themselves to elect Juan

[180] While the patron saints of the Sevillan potters were always Santa Justa and Santa Rufina, the patron of the Puebla potters changed over the years. This may explain why the tile panels on the current façade of the Church of San Marcos illustrate various saints, including San Antonio de Abad, San Amador, San Marcos del Evangélico, and Nuestra Señora de las Lágrimas. It is unfortunate that the early church records no longer exist. Documents begin in 1643, but only contain baptismal, nuptial, and death records. I am grateful to Father Ángel Paz Puente of the Church of San Marcos for sharing his knowledge of the church and for having allowed me to examine documents from the church archive in November 2003.

Vásquez as their alderman (*alcalde*), and Francisco de Trujillo as their inspector (*veedor*).[181]

The approximate location of two late-sixteenth-century workshops is known; Gaspar de Encinas *el viejo*'s was on the street of *Herreros,* and Juan García Carrillo's was presumably on the street named after him.[182] The exact buildings in which Encinas and Carrillo worked are unknown. Encinas's workshop was probably located at the corner of *Padre Avila* 900, where another ceramic workshop, belonging to the Convento de Santa Catarina (or Catalina), was rented to master potter Pablo Micieses Altamirano in 1775.[183] This may have been the same space occupied by master potter Felipe Ruiz in 1657, when the property belonged to the Convento de Monjas de Santa Catalina de Sena.[184] In addition, the Convento de Señor San Agustín rented space on *los Herreros* to Pedro de Sifuentes, where he kept a workshop complete with "two good kilns for firing *loza*, one mill for the said employment, gimp line, two wheels and long boards."[185] Carrillo's workshop must have been on *Calle de Carrillo,* possibly at the western limit of the city along what is today *Calle 9 Norte 600.* The streets of *Herreros* and *Carrillo* run perpendicular to one another, meeting one street north of the parish Church of San Marcos, which would become an important center for Puebla potters.

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[181] AHMP, 5 February 1573, Libro de Actas de Cabildos No. 10, fols. 118-118v.

[182] See Lister and Lister, "Potter's Quarters," 88.

[183] Leight, *Calles de Puebla,* s.v. "Calle de Zayas."

[184] AGNP, 1657 and 1660, cited in Cervantes, 2:228.

[185] "dos hornos de cocer loza, buenos, un molino de dicho ministerio, armado, y dos ruedas y tablazón . . .," cited in Cervantes, 2:232.

From this period onward, potters settled in this area of the city. The Listers point out that this area was close to the principal road to Mexico City that traveled along the Hidalgo plains of Apan, facilitating access to resources and product distribution.[186] Moreover, it was close to a spring-fed stream that must have been convenient to potters who needed water for both their households and their production of maiolica.

The seventeenth century saw a dramatic increase in Puebla's population, due largely to a vigorous economy and to the allocation of numerous haciendas in the surrounding productive lands. The maiolica industry continued to expand as the city prospered and grew; by the end of the seventeenth century, well over two hundred potters were recorded.[187] They may well have worked in approximately two dozen workshops, some of them with more than one owner. The clustering of workshops in a single area of the city made for a close-knit community, as well as facilitating close scrutiny of the industry by inspectors to ensure regulations were followed.

By the end of the eighteenth century, the number of recorded workshops more than doubled. Because the eighteenth century is better documented than previous ones, however, it is hard to know whether the number of actual workshops grew at that rate. Historic accounts of the industry are somewhat more reliable. German explorer and naturalist Alexander von Humboldt (1769-1859), reported that forty-six ceramic workshops were active in Puebla at the end of the eighteenth century; it is not clear, however, if all made maiolica.[188] Years later, Humboldt counted sixteen workshops

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[186] Lister and Lister, "Potter's Quarters," 89.

[187] Ibid., 90.

[188] Alexander Von Humboldt, *Political Essays on the Kingdom of New Spain,* 4 vols. (London: I. Riley, 1811), 3:469.

making "delf[t] ware"—a reference to ware made in the style of maiolica made at Delft in Holland, but used in his text to generically describe the European-style maiolica ware with which Humboldt was familiar. The number of workshops declined as the guild system collapsed in the post-colonial period. The fact that post-colonial workshops were no longer so strictly regulated also may contribute to a lack of documentation, hence the under-reportage of those that continued to produce.

THE POTTERS' GUILD AND THEIR ORDINANCES

A sufficient number of craftsmen arrived in New Spain by the end of the sixteenth century to organize 153 guilds of various trades, most of them producing goods for residents in Mexico City and Puebla.[189] It was not 1652, however, that a number of potters (Antonio de Vega y Cordoba, Joan de Sevilla, Roque de Talavera, Damian Hernández, Antonio de Santillana, Juan González de Sosa, Felipe Muñóz, Nicolás de la Cueva, and Juan de Valencia, and Diego Salvador Carreto) petitioned the viceroys to set standards for their trade sending Diego Salvador Carreto as their representative before the Viceroy of New Spain:

> [H]e shall ask and request his Excellency to please declare that there must be in the aforementioned trade of potter an inspection, aware of the great problems that have been and that continue in the absence [of such an inspection], and that for this purpose ordinances that may be requested and that are necessary be made, listing the conditions, punishments, taxes and circumstances that may be required for the good use of aforementioned trade, and even so that it have our plan and issue the proper collections [of taxes] make claims, injunctions, summons, protests, judgments, objections, allegations, appeals, petitions, presentations of witnesses, documents, testimonies, and other collections, and conduct the other rulings and proceedings that are brought in judicially or extra-judicially, and if for reasons of ordering to have aforementioned inspection the royal treasury of your

[189] Lister and Lister, *Andalusian Ceramics*, 296.

> Majesty must be advised of some amount of pesos, it shall oblige us all Together, jointly, to you of each and every one of us in solidarity, with the renunciation of laws of association division and exclusion, to the payment of costs and expenses and of the others that may be incurred, in the times and terms in the parts and places and under the penalty and salaries that may be imposed and determined, and for fulfillment of the matters that may be listed over which documents be granted with force, connections, firmness, punishments, oaths, conditions, removal of proof/exemption of evidence, renunciation of laws, and of our jurisdiction and submission to the Justice and others that suit your validation, that in such a way that they be granted we approve them and we become stronger and we be obliged with our persons and goods to observe and comply by it as if a sentence decreed in matters of rulings, and it is for the aforementioned [purpose] and what is pending we give it that power with general administrative authority to substitute and exemption in kind.[190]

This document indicates the seriousness with which the potters' sought control of their industry.

On 26 February 1653, a meeting took place to appoint an inspector and deputies and to draw the first set of ordinances:

> In the City of the Angels [Puebla] on the 26th of the month of February of 1653, in compliance with what has been ordered by Mr. General Don Nicolás de Bonilla Bastida, *Alcalde Mayor* [principle alderman] and Lieutenant of Captain General that is in this city for his Majesty, the following Masters who currently practice the pottery trade met in the royal houses [main political building of the town] of aforementioned Mr. General, Diego Salvador Carreto, Damían Hernández, Francisco López Bernal, Andrés de Aro, Christoval Sánchez, Juan de Sevilla, Antonio de Vega y Cordoba, Felipe Muñoz, Antonio de Santillana, Domingo de Aguilar, Juan de Soriano, Diego Serrano, Diego Sánchez de Hinojosa, Joseph Ramos, Cristóbal García, Juan Ramírez, Nicolás de la Cueva, and thus together they were warned by the order of the aforementioned Mr. Alcalde Mayor that in order for what your Excellency ordered to be carried out they elect a *veedor* (inspector) and Deputies of aforementioned trade to proceed to the ordinances and whatever else is contained in the order of his Excellency, who said they were ready to do of their free and spontaneous will, unanimously and in agreement they said that they were appointing and they appointed Diego Salvador Carreto as *Veedor* (inspector) of aforementioned trade of potter and as Deputies, Damian Hernández for white work, Andres de Haro for yellow work, who being present accepted these offices and solemnly swore under God and the Cross to well and faithfully use all of their loyal knowledge and understanding, as they should and are obligated, and that they will make the ordinances without any fraud or deceit,

[190] AGNP, Protocolos, 1652, f. 703, cited in Cervantes, *Loza blanca*, 1:20.

> in all that they see that is in favor of aforementioned trade and use and exercise for the good of the Republic and that the buyers not be cheated so that no one be deceived nor harmed, and aforementioned Mr. *Alcalde Mayor* approved aforementioned appointment and gave them the power and authority for the use of aforementioned office insofar as they can and under the law and he ordered that aforementioned Diego Salvador Carreto, Damian Hernández, and Andrés de Haro be notified that at once they proceed to adjust the ordinances that may be convenient for the better use and exercise of aforementioned trade, and that they bring them before his Grace to comply with what his Excellency orders, who said that they would comply as soon as possible, the aforementioned Mr. General signed it with the craftsmen who knew how to sign their names.—Dn. Nicolás de Bonilla – Diego Salvador Carreto – Damian Hernández – Antonio de Vega Cordoba – Juan de Sevilla – Antonio de Santillana – Felipe Muñoz – Juan Soriano – Nicolás de la Cueba – Cristóbal García de la Vara – Diego Serrano y Peña – Juan Jimenez – Before me Bernardino López de Mendoza, Scribe of City Hall.

A set of ordinances was drawn up controlling every aspect of the trade, including methods and materials; pottery types and decoration employed; sale and distribution; categories of workers and the examinations that determined proficiency; and the rights of widows and heirs.

In addition to the various details outlined in the ordinances, one thing is made clear: only ceramist of pure Spanish heritage were to be made master potters. Article three specifies: "No black, mulatto, or person of mixed blood can be allowed to take the examination for master potters, for what is important is that they are Spanish of all satisfaction and confidence."[191] This exclusionary ordinance probably was modeled on one established in Aragón. Other documents indicate, however, that several non-Spaniards played important roles in workshops, and some even took and passed the examination for the title of *maestro*.

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[191] Cited in Cervantes, *Loza blanca*, 1:23; trans. in Edwin Atlee Barber, *Mexican Maiolica* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art, 1908), 19.

At the time the potters' ordinances were written, their prospects were improving, particularly in the pro-industry environment in Puebla. As the Puebla industry became increasingly successful and powerful, colonial Spaniards may have felt threatened by the skill of indigenous and mulatto potters. Although it was never fully established or enforced in Puebla, the medieval model may have been intended to protect the Spanish potter against perceived competition.

The guild system in Puebla became one of the most active and developed in all the Spanish colonies, largely because of the number of craft industries founded there. It also was a difficult system to control since (1) The guilds sought to take command of a society that functioned under a separate set of rules than those for Indians, who had been given a certain degree of freedom with regard to practicing any desired craft; (2) there was a constant influx of European immigrants, many of whom did not have a trade and sought to take part in a successful industry; and (3) merchants, who held significant privileges in colonial economic and social life, skimmed profits from potters, resulting in the guilds, endeavoring to control the distribution of their pottery.[192] In the end, guilds and their ordinances were hard-pressed to control either production or distribution.

Although Mexico City and Puebla were the first maiolica centers in the New World, they were not the first to issue ordinances regarding *loza vidriada* (glazed earthenware). As early as 1583, the town of Pátzcuaro in the Michoacan province issued the following statement:

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[192] Guy P.C. Thomson, *Puebla de los Angeles: Industry and Society in a Mexican City, 1700-1850*, Dellplain Latin American Studies, no. 25 (Boulder: Westview Press, 1989), 104.

> Whereas the residents of the city of Pátzcuaro, who are tradesmen for making plates and small bowls of glazed *loza* and other pieces of clay, have declared to me that the chief justice of the said city authorized inspectors of the said profession who should examine and visit them where they were working so that if their work were acceptable it could be sold and if it were not, that it should be removed and not sold. Now there are some Indian *olleros* [potters], who are not now nor have they ever been nor can they ever be practitioners of said trade nor do they even know how to make said plates badly. And from this, fraud and deception result in the republic which should not occur and they have asked me to rule and issue them a ruling that for this trade only those who are said practitioners may engage in this profession and not the *olleros*. In witness whereof, I hereby order that one shall follow and comply with whatever ruling the alderman of the province of Michoacán shall issue in this regard, until I shall decree and order otherwise. Dated in Mexico on the twenty-third ay of the month of April of 1583. The count of La Coruña. At the orders of his Excellency, Martín López de Gaona.[193]

The ceramic ware to which this document refers probably was not true maiolica, but rather a lead glazed ware made without tin (Fig. 5.1). Nonetheless, what is unusual about the document is the observation that "some" Indians lacked the capacity to make the glazed ware and probably would not be able to learn the skill.

The potter's ordinances also stipulated the guild membership and organization, noting in Article 1:

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[193] Por cuanto por parte de los naturales de la ciudad de Pátzcuaro, que son oficiales de hacer platos y escudillos de loza vidriada t otras piezas de barro, me ha sido fecha relación que la justicia de la dicha cuidad, proveyó Veedores de este oficio para que viesen y visitasen la obra que se hazía, para que siendo tal se pudiese vender y no lo siendo se les quitase y no se vendiese. Y agora algunos índios olleros que no son ni an sido ni pueden ser oficiales de dicho oficio ni lo saben hacer los dichos platos mal hechos y de donde se sigue fraude y engaño a la república que a no debe dar lugar, y me pidieron les mandase dar y diese mandamiento para que solo los que son tal oficiales, usen el dicho oficio y no los olleros; por tanto por la presente mando que se guarde y cumpla lo quel Alcalde Mayor de la província de Mechoacan obiere mandado en la dicha razon hasta que por mi otra cosa se provea y mande. Fecho en México a viente y tres días del mes de abril de mil quientos ochenta y tres años. El Conde de la Coruña. Por mandado de su Excelencia, Martín López de Gaona. AGN, Indios 2, expedientes 718, cited in Cervantes, *Loza blanca*, 1:18.

1. No person may practice the trade of a potter without being examined in that trade by the Alderman and Inspector, which officials shall be nominated and elected each year to their offices by the master workmen of the guild.[194]

The ordinances state that the alderman and inspector are authorized to visit the stores and workshops and to "condemn the work that is not found to be in accord with the tenor of the following articles."[195]

The ordinances make it clear that the title of master potter existed long before the guild was established, stating in part that:

2. That taking into consideration the fact that today there is not a single master workman (of the potter's guild) who has passed an examination and that until the present there have never been any laws for the examination and government of potters: therefore we have been nominated for that position; we are to be the examiners. By virtue of out nominations as experts in pottery making we have been approved and are examiners according to the law.[196]

If there were no previous regulations for the potters, then what purpose did the aldermen and inspectors serve when the positions were first appointed as early as 1546? Perhaps these laws existed, but this is the first time that they are articulated in writing.

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[194] "Lo primero, que ninguna persona pueda usar dicho oficio sin ser examinado del por los Alcaldes y Veedores que para fueren nombrados y electos cada año." Original ordinances are located at the AHMP, vol. 35 "Cartas y Ordenanzas del señor D. José de Gálvez al Ilustre Ayuntamiento," "Cartas de exámen de algunas ordenanzas de Gremios," and the CEHMC, Cervantes collection, "Gremios," cited in Cervantes, *Loza blanca*, 1:22-25; trans. Edwin Atlee Barber, *The Maiolica of Mexico* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art, 1908), 18-20.

[195] "denunciar de la obra que no estuviere fabricada conforme tenor de los capítulos de que se hará mención." Cited in Cervantes, *Loza blanca*, 1:23; trans. Barber, *Maiolica,* 19.

[196] "Que atento en que al presente no hay ningun maestro examinado, ni hasta ahora tiene este oficio Ordenanzas por donde examinarse, ni gobernarse; y nosotros hemos sido nombrados para el efecto referido; hemos de ser los examinadores, pues por el nombramiento en nosh echo, como peritos en dicho oficio, quedamos aprobados, y examinados conforme a Derecho." Ibid.

Article 3 refers back to the discussion of race and who is permitted to rise to the title of master potter:

> 3. No negro, mulatto, nor person of mixed blood can be allowed to take the examination for a master potter. The provisions of this article must be strictly complied with.[197]

As we have seen, this article was not strictly enforced, though it did limit the number of master potters who apparently controlled the industry. Nonetheless, this article is further reinforced by article 4 prohibiting anyone who had not passed the required exam from working or owning a workshop, namely the master and journeymen potters.

> 4. That in order to justify the existing laws no persons who have not been examined (as mentioned) shall work at the potter's trade, or possess pottery-stores or workshops. Such persons there may be who pretend to have these rights for a limited time, and that they were exempt from the examination. All which is greatly against the interests of all real master potters. No Judge shall grant such a license to any person whatsoever, nor shall the Aldermen or Inspectors either tactilely or expressly permit such persons (unexamined) to have workshops, under whatsoever pretext or excuse or palliation.[198]

Article 5 specifies vessel types and their producers:

> 5. There shall be known three classes of pottery, the fine, the common and the yellow, such as jars, pots, vases, pans, strainers, etc. No one can manufacture pottery, either fine or common, without passing the examination required in the kind of pottery he expects to make. He may

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[197] "Que no se pueda admitir a examen de dicho oficio, a ningún negro, ni mulato, ni otra persona de color turado, por lo que importa que no que sean españoles de toda satisfacción y confianza. Ibid.

[198] "Que para excusar los daños que se siguen de que no use dichos oficios, ni tengan obradores ni tiendas públicas personas que no sean examinadas, y que excusarse del examen pretenden se les dé licencia para usar dicho oficio, por tiempo limitado, con que se pasan sin examiner en grave perjuicio de los maestros que lo son: no se ha de poder conceder dicha liciencia por ningún Juez, ni persmitir los Alcadores and the Inspector, tactita no expresamente que tengan dichos obradores, dismulando con ellos con níngún pretexto, ni cuasa que se oponga. Ibid.

> only make the kind in whose manufacture he is examined, unless perchance his examination has been on all (three kinds).[199]

This explains why apprentices were encouraged to learn more than one area of the trade, and why titles often specified areas of production. Though such provisions may have aimed to ensure uniformity of style and finality, this was not the case; some common ware was finely executed, while some fine ware was less than refined.

The ordinances would seem to ratify the industry's dominance by men, with one notable exception:

> 6. The widow of a master potter may continue his plant and shop, and none may interfere with her right; and the son of the master potter can continue the business of his deceased father for three years without being examined.[200]

(It also articulates that son's of potters are offered the same privilege.) If women did in fact continue to operate their husbands' workshops, why don't any feminine names appear in colonial documents? It is possible that such women continued to use their deceased husband's name in business transactions; though the lack of women's wills leaving businesses to their heirs argues against this supposition.

The potter's ordinances of Puebla continued to be amended for over one hundred and fifty years. By the end of the eighteenth century, mulattos and mestizos were formally allowed to enter the trade and qualify for guild examination. Of course, by this

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[199] Que hayan de tener separación los tres generos de loza fina, común y amarilla, que se entiende ollas y cazuelos, y otros vasos, jarros, colorados, no puedan hacer los cumún, menos que habiendose examinado para ello de forma que cada uno ha de labrar, solo el género de que se examinare, y no otro ninguno, si no es que se comprede todo en su examen." Ibid.

[200] Que la viuda de cualquier maestro peuda usar el oficio de que si marido fue examinado, con oficiales, sin que ello se les pongan impedimente; y el hijo del maestro lo pueda usar tres años sin examine, con que pasado se pretentendar ignorancia en su cumplimiente." Ibid.

time most potters had been born in New Spain and fewer were of pure Spanish blood. At the end of the colonial period, potters and other craftsmen were no longer tied to the guild and ordinances, and they were repealed by the Cádiz constitution in 1820.

CHAPTER 4

AZULEJOS POBLANOS: EMERGENCE OF PUEBLA TILES

This chapter traces the migration of tile production from its roots in the Middle East and North Africa to the development of a unique Mexican tile tradition in Puebla. Since this study is limited to maiolica, it treats only ceramic tiles decorated with maiolica glaze, from the sixteenth through the early twentieth centuries.[201] The history of the use and production of maiolica tiles in Mexico is as rich as it is long, involving the exchange of techniques, materials, and designs across three continents (Asia, Europe, and North America) over centuries.

The use of clay in architecture has had practical aspects, as well as a decorative appeal. Maiolica tiles are easy to clean, waterproof, and fire retardant.[202] Moreover, the material helps refract heat, making it an ideal surface for the hot, dry climate typical of the Middle East, North Africa, southern Spain, and, later, many parts of New Spain.[203] In general, stone and wood were scarce materials in the Middle Eastern world, making clay an obvious material for construction. For centuries, tiles have been used to embellish

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[201] Unglazed tiles, in fact, belong to another ceramic tradition brought to the New World by the Spaniards.

[202] Hans van Lehman, *Tiles: 1,000 Years of Architectural Decoration* (New York: Harry Abrams, 1993), 11.

[203] Florence C. Lister and Robert H. Lister, *Andalusian Ceramics in Spain and New Spain: A Cultural Register from the Third Century B.C. to 1700* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1987), 31.

private homes and public buildings, palaces, mosques, churches, and monasteries. In the domestic realm, tiles were visible marks of social status in both Spain and colonial Mexico; if one could afford to commission a tiled floor, wall or ceiling, then one was considered wealthy, hence the Spanish expression "You will not build a house with tiles"—that is, you will never be rich enough to afford luxury.[204]

The common word used to describe tiles throughout the Hispanic world is *azulejo*, which derives from the Arabic word *al-zulaycha* ("small polished stone or brick"). *Al-zulaycha* refers to the type of mosaic decoration composed of glass, stone, ceramic or other materials used to create decorative surfaces in Egypt as early as the fourth millennium B.C.E.[205] This type of ornamentation was an important step in the development of architectural maiolica.

TILE PRODUCTION AND USE IN SPAIN

On the Iberian Peninsula, Romans first employed unglazed terra cotta floor tiles in their buildings from the third century B.C.E. to the fifth century C.E. The technique for producing maiolica (glazed) tiles was first developed in the ninth century C.E. in Samara, Iraq, soon after maiolica was first manufactured. In the tenth century, maiolica tiles were exported to the Iberian Peninsula from North Africa and the Middle East, and decorated palaces such as the Madinat al-Zahra', located just west of Córdoba in southern

[204] "No harás casa con azulejos," José Gestoso y Pérez, *Historia de los barros vidriados sevillanos* (Seville: Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, 1995), 187.

[205] Federico Lara Peinado, "Sumptuous Architectural Ceramics of Ancient Egypt," in *La ruta de la cerámica* (Castellón: Sala Bancaja San Miguel, 2000), 290.

Spain. By the twelfth century, glazed tiles were manufactured in southern Spain itself, and became one of the most important components in architectural decoration.

The first maiolica tiles produced in Spain featured elaborate designs made from small geometric shapes (squares, rectangles, star-shapes, hexagons, and triangles) that were arranged in patterns and set into plaster, a technique similar to that employed earlier in Roman stone mosaics. In Spanish, individual tiles are known as *aliceres,* which together form *alicatados* that, like *azulejo,* derive from the Arabic word *al-zulayacha* ("little stone"). These *alicatados* created brilliant geometric patterns of light and color on the walls and floors of mosques, and, later, churches, and the homes of the nobles and the wealthy. The walls of the thirteenth-century Cuarto Real of Santo Domingo in Granada are stunning examples of early *alicatado* decoration (Fig. 4.1), which was further developed under the Nazrid dynasty that ruled the kingdom of Granada from 1232 to 1492. Seville and Córdoba also are graced by important *alicatado* décor in both religious and secular settings, such as the Capilla Real of the Mezquita (mosque) of Córdoba set within an overall Islamic schema of plasterwork and carved and gilded woodwork (Fig. 4.2).

As early as the thirteenth century, Islamic potters migrating into Christian Spain introduced ceramic traditions practiced in al-Andalus, the area of the Iberian Peninsula under Islamic control. Throughout Spain, individual regional styles of maiolica tile developed; that favored in Christian Aragón, for instance, combines brick and terra-cotta slabs with glazed elements, resulting in the sharp contrasts of color and texture. The fourteenth-century tower of the Church of San Martín in Teruel, which today forms part of the Cathedral, is one example (Fig. 4.3). Here, artisans combined green glazed wood

with green and manganese plates and tiles; the rough textured bricks contrast the smooth and shiny appearance of the glazed ceramic plates and tiles. This style became particularly important in the exterior decoration of towers in the northeastern region of Christian Aragón, where Teruel boasts the most impressive towers of this type. According to Spanish ceramic historian Balbina Martínez Caviró, the architects of towers were the first in Spain to use glazed ceramic in architectural ornament.[206]

By the late fifteenth century, the use of maiolica tiles combined with terra cotta or brick slabs in a style commonly known as *mudéjar*,[207] was widespread, especially in floor decoration. A detail from a fifteenth-century Valencian altar panel of the Prophet Isaiah by Juan Reixach illustrates a type of floor decoration using staggered tiles (Fig. 4.4).[208] This sort of pairing of rough textured red terracotta with smooth, shiny glazed tiles would have the most significant impact on architectural exterior designs in eighteenth-century Puebla.

TECHNIQUES FOR TILE DECORATION

By the sixteenth century, the labor-intensive method of *alicatado* gave way to two distinct methods that emulated the look of mosaic by separating color oxides on a single tile. *Cuerda seca* (dry cord) separates color areas by creating a resist with a mixture of

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[206] Balbina Martínez Caviró, *Cerámica hispanomusulmana, Andalusí y Mudéjar* (Madrid: Ediciones El Viso, 1991), 224.

[207] *Mudéjar* is a term used since the thirteenth century to describe a Muslim living under Christian jurisdiction while continuing his or her religion. The term is also used to describe a style of art and architecture of Christian Spain influenced or realized by Muslim artists, although it has recently been replaced in favor of more precise references to geographic origin.

[208] Martínez Caviró, *Cerámica hispanomusulmana*, 201.

manganese oxide and grease (Fig. 4.5). This technique probably was developed in Egypt during the reign of Djoser (c. 2630-2611 B.C.E.) and came to southern Spain via Tunisia by the eleventh century.[209] Some scholars suggest that *cuerda seca* tiles existed in Spain as early as the tenth century in the Great Mosque at Cordoba.[210] In general, this technique was used to create geometric patterns that emulated the appearance of *alicatados*. Potters also used *cuerda seca* to depict heraldic and figurative images on single tiles (Fig. 4.5). Although the technique also was used to decorate vessels, *cuerda seca* was best suited flat surfaces.

The other technique, known variously as *cuenca, arista*, or *azulejo de labores* (tile of labor),[211] was achieved by using a stamp to create a negative mold, a process that made it possible to mass-produce tiles at lower cost. Specialists were no longer needed to produce and decorate each tile, and designs could be produced by mold, and then painted. Square tiles of this type were used on floors and walls, while rectangular ones were set in ceilings. These tiles feature Renaissance-style decorative motifs, although geometric patterns also appear, particularly in Toledo.[212] The technique allowed artists greater freedom to create non-geometric, painterly designs and became particularly important when the Italian Renaissance style, then called "*a lo Romano*," became popular in Spain. It first appeared in Spain in ornamental drawings, and subsequently extended into

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[209] Ibid., 46.

[210] Gerard Degeorge and Yves Porter, *The Art of the Islamic Tile* (Paris: Flammarion, 2002), 50.

[211] Antonio Sancho Corbacho, *La cerámica andaluza: Azulejos sevillanos del siglo XVI, de cuenca* (Seville: Laboratorio de arte, Universidad de Seville, 1948).

[212] Martínez Caviró, *Cerámica hispanomusulmana*, 319.

architectural decoration as well as woodcarving, gold and silversmithing, weaving, and decorative ceramics. A combination of *cuenca* tiles typically was installed on a ceiling with wood support beams, as seen at the Convento de Santa Clara in Seville, from the second half of the sixteenth century (Fig. 4.6).

By the sixteenth century, ceramists had also begun to paint directly onto white tin- and lead-based glaze backgrounds with a variety of bright new colors that were introduced to the limited Spanish palette by immigrant Italian potters. This type of tile, known as *pisano,* is believed to have been brought to Spain by Italian master ceramist Francisco Niculoso, who arrived in Seville by 1498.[213] Like other workmen of Italian origin living in Spain at the time, Niculoso may have been called "*pisano*" simply because he was Italian and not necessarily because he was from Pisa. Although individually decorated tiles had already begun to be made throughout Spain and other parts of Europe, Niculoso introduced the idea of grouping series of tiles together to form a larger pictorial image and painted narratives.[214] One such composition, signed by Niculoso in 1504, depicts the Visitation. It was rediscovered in 1882, during the demolition of a building in Lisbon (Fig. 4.7), and today is housed at the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam.[215] Having traveled throughout Italy studying Roman fresco painting and

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[213] The name was very popular in Seville during this period. See Anthony Ray, "Francisco Niculoso called Pisano," in Timothy Wilson, ed., *Italian Renaissance Pottery: Papers Written in Association with a Colloquium at the British Museum* (London: British Museum Press, 1995), 261-266.

[214] Alfonso Plequezuelo Hernández, *Azulejos Sevillanos, Catálogo del Museo de Artes y Costumbres Populares de Sevilla* (Seville: Pradilla Libros, 1989), 45; Alice Wilson Frothingham, *The Tiles of Spain, 1500-1650* (New York: Hispanic Society of America, 1969), 1; Anthony Ray, *Spanish Pottery 1248-1898 with a catalogue of the Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum* (London: Victoria and Albert Publications, 2000), 264.

[215] Frothingham, *Tiles of Spain*, 10.

Byzantine mosaics, Niculoso began to think beyond individual tiles. He began using groups of tiles to create compositions more readily associated with Renaissance painting. In essence, he transformed tin-glazed clay slabs into canvases. While continuous multi-level narratives flourished in Spain during the following centuries, they never took hold in the New World.

MESOAMERICAN WALL SURFACE DECORATION

As in Europe, architectural ornamentation reflected prosperity and social status in Mesoamerica. By the time of European contact with Mexico, a tradition of interior and exterior wall decoration already flourished in many parts of the New World. Wall surfaces of elite residences and ceremonial structures of the Maya, Mixtec, and Aztec, among others, often were decorated with abstract patterns and/or figural images. The exteriors of some buildings were embellished with cut-and carved-stone designs. For example, the Puuc architectural style of the Maya of northwest Yucatán in the late and terminal Classic period (600-1000) is characterized by the use of elaborate veneer masonry made possible by the plentiful supply of limestone in Yucatan. The resulting stone mosaics covered the exterior walls of "palaces" and administrative buildings.[216] The Puuc site of Uxmal boasts an impressive range of such ornamentation (Fig. 4.8).

The preferred medium for decorating interior walls throughout prehispanic Mesoamerica was mural painting. Some of the most extraordinary pre-Hispanic murals are found at the archaeological sites of Cholula and Maya Cacaxtla, both near the

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[216] Robert Sharer, *The Ancient Maya*, 5th ed. (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1994), 370-6.

colonial city of Puebla.[217] After the conquest of Mexico, mural painting continued to be practiced. Colonial murals, some with pre-Hispanic features, decorated both sacred and secular spaces.

Shipment of Spanish Tiles to New Spain

In the first decade of the sixteenth century, the Spanish government began to send irregular fleets across the Atlantic laden with supplies. Among the imported items were maiolica tiles, many of which came from the prolific potters of Triana, a sector of Seville that had become the most important center for the production of ceramic tiles in Spain at the time. Triana supplied ceramics and ceramists to colonies throughout the Americas, including the Caribbean.[218]

Maiolica tiles were clearly not necessities to colonial life, yet the crown began to ship them to the Caribbean at least a decade before Cortés embarked for Mexico. Were they considered necessary for the proper decoration of colonial churches? Florence and Robert Lister discovered a document of particular interest regarding this matter.[219] In a document written in Burgos in 1512, King Ferdinand replied to a request that tiles, bricks, masons, carpenters, and cement workers be sent to the island of Hispaniola (today the Dominican Republic and Haiti). He granted the request, but not without complaining

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[217] Maria Teresa Uriarte, "Cholula," and "The paintings of Cacaxtla," in Beatrice de la Fuente et al., *The Pre-Columbian Painting: Murals of Mesoamerica* (Mexico City: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 1999), 67-80, 129-134.

[218] See app. 2: "Sixteenth-Century Spanish Shipping Records Containing References to Ceramics and Architectural Terra Cottas," in Lister and Lister, *Andalusian Ceramics*, 311-318.

[219] Lister and Lister, *Andalusian Ceramics,* 338, n. 59.

that the items were unnecessary, since the island reportedly had substantial wood and clay resources as well as trained Spanish laborers. Church builders in the New World, however, must have felt it important to embellish their new churches with the sorts of colorful tiles they had known in Spain, since the church was a symbol of domination, and an essential part of the colonization effort. The Florentine Codex states that:

> [I]t was necessary to ornament and make a show of the churches in order to elevate the Indians's souls and to move them towards things of God, because their very nature, which is remiss and forgetful of inner things, needs to be helped by the outward aspects.[220]

Many colonial churches were designed by lay brothers, who were frequently masons as well as friars. Their knowledge of architecture derived mainly from European prints and memories of structures in their homeland, most of which were embellished with the tiles they now sought to import. Spanish tiles, moreover, did not require the presence of ceramists. Those found in the New World are generally associated with some of the most important religious structures, suggesting how greatly they were valued at the time. The Spanish tiles typically shipped to the New World were the flat-surfaced *pisano* type, which by the sixteenth century, were the dominant type in Seville. Since ships bound for the Americas left from Seville, most of the European tiles exported were *pisano*-style from Triana.

Archeologists have reported only few Spanish tiles at colonial sites and in underwater excavations,[221] although historical documents indicate that they were shipped

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[220] Quoted in Johanna Hecht, "The Renaissance and Counter-Reformation (1550-1650): Mexican Architecture and Sculpture in Renaissance Modes," in *Mexico: Splendor of Thirty Centuries* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1990), 281.

[221] Kathleen Deagan, *Artifacts of the Spanish Colonies of Florida and the Caribbean, 1500-1800,* vol. 1*, Ceramics, Glassware, and Beads* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1987), 119-124. Curiously, tiles are not discussed in Mitchell W.

to the New World in large quantities. Forty wicker baskets of tiles, for instance, were shipped on the Santa María Antigua, which sailed to Santo Domingo in the fleet of Diego Colón in 1509, and the San Juan of the same fleet reportedly carried six baskets.[222] Both *cuenca* and *pisano* tiles survive in *situ* at Santo Domingo's Cathedral (1523-1540) (Fig. 4.9) and its Hospital of San Nicolás (1533-1552).[223]

For the most part, however, it is unclear what happened to the vast numbers of Spanish tiles that were shipped to New World. They may have been dispersed or destroyed when churches and other ecclesiastic structures were dismantled, reconstructed, and redecorated, as colonial tiles often were. It also is possible that these tiles were never removed from the walls and still lay beneath tiles installed subsequently.

The conventos of Santo Domingo and San Francisco in Lima, both dating to the first half of the seventeenth century are some of the few Spanish colonial structures to retain their original tiled interiors (Fig. 4.10). Many of the *pisano* tiles there have been attributed to two workshops in Seville. A contract from 1604 documents that Fernando de Valladares, who came from a family of potters in Triana, made 80,000 tiles for the Dominican friar Francisco de Vega in Peru,[224] and it is known that Juan Martín Garrido

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Marken, *Pottery from Spanish Shipwrecks, 1500-1800* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1994).

[222] Lister and Lister, *Andalusian Ceramics*, 311.

[223] Diego Angulo Iñíguez, *El gótico y el renacimiento en las Antillas,* Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos de Sevilla 36, no. 16 (1947): 44-49, figs. 62-72; John Goggin, *Majolica in the New World: Types of the Sixteenth to Eighteenth Century*, Yale University Publications in Anthropology, no. 72 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), 144-148.

[224] Antonio Sancho Corbacho, "Los azulejos sevillanos en Lima*,"* in *Arte en América y Filipinas* 2, no. 3 (1949): 98-99; Frothingham, *Tiles of Spain*, 80.

moved to Lima from Seville by 1619 to make over six thousand tiles for the Convento of Santo Domingo, commissioned by the Dominican procurator general. In addition to large and small squares tiles and narrow border tiles, it took five hundred and sixty tiles to fill pilaster panels there, and five hundred and fifty tiles for the four altar frontals "like those in the cloister of the Monastery of San Pablo in this city [Seville]."[225] Another contract, dated 23 September 1619, indicates that Martín Garrido received an advance of two hundred *pesos de a ocho reales* for his work at the Convento of Santo Domingo in Lima.[226] Impressed by the colorful decoration at Santo Domingo, Father Bernabé Cobo, a Jesuit historian residing in Lima in the first half of the seventeenth century, recorded the following:

> The main cloister of Santo Domingo is the best decorated in all the kingdom; the walls and lower pillars for more than an *estado* and a half from the ground are covered with tiles of varied and careful workmanship, which were brought from Spain at great expense.[227]

In *Tesoros verdaderos de las Indias* (1681), Juan Meléndez wrote of the splendors of Lima, drawing attention to the Church of Nuestra Señora del Rosario. According to Meléndez, Sevillan tiles adorned its altar frontals as well as the walls of the choir and the cloister.[228] He writes:

> [The wall] always was decorated with glazed, brocaded [tiles] made in the city of Seville in 1600, and traveled at great cost and work, and after so many years and oceans, is preserved so completely, that not even one of the tiles was damaged;

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[225] APNS. of. 21, libro 2 de 1604, fols. 390-393, cited in Sancho Corbacho, "Los Azulejos," 98-99.

[226] Emilio Harth-Terré, "El azulejo criollo en la arquitectura limeña," *Revista del Archivo Nacional del Perú* 22, no. 2 (1958): 34; see Frothingham, *Tiles of Spain*, 41.

[227] Bernabé Cobo, *Historia de la fundación de Lima* (Lima: Imprenta Liberal, 1882), 261.

[228] Juan Meléndez, *Tesoros verdaderos de las Indias* (Rome: N.A. Tinassio, 1681), 8:56.

> they do make [these tiles] of inferior quality in Lima, but that is the plague of the world, underestimating their own production, they appreciate more the things from abroad.[229]

These observations suggest a common conviction that at that time it was believed that tiles brought from Spain were better than those that could be made locally. Curiously, no known church or convento in Mexico was decorated with such a quantity of Sevillan tiles as those found in Lima. Perhaps those that once existed in Mexico eventually were replaced by locally made tiles. Certainly, a conscious decision was made to employ local workshops—well established by the seventeenth century—instead of making an investment in Spanish tiles, which took a long time to arrive and were often lost or damaged in transit.

Since few early colonial interiors in Mexico survive intact, many questions about them remain. Spanish tiles that once must have adorned colonial buildings are known in various museum collections in Mexico, such as the Franz Mayer Museum in Mexico City and the José Luis Bello y González Museum in Puebla. In the early twentieth century, for instance, Bello acquired a set of one hundred and twenty *pisano*-style wall tiles (about twenty of which are now in the Bello Museum) that probably once ornamented an interior wall of an early seventeenth-century church (Fig. 4.11). Their pierced strapwork, consisting of interlaced bands amid foliage, is characteristic of Valladares designs. According to Frothingham, Valladares's source of inspiration for this composition was

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[229] "Todo esta siempre pendiente colgadura de vidriados brocateles se dibujo, y cocio en la Ciudad de Sevilla el año de mil y seis cientos, y se condujo á esta con mucha costa, y trabajo, y después de tantos años, y mares, se conserva tan entera, que aun no ha despostillado un azulejo; no se hazen de inferior fineza en Lima, pero ya es plaga del mundo, desestimando lo propio, hacer mas caso de los que viene de afuera." Meléndez, *Tesoros verdaderos*, 9:60.

probably a late sixteenth-century tile panel painted by Cristóbal de Augusta in the Salón of Carlos V in the Alcázar in Seville (Fig. 4.12).[230]

Mexican conventos of the sixteenth century were more often decorated with painted scenes, both inside and outside. Many of these include friezes similar to those painted on tile, such as those at the ex-conventos of San Agustín in Acolman near Mexico City, and San Francisco in Huejotzingo, near Puebla, among others.[231] Ceramists and mural painters seem to have relied on similar print sources, and their products are often resemblant, reflecting taste for a particular Renaissance style that translated well into wall decoration. A painted altarpiece along the cloister walls of the church of Acolman (near Mexico City), for example, is similar in design to Sevillan tiled altars from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which often emulate lace altar cloths with fringe along the edge (Fig. 4.13).

Mural painting was probably more affordable,[232] and certainly was a faster means of decorating a wall, but Spanish tiles allowed religious institutions to achieve interior spaces that resembled those in Spain without relying on the physical presence of an artist. While mural paintings constituted colonial reinterpretations, Spanish tiles afforded continuity and authenticity. Moreover, maiolica tiles were resistant to harsh changes in climate and humidity, and were thus ideal for outdoor spaces, such as cloisters and open-

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[230] Frothingham, *Tiles of Spain*, 44-45.

[231] See Manuel Tousaint, *Pintura colonial en México* (Mexico City: UNAM, 1990), figs. 38-47.

[232] As noted by Cobo, Spanish tiles were shipped at "great expense;" an expense that simply was not affordable for certain religious orders. Cobo, *Historia de la fundación de Lima*, 261.

air chapels.[233] No tiled chapels are known from the sixteenth century, however. All of the known sixteenth-century exterior spaces were painted, although many have deteriorated and few survive. Like the clearly articulated mural paintings, tile panels became an important means of reaching a broad audience, with simplified images emblazoned on the façades of parish churches that were generally situated in the city centers.

The first tiles in Mexico, whether imported from Spain or of local manufacture, were destined for liturgical use. They embellished chapels, crypts, altars, and baptismal fonts. For example, alternating black and white tiles similar to the tile mosaics or *alicatados* of Spain accent a font at the Cathedral of Puebla. Some panels were purely abstract and decorative, others were figurative and didactic.

Spanish Tiles at the Convento del Carmen, San Angel, Mexico City

The use of tiles seems to have increased in the seventeenth century, although few colonial structures in Mexico retain their original seventeenth-century Spanish tile decoration (and even those are fragmentary). The former Convento del Carmen in San Angel (now part of Mexico City) is among them.[234]

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[233] For discussion on the murals of the open-air chapels and cloisters, see Samuel Y. Edgerton, *Theaters of Conversion: Religious Architecture and Indian Artisans in Colonial Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2001), 173-235.

[234] See Francisco Fernández del Castillo, *Apuntes para la historia de San Angel (San Jacinto Tenanitla) y sus arededores: Tradiciones, historia, leyendas* (Mexico City: Museo Nacional de Aqueología, Historia y Etnología, 1913), figs. 14-16; Carlos Mijares Bracho, *San Ángel* (Mexico City: Editorial Clío, 1997), 56-57. I am grateful to Mexican historian Jaime Abundis for sharing his knowledge of this convento.

The Carmelite friar Andrés de San Miguel began to construct the original Convento del Carmen in 1615.[235] Modifications and repairs were made into the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. . Tiles of both Spanish and Mexican origin and widely disparate dates are found throughout the church and convento. The Spanish tiles, probably imported around 1628,[236] are consistent in color and style with those made in Triana. The most significant section to survive is a panel on the face of an altar in the crypt (Fig. 4.14), versions of which originally appeared as well on the side altars of the church (the one there today appears to be a recent reproduction). The extraordinary likeness of these panels to an altar frontal with a central image of saints Justa and Rufina by Valladares (Fig. 4.15)—today in the collection of the Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes in Seville—strongly suggests that the original Carmelite frontals were made by his workshop. Characteristic of Valladares's work is the embroidery pattern reminiscent of gold-yellow cloth with stylized cornucopias made of blue pierced strap work budding foliage in blue, green, and orange; a narrow frieze painted with braided green and ochre fringe; a thin border of blue and white rope-like arrows; a stylized lace design at the top, and a strong frame made of solid blue rectangular tiles. This same type of altar frontal appears in the Convento of San Francisco in Lima—there with the emblem of the Franciscan Order (a wooden cross behind the symbolic crossed arms of Christ and Saint Francis) (Fig. 4.16). In addition, the Spanish tiles at the Museo Bello are similar to these, and must have once

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[235] Virginia Armella de Aspe, "Apuntes sobre la vida cotidiana en la ciudad de México en el siglo XVIII," in *Vida cotiana en la Nueva España: Espacios recientes rescatados del Museo de El Carmen* (Mexico: Prensa de Arte for the Society of Friends of the Museo del Carmen de San Angel, n.d.), 10.

[236] Frothingham, *Tiles of Spain*, 79; Fernández del Castillo, *Apuntes para la historia,* 80-81.

belonged to a church or convento in Puebla or Mexico City (Figs. 4.11, 4.17), since Bello formed his collection by purchasing objects in Mexico alone.[237] Together, these examples indicate that Valladares made shipments to Mexico as well as Peru.

The Carmelite emblem on the San Angel panel attributed to Valladares indicates that it was commissioned specifically for the Carmelite order. It is unclear, however, whether the diaper patterned tiles flanking the central compositions were originally intended to be combined with the central frieze. Without documentation, it is uncertain whether the panel was commissioned specifically for the Convento in San Angel, or even for this particular altar. Since Valladares typically used the same pattern on the entire face of an altar panel, it appears that some of the original tiles may have been lost. Nonetheless, the replacement tiles were probably also made by Valladares's workshop, as nearly identical tiles attributed to his workshop also appear in the cloister of the Convento de San Francisco in Lima.[238] These tiles decorate an altar-like structure at the entrance to the Carmen crypt.

The tiles that flank the central tiles of the Carmen crypt altar (a series of diaper-repeat of circles and octofoils in blue, yellow and tawny orange, labeled "moresque" by

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[237] According to the former director of the Museo Bello, Fidel Espinosa, some of these tiles were sold and their current location is unknown. Fidel Espinosa, Personal communication, Puebla, July 2001.

[238] Fragments of this pattern also appear at the Monastery of Santo Domingo in Antigua, Guatemala. See Tony Pasinski, *Proyecto archeológico Ex-Convento de Santo Domingo, La Antigua: Informe sobre la cerámica* [CD-ROM] (Antigua: Tony Pasinski and Clive Carruthers, 2002), object nos. sd08-10P1 and 10P2. The slight differences in the design suggest that they were painted by different individuals in the Valladares workshop. A similar pattern also appears on the altar frontal below the altarpiece of San Ildelfonso of the parish church of Maqueda in Toledo. See Frothingham, *Tiles of Spain*, fig. 130.

Frothingham[239]) (Fig. 4.14) is quite similar to the drawing of a motif from an original mural painting within the convento del Carmen (Fig. 4.18), that probably dates to the mid-seventeenth century. Their resemblance suggests that the tiles were installed before the murals were completed and that the painter of the murals was inspired by their Spanish Renaissance design.

Another series of tiles typical of Valladares appears within the crypt and crypt entrance (Fig. 4.19) at the Convento del Carmen. Made in units of four, together they create an irregular octofoil motif with radiating stylized leaves, derived from textile designs. It was undoubtedly a favorite of Valladares—or those who commissioned his work--for it appears in a number of his works, including the Convento de la Madre de Dios founded in 1472 and tiled between 1550 and 1575 (today divided between the chapel of the University of Seville and the Museo de Bellas Artes) (Fig. 4.20);[240] the Chapel of Álvaro Ponce de León in the Church of San Vicente (1602); and the Church of San Martín (1614), all in Seville. Curiously, the Carmen tiles most similar to Valladares's work appear fragmented amid tiles of differing designs and period. The areas at the Convento del Carmen that do show this pattern as complete units, in fact appear to be colonial reproductions with slight variation in color and less refinement.[241]

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[239] Frothingham, *Tiles of Spain*, 52. Although these tiles are attributed to Valladares's workshop, the design originally may not have been his. The same pattern appears on late sixteenth-century tiles covering a wall at the Salón de Cortes in the assembly room of the Valencian deputies as well as a hall leading to the Alcázar gardens in Seville.

[240] Antonio Sancho Corbacho, "Los azulejos de Madre de Dios de Sevilla," *Archivo Español de arte* 22, no. 87 (1949): 235.

[241] The colors are based on ochre yellow and cobalt blue rather then the original three colors: cobalt, lemon yellow, and orange with shading in light blue, details that do not appear in the later version.

Clearly, the current arrangement was not part of the original design, and may have occurred as tiles were restored. It is also possible that many of the original tiles commissioned from Valladares's workshop did not survive the trans-Atlantic voyage or transfer to the convento, and were replaced. Crates of ceramic tiles and vessels served as excellent ballasts for Spanish galleons crossing the Atlantic, but they must have been among the first items to be discarded in impending wrecks.

The diaper pattern flanking the central frieze of the altar in the crypt at the Convento del Carmen (Fig. 4.14) also appears along the cloister walls of the Convento of Santo Domingo in Lima (Fig. 4.21) and in fragments at the Convento de Santo Domingo in Antigua, Guatemala (Fig. 4.22). These tiles are characterized by a diaper of circles and irregular octagons formed by a grillwork of yellow-outlined bands. Frothingham has attributed the Lima examples to Valladares, based on existing documentation.[242] This same tile design, however, was realized by Oliva of Toledo for the Salón de Cortes of the Diputación del Reino in Valencia (Fig.4.23), who may have influenced Valladares's work. According to Frothingham, this type of framed circular medallions was a favorite of decorators in Antwerp during the mid-sixteenth century.[243]

Original Valladares tiles also appear at two sites in Puebla: the former Convento de San Francisco (Fig. 4.24), construction of which began in 1535,[244] and the sixteenth-century house known as Aguaya (today belonging to the state governor of Puebla), which

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[242] Frothingham, *Tiles of Spain,* 82.

[243] Ibid., 51.

[244] Eduardo Merlo Juarez and José Antonio Fernández, *Las iglesias de la Puebla de los Angeles,* 2 vols. (Puebla: UPAEP, 2001), 1:67. Although the Church of San Francisco still stands today, the convento was dismantled and been made into a park where the tiles are now located.

was probably built by a city founder (Fig. 4.25).[245] The presence of Spanish tiles at these two important locations suggests that they were considered among the best type of wall decoration that could be acquired at that time. The logical assumption, on basis of style, color, and known documents, is that the tiles in situ at the conventos of Carmen in San Angel, San Francisco, and the Aguaya house indeed were produced in Triana by the workshop of Valladares. As yet, however, secure documentation is still lacking.

TILE PRODUCTION AND USE IN NEW SPAIN

One of the earliest documents regarding the production of maiolica in Puebla specifies a commission of tiles for the Cathedral in Mexico City in 1601.[246] The Canon, Francisco de la Paz, chose the Spanish ceramist Gaspar de Encinas (presumably the elder) to produce tiles for the main altar and a chapel—twelve-hundred large tiles and six-hundred narrow border tiles for first, and three hundred for the second—for which he was paid 186 *pos*.[247] Encinas moved from Mexico City to Puebla before 1595 to establish a maiolica tile workshop on *los Herreros* Street, just a couple blocks west of the Cathedral (see appendix 3).[248] The original structure of the Mexico City Cathedral, dated 1525, was still in use during the construction of the replacement begun in 1585; additional adjustments were made to the church in 1601 and 1602. Excavations south of

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[245] I am grateful to Arnulfo Allende for bringing me to this house.

[246] Archivo del Cabildo, Catedral Metropolitana, Fábrica de materiales, legajo 2; cited in Cervantes, *Loza blanca*, 2:15-18.

[247] Ibid.

[248] Archivo de Notarías, Puebla (1580, 1582, and 1585), cited in Cervantes, *Loza blanca* 2:197.

the Cathedral in the early 1980s revealed that parts of the original structure were decorated with *pisano*-style tiles. Similar tiles were also recovered from the fill beneath.[249] These tiles have been attributed to Encinas, whose commission corresponds to modifications made to the interior from 1601 to 1602, when the choir stalls were removed.[250] Stylistically, the cathedral tiles in question are so directly related to a Sevillan tradition that they must have been realized by a potter trained in Seville.

One set of tiles, found on the original walls of the first chapel of the Cathedral, is of particular interest (Fig. 4.26). The design is composed of a series of Greek crosses framing a four-petaled flower with radiating stylized leaves, alternating with a similar floral design set within hexagons, oriented horizontally and vertically, and separated by series of crossed columns forming Xs. The basic design is similar to one by Alonso García (Fig. 4.27), as well as to a group of wall tiles at the Convento de la Madre de Dios in Seville attributed to Valladares (4.20b).[251] If the clay body and mineral oxides of these tiles and those of the Cathedral are the same, we may attribute them to the workshop of Valladares; if not, we may assume they are the work of Encinas. Either way, they are the earliest tiles attributable to a specific workshop in Puebla.

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[249] Lister and Lister, *Andalusian Ceramics* 231; Florence C. Lister and Robert H. Lister, *Sixteenth-Century Maiolica Pottery in the Valley of Mexico,* Anthropological Papers of the University of Arizona, no. 39 (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1982), figs. 3-7.

[250] Lister and Lister, *Andalusian Ceramics*, 231; Rosa Gpe. de la Peña V., "Azulejos encontrados en *situ*: primer catedral de México," in *Ensayos de alfareria prehispánica e história de Mesoamérica*, *homenaje a Eduardo Noguera Auza*, ed. Mari Carmen Serra Puche and Carlos Navarrete Cáceres, Serie Antropológica 82 (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1988), 437-438.

[251] See Alfonso Pleguezuelo Hernández, *Azulejos Sevillanos*, fig. 223.

It is of interest to note that Encinas's daughter Cecilia Gaitan married Alonso García's potter son, also Alonso García.[252] Encinas petitioned for the immigration of García and his family to New Spain, although he did so without mentioning his daughter.[253] It seems likely that Encinas's daughter met her husband through her father, who may have either worked for or apprenticed with García the elder. The stylistic similarities of the tiles at the Cathedral and the ones attributed to García further suggest a relationship between the two potters. It is also possible that the son worked with Encinas in Puebla and brought the style with him from home.

According to a manuscript written by Fray Hernando de Ojea, the second church of Santo Domingo in Mexico City had walls richly covered in tiles.[254] Construction dates to sometime between 1560—when Cervantes de Salazar, official historian of New Spain, mentions the second construction—and 1607, by which time the major structure had sunk nine feet below street level and had to be rebuilt.[255] According to a document discovered by Efraín Castro, however, friar Hernando de Morales had contracted with master potter Diego Rodríguez to make 1,500 tiles for the Monastery of Santo Domingo in Mexico

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[252] AGI, contratación 5270, 28 April 1602, Sevilla información "Alonso García and Cecilia Gaitin, no. 1, r. 4.

[253] AGNP, Notaría no. 4, protocolos de 28 April 1598, ff. 457-457v.

[254] Hernando de Ojea, *Libro tercero de la historia religioso de la provincia de México de la orden de Sto. Domingo* (Mexico: Museo Nacional de México, 1897), 10-11.

[255] Francisco Cervantes de Salazar, *Crónica de la Nueva España* (Mexico City, 1554), 318; cited in George Kubler, *Mexican Architecture of the Sixteenth Century*, 2 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948), 2:528-529.

City in 1573, which suggests that the tiles were also of local manufacture.[256] Rodriguez worked in Mexico City until 1582, when he moved to Puebla.[257]

It was not until the seventeenth century that Puebla would earn its reputation as the leader in maiolica production throughout the New World. In 1630, Father Barnabé Cobo, who made a trip to New Spain from Lima between 1629 and 1642, wrote:

> Pottery so choice and so well glazed is made so that of Talavera [Spain] is not needed. In the past few years, they have begun to make imitations of [the pottery] of China, which looks very much like it, particularly that made at Puebla de los Angeles in New Spain and in this city of Lima. It is very good, prettily glazed and colored. Also produced are the most unusual tiles, which in the past were customarily brought from Spain, although those from around here do not appear to be of such fine colors.[258]

At the time Cobo put these thoughts on paper, he was residing in Mexico City, conducting research in archives and libraries, so his criticism of "those from around here" probably refers to the quality of the tiles produced in the capital. Nonetheless, a certain amount of production, proficiency, and growth in both the capital and Puebla must have preceded Cobo's remarks.

Despite the number of potters identified in the documents, it is very difficult to connect them to individual works. The use of potter's marks suggests that there was an effort to distinguish hands. Like those made in Spain, however, Puebla tiles were generally not signed or marked until the early twentieth century, when artists began to sign their names or use initials to designate their work. The few marked tiles that exist probably date to sometime after the issuance of the potter's ordinances in 1653, which

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[256] Castro, "Five Centuries," 104.

[257] Ibid.

[258] Bernabé Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, 4 vols. (Seville: Imprenta de E. Rasco, 1890), 1:243; translated in Frothingham, *Tiles of Spain*, 78.

required all master potters to mark or sign each piece they produced. Marked tiles are generally of two decorative types. ,Abó Polychrome (Fig. 4.28), named for the mission site of Gregorio de Abó in New Mexico is characterized by polychomy and a balloon-like floral motif.[259] The other, is an unclassified type here named blue and white *artes y oficios,* or trade tiles (Fig. 4.29), after the name given to Spanish tiles of the same type. Generally these tiles depicted different occupations (i.e., hunting or shepherding) as well as genre scenes. They were used to accent large walls or floors of undecorated maiolica or terracotta tiles. Trade tiles have a long history in Europe, dating back to fifteenth-century Italy. They were popularized by Dutch potters in the late-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and adopted by Catalan potters in the seventeenth century.

On Puebla trade tiles only three marks have been recognized: F, X, and a figure of a bumblebee. The mark F, the most common of the three, has been attributed to Miguel Fernández Palomino, who was a master potter and inspector of the guild in 1685 (Fig. 4.29c).[260] The curious bumblebee in figure 4.29b is believed to be associated with a potter's name, although it has yet to be matched with any documented name.[261] The bumblebee and the X mark may have been the invention of artists or workshops.

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[259] John M. Goggin, *Spanish Majolica in the New World,* Yale University Press, no. 72 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), 169-173.

[260] Attribution made by Leonora Cortina on the wall text for works in the Museo Franz Mayer collection, Mexico City. See Cervantes, *Loza blanca*, 2:209.

[261] Edwin Atlee Barber, *Mexican Maiolica in the Collection of The Hispanic Society of America* (New York: The Hispanic Society of America, 1915), 47.

TILES AT THE ROSARY CHAPEL IN THE CHURCH OF SANTO DOMINGO IN PUEBLA

Although most tiles made in New Spain were of a flat-surfaced type related to the *pisano* tiles of Triana, a limited number of tiles were made in relief during the last quarter of the seventeenth century. Unlike the *cuenca* tiles of southern Spain that were stamped, these were mold-made with the relief projecting outward. Such tiles can be found in *situ* at the Rosary Chapel of the Church of Santo Domingo in Puebla; its construction began in 1632, and was consecrated in 1690.

All three altars in the Rosary Chapel are covered white tiles in relief that were originally finished in luster, referred to in documents as *dorado* or gilded (Fig. 4.30). The luster on these tiles is no long visible, probably due to the poor quality of the original finish. The production of luster pottery is extremely difficult, requiring a third firing in a smoky reduction kiln deprived of oxygen. The original luster finish was impressive enough at the time it was realized to be mentioned in *Octava maravilla del Nuevo Mundo en la Gran Capilla del Rosario,* published in 1690:

> The apse or the wall at the back of the crossing has an altar one *vara y media* [835mm] in height and a frontal of tiles (like that of the two on the sides) of such extraordinary craftsmanship and cost as they are so finely made and gilded without forgoing the luster for the sake of cost.[262]

Both the texture and repeated motifs on the panels evoke images of the finely embroidered cloths draping the altars, and must have originally glistened from a distance like fine gold threads. These tiles are similar to a rare, non-luster, white tile made in relief in Seville, a series of which was used to decorate the walls of the National Palace in Sintra, Portugal. Despite this similarity, documents contemporary with the chapel's

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[262] *Octava maravilla del Nuevo Mundo en la Gran Capilla del Rosario* (Puebla, 1690), 39.

construction suggest that the tiles were made by a local workshop producing "gilded" pottery at the time, and that shipments of gilded earthenware also were sent to Zacatecas, San Luis Potosi, and Guatemala in the seventeenth century.[263] Documents examined by Castro reveal the names of three potters working in gilded pottery in 1678: Roque Palomino Rendón, Bernabé de Vera Velasco, and Miguel de la Rosa, who was a resident of the San Sebastian neighborhood (or quarter) of Puebla.[264] In a statement made to the courts regarding Roque Palomino, Bernabé de Vera Velasco, "a self-styled craftsman in gilded pottery" acknowledged that he had "seen the defendant's interest in the said pottery, and that Roque Palomino had the intelligence to gild all the ware with excellence . . . for which he resorted to the workers of said master potters . . . and that he purchased his goods at fair prices, which after gilding, was sent to different destinations."[265] According to this document, it appears that Palomino was "gilding" pre-made pottery to make faux lusterware gilded with gold overpaint or oil gilded with gold leaf.[266] This would explain why the Puebla rosary tiles have lost their gilding.

Rosa is the only one of the three whose name also appears in other known documents. In 1687, Rosa was named a "dorador official de loza" (official maiolica gilder) in the book of marriages of the Cathedral in Puebla (*Segrario Angelopolitano*).[267]

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[263] Castro, "Five Centuries," 106.

[264] Ibid., 80.

[265] Ibid.

[266] Lusterware had begun to grow out of fashion about the time of the first voyages to the New World. It continued to be made in Spain, catering more to a domestic market rather than the international market from which it had benefited from in the past. The timing may indicate why the technique never took hold in the Spanish-American colonies.

[267] Cervantes, *Loza Blanca,* 2:227.

The rarity of "gilded pottery in Puebla" suggests that Rosa probably made the Rosary Chapel altar tiles.

The Rosary Chapel also has some of the few known tiles made in relief: polychrome cherub heads that alternate with flat-surfaced tiles of the arms of the Dominican Order used to border tiles on the lower walls (Fig. 4.31). Nothing is known about their manufacture, which seems to be unique to the chapel. Smaller versions of these cherub heads appear again in the series of white tiles dressing the altar, strongly suggesting that the same workshop produced all the tiles in the chapel. The 365 heads encircling the entire chapel are sometimes said to represent the rosary beads of the virgin. Together with the elaborate stucco work and the remarkable painted panels, the church was celebrated locally as the "eighth marvel of the New World," a proclamation first made in 1690.[268] Undoubtedly, the cherub heads on the tiles are direct descendants of Spanish ones. The process of making them in relief may have come from the Italian potter Francisco Niculoso. Niculoso, who is believed to have studied under Andrea del la Robbia in Florence,[269] used his experience to create three-dimensional maiolica from molds for the doorway of the Church of Santa Paula in Seville, on which he collaborated with sculptor Pedro Millán in 1504 (Fig. 4.32).[270] It is possible that the artist who conceived the cherub heads for the Rosary Chapel was from or had spent time in Seville, and was familiar with the unusual maiolica cherubs by Niculoso.

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[268] *Octava maravilla.* He makes this statement in the title of the work.

[269] Ray, *Spanish Pottery,* 262.

[270] Frothingham, *Tiles of Spain,* 8.

USE OF TILES IN ECCLESIASTICAL AND SECULAR SETTINGS

The washable surface of tiles made them popular for practical application as well as decorative ones. The most famous of the earliest existing tiled kitchens in Puebla is found in the former Convent of Santa Rosa. Unlike other tiled interiors, this one is entirely covered in tile, including the ceiling (Fig. 4.34). The exact date of this kitchen is unknown, but it is said to have been constructed around 1719.[271] Curiously, however, seventeenth-century tiles are here mixed with examples from the eighteenth through the early twentieth centuries. Local tradition holds that the original work was installed at the end of the seventeenth century as a gesture of appreciation from Bishop Santa Cruz to the nuns for creating the recipe for the thick chili and chocolate sauce popularly known as *mole poblano*. The tiles' overall quality and the manner in which they were mismatched throughout the kitchen suggest that they are recycled tiles that had previously been used in another area of the convent (or in other buildings altogether). Documents from the potter's ordinances indicate that inspectors were known to confiscate pottery deemed unacceptable and distribute it to churches, conventos, hospitals and the poor.[272] This may explain the assortment of flawed tiles at the kitchen.

By the eighteenth century, the decorative tilework formerly confined to interiors began to be applied to the exteriors of both religious and secular structures. Exterior tiles were combined with unglazed terracotta or brick construction to create contrasting textures and patterns of light and color. This architectural treatment is not entirely unique to Puebla, for it appears on Spanish structures dating back at least to the fifteenth century,

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[271] *Azulejos, Artes de México* 24, 2nd ed. (1999): 74.

[272] Cited in Cervantes, *Loza blanca,* 1:33.

particularly in the region of Valencia. In Spain, however, it was almost exclusively used for floors, such as those decorating the nave floor in the Segorbe Cathedral in Manises (Fig. 4.34) affording a visual effect without the expensive of covering an entire surface with maiolica tiles. It was probably architects rather than ceramists who chose to recreate a Spanish tiled floor on a building's façade, but the origins of this practice remain unknown (Fig. 4.35). Ceramists must have had some involvement with the construction of a façade such as the one located at Oriente 8 in Puebla, which features a series of two blue and white tiles cut in half on the diagonal, alternating with bricks of similar diamond shape (Fig. 4.36). This patterning recalls those created by Islamic potters with *alicatados* (tile mosaics) of al-Andalus centuries earlier (see Fig. 4.1).

The Use of Tiles to Decorate Church Domes

Domes as well as façades were soon ornamented with tiles, and almost every church dome seen in Puebla today is adorned with patterns of monochrome tiles alternating in two or more colors. In the Islamic world, mosque domes were often built large and high so that the exterior tiles could be seen from afar; if the dome was not visible, it was not tiled. It seems that a similar approach was taken in regard to the colorful tiled domes of Puebla. To complement the domes, adjacent towers are usually likewise ornamented. Like the *alicatados* mosaics of Spain, tiles in Puebla were used to create a variety of geometric shapes and patterns.

The dome of the Cathedral of Puebla, designed by Francisco Becerra and Juan de Cigorondo in 1575 and dedicated in 1649, boasts the earliest extant tiled dome in Mexico (Fig. 4.37). In 1640, Juan de Palafox y Mendoza was appointed Bishop of Puebla de los

Angeles and began directing the dome's construction embellished with brilliant tiles of an overall pattern of yellow and blue checkerboard with three large eight pointed stars sectioned by three dividers. Designed by Mosén Pedro García Ferrer, a priest from Aragón or Valencia, and built by the master mason Jerónimo de la Cruz,[273] The dome became the single most important work in the history of Puebla ceramics and was widely emulated thereafter, in Puebla and eventually, well beyond it. Bishop Palafox supervised construction of numerous other structures: two colleges, fifty new churches, and one-hundred-and-forty Baroque altarpieces.[274]

THE PRODUCTION AND USE OF *TABLEROS*

In the seventeenth century, tiles also were used to create *tableros,* panels with figurative images that had both decorative and didactic functions. For religious institutions, *tableros* were particularly important for the display of clearly articulated images of religious figures. *Tableros* were first placed along interior walls or on altars in churches and conventos where they would be most visible. In general, Puebla tiles were numbered on the unglazed reverse side so that the pieces could be easily arranged like a puzzle. In addition, the tiles were designed with deeply beveled edges, which allowed them to be mounted more closely together and secured by the plaster-fill binding.

One of the earliest known Puebla *tableros* features a somber image of Saint Barbara, elaborately framed by tiles in an unusual combination of styles (Fig. 4.38). The

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[273] Ibid., 57; Toussaint, *Pintura colonial*, 184; Antonio Tamariz de Carmona, *Relación y descripción del templo real de la ciudad de Puebla de los Angeles* (Mexico City, 1650), 18.

[274] James Early, *The Colonial Architecture of Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994), 56.

present location of this seventeenth-century *tablero* in unknown,[275] but it probably was commissioned for a small church or private chapel; it may have been used in place of a painting. The Italianate tiles along the outer border may have formed part of a larger frieze of other panels with saints, though no other *tablero* of this type is known. The interior border combines both Italianate foliage and Iberian bobbin lace decoration (more commonly found on ceramic vessels), painted in manganese.

Larger *tableros*, were made to embellish façades, where they could be seen from afar. Their imagery of saints and other religious figures—probably was based on paintings, prints, and the simple images found in devotional books known as *Novenas,* which were widely available throughout Mexico.[276] The use of large and clearly articulated images of religious figures on interior and exterior walls was well established in Mexico, where Christian murals were used to indoctrinate the indigenous population from the time of the Spanish missionaries' arrival in the sixteenth century.[277] Such murals also appeared in open-air chapels, which were built to accommodate large masses of Indians, who often felt more comfortable worshiping in the open air (as they had prior to the arrival of the Spaniards). In Puebla, *tableros* were combined with brick or unglazed terra-cotta, often alternating with simply decorated tiles. This type of architectural ornamentation is most common to parish churches. Tile panels used to

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[275] This tile panel is illustrated in a volume that erroneously places it in the collection of the Museo Franz Mayer. See *Azulejos, Artes de México* 24, 2nd ed. (1999): 55.

[276] A large collection of these *novenas* from Puebla can be found at the Centro de Estudios de Historia de México de Condumex in Mexico City.

[277] For example, on the ceiling of the Parish Church of Santiago in Tupátaro, Michoacan, are several mural panels of militant angels resting on clouds, and framed within an ornamental border.

depict religious figures in Spain were more typically found in interiors, though a notable precedent for Mexico's exterior *tableros* exists in the façade of the Church of El Señor San Jorge (1647), part of the Hospital of the Holy Charity in Seville (Fig. 4.39).[278]

A *tablero* of the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception (Fig. 4.40) from the Hispanic Society's collection exemplifies this type. Similar *tableros* are seen on a number of small church façades, including that of the parish church of San Marcos in Puebla, dated 1797 (Fig. 4.41), which was the seat of the potter's guild from its founding in 1653. A probable source of its imagery is a late seventeenth-century painting by seventeenth-century Flemish painter Diego de Bograf (of which two original copies, including one in the Puebla Cathedral) (Fig. 4.42). In both images, the Virgin is rendered with her hands in prayer, a pendant gathering her dress, and her robe sweeping to the side to reveal three cherubs above a crescent moon.

Just ten kilometers outside Puebla is the church of San Francisco in the town of Acatepec. Built at the end of the eighteenth century, the façade is unique among ultra baroque colonial architecture (Fig. 4.43). Its tiled façade, with its undulating, spiral columns pierced with brilliant colors, in essence becomes an extension of the seventeenth-century *retablo*, or altarpiece, combining styles, color and texture—smooth-surfaced maiolica tiles and rough, matte stone sculpture. This effect is achieved by the uninhibited use of numerous patterns and styles, the individual details of which become lost to the exuberance of color, design and reflections of the light against the glazed tilework.

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[278] See Enrique Valdivieso, *A Guide for a Cultural Visit to the Church of El Señor San Jorge and the Courtyards of La Santa Caridad Hospital in the City of Seville* (Seville: Hermandad de la Santa Caridad, 1998).

TILES ON SECULAR BUILDINGS: THE HOUSE OF THE FIGURES

One also finds tiled secular buildings throughout the historic section of Puebla. The best known, perhaps is the so-called House of the Figures, or Casa de los Muñecos, built in 1792 by Agustín de Ovando y Villavicencio, council member of the town hall from 1769 to 1773, and mayor in the years 1773 and 1791 to 1792 (Fig. 4.44). It features tile panels in the shape of sixteen individual figures, positioned between the windows of the second and third floors. Although they recall eighteenth-century Portuguese "welcoming figures" made in tile, the Portuguese versions depict men in contemporary clothing and were installed in interiors, especially entrance halls. Legend holds the figures seen on the *Casa de los Muñecos* satirized members of the town council representing them as grotesques. .Erwin Walter Palm offers an alternative interpretation, suggesting that the figures correspond to the mythological laborers of Hercules.[279] Until more research is conducted on Ovando's intention, the identification of the figures on this fantastic and unique structure remains a mystery to us.

CONCLUSION

Nineteenth-century political and economic events changed the direction of the ceramic industry in Puebla. Most significantly, a new constitution for the Spanish empire, promulgated by an anti-monarchical assembly at Cádiz in 1813, eradicated the potter's guild and revoked its ordinances. Mexican ceramists were thereafter free to create styles of their own. The opening of Mexico to trade with other countries meant

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[279] Erwin Walter Palm, "La fachada de la casa de los muñecos en Puebla: Un trabajo de Hércules en el nuevo mundo," in *Actes du XLII Congrès International des Américanistes* 10 (Paris, 1976), 113-138.

that the fashionable tiles used in other parts of the world were also available to wealthy Mexicans. Sometime in the mid nineteenth century, Puebla workshops began producing funerary plaques decorated in a maiolica.[280]

By the end of the nineteenth century, the ceramic industry in Puebla was near collapse. The arrival of artist Enrique Luis Ventosa of Barcelona in 1897 helped rescue it. Among his many projects, Ventosa partnered with Ysauro Uriarte to restore colonial buildings, such as the façade of the church of the Virgin of Guadalupe.

The Mexican Revolution of 1910-1920 was particularly devastating to the ceramic industry in Puebla. Many workshops were forced to close, and a number of the tiled buildings suffered considerable damage. On the other hand, tiles were needed for the reconstruction of many buildings destroyed in the Revolution. Cervantes reports that from 1918 to 1928, the tile industry witnessed a substantial increase in both demand and production for local and foreign consumption. It was also at this time that "a vogue for things Mexican" took off in the United States that would eventually "bring the tiles and colors of Puebla into the homes of many North Americans.

The study of Puebla tiles demonstrates that Puebla ceramists and architects seized the opportunity to capture the Islamic love for color and design and to take it in new and exciting directions. But before the final word about the production and use of tiles in Puebla can be said, additional research is needed. Among the most productive investigations would be the ascertaining of more information on the architects of Puebla's unique structures and the relationship of architects with the potters and workshops.

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[280] See Jesús Franco Carrasco, *La loza funeraria* (Mexico: UNAM, 1979).

CHAPTER 5

PUEBLA MAIOLICA: FORM AND DESIGN

Because North American archaeologists and anthropologists were the first to take an interest in Mexican maiolica and its distribution throughout the Spanish colonies, the majority of the decorative ceramic types are named after mission sites in the Caribbean, Florida, South Carolina, and the northwestern frontier of Mexico (present-day southwest United States). The types have not been analyzed in depth, nor have they been placed in the broader history of Hispanic ceramic design. Comparisons of Puebla ceramic designs with those from centers in Asia and Europe, elucidates the movement of potters and pottery into New Spain and the means by which Puebla workshops reinterpreted ceramic traditions.

While archaeological studies have paid more attention to tableware and other common ceramics, this chapter focuses on the more refined types made for dining, as well as for ecclesiastic and decorative use, vessels that were carefully protected against breakage for centuries. Common pottery in everyday use obviously was more prone to breakage; therefore, it appears more frequently in refuse excavated at archaeological sites.

The finest and most expensive Puebla pottery was decorated with cobalt, an oxide used for making blue decoration that was imported from Spain, where it was obtained in cake form from North Africa and the Near East. Only master potters had the privilege of

using cobalt, which explains why most pieces with potters' marks are decorated in blue and white. Not all blue and white vessels are marked, however. Blue and white Puebla pottery was most treasured and collected, and appears less frequently in archaeological excavations than polychrome and other ordinary ware. Even a broken piece of blue and white pottery was considered too valuable to dispose of. Although it is better known to the general public as a result of its inclusion in museum collections and exhibitions, no one has identified the numerous types that fall under the rubric of "blue and white" pottery. Archaeologists have grouped all blue and white ware into the category of "Puebla blue-on-white."

The earliest maiolica vessels imported to Mexico were mostly from Seville, since Spanish galleons departed for the Americas from there. The types include footless plates, lug-handled porringers, drinking vessels, handled pitchers, flat-bottomed basins, wasp-waisted apothecary jars, tall candleholders, square inkwells, cylindrical and broad-brimmed urinals, and vast numbers of Spanish tiles.[281] Although the majority were of Andalusian origin, ceramics from other areas of Spain were exported, including a limited number of luster plates from Manises, bowls and plates from Talavera de la Reina, and Montelupo, Liguria, and Faenza polychromes from Italy.[282] New World forms and

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[281] Florence C. Lister and Robert H. Lister, *Andalusian Ceramics in Spain and New Spain: A Cultural Register from the Third Century B.C. to 1700* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1987), 217.

[282] Lister and Lister, *Sixteenth Century Maiolica in the Valley of Mexico*, 45-79; John M. Goggin, *Spanish Majolica in the New World,* Yale University Press, no. 72 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), 115-51; Kathleen Deagan, *Artifacts of the Spanish Colonies of Florida and the Caribbean: 1500-1800,* vol. 1*, Ceramics, Glassware, and Beads* (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1987), 25-71.

decorations were not merely reproductions of Spanish prototypes, however, but rather reinterpretations that featured similar colors and decorative modes.

SIXTEENTH CENTURY PUEBLA MAIOLICA

Some of the earliest experiments with tin-glazed earthenware were made without the use of tin, a necessary ingredient for achieving the opaque white ground typically associated with maiolica. The result was a transparent glaze over coarse red earthenware. In Mexico City, indigenous potters became adept at using a white slip to emulate the opaque white surface of maiolica, but in Puebla no such slip seems to have been used. Indigenous potters used a leaded glaze over red clay for hand-modeled forms of both indigenous and European origin with simple, incised, abstract motifs. This type of pottery appears in both Mexico City and Puebla, and was made at both places. The context in which this type of pottery has been found suggests that it was an urban phenomenon, or at least mainly used in urban households (Fig. 5.1).[283]

Once the technique for producing maiolica had been mastered, immigrant potters as well as those who had become potters in New Spain focused on reproducing the maiolica ware known to them at home, which for many of them was Andalusia in southern Spain. In Seville, as in other Spanish centers, Italianate blue, yellow, orange, and green, had begun to gain popularity, overshadowing the fine lusterware of Málaga and Manises that had been famed for over a century in Spain and the rest of Europe.[284]

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[283] I am grateful to Arnulfo Allende Carrera for having showed me examples of this type of pottery from the site of the Convento of San Francisco in Puebla.

[284] See Balbina Martínez Caviró, *Cerámica hispanomusulmana andalusí y mudéjar* (Madrid: Ediciones El Viso, 1991).

Talavera de la Reina, another ceramic center in central Spain where the Italianate colors had become important, also sent potters to New Spain, and as potters migrated to the New World, polychrome ware was most in their minds.

During their first decades in operation, Puebla ceramic workshops were extensions of production at the capital, and it is difficult to distinguish types made in Mexico City from those first made in Puebla. The sixteenth-century archaeological site at Calle 3 Poniente 109—known to archaeologists as "Sears" after the name of the store later occupying the space—provides an excellent representation of the most important maiolica types made in Puebla during the early colonial period (1570-1650).[285] A house that was excavated at this site dates to the end of the sixteenth century, as does the maiolica found there. These maiolica types excavated include San Juan (also known as Fig Spring) polychrome, San Luis Blue-on-White, and San Luis Polychrome. Although both San Luis wares also occur at the Convento of San Francisco, they had been previously been associated with the sixteenth century in Mexico City and the seventeenth century in Puebla.[286] The findings at the "Sears" site offer evidence of an early production of each of these types in Puebla as well.

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[285] Arnulfo Allende Carrera, "Bosquejo de Tipología para la Cerámica del Periodo Virreinal en la Ciudad de Puebla," lecture presented at the XVI Encuentro Nacional de Investigadores del Pensamiento Novohispano, organized by the Gobierno del Estado de Puebla, Secretaría de Cultura y UNAM (Puebla, Puebla. November 2003); Alberto Aguirre Anaya, Arnulfo Allende Carrera, and Carlos Cedillo Ortega, *Catalogo de Mayólicas, proyectos Arqueológico, Arquitectónico e Histórico del "Estanque de los Pescaditos" y Salvamento Arqueológico del Paseo del Río de San Francisco* (Puebla, 1997).

[286] Florence C. Lister and Robert H. Lister, *Sixteenth Century Maiolica in the Valley of Mexico*, *Anthropological Papers of The University of Arizona*, no. 39 (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1982), 5-12.

The most popular forms of sixteenth-century Puebla were wide, deep-brimmed plates and small, almost hemispheric bowls. Over time, the depth of the plates, the width of their rims, and upward flare became more pronounced (Fig. 5.2).[287] Cups used for drinking as well as eating followed bowl forms in popularity. Small candleholders also are known in Mexico City deposits, though not in abundance.[288] Simple in design, they have circular bases upon which rest low tubular forms topped by circular disks that catch melting wax.

In 1908, Barber categorized Puebla ware from the sixteenth through nineteenth centuries into four general styles and periods of production: Moresque (c. 1575-1700), Spanish or Talavera (c. 1600-1780), Chinese (c. 1650-1800), and Hispano-Mexican or Puebla (c. 1800-1860).[289] Barber's types were useful at the time, in light of the limited archaeological record and knowledge of archival documentation. Identifying by culture alone is inadequate, however, since the adaptation or interpretation of more than one tradition may be reflected in a single piece. While Puebla potters worked from a set of standard motifs and decorations, these motifs were combined in so many ways that it is nearly impossible to classify each type within a single tradition. Blue and white decoration, for instance, occurs in approximately two dozen different types. Still, in some cases—such as the classification of blue and white pottery—Barber's typology is useful for establishing the predominant design.

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[287] Ibid., 25.

[288] Ibid., 26.

[289] Edwin Atlee Barber, *Maiolica of Mexico,* Art Handbook of the Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art, 1908), 46.

SAN JUAN POLYCHROME

San Juan Polychrome seems to have been the single most widespread ceramic type of the sixteenth century. Goggin first assigned the name Fig Spring Polychrome to this type, after the site in Fig Spring, Florida, where it was found in abundance.[290] Lister and Lister renamed it San Juan Polychrome, after the area of San Juan Moyotlan, one of the four indigenous neighborhoods of colonial Mexico City, where they discovered fragments of the type in the late 1970s.[291] In general, the ground of San Juan Polychrome is cream-colored and painted with loose brush strokes in ochre yellow and transparent blue, with zoomorphic motifs, stylized flowers, or a simple central palmette, the most popular motif (Fig. 5.3). The free-flowing style of San Juan Polychrome seems to have originated in Granada, where similar decoration was used for common pottery (Fig. 5.4).[292]

The paste color on San Juan Polychrome varies from a brick red to a pink-gray. Some scholars have suggested that the coarse red paste points to a Mexico City manufacture and the more refined pink and gray paste to Puebla,[293] but vessels of both colors have been found in Puebla, and therefore evidence of origin is still lacking. Lister and Lister have proposed that color differences reflect efforts to emulate the fine, pristine

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[290] Goggin, *Spanish Majolica*, 151-154.

[291] Lister and Lister, *Sixteenth Century Maiolica Pottery*, 14-18.

[292] Florence C. Lister and Robert H. Lister, *Andalusian Ceramics in Spain and New Spain: A Cultural Register from the Third Century B.C. to 1700* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1987), 226.

[293] Personal communication, Patricia Fournier, Escuela Nacional de Arqueología y Historia, Mexico City, January 2000.

clay body of Chinese porcelain,[294] the formula for which was not discovered outside of Asia until 1703 (in Meissen, Germany).

The dating of San Juan Polychrome is based on the finding of the earliest known examples at the late-sixteenth-century site of Saint Augustine, Florida, and the latest recovered from the underwater wreckage of the *Concepción*, which sank in 1641.[295] Since the type must have been made at least a few years before it was distributed, it is believed that the first pieces were made around 1580. The closing date may not be precise either, since this ware has been found at sites that may date later than the Concepción. The high quality of the glaze and polychrome decoration define San Juan as "fine pottery" for this period. Yet, the number of pieces found in the refuse of colonial sites, and the forms in which it was made, suggest that it saw everyday use. San Juan Polychrome vessel forms include *albarelos* (pharmaceutical jars), small bowls or *jícaras* (also *xicaras*), plates, jars, and flower pots.

The extant San Juan Polychrome *albarelos* probably can be associated with one of the few hospitals founded in the sixteenth century (Fig. 5.3b),[296] since pharmacies in New Spain generally were located in hospitals, which were themselves associated with

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[294] Florence C. Lister and Robert H. Lister, *Maiolica Olé: Spanish and Mexican Decorative Traditions, Featuring the Collection of the Museum of International Folk Art* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 2001), 81.

[295] Mitchell W. Marken, *Pottery from Spanish Shipwrecks, 1500-1800* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1994), 232-233; Deagan, *Artifacts of the Spanish Colonies*, 74; See also Pedro Borrell, *Historia y rescate del galeón Nuestra Señora de la Concepción* (Santo Domingo: Museo de Casas Reales, 1983).

[296] One *albarelo* is known at The Hispanic Society of America in New York City; the other is in the Philadelphia Museum of Art.

conventos. The first hospital in New Spain was the Hospital de Jesús in Mexico City, founded in 1524 by Hernando Cortés and built in 1535.[297]

SAN LUÍS POLYCHROME

San Luis Blue and White (Fig. 5.5) and San Luis Polychrome (Fig. 5.6), dating from the end of the sixteenth to the mid-eighteenth centuries, were named by Goggin, after the mission site of San Luis Talimali in Florida, where he first identified them.[298] Lister and Lister believe San Luis Polychrome can be better identified as a more carefully executed version of Mexico City Green on Cream, but this type also is found at the Convento of San Francisco in Puebla and is believed to have been made there. It appears to be based on a sixteenth-century Spanish type from Talavera de la Reina and Puente de Arzobispo (a ceramic center close to Talavera de la Reina) known as "Butterfly" (*Mariposa*). The name "*Mariposa*" refers to the butterfly-like motif that appears along the rim of these monochrome blue pieces (Fig. 5.7), and seems to be a more appropriate label for the Puebla type as well. The rim panel also is set off by narrow brown or black lines framing the upper and lower edges of the cavetto (well of the plate). Forms of San Luis Polychrome include plates, jars, vases, large cups, and platters.

Other distinctive features include a cream or tan paste body with thinly applied off-white or tan ground glaze. The design is generally a simple floral or geometric pattern in dark green, set off by black or dark brown framing lines. The central motif is usually framed by two or three narrow black lines around the edge of the base.

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[297] Josefina Muriel, *Hospitales de la Nueva Hispana* (Mexico City: Grupo Financiero Bancomer, 1994).

[298] Goggin, *Spanish Majolica*, 154-8.

AUCILLA POLYCHROME

Contemporary with San Luis Blue and White and San Luis Polychrome is a similar type known as Aucilla Polychrome (Fig. 5.8), named by Goggin after the Aucilla River, which was a historic boundary between the Apalachee and Timucua Indian mission provinces in Florida during the colonial period.[299] Aucilla is distinguished by a cream-colored ground with abstract designs outlined in black and painted in yellow, green and orange inside. The abstract design varies from green dots to bands, and the rims frequently have a single row of ovals or dots between two bands.[300] Aucilla Polychrome appears at various archaeological sites in Puebla dating to the end of the seventeenth century; according to Deagan, its production peaked from about 1680 to 1685.[301] The use of simple bands outlined in black was common for many seventeenth-century Puebla types, such as Santa María Polychrome, illustrated in Appendix 1. The practice of using simple outlines along the border was popular for tableware in Andalusia, as shown by Spanish examples excavated from the Hermitage of Nuestra Señora de la Defensión in La Cartuja, Jérez de la Frontera, Spain (Fig. 5.9).[302] No Spanish prototype is known for Aucilla Polychrome, however; it seems instead to have

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[299] Goggin, *Spanish Majolica*, 161-163.

[300] Deagan, *Artifacts of the Spanish Colonies,* 76-77.

[301] Aguirre Anaya, Carrera, and Cedillo Ortega, *Catálogo de Mayólicas*, 15-17; Deagan, *Artifacts of the Spanish Colonies,* 77.

[302] Robin Farwell Gavin, "Introduction," in *Cerámica y Cultura: The Story of Spanish and Mexican Mayólica,* eds. Robin Farwell Gavin, Donna Pierce, and Alfonso Pleguezuelo (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003), 14.

developed out of San Luis types. The most common forms of Aucilla Polychrome are plates, bowls, and jars.[303]

SEVENTEENTH-AND-EIGHTEENTH CENTURY FORMS

. Like other seventeenth-century industries in Puebla, maiolica took off with the seventeenth century due to an increase in the number of immigrants and improvements workshops. The number of forms produced significantly increased, and while table and utilitarian pottery continued to be made, larger forms for a variety of other uses were introduced. These included jars and vases of various sizes, display plates, barrels, and in less quantity, trays and small boxes. Workshops no longer simply filled orders for different grades of utilitarian ware; rather, a full-blown industry had grown, supplying luxury ceramics of every kind. Among the most important items supplied to churches, monasteries, pharmacies, and the very wealthy were pharmaceutical jars (*albarelos*) basins (*lebrillos*), and jars (*tibores*), each type made in various sizes after mid-century, when workshops began to offer sizes other than those for the most basic utilitarian use. In addition to plates and bowls, fine ware included basins and chamber pots that were designed to hold water and waste, making the impervious finish of maiolica particularly suitable.

The basin and the tall, cylindrical apothecary jar are among the most common forms of Andalusian ceramics appropriated by Puebla potters. The large, deep, flat-bottomed *lebrillo* with its steep, slightly flared walls was an Islamic introduction to Spain in the ninth century. Made in a variety of sizes, it was one of the most common shapes

[303] Aguirre Anaya, and Ortega, *Catálogo de Mayólicas*, 15.

produced by Puebla potters during the golden age of the industry (1650-1750), often commissioned by houses of worship for baptismal fonts or washing receptacles. The Museo Franz Mayer holds a substantial collection of *lebrillos*, including the largest known example, some thirty-four inches in diameter (86 cm.) and twelve inches in height (31 cm.).[304] A *lebrillo* in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, by the master "A," is of a more usual size for Puebla ware, 20 ¾ inches in diameter (Fig. 5.10). Typical of Puebla basins, the rim, pinched while still wet, is shaped like a pie crust. The exterior walls of Puebla *lebrillos* are frequently decorated as well, although this example is not.

As commissions became more common, requests increased for vessels with inscriptions, such as the one surrounding the Metropolitan Museum's *lebrillo*, which reads along the rim, "SOY PARA LABAR LOS PURYFYCADORES Y NO MAS" (I am for washing the purificators and nothing else) (Fig. 5.10).[305] Assuming the inscription is to be taken literally, this *lebrillo* was only used to wash the altar napkin used to clean the chalice following Communion. According to Barber, this *lebrillo* was once housed in the convento of San Francisco in Atlixco, which was founded in the early seventeenth century.[306] Its uniqueness suggests that it was made in the seventeenth century (presumably as a more affordable alternative to the silver basins usually used) as does its

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[304] See Donna Pierce in *Mexico: Splendors of Thirty Centuries* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1990), 464-466, cat. entry 219.

[305] I am grateful to Constancio del Alamo of The Hispanic Society of America for assisting me with this interpretation.

[306] Barber, *Maiolica,* 47. Barber probably helped secure the purchase of this basin for Emily de Forest, who in turn donated the piece along with nearly one hundred other Puebla vessels to the American Wing at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City.

potter's mark, an "A" on the side wall. This mark may be associated with one of the three documented master potters of the period: Domingo de Aguilar, José Anaya, or Antonio de Arteaga.[307] Since it was not until 1653 that the potter's guild issued its ordinances and required its master potters to mark their work, this *lebrillo* probably dates to about 1653 or after.

Another rare *lebrillo* from the Museo Franz Mayer in Mexico City is decorated with a central pictorial scene of the Baptism of Christ that suggests its use as a baptismal font (Fig. 5.11). The scene, probably based on a print or book illustration, shows Christ kneeling in a river that flows across the lower third of the basin, his arms crossed on his chest. He inclines his head toward St. John, who blesses him with water from a shell in one hand and a bannered cross in the other. Typical of the scene, a dove symbolizing the Holy Spirit hovers above Christ and a small sheep appears behind St. John, who referred to Christ as the "Lamb of God." The inclusion of a maguey plant, native to the Mexican highlands, marks this as a New World variant on the scene. Stylized pomegranates alternate with other floral motifs; since the pomegranate (an emblem of Granada) was a symbol of Christ and of humanity unified by the Catholic Church.

As elsewhere in the Catholic world, it was the practice for pious citizens in colonial Mexico to commission devotional works for local parishes and conventos. This piece, signed by a master potter (with "N [or M] A" below St. John's left foot) may have been such a commission. The initials may be those of either Antonio Márquez de Santillana or Nicolás Martín de Alba, both master potters in the seventeenth-century.[308]

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[307] Enrique A. Cervantes, *Loza blanca y azulejos de Puebla,* 2 vols. (Mexico City: privately printed, 1939), 2:197-198.

[308] See ibid., 2:217.

Pharmaceutical vessels, made in a variety of heights, were commonly used to store medicinal herbs and ointments. They were probably covered with such perishable materials as cloth or leather and secured over the vessels opening with a string (Fig. 5.12). Some *albarelos* bear the coats-of-arms of the religious orders for which they were commissioned. The coats-of-arms painted on these jars indicate that they were commissioned for the orders of the St. Francis and Saint John of God. On the bottom of the front an abraded ribbon-like panel, barely visible, was probably reserved for a label painted on after firing. Although *albarelos* were most commonly tall cylinders, bulbous jars also were used (Fig. 5.12a). Because these jars were designed to stand on shelves, many are ornamented on just one side, and many of the bulbous one have slightly flattened backs.

Ceramic storage jars were also used in colonial kitchens. Metal-lidded jars, known in Mexico as *chocolateros* (chocolate jars), were not only used to store chocolate, but also vanilla, and other valuable spices that required the safeguard of a lockable lid. Chinese prototypes for *chocolateros,* used to store ginger, date back at least eight hundred years (Fig. 5.13), but the lockable metal lid is a Spanish colonial invention. Iron, silver and other metals were used to make such lids on both Chinese and Mexican examples.[309] The pieces themselves must have also been considered valuable, as indicated by the blue and white decoration (Fig. 5.14).

Tall, unlidded jars for kitchen use, known in Mexico as a *tibor,* have high shoulders and tapered bases, and were made in a variety of sizes, though most are

[309] Personal communication, George Kuwayama, May 2005. According to Kuwayama, art historian and former curator at the Los Angeles County Museum who has been studying Asian ceramics in the New World, the tradition of applying a metal lid to a ceramic form is unknown outside Mexico.

approximately nine to sixteen inches tall and four to ten inches in diameter. Larger ones range from twenty to thirty inches tall. The shape also fluctuates, some being more bulbous at the top or narrowing slightly at the bottom.

Another storage container, a tall cylindrical barrel with a rounded central profile, was one of many Chinese forms adopted by Puebla potters at the beginning of the eighteenth century (Fig. 5.15).[310] The shape was originally designed to hold items that could be rolled instead of being carried by hand. Some Puebla barrels were made with a hole at the bottom, indicating that these were used to hold plants.

Bottles made in varying shapes were inspired by both Chinese and native forms. The standard shape was tall and bulbous with a tall or short neck (Fig. 5.16). The more elaborate bottle form, however, was made in a double gourd shape, and ranged from about 13 to 7 inches tall (Fig. 5.17). Double-gourds apparently made in two or more pieces were also produced in pre-Hispanic times, as early as the Preclassic period (1200-600 B.C.E.) (Fig. 5.18). The form also was familiar to Chinese potters, who made examples in porcelain, such as the one found in the excavation of the San Diego galleon, which sank outside of the Manila Bay in 1600 (Fig. 5.19).

By the mid-eighteenth century, inkwells (*tinteros*), indicative of literacy—hence social status—became common forms. A mold-made, octagonal inkwell with alternating rounded and squared edges, four feet, and fitted with up to eight writing quills (*cañones)* is one of the most elaborate known (Fig. 5.20). More common examples, designed in the form of hexagons with flat vertical walls, have no feet.

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[310] Florence C. Lister and Robert H. Lister, *A Descriptive Dictionary for 500 Years of Spanish-Tradition Ceramics (13th Through 18th Centuries),* Special Publication Series 1 (Society for Historical Archaeology, 1976), s.v. "*barril*."

POTTER'S ORDINANCES AND SPECIFICATIONS FOR MAIOLICA FORMS AND DESIGNS

Potter's ordinances, intended to standardize and control the quality of the pottery produced and to regulate workshops, hold some clues to the origins of Puebla vessel types as well as to prevent native potters from encroaching on lucrative businesses owned by Spaniards. Although vessel shapes and decoration do not seem to have been of prime importance, article 5 of the 1653 ordinances do specify forms and decorations, and again in greater detail in the 1682 amendment. These specifications reveal what potters felt was important in their products.

Article 5 of the 1653 ordinances specifies three grades of pottery: cooking vessels (*loza amarilla*), common table ware (*loza común*), and fine ware (*loza fina*). (Jars, pots, vases, pans, strainers fall under the rubric of *loza común*.[311] This article also states that:

> [N]o one can manufacture pottery, either fine or common, without passing the examination required in the kind of pottery he expects to make. He may only make the kind in whose manufacture he is examined, unless perchance his examination has been on all (three kinds).[312]

Article 8, governing "the making of said pottery," consists of ten clauses.[313] The first four outline the specified process for preparing clay and mixing the glazes for all grades of pottery.

1. First the clay from which the various kinds of pottery are to be made must be well sifted and cleaned, in order that it may obtain the proper baking and perfection necessary for its durability.

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[311] AHMP, Tomo no. 35, "Cartas y Ordenanzas del señor D. José de Galvez al Ilustre Ayuntamiento" "Cartas de exámen de algunas ordenanzas de Gremios," 1-2. Cited in Cervantes, *Loza blanca*, 1:22.

[312] Ibid., 1:23; trans. in Barber, *Maiolica,* 19-20.

[313] Ibid., 1:23-25; trans. in Barber, *Maiolica,* 20-21.

2. The glaze for the fine pottery must be properly mixed and treated; to one *arroba* (25lbs.) of lead add six pounds of tin, and these must be well mixed and fired. If the ware is to be painted, it must first be decorated with black in order that its beauty may shine out, and each piece must be of an equal thickness in its parts.

3. All the common and white pottery shall have a glaze made of one *arroba* of lead, and two pounds of tin well mingled and carefully prepared. In this common pottery are to be included white, medium and painted, in sorts of vessels.

4. The glaze should correspond with the different wares, and should also be well ground, very liquid and without impurities, so that the ware of whatever class may be durable and honestly made.

Vessel thickness varies widely in Puebla pottery, depending on the fineness of the clay and the potter's throwing ability. Article 8's fifth clause addresses that issue:

5. Ordinary plates for the table should have a fourth of border, in fine ware as well as in common, and these plates should not exceed the thickness of a *real* [coin], and that there should be equal thickness in all parts: because in this combination results in less facility in breaking and chipping and more facility in boxing and shipping.[314]

The interest in creating forms that would ship easily indicates that even as early as 1653 distribution of pottery outside of Puebla was a consideration.

Specifications for bowls (or cups), another important form, were outlined in clause 6 of article 5:

6. All ordinary *escudillas* (bowls or cups) should be from edge to edge an eighth (of a *vara* [4 1/8 inches]. In finer pottery other dimensions may be used, such as are to the taste of the potter and purchaser. Of course one knows that the coarse ware will never answer the purposes of the finer.[315]

This specification reflects a desire to standardize size, delicacy, and thickness of European-style vessels. Licensed workshops affiliated with the potter's guild, which may

[314] Cited in Cervantes, 1:24; trans. in Barber, *Maiolica,* 21.

[315] Ibid.

have been competing with unlicensed workshops, might have wanted to distinguish the quality of their work from that of their competitors, to justify high prices.

The most delicate and refined cup was known as a *jícara,* after the Nahuatl word *xicalli*: a small, hemispheric, polychromed ceramic bowl or lacquered gourd used to drink chocolate, and other beverages. Some pre-Hispanic customs, like drinking chocolate, not only continued into the colonial period but were fully adopted by colonial society. Chocolate drinking was a favored pastime among elite members of society, beginning as early as the sixteenth century and continuing through the nineteenth century and into the present day. In a letter dated 2 December 1841, Fanny Calderón de la Barca, wife of the Spanish ambassador to Mexico, writes:

> A number of the old Indian customs are still kept up here [in Michoacán], modified only by the introduction of Christian doctrine . . . And their dishes are still *xicalli,* or as they were called by the Spaniards, *jicaras,* made of a species of gourd, or rather a fruit resembling it, and growing on a low tree—which fruit they cut in two, each one furnishing two dishes.[316]

By the eighteenth century, the *jícara* form began to be modeled after the delicate, tapered, handleless Chinese teacup of centuries earlier. The more refined form was appropriate to the consumption of a valuable commodity. Although broken, a *jícara* bearing a Dominican coat of arms, in the collection of the Museo Franz Mayer, is a fine example made with very white clay (white for Puebla), extremely thin walls, and an excellent glaze (Fig. 5.21). Chinese teacups from the late-seventeenth to the early-eighteenth centuries have been recovered from the Templo Mayor excavations in Mexico

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[316] Fanny Calderón de la Barca, *Life in Mexico* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday 1966), 578; see also Donna Pierce, "Mayólica in the Daily Life of Colonial Mexico," in *Cerámica y Cultura*, eds. Gavin, Pierce, and Alfonso Pleguezuelo (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003), 245-260.

City (Fig. 22),[317] indicating that the form was included among the number of Chinese porcelains transported from Manila to New Spain and sold in Mexico City at the Parían market from the ceremonial precinct only a few blocks away. The seventeenth-century *jícara* excavated at the convento of San Francisco in Puebla in the early 1990s is one of the earliest examples known, and documents the nascent stage of the form's development (Fig. 5.23).

Unlike most forms that originated in Spain, the *jícara* traveled from New Spain to Spain aboard Spanish galleons. Since Puebla maiolica was not exported across the Atlantic, Spanish potters must have looked to Chinese prototypes that journeyed from Manila to Spain via New Spain. The *jícara*'s usage in Europe (for consuming hot chocolate) nonetheless must have been adopted from colonial customs. Known as a *jícara* in Spain, too, it became a particularly important item in the Spanish workshop of the *Real Fábrica de Alcora*, which opened in 1727 in Alcora, close to Castellón de la Plana, near Valencia. The *mancerina* (saucer for a chocolate cup)—named after Don Pedro Álvarez de Toledo, marquis of Mancera, and viceroy of Peru between 1639 and 1648—was designed to hold a *jícara* and keep it from tipping. *Mancerinas* appear to have first been made in silver, as in such seventeenth-century example from New Spain (Fig. 5.24). Maiolica examples apparently were not made in Mexico; instead, though they were made in porcelain on special order from China. In Spain, however, *mancerinas* were made in maiolica, porcelain, and creamware.[318]

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[317] George Kuwayama, *Chinese Ceramics in Colonial Mexico* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1997), fig. 41.

[318] See Margaret E. Connors McQuade, "Catálogo," in *Alcora en New York: La colección de cerámica de Alcora, The Hispanic Society of America* (Castellón de la Plana: Fundación Blasco de Alagón, 2005), 220-224, 242, 312, 322.

Over time, the ordinance regulations were either bent to suit practical needs or disregarded entirely. For example, the ordinances decreed the use of individual potter's marks for all fine-grade pieces, few of which actually bear such marks.[319] They also required the use of saggars to avoid using cockspurs and reduce the chances of firing accidents. Yet the number of pieces, including refined ware, with stilt pulls (or blemishes) that resulted from contact with cockspurs, show that they were used more frequently than saggars. This occurrence is explained by a formal complaint submitted to the guild in 1726, indicating that the use of saggars was more costly and had no added benefits.[320]

While the ordinances of 1653 did little to actually control the production of common and fine pottery—evidenced by the proliferation of different styles and grades of pottery found—four amendments appended in 1682 specified modes of decoration.[321] Article 1 instructed potters to paint in a specific manner, according to the grade and type of pottery:

> 1. The common pottery. Plates and cups painted in poor blue; the porcelains and large plates painted in the manner that we call *aborronado* (blurred, blotted); and this should be in blue and two other colors; and then the common white ware with a stamp or makers's trade-mark only that it may be recognized, as in the case of all classes of ware.

Although blue-and-white decoration is typically associated with Chinese porcelain, cobalt blue was probably first employed in the Middle East as early as the ninth century and was introduced to Spain by Muslim potters, through Málaga, by the

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[319] Cited in Cervantes, *Loza blanca*, 1:24.

[320] Ibid., 1:33.

[321] Ibid., 1:28-29; trans. in Barber, *Maiolica,* 27.

thirteenth century. There are no known sources for cobalt in or near Mexico, and it is not clear if cobalt was the only mineral used to make blue. In addition to "cobalt," the term *zafre* also was used to describe blue, although it did not necessarily imply a specific mineral. In a 1596 letter to his wife, María Gaitán, in Triana, master potter and tile maker Gaspar de Encinas, requests pigments from Spain as well as a book with their formulas.[322] He uses "*azul*" for blue pigment and not "*cobalto*," so it is impossible to confirm the type of pigment he expected her to send. Nonetheless, the letter does reveal that these pigments were imported from Spain. Puebla workshops probably purchased cobalt imported from Spain, where it had been sent in cake form from the Middle East or North Africa,[323] or it may have been imported from China. In 1792, Joseph Antonio Alzate Ramírez reported that Puebla potters spent forty thousand *pesos* annually on "esmalte ó cobalto" (oxides or cobalt).[324] The profligate use of cobalt would suggest that it was not rare in and around Puebla, although its use for the highest-grade ware also indicates that it was the most expensive of all the oxides, as it is today.

It is also interesting to note the use of the term "porcelain" in article 1 of the amendment. European-born potters may have seen true porcelain in elite collections there, but Puebla potters probably became familiar with porcelain from examples brought to New Spain from Asia aboard the Manila galleons. They clearly sought to emulate and reinterpret many sophisticated Asian designs on a substitute grayish-white clay made

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[322] AGI, "Gaspar Encinas a su mujer Mará Gaitan en Triana," Puebla, 30 April 1596.

[323] Lister and Lister, *Andalusian Ceramics in Spain and New Spain*, 223.

[324] Joseph Antonio Alzate Ramírez, *Gazeta de Literatura* 2 (Mexico, 15 May 1792), 310.

from two different sources. A number of wheel-thrown Puebla vessels reveal that potters were able to achieve thin-walled vessels, but without analysis of such examples it is impossible to determine the exact source of their clays. A kaolin-like clay was discovered and employed by Preclassic Olmec artists in Las Bocas, in the southern part of the state of Puebla, but is not known to have been used by maiolica workshops.

Aborronado, also mentioned in article 1, is a type of decoration adopted from Andalusian pottery, wherein the decorator fills the space surrounding a central image with dots or splotches of color, usually blue.[325] In Spain, it was employed in the decoration of lusterware. A plate inscribed "Ave Maria," from the Hispanic Society's collection, exemplifies this type of decoration (Fig. 5.25). It was employed by potters in Talavera de la Reina for a decorative type known as *punteada* (Fig. 5.26). Barber described this patterning as "tattooed."[326] *Aborronado* was a popular mode of decoration for Puebla pottery of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Its coverage of the entire surface reflects an Islamic penchant to not leave any surface area void of decoration. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the use of repeated dots (in deep tones of blue created by thick applications of cobalt) on a *lebrillo* in the collection of the Philadelphia Museum of Art (Fig. 5.27). The dots not only decorate the space around the central image, but also create the figural forms and architectural structures on the interior

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[325] Specialists in this area have variously interpreted this term. See Florence C. Lister and Robert H. Lister, *Descriptive Dictionary for 500 years of Spanish-Tradition Ceramics, thirteenth through the eighteenth centuries* (Special Publications Series, no. 1, Society for Historical Archaeology, 1976), s.v. "*aborronado*"; Margaret E. Connors McQuade, "The Emergence of a Mexican Tile Tradition," 215, in Gavin, Pierce, and Pleguezuelo, *Cerámica y Cultura*; Ana Paulina Gámez, "Forgotten Potters of Mexico City," 238-239, in Gavin, Pierce, and Pleguezuelo, *Cerámica y Cultura*.

[326] Barber, *Maiolica*, 51.

walls. This Islamic mode of decoration also made an impression on Chinese potters, but it must have come by way of the Middle East centuries earlier.

A later development of *aborronado* decoration is manifested with blue dots and dashes on a platter from the Museo Franz Mayer (Fig. 5.28). The design often combined with motifs and surface decoration of European, Chinese, and even native Mexican origin to create a distinctive Puebla style. The shape of the platter derives from silver barbers' basins, known as *sangradores*, such as an example in the collection of Rodrigo Rivero Lake in Mexico City (Fig. 5.29).[327] Scattered throughout the decoration are chrysanthemums, a motif common to Chinese porcelain. These flowers, repeated dots, dashes and floral sprays, stylized structures, and birds—possibly the Central American quetzal—fill the entire area, surrounding the central figure of a winged mermaid.

The lavish use of cobalt blue on this and other pieces from this period is an extravagance considering its value at the time, but not uncommon to fine-grade Puebla ware. In fact, the third clause of the 1682 amendment to the ordinances stipulates that "refined" ware should imitate that of China, patterned with a "very intense" blue.[328]

By the eighteenth century, *aborronado* ornament became more stylized and less haphazard. Notable among the Museo Franz Mayer's extensive collection of Puebla ceramics is one that bears the inscription "Para RDO. Padre Joan Zalazar, Año de 1732" (Fig. 5.30). Here the dots turn into a dense array of dark-blue leaves growing from a light blue vine interspersed with chrysanthemum blossoms. By the second quarter of the

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[327] A similar example is illustrated in Manuel Toussaint, *Colonial Art in Mexico*, trans. and ed. Elizabeth Wilder Weissman (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1967), 165-166. I am grateful to Rodrigo Rivero Lake for sending me the photograph of this silver barber's basin.

[328] Cervantes, *Loza blanca*, 1:29.

eighteenth century, potters began to move away from figurative representations, focusing on more abstract, stylized designs. The inscription along the upper band of the Salazar jar indicates that it was made for the Reverend Father Juan Salazar in 1732. Four identical coats of arms, composed of a Maltese cross above the vertical bars of Aragón within a fanciful border, suggest that the priest was a member of the Mercedarian religious order.[329] Although inscriptions with dates are extremely rare among extant Puebla vessels, it was not uncommon for religious orders and private families to commission vessels with individualized arms and inscriptions.

Article 2 of the 1682 amendment outlines the decoration for *loza fina* ("fine pottery"):

> 2. The fine pottery. In the fine ware the *armadas* (groundwork) should be painted in blue and finished in black with dots along the borders and edges of all ware painted in this style. . . .[330]

It is unclear exactly which of the seventeenth-century Puebla decorative modes fits this description. Puebla Polychrome is the most likely type, examples of which are in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Fig. 5.10) and the Philadelphia Museum of Art (Fig. 5.31). Puebla Polychrome is characterized by its bold blue scrollwork and black outlines; intersecting areas are filled with close, fine, web-like motifs and black dots. The blue scrollwork recalls a design on fifteenth-century Spanish lusterware (Fig. 5.32), but the lacework along the rim of the Philadelphia basin and the line decoration within the strapwork directly relate to an early seventeenth-century type of pottery from Talavera de la Reina, known as *encaje de bolillos,* the ornament of which was based on bobbin lace

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[329] Pierce, in *Mexico: Splendors*, 475, cat. entry 228.

[330] Cervantes, *Loza blanca,* 28-29; trans. in Barber, *Maiolica,* 27.

(Fig. 5.31 and 5.33)[331] Metallic and cotton bobbin lace was made in Talavera de la Reina in the seventeenth century and possibly earlier. It is not clear if bobbin lace was made in New Spain, though its presence there is evidenced by a seventeenth-century sculpture of the Virgin in the collection of Daniel Liebsohn in Mexico City, whose costume features it along the rim of the cloak (Fig. 5.34).[332] On Puebla pottery, bobbin lace design also is characterized by the use of black or manganese outlining, referred to in the 2nd clause of article 8 of the 1653 ordinances: "If the ware is to be painted, it must be first decorated with black, in order that its beauty may shine out . . ."[333] The appearance of bobbin lace pottery at the site of St. Catherine's Island off the coast of Georgia, where Puebla maiolica has been discovered, establishes its production prior to 1680, when the site was abandoned.[334]

The basin from the Metropolitan Museum of Art collection (Fig. 5.10) has the potter's mark "A," which may have been one of the three known Puebla master potters of

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[331] In Spain the *encaje de bolillos* decoration is often identified as late seventeenth century, although with little archaeological work at Talavera de la Reina it is hard to date with any certainty. The fact that the Puebla type dates before 1680 offers evidence that the Talavera series must date before then. Since little if any Puebla maiolica was shipped to Spain (a fact verified by the absence of Puebla pottery on board wrecked ships headed to Spain from Veracruz and its absence in Spanish archaeological sites and collections), it is virtually impossible for the Puebla type to have influenced the Spanish one.

[332] I am grateful to Daniel Liebsohn, a collector and art dealer in Mexico City, for sending me a photograph of this sculpture from his collection.

[333] In Cervantes, *Loza blanca*, 1:24.

[334] Maiolica from this site has not been published. I am grateful to Loran Pendleton Thomas of the American Museum of Nature History for bringing this site to my attention and for permitting me to examine the fragments under her care at the AMNH. For additional information on this fascinating Spanish colonial site, see David Hurst Thomas, *St. Catherines, An Island in Time,* Georgian History and Cultural Series (Atlanta: Georgia Humanities Council, 1988).

the seventeenth century: Domingo de Aguilar, José Anaya, or Antonio de Artega.[335] As yet, however, no ledger indicating which mark belongs to which potter is known.

Seventeenth-century bobbin lace pottery also was also realized in monochrome black design on a cream ground. Very few of these pieces survive, and their close similarities in glaze, paste, and execution indicate that they were made in the same workshop. One of a pair of basins, formerly in the collection of Francisco Pérez de Salazar, shows carefully executed figures (Fig. 5.35).[336] The central portrait bust recalls those frequently painted on Talavera de la Reina ceramics from the seventeenth century (see Fig. 5.26). The other known example depicts a turkey, a bird indigenous to the Americas.[337]

Talavera de la Reina is the only center in Spain that is mentioned in clause 2, undoubtedly because it was one of the most important ceramic centers in Spain at the time, and because the vessels produced there were admired most by Puebla potters.

> . . . . And in order that there might be variety, the other style of decoration for this fine ware shall be in imitation of Talavera [de la Reina] ware, or figures and designs in colors shading them with all the five colors used in the art. The manufacture of this fine ware shall be with the greatest neatness and cleanliness possible. . . .[338]

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[335] In Cervantes, *Loza blanca*, 2:199-200.

[336] This collection was recently sold, and currently held by a Mexican businessman in Mexico City.

[337] For illustrations of the basin with the turkey, see *Mexico: Splendors*, 461; and Leonor Cortina, *Talavera Poblana* (Mexico City: Fomento Cultura Banamex, 1979), 4. These two *lebrillos* are believed to be in the collection of Mexican art historian Guillermo Tovar y Teresa of Mexico City.

[338] Cervantes, *Loza blanca*, 1:28-9.

The decoration to which it refers must be the type identified as *tricolor* (Fig. 5.36), made at Talavera de la Reina from approximately 1580 to 1650.[339] It was adapted to a Puebla type known as Abó Polychrome, first named by Goggin in 1968 after the mission site of Gregorio de Abó in New Mexico.[340] While the Talavera *tricolor* decoration is typically in orange, blue and black (or brown), Abó Polychrome is characterized by these colors as well as green and yellow. The most distinctive feature of Abó Polychrome—a "lollipop" or "balloon" motif, usually surrounding a central animal or human figure—also can be traced to Talavera (Fig. 5.37, Fig. 4.29).[341] The same device appears on San Luis, or "Butterfly" Blue-on-White, which was made from the mid-seventeenth to mid-eighteenth century, and also was influenced by a Talavera type. The chronological range for it is mid-seventeenth to mid-eighteenth century.[342] Typical forms of Abó Polychrome include plates, porringers, cups, and tiles.

The number and range of Puebla decorative types, and the inventiveness of Puebla potters account for the industry's enormous success, but make classification difficult. A *lebrillo* in the Franz Mayer collection, one of only a few extant multicolored works of its large size produced in the seventeenth century, is a hybrid of sorts, combining aspects of Abó Polychrome and Puebla Polychrome (Fig. 5.38). The rendering of birds and floral sprays outlined in black and filled-in with yellow, orange, ochre, and blue, is characteristic of Abó Polychrome, whereas the curvilinear lines and

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[339] Balbina Martínez Caviró, *Cerámica de Talavera* (Madrid: CSIC, 1984), 17-20, 27-28.

[340] Goggin, *Spanish Majolica*, 169-173.

[341] Deagan, *Artifacts of the Spanish Colonies*, 79-81.

[342] Goggin, *Spanish Majolica*, 172; Deagan, *Artifacts of the Spanish Colonies,* 81; Aguirre Anaya, and Cedillo Ortega, *Catálogo de Mayólicas*, 24.

small dots in black set within bold cobalt blue strokes (found on the columns dividing the overall decoration into four parts) derive from Puebla Polychrome. Though rooted in Spanish types, the effect here is distinctively Mexican, as is the iconography. On the upper left is an image of a turkey, which is native to the Americas, and the eagle, represented at the center of the basin, played an important role in pre-Hispanic art and frequently appeared in colonial Mexican heraldic imagery. Images of eagles, however, were common in Europe as well, and were particularly important in Spain where the double-headed eagle on the Hapsburg coat of arms was ever-present.

The third clause of the 1682 amendment specifies yet another style of decoration.

> 3. Also in making the fine wares the colors should be in imitation of the Chinese ware, very blue, finished in the same style and with relief work in blue, and on this style of pottery there should be painted black bots and grounds in colors.[343]

The founders of the guild here designate Chinese-style pottery as "refined ware" (*loza refino*), the most valued and expensive of all Puebla ceramics. Around the time that the amendment was written Chinese-style pottery began to proliferate in Puebla. Despite the specifications of the ordinances, Chinese-style ware was not painted in polychrome until the last quarter of the eighteenth century, though potters undoubtedly were influenced by Chinese polychrome porcelain design. Chinese porcelain was among the various items exported from Asia on the Manila galleons, and many pieces remained in Mexico for local consumption, allowing Puebla ceramists to study the pieces firsthand. Even when Puebla potters were inspired by polychrome porcelain, however, Chinese-style Puebla maiolica was limited to blue and white until the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

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[343] Cited in Cervantes, *Loza blanca,* 1:29; trans. in Barber, *Maiolica,* 27.

CHINESE STYLE BLUE-ON-WHITE MAIOLICA

Puebla potters produced such a wide variety of Chinese-style designs that there are too many to discuss adequately here. In general, they encompass six basic categories (although there are numerous variations within each): *kraak*, Ming, landscapes or narratives, lobed panels, flowers, and silhouette. The Listers have published a useful chart of the most important Chinese motifs adopted and translated by Puebla potters (Fig. 5.39).[344]

An exceptional early example of Chinese-style *kraak* decoration is a plate uncovered in the excavation adjacent to the Convento de San Juan de Dios, where the offices and garage of the Museo Franz Mayer are now located (Fig. 5.40).[345] Commonly called *kraak*, after the Dutch name for the Portuguese galleons they frequently captured,[346] it is variously known to archaeologists as Puaray Polychrome, after the site of Puaray in New Mexico, and Castillo Polychrome, after the site of Castillo de San Marcos, St. Augustine, Florida.[347] First produced around 1500 by workshops in Jingdezhen, Jiangxi region of central China, *kraak* porcelain was shipped in quantities to the New World. Its popularity is evident by the large number of examples found in

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[344] Florence C. Lister and Robert H. Lister, *Maiolica Olé: Spanish and Mexican Decorative Traditions, Featuring the Collection of the Museum of International Folk Art* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 2001), fig. 62.

[345] I am grateful to Rosa Dopazo of the Museo Franz Mayer for having brought this beautiful plate to my attention.

[346] It was frequently found in numbers aboard the Portuguese galleons transporting luxury goods from China to Indonesia, and the Dutch greatly prized it.

[347] Goggin gave two names to this type based on fragments he located, not realizing that they both feature characteristics of the same type. This is not surprising, since he did not find any pieces intact. Deagan argues that the two types are related. Goggin, *Spanish Majolica,* 182-186; Deagan, *Artifacts of the Spanish Colonies,* 82.

excavations in Mexico and various areas of the Pacific where galleons have sunk, such as the San Diego (hit by the Dutch in 1600 near Manila Bay) (Fig. 5.41).[348] Although the shipment aboard the San Diego never arrived in the New World, it provides an excellent source of the type of ware that was shipped there. *Kraak* porcelain is characterized by pastoral scenes that are often framed by subdivided fields; in the fragmentary example of this style from Puebla in the Franz Mayer collection, a Puebla potter substitutes a frolicking rabbit for the typical Chinese deer (Fig. 5.40).[349]

Based on this Chinese style, belonging to the Wanli period (1573-1620) of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), the composition of the Puebla *tibor* (jar) is similarly divided into four lobed cartouches separated by I-dividers with lobed shapes in the middle and cloud scrolls (often called *rui*) at the top and bottom (Fig. 5.42). Unlike the Chinese example with several birds in a pond (5.43), however, the Puebla versions almost always depict a single water bird perched on or close to a nopal, a reference to the cactus that was part of the symbol of the Aztec capital of Tenochtitlan, which today appears on the flag of the Republic of Mexico. A stunning variation of this style, manufactured at Jingdezhen, was discovered in pristine condition aboard the San Diego (Fig. 5.44).

A similar design appears on a group of *albarelos* housed at the Museo Franz Mayer (Fig. 5.45), and additional examples of this style and shape can be found in other

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[348] See, for example, Kuwayama, *Chinese Ceramics*, 54-55, 57, 59-60; Jean-Paul Desroches, "The Porcelains," 340-350, in Jean-Paul Desroches, Gabriel Casal, and Franck Goddio, eds. *Treasures of the San Diego* (Manila: National Museum of the Philippines, 1997).

[349] *Kraak* porcelain also was an important Chinese type at European maiolica workshops, including those at Talavera de la Reina in Spain, Lisbon in Portugal, and Delft in Holland. See John Carswell, ed. *Blue and White: Chinese Porcelain and Its Impact on the Western World* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1985).

museum collections as well.[350] Together, these distinctive *albarelos* may have once lined the walls of one of colonial Mexico's many private or convento pharmacies. The central band with individual scenes framed by lobed panels is derived from Wanli-period Chinese porcelain (1573-1620). Panels are joined at two sides by a circle enclosing a dot, while spiraling tendrils with solid blossoms or rain clouds fill the remaining space of the band above and below. The decorative scheme also is similar to a Japanese *kendi* (a specialized bottle with a spout) in the Museo Nacional del Virreinato in Mexico City (which features lobed panels separated by spiraling tendrils) (Fig. 5.46). The scenes within these two panels, however, differ from that of a *kendi* pot. The pictorial scenes, however, are most closely related to a late Ming blue-and-white porcelain type known to have been exported in quantities to the New World.[351] On the side illustrated, a water bird, possibly a crane, stands in a pond flanked by a sloping hill with flowering plants to the right and a nopal to the left. Above the nopal is a schematic pavilion, which is more clearly articulated on other vessels with the same composition. The opposite panel depicts a pendant sprig of three chrysanthemum flowers composed of clusters of dots and leaves within a stylized landscape. The band at the base of the *albarelo* is decorated with a pattern adapted from the calligraphic motif known as *alafia,* which consists of a circumflex accent over an alpha on its side, symbolizing health and happiness in Arabic.[352] It is frequently found on fifteenth-century, Persian-style Spanish lusterware

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[350] For examples, see Barber, *Maiolica,* pl. 15.

[351] See Kuwayama, *Chinese Ceramics,* 78-9; *La Cerámica en la ciudad de México, 1325-1917* (Mexico City: Museo de la Ciudad de México, 1997), 84.

[352] The Arabic word means "health and happiness." Anthony Ray, *Spanish Pottery, 1248-1898 With a Catalogue of the Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum* (London: Victoria and Albert, 2000), 401.

(Fig. 5.47), although it also recalls a stylized Islamic architectural motif adapted throughout Asia.

A jar with a Chinese-style landscape and serpentine handles in the collection of the Hispanic Society is attributed—by way of the potter's mark "he"—to Damián Hernández, who made several works in this style (Fig. 5. 48).[353] Born in Spain, Hernández apprenticed under Antonio de Vega y Córdova in 1607 and founded the potter's guild of Puebla in 1653 with Diego Salvador Carreto and Andrés de Haro. His Chinese-style jar combines European and Asian ornament and motifs in the typical Puebla fashion. The shape of the Hispanic Society jar recalls both Spanish olive jars and Chinese storage jars (Fig. 5.43). The figure driving the chariot is identified as Chinese by his queue (ponytail), while the woman in the chariot is undoubtedly European, as is the bullfighter on horseback at the upper left. Although the Chinese were quite adept at narrative decoration (also known as *historiato*), it probably originated with the Italian potters who had a profound influence on Spanish maiolica.

A *lebrillo* in the Museo Franz Mayer, which also bears Hernández's mark, features the same dots or *aborronados* (decorating and in-filling the figures as well as the space) seen in the other "he" jar (Fig. 5.48). Hernández used dots of varying sizes and placed them randomly; in the Hispano-Muslim tradition no space is left undecorated. The central roundel of the Franz Mayer jar depicts a feline and a male quetzal with long feathered tail and in a stylized landscape. Quetzals and jaguars were prized in Mesoamerica prior to the conquest, and here they constitute decidedly New World

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[353] See Cervantes, *Loza Blanca,* 1:112, 114, 116, 118; Margaret Connors McQuade, *Talavera Poblana: Four Centuries of a Mexican Ceramic Tradition* (New York: Americas Society, 1999), 29, 45, 102-103.

iconography. The jar's interior walls are radially divided into fields, in the manner of Chinese *kraak* decoration of the late Ming dynasty (c. 1560s to 1640). Within the fields are repeated representations of a ship (perhaps a Chinese junk or a Spanish galleon), approaching land. A larger and more refined image of the same scene is depicted on a plate Hernández made,[354] and Pierce conjectures that it represents the arrival of the Manila galleon at the port of Acapulco, where Chinese porcelain was unloaded annually for both local and distant markets.[355]

A related *lebrillo* in the collection of the Museo Franz Mayer also reflects the influence of Wanli porcelain (1573-1620), but fits more appropriate in Chinese-style landscapes category (Fig. 5.50). It affects the Chinese potters's move away from high-style designs of imperial symbols and Taoist subjects towards decorations such as landscapes, narrative themes, and motifs that were appealing to the scholarly gentry.[356] These types of porcelains were shipped to the New World by Manila galleons in increasing numbers towards the end of the seventeenth century. The central roundel of the basin depicts a Y-shaped river flowing from one end of the basin to the other and back again. Various hunters cross a river via two bridges. In order to experience the various scenes depicted here, the basin must be viewed from various angles. Arched structures supported by Baroque solomonic columns radially divide its interior walls into eight panels of decoration. Within each panel are stylized trees, birds, and other animals, all disproportionately depicted in relation to the various architectural structures. Along

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[354] Pierce, in *Mexico: Splendors*, 469, cat. entry 222.

[355] Ibid.

[356] Margaret Medley, *The Chinese Potter: A Practical Guide of Chinese Ceramics* (London: Phaidon Press, 1989), 220; Kuwayama, *Chinese Ceramics*, 16, 34.

the rim of the basin, are unevenly spaced, domed structures with animals and stylized bushes. Characteristic of Puebla pottery of this period, the entire surface is decorated, although contrasting light and dark shades of cobalt blue make it easier to read the scene.

Among various types of jars, some used raised ribs to divide the decoration into four Chinese-style landscapes (Fig. 5.51). A nearly identical jar with rib dividers is in the collection of the Art Institute of Chicago.[357] The division of decoration into rectangular fields is typical of Chinese porcelain, although in these examples the ceramist combines elements from different ceramic traditions to create a distinctive Mexican style.

Exhibiting the *horror vacui* (fear of empty space) typical of Puebla ceramics, the entire surface of one jar is decorated with randomly placed images in light and dark shades of blue (Fig. 5.51). On one side, an outline of an island appears on the bottom of a panel filled in with light blue lines and dark blue dots running vertically. On the island stands a tall, slender tree, dwarfing the structure to the right, and a smaller floating island with a tent to the left. Surrounding the tree are other representations of islands, which float among sprigs of lotus blossoms and foliage. Another side of the basin depicts an island fully enveloped by an Islamic structure with an arched doorway, flanked by a tree on one side and on the other, a man with a spear possibly catching the fish that surround the central image. The island floats within a field of floral vines that incorporates the image of a bumblebee to the right. Interestingly, the image of a bumblebee is found on a group of late seventeenth-century figurative tiles (Fig. 4.29b) (see chapter 4). It has been identified as a potter's mark, although no potter's name has been associated with it.[358]

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[357] See John Carswell, ed., *Blue and White: Chinese Porcelain and Its Impact on the Western World* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1985), 173.

[358] Barber, *Maiolica*, fig. 41.

The decoration of loosely applied brush strokes on the base resembles that commonly found on the reverse of Puebla plates and *lebrillos* (see Fig. 5.49b), a practice introduced by potters who had familiarity with Spanish lusterware decoration. This decorative mode also made its way to potters in China, arriving there from the Middle East.

By the eighteenth century, the Puebla Chinese style was fully developed. Later examples are marked by restraint, symmetry and balance of decorated and undecorated areas, a sharp contrast to the crowded decoration that characterized the second half of the seventeenth century. On one *tibor,* four large pendant lappets, or hanging ogival blades, extend from the neck of the jar down to the bottom of a central panel decorated with radiating tendrils in white reserve on a dark blue field (Fig. 5.52). This jar must have been inspired by the Chinese decoration of the Kangxi period (1662-1722) of the Qing dynasty (1644-1911), examples of which are reported in Mexico (Fig. 5.53).[359] Alternating between the lappets are four circular medallions outlined in dark and light blue. Within the medallions, Chinese merchants appear on two ends and parrots on the others, each surrounded by floral sprigs and squiggle lines in contrasting shades of dark and light blue. By this time, some potters may have been inspired by European chinoiserie (which had begun to affect other areas of decorative colonial art in Mexico such as lacquer ware) rather than actual Chinese prototypes, though the subject of European Chinoiserie in the New World needs further exploration.

A refined mid-eighteenth century *tibor* in the Franz Mayer collection stand out as one of the most refined painted works of Puebla ware in the style of Chinese porcelain (Fig. 5.54). It was modeled after a blue-and-white porcelain jar from the Kangxi reign

[359] See also Kuwayama, *Chinese Porcelain*, 48-49.

(1662-1722) of the Qing dynasty.[360] Like the Chinese original (Fig. 5.55) the Franz Mayer jar is covered by stems of chrysanthemum blossoms that weave through petals and leaves (Fig. 5.53). This floral design may have been inspired by Chinese silk damask popular in Mexico at the time.[361] Although monochrome blue-on-white decoration is more characteristic of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) porcelain, the style continued to be made in China into the eighteenth century alongside polychrome vessels. A pattern of alternating stylized Islamic structures, which evolved out of the calligraphic *alafia* motif of Hispano-Muslim lusterware, frames the central panel. This border motif, commonly used by Puebla artists during the first half of the eighteenth century, replaces the vertical leaves decorating the base of the Chinese model.

The shape and decoration of another set of jars are perhaps the most common of all fine-grade Puebla ware of the eighteenth century (Fig. 5.56). Diagonal bands flanked by inward volutes divide the decoration on the bulbous jar into three panels and on the iron-lidded jar into four. The division of surface decoration into panels reflects the influence of *kraak* porcelain, but interpreted by Puebla potters in such a way that the rim decoration is twisted counter-clockwise.

Bulbous jars from Puebla are typically decorated with birds flying among swirling clouds over a landscape, a treatment seen on Chinese Swatow ware (named after the port from which it was exported in the late-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries). On Puebla ware, however, ceramists replaced the Chinese phoenix, or water bird, by a Central American quetzal, identifiable by its two long feathers. On one lidded jar (or

[360] See Leonor Cortina, "Loza achinada: polvos azules de orientes," *La Talavera de Puebla. Artes de Mexico* 3 (1995): 51.

[361] Kuwayama, *Chinese Ceramics*, 81.

chocolatero), the birds are abstracted almost beyond recognition. Dense cobalt blue, free-flowing brush strokes also are characteristic of Swatow ware, and Barber described the related Puebla style as "Silhouette."[362] It also is characterized by the use of simplified cloud scrolls, rocks, and *rui* lappets (scroll motif). Light blue lines contour the solid blue forms in fringed effect. The alternating pattern is similar to the calligraphic *alafia* motif; this motif, which appears on the horizontal bands at the top and base of the bulbous jar and at the base of the lidded jar, had become standard border decoration by the mid-eighteenth century. While the horizontal rectangular strip scored with vertical light blue lines may have been reserved for the temporary labeling of the contents of the jar, smaller versions of these strips also appear on other shapes, which suggests that they may have become a purely decorative component of this style.

Although Asian porcelain continued to influence Puebla potters well past the mid-eighteenth century, many vessel decorations show little signs of it. Chinese style decoration is confined to the rim, for instance, of a *lebrillo* with the Hapsburg coat of arms (Fig. 5.57), a device that appears on a variety of colonial works, providing a visual reminder of the Spanish conquest of Mexico during the reign of Charles V. This *lebrillo* is one of three in the collection of the Museo Franz Mayer emblazoned with the bicephalous Habsburg eagle and topped by the crown of the Holy Roman Empire, and probably once graced a convent, monastery, or the home of a Mexican noble family.[363] Between the two eagles is a stylized pomegranate topped by a cross, symbolic of Christ

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[362] Edwin Atlee Barber, *The Mexican Maiolica in the Collection of The Hispanic Society of America* (New York: The Hispanic Society of America, 1915), 7.

[363] A much larger basin in the collection of the Franz Mayer with a similar image once belonged to the Conceptionist convent of the Holy Trinity in Puebla. See Donna Pierce, in *Mexico: Splendors*, 464-466, cat. entry 219.

and of global unity under the Catholic Church. Within the fruit is a simple rendering of the columns of Hercules, typically associated with Charles V's motto "Plus Ultra." This specialized design must have been realized for a commission. Variants of the double-headed eagle motif continued to appear in colonial decorative arts after the close of the Hapsburg reign in Spain in 1700. The decoration on the interior walls of this *lebrillo* contrasts sharply with the decoration on the base, which is rendered with precise lines and dots in varying shades of blue. A variety of birds and stylized flowers and trees fills the entire surface with the same free-flowing brushwork found on other vessels of this period. The decoration of the rim recalls the undulating curvilinear scrolls known as *xiangcao*, frequently used as bordering bands in Chinese art.

Non-representational decorative bands of this sort began to replace Chinese-style landscapes in late eighteenth century Puebla pottery. One Puebla barrel of this period is ornamented, for instance, with seven bands of varying sizes (Fig. 5.15). The largest of them comprises cloud-collar lappets, patterned with a diaper design and separated by stylized floral sprays in white reserve outlined in light blue. Others show spiral scrolls similar to the Chinese *xiangcao* scroll. Another band features modified Chinese tendrils from which extend circles enclosed with dots, but the Neoclassical vine at the top and bottom dates it to the second half of the eighteenth century.

The discoloration of the barrel in several places suggests that it had reached its maximum temperature too rapidly during the second firing. The temperature and distribution of heat in the kiln were difficult to control centuries ago, and the barrel may have been situated too close to the source of the heat during the firing. The roughness of the glaze on the interior is the result of many years of use and exposure to excessive

water seepage. The less-than perfect condition of this piece demonstrates an important point about Puebla ware in general. Unlike workshops in Asia, which were quick to discard flawed vessels, Puebla workshops seem to have circulated all the vessels that survived the second firing, including those with significant faults (i.e. glaze slips, glaze bubbles, over-firing). As a result, today we find the quality of Puebla ranging from thin-walled refined ware to crude, and unrefined vessels.

The importation of a number of European ceramic wares increased substantially in the late eighteenth century, causing a dramatic reduction in fine grade Puebla ware. Nonetheless, ceramic factories continued to produce a variety of styles focusing on the domestic market. Chinese motifs had begun to appear more frequently on ordinary tableware, rather than on strictly "refined" ware as the potter's ordinances had required. At the same time, ironically, Mexican penchant for Chinese-style decoration began to wane and European styles resurged. Vessel decoration had already become more restrained, turning away from the *horror vacui* convention that had been so popular since the mid-seventeenth century.

ROCOCO AND NEOCLASSICAL PUEBLA MAIOLICA

The decoration of a bowl in the Franz Mayer collection reflects popular taste in the last quarter of the eighteenth century (Fig. 5.58). Its simple scalloped border is trimmed with floral sprigs and accented below with a small, evenly spaced stylized floral motif. The border recalls a Baroque pattern known as lambrequin, commonly attributed to Rouen, France, and popularized during the reign of Louis XIV.[364] The influence of

[364] Lambrequin is an anglicized version of a French term and consists of a scalloped

Rouen ceramics was felt throughout Europe during the eighteenth century. This was particularly true of the *Real Fábrica de Alcora* in Castellón founded by the ninth count of Aranda in 1727 with ceramists from Moustiers and Marseilles, who brought French fashion to its products. The popularity of French styles in Spain also can be attributed to the arrival in 1700 of Bourbon king Philip V (r. 1701-46), grandson of Louis XIV, who brought the decorative modes of Versailles with him. Among the numerous French styles and motifs employed by potters in Alcora, the lambrequin border was one of the most important (Fig. 5.59).

Although Rouen ceramics are not known to have been imported into Mexico at this time, ceramics from Alcora undoubtedly were. Documents from the factory of Alcora indicate that the fine pottery was exported to New Spain, and examples are known to verify it.[365] In Europe, the lambrequin scalloped border was painted in both monochrome blue and polychrome. Puebla artists rendered it in two shades of blue, and never seem to have combined it other styles of decoration. It is found on a variety of shapes, ranging from the common *albarelo* to an unusual pear-shaped bottle.[366]

By the end of the eighteenth century, Puebla ceramists began to use polychrome decoration with more frequency, marking a sharp departure from the blue-and-white

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border pattern of pendant drapery, lacework, leaves, and scrollwork adopted from design books of such artists as Daniel Marot (1650-1700). The pattern was first introduced as a decorative motifs to workshops in Rouen by Louis Poterat around 1700, and thereafter became fashionable at a number of eighteenth-century ceramic centers. George Savage and Harold Newman, *An Illustrated Dictionary of Ceramics* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1985), s.v. "Lambrequin."

[365] HSA, B385/18, "Domingo Abadía to the conde de Aranda," Alcora, 29 April 1790.

[366] See Gabrielle Palmer and Donna Pierce, *Cambios: The Spirit of Transformation in Spanish Colonial Art* (Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Museum of Art, 1992), 137.

decoration of fine grade ware that had predominated for over one hundred and fifty years. Clients must have grown tired of the predominant blue-and-white decoration, and vibrant colored became increasingly popular. Polychromy now was used for the rendering of motifs and the grounds also were colored, often in pastel hues.

A polychrome *tibor* in the Franz Mayer collection combines Chinese and European motifs (Fig. 5.60). Its shape shows a continuity of forms from the seventeenth century, but its decoration exhibits a new modification of the Chinese prototype. Cloud-collar lappets, popularized in China during the Kangxi period, now extend to the bottom of the central band, creating five ogival forms that frame floral sprigs inspired by Rococo textiles designs.

In this period, mold-made forms became more common in Puebla as potters followed the lead of their Spanish counterparts at Alcora. Following the fashion of other European ceramics centers of the eighteenth century, *Real Fábrica de Alcora* had introduced new vessel shapes, many of them elaborate enough to require the use of molds. Most of these new forms were modeled on the sort of silver vessels that became harder to acquire once Louis XIV suspended silver production at the end of the seventeenth century to alleviate France's financial distress after years of war and extravagant court spending.

Puebla potters used a variety of pastel grounds in this period, the most popular being the pale-blue type known as *azul punche* (punch blue), after the candy of the same color made in Puebla for Day of the Dead celebrations (Fig. 5.61). Blue grounds occur in ceramic wares of China and Spain prior to this period, but the combination of polychrome decoration on *azul punche* ground is unique to Puebla. Archaeologists call

this mode Tumacacori, after the town in Arizona where examples have been found.[367] Goggin—who named this type—dates it after 1820 in the belief that it had not appeared at the site of St. Augustine, which closed that closed around that date, but Deagan indicates that one small fragment of Tumacacori actually has been found at St. Augustine.[368] Moreover, the presence of potters' marks on some *azul punche* pieces suggests that this style predates 1814, when a new constitution for the Spanish Empire, promulgated by an antimonarchical assembly, eradicated the pottery guilds and revoked the ordinances. The wide distribution of this ware is manifested by its presence at archaeological sites in Mexico, New Mexico, Texas, Arizona, and possibly Florida.[369]

Mark Barnes assigns three categories to *azul punche*: Tumacacori I-III, each based on design motifs and production dates generated from archaeological material excavated in Tucson.[370] I offer a slightly different categorization of subgroups based different decorative motifs: (1) Chinese-style lobed panels (Fig. 5.61), (2) Alcora-style floral sprays (Fig. 5.62), and (3) garland of flowers (Fig. 5.63). Although his dating of each group is useful, more evidence is needed from Mexican sites to confirm its validity.

The Museo Franz Mayer holds a number of Tumacacori vessels with this style of decoration, made in various shapes and sizes. A chamber pot illustrates an example of

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[367] Goggin, *Spanish Majolica,* 198-200.

[368] Ibid.; Deagan, *Artifacts of the Spanish Colonies,* 90.

[369] The Metropolitan Museum of Art holds one plate decorated in the style of *azul punche* with a potter's mark on the reverse side (acc. no. 11.108.31).

[370] Mark Barnes, "Majolica of the Santa Cruz Valley, Arizona," 11-12, in *Mexican Majolica in Northern New Spain,* eds. Mark Barnes and R. May, Pacific Coast Archaeological Society Occasional Papers 2 (San Diego: Pacific Coast Archaeological Society, 1972).

my Chinese-style subgroup, characterized by its use of lobed panels (Fig. 5.61). Two lobed cartouches on each side of the chamber pot divide the central band into four panels. Blue leaves and yellow and ochre floral vines run vertically on the handles, flanked by thick yellow stripes outlined in black. Although this example also includes Alcora-style floral sprays, the lobed panels dominate. In other similar examples, the floral sprays are replaced with pastoral scenes.[371]

My second subgroup, defined by its use of Alcora-style floral sprays, is exemplified by a tureen in the collection of the Franz Mayer Museum (Fig. 5.62). Circling the outside of the bowl are alternating sprays and rosettes in yellow, orange and blue with black, above which appears an undulating vine. The same decoration is repeated on the lid. The handles on either side of the oval tureen are formed in the shape of animal heads. This Rococo form is typical of eighteenth-century European ceramic ware, particularly in Alcora.

My third subgroup of *azul punche* is distinguished by an undulating garland painted with heavy brushstrokes in yellow, brown, blue and green (Fig. 5.63). The upper band of the waisted flower pot is divided by vertical panels flanked by yellow stripes. The piecrust rim is typical of Puebla vessels of this and other shapes, with the exception of chamber pots.

Like so many art forms produced at the turn of the nineteenth century in Mexico, Puebla ware gave way to the fashion for Neoclassicism, fostered by the founding of the Academy of San Carlos in Mexico City in 1781. By this time, Chinese-style decoration

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[371] See Pierce, *Mexico: Splendors*, 479-480, cat. entry 231.

had fallen out of favor and an array of new colors and styles had been introduced to the once-limited Puebla palette.

Decorative bands of a modified garland motif seen on a chamber pot and bowl in the Franz Mayer collection are typical of the early nineteenth century, as is the chevron pattern on the upper and lower bands of each of the two pieces (5.64). The most distinctive elements characterizing these two vessels are the floral sprigs evenly spaced on the bowl and randomly scattered on the chamber pot. Goggin named this type Mauve Polychrome, after having identified it at sites in Culhuacán, Mexico City, and Huejotzingo, Puebla. The limited distribution of nineteenth century maiolica suggests that its trade within the colonies had also begun to wane, causing potters to shift attention to a local market.[372]

A tureen, modeled after an eighteenth-century silver form, is typical of the Rococo style (Fig. 5.65). It stands on four tiny legs, has animal-head handles, and a looped-band used as a knob. As in Spanish centers, where mold-made forms after silver prototypes became more prevalent, Puebla potters followed European fashion. The stylized flowers on the exterior of the tureen are similar to the *azul punche* Alcora-style floral sprays, but painted in soft hues of mauve, green, and black on a cream-colored ground. In place of the floral vines, a simple braided band in mauve, outlined in black and green, runs along the top of the bowl part of the tureen.

Very little archaeological work has been done to date early nineteenth-century Puebla types, but an inscription "Viva Fernando 7◦" on the side of a covered bowl in the Franz Mayer collection with the same floral sprigs dates this style to about 1808-1821

[372] Goggin, *Spanish Majolica*, 201.

(Fig. 5.66). It was at this time that Mexican royalists supported the Spanish king, who had been temporarily supplanted during the Napoleonic wars (1808-1814). The same image appears on Spanish maiolica from the same period and may have served as a model.

As a result of the potter's ordinances, the decoration of Puebla pottery was relatively standardized for over a century (1653 to 1775)—a period that is considered the "golden age" of production. Not only did Puebla ware find success within Mexico, but it also achieved success throughout the northern colonies. At its height of production, Puebla ware became the most widely distributed ceramic throughout the Spanish colonies, as indicated by the abundant examples of intact and fragmented pieces uncovered in archaeological excavations outside of Mexico (including Georgia, Florida, Texas, New Mexico, Colorado, Arizona, Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, Venezuela, as well as a few marine sites).

End of the Colonial Era

At the turn of the nineteenth century, with the colonial system in decline, the market for Puebla ware began to wane. In 1814, a new constitution for the Spanish Empire eradicated all guilds and revoked their ordinances. Mexican ceramists were now free to create new styles of their own, but the lack of regulations led to a decrease in quality, and number of workshops and potters began to decline. Moreover, the opening of trade with countries other than Spain after Mexican Independence in 1821 also brought English, American and French competition to the ceramic industry. The wealthy Mexican elite now had a variety of ceramic wares and decorations to choose from.

By this time, the technique for producing maiolica also had spread to other regions of Mexico; maiolica workshops began to open in Guanajuato, Sayula, Dolores Hidalgo, and Aguascalientes, bringing new styles and color combinations—more intense browns, yellows, orange and greens—to the Mexican maiolica tradition. Puebla potters responded by copying their color palette and more freely painted designs.

In addition, a variety of new themes began to appear on Puebla ware, including *costumbrista* or genre themes. A group of jars from the collection of the Museo Ámparo in Puebla, presumably made in the same workshop, depicts scenes of everyday life (i.e. woman and two young girls fishing), each set each set within a heart-shaped window (Fig. 5.67).

By the end of the nineteenth century, only a handful of workshops could afford to continue production. One of the largest was named "Fábrica de Loza de Talavera" after the famous ceramic center in Spain, which by this time was synonymous with all tin-glazed earthenware made in Puebla. It was run by Dimas Uriarte, whose father Ysauro Uriarte Martínez had opened it in 1824. Other workshops included La Concepción owned by José Luis Guevara; Fábrica de Loza Blanca del País owned by Antonio Espinosa; and Martínez y Cía owned by J. Miguel Martínez; as well the workshops of Ignacio Romero, Hiliario Romero, and J. M. Sánchez.[373] These workshops probably continued to operate in the same location as those of centuries earlier.

As a result of the Mexican Revolution of 1910-1920, additional workshops closed in Puebla. By 1923, only four remained in operation: those of Ysauro Uriarte, Luis

[373] Donna McMenamin, *Popular Arts of Mexico, 1850-1950* (Atglen, Pennsylvania: Schiffer, 1996), 119-121, 123; Edwin Atlee Barber, *Maiolica*, 33; Barbara Mauldin, "The Revival of Puebla Mayólica in the Twentieth Century," in Gavin, Pierce, and Pleguezuelo, *Cerámica y Cultura,* 278.

Guevara, Miguel Martínez, and Pedro Padierna.[374] The Revolution apparently did not affect production at the workshop of Dimas Uriarte, who in 1910 introduced electricity. In 1917, the Padierna workshop created a series of jars in the traditional *tibor* form more than six feet in height, making them the largest ceramics vessel ever modeled and fired in Puebla and certainly among the largest in the world (Fig. 3.4).[375]

REVIVAL OF THE PUEBLA MAIOLICA INDUSTRY

Edwin Atlee Barber, attributes the revival of the maiolica industry in Puebla to the dedication of a Catalan artist named Enrique Luis Ventosa (1868-1935?) (Fig. 5.68).[376] Ventosa was only twenty-five years old in 1897 when he moved to Puebla from Barcelona, where he had begun studying fine art at the Academy of Fine Art at the age of twelve. When he came to Mexico in 1897, he brought along several examples of Spanish ceramics, although there is no documentation that he had specifically studied ceramics in Spain.[377] Ventosa had traveled throughout Europe, Africa, and the Americas, but in Mexico "he believed he had found himself in the country of a 'Thousand and One Nights.'"[378] He befriended scholars of the arts and letters, such as the art historian Manual Toussaint, the poet José Juan Tablada, and the prominent art collector and

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[374] Patricia Acuña, *Talavera de Puebla*. Lecturas historicas de Puebla 10 (Puebla: Secretaria de Cultura, 1987), 16.

[375] The mold used to make these jars still exists and today belongs to José Miguel Padierna. See Mauldin, "Revival of Puebla Mayólica," fig. 12.7.

[376] Barber, *Maiolica,* 33.

[377] José López Portillo y Rojas, "Introducción," in Enrique Luis Ventosa, *Cerámica: Libros para artistas* (Puebla: Linotipografía Guadalupana, 1922), v.

[378] Ibid., xii.

businessman, Mariano Bello, who had begun to assemble the most important collection of Puebla maiolica in Puebla and one of the most important collections in Mexico (see chapter 6). Yet, Ventosa's relationship with the potters of Puebla was the most rewarding for him. In the introduction to Ventosa's book of poetry, published in 1922, Mexican novelist José López Portillo y Rojas writes that Ventosa gave "new and glorious life to the Talavera ceramics of Puebla, which having been abandoned for many years, had been restored by this capable and prestigious Spaniard."[379]

During his time in the city, Ventosa conducted research on and wrote about the history of the maiolica tradition in Puebla.[380] To help restore the once highly esteemed ware, Ventosa took a particular interest in reviving colonial forms and styles from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and to that end interviewed descendants of families who had been making ceramics for generations. Barber, who visited him in Puebla in 1906, wrote, "So successful was [Ventosa] in this work that all of the other tin-enameled factories of that city have followed his lead and at the present are engaged in imitating, to a greater or less extent, the older forms, in addition to the legitimate manufacture of commercial products."[381]

Ventosa's interest in Puebla maiolica was as much artistic as historic. From 1900 to 1905 he painted maiolica at the workshop of Antonio Espinosa. His first works are probably those made in imitation of colonial styles, such as the one in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art that collector Emily Johnston de Forest apparently

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[379] Ibid., iv.

[380] See Enrique Luis Ventosa, "La loza poblana," in *Puebla: Azulejo mexicano* (Puebla: H. Ayuntamiento de Puebla, 1971), 23-55.

[381] Barber, *Maiolica,* 33.

acquired directly from Ventosa (Fig. 5.69).[382] Both its form and design hark back to an eighteenth-century style of blue and white Puebla ware, with solid-colored figures encircling the form in the *aborronado* style. Other works, which incorporate Spanish Renaissance emblems and designs, recall Spanish lusterware of the fifteenth century. Plates with images of the crowned double-headed eagle referring to the Hapsburg coat of arms, and a crowned lion emblematize to the Spanish region of Léon (Fig. 5.70). Although these plates are not marked or signed, this Spanish imagery as well as the groupings of three dots, which recall the *aborronado* style, distinguish them as works by Ventosa.

Illustrations of his work in contemporary publications indicate that Ventosa was recognized as a leading artist in the Puebla tradition.[383] According to Barber:

> [Ventosa's] work is characterized by conscientious adherence to the spirit of the originals. He has made a thorough study of the ancient maiolica of Mexico, and his knowledge of the old Spanish wares has enabled him to combine in his productions the Mexican and Spanish methods, using the motives which are found in both, to originate a style which, while based on the traditions of the Mexican art, is so distinctive in treatment that it can be recognized without any difficulty.[384]

Although Ventosa probably did not make his own pieces, he clearly was familiar with the process by which they were manufactured. His passion for maiolica also led him to write poetry. In his book, *Cerámica*, he wrote:

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[382] This information is indicated on the accession card (no. 12.3.2).

[383] Barber, *Maiolica,* 101; Antonio Peñafiel, *Cerámica mexicana: Loza de talavera de Puebla, epoca colonial y moderna* (Mexico City: Imprenta y Fototipia de la Secretaría de Fomento, 1910), pls. 95, 97-98; Cervantes, *Loza blanca,* 1:293, 297-299.

[384] Barber, *Catalogue of Mexican Maiolica in the Collection belonging to Mrs. Robert W. de Forest* (New York: Hispanic Society of America, 1911), 18-19.

> If you were a ceramist, dear friend, if you knew the whims and fickleness of the Divine Fire, if you entrusted the works of your art, of your enthusiasm and of your faith, to the burning kiln, you would understand the name which I have given to these, my belated and esteemed pots, children of my brush, deeply felt, and given to the fire, to the red crucible that perhaps destroys them, breaks them, turning them into shapeless remains and throws them to the ugly heap of forgetfulness, among all useless things.[385]

In addition to reviving colonial types, Ventosa introduced innovative designs that redirected the industry. Potters who had made just utilitarian pieces (cooking, common, fine and refine ware) began thinking of their work as art in and of itself made pieces intended for display. From 1920 to 1922, Ventosa collaborated with Ysauro Uriarte Martínez, who had inherited the workshop of his father, Dimas Uriarte in 1918. Together, they made pieces that bear both of their marks (Fig. 5.71); the most successful of these are touched by modernist aesthetics. Two chargers in the collection of the Hispanic Society that are linked to art nouveau have "flappers" depicted in profile against a vibrant orange ground (Fig. 5.72). In keeping with tradition, Ventosa and Uriarte used blue borders outlined with white dots and dashes (Fig. 5.72a) and stylized yellow border flowers (Fig. 5.72b). The pieces manifest Ventosa's familiarity with the graphic arts of France and the avant-garde of Barcelona; the artist himself singled out the impact of Spanish painter and writer Santiago Rusiñol (1861-1931). In the preface to a poem dedicated to him, Ventosa wrote: "For you Santiago Rusiñol, old and admired friend of mine. In remembrance that at your side, I drank in my youth, almost my childhood, the first tastes of artistic emotions."[386]

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[385] Ventosa, *Cerámica,* 9.

[386] Ventosa, *Cerámica,* 60.

While grounded in the European tradition, Ventosa took upon himself to learn about pre-Columbian art, which he sometimes drew on for motifs (Fig. 5.73). This interest may have resulted from the Mexicanidad movement initiated by José Vasconcelos (1882-1959), Secretary of Public Education under President Álvaro Obregón from 1920 to 1924, which encouraged Mexican artists to rediscover the country's pre-Hispanic past. Despite its colonial form, one of the jars signed by Ventosa and Uriarte bears a figure reminiscent of those in Mixtec manuscripts (Fig. 5.73a). The pedestal, on the other hand, is pyramidal with a hybrid decoration comprising various pseudo and stylized pre-Columbian motifs, mostly from Aztec sources (Fig. 5.73b). Ventosa may have learned about Mixtec manuscripts and other pre-Columbian motifs from the pioneer Mexican scholar Zelia Nuttall, who published a facsimile of a Mixtec screenfold known as Codex Nuttall in 1902; Nutall had been assisting collectors in the United States with their Puebla pottery collections, and therefore may have had contact with Ventosa and other Puebla artists involved with the industry.[387]

Ventosa and Uriarte were not alone in reviving pre-Columbian motifs. Miguel Martínez (active dates 1900-1934) combined stylized pre-Columbian ornament with the chinoiserie designs of nineteenth-century English ceramics. One such example by Martínez is a charger held by the San Antonio Museum of Art with a willow pattern at the center and cross-hatched pyramids along its scalloped rim (Fig. 5.74).

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[387] Zelia Nuttall, *Codex Nuttall: Facsimile of an Ancient Mexican Codex Belonging to Lard Zouche of Harynworth, England* (Cambridge: Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, 1902).

PUEBLA MAIOLICA: A LIVING TRADITION

Puebla maiolica has remained popular in Mexico. In the past fifty years, the historic and prestigious name "talavera" has been painted on the bases or reverse sides of innumerable ceramic vessels in every grade (tableware, fine ware, and refined ware). The tradition has become so popular that reproductions made for the tourist trade are available throughout Mexico. Most of them, however, are not made by the traditional process and do not contain the correct proportions of lead and tin required to produce authentic maiolica. To eliminate confusion, a commission was founded under the name of Consejo Regulador de Talavera in 1997, with the purpose of establishing quality controls and guidelines similar to those of the original potter's guild of 1653. In 1998, a series of declarations were published restricting the term "talavera" to a specific type of ceramic ware manufactured only in Puebla.[388] Although not as restrictive as the original ordinances, the Consejo's provisions for certification must be followed to maintain traditional maiolica. Among these provisions, licensed "talavera" producers must use traditional oxides, lead and tin glazes, and must be located within the Puebla vicinity, which includes San Andrés de Cholula, the area that had been famed for its ceramic production prior to the Spaniards arrival.

More than thirty-two licensed workshops are active in Puebla today, and despite the regulations of the Consejo, numerous others also are active both in and outside Puebla most of whom mark their pottery with the word "talavera." Workshops throughout

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[388] "Declaratoria general de protección de la denominación de origin Talavera." *Diario official de la federación* 528, no. 9 (11 September 1997): 2-7; "Proyecto de norma official mexicana NOM-132-SCFI-1998; Talavera especificaciones," *Diario official de la Federación* 534, no. 20 (27 March 1998): 113-127; "Norma official mexicana NOM-132-SCFI-1998; Talavera-especificaciones," *Diario official de la federación* 542, no. 18 (25 November 1998): 26-48.

Mexico are in constant battle with the Consejo and its tight restrictions. In a recent article, Jorge Escalante published a call by Guanajuato potters to President Vicente Fox, a native of that city, to repeal the copyright protection for "talavera."[389] The president apparently did not take action, but the episode indicates the industry's on going, if less than successful, attempts to maintain control and protect its workshops as it had centuries earlier.

[389] Jorge Escalante, "Culpan a Fox por 'perder' talavera," *Mural* (16 May 2001): D-1.

CHAPTER 6

COLLECTING PUEBLA MAIOLICA IN MEXICO AND THE UNITED STATES

While Enrique Ventosa and his Mexican colleagues worked together to revive the Puebla maiolica industry at the turn of the twentieth century, collectors in Mexico and the United States were also taking an interest in its history and beginning to acquire the distinctive ceramic ware. Many of these early private collections provided the foundations of museum collections in both countries, which in turn have encouraged interest in the subject by scholars and the general public.

MEXICAN COLLECTIONS

FRANCISCO PÉREZ DE SALAZAR Y HARO COLLECTION

One of the earliest documented collections of Puebla maiolica belonged to Mexican lawyer, bibliophile, and historian Francisco Pérez de Salazar y Haro (1888-1941), who lived in Mexico City.[390] Although the majority of his collection was assembled at the end of the nineteenth century, the Pérez de Salazar family had been involved with the maiolica industry in Puebla since the end of the sixteenth century, when Gerónimo Pérez de Salazar gave Antonio Xinovés financial support to open a workshop in Puebla.[391] The family continued to have an important presence in Puebla

[390] See catalogue of the collection: Alejandro Peón Soler and Leonor Cortina Ortega, *Talavera de Puebla* (Mexico City: Grupo Financiero Comermex, 1979).

[391] "Yten, yo, el dicho Antonio Xinovés, pongo en esta dicha companya my persona,

throughout the colonial period, documented by the property they owned in the center of the city. The inscription "Para RDO. Padre Joan Zalazar, Año de 1732" on a jar in the collection of the Museo Franz Mayer (Fig. 5.30), indicates that it was made for the Reverend Father Juan Salazar, a family member who was a priest of the Mercedarian religious order. The heirs of Francisco Pérez de Salazar sold the collection he amassed (which had more than one hundred pieces) to a Mexico City businessman and private collector in 2001, although some of the earliest and rarest pieces were kept by the individual who brokered the deal.

JOSÉ LUÍS BELLO Y GONZÁLEZ AND HIS MUSEUM COLLECTION

Another turn-of-the-century collection was amassed by José Luis Bello y González (1822-1907), a Puebla businessman. Later augmented by his son, José Mariano Bello y Acedo (1869-1950),[392] it included a great variety of forms and designs from the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries. It eventually formed part of a museum named after Bello at the house on *Calle Victoria* in which Bello and his wife, Francisca Acedo, had raised their four children.

Bello divided his time between his various businesses and the military. As a young man, Bello began his working career at the customs office in Veracruz, where he

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solicitud e travajo para hazer como tal maestro la dicha loza. Y es condición que la costa que se hiziere durante esta conpanya de comyda, de my, el dicho Antonio Xinovés, e demás oficiales y servicio de yndios t otras costas que se hizieron para el beneficio de esta dicha conpanya, a de ser de por mitad entre nos los dichos compañeros." AGNP, 1579, Notaría 4, Protocolos de 1580, fols. 35-6v. I am grateful to Francisco Pérez de Salazar, descendant of Gerónimo Pérez de Salazar, for sending me a copy of this document.

[392] Gusto Transmitido, "Un patrimonio heredado," *Puebla Museo José Luís Bello y González, Artes de México* 61 (2002): 9-19.

probably became familiar with many of the goods shipped in and out of Mexico from that port. He married in 1852 and opened a clothing store in Puebla. Soon after, together with his brother-in-law, he started the first of two textile mills (*La Concepción* and *La Carolina*). When in 1856 a law was passed to liquidate ecclesiastical estates, Bello purchased all the works of art and property he could afford.[393] In addition to his business enterprises, Bello dedicated himself to the military.[394] In 1847, he joined the liberal army to fight the U.S. invasion, receiving a medal for his commitment and patriotism. In 1862, during the French occupation, he enlisted in Ignacio Zaragoza's army, and took part in the famous Battle of Puebla on May 5 as a commanding officer. Moreover, he allowed the army to store its weapons in his house on the street of *los Herreros*.

Like his acquisitions in other media, Bello's Puebla pottery was acquired locally. The numerous tiles in his collection include several that once decorated the facades of Puebla houses that had deteriorated and/or been renovated (including the Cabeza workshop in Fig. 3.7). Catalan artist Enrique Ventosa apparently advised Bello on his collecting, as a tribute to Ventosa in a small pamphlet on the Bello Museum, published in 1945, implies.[395] In addition, Bello's close friend Francisco Cabrera traveled through Europe from 1858 to 1860, acquired works there for Bello, who never left Mexico. Bello was part of a new Mexican bourgeoisie that was committed to the economic and social well-being of their country and city. In the words of Guillermo Prieto:

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[393] Ibid., 10.

[394] Ibid.

[395] Salazar Monroy, *Museo Bello* (Puebla: privately printed, 1945), 7.

> May God increase the wealth of the friends of art—Sirs Cabrera and Bello have sponsored artists and distinguished citizens, aided the needy, and are the curators of taste in a society as clearly devoid of inventiveness as Puebla's.[396]

FRANZ MAYER AND HIS MUSEUM COLLECTION

The history of the collection of Puebla ware assembled by German-born businessman Franz Mayer is somewhat similar to that of the Bello collection. Like Bello, Mayer acquired a vast collection of Mexican and European art in virtually every media, and later built a private museum to house it. Unlike Bello, who was not known for his discerning eye (and, as a result, collected a lot of second-rate art), Mayer acquired some of the finest works from Mexico, Asia, and Spain as well as other areas of Europe. Like Emily Johnston de Forest and her husband Robert (see below), who arrived in Mexico around the same time, Mayer too had been lured there by the Porfirio Díaz administration's promotion of the country as a developing nation with plentiful investment opportunities for foreigners. By 1910, 21,000 Americans resided in Mexico, which at the time had a population of 15 million.[397] Once there, Mayer came to appreciate Mexico's rich art traditions, including the fine maiolica of Puebla.

Franz Gabriel Mayer Traumann (1888-1975) was born in Mannheim, Germany, to a family of average means. At the age of nineteen, the young Mayer traveled to England to work on the docks. Later, as a clerk, he became an expert on the world of finance. His success in business began in 1903 when he moved to New York City, where he ascended the corporate ladder to become a stockbroker at Merrill Lynch. Mayer never received a university degree, yet his uncanny ability to learn quickly and adapt to almost any new situation helped him make the fortune that he dedicated to acquiring art and books. His

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[396] Transmitido, "Un patrimonio heredado," 66.

[397] Delpar, *Enormous Vogue*, 1.

collection of Puebla maiolica would become the largest and most representative in the world.

At twenty-two, Mayer became a stockbroker at Cerretajes e Inversiones Bursátiles (today known as Bursamex) in Mexico City. Already considered a genius at finance while still in his early 20s, he quickly became one the greatest bankers in Mexico and eventually formed the Companía de Crédito Bursátil, which was later sold to the Bank of Mexico. He frequently traveled abroad and even left Mexico to live in New York for two years during the Mexico Revolution (1910-1917). In 1920, he returned to Germany, where his wife became ill and died two years later. Nonetheless, he always considered Mexico his permanent residence, and he became a Mexican citizen in 1933.

Mayer made it his lifelong mission to collect fine and decorative arts, photographs, and rare books and manuscripts relating to Mexico. In his time away from the Mexican banking world, Mayer, widowed and childless, devoted his time and energy to making acquisitions. Even as a novice collector, he dreamt of using his collection to educate the Mexican people about their rich heritage. He is said to have remarked, "I made my fortune in Mexico, and it is here that I will leave it for the benefit of everyone."[398] Upon his death in 1975, his collection and fortune were left in the care of the Bank of Mexico to open a museum and library in his name. In 1986, his wishes were realized with the inauguration of the Museo Franz Mayer in the former Mexico City hospital of San Juan de Díos, the original structure of which dates back to the sixteenth century. Mayer visited the Hispanic Society during one of his trips to New York City, which is said to have influenced his decision to build a museum for his own collection.

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[398] *Franz Mayer: Una colección* (Mexico City: Bancreser, 1984), 8-17.

On one hand, Mayer's collection is eclectic, covering a large stretch of time and geographic range with works from Mexico, Europe, and Asia. On the other hand, Mayer applied his keen sense of history to focusing his collections on the development of Mexican art, incorporating many of the traditions that influenced artists throughout the colonial period. He appropriately supplemented his vast collection of Puebla pottery with works from Spain, Holland, and China, so that, for example, his collection of Ming Dynasty blue-and-white porcelains includes works that directly influenced Puebla artists. Mayer acquired most of the pieces in his collection during the 1920s, following the Mexican Revolution. Puebla had been one of his favorite places. He was known there as "Don Pancho," and it is said that people would comment, "[H]ere comes the crazy man who exchanges old things for new ones."[399] Today, Mayer's collection of Puebla pottery, numbers 726 pieces ranging in date from the seventeenth century to the turn of the twentieth century, including pieces by Ventosa and some of his Mexican colleagues.

Collections in the United States

Emily Johnston de Forest and the Metropolitan Museum of Art Collection

Puebla pottery was largely brought to the attention of the North American public by the efforts of Emily Johnston de Forest (1851-1942), a prominent member of New York City society who traveled for a visit to Mexico in 1904 with her husband, Robert de Forest (1848-1931), a lawyer and philanthropist who later was made the president of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City. Soon after their trip, Emily de Forest

[399] Ibid., 14.

began collecting and promoting things Mexican—well in advanced of the "vogue for things Mexican" of the twenties and thirties.[400]

Although it was not entirely uncommon for Americans to travel to Mexico at this time, Mexico had only recently been promoted as an exotic and romantic retreat by nineteenth-century travel accounts and railway advertisements.[401] Under the dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz from 1876 to 1911, American capitalists were encouraged to invest their money in Mexican mining and railroads, bringing the two countries closer together and prompting Americans to visit and settle in Mexico in large numbers.

During her stay, Emily de Forest apparently established contacts with scholars, collectors, and dealers all of whom assisted her in building her collection of Puebla pottery. Among them, archaeologist Guillermo Bauer kept a small shop in Mexico City from which he sold things he had "found in his excavations," as well as fine pieces of colonial Puebla pottery.[402] She also bought Puebla pottery from the Sonora News Company, a Mexican railway depot news dealer that also traded in crafts, curios and antiques. One of her advisers was anthropologist Zelia Nuttall (1857-1933), who had been born in the United States to a Mexican mother, lived in Mexico City and herself collected Mexican art. Albert Pepper, an architect living in Mexico City, decorated his

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[400] See Helen Delpar, *The Enormous Vogue of Things Mexican: Cultural Relations between the United States and Mexico, 1920-1935* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1992).

[401] James Oles, *South of the Border: Mexico in the American Imagination, 1917-1947* (Washington, D.C.: Smithson Institution Press, 1993), 3.

[402] Emily Johnston de Forest, New York, to Edwin Atlee Barber, Philadelphia, 20 January 1906, in Edwin Atlee Barber records, series 2, Philadelphia Museum of Art Archives. It is not clear whether Puebla maiolica was among the type of ceramics Bauer excavated, but since they are intact and show few traces of having been underground, it is assumed that they were not archaeological findings.

home with Puebla pottery, only to sell them later to such individuals as de Forest.[403] By 1911, de Forest had bought the last pieces from the Pepper collection that had not already been sold to others.[404] She also began to donate her now vast collection of Puebla pottery to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, where she had strong family ties (her father had been a founding board member at the Metropolitan Museum). She and her husband would become the major underwriters of the American Wing, to which they also donated their important collection of American decorative art.[405]

EDWIN ATLEE BARBER AND THE PHILADELPHIA MUSEUM OF ART COLLECTION

De Forest's enthusiasm for Puebla ceramics prompted interest among other Americans. In late 1905 or early 1906, de Forest invited Edwin Atlee Barber (1851-1916), then curator of the Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art (today the Philadelphia Museum of Art), to New York City to show him her collection of Puebla pottery. In a letter of thanks, Barber wrote:

> I was very glad to have the opportunity of inspecting your collection and was surprised at the amount of interesting material you have succeeded in gathering together . . . Your success makes me all the more anxious to make a trip to Mexico for the purpose of procuring some of this ware.[406]

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[403] Edwin Atlee Barber, Philadelphia, to Albert Pepper, 29 April 1908, in Edwin Atlee Barber records, series 2, Philadelphia Museum of Art Archives. The letter indicates that Pepper did not consider himself a collector.

[404] Edwin Atlee Barber, *Catalogue of Mexican Maiolica belonging to Mrs. Robert W. de Forest* (New York: Hispanic Society of America, 1911), 2.

[405] Edwin Atlee Barber, *The Emily Johnston de Forest Collection of Mexican Maiolica* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1918).

[406] Edwin Atlee Barber, Philadelphia, to Mrs. Robert de Forest, New York, 19 January 1906, in Edwin Atlee Barber records, series 2, Philadelphia Museum of Art Archives.

In 1907 Barber, who had been made director of the Pennsylvania Museum, traveled to Mexico to study the history of Puebla maiolica and acquire examples for the museum. By the following year, also buying through Bauer, Nuttall, and Pepper, he had amassed a substantial collection. He also seems to have purchased pieces directly from Ventosa, who himself had assembled a collection of his own to facilitate his research into the history and production of Puebla ware.[407]

Barber had a discerning eye for ceramics, and, although his visit to Mexico was short, he learned enough about the Puebla ceramic tradition to define the major stylistic periods and to distinguish some of the finest extant examples. In 1908, he published these findings in the first history of Puebla pottery.[408]

Archer Milton Huntington and The Hispanic Society of America Collection

Emily de Forest arranged to have her collection of Puebla maiolica displayed in 1908 at the opening of the Hispanic Society of America, a new museum and library dedicated to the art and culture of the Iberian Peninsula and Spanish colonies. The museum had been founded in 1904 by Archer Milton Huntington, who inherited his fortune from his father Collis Huntington, one of the great railroad and shipping magnates of the period. In 1911, having acquired more examples of Puebla ware, de

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[407] Some of the pieces from Ventosa collection, now in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, are illustrated in Antonio Peñafiel, *Cerámica mexicana: Loza de Talavera de Puebla, epoca colonial y moderna* (Mexico City: Imprenta y Fototipia de la Secretario de Fomento), pls. 32-33. In addition, Barber brought for the museum several works that appear in photographs by Ventosa.

[408] Edwin Atlee Barber, *The Maiolica of Mexico,* Art Handbook of the Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art, 1908).

Forest again exhibited her collection at the Hispanic Society, but this time in a special exhibition titled, "Mexican Maiolica Belonging to Mrs. Robert de Forest" (Fig. 6.1). At her request, Barber wrote the labels as well as the accompanying catalogue.[409]

Not long afterward, Barber began to help Huntington assemble a small but equally impressive collection of Puebla maiolica for the Hispanic Society. He put Huntington in touch with some of the same individuals who had been assisting both de Forest and Barber with their collections. Huntington had already assembled one of the finest collections of Spanish ceramics in the world, so it was only appropriate to add to it one of the most important ceramic traditions of the New World. Barber was an authority on European and American ceramics, and his friendship with Huntington led him to write several other catalogues for him, including one focusing on the Puebla pottery in the collection. After the Hispanic Society exhibit of 1911, de Forest donated to the Society a few Spanish ceramics she had acquired in Mexico, including a plate from Talavera de la Reina in Spain. It was also at this time that she began to turn over her collection to the Metropolitan Museum of Art. In 1918, the Metropolitan published Barber's fourth catalogue on Puebla pottery, with an introduction by de Forest herself.[410]

HERBERT PICKERING LEWIS AND THE ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO COLLECTION

Interest in the Puebla pottery tradition has continued to grow in both the United States and Mexico. In 1923, the Art Institute of Chicago was presented with a large collection of Puebla pottery by Eva Lewis (1875-1964) in memory of her husband,

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[409] Edwin Atlee Barber, *Catalogue of Mexican Maiolica*.

[410] Barber, *Emily Johnston de Forest*.

Herbert Pickering Lewis (1876-1922). Like other ambitious foreigners in the early twentieth century, Herbert Lewis went to Mexico in search of new business opportunities and quickly became enchanted by the striking maiolica of Puebla.[411] In Mexico, Lewis worked in the mining industry, for his uncle, Cyrus Lewis, at the National Metal Company, which traded ore and mined metals. He was in the country from approximately 1901 to 1920, although his wife and children lived in Biloxi, Mississippi, during the Mexican Revolution of 1910-1920. Even after 1920, the Lewis family kept an apartment in Veracruz, which gave them permanent residency in Mexico and facilitated access in and out of the country during periods of instability.

Like Bello, Lewis took advantage of the Mexican government's sale of land and other items belonging to the Catholic churches under the reforms of Benito Júarez in 1856. He bought acres of land that he subdivided and sold as lots, some with new homes. He also formed a sizeable collection of Puebla maiolica.[412] Lewis eventually was made vice president of the Mexico City Banking Corporation, president of his own firm Terrenos Mexicanos, president of the University Club, and second president of the American Chamber of Commerce; he kept active memberships at the American Colony and the Country Club, both in Mexico City.[413]

Today, the collection assembled by Lewis and held by the Chicago Art Institute comprises of one of the largest in the United States. The collection was originally larger,

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[411] Lynn Carlson, "The Herbert Pickering Lewis Collection of Talavera Poblana" (M.A. thesis, Linden University, 1999), 51-53. I am grateful to Lynn Carlson for providing me access to the collection at the Art Institute of Chicago in February of 2001, and for sending me a copy of her thesis.

[412] Ibid., 52.

[413] Ibid.

but the Mexican government limited the number of pieces that were permitted to be exported to the United States. Moreover, many of the pieces suffered damage in transit from Mexico to Chicago.[414]

De Forest, Barber, Huntington, and Lewis thus played critical roles in bringing the historic ceramic tradition of the Puebla potters to the attention of the North American public. The revival of the colonial tradition would have been impossible without the efforts of the distinguished Mexicans who assisted them.

[414] Ibid., 64.

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APPENDIX 1: LIST OF PUEBLA POTTERS[i]

Name	Workshop location	Title	Active Dates
Anaya, Ignacio de	Puebla	Maestro del arte y oficio de locero	1774
Aro, Andrés de	Puebla	Oficial locero	1601, 1602
Arteaga, Antonio de	Puebla	Locero	1627
Bautista Salomón, Juan	Puebla	Locero	1604, 1607
Castillo, Joseph del	Puebla	Mestizo de oficio de locero	1688
Cruz, Pedro de la	Puebla	Aprendiz	1658
Cueva, Joseph de la	Puebla	Aprendiz	1658
Cueva, Rodrigo de la	Puebla	Aprendiz	1658
Encinas, Gaspar *el viejo*	Calle los Herreros	Maestro locero	1590-1618
Encinas, Gaspar, *el mozo*	Puebla	Locero	1602, 1619
Espíndola, Joaquín de	Puebla	Maestro locero	1721
Espindola, Diego de Santa Cruz de Oyanguren y	Av. Reforma 900, Puebla	Maestro examinado del oficio de lozero de lo blanco	1721, 1747, 1755
García, Joaquín	Puebla	Maestro locero, Maestro del oficio de locero de lo Colorado	1774, 1776
Gómez de Villegas, Juan	Puebla	Maestro locero	1658
Guitrago, Melchor de	Puebla	Locero	1676
Henriquez, Antonio	Puebla	Maestro locero	1775
Herrera, Miguel de	Puebla	Locero	1589, 1627, 1602
López Sáenz, Antonio	Fábrica de loza 2 de la calle del Montón	Locero	1884
López Sáenz, Francisco	Fábrica de loza 2 de la calle del Montón	Locero	1884
López Sáenz, Ignacio	Fábrica de loza 2 de la calle del Montón	Locero	1884
Mesa, don Bartolomé de	Puebla	Locero	1678
Micieses de Altamirano, Pablo	Calle de la Pila de Carrasco (calle 11, norte 1, no. 9)	Locero	
Morales, Juan de	Puebla	Aprendiz	1658

Moreno, Francisco	Puebla	Maestro locero	1785
Moreno, Miguel	Puebla	Maestro locero	1785
Murillo, Francisco de	Puebla	Maestro locero	1658
Ortiz, Joseph de	Puebla	Maestro de locero de lo blanco	1775
Palomino Rendón, Roque	Puebla	Locero	1678
Palomino, Miguel	Puebla	Locero	1687
Paz, Joseph de	Puebla	Aprendiz	1776
Pecaro, Francisco	Puebla	Locero	1627
Pérez Fortes, Juan	Puebla	Maestro locero, Maestro del arte de locero	1792, 1795
Priego y Alfaro, Cristóbal de	Puebla	Maestro y dueño de casa de Locería	1773
Ricaño, Pablo	Puebla	Locero	1678
Río, Juan Pablo del	Fábrica de loza 2 de la calle del Montón	Locero	1884
Rivas, José de	Puebla	Maestro locero	1775
Rodríguez, Juan	Puebla	Locero	1605
Salvador Carreto, Diego	Puebla	Maestro de loza fina, Maestro locero Maestro de hacer "blatirapies"	1649 1658 1662
Salvador, Diego	Puebla	Maestro locero	1649, 1652
Sánchez, Cristóbal	Puebla	Locero	1627
Sánchez, Tomé	Puebla	Locero, Maestro de loza	1604, 1608
Savala, Francisco de	Puebla	Aprendiz	1658
Savala, Joseph de	Puebla	Aprendiz	1658
Talavera, Diego de	Puebla	Maestro	1682
Talavera, Roque de	Puebla	Maestro	1682
Tapia, Manuel de	Puebla	Locero	1676
Vega, Antonio de	Puebla	Maestro locero	1627
Villardel, Sebastián de	Puebla	Locero	1627, 1628
Villegas, Nicolás de	Puebla	Maestro	1682
Xinovés, Antonio	Puebla	Maestro locero	1637

[i] The names are written as they appear in original documents. This list was generated from documents located at various archives in Puebla. It does not include the list of potters published in Enrique A. Cervantes, *Loza blanca y azulejos de Puebla,* 2 vols. (Mexico City: Privately printed, 1939), 2:197-331.