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MAIOLICA IN THE NORTH

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF TIN-GLAZED EARTHENWARE IN NORTH-WEST EUROPE *c.* 1500-1600

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1. ITALIAN MAIOLICA AROUND 1500: SOME CONSIDERATIONS ON THE BACKGROUND TO ANTWERP MAIOLICA

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The years between 1475 and 1525 constitute, from an art-historical point of view, the most spectacular period of development in the history of Italian maiolica and one of the most extraordinary in the history of world ceramics. It seems likely that this growth was quantitative as well as qualitative, although this is difficult to document.[1] At the beginning of the period, Italian potters were just beginning to compete successfully with the lustreware potters of the Valencia region for their Italian home market for luxury pottery. Fifty years later they were producing wares of an artistic sophistication, ambition, and variety never before seen in pottery, and had created the *istoriato* style in conscious emulation of painting; the grandest and most discriminating patrons of Renaissance Italy were ordering special services for their dining tables and court pharmacies, and were paying serious attention to their artistic quality;[2] a greater variety of complex forms for particular functions was being developed; and towns making a speciality of pottery were winning wider markets across Italy and abroad. Among these specialist centres, two small towns, Deruta[3] (south of Perugia) and Montelupo[4] (west of Florence), and two bigger cities, Faenza and Pesaro, were already producers on a large scale before 1500. In 1498, the Masci, the leading pottery family in Deruta and among the first in Italy to master the technique of lustre, stated in a tax return that they 'practise and have practised the art of pottery and *maiolica* in Deruta, and their beautiful and unheard-of work is sold throughout the world, and the city of Perugia derives glory from this and grows in fame, and all wonder to see the said *maiolica* wares'.[5] It is not surprising that workshop owners and pottery painters were taking themselves seriously enough to sign and date their best products on a regular basis.[6] The early sixteenth century saw the rise to prominence of other specialist centres producing maiolica on a large scale for wider markets, such as Castel Durante and Castelli.[7]

There is evidence that urban merchants played a role in developing these specialist 'pottery towns' and expanding their markets. A document of 1490 records the Florentine merchant Francesco Antinori taking an option to buy in advance the entire production of no less than 23 Montelupo potters.[8] Similar evidence exists that the expansion of production in Deruta was controlled and encouraged by financiers from nearby Perugia.[9] More general conclusions about the economic structure of the maiolica industry must await a broadly-based study of the production economics of Renaissance maiolica, something the specialist literature sadly lacks at present; but it is likely that the success of the Italian maiolica potters in Antwerp was in some degree dependent on the existence of an Italian mercantile community in that city.[10]

The historiography of Renaissance maiolica has for many years tended to be based on the sequence of material from Faenza and has placed a probably misleading stress on the prominence of that city; this is mainly because the Museo Internazionale delle Ceramiche in Faenza and its journal *Faenza* have been the powerhouses of Italian research on the subject since the early years of the twentieth century. Faenza was, without doubt, an important pottery centre from the fourteenth century onwards and was a larger town than any of the other major specialist sixteenth-century production centres; but recent archaeological and archival work has demonstrated that the city was by no means the dominant centre at all periods that earlier scholarship supposed. Around 1500, maiolica was being made very widely in Italy, especially but not exclusively in a tract of north-central Italy which corresponds roughly to the modern regions of Tuscany, Umbria, the Marches, and Emilia-Romagna. Faenza's real market dominance (and the origins of the word *faïence* as a synonym for tin-glazed pottery) dates from the middle of the sixteenth century when the product known as *bianco di Faenza* established vaster markets in Italy and abroad for elegant tableware than had previously been achieved.[11] Faenza potters subsequently took their skills further afield, but the Antwerp potteries were established in the first decade of the sixteenth century, well before there is any evidence of substantial emigration of Faenza potters abroad. The names of potters recorded in Antwerp and the character of the wares attributed to them do not suggest that Faenza potters were a principal factor in the development of maiolica in the north:[12] the links instead seem to be with the Venetian Empire, the Naples region, and the Marches (the region which contains the towns of Urbino, Pesaro, and Castel Durante).[13]

Recent scholarship has made it clear that towns in the Marches were already producing top-quality maiolica by 1500. Work by Paride Berardi, Alessandro Bettini, and others has established that Pesaro was among the principal production centres of fine maiolica in the second half of the fifteenth century.[14] There seems to have been some justification in the phrase used in an edict issued by the Sforza ruler of Pesaro in 1486: 'this work is praised by everyone of understanding throughout Italy and abroad'.[15] The similarities of ornament to numerous fragments found at Pesaro provide reason to attribute to a Pesaro potter the first Italian maiolica service made for foreign royalty of which examples can still be identified: four dishes survive of this set, made between 1476 and 1490, for Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary, and his wife Beatrice of Aragon.[16] The archival record provides additional support for linking the Corvinus set with Pesaro: in 1488 the Pesaro potter Francesco di Angelo Benedetti was unable to sign a legal document in Pesaro because he was 'in distant parts of Hungary and eleswhere'.[17] Unlike Urbino and Castel Durante, Pesaro was a port (though not an important one) with maritime trade tightly dependent on Venice.[18]

The Pesaro maiolica industry apparently suffered a sharp decline around 1500-10.[19] In the same decade the nearby towns of Castel Durante (now Urbania) and Urbino were producing maiolica of increasingly high quality. In the case of both places, there is an awkward lack (at least as far as published material goes) of systematically-excavated archaeological material or of large quantities of casual local finds available to give one an adequate idea of what their production was like.[20] However, the artistic aspirations of Urbino maiolica at this date are made clear in a surviving contract dated 1501.[21] This document records a commission placed with the Urbino potter Francesco Garducci to make for a cardinal 91 pieces, which were contracted to be

> beautiful and well-painted and of good colours with the arms of the said cardinal and other paintings to earn the praise and approval of one skilled in the art;

the service was to include such elaborate objects as

> two coolers with spoon feet well painted with various designs and with the arms... two fruit dishes on feet in the form of columns and horses in the antique manner, painted as above... two large delicate basins painted differently from each other with the arms in the middle, and two water jugs to match with a little lion on the covers.

The abilities of the maiolica potters of Castel Durante are illustrated by the superb *all'antica* decoration of the bowl in Figures 1.1 and 1.2;[22] this was made in the town by the potter *Zouanmaria* (perhaps Giovanni Maria di Mariano) in 1508, around the time that Guido di Savino of Castel Durante may have left for Antwerp.

As discussed by Hurst in this volume, it has for some years been obvious that there are similarities between certain maiolica jugs shown in Flemish paintings of the late fifteenth century and some archaeological finds in England; and debate has ebbed and flowed about which of such pieces were made in Italy, and which in Antwerp or elsewhere in the Low Countries.[23] In 1994, through the kindness of local collectors, I was given access to two private collections in Pesaro of fragments found locally. I was struck at the time by seeing among what I was told were local finds a number of jugs (Figs 1.2 and 1.6) which seemed to me strikingly similar to the jug found at Askett (Blake this volume, Fig. 2.2), and also to those illustrated in the Memling *Madonna and Child* in Berlin, and in the 'still life' on the reverse of the portrait by the same artist in Madrid (Figs 1.3-4);[24] both paintings are assigned to the 1480s. The shape and decoration seemed to have close analogies, and the distinctive way of fixing the lower part of the handle on the Askett jug and the one in the Berlin painting, pinched in and with a pointed projecting terminal, also has parallels in the Pesaro region. I showed photographs of the Askett and Memling material to Alessandro Bettini, a leading expert on the maiolica of Pesaro, who was kind enough to give me his opinion that these jugs do indeed have a significant resemblance to finds from Pesaro which he believes to have been produced there.[25] The shape, the ladder pattern, and the shoulder-rays all seem a good match, especially for the jug or jugs in the Berlin and Thyssen paintings. The idea that Pesaro, with its trade links to Venice, was a substantial exporter of pottery around the 1490s seemed consistent with the attribution of the Corvinus set and the grandiloquence of the 1486 edict.[26]

Another painting of the *Madonna and Child*, attributed to a Low Countries artist of around 1500, which is in the Kunstmuseum, Basle,[27] shows a globular Italianate jug of which the front is moulded in relief into the form of a face, within rays and a ladder border (Fig. 1.5). Face jugs of the same general type, all seemingly of around 1500, are recorded from Faenza and Bologna (in both cases apparently by kiln wasters), and from Cesena,[28] but also from Pesaro;[29] the example from Pesaro (Fig. 1.6), with the distinctive parting of the androgynous figure's hair, is closer to the one in the painting than the Bologna or Faenza examples.

On this basis I sketched out in 1994 a short article in which I intended to propose the hypothesis that the Askett and Memling-type jugs and the jug in the Basle painting were actually exports from Pesaro. Clearly, however, it was sensible to test the hypothesis by awaiting the results of Michael Hughes's neutron activation analysis programme, which included fragments found at Pesaro and reliably believed to have been locally-made. However, the results now published in the present volume (while seeming to confirm that the Askett jug was made in Italy) provide no support for the supposition that any of the excavated imports into England which have been analysed were made in Pesaro or nearby; the analyses tend to point, albeit inconclusively, rather to Tuscany. So the hypothesis that jugs made in or near Pesaro in the last quarter of the fifteenth century were exported in any quantity to northern Europe, however plausible on other grounds, is at the moment unsupported and in part contradicted by the scientific evidence on analysed samples. The detailed discussions by Blake and Hurst in this volume, supplementing Hughes's analysis, demonstrate how complicated the problem of determining the exact origin of this group of Italian wares still is.

The published Antwerp documents, particularly the legal case of 1513 studied by Henri Nicaise and subsequent scholars, and transcribed in this volume by Dumortier,[30] record the presence in Antwerp by 1513 of three named potters of Italian origin, and I deal in turn with the regions from which they seem to have come. All three are described as *galeyerspotbackers* or *geleyerspotbackers*, indicating that they were tin-glaze potters.

Jan Frans is described in the documents of 1513 as *Jan Francisco de Bresse*.[31] It would be a reasonable assumption that his name was Giovanni son of Francesco, or Giovanni dei Franceschi, or something similar. *De Bresse* has been interpreted as meaning that he was from Brescia, and this seems likely to be correct. Extensive archival notes on potters active in Brescia in the first half of the sixteenth century have been published,[32] and these include members of potting families variously called Franci, Franzi, Francini, and Franzini; but no member of these families at the right date named Giovanni is recorded. In the present state of research it is difficult to say if Jan Frans was ever active as a potter in Brescia, or if he was a member of the above family or families.

On the face of it, Brescia is a surprising place of origin for a *geleyerspotbacker*, since the town does not seem to have been a significant producer of tin-glazed pottery before the middle of the sixteenth century. The city formed part of the tract of northern Italy, in and to the north of the Po Plain, where slipware, rather than tin-glaze, was the principal local potting tradition in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Groups of local finds in Brescia's civic collections include several examples of slipped and painted wares (*ingobbiato e dipinto*) in imitation of tin-glazed maiolica, rather than tin-glaze itself.[33] Few if any of the potters working in Brescia around 1500 would have been making tin-glaze.[34]

Brescia was, except for a brief period of French control from 1509 to 1516, part of the Venetian empire; Peter Frans, a textile dyer and merchant who was probably Jan Frans's brother, is described as *van Venedigen*.[35] In Venice itself, though slipware was produced in greater quantities, there is reason to suppose that there was production of maiolica of high artistic quality by the first two decades of the sixteenth century.[36] In 1518 Isabella d'Este, Marchioness of Mantua, ordered a set of maiolica plates from Venice and recorded the results as 'very well made to my taste'. Two years later her brother, Alfonso Duke of Ferrara, ordered a set of pharmacy vases from Venice and had no less a person than Titian oversee their production. A group of handsome services of Venetian maiolica with decoration *alla porcellana* and the arms of south German families, can be heraldically dated to the decade around 1515-25.[37] In 1507 Maestro Jacomo da Pesaro, who was to become a major figure in the maiolica industry in Venice until his death in 1546, acquired a workshop in the Venetian district of San Barnaba; he is likely to be the *Giacobo da Pesaro* who is documented as having had business contact with Guido di Savino in Antwerp in 1526.[38] For several decades thereafter, relations between maiolica producers in Venice and those in the Marches remained close. In some Antwerp documents Guido di Savino is referred to as 'from Venice', and it has been suggested that he was apprenticed or worked in Venice before coming to Antwerp;[39] perhaps the same was true of Jan Frans *de Bresse*.

It is clear that the best Venetian production at the beginning of the sixteenth century was of high quality and had wide markets, but difficulties remain in distinguishing the Venetian maiolica which so impressed contemporary patrons. Unfortunately, the large-scale recoveries of fragments from the Venetian Lagoon which are the basis of our understanding of Venetian Renaissance slipware did not extend to maiolica, and there is no available body of definitely Venetian-made maiolica of around 1500 to serve as a point of reference.[40] It is, however, worth pondering

that a jug with a face in relief (Fig. 1.10)[41] from the Conton collection of material found in and near the Venetian Lagoon forms a parallel to the jug in the painting in Basle even closer than the face jug from Pesaro; and that at least one small globular jug with a ladder motif has been excavated in the Veneto and has been published with a tentative attribution to the *area veneta*.[42] The identification of late fifteenth-century Venetian maiolica remains a controversial issue. In the last quarter of the fifteenth century the trade previously conducted on Genoese and Florentine ships had declined, but Venetian galley fleets continued until 1508 to visit London, Southampton and the Low Countries on a regular basis.[43] The London customs accounts for June 1481 record that individuals arriving on a Venetian galley brought in between them as trade goods well over 2,000 *bocals*; these were evidently jugs such as in Italian were called *boccali*, but it is not clear whether they were of glass (a Venetian speciality that was traded in quantity from such ships over a long period of time) or of pottery.[44] In the absence of adequate archaeological documentation for Venetian production of maiolica at this date, it would go beyond the available evidence to hypothesize that some of the maiolica jugs and vases imported into England and the Low Countries in the years up to 1508 had been made in or near Venice; but it should be borne in mind how much may yet remain to be learnt of Venetian maiolica in this period. No samples have yet been available for the British Museum neutron activation programme. After 1508, partly as a consequence of the League of Cambrai against Venice, the Venetian galley fleets ceased to visit England or Antwerp for nine years.[45] Could it be that Guido di Savino and the other Italian potters who arrived in Antwerp at about that time were hoping to make and sell in Antwerp products of the same kind (whether made in the Veneto, the Marches, or elsewhere) that had previously been traded from Venice on the galley fleets? It is not clear whether the chronology fits, but such a hypothesis might partially account for the fact (confirmed by Dr Hughes' analyses) that Italian and Low Countries jugs and vases are sometimes so similar in appearance that we have not yet learnt visual criteria to tell them apart.

In view of the personal and commercial contacts between Venice and Antwerp, it is not surprising that there are continuing stylistic affinities through the sixteenth century between Antwerp and Venice maiolica.[46] Such affinities are more evident than any continued stylistic links with Guido di Savino's home town of Castel Durante. A particularly clear example, from later in the sixteenth century, is the ornament with large flowers and fruit, which was in Italy a Venetian speciality and which also occurs on what are believed to be Low Countries products.[47] Cipriano Piccolpasso, whose *Tre Libri dell'Arte del Vasaio* was probably compiled about 1557, captioned his drawings of maiolica with 'Flowers' and 'Fruits' patterns, *veramente queste sono pitture venetiane* (Fig. 1.11). Figure 1.9[48] is an example of the Low Countries version of this ornament, dated 1583 - though whether made in Antwerp or Haarlem is a matter of debate.

The second Italian potter mentioned in Antwerp documents of 1513 is 'Janne Marie de Capua', who had at that point recently returned to Italy. One may suppose him an Italian named Giovanni Maria.[49] Although he is recorded as having left Antwerp *c.* 1512 at the same time as the Duke of Milan, and so may have had connections with northern Italy, he was presumably originally from Capua, a town to the north of Naples. Capua does not have a substantial place in the modern historiography of Renaissance maiolica, but it is not impossible that Capua or somewhere nearby contained, in the second half of the fifteenth century, maiolica workshops capable of producing work of a high standard. The tiles in the Cathedral of Capua (Fig. 1.10),[50] for which a date *c.* 1466-70 has been proposed, are some of the most refined and beautiful of the Italian Renaissance. Donatone has argued forcefully that this and certain other pavements in churches in and around Naples were made in Naples. The tile pavements identified by Donatone (alongside a stylistically linked group of pharmacy jars) seem indeed to make up a coherent production, much of which can be associated with the royal court at Naples. However, there is so far a disturbing lack of published archaeological evidence, or even of casual finds, from Naples to confirm the hypothesis that large-scale maiolica manufacture took place in the city itself at this period. The possibility has not yet been ruled out that some of this maiolica was actually made in one of the outlying towns, which might have occupied a role for Naples like that of Montelupo for Florence. However I am unable to cite any archaeological or other evidence to support the suggestion that late fifteenth-century Capua may have contained any high-class maiolica workshop, in which Janne Marie could, if he was indeed active as a potter in Capua, have been trained.[51]

The most influential of the Italian potters who set up in Antwerp was Guido di Savino, who took the surname Andries. He was well enough known in Italy to be mentioned after his death by Cipriano

Piccolpasso as having 'carried the art to that place'.[52] Guido, who was in Antwerp by 1508 and is probably the 'Guido' mentioned in the documents of 1513, was from Castel Durante,[53] a specialist pottery town which appears to have been enjoying a boom in the first years of the sixteenth century.

It seems to have been the case through the sixteenth century that Castel Durante trained more potters than it could employ; and that its potters often had to emigrate to earn a living.[54] Around 1570, for example, Giovan Paolo Savini (probably a member of the same family) left Castel Durante to work in Rome; and several potters who became prominent in the industry in the larger towns of Urbino and Pesaro in the sixteenth century, including Guido Durantino, Francesco Durantino, and Sforza di Marcantonio,[55] were from Castel Durante. Piccolpasso knew of Guido di Savino and his sons, but Don Corrado Leonardi, who has made an intensive study of the archives of Castel Durante, courteously informs me that he has discovered no material to indicate that the family were prominent in the pottery industry before the 1540s; and no published documents mention Guido before he left Italy around 1508.

To explain, therefore, why Guido (and the same is true of the other Italian maiolica potters) went to Antwerp around 1508 is guesswork. It may be that he was simply seeking his fortune in new and promising markets where his skill would be rare and marketable and where demand for Italian maiolica was established; or that he was deliberately recruited by, and/or supported by investment from, some member of the Italian community in Antwerp; or that he was encouraged to come by the City authorities of Antwerp as part of their systematic policy of fostering new industrial developments in the city;[56] or that he was under the patronage of some influential individual patron;[57] or that he was having professional or personal difficulties which made it sensible to leave Italy. These issues are further discussed by Blake in this volume.

It is worth considering in this connection the much-quoted petition addressed in 1570 to Queen Elizabeth by one of Guido's sons, Jasper Andries, and his colleague Jasper Janssen:

> To the Queen's most excellent Matie
> In moast humble wayse your orators Jasper Andries and (Jacob Janssen) boathe of Antwerp. That whereas to avoyde persecution and for their conscience' sake they came into this your Maties Realme and contynewed (in Norwich?) almoaste three years, excercising the makinge of Galley pavinge tyles and Vessels for potycaries and other very artifically evin as it maie (app)eare by the chest withe their handyworke by them unto your Matie presented. And forasmuche as they are the first whiche browght and dide exercise the saide science into Your Maties Realme, and have bine at very greate charges before they coulde finde the materialls in this Realme; and that the same science was so acceptable unto King Henry the eight of moaste famous memory yor highness father that his Matie offered to the saide Jaspar's father good wages and howsrowme to exercyse the same in this Realme wch then came to none effect...[58]

It appears from this document that Jasper Andries and Jacob Janssen were Protestants; and there can be no doubt that religious motives were, even before the Spanish recapture of Antwerp in 1585 and subsequent repression, a factor in the movement of potters in the Low Countries and around Europe. However, religion can hardly have been a factor in the emigration of Italians to Antwerp as early as 1508.

Equally significant is the testimony that Henry VIII had tried to recruit Guido di Savino to come and set up a pottery in England. Many of the luxury craftsmen in Henry VIII's London were of foreign origin and there is specific documentation of a group of Venetian glassmakers working for the Tudor Court in the late 1540s.[59] On a larger scale, François I of France recruited some of the best artists and craftsmen of the Italian High Renaissance to France; and Anne de Montmorency, Grand-Maître of France and the most important private art patron of the French Renaissance, seems to have made systematic attempts to promote the luxury pottery industry in France.[60] The genesis of the Piccolpasso manuscript seems to lie in an attempt by the Cardinal de Tournon to set up an Italian-style maiolica industry in France.[61] Deliberate efforts by rulers and powerful individuals to further the economy of their city or country by recruiting specialized foreign craftsmen to come and set up workshops were common in sixteenth-century Europe.

A third point worth noting in the 1570 petition is that Andries and Janssen say that what they make are apothecary jars and paving tiles; they do not mention table wares. This is in contrast to the situation in most Italian sixteenth-century potteries, for which, despite occasional large orders for floor tiles and pharmacy jars, dishes and jugs for the table seem usually to have made up the bulk of production. Quantitative analysis of archaeological assemblages would no doubt clarify whether it is indeed the case that tiles and pharmacy jars were more essential an element for the business of tin-glaze potters in Antwerp in the sixteenth century than for most comparable enterprises in Italy. The historian of Italian maiolica is struck, in particular, by the fact that complex pictures composed of many

joining tiles making up a single narrative scene are among the most spectacular achievements of Antwerp maiolica, as of Masseot Abaquesne in Rouen and Niculoso Pisano in Seville.[62] Such multi-tile compositions are the exception in sixteenth-century Italy, though a group exists in Liguria.[63]

In conclusion, it should be stressed how partial is our knowledge of the Italian context from which Antwerp maiolica developed. This may seem curious in view of the enormous amount of archaeological and other work that has been done in Italy on Renaissance pottery in the last two decades or so. However, a lot of the best Italian work has been focussed on specific regions, and some regions have not been studied as intensively as others. The recent discovery, based on a single archaeological deposit, that Castelli in the Abruzzi was one of the principal centres of Italian maiolica production in the middle of the sixteenth century - a fact hardly suspected previously - should warn us that further discoveries may still modify the perspective considerably. We have still no overall vision of the production of certain cities which we know from documentary evidence to have made high-quality maiolica at the beginning of the sixteenth century, such as Ferrara[64] and Venice. Furthermore, in view of the central role of Genoese ships in the trade between Italy and the north, one might expect Liguria to have played a larger role in the questions discussed in this paper than it has done. A single potter emigrating from one area to another can produce work which is difficult to reconcile with a general picture drawn from archaeological finds. Much more work - archaeological, archival, and scientific - remains to be done before we can really explain why 'maiolica in the north' looks the way it does.

Postscript

Since it has not to my knowledge been mentioned in discussions of maiolica imports from Italy into sixteenth-century England, it seems worth drawing readers' attention here to a document of 1619 in which Niccolò Sisti of Pisa mentions a large quantity of maiolica painted with white-ground grotesques (*bellissima robba a grottesche*) which he has sent to England on the instructions of the Grand-Duke of Tuscany.[65]

Notes

1. The maiolica historian's instinct that much greater quantities of maiolica were being made in Italy in the 1520s than 50 years previously is difficult (in the absence of a thorough economic history of the late medieval and Renaissance pottery industry) to document; but Goldthwaite 1989, 7-8, argues for a continuous expansion of the industry between the late fourteenth and the sixteenth centuries. The problem is that, even if it were possible unequivocally to demonstrate an increase over a given period in the number of workshops or in the quantity of pottery produced in a particular town, such as Faenza, Deruta, or Montelupo, it would be difficult to know how far this was due to a concentration of production in a few major centres, and how far to an overall increase in the quantities of pottery consumed. Cf. Blake 1978, 441-8.
2. See, for example, Wilson 1989b. The fashion for extensive armorial table services took off in Italy in the mid-1520s. The famous *istoriato* service by Nicola da Urbino with the arms of Isabella d'Este, Marchioness of Mantua, was beyond much doubt commissioned by her daughter Eleanora, Duchess of Urbino, in 1524 (most recently: Brody 1997). The earliest surviving dated services made in Faenza for Florentine aristocrats are those for Bindo Altoviti and his wife (1524; Wilson 1989a, no. 23), and for Francesco Guicciardini and his wife (1525; Wilson 1987, nos 45, 202); and the armorial service for Marco Vigerio, Bishop of Senigallia, among the first of the dated armorial services from the workshop of Maestro Giorgio in Gubbio, dates from 1524 (Wilson 1993, 173-6). This does seem to constitute a recognizable burst of fashion, though heraldic services for German clients, often with *alla porcellana* decoration, were being made in Venice some years earlier; see note 37 below. The set for another foreigner, Matthias Corvinus (see note 16, below), is an exceptionally early instance of a surviving armorial table service. See, in general, Goldthwaite 1989.
3. Fiocco and Gherardi 1994.
4. Berti 1997.
5. Biganti 1987, 215. *Maiolica* in documents of this period means lustreware. To the existing archaeological evidence for the diffusion of Deruta maiolica outside Italy may be added the testimony of some recent excavations on a site a little way down river from the centre of Lisbon, on the site of the former Corte-Real, which has produced a quantity of Italian imports, including maiolica from Tuscany and lustreware from Deruta; in at least one case, the fragments show evidence of having been broken and repaired with rivets in the sixteenth century. Publication of these finds, which also include part of a handsome Italian vessel, seemingly not later than 1500, with the Portuguese royal arms, is awaited, and I am indebted to Clementino Amaro for permission to mention them here.
6. The *Corpus* of dated pieces by Ballardini (1933-38) allows a rough quantification of the development of the fashion for inscribing maiolica with dates. The earliest date that occurs is 1466. There are 4 examples of dated maiolica from the 1470s and 4 from the 1480s; then 10 from the 1490s, 30 from the first decade of the sixteenth century, 40 from the 1515s, and 146 from the 1520s. A count of signed pieces would show a comparable acceleration.
7. Castelli 1989.
8. Cora 1973, I, 108-11; 422-3. It remains unclear how unprecedented an arrangement this much-discussed contract was; cf. Blake this volume.
9. Nicolini 1980, 30.
10. Cf. Dumortier 1987, and papers by Dumortier and Blake this volume.
11. Ravanelli Guidotti 1996. It has been supposed that in the

third quarter of the sixteenth century, Faenza potters with Lutheran or Anabaptist sympathies left their city and took their characteristic *bianco* technique with them, and that this was the origin of *Habaner* potteries in Moravia and Slovakia; but there is a dearth of solid documentary evidence for the presence of potters from Faenza outside Italy, except at Lyons. See Marsilli 1985, 7-26; and the same author 'Bianchi mitteleuropei', in Ravanelli Guidotti 1996, 51-62, with bibliography. Liverani 1937 is a lucid overview of the development of Italian maiolica production beyond the Alps.

12. The terminological distinction adopted by some Dutch specialists, when writing about early Low Countries tin-glaze, between *maiolica* (lead-glazed on the back) and *faience* (tin-glazed front and back) does not correspond easily with established usage in English or Italian and I have not adopted it; cf. Baart 1983, 164 and 169, with Marsilli 1984, 203-4.
13. Gubbio, which is now in the region of Umbria, was in the Renaissance part of the domains of the Dukes of Urbino.
14. Berardi 1984; Bettini 1991, 12-18; and Bettini 1997b, 31-95.
15. *'E laudato dicto lavoro da ciaschuno intendente per tuto Italia et fora de Italia* - Berardi 1984, 40, note 18.
16. Bettini 1997a, 169-75. Having had the opportunity of studying a quantity of material found in Pesaro of similar type, I find convincing Dr Bettini's arguments based on such material that the Corvinus set was made, not as has often been thought in Faenza, but in Pesaro (or by a potter from Pesaro). The main earlier literature is Pugliese 1964; Balogh 1966, 437-8; Pataky-Brestyánszky 1967, 26-36; Balogh 1975, 277-85; Schallaburg 1982, 296-301; Donatone 1993, 40-1, 58-63. For excavated material from Hungary, see Holl 1990; Farbaky 1991; and Holl 1992, especially 172-3, where finds in Hungary of jugs similar to ones found at Pesaro are also illustrated (I owe this reference to David Gaimster). The four surviving complete pieces of the Corvinus set are: two in the Victoria & Albert Museum, London, one in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and one (Ricci 1927, no. 26) in the Hearst Museum of Anthropology, University of California at Berkeley (Phoebe Hearst Collection, inv. no. 7-7730). The letter of 17 August 1486 from the Ferrarese ambassador in Hungary Cesare Valentini to Eleonora Duchess of Ferrara (d. 1493), telling her that a welcome gift for Beatrice would be *lavoreri da faienza di terra* because Beatrice *ne farà più festa che se fusseno darzento* (Schallaburg 1982, 296, cited from Balogh 1966, I, 438) is a strikingly early testimony to the growing prominence of Faenza as a maiolica centre.
17. *in longiquiis partibus Ungarie et aliis locis* - Bettini 1997a, 173; previously published by Albarelli 1986, doc. no. 653.
18. Carile 1989, 23, states that Pesaro was kept in a position of commercial subservience to Venice. Cf. the comment made at a somewhat later date (1574) by Matteo Zane, Venetian ambassador to the Duchy of Urbino (cited by Vaccaj 1928, 221): *Non v'ha alcun porto di mare... nè v'è traffico perchè tutto corre in Ancona... E sebbene dicono, porto di Pesaro, porto di Senigaglia, è detto impropriamente, non essendovi altro che due piccoli fiumicelli...* Cf. Earle 1969.
19. Berardi 1984, 35, and Bettini 1997b, 38, give some reasons for this decline; cf. Mallet 1986.
20. For excavated material from the Ducal Palace in Urbino, see Giannatiempo López and Ermeti 1997, 159-81; and Giannatiempo López 1997. In 1984 I was shown through the courtesy of the late Professor Sgarzini, a collection of locally-found fragments in the Scuola d'Arte in Urbino. For fragments from Urbania (Castel Durante), see Ermeti 1997; and for an overview of Castel Durante maiolica, Fiocco and Gherardi 1997.
21. *... pulcra et bene depicta et ex bonis coloribus cum insigniis dicti domini cardinalis et aliis picturis ad laudem et approbationem periti in arte... Renfrescatore due cum li pede a cucchiaro bene depinte de diverse picture et cum l'arme... Fructiere due cum so pede facte a colonne et cavalli a l'antiqua depincte ut supra... Bacili grandi due subtili depincti diversamente l'uno dall'altro cum l'arma in mezo et duoi Bocali da aqua correspondenti cum un leoncino in su lo coperchio.*

    Quoted from Rossi 1889, 308-9, where this remarkable document is published in full. The cardinal concerned was 'Cardinalis Capurriquiensis' i.e, Ludovico Podocatario (d. 1504), a Cypriot who was secretary to Pope Alexander VI and was made Cardinal in 1500; he was Bishop of Capaccio and known as 'Cardinal Capaccio'; see *Enciclopedia Cattolica* 9 (1952), cols 1644-45. Ciaconius 1677, 3, col. 197, reproduces his arms, which feature a lion gazing at a mount surmounted by a cross. It is interesting to find the contract stipulating not only (rather in the manner of painting contracts) that the work shall earn the approbation of good judges, but also that the painting shall vary from one piece to another; cf. Goldthwaite 1989, 22-3, on increasing variety as a characteristic of Renaissance maiolica. For archival notes on the Garducci family of potters, see Negroni 1994, 46.
22. Rasmussen 1989, no. 62. The bowl was apparently a gift from a Bolognese senator, Melchiorre di Giorgio Manzoli, to Pope Julius II. It is not known whether Giovanni Maria was the painter or the workshop owner, or both, but he is documented in places other than Castel Durante as well; cf. Wilson 1993, 132-3. I am indebted to Serenella Balzani and Marina Regni, and to Don Corrado Leonardi for informing me that no Giovanni Maria turns up in Castel Durante documents of the period.
23. Rackham 1926 and 1939; Strauss 1972; Scheil 1977; Hurst 1970; Hurst, Neal, and van Beuningen 1976, 117-19; Hurst 1991, 215.
24. (a) Berlin painting: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie, no. 529; Strauss 1972, 25, pl. 10,8; De Vos 1994, no. 21; further references in Blake this volume. I am grateful to Rainald Grosshans for the photo.

    (b) Madrid painting: Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid; Strauss 1972, 7, pl. 11,4; Eisler 1989, 106-15; De Vos 1994, no. 30. See further references in Blake this volume.

    The jugs in the Berlin and Thyssen paintings differ only in details and may possibly have been painted from the same object. The pinched handle-terminal is seen clearly in the Berlin painting. Blake this volume suggests reasons for the fact that the so-called 'sacred trigram' is proportionately commoner on jugs both in Low Countries paintings and in excavated finds in northern Europe than it is in Italy, where secular motifs often occupy the central medallion. On pottery in such paintings generally, see Gaimster 1997.
25. Dr Bettini informed me that he was, on the contrary, unaware of vases of the double-ring-handle form like the example from Askett among material excavated anywhere in Italy. This view is in essence confirmed by the detailed discussion by Blake this volume and by the opinions of other Italian colleagues he has consulted. I wish to express my warmest gratitude to Dr Bettini, and also to late Piero Bonali, for making it possible for me to study material from

Pesaro and for discussing it with me.

26. Bettini 1997B, 35, and plates 28, 29, publishes two similar jugs from Pesaro, making the same connection made here with the Thyssen Memling; and also discusses further the evidence for an export trade in maiolica from Pesaro.
27. Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Basel, Kunstmuseum, inventory number G1985.29; Strauss 1972, 9, pl. 10, 9. I thank Charlotte Gutzwiller for the photograph.
28. Liverani 1934; Ravanelli Guidotti 1988A, figs 12-14; Gelichi 1991, 27-8. For Cesena, Gelichi 1997, cover illustration. Cf. Mazzucato 1990.
29. The example from the Bettini collection, Pesaro, here illustrated is also reproduced by Bettini 1997b, 60, no. 26. The face jugs in the Louvre (Giacomotti 1974, no. 77) and the Victoria & Albert Museum (Rackham 1940, no. 166) are more similar to each other than they are to any of the excavated examples, or to the jug in the painting. I am grateful to Dr Fausto Berti, Director of the Montelupo Museum, for informing me that the face jug in the painting does not correspond to any type known from excavations at Montelupo.
30. Nicaise 1934 and 1937; Dumortier 1987 and this volume. I am indebted to Claire Dumortier for advice on these documents.
31. Dumortier 1987, 162-3, with references to archives and earlier literature.
32. Dedè 1989, especially 57-76, 119-27.
33. Ravanelli Guidotti 1988B, 98-102.
34. See the cogent comments of Nepoti 1993 (especially 120-1) on the difficulty of distinguishing tin-glaze potters from other potters in the documentary record. In view of the lack of other evidence for maiolica production early in the sixteenth century in Brescia, it is problematic that Dedè (59, note 12) says a zone of the city was known as *contrada delle Maioliche*, perhaps as early as 1517. Nepoti (pers. comm.) warns that it may remain to be proved that 'de Bresse' means 'from Brescia'; he also tells me that the other local studies of potters from the Brescia area, which I have not been able to consult (Dedè and Volta as cited by Nepoti 1993) contain no mention of anyone who can be this Jan Frans. I am indebted to Sergio Nepoti for generous and wise advice on this matter.
35. Dumortier 1987, 167.
36. Wilson 1987b gives references.
37. Wilson 1987b; Hausmann 1972, 318-20; Rasmussen 1984, 213-219. It is disappointing that no such services for Low Countries or English clients have been identified. Indeed I am not aware, though maiolica with French and especially German arms is not uncommon, of any Renaissance maiolica bearing the arms of any family from the Low Countries or England. The two vases with Royal arms found in London (Blake this volume, CITG **5** and **14**; Gaimster this volume Figs 9.1-2 and Col. Pls 2-3) are the only examples of Italian Renaissance maiolica known to me bearing English arms.
38. Alverà Bortolotto 1988, 17-36 and especially 38.
39. Dumortier 1987, 164; Alverà Bortolotto and Dumortier 1990, 58. I do not know whether, in Antwerp documents, 'Venetian' could be a vague term denoting 'Italian', rather like 'Pisan' in Spain at the same period (Ray 1991, 262); Claire Dumortier tells me that she thinks this improbable.
40. The largest collection of reference material for Venetian pottery remains the Luigi Conton collection now mostly at the Ca' d'Oro, gathered mainly from the Venetian Lagoon from the 1920s onwards (Conton 1940; Moschini and Lazzarini 1982), which consists in the main of incised slipwares. Alverà Bortolotto 1988, 16, quotes Conton's remarkable explanation that he had no permit to collect fragments of maiolica.
41. Morazzoni 1955, pl. 2; Conton 1940, 58-9 and 72. Despite Morazzoni's caption, the upper jug is apparently maiolica or painted slipware; for the lower one of the two jugs illustrated by Morazzoni, which is incised slipware, see Moschini and Lazzarini 1982. Cf. Mazzucato 1990. I am indebted to Dr Francesca Saccardo for informing me that the maiolica jug is n. 2347 (inv. fot. 25060) at the Galleria Franchetti at the Ca d'Oro ; Dr Saccardo considers it likely to be Faentine. She tells me that no. 7478 (inv. fot. 12090) is a fragment of a similar jug, and adds that jugs of probable Faentine origin are found with some frequency in the Lagoon. I am also indebted to Prof. Michelangelo Munarini for information on further finds from the Lagoon of fragments of 'ladder' jugs, in the Trentin collection.
42. Saccardo and Gai 1987, no. 106; Otto Mazzucato (pers. comm.) thinks this jug likely to be an import into the Veneto, rather than local production. I am indebted to Professor Mazzucato for helpful comments on this and related issues. Saccardo 1990, 39 and 51, suggests that virtually no maiolica was made in or around Venice in the fifteenth century. For comparable globular jugs found in north-eastern Italy but published as imports into the region from Faenza or elsewhere, see Siviero 1975, 96; Aquileia 1977, nos 40-51 (I owe these references to Hugo Blake).
43. E.B. Fryde, 'Italian maritime trade with medieval England' (essay XIV) and the following two essays in Fryde 1983; Ruddock 1951, 206-32; Childs 1995. I am indebted to Hugo Blake for several bibliographical references and for detailed comments on a draft of the present paper.
44. Cobb 1990, 46-51, interpreting them as of glass. However, Mr Cobb kindly writes to me (1998) 'there is no evidence in these accounts that the 'bocals' the accounts record were of glass rather than pottery. On reflection I think that I was mistaken in assuming following a number of dictionary definitions that the "bocal" was only a glass vessel'. Cf. Quinn and Ruddock 1938, 191, recording at Southampton on another galley from the same 1481 Venetian fleet '1C earthen "bocal"'. I am indebted to Alejandra Gutiérrez and to H.S. Cobb for helpful comments on this matter and for the above reference.
45. Wegg 1916, 176-7; Ruddock 1951, 226. Although no Venetian maiolica samples have been tested in the British Museum programme, Dr Hughes comments that in view of the general geology it would be surprising if any of the samples tested so far prove to be made of clays from the Venice region.
46. Alverà Bortolotto and Dumortier 1990 discuss the relationships in detail. It is, however, notable that the Venetians did not form one of the four Italian 'nations' in Antwerp (Lombards, Florentines, Genoese, Lucchese); and that, according to Goris 1925, 71, there were few Venetians resident in Antwerp by the end of the fifteenth century.
47. Piccolpasso 1980. Cf., for example, Korf and Hijmersma 1971, nos 6, 30; van Dam 1982, 46-7, figs 22, 25; Biesboer 1997, 64-70. There has been a long-held belief that some of the globular *vasi a palla* with the characteristically Venetian polychrome fruit and flower ornament, which at first sight look Italian, were actually made in Antwerp (Chompret

1956; Hausmann 1972, no. 245; Alverà Bortolotto and Dumortier 1990, 70-2, and references there cited; Dumortier 1995, 770-3), but in my opinion there remains room for doubt about many such attributions.

48. Rackham 1926, pls 55, 53A; Wilson 1987A, no. 259; on the back is a monogram of 'C' and 'L' and the date *1583 - 10/Januarii*; for which see Dumortier 1990, 114-21.
49. Nicaise 1937, 195-6; Dumortier 1987, 6-7. The suggestion that he is identical with the Giovanni Maria who made the bowl in Figs 1.1 and 1.2 (see note 22) is improbable. He can also not be the *Jan Marie Cauda* who appears in documents from 1507 to 1509 (Doehaerd 1962-3, III, documents 3513, 3514, 3547, 3571, 3589, 3590), since the latter died in 1509.
50. Donatone 1993, 22-4, col. pls 2-4. I am indebted to Dr Donatone for courteous comments on this issue and for pointing out to me (Donatone 1974, 599) that as early as 1106 Capua contained an area *ad fossas figulorum*, where potters obtained their clay. On Janne Marie, see also Donatone 1993, 49.
51. I am grateful to Giovanna Sarnella of Caserta for information on maiolica production in Capua at this time; there seems to be little archaeological or other published evidence at present for production in Capua itself in the fifteenth century of anything comparable in quality with the tiles from the Cathedral. Di Cosmo and Panarello 1998 discuss finds of medieval material at Capua but do not extend into the fifteenth century (Dr Di Cosmo kindly sent me a copy of this publication). I am also indebted to Luciana Arbace for assistance on the issue. Some specialists believe that some of the late fifteenth-century maiolica attributed by Donatone to Naples was made in Sicily but I have not seen the evidence for this.
52. Piccolpasso 1980, II, 13-14. See Dumortier this volume and literature there cited.
53. For documents on the Savini family in Castel Durante and Rome, see Nicaise 1934, 115-18; Grigioni 1946, 30; Leonardi 1982, 166; Wilson 1989a, 66. At a conference in Urbania in September 1998, Serenella Balzani and Marina Regni presented documents on a late fifteenth-century Castel Durante potter Antonio di Lorenzo Savini; these await publication.
54. Berardi 1984, 35; Grigioni 1945, 79.
55. For basic accounts of these three emigrants from Castel Durante and further literature, see Mallet 1987; Wilson 1993, 223; Wilson 1987a, 68.
56. Thijs 1993, 107-09, discusses the role of immigrants in the development of the luxury trades in Antwerp and the proactive role of the City authorities in encouraging the setting up of new industries. Cf. for the glass industry, Baar 1938, 212-18.
57. It is possible that Janne Marie de Capua was under some sort of patronage from the exiled Duke of Milan: Nicaise 1937, 195-6.
58. Quoted from Britton 1987, 20.
59. For imports of plate and for foreign goldsmiths in London, Glanville 1990, 85-117; for glassmakers, Glanville 1970, 155; Wilson 1988, 399.
60. For Montmorency and maiolica: Wilson 1993, 219-22; for Montmorency and Palissy, Amico 1996; for Montmorency and 'Saint-Porchaire', Crépin-Leblond 1997 and Wilson 1996, 127; for Montmorency and Masseot Abaquesne, Leroy 1997, citing the previous literature.
61. Piccolpasso 1980, I, xix-xxiv.
62. For Antwerp tile pictures, Dumortier 1986; Oost 1993; for Niculoso, Ray 1991; for Abaquesne, Jestaz 1980; Leroy 1997. It may here be added that the artistic and commercial relationships between Masseot Abaquesne and tilemakers in Antwerp are an important subject in need of systematic study. For the commercial relationships between Antwerp and Rouen, cf. Asaert 1993, 35: 'After the Iberian peninsula... and Brittany, the port of Rouen - as the Antwerp quay of the same name bears witness - was the most important port visited by Antwerp bottoms'; also Mollat 1952, 177-93. Tiles from Rouen and Antwerp can be hard to distinguish; see the tiles from Rameyen (Nicaise 1939), which Claire Dumortier tells me she believes were made in Antwerp, but which bear a resemblance to Abaquesne's work; or the important and problematic tiles from Fère-en-Tardenois, which were attributed to Masseot Abaquesne by Moreau-Nélaton 1911, 267, but some of which look very like Antwerp tiles; cf. Korf 1976. Further studies of these pavements are awaited.
63. A few tile pictures from the first half of the sixteenth century exist in Liguria; see Marzinot 1979, figs 155, 156, 157, 158, 167. For an example from Sciacca, Sicily, see Governale 1995, 86. The remarkable pair of tile pictures at Quinta das Torres near Lisbon (Simoens 1946) do not look to me likely to have been made in the Fontana workshop in Urbino, as has been repeatedly said, and their origin remains a mystery. I am grateful to Anisio Franco and to Fernando António Baptista Pereira for arranging access to these panels for me. A tile picture in the Galleria Nazionale delle Marche is attributed by Gardelli 1993 to Gironimo of Urbino, but its origin remains uncertain. I thank John Mallet for reminding me of this article and for sage comments on a draft of the present paper.
64. For the documentary evidence for Ferrara see Campori 1879; for some archaeological evidence, Nepoti 1992.
65. Guasti 1902, 371-2. Williams and Wilson 1989 have notes on grotesque-painted maiolica found in England, but fail to mention the 1619 document.

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Fig. 1.1 Maiolica bowl, signed by Zouan Maria, Castel Durante, 1508. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Robert Lehman Collection, 1975. 1975.1.1015

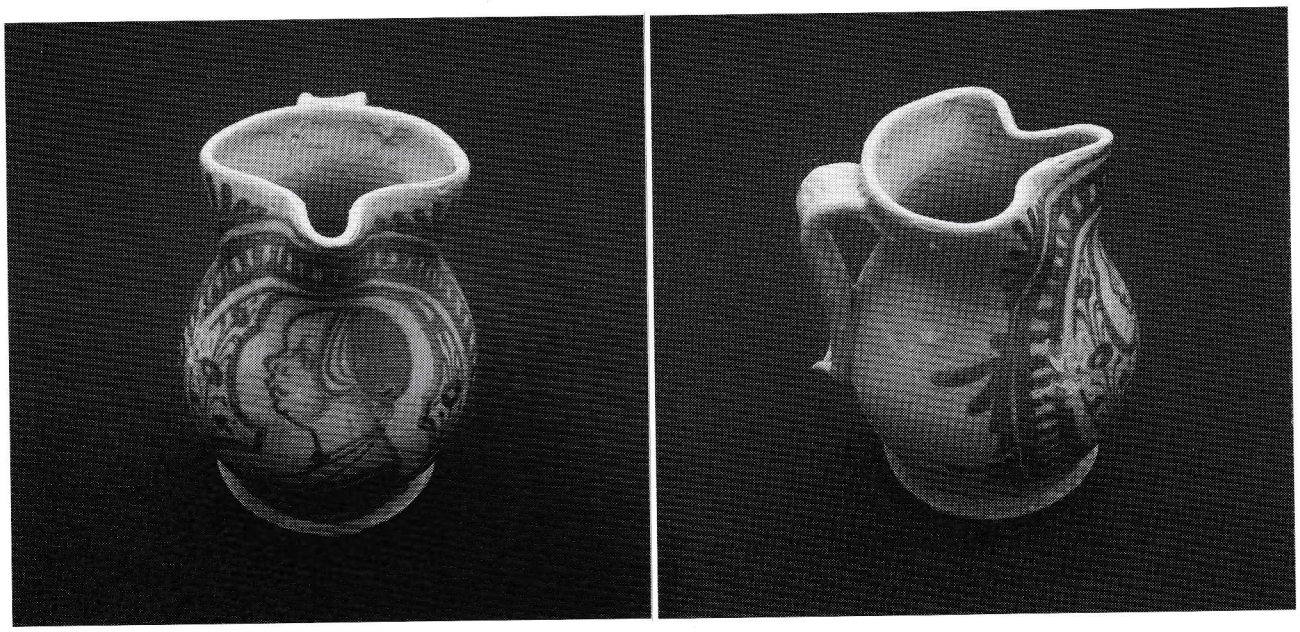

Fig. 1.2 Maiolica jug with head within a ladder medallion. Found at Pesaro. Private collection, Pesaro. Photos by the author

Fig. 1.3 Hans Memling, *Madonna and Child*, *c.* 1480-90 (detail). Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie. Photo by J.P Anders

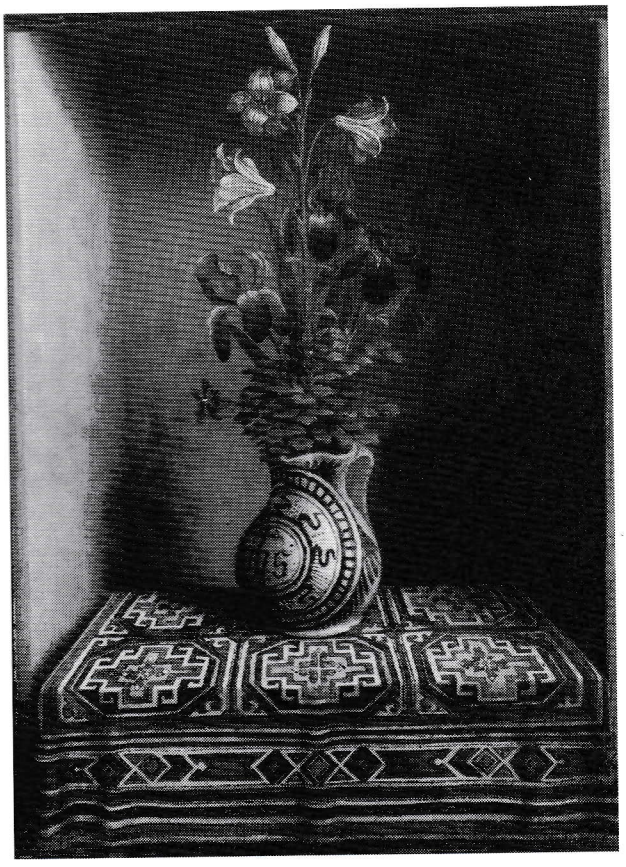

Fig. 1.4. Hans Memling, *Jug of Flowers, c.* 1485-90 (reverse of a *Portrait of a Young Man*). Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid. Photo copyright the Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza

Fig. 1.5 Anonymous Low Countries painter, *c.* 1500, *Madonna and Child* (detail). Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Basel, Kunstmuseum, Legs Max Geldner 1958. Photo courtesy of the Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Basel. Photo by Martin Bühler

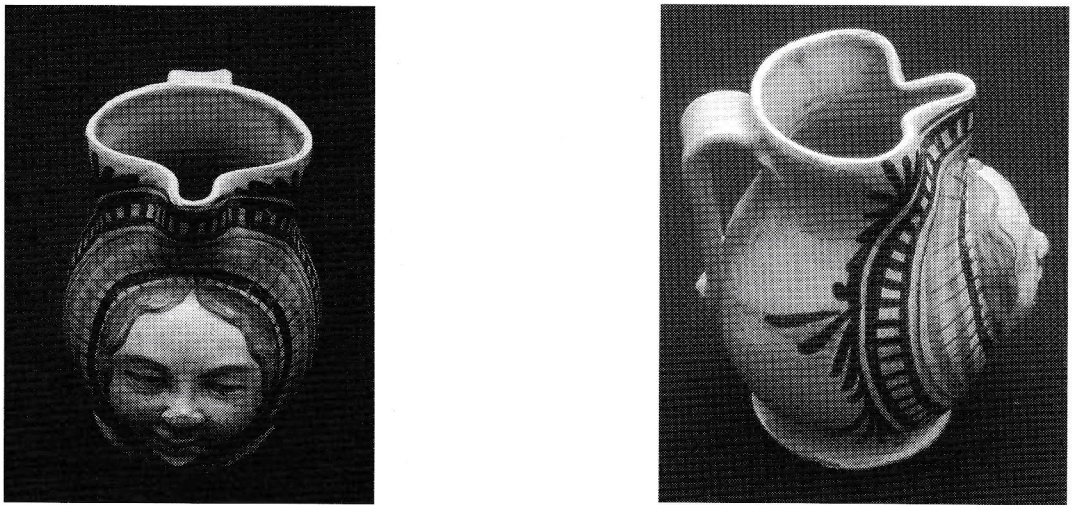

Fig. 1.6 Maiolica jug with face in relief. Found at Pesaro. Bettini collection, Pesaro. Photos by the author

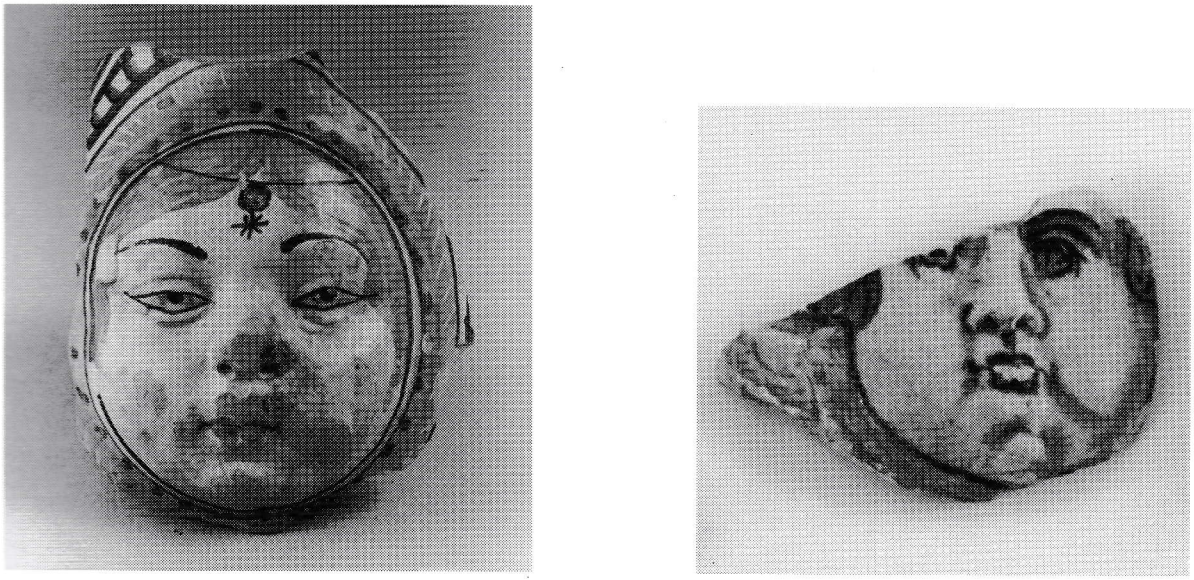

Fig. 1.7 Two fragmentary maiolica jugs with faces in relief, probably found in Venice. Conton collection, Galleria Franchetti, Ca' d'Oro, Venice: left: no. 2347; right: no. 7478. Photos: Soprintendenza per i Beni Artistici e Storici, Venice

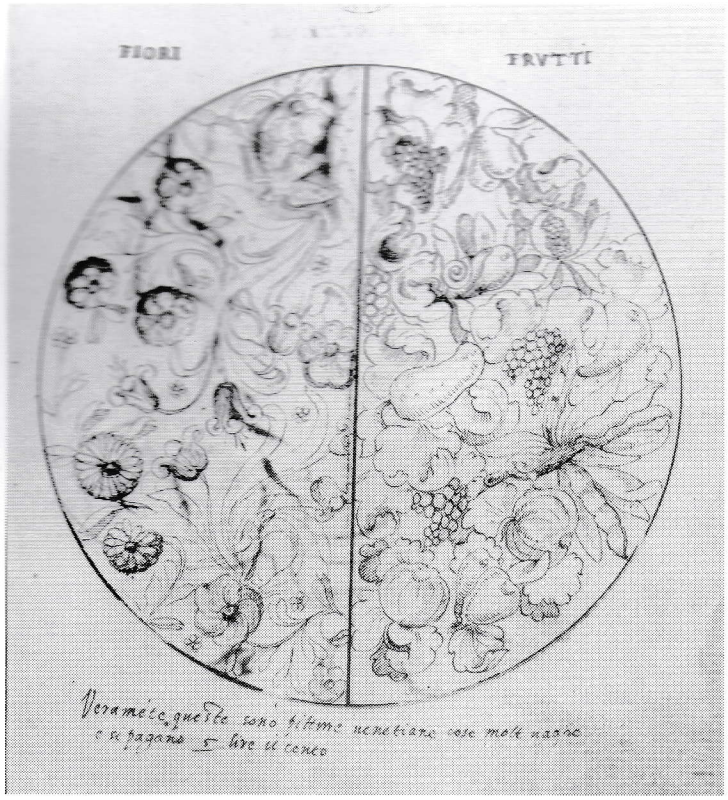

Fig. 1.8 Flowers and Fruit patterns, from Cipriano Piccolpasso, *Li Tre Libri dell'arte del Vasaio*, *c.* 1557. Photo courtesy of the Victoria & Albert Museum

Fig. 1.9 Maiolica dish, probably Antwerp or Haarlem, signed on the back 'CL' or 'LC', and dated 1583. British Museum (given by A.W. Franks, 1885). Photo courtesy of the British Museum

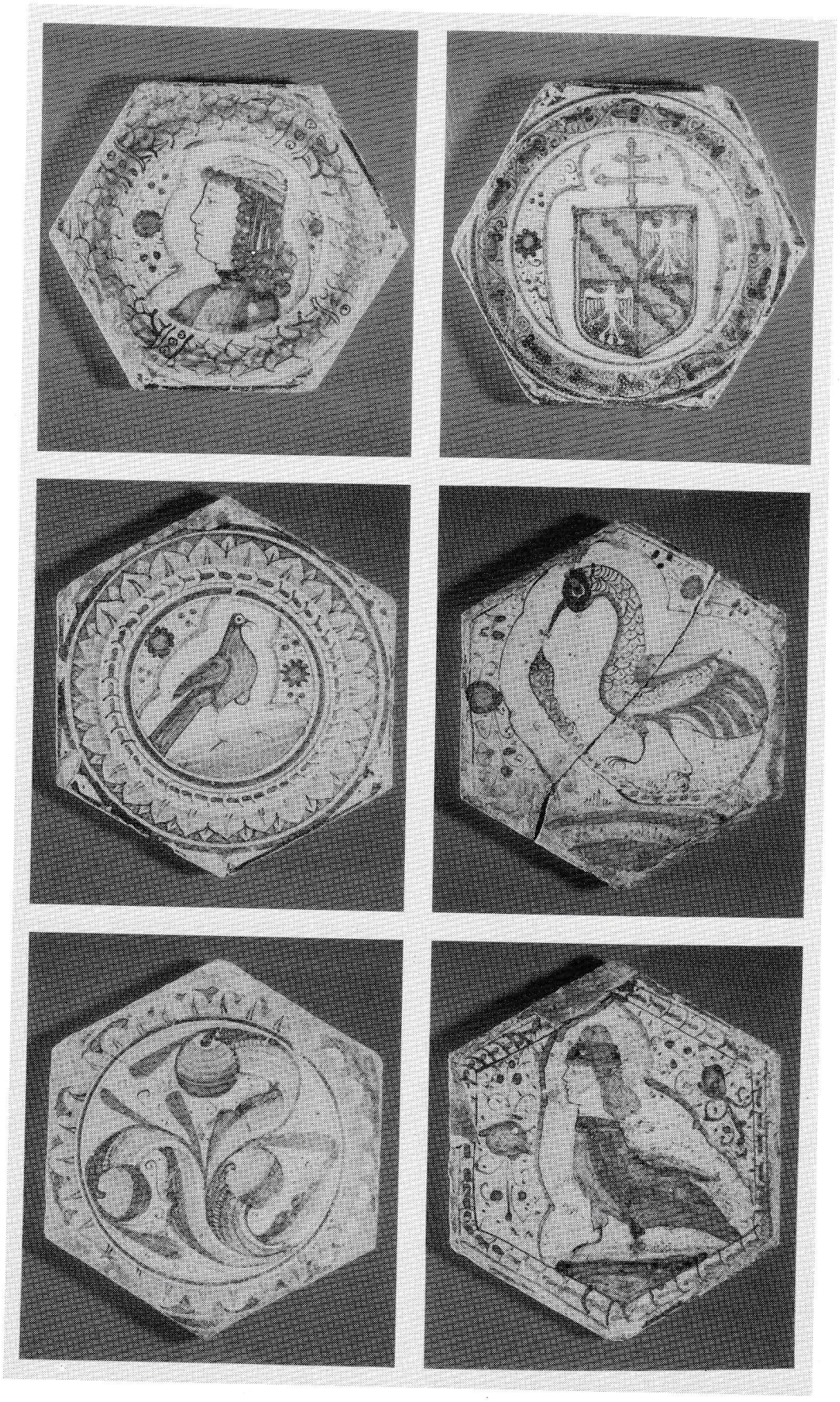

Fig. 1.10 Six tiles from Capua Cathedral. Naples or region, *c.* 1466-70. From Donatone 1993