The commerce of Italian ceramic products, from the end of the Middle Ages until the Modern period

The case of Granada

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The transition from the Middle Ages to the Modern period is considered a period of significant socioeconomic and political change; international trade routes shifted from the Mediterranean basin to the Atlantic coast and beyond, towards the New World. The opening of western markets changed the way products were commercialised, with the

The transition from the Middle Ages to the Modern period is considered a period of significant socioeconomic and political change. The International trade routes shifted from the Mediterranean basin to the Atlantic coast and beyond, towards the New World. The opening of western markets changed the way products were commercialisd, with the emphasis on quantity rather than quality, which forced merchants to keep prices low. Production was consequently intensified and trade extended across several markets (Heers 1957, 118).

The Genoese were among the first to experiment this new type of trade, transporting their merchandise to and from the Middle East and Northern Europe. In 1277 they inaugurated the new Atlantic route connecting the Middle East with France, Flanders and England, using Cadiz and Seville as staging areas (Fåbregas García 1996, 104; Basso 2001, 249–268). Their example was followed by the Menorcans and, later, by the Venetians (Abulafia 1994, 273–291) and, at the beginning of the 14th century, by the Catalans in 1389 (Dufourcq 1981, 43–44) and, finally, by the Florentines in 1425 (Galoppini 2001, 135–163).

The need to connect the two great trading poles of the Middle Ages: the Eastern Mediterranean and the North Sea; led to the rapid development of the territory and ports along the maritime routes. Bruges, the point of arrival of the new route, experienced exceptional growth together with new manufacturing areas in England (Southampton, Sandwich and Bristol), the Brabante area and the Lys Valley in Flanders (Figure 1). The awakening of the economy in the second half of the 14th century and the improvements in the maritime, commercial and financial infrastructure were the principal factors behind the growth of northern European markets and the mercantile superiority of Italian cities in these areas (Melis 1976, 171). emphasis on quantity rather than quality, forcing merchants to keep prices low. Production was consequently intensified and trade extended across several markets. This paper considers the evidence for such changes that is provided by Italian ceramics that have been found in excavations in Granada in Spain.

The trade movement to and from Western Europe benefitted from the opening of the Straits of Gibraltar (1310), the conquests of Tarifa (1295) and Gibraltar (1310) which were previously under Muslim control thus, putting an end to the wars between the Crown of Aragon, the Muslim Kingdom of Granada, Genoa and the Castile. The end of hostilities meant all parties could safely navigate both Mediterranean and Atlantic waters (Ladero Quesada 1989, 174; Fåbregas García 1996, 104).

The Iberian Peninsula enjoyed the greatest advantages from this new stability. The main effect was the development of the harbours along the Atlantic coast (both Castilian coastal ports, such as Seville and Cadiz, and the Lusitano coastal ports such as Lisbon) (Heers 1979, 138–147).

Italian businessmen, initially the Genoese and Pisans and later the Venetians and Florentines, played a fundamental role in this expansion. In the same period the Ligurians settled autonomously in Catalonia, the Balearic Islands and Valenzia, arriving in the south of Spain after the war of Reconquista (Melis 1976b, 187).

The most important Genoese merchants families, such as the Doria, the Spinola, the Grimaldi and the Centurione, settled down in the most important Iberian commercial areas from where they could control the African coasts, considering both sides of the Strait of Gibraltar as a unified area of economic interest (Heers 1979, 143).

The Kingdom of Granada was involved in the new international trade routes, which were moving towards the West Atlantic (Figure 1). The Genoese merchants saw the opportunity to trade in the small Muslim Nazari Sultanate without competition, an easily reached objective due to the delicate economical and political situation that helped them to exploit the

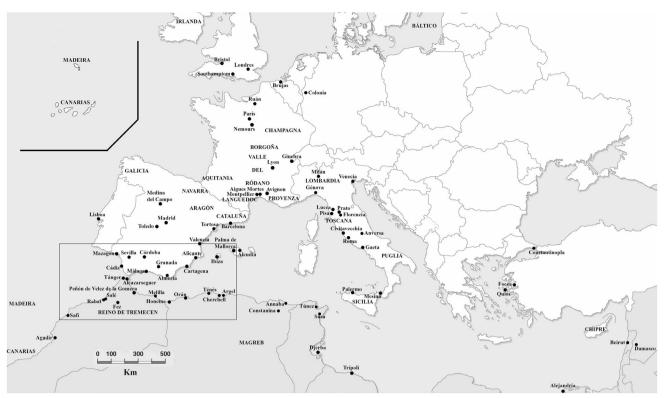


Figure I

Map of trade in the Mediterranean and in the Atlantic at the end of the middle Ages and in the Modern period

Kingdom as an exclusive commercial 'colony' (Heers 1957, 119; Fábregas García 2000).

The active involvement of Genovese merchants was made official with their first treaty with the Nazari sultan (1278–1279) which granted them their own consuls, scribes, a 'fondaco' (a type of inn, especially as the residence of a 'merchant' or trader a trading post, a church, an oven and a bath), as well as being exempt from duty on the importation of some articles, being awarded freedom of movement in Castile and all local markets and the possibility of anchoring and repairing their ships in the kingdom's harbour. In exchange they offered military assistance to the nazaritis. The treaty was renewed in 1295 and again in 1298 (Garí 1985, 175–206).

The period of maximum expansion for the Genoese community took place under the sultanates of Yusuf I and Mohamed v (1354–1394) who strengthened the commercial structure of the kingdom. They improved the specialized cultivation of the most sought after products, such as silk, sugar and dried fruit which were sorted and loaded in the harbours of Malaga, Almeria and Almuñécar (Malpica Cuello 1992, 80–82). The Genoese merchants immediately took control of this trade, and this control led to the development, between 1370 and 1380, of the famous *Ratio Fructe Regni Granate* or Fruit Company, with which the Spinola family established a monopoly in the trade of dried fruit and sugar (Petti Balbi 1997, 389–390).

This family established its headquarters in Bruges and Flanders, from where it organized the movement of its commercial agents all over Europe. These agents, like most Italian merchants at this time, became increasingly specialized in the textile sector and in the importation of alum, although the interests in the trade of dry fruits and sugar from the Kingdom of Granada continued unabated (Fåbregas García 2002, 23–53; Fåbregas García 2004, 15).

From the account books of Francis and Agostino, two important member of the Spinola family, who operated in the small Moslem sultanate in the 15th century, we can deduce interesting information about the structure of the Genoese commercial enterprises and their links with the native population. They traded cloth, from England or Valenzia, and sometimes from Flanders or North Africa, and they often exchanged these goods with silk and sugar in Granada. Grenadine silk was in high demand in the principal European textile markets; indeed many foreign operators, such as Tuscans and Venetians, bought the silk in the Atlantic market from the Genoese, who acquired it in great quantities from the native merchants. All these operations were managed by Francis Spinola through his agents and collaborators in Malaga, Almunecar, Granada, Almeria and London (Fábregas García 2002b, 16-20, 26-27; Fabregas García 2004, 20-23).

In the middle of the 15th century the capital of the Emirate of Granada enjoyed a period of prosperous development. The excellent agricultural and industrial sector, together with the support of the Genoese, allowed the small Muslim kingdom to survive for a long time, despite the advance of the war of Reconquista. The Genoese developed commerce and financed the kingdom for as long as it was economically viable when they foresaw the fall of the state under Castilians pressure, they shifted their allegiance, actively participating in the last part of the war and the taking of the capital (D'Arienzo 1986, 44–45; D'Arienzo 1993, 133–153).

Granada continued to be important during the Christian period, partly due to its close proximity to Malaga, which was a very important harbour for international routes. The consistent presence of the Genoese, in the period following the conquest of the city, shows that they maintained their economic activity. They received some privileges, both as a reward for their help in the War of Reconquista, as payment of the debts accumulated during the war by the Castilian Crown, and because they provided the means of stimulating the economy of the kingdom (Cortés Peña-Vincent 1986, 111–113).

At the beginning of the 16th century there was a small colony of Ligurians (29 people) in Granada. Juan de La Obra Sierra's study documented the presence of Italian families in Granada from 1508 to 1512 (De la Obra Sierra 1992, 12–13). These Italians were merchants and money lenders who used to stay in Granada for both long and short periods of time Lomellini and Grimaldi were among the very important families in Granada (Cortes Pena-Vincent 1986, 147-148; Vincent 1990, 154). During this period the silk trade was the key to the activities of the Genoese. The Italian textile industry was well developed in Italy but it needed raw materials from abroad such as silk, wool and cotton, which together represented 60% or 70% of the total goods moved through the harbour of Genoa (Igual Luis-Navarro Espinach 1997, 293-294.). Consequentially the territory of Granada, rich in materials like silk, wool and cotton developed a local production of these materials. This production was encouraged by Ligurians through capital investment and new technical knowledge. They were the first people to promote this industry and to trade both canvasses and wool skeins. This trade attracted a lot of Ligurian merchants to the city, where their number rose remarkably between 1521 and 1555 (Carande 2000).

The merchants Martíno Centurione and Agostino Italiano purchased vast quantities of silk and had various houses next to the public grainhouse (so called 'Alhondiga'). The Catholic Kings granted them various privileges for the production of silk, wool and sugar in Málaga, Granada and Almuñécar (López de Coca Castañer 1989, 71, notes 37–38). The Centuriones, Spinola, Lomellini, and Veneroso families, had the monopoly on wool, which came, raw or processed, from Huescar and Baeza through the nearby harbours of Murcia and Cartagena (Cortés Peña-Vincent 1986, 144–145; Henríquez de Jorquera 1987).

Sugar production also continued into the Modern period although it was produced in smaller quantities due to reduced demand. Local sugar production was overtaken in the market by the sugar coming from Valenzano and, above all, from the other side of the Atlantic. Sugar was cultivated in the region of Almunécar-Motril and was ground in the fifteen mills along the coast between Motril and Vélez-Málaga (Figure 1). The Ligurians participated in this industry, dealing mainly with the marketing, as testified by the presence in Almunécar of a Genoeses' Aduana (customs) (Vincent 1990, 155, note 18).

Excavations in Granada, especially in the Alhambra, have recovered quantities of Italian ceramics attesting to the involvement of Italian workers not only in the commercial sphere, but also in the social and political structure of the city.

The Alhambra collection is, without doubt, the richest found, but unfortunately it is not stratified. It is composed of 485 fragments from various sources: Savona and Genoa (205 fragments), Montelupo Fiorentino (172 fragments), Pisa (12 fragments), Deruta (28 fragments) and Faenza (3 fragments). The chronology is broad, covering a period from the second half of the 15th to the second half of the 18th century.

The fragments are mainly Ligurian majolica blue on blue tin-glazed ware, so called *berettino* and some fragments in white-blue with typical decoration of the 16th century. The most famous types from the Valdarnese area have been also found, as well as polychrome majolica and gilded and blue lustre ware, from Deruta (Figure 2). The pieces from



Figure 2 Majolica polychrome of Deruta found in the Alhambra, Granada, Spain

Faenza are very few but significant, with blue and white *alla porcellana* and *compendiario* (Figure 3).

There are some examples of polychrome sgraffito and polychrome marbled slipware, so called *marmorizzata*, typical of Pisan products from the 16th–17th centuries. The forms are largely open, since they are dishes, bowls, and a salad, so called *crespina*, bowl on a stand. The earliest fragment is an archaic Pisan majolica bowl rim sherd with radial decoration, from around the end of the 15th century (Carta 2002,



Figure 3 Majolica *compendiario* style of Faenza found in the Alhambra, Granada, Spain

129–139; Carta 2003; Carta 2004, 11–24; Carta 2007, 258–289; Carta 2008).

There are also 65 fragments of local production that, based upon the fabric, glaze and decoration, appear to be imitations. This has been proven through scientific analysis (Figure 4), (Capelli *et al* 2005, 125; Capelli *et al* 2009, pp. 99–106).

Material from Granada

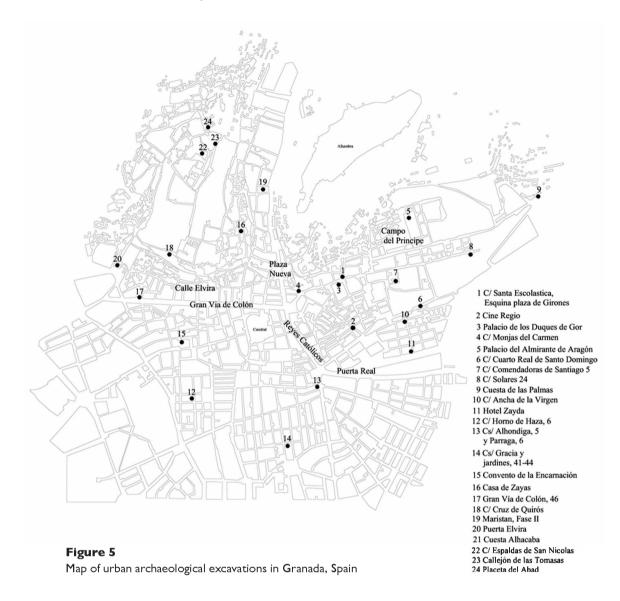
The ceramics recovered from urban excavations in Granada are in total 181 fragments (Figure 5). 131 of these fragments are Ligurian majolica with blue on blue tin-glazed ware, 16 are the white-blue type, and the 14 remaining fragments are Ligurian blue on blue tin-glazed ware recovered in Castril. Even though this group is much smaller than the one from the Alhambra, it has the benefit of having been recovered from stratified deposits. There are also 10 fragments of polychrome majolica from Montelupo Florentino, 3 examples of marbled slipware from Pisa, 9 from Faenza and 12 or 13 pieces which imitate Italian ceramics. The chronology of these fragments is the same as that of the pieces found in the Palatine City (Carta 2004, 11–24; Carta 2007, 258–289; Carta 2008).

This analysis allows us to assess the chronological pattern of the material, based upon a quantitative analysis of the decoration.

Most of the fragments from Montelupo date from the end of the 15th century to the beginning of the



Figure 4 Samples analyzed of majolica *berettina* found in the Alhambra, Granada, Spain



16th century. There are 117 pieces of flat dishes and a larger number of round bottom dishes with a broad brim, called scodelliformi, adorned with a decoration broken ribbon (nastri spezzati) with ovals and rhombus (ovali e rombi), polychrome chequer board and blue sgraffito, whilst 16 fragments are from Deruta, and they consist of flat dishes and celebration plates, called *piatti da pompa* and an *albarello*, a type of majolica earthenware jar, originally a medicinal jar designed to hold apothecaries' ointments and dry drugs decorated with 'peacock feather eye' patterns (occhio di penna *di pavone*) and round bottomed dishes of the famous 'petal back' typology. A single bowl fragment with blue and white alla porcellana, is named for the fact that it resembles Chinese porcelain, ware comes from Faenza, making for a total of 134 fragments.

In the first half of the 16th century the amount of Italian pottery seems to decrease, in fact there are only 50 fragments. Among these, the most abundant are 31 sherds from flat and round bottomed dishes, bowls and blue on blue tin-glazed Ligurian majolica in which the pattern *a quartieri*, the name comes from the sectors/quarters being occupied by particular decorative motifs, around central designs such as houses or trophies, can be noted. There is a decline in the quantity of pottery from the Valdarno Centre; 13 of them are decorated with *bacellature*, a decoration reminiscent of the pods of peas, blue and white *alla porcellana*, eastern nodes, so called *a nodo orientale*, 5 with polychrome majolica *a quartieri* lustreware and blue in neighbourhoods, and with a derutese decoration *belle donne*, is a decoration consisting of the profile portrait of a woman, and 1 with a pear pattern in polychrome sgraffito, attributable to a plates.

Sixty fragments are generically ascribed as belonging to the 16th century; 27 of them are fragments of Ligurian majolica, 16 Montelupo majolica (in most cases they are incomparable with other fragments of the same typology), 7 are from Deruta in blue and lustreware, some of those can be attributed to salad bowls with a pedestal foot and 10 pieces are ceramics from Pisa, (*ie* 3 dishes of polychrome sgraffito and 7 marbled polychrome slipware, attributed to bowls). In the second half of the 16th century, the number of

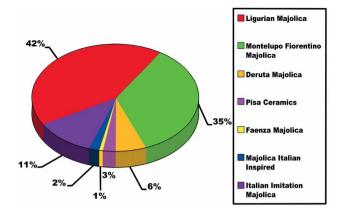


Figure 6

The percentages of pottery coming from different Italian production centres that were found at the Alhambra, Granada, Spain

fragments increases again, rising to a total of 112. 99 Ligurian flat and round bottom dishes of blue-on-blue tin-glazed ware are the most prevalent ones, most of them decorated in *calligrafico a volute* style with a central floral motif, scattered flowers or *compendario* or vegetable stylized motifs;11 are from Montelupo, such as the *crespina a quartieri*, is a salad bowl with the sectors/quarters occupied with particular decorative motifs around a central design, and lozenge shaped dishes decorated in orange spiral, or *compendiario limitato* or *a paesi*, is a central stylized motif of a particular town (or landscape) and 2 of majolica from Faenza in *compendiario*, is so named because it resembles the style of a well-known kind of Roman painting.

Between the end of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th century another important change occurs. There are 43 fragments in total, of which 20 are majolica from Liguria a stylized palmettes (a palmette stilizzate) and 23 fragments are from Montelupo, with late blue sgraffito dominating, 17 pieces belong to salad bowls with a foot pedestal. Products from Faenza, Deruta and Pisa disappear completely. In the first half of the 17th century the number of fragments continues to decline, droppingto 28 pieces; 21 out of 28 pieces are flat dishes of Ligurian type, in *calligrafico naturalistico*, typically comprising long, stylized leaves. Most of them are monochrome, a few polychrome, and 7 of them are Montelupo dishes, with the figurato tardo or fascia arancio (a central design of a landscape or plants), enclosed in a yellow and orange locket. In the second half of the 17th century the presence of Italian pottery is scarcer, with a unique fragment of Ligurian majolica decorated with calligrafico a tapezzeria; a motif that is reminiscent of tapestries, as the name itself suggests and the fragments from the centre of Valdarno disappear completely. At the end of the same century there are 3 Ligurian fragments, so called paesaggio sfumato, a shaded

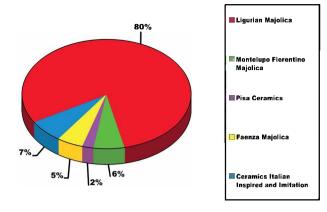


Figure 7

The percentages of pottery coming from different Italian production centres that were found in urban excavations at Granada, Spain

landscape motif, that can be attributed to a cup. The final sherds are fragments of a cup, decorated *a tre puntini* or a *a pizzetto*, is a pattern reminiscent of a piece of lace, or a goatee beard, with a green jade dated to the 18th century (Figure 6).

Pottery from the Alhambra

The set of Italian ceramics coming from urban excavations are considered a unique group, but it presents a similar picture to the one from the assemblage of the Alhambra. The chronology is the same, ranging from the 15th century/beginning of the 16th century until the second half of the 18th century. Ten fragments of flat dishes belong to the first period (late 15th to early 16th century). In addition to 2 sherds from Montelupo with ovals and rhombus and blue sgraffito there are 8 examples of blue and white alla porcellana ware from Faenza. Fourteen pieces from the early 16th century are present, consisting of flat and round bottomed dishes of Ligurian majolica with quartieri decoration. The three fragments of polychrome and two-tone marbled slipware are generically attributed to the 16th century.

The quantity of pottery dated to the second half of the 16th century is higher, and it consists of 72 fragments. There are 66 pieces of Ligurian blue-on-blue tin-glazed maolica attributed to flat and round bottom dishes decorated with a Ligurian central flower motif, with *calligrafico a volute* type C, which have a very stylized herring-bone stem, while the centre may be decorated with houses, stars or Catherine wheels, and scattered flower motifs, 5 dishes of Montelupo type, with orange spirals or lozenges, and 1 *compendiario* from Faenza. Only 12 pieces are present dating from the late 16th to early 17th century of which 10 are of Ligurian majolica, mostly of blue-white type, with *a ju-i*, is a tripartite Chinese motif representing the

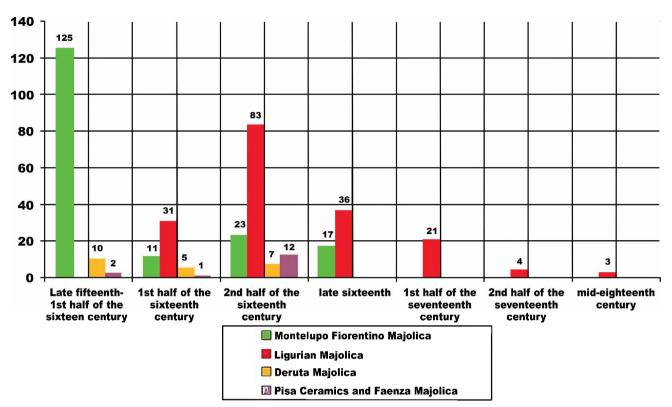


Figure 8

The amount of pottery coming from different Italian production centres found at Alhambra and urban excavations in the chronological periods under study

head of a Chinese sceptre, and with stylised palm pattern, and 2 fragments from Valdarno with the centre decorated with an orange stripe figurato a fascia arancio, and all are attributed to dishes. In this phase pottery from Pisa and Faenza disappears completely. Only 2 fragments date from the early 17th century; 2 pieces of Ligurian majolica decorated with *calligrafico naturalistico* (typically comprising of long, stylized leaves). From the second half of the same century, there are only 4 fragments of dishes, 2 of Ligurian majolica, with tapestry style decoration and 2 Montelupo majolica, with a cabbage or green leaf decoration (a foglia di cavolo or a foglia verde). This last type does not appear in the Alambreno group. From between the end of the 17th century and the 18th century there is a Ligurian majolica fragment decorated with paesaggio sfumato (landscape) and none from Montelupo. Finally, 5 fragments belong to the 18th century; they are Ligurian majolica of *berettino* typology, some dishes with a tre puntinior a pizzetto (similar to lace) decoration and a small cup that has a G trade-mark (Figure 7).

In conclusion it was noted that in Granada it can be noted that Italian ceramics are more abundant in the late 15th and early 16th centuries. In the first half of the 16th century a decline seems to take place, however, during this period the first Ligurian material appears in the assemblage. The quantity of material has decreased significantly by the beginning of the 17th century, in fact all the ceramic material from Deruta, Faenza and Pisa disappears. In the second half of that century and the next there are only a few fragments from Liguria. In general terms this parallels the picture from the city, although vessels from Deruta are missing. In fact here Italian pottery is most abundant in the later 16th century. By the turn of the 17th century, however the quantity has decreased considerably, with only products from the major producers of Liguria and Montelupo being present. There are few Ligurian samples of the 18th century, as within the assemblage from the Alhambra (Figure 8) (Carta 2008)

The chronological patterns allow us to draw some correlation between the archaeological assemblage and the historical sequence outlined at the beginning of this paper. Firstly, it emphasizes the importance of Granada in the 15th and 16th centuries and the political and commercial links established by the city. It also reveals the persistence of relations between Italy and Spain, and the involvement of the Kingdom of Granada in both wide and medium-range commercial activity. Italian businessmen, especially the Genoese, who gradually became integrated in the city and contributed to the spread of Renaissance tastes in the Iberian peninsula, were the main protagonists in this economic network (Martin García 2000, 24). They played a key role in the traffic of works of Renaissance art, acting as intermediaries between buyers and Italian shops to which they were closely linked (Garzon

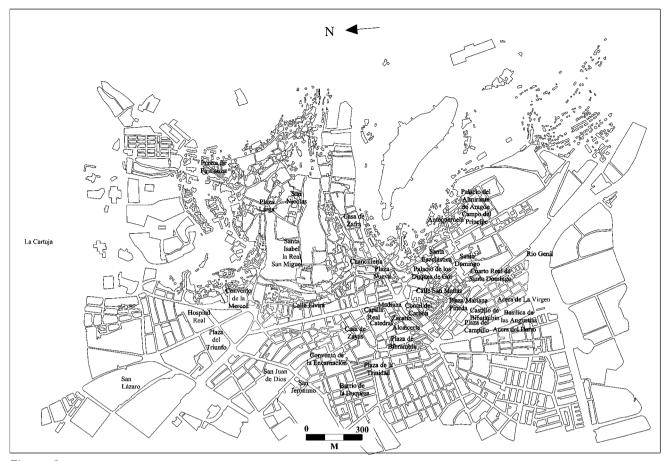


Figure 9 Map showing the location of the main buildings of Granada, Spain

Pareja 1974-1975, 137-138; Garzón Pareja 1980, 426; Cortes Pena-Vincent 1986, 111-113). Also in the 16th century, some Spanish Patrons of the Arts, especially Andalusians, travelled to Italy and developed Italian tastes, commissioning Italian artists who often moved to Spain to complete these works (Petti Balbi 1999, 42). It is certain that many nobles and courtiers used the new trend as a sign of power, prestige and social distinction. It is probable that the majolica, the *ingobbiata* or slipped (that is coated with a layer of clay which was purified that clears the surface to receive the decoration) and the late sgraffito, from Montelupo Fiorentino, Pisa, Genoa, Savona, Faenza and Deruta were amongst their possessions. These are specialized ceramic centres that developed rapidly and quickly became famous as high quality producers, in the 16th century, thanks to the adoption of standard shapes and decorations. Also to the diversification and rationalization of work that allowed them to satisfy the increasing demand (Goldtwaite 1997).

Early (late 15th-early 16th century) examples of material from Montelupo and Deruta are present, particularly amongst the assemblage from the Alhambra. This demonstrates that influential and well-connected families were present in the Palatine city and confirms the persistence of strong links between the Italian community and the Castilian monarchs. It is nearly impossible in the present state of research to know exactly who could have owned these artifacts. However, based upon the location of the sites from which the ceramics were excavated we can make some assumptions. These remnants have been recovered from excavations in the vicinity of buildings of some importance, such as churches or monasteries, as, for example, in the Incarnation, or noble buildings such as the Palace of Almirante of Aragon, and in the neighbourhoods that underwent profound changes after the conquest, such as S. Matias (Figure 5) (Rodríguez García I. and Padial Pérez J. 1995; Malpica *et al* 2002).

Therefore, it is probable that owners of this pottery were people of a high social class, perhaps a new Castilian nobility, that could afford a more sophisticated and expensive product compared to local items. It would be interesting to discover what type of aristocracy this was. It was probably a wealthy social class of newly rich Spanish and also Italian men, who had lent military or economic support to the Crown during the war and the capture of Granada. They were frequently rewarded with lands in the newly conquered areas. The case of Castril is emblematic:this conquered city was donated to Hernando de Zafra, the secretary of the Catholic Monarchs, and it was converted into a lordship (Garzón Pareja 1974–1975, 137–138; Garzón Pareja 1980, 426; Cortés Peña-Vincent 1986, 111–113). This new social class was seeking to legitimize their nobility, gained not by birth but by achievements in battle. Therefore, they surrounded themselves with objects that followed the Renaissance canons, without being the most sought after on the market. Immediately after the conquest of the city, it was possible to observe the major changes in the topography of the Alhambra: new edifices and new neighbourhoods were built, and existing areas were altered to suit to the needs of the Christian inhabitants (Gallego y Burín 1996; Gómez Moreno 1998). All these works, promoted by the Catholic Monarchs, had the ultimate goal of converting Granada into the capital of the Kingdom of Spain. His nephew Charles V brought forward his grandfather's plans to complete the Royal Chapel, the Royal Hospital and San Geronimo, and designed his own residence, the Palace of Charles V (Figure 9), which is a unique example of the Spanish Renaissance (Revilla Uceda 1992, 144-145; Tafuri 1998, 77-108). Most fragments date to this period (the 16th century) and belong to urban interventions and to the Alhambra, ie Ligurian majolica blue-on-blue tin-glazed ware (berettino), in association with some samples from Montelupo. The imitation of Italian ceramics attests to the demand for Italian pottery in Granada. The two waste collections of the group from the Alhambra alambregno group, upon which the archaeometric analyses were performed, could prove the existence of a local workshop producing imitation Italian products. This is probably related to the kiln dug in the Secano of the Palatine City (Torres Balbas 1935, 434; Lopez Guzman 1987, 300). However, this hypothesis should be supported by other data such as more discoveries of this kind the excavation of a workshop, the study of the materials found, careful archival research, the comparison with existing known local products, for example, the known Guadalquivir ware or Sevilla blue en blue, which is the Seville imitation of the Ligurian berettino majolica (Goggin 1968; Lister-Lister 1982, 41-79; Deagan 1987).

The large quantity of Italian ceramics clearly illustrates that the aristocracy, which was in part foreign, had settled in the city and had taken possession of the Alhambra. There was probably an Italian community well integrated in the urban society, which owned buildings and had reached prestigious positions within political and religious institutions as well as having, intermarried with Grenadine families. In 1560 Stefano Lomellini married Catherine Granada Venegas, who belonged to the oldest noble family in Granada (Cortes Pena-Vincent 1986, 148; Vincent 1990, 158-159). In order to strengthen the documentary evidence there are additional data extracted by consulting the excavations in the city, especially those made in San Matias or in the Duchess: these are newly formed and they testify the same aristocratic residence. The annalist Henríquez de Jorquera reports that in the latter these were the homes of the Veneroso, the Italian noble family related to the Lomellini (Henríquez de Jorquera 1987, 243).

During the 17th century the quantity of Italian pottery in Grenada decreased consistently, and nearly disappeared by the 18th century. There are various reasons behind this change. Firstly, a local, high quality, ceramic industry developed producing glazed pottery called Fajalauza, which satisfied the demand for tableware, even though it was not as high quality as the Italian wares (Ruiz Ruiz 2001).

On the other hand, the project to convert the capital of Granada was abandoned by Philip II, who preferred the more central Madrid, and he isolated the city. Granada was no longer the focus of political and economic power and therefore it turned into one of many provincial towns. It is possible to place the beginning of Alhambra abandonment at this time and the consequent gradual decline of its beautiful palaces and gardens. The Castilian nobility became more provincial and the relations with Italy weakened. In Italy the Renaissance had ended, giving way to another phase which was equally transcendent and a harbinger of unique works of art: the Baroque. Finally, the Italians were now fully integrated into the society of Granada, and they retained only their surname as a sign of their heritage (Henríquez de Jorquera 1987, 261).

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Résumé

La transition du Moyen-Âge à la période moderne est marquée par des changements socioéconomiques et politiques significatifs : les itinéraires de négoce international se déplacent du bassin méditerranéen vers la côte atlantique et, à partir de là, en direction du Nouveau Monde. L'ouverture des marchés occidentaux transforme la manière dont les produits sont commercialisés, la quantité prenant le dessus sur la qualité, ce qui force les marchands à maintenir les prix à un niveau bas. De ce fait, la production s'intensifie et le négoce s'étend à plusieurs marchés. Ce papier examine les témoins de ces changements tels qu'ils se manifestent dans les céramiques italiennes retrouvées dans des fouilles à Grenade, en Espagne. Petti Balbi, G 1999 'Circolazione mercantile e arti suntuarie a Genova tra XIII e XV secolo', in Calderoni Masetti, A R, Di Fabio, C, Marcenaro, M (eds.) *Tessuti, orificerie, miniature in Liguria* XIII–XV secolo. Atti del convegno Internazionale di studi. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi. (Genova-Bordighera, 22–25 maggio 1997). Bordighera, 41–54.

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Zusammenfassung

Der Übergang zwischen dem Mittelalter und der Moderne gilt als ein Zeitalter beträchtlicher sozioökonomischer und politischer Veränderungen. Internationale Handelswege verschoben sich vom Mittelmeer zur Atlantikküste und weiter in Richtung zur Neuen Welt. Die Öffnung der Märkte im Westen veränderte die Art, wie Produkte vertrieben wurden, mit Betonung auf Quantität anstatt Qualität, wodurch die Händler sich gezwungen sahen, die Preise niedrig zu halten. Folglich wurde die Produktion intensiviert, und der Handel erstreckte sich über mehrere Märkte. Der vorliegende Artikel beschäftigt sich mit den Beweisen für derartige Veränderungen, die durch italienische Keramik gegeben werden, die bei Ausgrabungen in Granada in Spanien gefunden wurden.