

Women in the ceramic industry of Manises

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Fig. 1. Azulejo, La dama y su trovador, Manises, c. 1465, Museo de Cerámica de Manises

Looking at familiar ethnographic parallels of the modern and contemporary era, it is difficult to imagine the major production and level of excellence attained by the ceramic industry in Manises in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries without the active participation of women in some of the manufacturing stages. Plausible as this assumption may be, it is almost impossible to provide even the smallest account of what was indeed their exact contribution to this activity, given the flagrant lack of references in the documents which have so far come to light.

This extreme difficulty with which we are faced in our efforts to address, even approximately, women's contribution to the ceramic industry of Manises is a further example of the social concealment to which they -over half the population- had been subjected for reasons of gender up to relatively recently. This is even more unfortunate because the patriarchal veil enveloping the work of women since ancient times, and reflected in the lack of documentary records, prevents us, today, from getting to know the history and the true scale of their contribution prior to the twentieth century.

Despite the difficulty involved, we propose to give a brief outline of the little we do know on the subject in this article, with the warning that it is an initial approach to the role played by women in the ceramic industry of Manises, in relation to the historical development of the principle of equality over the course of its 700 years of existence. To begin with, it is an approach written against the clock and, consequently, surely inadequate.

I

All documentary records compiled from the fourteenth to the eighteenth century that are related in any way to the ceramics of Manises indicate that women are only present at certain levels of patriarchal society and, particularly, in the event of the dramatic absence of the male

head of the family or when it is necessary for her to take liability, on an equal footing with her husband (in this case yes), for the deferred payment of a commitment of an economic nature, be it the purchase of an asset, a tax, a loan, etc. In the highest rank, only the absence of the husband due to his demise, would mean that women could take a leading role, but only while maintaining their status of widowhood and not remarrying. Within this particular circumstance, some contracts reveal the existence in Manises of women who share these circumstance and who participate actively to some degree in the ceramic industry.

One of these documentary references is the contract recorded on 29 June 1481, in which «García Polit, master of clay work, his wife Isabel and Jacmeta, widow of Sancho Polit, owe Pedro Requení, retailer *-botiguerius-* of the same town of Manises, 23 pounds 13 *sueldos* 4 *dineros* for a specific amount of lead and tin, which they had already received and promise to pay at the supplier's will».¹ From the point of view of gender, this document has dual significance for our purpose because one man and two women appear in the same –and together take liability for the purchase of the materials necessary for producing ceramics in Manises– and because it is one of the first contracts of this kind that we know of with the presence of women. On the one hand is Isabel, the wife of the head of the family and, in all likelihood, a painter in the workshop; and, on the other, we have her sister-in-law Jacmeta, the widow of Sancho Polit, who, at that time, was running the workshop of her deceased husband, but decides to resort to her brother-in-law in order for them to jointly buy the lead and tin necessary for varnishing her earthenware.

Either alone or accompanied by their children, we can find other clear evidence of potters' widows involved in the production of earthenware. An example of the same is the act recorded by notary Miguel Ángel Almenara, dated 13 September 1587, which states that the widow of Jerómino Chichici, a farmer in Manises, and his son Pedro, residing in Mislata, all of them Moriscos, owed Felipe Boil of la Scala 54 pounds for a given amount of wheat which he had received from him. In order to receive payment of a first instalment of half of the debt, the man from Manises agreed to take delivery of the *first batch of clay work produced*, equivalent to 27 pounds.²

Logically, the existence of prolonged and intense ceramist activity in Manises generated numerous sales of entire workshops or isolated infrastructure, many of which were owned by women, mainly widows, who, at a given time, on becoming widows, gave up doing their husbands' work, or needed to turn the asset into cash. One of such cases is that of Beatriz Morcí, widow of Pedro Sanchis, who, on 23 February 1599, sold a workshop to Juan Oliver for 11 pounds and 13 *sueldos*,³ and, two years later, on 5 November 1601, sold a "a firing kiln and a lead oxidation kiln" to Alejandro Noguera, for 4 pounds.⁴ As it was not usual to associate a women with a craft, neither of these two documents mentions that Beatriz Morcí was a producer of ceramics, though nor did they state the contrary. In this respect, it is worth remembering as a positive probability that the Morcí surname belonged to the family of producers of earthenware and tiles of greatest renown in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

For post-medieval industry in Manises, the paradigm of silenced women's activity is likewise found in the set of regulations of the Guild of master potters, the first of which was passed in 1614, and in 1770, the last; though we can appreciate evolution pointing to slight progress in the visibility of women in craft activity in the modifications added after 1627. Indeed, on 23 February of said year, a new chapter is added to these regulations which allow «*les viudes que serán de ara en avant i a les mullers de Mestres, que puguen vendre en cada semana en el mercat [de Valencia] comprant obra de qui la vendrà*» (widows from now on and the wives of

the Masters, who can sell in the market [*of Valencia*] every week, buying work from who wishes to sell it).⁵



Fig. 2. Dos platos, Manises s. XVII / s. XVIII, Museo de Cerámica de Manises.

This is just a first tiny step, by way of concession relating to a secondary task, but, sixty years later, in the new set of regulations passed by the Guild of Masters of Clay work in Manises on 31 December 1673, several chapters state that, in the event of the death of a married master, his widow may « enjoy to the same extent as the master». Clearly, the brief sections of the regulations fail to reveal the guild's real intention when including this concession to the women married to a master and who become widows after that date, but everything suggests that the chance to make earthenware in conditions similar to those of the other male members of the Guild was more related to mutual social assistance than to the acknowledgement of the widows' equal status, as it was an isolated and limited concession which did not allow widows to obtain the grade of «Master» in perpetuity, as, in the event of remarrying, they would lose the capacity to produce ceramics on their own account and would not be able to become masters by statute. This was prohibited by regulations which did not contemplate the fact that women could train as apprentices in a master's home or could be examined in order to become members in their own right of a craft. As a result, women, of any status, could never take part in the meeting of the Guild –at which members deliberated and took decisions that affected the trade collective– and, consequently, neither could they choose or be chosen to hold management positions in the same.

What married women or widows could do at that time was play a major role in educating their children and, specifically, come to an agreement with a master belonging to the potters' craft of Manises in order to vouch for a son for them to do an apprenticeship with the master in their workshop. An example of this type of contract, among many other possible ones, is that drawn up on 4 January 1666 by Angélica Lopis, widow of Miguel Pinazo, «as mother and master of the person of Pascual Pinazo», before handing over this son to potter Pedro Ximeno so that he could live with him for the seven years of the apprenticeship, « according to the practice in the craft ».⁶

Certainly, it is not until the second decade of the eighteenth century that we find the first documentary reference recording the participation of women as painters in the ceramic workshops of Manises. Coinciding with the extremely grave situation of the municipal coffers

and faced with not being able to pay the 2nd contribution of the state tax (known as “equivalent”), on 29 May 1715, the municipal authorities took the “Agreement to impose a levy proportionately among the master potters, workers and **women painters**”.⁷ This announcement is of extreme interest as it tells us about the basic production structure existing in the workshops of Manises, which was made up of three strata of people: a) *master potters*, at the top; b) *other workers*, who could hold the category of journeymen or labourers, and c) at the lower end, *women painters*, women of any age or civil status who were engaged in decorating ceramics. The term *pintoras* –feminine in the plural of the word painter – in the last place indicates that the speciality was feminised and appeared to be the predominant one in family workshops producing earthenware in Manises and, as we know from other sources, it was masculinised in the tile factories in the city of Valencia, from the seventeenth century onwards, and in Manises, from 1850 onwards. This was the case because the *pintoras* of popular earthenware worked in the sphere of small scale craftwork, whereas the male painters or *pintores* (masculine in the plural) with academic training did their work in more structured manufacturing centres and, in general, in much larger ones, for example, the Royal Factory of l’Alcora or the tile factories of the city of Valencia, whose production was considered more as a work of art, particularly in the case of unique works that conferred prestige on the company, and which, at times, were recognized by the signature of the author, always a male.

At all events, women continued to play a role in the ceramic industry of Manises until the second third of the nineteenth century in similar opaque conditions which we encountered in documentation from the previous centuries. This was the case as long as the potters guild was able to keep control of the production and marketing of lustreware. However, to continue with the apparent progress in their visibility, it is worth pointing out that, in the guild’s deliberation of 25 June 1711, an agreement was made to raise the number of stands that the trade guild had in the Valencia market in the weeks before major festive events and, for choosing sales women, «the **widows, wives and daughters** of the Guild masters were preferable». ⁸ Another matter altogether was women’s entitlement to ownership of the production units, as there are numerous documents that prove this existed. An important example is Fabián and Fuero’s report from 1791, which includes the list of fine and coarse earthenware workshops that existed outside the town walls. In the section on *Obradors* (Workshops); a total of 29 workshops were listed, five of which –23%– belonged to five women (without their own name), who were alluded to with reference to their civil status and their deceased husbands’ name: «Dwelling-workshop of the widow of Vicente Cases», «... widow of Francisco Monrabal», «... widow of Francisco Torrent», «... widow of Joseph Mora» and «... widow of Francisco Arenes». ⁹

II

In Manises, the nineteenth century began with an increasingly weakened potters’ Guild, as a result of the winds favouring the liberalisation of the industry that were affecting all of Spain and driven by a government highly permeable to enlightened policies, actions by the Societies of Friends of the Country – among them, that of Valencia- and the setting up, in the last decade of the previous century, of new fine earthenware factories with polychrome decoration, which, with the consequent frictions, stayed outside the monopoly of a guild that was determined to put a stop to any chance of renewal. ¹⁰

Thus, the production units that existed in Manises at the start of the decade of 1840 were, according to Madoz's statistical dictionary, "26 factories producing common crockery and earthenware",¹¹ which, compared with the 34 recorded by Cavanilles in 1895, implies a clear decline, which is not the case if other parameters are taken into account, and which are not possible to outline at this moment. Suffice it to say, and returning to the aim of this article, that the organisational structure of the workshop would undergo few changes in this century and most of the workforce would have a close relation to the family of the owners, who were in direct control of all the basic tasks affecting production, promotion and sales.

In this context, women continued to be conspicuously absent in nineteenth century documents relating to the ceramic industry of Manises, although the emergence of new publications of all kinds have afforded us, if not a greater quantity of, at least greater quality in, some of the explicit data on their work within the production process.

A precious example is that offered by earthenware manufacturer Francisco Gallego of Manises in the reasoned explanation that accompanied the works he presented in 1836 to the prize-winners of the Royal Economic Society of Friends of the Country, in which he said he dared participate with «some trials made in order to imitate the steel colour [in the applied varnish] on six pieces which, without any prior selection or special preparation, he took from his storehouse in the town, *painted by the young women working in his factory, with no principles of drawing nor models on display and merely from the routine practice of painting coarse work*». ¹² The explicit nature of the sentence -italics by us-, requires no clarification. We would, however, like to point out that it is the first known document to speak unreservedly about the involvement of the women of Manises in one of the most fundamental stages in the production of decorative ceramics, even though it was written so as to underline the greater merit of what they painted as they lacked academic training.

Unwittingly, with this document, Francisco Gallego left us with a detailed description of the work system that was followed in the decade of the eighteen thirties by the women painters in a prominent fine earthenware workshop in Manises, whose owner was concerned about making innovative earthenware, as can be appreciated in his eagerness to take part in the competition organised by the Royal Economic Society of Friends of the Country, precisely for getting to know the latest developments in the Valencian industry.

On a different level, and consequently ideal for our purpose to become familiar with the different realities of the production processes and the workforce involved, is the example recorded by French writer and ceramologist Jean-Charles Davillier, in his visit to Manises when he was gathering data for his work *Histoire des Faïences hispano-moresques a reflets métalliques*, which was published in Paris in 1861. In one of its chapters, he describes Juan Bautista Casañ's workshop which, at the time, was the last one still producing lustreware: «... his tools are very simple: a wheel and a small kiln.

His wife is especially in charge of decorating the pieces, which are, for the most part, cups, plates and some fancy vases, generally opaque and copper lustreware...». ¹³ It is further evidence placing a woman as an anonymous factor in painted decoration in a workshop -in this case, of the family dwelling-workshop-type-, and who, once again, is only mentioned as «wife of». To remedy in part this generalised oversight, we can reveal that the person concerned is ceramic painter Magdalena Tos Olmos (Manises, 1820-1893), who, from now on, must appear as the co-author of the work that could be wrongly attributed solely to Juan Bautista Casañ Folgado (Manises, 1821-1892).



Fig. 3. Plato catavinos, taller de Juan Bta. Casañ y Magdalena Tos, Manises, c. 1860, Col. particular.

The Industry and trade directories published in the last third of the nineteenth century are another source providing evidence that women in this period were owners of earthenware factories, despite the fact that their social rights continued, to a great extent, to be restricted. In the *El Indicador de España* of 1879, together with the name of 13 earthenware factory owners in Manises, the name of three women also appear, two of them with their own name: widow of Francisco Botet, María Gimeno and Manuela Sancho.¹⁴

Apart from those meeting the familiar condition of being the widow of a manufacturer and thus eligible as women to run a production unit, be it only until the first born son reached adulthood, in that century, there was at least one woman who managed to feature under her own name as being in charge of an earthenware factory for 30 years. She was called **Ramona Carrasco Alpuente** (Manises, 1822-1896). Married to manufacturer Bartolomé Mora Gallego, on his death, in 1862, Ramona Carrasco, widow and with two young sons, took on the running of the family business and thus, with her first name and two surnames, she is recorded, together with the other 37 owners of earthenware factories in Manises, in the list published in the first edition of the *Industry and Trade directory, Bailly-Baillere*, of 1879. Undoubtedly, the presence of a women, apparently on equal footing with men, in a masculinised industry in Manises is remarkable, but it is even more so because her name continued to appear in the successive editions of the *Bailly-Baillere Directory* up until 1892, and, particularly so because we have recently identified the initials “R.C.” as the identifying mark used in the Ramona Carrasco factory in a large number of earthenware pieces currently conserved in private collections and museums like the Victoria & Albert in London, the Fine Arts Museum in Castellón, the Museum of La Fontana Foundation, Rupit (Barcelona), and in the Museum of Menorca; many of which were probably painted by herself.¹⁵



Fig. 3. Plato catavinos, taller de Juan Bta. Casañ y Magdalena Tos, Manises, c. 1860, Col. particular.

The positive consequences of the general feminization of work involving the painting of earthenware in this production centre in the nineteenth century cannot be outlined in all its complexity in such a brief article as this. We shall only mention that the fact that the main characters in the decorative painting process were largely women and the necessary circumstances existed for them to carry out their work with a relatively high degree of autonomy, without being subject to strict rules, or having to obligatorily repeat models pre-set by the factory owners, meant that – seen from today’s perspective- that the ceramic industry of Manises managed to put on the market, for decades, a mass production of earthenware which was aesthetically excellent, due in the main to its decorations offering an infinite number of highly original designs, outside what was laid down by the academy as well as the most common and well-known styles among the middle and upper classes. Thus, they unwittingly managed to take the lead in one of the most surprising movements involved in popular crafts in Europe , a phenomenon which will one day be recognized as the Age of Silver of the ceramics of Manises.

III

From the last decade of the nineteenth century onwards, certain changes became apparent in the production system of Manises’ ceramic industry and these were accompanied by a break with the *status quo*. Said changes likewise led to the greater participation of women in ceramic production: pressure intensified for the earthenware subsector to abandon a large part of the popular aesthetics, apart from the strictly academic and predominant styles, white paste majolica became more generalised, as did obtaining shapes through casting, and underglaze decoration, which sought to emulate feldspar earthenware. In addition, the school of ceramics, based on the original from 1897, was set up.



Fig. 5. Painters from the Bartolomé Mora Carrasco factory, heir to Ramona Carrasco, c. 1910. Photo Història Gràfica de Manises, José M^a Moreno archive.

Moreover, the arrival and boom of photography helped create a record of images of the labour world in those and subsequent years, which has undoubtedly allowed us to document how women painters' presence in the factories was decisive and how most of the men were engaged in tasks calling for greater physical effort and exclusively for those of a technical nature. Similarly, we can observe how, in tile factories with mechanised production processes, women are present in the glazing chain or they play a leading role in decoration using stencil and coil systems.

The second half of the twentieth century -and, more specifically, following the National Plan for Stabilisation of 1959 and after the 1973 oil crisis-, saw the emergence of the concept of informal home-based work; an employment system that was used, above all, by the most degraded earthenware factories in Manises or others with significant peaks in demand from time to time, in order to save on expenses in exchange for leaving some female workers outside the system of employment guarantees and social security. This affected, above all, the female workforce and, specifically, women painters with prior work experience in factories with this speciality, and who, after marrying, chose to spend some hours a day on this job, availing of the benefits afforded by working simultaneously in the same space on outside work and domestic work. This would not be the first time in Manises that women contributed their work to produce ceramics in a domestic setting. Let us remember how, in chapter I, we mentioned the example of the dwelling-workshop of Juan Bautista Casañ and Magdalena Tos operating in 186. However, at that time, informal home-based work, outside the production unit, was possible mainly because the underglaze decoration technique so permitted, and which, unlike the in-glaze technique, allowed for the transport and manipulation of pieces with less risk of damage to the painted ornamentation.

In Manises, women too were more receptive to the possibilities of social ascent afforded by training. Proof of the same is the notification in 1897 of the setting up of a school in the municipality and of its progress, «... in it, a large number of pupils devote themselves on a daily basis and are making giant strides forward. The women's class is likewise excelling».¹⁶ The Practical School of Ceramics of Manises, included in the state educational system in 1916, was also a platform giving women more visibility, if we do not take into account the total absence of female teachers; as the first woman to become a member of the workforce in the core speciality was Ofelia Nistal (special teacher of Chemical Analysis, 1964-1967). Josefina Bolinches Molina was term lecturer in the History of Ceramics in 1978, and went on to hold the position of acting head between 1982 and 1984.¹⁷

As a result of the impact in the media of different events organised by the Manises School of Ceramics (ECM) during the time it was run by Manuel González Martí (1922-1948), we can know the name of some women who received their training in the classes of notable works. On 24 November **1923**, mayor of Valencia, General Avilés, visited the school and the chronicler who was following the illustrious guest wrote: "In Don Luis Soria's classroom, worthy of note was the integrity of the works of decorative art made by Misses **Catalina Mora, Josefina García, Amparito Compañ, Paredes, Sanchis** and others we lament we cannot remember".¹⁸

Fig. 6. María Rives y el plato que pintó junto a Ismael Blat en 1924, Escuela Superior de Cerámica de Manises.

Two of the pupils who enjoyed a longer and more intense relationship with the E.C.M. were sisters Sacramento Rives and María Rives, the daughters of earthenware manufacturers José Rives Díez and María Esteve Folgado. Of **María Rives Esteve** (Manises, 1904-1936), we know that she worked in tandem with Ismael Blat to paint the extraordinary, dedicated dish which the ECM handed over to general Juan Avilés, mayor of Valencia on 7 August 1924. Ismael did the central part painted in blue and María, the lustre edging. We are certain of this because

they both put their names to the respective areas and from the news published in the *Diario de Valencia* relating to the fact: «In the background is the portrait of the mayor, extremely fine work by the student at the school, Mr. Ismael Blat, and the lustre ornamentation by the student María Rives».¹⁹ Despite the different treatment afforded to each of them, the work carried out by a woman was recognized. María Rives would be mentioned again in the media as the author of ceramics in exhibitions of works by teachers and students, which were held in the ECM's own building in 1933 and in the Valencia Trade Fair Hall in June 1936. For his part, **Sacramento Rives Esteve** (Manises, 1900-1976), as well as taking part in the ECM exhibitions in 1933 and 1936, played a major role in his family's «Fantasy majolica factory» when it was run in 1926 by his mother «widow of J. Ribes» and Juan García Morella was its artistic director, «well supported by a beautiful girl from Manises, called Sacramento Ribes».²⁰



Fig. 7. Sacramento Rives y una obra suya de 1927 con la heráldica de Carlos I, Escuela Superior de Cerámica de Manises.

Signed by Sacramento Rives, a brazier-type dish painted in blue lustreware, with the heraldry of Carlos I, dated 1927, is kept in the ECM and, the Manises Ceramics Museum holds a plaque, of the same technique, with the image of Our Lady of the Holy sacrament, dated 1 March 1930, both excellent workmanship.²¹

Another ceramist who attended the School of Ceramics of Manises in that period was **Carmen Botet Pérez** (Manises, 1913-?), the daughter of ceramic manufacturer Salvador Botet, who was also her mentor and promoter. At the age of 16, Carmen Botet held her first solo exhibition in the *Sala Imperium* in Valencia and all the city's media published the news; José M^a. Bayarri, in the *Diario de Valencia*, wrote: «...it reveals clear talent that can still grow...».²² Later, she took part in the ECM exhibition of 1933 with the plaque «*Child with apples in her hand*».²³ The Manises cemetery holds a gravestone made by her in memory of her brother Salvador Botet who died on 3 January 1930. It was painted in blue tones with an expressionist representation of the *Burial of Christ*.



Fig. 8. Lápida de 1930 pintada por Carmen Botet y retrato de la autora.

IV

In the ancillary industry sector dealing in the preparation of mineral raw materials for ceramics, of particular note for exceptional reasons is **Carmen Carpintero Mora** (Manises, 1913-2001), the eldest daughter of Carmen Mora Tadeo and José María Carpintero Alpuente, who was mayor of Manises during the Second Republic and, at the same time, an industrialist engaged in the production of ceramic pastes, kaolinite, pegmatite and silica. He was the one who instilled values of democracy and equality in his first born and the one who introduced her to his business as he wished his business to have continuity within the family. To this end, he had Carmen study accounting while teaching her about the company's industrial and commercial processes, with the result that, at an early age, she began to take on the administrative chores in the factory. In this context, the death occurred of the family head on 3 January 1936 and the company was renamed «Widow of José María Carpintero», and Carmen, at the age of 21, took charge of the direction and management by powers granted to her by her mother. This fact and the difficult situation they were obliged to overcome was recorded in the emotional letter signed «P. P. / C. Carpintero», which the company sent on 07/02/1936 to one of the suppliers, informing them of the death of José María and the reason for the delay in the payment of the last supply: «... I intend to send you the settlement for the chalk and amount for the same at the end of this month, as not having sent it previously is because, in 23 days, I have suffered two very hard blows, that of my husband and that of a daughter of 20 years and I still have two daughters with typhus and fever...».²⁴



Fig. 9. Carmen Carpintero y la fábrica inicial. Fotos Història Gràfica de Manises, Col. familia García Carpintero, y JPC.

As already seen in previous paragraphs, Carmen Carpintero was not the first business woman in the ceramic industry of Manises, but she was the only one to become part of the contemporary collective imagination due to her enterprising nature and her achievements, both in managing her family as well as her business, after overcoming the initial difficulties and those came with the Civil War and its harsh consequences. Said achievements culminated in December 1972 with the merger of her ceramic paste company with that of Rafael Vila, of Quart de Poblet, to create VICAR, S.A., which is still operating today with robust production levels, along with the other mining operations which she left to her children.

Valencia, 26 May 2021

Notes

- 1 José Nicolau Bauzá: *Páginas de la Historia de Manises (siglos XIV a XVIII)*, Manises: Ateneu Cultural Cant i Fum, 1987, p. 110.
- 2 *Ibidem*, p. 166.
- 3 *Ibidem*, p. 202.
- 4 *Ibidem*, p. 202.
- 5 Guillermo de Osma, 1923: 2nd edition, p. 166-169.
- 6 José Nicolau Bauzá, Op. Cit, p. 242.
- 7 José M.^a Moreno Royo, «Los maestros artesanos de Manises. Aportes para su estudio en el siglo XVIII», *Separata de la XVI Asamblea de Cronistas del Reino de València*, Valencia, 1987, p. 371.
- 8 *Ibidem*, p. 370.
- 9 Requena Díez, Pérez Camps, «Dos documentos fundamentales para conocer los incios de la loza fina de Manises», *Actas del XXX Congreso de la AC. Onda*, 1919, en prensa.
- 10 *Idem*.
- 11 Pascual Madoz: *Diccionario geográfico estadístico histórico de España y sus posesiones de Ultramar*, Madrid, 1846-1850, T. XI, p. 179.
- 12 Josep Pérez Camps: «Las marcas de fábrica en la loza de Manises del siglo XIX, Actas del XXX Congreso de la AC. Onda, 1919, in the press.
- 13 Jean-Charles Davillier: *Histoire des Faïences hispano-moresques a reflets métalliques*, Paris: 1861, p. 39.
- 14 Viñas y Campi, *El Indicador de España*, Barcelona, 1864, p. 673.
- 15 Josep Pérez Camps: «Las marcas de fábrica en la loza de Manises del siglo XIX...», in the press.
- 16 Julio Morató: “Manises”. *La Crònica*, Torrent, 1898/01/06, p. 2.
- 17 José María Moreno: «La Escuela de Cerámica de Manises: ayer y hoy», *Separata de la XV Asamblea de Cronistas del Reino de València*, Valencia, 1986, p. 371.
- 18 Jesús Morante Borrás, “El alcalde de Valencia Sr. Avilés, en Manises”. *Las Provincias*, Valencia, 24.11.1923, p. 1.
- 19 *Diario de Valencia*, 07.08.1924, p.3.
- 20 Ciagar, «Viuda de J. Ribes», *La Correspondencia de Valencia*, 21.06.1926, p. 3.
- 21 We would like to thank Luis Panadero for providing us with biographical data on the Ribes brothers.
- 22 José. M.^a Bayarri: «En la Sala Imperium. La Ceramista Carmen Botet», *Diario de Valencia*, 22.01.1929, p. 2.
- 23 Eduardo López Chavarri, *Las Provincias*, 02.11.1933, p. 3.
- 24 Private archive.