

## THE LIFE AND WORK OF THE VALENCIAN FURNITURE PAINTER ANTONI MICÓ (CA. 1440-1490)

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### Resum

A partir de la documentació publicada per Sanchis Sivera i per Luis Cerveró que fins ara no havia estat treballada, i sobretot gràcies a nous documents fins ara inèdits, el present treball desgrana la singladura personal i professional d'Antoni Micó, pintor ornamental valencià de la segona meitat del segle XV. Es presta especial atenció a la xarxa de relacions que arribà a teixir Micó i els seus vincles amb el camperolat. Igualment, Micó és un bon exemple del conflicte que aquests pintors ornamentals tingueren amb els fusters donat el caràcter ambigu, entre la pintura i la fusteria, del seu treball. Per concloure, s'analitza amb detall el seu darrer testament.

**Paraules clau:** Pintors, pintura gòtica, València, elits rurals, cultura material, testaments

### Abstract

This paper analyses the personal and professional trajectory of Antoni Micó, a Valencian painter and decorator of furniture who lived in the second half of the fifteenth century, by drawing on the documentation edited by Sanchis Sivera and Luis Cerveró, so far unexplored, as well as on new documentary evidence. Special attention will be paid to Micó's contact network and his links with the peasantry. Furthermore, Micó's case will be presented as an example of the conflicts between furniture painters and woodworkers, caused by the fact that the former's activity was somewhere between painting and woodworking. Finally, Antoni Micó's testament will be examined in detail.

**Key Words:** Painters, Gothic Painting, Valencia, Rural Elites, Material Culture, Wills

Antoni Micó is not a completely unknown painter for the historiography of medieval art in Valencia.<sup>1</sup> In the last century, first José Sanchis Sivera and then Luis Cerveró published various articles about him, but without examining his professional career or his life's work. However, since then practically no researcher –besides Asunción Mocholí– has taken an interest in this painter, who developed his professional career throughout the second half of the 15th century, mostly at the Cathedral of Valencia (MOCHOLÍ 2012: 357). The lack of interest is probably due to the fact that Micó was not a painter of altarpieces, but of minor works. His production was limited to decorative works and, mainly chests and coffers. Now, with the publication of his last will and testament, we can better outline the final stage of his life, both from a professional and personal point of view. An inventory of his assets would have given us a better understanding of his working environment –since workshops were usually located on the ground floor of the houses– and a means to estimate what was the economic level Micó reached at the end of his days.

Indeed, the work of the ornamental and figurative painters is not as attractive to scholars as that of the painters of altarpieces and murals. This is because most of their work has not been preserved, and it is not possible to assign authorship to what has come down to us. Moreover, it should be borne in mind that these painters were on a somewhat blurred borderline between actual painters and woodworkers. In addition to this ambiguous character, misfortunes were a constant throughout the Middle Ages (FALOMIR 1996: 186-192). Also, it is certain that the 1482 ordinances of the guild of woodworkers left no room for doubt in affirming that «membres del dit ofici són, primo, los fusters e caixers pintors, axí pintors de cófrens com de caxes, artibancs moriscs, cubertes de cases, pavesos de juir e de camp, banderes e altres senys per obs de homes d'armes e armes de sepultures (...) e arquers (...)», tasks that were carried out by Antoni Micó.<sup>2</sup> As we shall later see, he himself was denounced by the guild of woodworkers for making coffers and chests without officially belonging to the professional community. He could not be part of the painters' guild either, because this was only for those who work on altarpieces (TRAMOYERES 1889: 78-90). While some painted 'stories' the others were considered decorators and strictly speaking not painters.

However, the subordination of ornamental painters to other professional groups and the scarcity of their production do not explain the historiographical vacuum that surrounds them. It is through written sources that we can trace the production of these professional painters and follow their personal trajectory in order to create a prosopography of the group. In this respect, we should not forget their economic role, which came to have its own commercial space in the city of Valencia, the so-called "Plaça dels Caixers" (Chest-makers Square), located near the convent

<sup>1</sup> I would like to explicitly thank Beatriu Navarro and Josep Lluís Cebrian, as well as the two anonymous reviewers, for their comments and suggestions.

<sup>2</sup> Arxiu del regne de València (ARV), Gremis, llibre 587, f. 29v. Mentioned by IZQUIERDO 2014: 126.

of Sant Francesc. In fact, at the beginning of the 15th century, several ornamental painters lived around this square (COMPANY 2005: 162 i 264).

### His Life

The first reference we have to Antoni Micó is dated October 21, 1468.<sup>3</sup> Then, “being ill”, he attested, before the notary of the city of Valencia, Bartomeu Carries, what was probably his first will. In this will, the glove maker Joan de Vinyoles is appointed as executor, and Micó asks to be buried “in the church of San Agustín, in the grave where the bodies of my wife’s [Petronila] father and mother are buried”. He named his daughter “na Úrsoleta” as his sole heir and, while she was still a minor, he named his wife as usufructuary of his property. Micó allocated 100 *sous* for the funeral expenses, a sum befitting the modest sectors of the craft industry. In addition to the celebration of the *trentenari de Sant Amador* (similar to the Gregorian masses for the soul of a deceased), a tradition that was very much alive in the 15th century throughout the Crown of Aragon (CERDÀ 2006: 73-89), Micó asked his executors “que sien donats sengles dinés als pobres que vendrán a la mia porta los dies de la mia sepultura” [that the corresponding money be donated to the poor who will come to my door on the days of my funeral]. This generosity had its counterpoint in the comment he made about his own mother, Caterina, for whom he specifically demanded that “no haja res de mos béns” [she will have none of my properties].

Thanks to this testament we know that Micó was already at that time a member of one of the main confraternities of the city of Valencia. The painter states that “en la sepultura vull que entrevingua la lloable confraria del gloriorós sent Anthoni”. This confraternity was not linked to any specific trade, but was open to «pròmens e bones persones (...) a correcció e bones costums e bon estament dels confreres (...) e a profit de lurs ànimes» (MARTÍNEZ VINAT 2018: 705). On the other hand, among the witnesses to this will, it is worth mentioning the presence of another painter, Joan Pérez d’Oliva, and of an apprentice, Francesc Albert. Their presence is no coincidence, as both were linked to Micó’s place of work, the Cathedral of Valencia.<sup>4</sup>

Around 1468, Antoni Micó was already married and had a daughter. We do not know the details of the marriage agreement, which prevents us from knowing the bride’s dowry and thus being able to identify the socio-economic status of both families. Nonetheless, we can reasonably suspect that Petronila came from the well-off peasantry. Her parents died before her, and she was then left under the care of her grandfather, the farmer Jaume Bonet.<sup>5</sup> They must have been a family of well-off farmers, based in the city of Valencia, as evidenced by the fact that they had their own

<sup>3</sup> ARV, Protocols, núm. 2.973, protocol of Bartomeu Carries. CERVERÓ 1963: 129.

<sup>4</sup> Joan Pérez d’Oliva seems to have pursued a similar professional career to that Micó, both with bonds to the Cathedral of Valencia. On July, 1475 he received 12 *sous* and 6 *diners* as payment for «cinch bacins de fust que pintà per los acaptes de la verge Maria fora la ciutat». Arxiu de la Catedral de València (ACV), vol. 3.682, f. 17v. (1475).

<sup>5</sup> Thanks to the will drafted in 1490 we know that Jaume Bonet made his will before the notary Jaume Francés, although no date is mentioned. There are some extant notarial registers by Jaume Francés at the Arxiu del Col·legi del Corpus Christi de València (ACCV) from the period between 1474 and 1486.

tomb in the cemetery of the convent of Sant Agustí. As for Antoni, it is likely that he was born in a family of craftsmen, since, in 1477, he was appointed executor of the will of Jaume Micó, a tradesman from Valencia who had “died intestate” that year.<sup>6</sup>

Micó survived the illness he contracted in October 1468 and lived for another 20 years, at least until 1490. We do not know in which part of the city they lived until then, but from 1471 onwards Antoni and his family settled near the Cathedral. On November 11, 1471, they bought *quodam hospicium* from Francesc Miró and his namesake son for 800 *sous*. A house that had to pay a census of 36 *sous* to the monastery of Santa Maria de Portaceli.<sup>7</sup> Some years later, in 1478, Antoni Micó acquired a new house, but also in the vicinity of the Cathedral. He bought this property from the rope-maker Jaume Martí for 1,100 *sous*.<sup>8</sup> On September 28, 1489, he reached an agreement with his neighbour, the rope-maker Julià Fabregat. The latter had caused some damage to the party wall with Micó’s house as a result of the opening of «*quendam puteum sive pou*». Therefore, Fabregat pledged to pay the painter 30 *sous* to compensate him for the damages.<sup>9</sup>

Between 1468 and 1490, Antoni Micó will draw up –at least– two new testaments. One was written down by the notary Bartomeu Escrivà in the beginning of May 1482,<sup>10</sup> and was revoked on the 30th of that same month before Joan Gil Puigmitjà.<sup>11</sup> In 1490, a third will was registered by the notary Pere Mercador, which was unpublished until now and we are transcribing and studying in this work. On the other hand, we have not been able to find any will drawn up by Petronila. However, we do know that she died before him at an imprecise date between 1474 and 1486. On July 1, 1474, she was documented as making a donation «*inter vivos de omnia bona mea mobilia et immobilia et iura que nunch habeo et michi pertinent*» in favour of her grandfather, Jaume Bonet.<sup>12</sup> We do not know the reason for this donation, but it should be borne in mind that in 1474 a plague outbreak was reported in Valencia (RUBIO VELA 1994-1995: 1.219). In any case, there is no doubt that little Ursula and the aforementioned grandfather were left in Micó’s care. On August 2, 1486, the painter agreed to pay the 17 *sous* that Bonet owed to the notary Tomàs Nicolau.<sup>13</sup>

After Petronila’s death, Antoni married again. We know that his second wife, Joana, contributed an endowment of 2,000 *sous*. This is a considerable amount, which represents a gap between the lower and middle segments of the craft sector. (CRUSELLES 1998: 288-289). However, as Micó

<sup>6</sup> ARV, Justícia civil, núm. 3.783, 9na mà, f. 21. CERVERÓ 1971: 23.

<sup>7</sup> ACCV, núm. 18.704, protocol of Pere Vilaspinosa (11-XI-1471). CERVERÓ 1963: 129.

<sup>8</sup> ACCV, núm. 21.518, protocol of Joan Gamiça (23-XI-1478).

<sup>9</sup> ACCV, Protocols, no. 20.924 (28-IX-1489), protocol of Pere Campos. CERVERÓ 1971: 24.

<sup>10</sup> There are some extant notarial registers by this notary at the ARV from the period between 1451 and 1472.

Consequently, there are no extant registers from the year where the will was drafted.

<sup>11</sup> ARV, Protocols, no. 1.114, protocol of Joan Gil Puigmitjà. Among the witnesses there is a certain Pere Micó, a painter from Valencia, of whom I have not been able to find any further documentation.

<sup>12</sup> ACCV, no. 23.426, protocol of Joan Pérez (1-VII-1474). CERVERÓ 1963: 129.

<sup>13</sup> ARV, Justícia de 300 sous, 1486, 2na mà. CERVERÓ 1963: 129.

himself states in his will, by 1490 he had not yet received the entire endowment and there were still 138 *sous* to be paid; although it was not unusual for families, regardless of the social group, to take years to complete the payment of the endowment.

Micó had two sons from this new marriage, Lluís Joan and Antoni Joan. When Micó wrote the new will in 1490, Joana was expecting the birth of a new child, which he most probably never knew. At that time, around 1490, both Lluís and Joan were minors, while Úrsula, on the other hand, was already married. We do not know the details, but we do know that in his will, Micó restricted her daughter to the legitime, 5 *sous*. Finally Antoni Micó died shortly afterwards, on a date that we have not been able to determine, but it must have been before 1493, as we will see later.

### Professional trajectory

The first reference to Antoni Micó's professional practice is a receipt he signed in favour of the Cathedral of Valencia on June 7, 1469, for 11 *timbres*, that is, 110 *sous*, «ratione pingendi quasdam vidauras cuiusdam panni ricamati».<sup>14</sup> Therefore, from his professional beginnings, Micó was linked to the Cathedral of Valencia, a bond that would last throughout his life. That same year, on November 2, he received 180 *sous* from Jaume Eixarc, canon, provost and treasurer of the ornaments of the Cathedral «pretii pingendi quasdam vidauras cuiusdam panni imperialis dicti Sedis».<sup>15</sup> Two years later, we find him working on the chapel of Sant Pere. On July 26, 1471, he received 24 *sous* «ratione deaurandi dues tubetas retrotabuli capelle Sancti Petri» from the executors of Canon Antoni Bou, who was the one who commissioned the work. And in October of that year, he received the additional sum of 320 *sous* «ratione picture quarumdam vidaurarum in quodam panno auri imperiali».<sup>16</sup>

On April 6, 1474 he signed a receipt for 350 *sous* for the treasurer of the ornaments of the Cathedral «ratione pingendi vidauras panni imperialis domini Petri Roïc de Corella, quondam canonici et archidiaconi Algezire».<sup>17</sup> The following year he took part in the restoration of the altarpiece of the main altar of the Cathedral. He received «per lo daurar vint-e-vuyt “corrolles” [sic]» specifically 140 *sous*.<sup>18</sup> Some years later, in 1482, he was contracted to paint the rood screen of the main chapel, a task for which he received 600 *sous* from the hands of Canon Bernat Fenollar, at the time «vicooperario fabrice Sedis Valentie».<sup>19</sup> Although it seems clear that the Cathedral concentrated most of the workload, it was not Micó's only client. On January 15, 1482, he received 300 *sous* from the court of Justice «pro faciendo et pingendo signa regia in libris

<sup>14</sup> ACV, vol. 3.681.

<sup>15</sup> ACV, vol. 3.681. On Jaume Eixarc see CORTES, MANDINGORRA, PONS 2019: 142.

<sup>16</sup> ACV, vol. 3.681.

<sup>17</sup> ACV, vol. 3.682. SANCHIS SIVERA 1914: 109.

<sup>18</sup> ACV, *Llibre d'obres de la Catedral*. SANCHIS SIVERA 1914: 109.

<sup>19</sup> ACV, vol. 3.683 (26-IV-1482). SANCHIS SIVERA 1914: 109. On Bernat Fenollar see APARISI 2020b.



dicte Curie (...) et por signis positis supra cathedram dicte Curie ubi diebus Iustitia solet sedere ad iudicia facienda».<sup>20</sup>

Later in his life, Micó diversified his professional activity and worked on the decoration of chests. We know about this because in 1488 he was denounced by the city's guild of woodworkers, which encompassed different types of woodworkers such as *caixers*.

Conflicts between *caixers* and the rest of woodworkers were quite common (IZQUIERDO 2014: 132-138). According to the procurator of the guild, «de trenta, de vint e deu anys fins ara (...) [Antoni Micó] ha usat del dit ofici de pintor e tenir botiga e obrador de pintor» i «que per tot lo dit temps (...) no ha tengut, ni ha estat vist tenir, ni usar de ofici de arquer, ni de fer archs, ni ha tengut botiga, ni obrador de archa ni s'ha estat tengut ni reputat per arquer».<sup>21</sup> All the testimonies provided by the guild of woodworkers –including painters, embroiderers and goldbeaters– agreed that Micó's activity as *caixer* was very recent, between three and six months prior to the complaint. Micó, on the other hand, argued that he had indeed practised this profession over the years, but no testimony was recorded in the proceedings to support his claims. In fact, the sentence insisted that

Anthoni Miquó haja gran temps que fa e ha acostumat de fer archs bons e ben obrats, e e acostumava de vendre aquells, emperò no ha provat, ni fins ací ha constatat legítimament que aquell haja tengut parada, botigua de, o obrador de fer archs, ni sia estat tengut, ni reputat per arquer o mestre de fer archs.

The sentence showed that Micó had not heeded the successive public requests that had been made to declare his occupation as a *caixer*. In fact, the guild of woodworkers had made several appeals to the city so that, following the new statutes of the guild dictated in 1482, all the painters who worked as chest-makers declared this activity. (IZQUIERDO 2014: 126). For this reason, the governor ordered that

que lo dit mestre si volrà usar del dit ofici de arquer per tant e alia proveheix se haja de examinar per les persones del dit ofici deputades e haja de pagar lo que és acostumat de pagar per aquell dit examen, e que de ací avant tant quant ussarà del dit ofici de arquer pague e sia tengut pagar tot ço quant los altres arquers paguen e acostumen de pagar cascun any.

We do not know whether Micó finally agreed to take the exam and continue making chests or he gave up and focused solely on decoration. In any case, this sentence is the last professional reference we have of Micó. But Micó's absolute disaffection with the guild structure is apparent, as shown by the fact that he neither resided in the neighbourhood where a large number of his

<sup>20</sup> ARV, Batlia, Pergamins. SANCHIS SIVERA 1914: 109. It has not been possible to locate this document from the references provided by Sanchis Sivera.

<sup>21</sup> These and subsequent references can be found at the ARV, Governació, núm. 2.385, mà 4<sup>a</sup>, f. 40 and 2.386, mà 18<sup>a</sup> f. 1.

professional colleagues were concentrated, nor did he demand to be buried in the parish where his own guild had its chapel, as we will see below.

### Last Will

On August 27, 1490, Micó stopped by the office of the notary Pere Mercador to draft a new will. However, we cannot confirm this is his last will, because the will was not followed by the relevant publication specifying the date of his death and the opening of the testament in front of the widow and the deceased. In any case, the reason behind the drafting of a new will is a “serious illness” –not specified– but that scared Micó to the point of confessing that he “feared he would die”. It is difficult to identify this “serious illness” since there is no other reference to it in the document. However, we should take into account that, in 1490, Valencia was in the midst of a virulent plague outbreak. It was in this context that the *converso* physician Lluís Alcanyís wrote his *Regiment preservatiu i curatiu de la pestilència* (APARISI 2020b). During this outbreak, there were many people who rushed to a notary’s office, like that of Bernat Fenollar himself, and his sister (APARISI 2020a), to draw up their last will and testament. Therefore, Antoni Micó’s case was not the exception, but we cannot identify the “serious illness” as the plague without further elements.

Thus, Micó appointed an ecclesiastic, Miquel Matamala, and a master goldbeater, Domingo Arrufat as his executors. Although in the testament he is presented simply as a provost, Matamala held a benefice at the Cathedral of València, specifically the benefice «sub invocatione sancti Iohannis Evangeliste» (APARISI 2016: 381). This would explain the acquaintance between the painter and the provost, since Micó carried out various works at the cathedral. In fact, Micó named Matamala not only executor but also tutor of his underage children. And there is yet another fact that underlines these close ties between the painter and the ecclesiastic: the notary who drafted Micó’s will, Pere Mercador, was the brother-in-law of Miquel Matamala, married to his sister. (APARISI 2016: 381). Therefore, it is only logical to conclude that Matamala and Micó had a relationship of true friendship and, indeed, that Matamala was his confessor.

We have not find any more references to the other executor, Domingo Arrufat, but it is very likely that his acquaintance with Micó was the result of a working relationship since, as we know, the goldbeaters also worked in the decoration of ecclesiastical furniture. After the appointment of the executors, the will presents the dispositions. In the first place, Micó describes the arrangements concerning spiritual matters. And among these, the first of them refers to his place of burial, the «vas del benaventurat mossènyer sent Arcís». Although the confraternity of Sant Narcís of Valencia had two chapels, one in the church of Sant Joan del Mercat and the other in the Cathedral of Valencia, from the beginning of the 14th century onwards, the latter became the main chapel (MARTÍNEZ VINAT 2018: 189). It is reasonable to think that, a hundred years later,

Micó must have been referring to the tomb in the most prestigious chapel, that of the Cathedral.<sup>22</sup> And, as he himself points out, Micó was a member of the confraternity, which is why it had to be «convocada la loable confraria del beneyt mossènyer sent Arcís, de la qual yo so confrare, a la qual confraria vull e man sia donada la caritat acostumada».

According to the statutes of the confraternity, the dying person had to be accompanied in his last hours by two or three members of the confraternity. Once the final transfer had taken place, the lifeless body would be placed in the «lit major e caixa» owned by the confraternity for the funeral and subsequent burial (MARTÍNEZ VINAT 2018: 184, note 41). Throughout this journey, from the house of the deceased to the church where the funeral takes place, the coffin should be preceded by the cross of the confraternity and be accompanied by its members, who should walk with «sengles candeles o ciris en la mà de valor de quatre diners i més» (MARTÍNEZ VINAT 2018: 173). It is very likely that the funeral mass took place in the chapel of the confraternity in the Cathedral of Valencia, although the document does not explicitly mention this.

Micó's connection with this confraternity and the reasons that led him to leave the Sant Antoni confraternity are more difficult to determine.<sup>23</sup> The confraternity of Sant Narcís was created by merchants from Girona in the city of Valencia in the mid-14th century (MARTÍNEZ VINAT 2018: 167). Over time, «alcuns ciutadans e vehins de València se metessen en aquella per la bona obra de caritat que en aquella es feya» (MARTÍNEZ VINAT 2018: 175). In fact, two of the four mayors of the confraternity had to be from Valencia and the other two from the diocese of Girona, although residents in Valencia. The confraternity consisted of around 300 members, both men and women, although the latter had no access to high positions. Thus, at the end of the 15th century, the confraternity was made up of people from Valencia and Girona, although we do not know the percentage of each group.

As for the socio-professional origin of its members, the extant records from the 14th century show prevalence of notaries and, to a lesser extent, brokers, but we document the presence of a wide range of trades. However, there are no painters among its members. Thus, Micó's presence in this confraternity cannot be explained either by his professional ties, or by the possibility that he is native to Catalunya Vella (Old Catalonia). Rather, his membership might relate to the fact that he was a painter who carried out conservation work in the cathedral and was therefore aware of the religious trends of the time.

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<sup>22</sup> In fact, the construction of a new chapel at the same cathedral started in 1481, since the old one had become too small. This construction work, which was supervised by Pere Compte, would last for years. In fact, they were still unfinished in 1497. GÓMEZ-FERRER, CORBALÁN 2014: 78.

<sup>23</sup> The change of confraternity was, literally, not free for Micó. Most of the confraternities in the city of Valencia had a departure fee for those who wished to leave, in addition to the obligation to pay off their debts. In the case of the confraternity of Sant Antoni, this fee amounted to 10 *sous*. (MARTÍNEZ VINAT 2018: 846).



Access to the confraternity of Sant Narcís required prior acceptance by its chapter, which met four times a year. If the request was accepted, an entrance fee of 10 sous had to be paid. Afterwards, the member had to pay an annual fee of 4 *sous* and 6 *diners*, as well as contribute to any extraordinary expenses that might have been incurred. In his testament, Micó asked that «a la qual confraria vull e man sia donada la caritat acostumada», without giving any additional information about it. In order for the members of the confraternity to participate in the burial, the deceased member had to leave –as Micó did– a specific sum of money, “la caritat acostumada”, in his or her will for this purpose. Thanks to the statutes of the confraternity we have been able to determine that this posthumous donation consisted of 20 *sous* until 1368, although in the statutes approved three years later it was reduced to only 10 *sous* (MARTÍNEZ VINAT 2018: 851). We know from other confraternities, that the amount of this donation did not change throughout the 15th century, and it can therefore be assumed that the executors appointed by Micó payed the 10 *sous*.

Once the spiritual arrangements were in place, Micó turns to more earthly concerns. The first of this concerns was the appointment of Matamala and Arrufat, as executors of the will of the farmer Jaume Bonet, since Micó was acting as such until then. Matamala and Arrufat would receive 50 sous for this task. Then, Micó established the restitution of the dowry and the corresponding dower to the future widow, stating that of the 100 *lliures* agreed in the marriage chapters, only 85 *lliures* had been paid. He also ordered the acquisition of a mantle and a mourning dress for her. On the other hand, for his daughter Ursula he established the payment of just 5 *sous* as legitime. Finally, he designated his two children, Antoni Joan and Lluís Joan, as sole heirs, together with the child Joana was expecting. Since Antoni and Lluís were still minors, Micó chose Matamala as their legal guardian. As for the testimonies, none of the witnesses seem to have any particular relationship with the painter, except for Miquel Espinal, who was then probost of the Cathedral.

As I said before, we do not know whether Antoni Micó finally died of the “serious illness” that had compelled him to write a new will. What is certain is that the document does not include the public reading record that would indicate the precise date of his death. Be that as it may, he was already dead by mid-1493. On July 11, 1493, Joana appointed the notary Alfons d’Aierne as her attorney, referring Micó as “quòndam”, thus making it clear that he was already dead.<sup>24</sup>

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Through the characterisation of the life and professional trajectory of Antoni Micó we have tried to describe one of the least known artisan groups of late-medieval Valencia, the ornamental painters. The prosopography of this group is not yet very extensive, so it is difficult to assess

<sup>24</sup> APCC, núm. 25.825, protocol of Joan Argent. Sanchis Sivera provides an even later mention to Micó. On January 24, 1502, Joana signed a document in which she appears as Micó’s widow, which implies that she had not married again. (SANCHIS SIVERA 1914: 109).

the representativeness of Micó's personal case. In this respect, it is true that the fact that he was professionally linked to the Cathedral of Valencia ensured a certain degree of stability that other ornamental painters did not enjoy. But just as important as the regular workload was the network of contacts the Cathedral offered. Private documents, particularly wills, bear witness to the way Micó knew how to make the most of these links. This enabled him to establish relationships with leading figures in Valencia in the second half of the 15th century, such as Bernat Fenollar. It is indeed possible that his work for the Court of Justice of Valencia was also due to these acquaintances.

However, at the end of his life, Micó had to face one of the strongest guilds in Valencia, that of the woodworkers. This dispute reveals the efforts made by this guild to impose the specialisation of the different branches that made up the guild. The ornamental painters, therefore, were subordinate to the chest-makers, box-makers and altarpiece painters.

### **Transcripció**

1490, agost, 27. València.

*Testament d'Antoni Micó, pintor.*

Arxiu de Protocols del Col·legi del Corpus Christi de València, núm. 15.645, protocol de Pere Mercador.

*Die veneris XXVII mensis agusti anno a Nativitate Domini MCCCCLXXXX.*

En nom de nostre senyor Déu Jesuchrist e de la sua gloriosíssima mare. Amèn. Com algú en carn posat a la mort corporal escapar no puixa, e de la persona sàvia se pertany pensar en les coses esdevenidores, perquè de ço que nostre senyor Déu li ha comanat en aquest miserable món bon compte e rahó li'n puixa retre e donar. Emperamor de açò, yo, en Anthoni Micó, pintor, ciutadà de la ciutat de València, detengut de greu malaltia de la qual tem morir, e per quant no tenir cosa més certa que la mort ni més incerta que la hora de aquella, stant, emperò, en mon bo e acostumat seny, perfeta memòria e loqüela, manifestant, revocant, cassant e de tot en tot anul·lant tots e qualsevol testament o testaments, codicil o codicils per mi fets e ordenats de tot lo temps passat fins en la present jornada en poder de qualsevol notari o notaris e sots qualsevol expressió de paraules, axí derogatòries com altres qualsevol, ara, de nou, convocats e appellats los notari e testimonis dejús scrits, faç e orden lo meu últim e derrera voluntat en e ab lo qual pos e elegesch

marmessors meus los venerables mossèn Miquel Matamala, prevere, e mestre Domingo Arrufat, batifulla, ciutadà de la dita ciutat, als quals prech molt per amor de Déu e mia prenguen e accepten lo càrrech de la dita mia marmessoria, donant e conferint a aquells ample e bastant poder, tants de mos béns pendre e vers si ocupar, e aquells vendre e alienar, los preus rebre e distribuir, que basten a fer e complir tot lo que per mi en lo present meu testament atrobaran scrit e ordenat. E açò facen e fer puxen, los dits meus marmessors, per lur pròpria auctoritat e sens dan algú que a ells ni a lurs béns vinga ni venir puixa en neguna manera, licència e auctoritat de qualsevol jutge, axí ecclesiàstich com setglar, en les dites coses no demanada ni sperada. E, primerament e ans de totes coses vull, disponch e man que tots mos deutes torts e injúries sien pagats e satisfets, aquells, emperò, deutes, torts e injúries que manifestament se mostrarà yo ésser tengut e obligat ab cartes públiques e altres legítimes proves e auctèntichs documents, for de **ànima** e de bona consciència sobre les dites coses benignament observat. Enapprès, comanant la mia ànima a nostre senyor Déu Jesuchrist qui la ha creada, elegesch sepultura al meu cors fahedora en lo vas del benaventurat mossènyer sent Arcís, del qual yo so confrare, prenint per ànima mia e de tots feels defuncts cent sous de moneda reals de València, dels quals vull e man sia feta la dita mia sepultura ab son aniversari e capdany bé e complidament segons ma condició, a coneguda dels dits meus marmessors. A la qual sepultura vull e man sia convocada la loable confraria del beneyt mossènyer sent Arcís, de la qual yo so confrare, a la qual confraria vull e man sia donada la caritat acostumada. Ítem, vull, disponch e man que per los dits meus marmessors sia dada rahó e compliment en tot lo que resta a complir en la sepultura d'en Jaume Bonet, *quondam* laurador, del qual yo so hereu, e en aquell nom yo so obligat en donar compliment a tot lo que aquell ha ordenat en son últim testament rebut per lo discret en Jaume Francés, notari, a [*en blanc*] del mes de [*en blanc*] any MCCCC [*en blanc*], segons en lo dit testament se conté. Ítem, confés e en veritat regonech que la dona na Johana, muller mia, en lo temps del seu e meu matrimoni me portà e constituí en dot cent liures, de les quals yo n'é rebut realment huytanta-quatre liures e quatorze sous moneda reals de València tantsolament e no més. Les quals dites huytanta-quatre liures, quatorze sous vull e man li sien donades e pagades ensemps ab lo creix o augment per mi a aquella fet per rahó de la sua virginitat, lo qual creix o augment vull e man li sia pagat segons fur de València, ço és, que après obte de la dita muller mia lo dit creix sia e haja a tornar als hereus meus dejús scrits. Ítem, vull e man que la dita na Johana, muller mia, sia vestida de drap de dol per la mia mort, ço és, de un mantell e un mongil de drap de dihuyté. Ítem, vull e man que als dits meus marmessors sien donats e pagats per los treballs per aquells sostenidors en la dita mia marmessoria cinquanta sous a cascú. Ítem, do e leix a ma filla Úrsola cinch sous per part e per legítima e per tot e qualsevol dret que aquella haja o li pertanga en mos béns. Tots los altres béns meus mobles, sehents e semovents, deutes, drets e accions mies e a mi pertanyents e pertànyer podents e devents, luny o prop per qualevol títol, causa, manera o rahó, ara o en esdevenidor, do e leix a Luís Johan e Anthoni Johan, fills meus legítims e naturals. E aquells dits Luís Johan e Anthoni Johan, fills meus, en tots los dits béns e drets meus hereus meus propis e universals, hoc encara generals a mi faç e instituesch per dret de institució. E com la dita na Johana, muller

mia, sia prenys vull, disponch e man que lo pòstum naxedor de la dita muller mia, si a lum pervendrà, ara sia mascle o femella, que aquell dit pòstum sia hereu meu ensemps ab los dits Luís Johan e Anthoni Johan, fills meus, per eguals parts entre aquells partidores. Sots tal, emperò, vinche e condició: que si qualsevol dels dits fills e hereus meus morrà de menor edat de vint anys, que la part de aquell axí morint sens disminició alguna de legítima *et cetera*, torne al altre o als altres sobrevivints. E si era cas, ço que a Déu no plàcia, que tots los dits fills e hereus meus morien de menor edat de vint anys, en tal cas, vull e man que tots los dits béns e drets meus sien distribuïts per ànima mia en obres pies a coneguda del dit venerable mossèn Miquel Matamala, marmessor meu. Ítem, done e lexe en tudor e curador de les persones e béns dels dits fills meus lo dit venerable mossèn Miquel Matamala, prevere, al qual prech molt per amor de Déu e mia que les persones e béns dels dits fills meus garde, regesca e administre segons que de bon tudor e curador se pertany. Aquest és lo meu últim e derrer testament última e darrera voluntat mia, lo qual e la qual vull que valla per dret de derrer testament. E si per dret de derrer testament no valrà, que valla per dret de codicil. E si no valrà per dret de codicil, que valla per dret de testament nuncupatiu. E si no valrà per dret de testament nuncupatiu, que valla per aquells furs, drets, leys e bona rahó per los quals mils voler puixa e deja. Lo qual fon fet en la ciutat de València, a vint-e-set dies del mes de agost del any de la Nativitat de nostre senyor Déu Jesuchrist mil quatre-cents noranta. Se-[creu]-nyal de mi, Anthoni Micó, testador damunt dit, qui lo present meu testament faç, loe, atorgue e conferme.

Testimonis són qui foren presents al present testament, pregats e convocats per lo dit testador fesen testimoni a la confecció del present testament, los honrats mossèn Miquel Spinal, prevere beneficiat en la Seu, e Gil Martí, ciutadà, e Francés Cortilles, mercader, los quals, interrogats si conexien lo dit testador, e tots dixeren que sí, e lo dit testador als dits testimonis, e per dit notari, lo conech molt bé, e lo dit testador a mi, dit notari.

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